

XVII CONGRESS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR
SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

Septuagint and Cognate Studies

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Edited by

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





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Contents

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

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

Part 4. Exegesis and Theology

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

Part 5. Commentary

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

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

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

and instead direct attention to theological themes such as resurrection (ἀνίστημι in Ps 1:5), messianism (ἀγαπητός in Ps 67[68]:13), eschatology (συντέλεια in Ps 58[59]:14), and mythology (μονόκερως in Ps 28[29]:6) in the Old Greek Psalter, resulted in rather strong counterreactions.³ As a matter of fact, Schaper's idea that μονόκερως, "(animal with) one horn, unicorn," the Greek rendering of אַרְיֵא, "wild ox," carries messianic and mythological motifs and can be connected with medieval Jewish mythology and Christian allegory for the messiah⁴ does not seem to have stood the test of time. In this volume, the Greek word is mentioned only in passing in Bryan Beeckman's examination of the fauna in the Old Greek version of the book of Job (ch. 13) as a designation for an oryx. Schaper, however, kindly reminded all participants of the Old Testament and cognate congresses of his theory by placing a medieval unicorn from the famous twelfth-century CE Aberdeen bestiary at the front of the program booklet (see fig. 1).



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 1. Textual History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 2. Historical Context

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 3. Syntax and Semantics

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 4. Exegesis and Theology

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Part 5. Commentary

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Part 1
Textual History

The Armenian Redaction of Esther: A Late Antique Christian Reading of a Hellenistic Jewish Text

S. Peter Cowe

Abstract: This paper argues that the early stratum of the Armenian Version of Esther represents a clearly discernible recension featuring characteristic elements of Antiochene exegesis (e.g., intertextuality), while developing trends visible in the Greek versions of the work (dove-tailing the non-Masoretic additions, reducing Jewish reparations, accentuating exodus traditions) and reinterpreting the significance of the Festival of Purim instituted by Esther and Mordecai, thereby integrating hermeneutic imperatives to facilitate the work's reception in a new space and time. The conclusion is therefore that the redaction should be situated within the ongoing process of writing and rewriting scripture, which, it is contended, continued into late antiquity in both Jewish and Christian communities.

Research conducted on the Armenian Version for the project Textual History of the Bible has afforded an unprecedented opportunity to develop a much more detailed, nuanced understanding of the overall profile that the corpus presents as a biblical translation.¹ It has allowed researchers to incorporate insights from the ongoing process of reading and interpreting scripture that had earlier given rise to the phenomenon of the Septuagint broadly conceived. It has also brought attention to the text as a cultural document of late antiquity, reflecting the concerns of contemporaries at several centuries remove. The product of a very particular place and time, the first stratum of the version known as Arm1, which will be the focus

1. For a discussion of some of the main contrasts, see Philip Rousseau, ed., *A Companion to Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 233–69, 497–511, 556–87.

of this paper, was generated by an entente between the two dominant powers in the region, Rome and Sasanian Iran, which permitted Armenians access to Roman Mesopotamia, the Lucianic text, and the traditions of Antiochene exegesis.² An official undertaking like the Vulgate, the text was created under the aegis of the king of Greater Armenia and the local church hierarchy in the early years of the fifth century by a close-knit team of scholars with a rounded philological and theological training, as corroborated by historical sources of the period.³ Within the ArmI ambience, more thoroughgoing redactional tendencies have been detected in a set of largely deuterocanonical books: the Epistle of Jeremiah, 3 Ezra, Judith, 1–3 Maccabees, and Tobit.⁴ However, perhaps the most radical treatment has been discerned in Esther, a work with clear affinities to this grouping in terms of date, subject matter, and issues of canonicity.⁵ Investigation has uncovered exegetical and hermeneutical perspectives that significantly reformulate its main parent text, the Old Greek (OG). I would contend that its methodology both advances tendencies inherent in the broader Greek redactional tradition, while systematically transforming others to accommodate the work to a new era and readership.

2. For the historical context, see S. Peter Cowe, “Armenian Texts,” in *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, THB 2A–C (Leiden: Brill, 2019–2020), A:436–55, and, for greater focus on Antiochene affinities, S. Peter Cowe, “Rhetoric, Theology, and Antiochene Exegesis in the Armenian Version of Lamentations,” in *Dies Academicus della Classe di Studi sul Vicino Oriente dell’ Accademia Ambrosiana*, ed. P. F. Fumagalli, *Analecta Orientalia Ambrosiana* 4 (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 2015), 143–65.

3. S. Peter Cowe, “The Bible in Armenian,” in *New Cambridge History of the Bible 600–1450*, ed. Anne E. Matter and Richard Marsden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2:143–51; Koriwn, *Vark’Maštoc’i* [*The Life of Maštoc*], ed. Ė. Pivazyān (Erevan: Erevan State University Press, 1980), 278–81.

4. For details, see S. Peter Cowe, “Epistle of Jeremiah (Armenian),” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, B:101–3; Cowe, “3 Ezra (Armenian),” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, B:455–61; Cowe, “Judith (Armenian),” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, C:89–94; Cowe, “1–3 Maccabees (Armenian)” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, C:134–37, 163–67, 181–83; Cowe, “Tobit (Armenian),” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, C:450–55.

5. See S. Peter Cowe, “The Armenian Canon,” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, A:240–57.

Armenian Esther Derives from Greek

B:3 OG *πυθόμενου*] *πειθομενου* 106–107 Arm *հաւատացեալ*
(believing)

That the Armenian redaction of Esther derives from a Greek *Vorlage* is signaled by its dependence on variants from the critical text, such as its alignment with the reading *πειθομενου* at B:3 in the company of other witnesses that probably evolved via itacism from the lexeme *πυθόμενου* when describing how the Persian king had come to learn about the Jews through his early trust in Haman.⁶

A similar case emerges two verses later in the royal enumeration of all the mischief that community had perpetrated.

B:5 OG *τὰ χεῖριστα* Arm *յորոց ձեռաց* (by whose hands)] [retroversion: *չերսի*]

There, a retroversion of the Armenian metaphorical allusion to their hands in reference to their agency suggests the reading's formal equivalent is the king's qualification of that menace in OG as most egregious (*χεῖριστα*).

Although the Armenian translator's command of the base language is extremely competent, rhetorically dense constructions, especially in the Additions that probably originated in Greek, sometimes present difficulties.⁷

C:8 OG *τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κληρονομίαν σου* Arm *զԺառանգութիւն
քն որ էր ի սկզբանէ* (Your inheritance, which was from the beginning)

6. For the Greek text employed in this study, see Robert Hanhart, *Esther*, SVTG 16.3, 2nd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), and, for the Armenian, Yovhannēs Zohrapean, *Astuatsashunch' matean hin ew nor ktakarants'*, with an introduction by Claude Cox (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1984).

7. On the varied character and interpretation of the Greek Additions, see David J. A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, JSOTSup 30 (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 1984), 168–74; Karen H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Massoretic Text*, SBLDS 153 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 193, 224–25.

In the above context, the translator deftly handles the mild form of hyperbaton, reformulating the condensed nominal phrase and spelling out the relation between the components by a relative clause.

However, the more complex structures typical of section E present a greater challenge, as indicated at verse 4:

OG Μισοπόνηρον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐκφεύξεσθαι δίκην (they assume they can escape evil-hating justice) Arm ատելութիւն ի՞նչ չարութեան համարիւն փախչել ի դատաստանէն (they count it a certain hatred of evil to flee from judgment)

There, the turgid construction that bookends the phrase with a compound adjective and the noun it defines has led the translator to produce an uncharacteristically interlinear rendering, preserving the syntax intact but completely transforming the semantic level.

Redacting Transitions between the OG Main Text and the Additions

Armenian dependence on the OG extends to its inclusion of the six non-Masoretic additions. While the OG has often juxtaposed rather than spliced those sections, the Alpha Text (AT) has dovetailed those into the fabric of the narrative, a literary tendency that the Armenian redactor develops further.⁸ The first of those interventions I would like to consider treats the second royal letter.⁹

E:1 OG *χαίρειν* Arm *նղոյն* (greetings) 8:13 OG *πολεμήσαι αὐτῶν τοὺς ὑπεναντίους* Arm *կորուսանել զթշնամիս րոցա. նղ լերուք:* (to annihilate their [sc. the Jews'] enemies. **Farewell.**)

8. On the Alpha Text, see Emanuel Tov, “The ‘Lucianic’ Text of the Canonical and Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book,” *Textus* 10 (1982): 1–25, and Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*. On the Alpha Text’s smoother integration of the additions, see Kristin De Troyer, *The End of the Alpha Text of Esther: Translation and Narrative Technique in MT 8:1–17, LXX 8:1–17, and AT 7:14–41, SCS 48* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 397.

9. For Armenian familiarity with Hellenistic epistolographic formulae, see Armen Alek’sanyan, *Hay mijnadaryan namakā (IV–XIV darer)* [The Medieval Armenian Letter (Fourth–Fourteenth Centuries)] (Erevan: Nairi, 1997), 10–17.

Although the OG version provides a proper opening greeting at E:1, its verisimilitude is undermined by the absence of a corresponding closing formula, which the Armenian appropriately adds at 8:13.

Similarly, the Armenian anchors the copy of the letter more directly in the preamble by reprising at E:1 the datum of its being sealed by the king's ring from the phrase's first appearance at 8:12.

OG τὰ ὑπογεγραμμένα Arm գոր կնքեալ էր մատանեալ թագաւորին (which was sealed with the king's ring)

Meanwhile, it sets about smoothing out the scene change between the letter and Mordecai's rather unconnected egress at 8:15 by providing a contextualization for the figure's appearance after such a long absence.

8:14–15 OG ὁ δὲ Μαρδοχαῖος ἐξῆλθεν Arm 14 fin] + **և յաւուրս յայնսիկ յորժամ եղև այս (15) և Սուրդքէ ել (and in those days when this occurred, Mordecai also went out)**

In like manner, 10:3 represents a summation of Mordecai's life and work for OG (and AT) following MT, after which his statement at F:1 appears somewhat jarring and unprepared. What is the occasion for his address and to whom is it directed? Consequently, the Armenian redactor retools the transition from 10:3 to F:1 by skillful textual exegesis, maintaining continuity with the tradition, while also innovating.

OG διηγείτο τὴν ἀγωγὴν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν Μαρδοχαῖος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο ταῦτα Arm պատմէր զիրսն եղեալս ամենայն ազգատոհմին իւրում: Եւ ասէ Սուրդքէ ... (he [sc. Mordecai] began to relate the events which had occurred to all his national house. And Mordecai said ...)

Apart from leading, the verb *διηγέομαι* connotes narration or relation. Likewise, the sense of *ἀγωγή* as conduct or direction has undergone contextual interpretation building on the verb *ἐγένετο* in the next verse and emerges as “the events, which had occurred.” The integrative process then defines the audience by means of the OG's earlier reference to Mordecai's *ethnos*, whose greater specificity finds expression in the Armenian form *azgatohm*, which indicates a closer affinity than would be conveyed by the broader term *azg* (“nation”), which might also embrace the Persian popu-

lation. As a consequence, Mordecai's reference to his origin in OG has been suppressed as being superfluous in this environment.

F:6 OG τὸ ὄνομα τῶν Ἰουδαίων. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τὸ ἐμὸν οὗτός ἐστιν
 Ισραηλ Arm Զանուն հրէիցն որ է Իսրայէլ (the name of the
 Jews, which is Israel)

Avoidance of Hebraisms

In keeping with Arm1's well-known valorization of the idiom of the target language,¹⁰ not only does it restructure the format of its Greek prototype, but also tends to eschew Hebraic elements embedded in the OG texture. Representative examples from Addition C include preference for the simple instrumental case to express manner in avoidance of the preposition ἐν to represent Hebrew כִּי in verse 5:

OG ἐν ὑπερηφανίᾳ Arm հպարտութեամբ ... ամբարտաւա-
 նութեամբ (with pridefulness ... with arrogance)

Here the translation manifests a typically Lucianic doublet as a more powerful protestation of Mordecai's purity of intention in refusing to do obeisance to Haman (cf. v. 7).

Similarly, in verse 15 the Armenian version avoids the typical Hebrew idiom of figurative reference to body parts in Esther's prayer concerning her present danger by elucidating the metaphor:

OG ἐν χειρὶ μου Arm առաջի իմ (before me)

Meanwhile, in verse 8, Armenian breaks with Semitic polysyndeton to clarify the causal relationship between two clauses in the conjunction.

OG καὶ ἐπεθύμησαν ἀπολέσαι Arm զի ցանկացեալ են
 կորուսանել (for they desired to destroy)

10. For the phenomenon, see S. Peter Cowe, "The Two Armenian Versions of Chronicles, Their Origin and Translation Technique," *Revue des études arméniennes* 22 (1990–1991): 81–91.

Conversely, at 8:3, the translator has preserved the Hebrew idiom of employing the verb “to add” in the sense of continuing.¹¹

OG προσθεῖσα ἐλάλησεν Arm յաւել լս խօսել (lit. she added to speak)

Jewish Lineage

Lineage is an important feature of Jewish tradition and perhaps more so in this book, which derives from a diaspora milieu. In keeping with this, Mordecai’s introduction in A:1 highlights his credentials in terms of family and tribal affiliation, and the OG lexicon deploys a rich diversity of terms to voice those nuances; however, the Armenian rendering maintains a single term primarily designating a nation and geographical location, thereby reflecting the contemporary Armenian polity.¹²

C:16 OG ἐν φυλῇ πατριᾶς μου Arm ի հայրենի ազգէն իմմէ (from my ancestral nation) 6:13 OG ἐκ γένους Ἰουδαίων Arm յազգէ Հրէից (from the nation of the Jews)

Thus the Armenian lexeme *azg* encountered above with a semantic field centering on the nation represents φυλή (“tribe”) at C:16, γένος (“race”) at 6:13, and ἔθνος elsewhere.¹³

The case of 8:6 is also instructive, where fundamentally λαός and πατρίς act as synonyms for the Jewish people in its lineal descent:

OG τοῦ λαοῦ μου ... τῆς πατρίδος μου Arm ժողովրդեան իմոյ ... ի բնակչաց հայրենի գաւառին իմոյ (of my people ... from the inhabitants of my ancestral region)

Meanwhile, the Armenian reconceptualizes the context as one of a polity tied to its territorial domain.

11. BDB, s.v. “הֵוַה” 414–15.

12. Robert H. Hewsen, *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 84–91.

13. For the etymology of the Armenian term and its semantic range, see Hrač'ey Ačařyan, *Hayeren armatakan bařaran* [Armenian Etymological Dictionary] (Erevan: Erevan University Press, 1971), 1:84–85.

Jewish Law

In the postexilic period, law became a foundational principle in organizing Jewish life and gained prominence both in Judea as well as diasporic centers from orchestrated attempts to negate it and overturn its provisions.¹⁴ Obviously, such issues loom large in our work also in view of Haman's wrath against a legal code that restricts obeisance to the deity and his determination to annihilate the community that follows it throughout the Persian Empire. Here, too, it is significant that the Armenian redaction channels Haman's antipathy from Jewish law to racial prejudice against the community itself, his argument being that their unruly nature does not countenance the legitimate exercise of royal authority.

Thus, while at 3:8 Haman in the OG evenhandedly presents the Jews as (1) possessing laws opposing those of other nations and (2) refusing to obey royal mandates, the Armenian redaction gears Haman's first attack against their moral reprehensibility, which automatically undermines their ability to behave as law-abiding imperial subjects:

OG οἱ δὲ νόμοι αὐτῶν ἕξ᾽αλλοι παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, τῶν δὲ νόμων τοῦ βασιλέως παρακούουσιν Arm ապիրատք և խորամանկք քան զամենայն ազգս և օրինաց արքունի ոչ հնաանդիս (more wicked and deceitful than all nations and disobeying royal laws)

Note that the theme of disingenuousness is reprised from 3 Macc 3:17:

τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀποδεξάμενοι παρουσίαν, τῷ δὲ πράγματι νόθως

14. See J. Edward Wright, *The Early History of Heaven* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 52; Richard D. Nelson, *The Historical Roots of the Old Testament (1200–63 BCE)* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), 85; and John J. Collins, *The Invention of Judaism: Torah and Jewish Identity from Deuteronomy to Paul* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2017). For the spectrum of Jewish symbiosis with Hellenistic society, see Erich S. Gruen, "Fact and Fiction: Jewish Legends in a Hellenistic Context," in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*, ed. Paul Cartledge et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 73–74; Gruen, "Hellenism and Persecution: Antiochus IV and the Jews," in *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. Peter Green (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 238–40.

The same distinction is repeated in the royal letter at B:4 where the OG Haman emphasizes that the Jews are troublesome precisely because their own laws are so at odds with those of others.

OG *δυσμενῇ λαόν τινα τοῖς νόμοις ἀντίθετον πρὸς πᾶν ἔθνος* Arm *դժբնդալ ժողովուրդ ո՛ր Խափան օրինաց, որք ընդդէմ կան թագաւորաց և ի բաց սերժէն յիրեանց զհրամանս առ ի չլսել նոցա* (a troublesome law-infracting people, who stand opposed to kings and dismiss from themselves the [king's] commands so as not to heed them)

3 Macc 3:19 *ὡς μονώτατοι τῶν ἐθνῶν βασιλεύσιν ... ὑψαυχενοῦντες* Meanwhile, the Armenian redactor depicts the community as fundamentally antinomian, again in parallel with 3 Maccabees, underscoring their opposition to the institution of kingship and their refusal to submit to royal commands to ensure law and order in the state, such as the one issued by Ahasuerus that everyone should bow before Haman as second in the realm.

The OG text again reflects similar concerns for maintaining the law at 8:11:

OG *ὡς ἐπέταξεν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῶν* Arm *որպէսզի կացցեն հրէայք ողջ և անարատք իրեանց օրինօք* (for them [the Jews] to stand safe and intact with their laws)

There Ahasuerus acquiesces to Esther's request to reverse Haman's edict, however, the Armenian version foregrounds the Jewish community's physical welfare, rather than legal matters, which figure as a secondary aspect of their security.

Diminution of the Extent of Jewish Reparations

Chapters 9–10 of the book are devoted to the issue of Jewish reparations for Haman's scheme for their discomfiture.¹⁵ While the description of such

15. Charles V. Dorothy, *The Books of Esther: Structure, Genre and Textual Integrity*, JSOTSup 187 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1997), 260–65, 271–73.

scenes in Susa and the provinces occupies a significant place in the MT, the Greek versions seek to mitigate the portrayal of bloodshed.¹⁶ This relates particularly to the Alpha Text, although ironically it reports the highest casualty list, 70,100.¹⁷ The tendency is also visible in the dual approach of the Armenian redaction both to reduce the numbers involved and temper the character of the events by euphemism. Consequently, where the OG tabulates five hundred fatalities in the capital at 9:6 and fifteen thousand in the state as a whole at 9:16, the Armenian approximates the numbers involved and, by omitting the term *μυρίους*, reduces the second figure to five thousand.

9:6 OG ἀπέκτειναν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ἄνδρας πεντακοσίους Arm
կոտորեցին հրէայքն արս **հփրկ** հինգհարիւր (the Jews cut
down **around** five hundred)

9:16 OG ἀπώλεσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους Arm
կորուսին ի նոցանէ **հփրկ** հինգ հազար ոգի (they slaughtered
around five thousand of them)

Likewise, at verses 14–15, the visceral force of the actions of hanging and killing is attenuated by the use of palliative terminology.

9:14 OG τὰ σώματα τῶν υἱῶν Ἀμαν κρεμάσαι Arm զսարմիսս
որդւոցն Համանայ **հանել** ի փայտ (to **string up** the bodies of
Haman's sons)

9:15 OG ἀπέκτειναν ἄνδρας τριακοσίους Arm **կուտեցին** արս
երէփարիւր (they **piled up** three hundred men)

The Book's Relation to the Festival of Purim

For the Jewish community, the book of Esther is intimately associated with the feast of Purim, in observance of which ritual the whole work should be read. Moreover, its name derives from the lots Haman cast to deter-

16. Jean-Claude Haelewyck, "Esther (Vetus Latina)," in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1C (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 459.

17. See Alpha Text casualties at 9:46(13).

mine the most propitious date to enact his project.¹⁸ However, this central aspect of the festival is lacking in the Armenian redaction, which, as a result of the coalescence of various factors, affords the celebration a very different etiology.¹⁹ In so doing, it appears to maintain continuity with the Alpha tradition.²⁰

The first of these surfaces at 3:7 and reappears at 9:24 where the OG renders the Hebrew term *Pur* by *ψήφισμα*, one of the core meanings of which relates to counting.

3:7 OG *ἐποίησεν ψήφισμα* Arm *արարին հանդէս համարոյ*
(they made an enumeration)

9:24 OG *ἔθετο ψήφισμα* Arm *եհան նոցա թիւ համարոյ* (he
conducted a review for them)

The full implications of this are then spelled out in redacting 8:9 in the context of the king's second edict countermanding the provisions of the first.

OG *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ οἱ γραμματεῖς ... καὶ ἐγράφη τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ὅσα ἐνετείλατο τοῖς οἰκονόμοις* Arm *և կոչեցին զղպիրսն ... և գրեցաւ որպէս և ետ հրաման աշխարհահամար դարացն*
(and they called the scribes ... and it was written as he [king or Haman] had also given a command to the census scribes)

Where the OG limits itself purely to narrating the summoning of the scribes to record the text and arrange its dispatch, the Armenian compares this second endeavor with the first, specifying that the former scribes had been engaged with a census of the Jewish population. The association between enumerating and annihilating the Jews probably derives from intertextuality with 3 Maccabees:

18. For Haman's casting lots, see 3:7.

19. For diversity in the handling of the theme on the part of MT, OG, and AT, see Dorothy, *Books of Esther*, 205–9, 210–11, 266–70.

20. On Alpha Text's perspective, see Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 202, 209, 220, 225–30.

Cf. 3 Macc OG 4:14 ἀπογραφῆναι δὲ πᾶν τὸ φύλον ἐξ ὀνόματος ... τὸ τέλος ἀφανίσαι μιᾶς ὑπὸ καιρὸν ἡμέρας Arm առ հասարակ ի նիւն պատժի պատուհաւի արժանի մահու առնել զամենեւեան և ընդ միով աշխատեալար գրոգի զազգայտոհմ աւելնայն յանուանէ գրել (to make all worthy of the punishment of the death penalty and to inscribe the whole race by name under a single census)

There, in chapters 3–4, Ptolemy Philopator also conceives a plan to eradicate the whole community in a single day after documenting them all by a census. Note also that, at 4:14, the Armenian similarly reflects a redactional process.

Finally, the reprise of Haman’s original plan at 9:26 in the narrative of the festival’s inauguration refers to the commemoration by transliterating the Hebrew term, which emerges as Φουραια in the Alpha Text but Φρουραι in the critical text of the OG.

OG ἐπεκλήθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται Φρουραι διὰ τοὺς κλήρους, ὅτι ... καλοῦνται Φρουραι ... κλήρους] καιρους V Arm (sim) AT ἐκλήθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι αὗται Φουραια διὰ τοὺς κλήρους ... Arm Լարգեցան ատորքս այս պահոց վասն զի և ժամանակն ... աւի պահք (these days were appointed for a watch because the time ... is called a watch)

However, in Greek usage, that lexeme conveys the very different connotation of a “watch” and was construed in that sense by the Armenian redactor, who was probably aided in that interpretation by the variant καιρούς for κλήρους witnessed by MS V. Consequently, the Armenian redaction completely reconceptualizes the association with Haman’s purim or lots in Esther and Mordecai’s letter at 9:29.

OG τό τε στερέωμα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν Φρουραι Arm հաստատեցին զպահպանութիւն հրովարտակին այսորիկ (they confirmed the safekeeping of this edict)

There the verb “confirmed” reflects the OG στερέωμα, while Φρουραι becomes the matrix for the rendering “safekeeping” where the Armenian element pah for “watch” is retained as the first component in the compound abstract noun (pahpanut‘iwn). Thus, the Armenian testifies to the

establishment of a festival of thanksgiving for deliverance and salvation but lacks any echo of the Jewish tradition of Purim.

Intertextual Parallels in Scripture

One of the most characteristic aspects of Antiochene *theoria* is the employment of intertextuality to expose the deeper context and resonance of the biblical passage under consideration.²¹ This element is observed in the Arm1 stratum of several books.²² It is particularly notable in the prayer structure of Judith and Tobit, integrating those books more fully into scriptural norms.²³ A similar process may be detected here to enrich Addition C, whose original function had been to heighten the protagonists' piety through the medium of prayer as well as to render overt the divinity's actions in response to his people's petitions, which remain opaque in the Masoretic tradition.²⁴ As one might expect, the Psalter is a perennial source for such elaborations, as in the two examples drawn from verse 10.

OG εἰσάκουσον τῆς δεήσεώς μου Arm լուր Տէր **ձայնի** աղօթից
 իմաց (Lord, hear the **voice** of my prayer) cf. Ps 27[LXX 26]:2
 εἰσάκουσον τῆς φωνῆς τῆς δεήσεώς μου

OG ὑμῶν σου τὸ ὄνομα Arm օրհնեցուք զանունը քն **մեծ**
 (let us praise your **great** name) cf. Ps 76[LXX 75]:2 μέγα τὸ ὄνομα
 αὐτοῦ

21. Cowe, "Bible in Armenian," 146–55.

22. S. Peter Cowe, "Theological and Rhetorical Issues in the Redaction of the Armenian Bible and the Teaching of St. Gregory," in *350 Anniversary Volume on the Publication of the Armenian Bible (1666–2016)*, ed. G. Ter-Vardanean (Echmiadzin: Mother See, 2018), 130–35.

23. S. Peter Cowe, "Scribe, Translator, Redactor: Writing and Rewriting Scripture in the Armenian Versions of Esther, Judith, and Tobit," in *From Scribal Error to Rewriting: How (Sacred) Texts May and May Not Be Changed*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus et al., DSI 12 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 256–59.

24. On this core issue, see Harald Martin Wahl, "Glaube ohne Gott? Zur Rede vom Gott Israels im hebräischen Buch Esther," *BZ* 45 (2001): 37–54; Barbara Schmitz, "... am Ende ihres Weges *Den* zu schauen, an dem man stirbt, wenn man ihm naht" (Rainer Maria Rilke): Die Rede von Gott in den Ester-Erzählungen," in *Weisheit als Lebensgrundlage*, ed. Renate Egger-Wenzel, Katrin Schöpfli, and Johannes F. Diehl, DCLS 15 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013), 275–96.

Similarly, the tone of Esther's prayer at C:14 is elevated by prefixing a phrase with parallels in 2 Maccabees, the effect of which is enhanced by the solemn doublet "prayers of entreaty."

OG ἐδεῖτο Arm մատուցեալ բազում աղօթիք
 խնդրուածոց հայցէր (**having approached with many prayers
 of entreaty**, he began to implore) cf. 2 Macc 15:26 բազում
 աղօթիք խնդրուածոց

New Testament Intertextuality

Naturally, Addition C drew on the expressions of piety in the Hebrew Scriptures; however, the vista of the Armenian redactor also embraced the New Testament,²⁵ as referenced by the next three examples:

C:7 OG πλὴν σοῦ τοῦ κυρίου Arm այլ քեզ միայն **ճշմարտիդ
 Աստուծոյ** (but you alone, **the only true God**) AT πλὴν σοῦ τοῦ
 ἀληθινοῦ cf. E:16 ὄντας δὲ καὶ υἱοὺς τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ cf. John 17:3 τὸν
 μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν

Mordecai's prayer above contrasts the human and divine realm, appealing to the latter by the term "Lord" characteristic of the faith community. Meanwhile, the Armenian expression "only true God," aligned with parallels in the Johannine farewell discourses and with a partial parallel in the Alpha Text, extends the contrast against pagan deities and their cults, which was becoming a more vociferous clamor in the Roman Empire under Theodosius I during the Armenian Bible's period of gestation.²⁶

The second example then provides an expanded version of Esther's formulation under the impact of 1 Timothy:

C:23 OG βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν Arm որ թագաւորդ էս ամենայն
թագաւորաց և տէր տէրանց (You who are king of all **kings
 and lord of lords**); 1 Tim 6:15: ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων καὶ
 κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων Arm թագաւոր թագաւորաց և տէր
 տէրանց (king of kings and lord of lords)

25. For parallels, see Cowe, "Theological and Rhetorical Issues," 135–41.

26. Charles Freeman, *A.D. 381: Heretics, Pagans, and the Christian State* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2009).

Meanwhile, in the third instance, Ahasuerus utilizes Jesus's formula to instill trust in his consort that he is indeed disposed to hear her plea and grant it insofar as lies within his power.

5:3 OG τί σου ἐστὶν τὸ ἀξίωμα; Arm զի՞նչ էն աղաչանքի քն.
արդարև ասեմք քեզ (what is your petition? **Truly I say to you**)
 cf. Luke 12:44 ἀληθῶς λέγω ὑμῖν Arm արդարև ասեմք ձեզ
 (Truly I say to you)

The Development of Exodus Traditions

The exodus experience is central to understanding this book in its different recensions, rescue out of Egypt being invoked by Mordecai at C:9 as a potent precedent for divine intervention in the people's current plight.²⁷ Meanwhile, both the Alpha Text and Armenian redaction seek to develop the OG formulation of Esther's prayer at C:25 to link it more directly with Deuteronomic traditions, one citing the "strong hand" and the other the "arm held high" by which God achieved deliverance from Pharaoh.²⁸

OG ἐν χειρὶ σου AT ἐν χειρὶ σου τῇ κραταιᾷ Arm բարձր բազկիս
 քնվ (with your high arm) cf. Deut 4:34 ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν
 βραχίονι ὑψελῶ

Similarly, the Armenian appeals to the people's response to the Shema in formulating its reading at C:11:

OG ἐξ ἰσχύος αὐτῶν Arm **յամենայն** զօրութենէ իրեանց (from
all their strength) cf. Deut 6:5 ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου

Vision

Another component, as expounded at Deut 4:34, is the seeing of great visions, and I would that contend this is the prime motivation behind the Armenian's systematic representation of Mordecai's dream in these terms.

27. Michael G. Wechsler, "The Purim-Passover Connection: A Reflection of Jewish Exegetical Tradition in the Peshitta Book of Esther," *JBL* 117 (1998): 321–35. On exodus traditions in Esther, see Clines, *Esther Scroll*, 155; Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 230.

28. Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 194.

A:1 ἐνύπνιον Arm **տեսիլ**. (**vision**) (cf. v.11) cf. Deut 4:34 εἰ ἐπείρεσεν ὁ θεὸς εἰσελθὼν λαβεῖν ἔθνος ἐκ μέσου ἔθνους ἐν πειρασμοῖς καὶ ἐν σημείοις καὶ ἐν τέρασιν καὶ ἐν πολέμοις καὶ ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ καὶ ἐν βραχίονι ὑψηλοῖς καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν μεγάλοις κατὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐποίησεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

A:4 LXX ἐνύπνιον dream: Arm երազ **տեսիլան**: (dream of a **vision**)

F:2 ἐνύπνιον Arm **տեսիլ** երազոյն (**vision** of a dream)

This procedure also exalts the pious Jew from the Second Temple ambience of wisdom and the sage to that of the prophetic realm.

Signs and Wonders

While war is conjured in the description of the dream at A:6, the element of signs and wonders becomes explicit in its interpretation at F:6:

OG τὰ τέρατα τὰ μεγάλα, ἃ οὐ γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν Arm զարուեստս **իւր զմեծամեծս** որ ոչ եղէն **երբէք** ի հեթանոսս (**His most great** wonders that have **never** occurred among the heathen)

Its resonance is heightened in the Armenian first by identifying their manifestation immediately with divine power, which excludes all the more effectively a heathen context, then by expanding their magnitude as “most great” and finally by denying the very possibility of a similar phenomenon occurring by absolutizing the negative “never.”

Covenant Renewal

Granted the importance the redactor attached to the above facets of the exodus tradition, I would argue that the work’s culmination in the institution of the festival by Esther and Mordecai is deliberately developed to suggest a covenant renewal.²⁹

29. For the theme of covenantal renewal in Esther, see Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 194.

9:30–31 OG *στήσαντες κατὰ τῆς ὑγιείας ἑαυτῶν ... καὶ Εσθηρ λόγῳ ἔστησεν* Arm *կացուցին իրեանց առանձինն և ուխտեցին իրեանց ուխտ ... Եւ Եսթեր երդմամբ հաստատեաց* (they established for themselves specially and covenanted themselves a covenant ... and Esther established it with an oath); cf. Deut 4:31: *οὐκ ἐπιλήσεται τὴν διαθήκην τῶν πατέρων σου ἣν ὤμωσεν αὐτοῖς*

This is implied by the addition of the formula *uxt uxtec'in* ("they made a covenant") at 9:30 to elucidate the act of establishing and further elaborated in viewing the reference to Esther's *λόγος* in the following verse as the solemn oath of confirmation.

How should we account for this aspect of the redactor's activity? Moses and the exodus played an important role in contemporary Armenian ecclesiastical life, in part as relates to the invention of the alphabet, which was regarded as a divine gift and widely interpreted in the light of the tablets of the law written by the finger of God.³⁰ Similarly, God's revelation to Moses figures prominently in a catechism probably composed by the director of the translation process, who is likened to the prophet in his vita created by one of his pupils.³¹ Moreover, granted the wider spread of the new faith in Greater Armenia as a result of disseminating scripture in their own language, the population acquired a deeper understanding of salvation history and their being grafted into that process according to the Pauline perspective.

Conclusions

In conclusion, on the basis of the foregoing I would contend for the importance of contextualizing the Armenian redaction of Esther within the ongoing process of writing and rewriting scripture,³² creatively developing

30. Robert W. Thomson, *Moses Khorenats'i: History of the Armenians*, rev. ed. (Ann Arbor: Caravan Books, 2006), 320–21.

31. Robert W. Thomson, *The Teaching of St. Gregory*, rev. ed. (New Rochelle: St. Nersess Armenian Seminary, 2001), 305–16, 568–71; Koriwn, *Vark'Maştoc'i*, 280.

32. On the contours of an earlier stage in this process, see Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008); Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible*, VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015). With these organic scriptural developments, one might contrast the distinctively authorial approach explored in Frederick J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

certain trends familiar from the Greek versions, while also incorporating features of Antiochene exegesis together with hermeneutical imperatives emanating from the translators' environment and the need to place the biblical message in dialogue with the particularities of their space and time. Consequently, I would argue that the work's more detailed investigation will shed valuable light on the nature of the ongoing project of such rewriting into late antiquity in both Christian and Jewish settings.³³

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33. For the view that the Alpha Text redaction was intended for a non-Jewish readership, see De Troyer, *End of the Alpha Text*, 400–3, and for the suggestion that its latest redactor derived from a Christian milieu, see Jobes, *Alpha-Text of Esther*, 226–27.

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Barthélemy's Kaige Subgroup: Does It Exist?

Dries De Crom

Abstract: In his *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, Dominique Barthélemy identified the LXX translations of Ruth, Lamentations, and Song of Songs as a subgroup of his kaige group. The aim of this paper is threefold: (1) to evaluate Barthélemy's own statements on this kaige subgroup; (2) to see if the existence of a kaige subgroup can be substantiated on the basis of textual agreements; and (3) to take a closer look at the presence of kaige-related elements in the textual history of the book of Ruth. It will be argued that the R-text of Ruth may well be a pre-Hexaplaric revision related to the kaige group.

In his epoch-making volume, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*,¹ Dominique Barthélemy identified the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll (8HevXIIgr) discovered near Naḥal Hever in 1952 as a revision of the earlier Old Greek (OG) translation of the Minor Prophets. This revision exhibits a number of peculiar characteristics, most notably the systematic rendering of Hebrew םא(י) with Greek καίτε. Barthélemy discovered the same characteristics in a number of other texts, including the LXX translations of Ruth, Lamentations, and the Song of Songs, the βγ and γδ sections of the books of Kingdoms, the B-text of Judges, the Theodotionic version of Daniel, the asterisked additions to Job, the Quinta of Psalms, and frag-

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1. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécapropheton*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1962). See also his preliminary edition and analysis: Barthélemy, "Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante," *RB* 60 (1953): 18–29.

ments of the Jewish translator Theodotion. These texts would forever after be collectively known as the kaige group (Barthélemy's own preferred nomenclature), kaige-Theodotion, or (not always accurately) the kaige recension.² Based on his own dating of the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll to the first century CE, Barthélemy described this kaige phenomenon as a translation project located in first-century CE Palestine, inspired by early rabbinic exegesis and designed to produce Greek texts as formally close to their Hebrew source text as possible.

This is not the place to give a full account of the decades of research inspired by Barthélemy's ground-breaking discovery. Let it suffice to indicate the most important trends. Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the hunt for additional characteristics of the kaige group seemed open.³ Attention was also given to the role of LXX Psalms as a precursor of several translation patterns associated with kaige, as well as to the apparent inconsistency of kaige patterns among suspected members of the kaige group.⁴ Over the past few decades, a new approach to the kaige phenomenon has emerged, in which the kaige group is no longer a monolithic, concerted translation effort by first-century Palestinian rabbis but one specific tradition within "a continuum from the Greek Pentateuch to Aquila," emerging and evolving over a longer period of time, and culminating, as Barthélemy himself had already stated, in the work of the second-century Jewish translator Aquila.⁵ Thus, the epithet "kaige" can

2. See Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The *Kaige* Recension: The Life, Death and Post-mortem Existence of a Modern and Ancient Phenomenon," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden, 2004*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 5–16; John W. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 23–34.

3. A much-used list of alleged kaige features may be found in Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*, HSM 28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 270–73.

4. Olivier Munnich, "La Septante des Psaumes et le groupe Kaige," *VT* 33 (1983): 75–89. An important study in this regard is Timothy Janz, "The Second Book of Ezra and the 'Kaige Group,'" in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 154–70.

5. Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SCS 38 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 497. Studies that exemplify this approach to kaige include (in chronological order): Albert Pietersma, "Septuagint Research: A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues," *VT* 35 (1985): 296–311; Peter J. Gentry, "The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job and the Question of the *Kaige* Recension," *Textus* 19 (1998): 141–56; T.

be attached to more or less systematic recensional activity, such as in the books of Kingdoms, as well as to revisions of earlier translations, as in the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll, and original translations.⁶

Interestingly, in his original publication, Barthélemy described the LXX translations of Song of Songs, Ruth, and Lamentations as a subgroup of his kaige group, in his own words: “un sous-groupe typique de notre groupe *καίγε*.”⁷ This implies that these texts share among them certain characteristics that set them apart from the other members of the *καίγε* group. This idea has gained some resonance in scholarly literature, but the precise nature of this kaige subgroup has never been clarified. The aim of this paper is threefold: (1) to evaluate Barthélemy's own statements on this kaige subgroup; (2) to see if the existence of a kaige subgroup can be substantiated on the basis of textual agreements; and (3) to take a closer look at the presence of kaige-related elements in the textual history of the book of Ruth.

1. Barthélemy on the Kaige Subgroup

So what exactly did Barthélemy say on this kaige subgroup? Not all that much, it seems. The first heuristic tool deployed by Barthélemy to gauge the extent of his kaige group is, in fact, the translation of the Hebrew particle *כא(י)* with *καίγε*; all other characteristics are derived from there.⁸ Lamentations, Song of Songs, and Ruth are therefore assigned to the kaige group solely on the basis of the presence of the pattern *καίγε* ~ *כא(י)*.⁹ Barthélemy

Michael Law, “Kaige, Aquila, and Jewish Revision,” in *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis*, ed. T. Michael Law and Alison Salvesen, CBET 66 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 39–64; James K. Aitken, “The Origins of KAI ΓΕ,” in *Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A. L. Lee*, ed. James K. Aitken and Trevor V. Evans, BTS 22 (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 21–40; Dries De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs and Descriptive Translation Studies*, DSI 11 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 233–88.

6. The essays collected in Anneli Aejmelaeus and Tuukka Kauhanen, ed., *The Legacy of Barthélemy: Fifty Years after Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, DSI 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2017) mostly focus on kaige as recensional activity in the historical books. Of special importance for the present study is the introductory essay of Adrian Schenker, “What Were the Aims of the Palestinian Recensions, and What Did They Achieve?,” in Aejmelaeus and Kauhanen *The Legacy of Barthélemy*, 14–22.

7. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 158.

8. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, x–xi.

9. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 33–34.

is, of course, well aware that this pattern is absolute only in Lamentations (six instances of *καίγε* for six instances of *ג*).¹⁰ The Song of Songs translator apparently hesitated between *καίγε* and adverbial *πρός* for translating both *ג* and *ר*, leaving only a single instance of the pattern *καίγε* ~ *ג(ר)*.¹¹ In Ruth, matters are text-critically more complicated (a question to which I will return later), but the pattern *καίγε* ~ *ג(ר)* is still, in Barthélemy's words, "well-represented."¹² Thus, in the conclusion to his second chapter, Barthélemy assigns Lamentations, Song of Songs, and Ruth to the *kaige* group with only minimal reservation.¹³

Barthélemy then returns to our trio of texts in a discussion a little over two pages long at the end of the second section of his monograph.¹⁴ Here, it seems, the distinguishing characteristic of Ruth, Song of Songs, and Lamentations is that they belong to the Megilloth or Five Scrolls.¹⁵ Roughly two thirds of the discussion is devoted to the question why the translations of Esther and Ecclesiastes, the remaining two scrolls, do not belong to the *kaige* group. Interestingly, Barthélemy suggests that the Greek translations of the Five Scrolls would have followed the development of liturgical readings in the Jewish diaspora—a suggestion that reminds one of the earlier theories of Henry St. J. Thackeray.¹⁶ According to Barthélemy, the book of Esther had already been translated well before the first century CE, because it had from the beginning been intimately connected with the feast of Purim. Ecclesiastes would not yet have been translated by the first century CE, because the Greek-speaking Jews of the diaspora would have been reading the book of Baruch instead at the Feast of Tabernacles. As for Song of Songs, Ruth, and Lamentations, their inclusion in the *kaige* group would then reflect liturgical praxis in Palestine in the latter half of the first century CE. Barthélemy argues that each of these books had, at that time and in that place, been accepted as the traditional reading for a major Jewish holy day. Their translation into Greek

10. See also Aitken, "Origins of KAI GE," 25–27, on the apparent inconsistency of the pattern within the *kaige* group.

11. Jean-Marie Auwers, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, BdA 19 (Paris: Cerf, 2019), 73.

12. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 34.

13. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 47.

14. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 158–60.

15. The collection of the Five Scrolls may in fact be no older than the eighth or ninth century CE; see Auwers, *Le Cantique*, 44–45 and the literature indicated there.

16. Henry St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins; The Schweich Lectures 1920* (repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2006).

would represent nothing more or less than an attempt by the early rabbinical movement to export Palestinian liturgical customs to Greek-speaking diaspora communities.¹⁷

A full discussion of the historical validity of this scenario lies beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that, with the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll having now been dated to the first century BCE on paleographical grounds,¹⁸ the close link between the kaige group, first-century CE Palestine, and the development of early rabbinic exegesis has been compromised. It is therefore no longer feasible to pinpoint all kaige texts to such a precise location, date, and social setting.

On the whole, Barthélemy's discussion gives the impression that his idea of a kaige subgroup consisting of Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs owes more to his theory concerning the liturgical reading of the Five Scrolls than to specific agreements between these three texts. As it is, the only feature shared by Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs seems to be their partial or irregular adherence to kaige characteristics—a trait that is shared by a number of other texts.¹⁹

2. Textual Analysis

As far as Barthélemy's own kaige characteristics are concerned, their occurrence in Lamentations, Song of Songs, and Ruth is as divided as that of the eponymous pattern $\kappa\alpha\iota\gamma\epsilon \sim \text{גל}$. Enquiries into the presence or absence of Barthélemy's characteristics are available elsewhere, perhaps most usefully in the relevant volumes of the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series, in which all members of our kaige subgroup are represented now that the volume on Song of Songs has been published.²⁰ The following table gives

17. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 159.

18. See Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyāl Collection 1)*, DJD VIII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 19–26.

19. These include 2 Ezra, the asterisked materials in Job, and the Quinta of Psalms. See, respectively, Janz, "Second Book of Ezra," 154–70; Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 494–99; Hermann-Josef Venetz, *Die Quinta des Psalteriums: Ein Beitrag zur Septuaginta- und Hexaplaforschung* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1974).

20. Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Ruth*, BdA 8 (Paris: Cerf, 2009), 28–32; Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*, BdA 25.2 (Paris: Cerf, 2005), 150–59; and, with considerably more nuance in his treatment of the kaige issue, Auwers, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 71–77. See also Kevin J. Youngblood, "Translation Technique in the Greek Lamen-

an overview of the presence of Barthélemy's kaige characteristics in the respective books, limited to the nine so-called core patterns²¹ that Barthélemy himself identified on the basis of the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll and the kaige sections of Kingdoms.

	LXX Ruth	LXX Song	LXX Lamentations
καίγε ~ וגם	6/9	1/4	6/6
distributive ἀνήρ	N/A	2/2	N/A
ἐπάνωθεν ~ מעל	N/A	N/A	N/A
στηλοῦν ~ נצב	N/A	N/A	1/1
κερατίνη ~ שופר	N/A	N/A	N/A
ø historical present	N/A	N/A	N/A
οὐκ ἔστιν ²² ~ אין	1/1	4/4	7/7
ἐγώ εἰμι ²³ ~ אנכי	5/7	N/A	N/A
εἰς ἀπάντησιν ~ לקראת	N/A	N/A	N/A

For each of the three texts, the results point in the same direction: some of Barthélemy's characteristics are present, but most are not; of those that are present, some have been applied systematically, others with some degree of regularity but not always. The inevitable conclusion is that Lamentations, Song of Songs, and Ruth each exhibit some kind of relation to the kaige

tations" (PhD diss., Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2004), 286–317; Jay C. Treat, "Lost Keys: Text and Interpretation of Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witnesses" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 357–60, 382–83.

21. Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 390–94.

22. Here Barthélemy intends the use of οὐκ ἔστιν in the present tense, even when the context calls for a past tense. The instances in Ruth and Song of Songs do not fall into this category so are of no use as kaige characteristics (as Barthélemy himself admits: *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, 67). The instances in Lamentations, on the other hand, are all used in a series of aorist verbs (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*, 156).

23. Here Barthélemy properly intends the translation of אנכי with ἐγώ εἰμι, even when followed by a finite verbal form. In nominal phrases, ἐγώ εἰμι is the natural equivalent of אנכי and therefore of no value as a kaige characteristic. The intended, atemporal use of ἐγώ εἰμι appears only once in Ruth (4:4) and not at all in Song of Songs and Lamentations.

group, but at the same time remain at some distance of what we might call the mainstay or central texts of kaige, as described by Barthélemy.

The problem is that the scope of both the available data and Barthélemy's characteristics is too limited to arrive at any definitive results. One proposed solution is to widen the scope of our investigation to the entire spectrum of translation technique, with attention to both agreements and disagreements, rather than focusing on a limited checklist of pre-determined patterns.²⁴ This approach has led to significant results with reference to members of the kaige group, refining our understanding of the kaige group and its position in the textual history of the Septuagint.²⁵ For the present purpose, I shall limit myself to presenting the results of two sample studies into aspects of translation technique, namely, lexical patterning and articulation. These show that although Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs share a comparably formalistic approach to their Hebrew source texts, there is nothing sufficiently distinct to set them apart as a subgroup from other members of the kaige group.

As far as lexical patterning is concerned, there is very little to go on. A close examination of the translation patterns in Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs reveals not a single instance where these three books share a rendering that clearly sets them apart from the wider Septuagint tradition, from other members of the kaige group, or, for that matter, from the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll.²⁶ At the same time, there are no patterns that clearly set Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs apart from each other. As it is, in each of these books, translation patterns are based for the most part on well-established patterns of the Septuagint tradition, making

24. See Gentry, "Asterisked Materials," 141–56; Peter J. Gentry, "The Greek Psalter and the *καίγε* Tradition," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert Hiebert and Claude E. Cox, JSOTSup 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 74–97.

25. E.g., Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 383–493; Youngblood, "Translation Technique," 284–355; R. Timothy McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, SCS 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

26. The Greek versions of Ruth, Lamentations, and Song of Songs were compared to each other, to the Greek Psalter and to the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll in a lexical chart according to the methodology explained in Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 417–20; Gentry, "Greek Psalter," 86–87; De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs*, 255–60. This paper presents only the very few instances where analysis revealed a possibly significant agreement or disagreement.

the base of comparison even smaller than it already is due to the limited word count of these biblical books.

Only a handful of patterns seem relevant enough to warrant any discussion. Most are disagreements between the Greek translations of Lamentations and Song of Songs, and upon consideration none have particular evidential value due to the limited nature of the evidence.

For the Hebrew noun פֶּחַד, “fear, trembling,” the majority rendering from the Greek Pentateuch onwards is φόβος, sometimes also τρόμος. Lamentations aligns with this majority tradition (Lam 3:47), but Song of Songs does not, using θάμβος instead (Song 3:8; see also Song 6:4, 10), a word that is otherwise rare in the LXX tradition but known from Theodotianic readings.²⁷ But these are only single occurrences, and no comparable pattern occurs in Ruth. To this may be added the renderings of the root נָחַם, “desire,” for which Lamentations consistently uses ἐπιθύμημα (Lam 1:7, 10, 11; 2:4). A single occurrence in Song of Songs has the less common rendering ἐπιθυμία (Song 5:16;²⁸ P.838 apparently has ἐπιθ]υμημα here). Similarly, indecisive cases include לֵא (Lam 1:6 κριός; Song 2:9, 17; 8:14 ἔλαφος; both attested from the Greek Pentateuch onwards, not comparable to Ruth) and עֲרֹמָה (Song 7:3 θιμωνιά; Ruth 3:7 στοιβή; both unique patterns, not comparable to Lamentations).

A slightly more interesting case is presented by the polysemous noun נָחַם (“nose, face, anger”). The Septuagint translators obviously were quite capable of choosing contextually adequate renderings. Lamentations goes with ὀργή, θυμός, or πρόσωπον as the context requires. When the context clearly refers to facial appendages, there is an apparent difference. In Song of Songs, both ῥίς (Song 7:9) and μυκτήρ are used (Song 7:5). Either translation could have been used in Lam 4:20, where the context is “the breath of our nostrils” (NIV “our very life breath”). The translator used πρόσωπον instead. This could have been done to avoid inappropriately physical imagery in relation to the “anointed of the Lord”²⁹ or just because πρόσωπον happens to be an established rendering for נָחַם, “nose,” already in the Pentateuch (Gen 2:7; 3:19; 19:1; Num 22:31). Again, a comparable pattern does not occur in MT Ruth.

27. De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs*, 101.

28. De Crom, *LXX Song of Songs*, 171–72.

29. Kevin J. Youngblood, “Lamentations,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 514.

More traction can be gained by comparing other aspects of translation technique. One such aspect that has been extensively studied in Lamentations, Ruth, Song of Songs, and, for good measure, the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll is articulation. This is admittedly only a minor aspect of translation technique, and a difficult one to study because of the text-critical difficulties surrounding the presence or absence of articles in the textual tradition. Nevertheless, a comparison of articulation practices in Lamentations, Ruth, Song of Songs, and the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll reveals a generally similar approach to translation, but also differences in application.³⁰

In all four of these texts, in a great majority of cases, articulation in the Greek text reflects the presence or absence of the article in Hebrew. Deviations occur mostly in accordance with natural Greek usage. Significantly, the article is also used to represent other elements in the Hebrew source text that could not be represented otherwise (e.g., the direct object marker אֶת , prepositions such as בְּ or לְ). This phenomenon, however, is not present to the same degree in all translations. In the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll, the article represents the direct object marker very regularly but the preposition לְ with infinitive less so.³¹ In Ruth and Song of Songs, both the direct object marker and prepositions are represented by the article with some degree of regularity.³² The Lamentations translator was apparently unconcerned with representing the direct object marker but quite careful in representing לְ with infinitive.³³

All in all, there are no indications that Lamentations, Ruth, and Song of Songs form a kaige subgroup in any textually relevant sense.

3. The R-Text of Ruth

One very interesting issue remains, namely, the nature of the so-called R-text of Ruth. In his study of the textual witnesses of LXX Ruth, Alfred

30. Youngblood, "Translation Technique," 73–91; Kenneth J. Turner, "A Study of Articulation in the Greek Ruth," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001): 95–114; Dries De Crom, "On Articulation in LXX Canticles," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Marc Vervenne, BETL 224 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 151–69; Tov, *Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 106–20.

31. Cf. Tov, *Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 119–20 and 108–9.

32. Turner, "Study of Articulation," 100, 111–12; De Crom, "On Articulation," 162–63.

33. Cf. Youngblood, "Translation Technique," 87–88 and 329.

Rahlfs had identified the R-text as a Hebraizing recension of uncertain date and provenance.³⁴ This characterization has been maintained by Udo Quast in the Göttingen critical edition, which is mostly based on codex B and represents, for all intents and purposes, the closest possible approximation of the OG text of Ruth.³⁵ What makes the R-text so very interesting is that it adheres to MT much more closely than the OG text. In fact, not only does the R-text retain all of the kaige characteristics present in LXX Ruth, it also adds a few of its own:³⁶

Ruth 2:8 MT וגם LXX καὶ σύ R⁵⁵ καὶ γε (55 καὶ γε σύ)

Ruth 2:13 MT וְאֵינִי לֹא אֲדִיהָ LXX καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι R⁷ καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμι ἔσομαι³⁷ (55' 58 730 om εἶμι)

The instance of ἐγὼ εἶμι for אֲנִי in Ruth 2:13 is especially significant, as it does not fit the context at all (compare Ruth 4:4 Ἐγὼ εἶμι ἀγγιστεύσω).

Another notable feature of the R-text is its close adherence to MT in matters of articulation. The following data, reproduced from Quast's edition, present only those cases where the R reading seems reasonably certain.³⁸

34. Alfred Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, MSU 3.2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1922), 104. See also Christian Schäfer, *Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935) und die kritische Edition der Septuagint: Eine biographisch-wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Studie*, BZAW 489 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 200–2.

35. Udo Quast, *Ruth*, SVTG 4.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 72–101. The thesis of Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 7 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1975), 38–39, that the B text of Ruth represents a revision according to kaige principles of an OG text that is now lost, seems to be based on the mistaken notion that kaige texts cannot be original translations. Raymond Thornhill, “The Greek Text of the Book of Ruth: A Grouping of Manuscripts according to Origen’s Hexapla,” *VT* 3 (1953): 236–49, discusses the various text-forms of Ruth.

36. Throughout this discussion, evidence has mostly been limited to instances where the majority of R witnesses agree on a reading, as indicated by the siglum R⁷ (= R + rI + rII, representing nineteen manuscripts in total). Additional witnesses related to R include P.932 (fourth century CE) and ^{Lat}cod 109, a ninth-century witness to the *Vetus Latina* translation.

37. Not καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμι οὐκ ἔσομαι, as the passage is quoted by Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Ruth* (see Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text*, 109).

38. Quast, *Ruth*, 74, 82. Quast considers codices M and V and subgroup rI to be generally reliable witnesses to the R-text. When M V do not agree with the other witnesses to the R-text, they mostly witness to the B-text.

Nevertheless, the article remains one of the most variable elements among textual witnesses, and the data given below should be interpreted with caution. Of special importance, however, is R's use of the article to represent Hebrew ל with infinitive, both because it is applied consistently with only a single counter-example (Ruth 1:18) and because, in each instance, the R reading is attested unanimously, or very nearly so. This particular habit may be compared to, for instance, the articulation practices evidenced in LXX Lamentations (see above).

R omits article = MT

Ruth 1:3 MT איש נעמי לך אלימלך LXX Ἀβιμέλεχ ὁ ἀνὴρ τῆς Νωεμίν
R^{2-30'} om τῆς

Ruth 1:7 MT אֶל-אֲרָץ LXX εἰς τὴν γῆν R²⁻⁶²⁸ om τήν

Ruth 4:7 MT איש LXX ὁ ἀνὴρ R^{2-30' 55 58 628} ἀνὴρ

R adds article = MT

Ruth 1:17 MT המות LXX θάνατος R^{2-55 68' 121} ὁ θάνατος

Ruth 3:13 MT עד-הבקר LXX ἕως πρωῒ R^{2-55 628 730} ἕως τὸ πρωῒ

Ruth 4:7 MT התעודאה LXX μαρτύριον R^{2-29 58 120 (628)} τὸ μαρτύριον

R adds article to represent ל with infinitive = MT

Ruth 1:6 MT לתת LXX δοῦναι R²⁻⁵⁵ τοῦ δοῦναι

Ruth 1:16 MT לשוב LXX ἀποστρέψαι R²⁻⁵⁸ τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι

Ruth 2:23 MT לקט LXX συλλέγειν R² τοῦ συλλέγειν

Ruth 3:3 MT ולשתות לאכל LXX πιεῖν καὶ φαγεῖν R² τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ
πιεῖν (932 τοῦ φαγεῖν καὶ τοῦ πιεῖν)

Ruth 3:7 MT לשכב LXX κοιμηθῆναι R² τοῦ κοιμηθῆναι

R omits article ≠ MT

Ruth 1:18 MT לדבר LXX τοῦ λαλῆσαι R^{2-30' 71} λαλῆσαι

R adds article ≠ MT

Ruth 1:17 MT יהוה LXX κύριος R^{2-55 68' 71 72 121 129} ὁ κύριος

Ruth 1:21 MT 2° יהוה LXX κύριος 2° R² ὁ κύριος

Ruth 2:3 MT ממשפחת LXX ἐκ συγγενείας R² ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας

Ruth 2:11 MT וּאֶרֶץ מוֹלַדְתְּךָ LXX τὴν γῆν γενέσεώς σου R² τὴν γῆν
τῆς γενέσεώς σου

Ruth 3:18 MT דבר LXX ῥῆμα 1° R²⁻⁵⁸ τὸ ῥῆμα

Ruth 4:17 MT שם LXX ὄνομα 1° R²⁻⁷³⁰ τὸ ὄνομα

Closer adherence to MT is also evident in R's treatment of prepositions, et cetera.

Ruth 1:16 MT מאחריך LXX ὀπισθέν σου R⁷¹ ἀπὸ ὀπισθέν σου
 Ruth 1:19 MT נעמי הזאת LXX Αὕτη ἐστὶν Νωεμίν; R⁶²⁸ pr εἰ
 Ruth 1:20 MT לִי LXX ἐν ἐμοί R^{30 55} μοι
 Ruth 1:22 MT עמה LXX αὐτῆς R⁵⁸ μετ' αὐτῆς (pr * Arm Syh)
 Ruth 4:16 MT בחיקה LXX εἰς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς R^{M V 68' 121} ἐν τῷ
 κόλπῳ αὐτῆς

A final distinguishing characteristic of the R-text is its lexical consistency (what Quast calls the *Konkordanzprinzip*). In the following instances, the LXX translator deviates from what is elsewhere his preferred rendering for a given Hebrew word. The R-text has the majority rendering every time.

Ruth 2:2 MT אלקטה LXX συνάξω R^{30'} συλλέξω
 Ruth 2:6 MT השבה LXX ἡ ἀποστραφεῖσα R^{71 407} ἡ ἐπιστρέψασα
 Ruth 2:21 MT עמהנירים LXX μετὰ τῶν παιδαρίων R⁷¹ μετὰ τῶν
 κορασίων
 Ruth 2:22 MT תצא LXX ἐπορεύθης R⁷¹ ἐξῆλθες
 Ruth 3:16 MT ותגד LXX καὶ εἶπεν R⁷¹ καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν
 Ruth 3:18 MT שבי LXX ἀβάθου R⁷¹ ἀάθισον
 Ruth 3:18 MT כלה LXX τελέσῃ R^{68' 120 121 628} συντελέσῃ (68' 120 rI
 συντελέσθῃ 121 συντελέσῃτε)
 Ruth 4:1 MT גאל LXX ἀγχιστευτής R⁷¹ ἀγχιστεύς
 Ruth 4:1 MT דבר LXX εἶπεν R^{M V 29 121} ἐλάλησεν
 Ruth 4:3 MT מכרה LXX δέδοται R⁷¹ ἀπέδοτο

Already in 1985, S. Peter Cowe noted that the R-text of Ruth appears to adhere more closely to kaige principles than the original translation.³⁹ He proposed that R represents a more accomplished kaige text of the book of Ruth than B. This would leave B either as the result of contamination by a kaige witness (and hence not the representative of the Old Greek that it is taken to be) or as an intermediary step in the development of kaige.

39. S. Peter Cowe, "The Armenian Version of Ruth and Its Textual Affinities," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea: V Congreso de la IOSCS*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos, Textos y estudios "Cardinal Cisneros" 34 (Madrid: Instituto "Arias Montano," 1985), 192–93.

Especially the latter suggestion is very interesting in light of recent developments in scholarship on the kaige phenomenon.

The problem with this suggestion is that Rahlfs regarded the R-text as essentially post-Hexaplaric. He attributed its Hebraizing nature to the influence of Origen's Hexapla, and recognized some influence of the Minor Versions on R.⁴⁰ In evidence, Rahlfs pointed to MS 58, a manuscript of the R group heavily influenced by the Hexaplaric text. Although Quast excludes direct influence from O on R, his final judgment still is that the Hebraizing nature of the revision is due to influence of the Hexaplaric text and the Minor Versions.⁴¹ This would, of course, preclude regarding R as a kaige text.

However, Quast's own careful analysis shows that R is in fact largely independent from O.⁴² Quast lists ten instances where the R-text has the same Hebraizing additions as O, which would suggest influence from asterisked materials in the manuscript tradition. In five additional cases, however, the additions in R are qualitatively different from those in O.⁴³ Most importantly, there are no less than twelve instances where R has an addition independently from O. As for omissions, Quast lists seventeen in R, only five of which are matched in O. Three changes in word order in R are matched by O. Twenty-one additional changes, mostly concerning the choice of translation equivalents, are absent from O or even unique to R. On the basis of this evidence, I concur with Raymond Thornhill's judgment that the Hebraizing tendencies in R should not necessarily be ascribed to the influence of the Hexaplaric text.⁴⁴

There is, however, one additional case of apparent Hexaplaric influence that deserves a closer look. In Ruth 2:16, the R-text combines the O reading ἄφετε αὐτήν with the B reading φάγεται, as follows:

40. Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text*, 117 and 148–49, where the R-text is considered to be not much younger than the “three old recensions” (i.e., Origenian, Lucianic, and Hesychian).

41. Quast, *Ruth*, 89; 100–101.

42. Quast, *Ruth*, 88–91. Thornhill, “Greek Text,” 247–48 already argued that the R-text could just as well be pre-Hexaplaric and tentatively suggested that it might have something to do with Theodotion—an almost prophetic suggestion ten years before the publication of *Les devanciers d'Aquila*!

43. One example is Ruth 1:12, where MT לֶכֶן becomes διὰ τοῦτο in Rⁿ⁻⁵⁸, but πορεύθητε in O. Evidently, R and O vocalized MT differently.

44. Thornhill, “Greek Text,” 248.

Ruth 2:16 MT וְהָיָה לָהּ וְזָבַתָּהּ LXX καὶ ἄφετε καὶ συλλέξει R' καὶ ἄφετε αὐτήν καὶ φάγεται (55-72-246-407*-628-rII φάγετε) καὶ συλλέξει B 376-oII καὶ φάγεται καὶ συλλέξει O-³⁷⁶-64-381^c Syh καὶ ἄφετε αὐτήν (15-381* αὐτῇ) καὶ συλλέξει

This doublet was apparently Rahlfs's most compelling argument for positing a post-Hexaplaric origin for R.⁴⁵ It is attested unanimously in the R witnesses (though with variant spellings). The variants ἄφετε and φάγεται likely reflect inner-Greek variation. The strong presence of φάγεται in the R witnesses points to a common ancestry with B—which is not at all surprising, if one assumes that R is a recension of the OG text, of which B is the best remaining representative. While it is clear that R somehow preserved two textual traditions (one could easily imagine a marginal variant having got mixed up with the main text), there is no reason why this should have happened only in the post-Hexaplaric textual tradition.⁴⁶ The addition of αὐτήν, which is shared with the majority of the O witnesses, is in fact the single element on which the argument hinges, for it appears to be a contextual addition independent from the Hebrew text. In the light of the previous discussion, one wonders if such an addition is distinctive enough to positively prove Hexaplaric influence on R. The imperatives ἄφες/ἄφετε are used in a variety of constructions, of which the absolute use (“let it be, hold off”) is not the most common one.⁴⁷ Still, this R reading in Ruth 2:16 remains a conundrum, and while Rahlfs's interpretation of the evidence is debatable, no alternative explanation is immediately apparent.

As for the influence of the Minor Versions on R, we should first note the general paucity of readings of the three in the book of Ruth. A close inspection of the evidence reveals that there are only two cases where influence from the Minor Versions could be posited.

Ruth 1:12 MT וְהָיָה לָהּ וְזָבַתָּהּ LXX τοῦ γεννηθῆναι με ἀνδρὶ R-Vmg ^{58' 407} καὶ ἐγενόμην λελακχωμένη ἀνδρὶ (rII λελοχωμένη; Arm *profanata*)

45. Schäfer, *Alfred Rahlfs*, 201, n. 397.

46. Compare the example of 1 Sam 4:14–16 discussed by Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Origins of the Kaige Revision,” in *Scriptures in the Making: Texts and Their Transmission in Late Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Raimo Hakola, Jessi Orpana, and Paavo Huotari, CBET 109 (Leuven: Peeters, 2022), 285–312.

47. Compare BDAG, s.v. “ἀφίημι”; GELS, 107.

The R reading reflects Hebrew הִלְחִי instead of the temporal expression הִלְחִי. Rahlfs considered R's λελακκωμένη to be a corruption of λελαϊκωμένη, a reading he attributed to Aquila.⁴⁸ The Armenian tradition seems to corroborate Rahlfs's judgment. Quast, however, points out that the attribution of λελαϊκωμένη to Aquila is far from certain; other sources seem to imply that Aquila's translation in Ruth 1:12 was βεβηλωμένη.⁴⁹ Moreover, the form λελακκωμένη, which Rahlfs considered spurious, had by that time already appeared in papyrological evidence from the second century CE (P.Lond. 2.191.10: σκούτλια ξύλινα λελακκωμένα δύο, "two hollowed-out wooden dishes"). Its precise meaning in the context of Ruth 1:12 is unclear ("hollowed out by a man"?), but the translator's choice may have been inspired by Aramaic חִלְחִי, "hollow,"⁵⁰ rather than by Biblical Hebrew חִלְחִי, "to profane." The translation λελακκωμένη therefore does not have to be dependent on Hexaplaric material.

Ruth 4:10 MT מקומו מרער LXX ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς λαοῦ αὐτοῦ R^{-58 120}
 407 628 Lat^{cod 109} ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ (rI' ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς
 τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ)

Here the R reading unmistakably agrees with a reading ascribed to the Minor Versions (α'σ' τοῦ τόπου MS 108). It should be noted that rI' (= subgroups rI + rII), as well as a few other manuscripts, have retained the reading λαοῦ. One may wonder if the pattern τόπος ~ מוֹם is distinctive enough to prove dependence from the Minor Versions. It seems rather like an unavoidable agreement among translations that seek to adhere more closely to the Hebrew.

On the basis of the observations offered here, I do not think that there is a very strong case for regarding the R-text of Ruth as necessarily post-Hexaplaric. Although further investigation would be required to settle the matter, especially regarding the textual evidence in Ruth 2:16, Cowe's sug-

48. Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text*, 56–57, 117.

49. See Quast, *Ruth*, 91–92 (n. 80, n. 81). Rahlfs might have misinterpreted the attribution in MS 108, and a single manuscript of Theodoret's *Quaestiones in Ruth* (Florence, Bibl. Laur., Plut. VI 19) cites βεβηλωμένη for α'θ' (see also Quast, *Ruth*, 163).

50. Michael Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine Period* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1992), 203.

gestion that the R-text of Ruth is related to kaige seems to merit serious consideration.

4. Conclusions

What does all of this mean for Barthélemy's kaige subgroup? It should have become clear that this subgroup is merely a single phrase from Barthélemy's masterpiece of scholarship that has gone on to lead a life of its own. The LXX versions of Ruth, Lamentations, and Song of Songs are what we might call "fringe members" of the kaige group, in the sense that they clearly belong to the kaige phenomenon but are also somewhat removed from the core texts studied by Barthélemy, namely, the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll and the recensional activity in Kingdoms. Moreover, there are indications that the R-text of Ruth should be included among these fringe members of the kaige group, as it might be closer to what Barthélemy identified as his kaige group than the OG text based on codex B.

Simply by speaking in terms of "core" and "fringe" in this context, I am, of course, promoting a certain view of the kaige phenomenon as a tradition of translation evolving over two or more centuries and tending toward ever closer adherence to the Hebrew source text. In such a maximalist definition of kaige, there would certainly be room for an original translation of the book of Ruth, partly influenced by emerging Hebraizing trends, and a revision of that translation, adhering more closely to the translation practices that we have come to identify as kaige.

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The Complete Reconstruction and Edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament and Its Relevance for the Textual History of the Septuagint

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Abstract: The essay begins with a short overview of the research history on the Coptic version of the Septuagint followed by a survey of its principal witnesses in six different literary dialects of Coptic underlining their importance for the textual history of the Septuagint. Due to the fragmentation of the Coptic manuscript transmission, the summary of the actual state of research on the individual books of the Old Testament can only be preliminary. Nevertheless, new initiatives in the field are introduced that will change this picture profoundly in the near future.

1. Introduction

For all modern editions aiming at the reconstruction of the oldest Greek text of the Septuagint,¹ the Coptic versions have always played a significant role because of their age—the earliest Coptic translations are contemporary or even older than the oldest extant Greek manuscripts—and their text-historical relevance. However, the Coptic versions must be addressed as a plural entity since they are not a monolithic block but, in their earliest witnesses, a multidialectal and text-historically quite diverse corpus representing in part apparently different layers of redactions and recensions of their Greek *Vorlagen*. From the fourth and fifth centuries, biblical translations in six distinct literary dialects of Coptic have survived: Sahidic, Akhmimic, Bohairic, Fayyumic, Mesokemic, and Lycopolitan. Moreover,

1. We may only mention here the Cambridge and the Göttingen Septuagint edition projects.

the Egyptian context sets them into direct neighborhood with the famous Greek uncial pandect Bibles (Codexes Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus), which were likely produced in Egypt.²

The interest in the Coptic texts, besides the other old versions from the oriental churches like Syriac, Ethiopic, Armenian, or Georgian, emerged already as early as the sixteenth century. In these remote times, the Coptic texts known in Europe were exclusively medieval or younger manuscripts written in the Bohairic dialect and in parallel column with an Arabic version. In the seventeenth century, the European scholars studied this language with the help of Arabic-Coptic grammars and glossaries that enabled them to read and understand Coptic. And they were already then well aware that Coptic (this name for the ancient Egyptian language was patterned in Europe according to the Arabic rendering in these grammars and glossaries, *Al-qibṭi*) was the last offspring of the ancient Egyptian language written in hieroglyphs and visible on so many monuments in Rome.³

In the eighteenth century (around 1780), manuscripts suddenly arrived in Rome in another dialect, Sahidic (that means “Southern” in Arabic, as the scholars correctly concluded from the medieval grammars and glossaries). The manuscripts came into the collection of the cardinal Stefano Borgia (1731–1804) in Rome and attracted the attention of scholars all over Europe. The conclusion was, after some doubts about the age of the manuscripts had been removed around 1800, that they must be much older than the Bohairic manuscripts, which alone had been synonymous with Coptic over two centuries. Among the leaves of the Sahidic manuscripts, a few leaves also appeared in still another dialect, which the scholars logically identified with Bashmuric, a third dialect described in the medieval grammars. Later it became clear that no textual vestiges of a Bashmuric dialect have survived and that the third dialect was in fact Fayyumic, that is, the idiom of the Lake Fayyum oasis.⁴

Over the course of the nineteenth century, more and more manuscripts arrived in European collections (and for the first time also in US collections). A highly desirable and necessary project arose that had

2. See Frank Feder, “The Coptic Canon,” in *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, THB 2A (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 220.

3. See Frank Feder, “Coptic Texts,” in *The History of Research of Textual Criticism*, vol. 3A of *Textual History of the Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Russell E. Fuller (Leiden: Brill, forthcoming).

4. See Feder, “Coptic Texts.”

already been recognized before in the eighteenth century, a complete edition of the Coptic Bible in the two principal dialects: Sahidic and Bohairic. While it seemed that it would be possible to realize an edition of the Bohairic version first, as there were many manuscripts (albeit of medieval and more recent dates), it did not come into being, despite all efforts, perhaps because the Bohairic Old Testament, compared to the Septuagint, was suspiciously incomplete.⁵ By contrast, the Sahidic manuscripts found much more attention for their age and for their supposed completeness according to the Septuagint canon; however, their transmission was too sporadic and fragmentary.

In 1882/1883, the French director of the Egyptian Antiquities' Service, Gaston Maspero (1846–1916) discovered in a hidden room in the church of the White Monastery, near Suhag (Western shore opposite Akhmim/Panopolis) in Upper Egypt, several thousand Sahidic manuscript leaves and fragments. It soon turned out that the already comprehensive collection of Sahidic manuscripts assembled by cardinal Borgia came from the same location.⁶ What happened now is a striking counterexample of the argument that artifacts and especially manuscripts were in better hands of Western scholars and in Western collections, and it became the main cause for the extreme dispersal of Coptic manuscripts that has impeded the reconstruction and edition of the Sahidic Bible until now. Although Maspero tried to acquire the entire lot for Paris, his actions were partly obstructed by other colleagues, such as Émile Amélineau, who separately purchased manuscripts from the find. The monks themselves, via dealers, must also have sold other portions randomly to scholars and travelers, sometimes cutting even single leaves in two or more pieces. The whole story reads like a detective story rather than a tactical action by responsible scholars for the preservation of a unique manuscript treasure.⁷ Even if later discoveries yielded much older manuscripts, the manuscript remains from the White Monastery form our principal source for Sahidic biblical,

5. See Feder, "Coptic Canon," 235–37.

6. See Feder, "Coptic Texts."

7. Henri Hyvernat gave the first account of this sad story in an introduction to an article by Émile Porcher, "Analyse des Manuscrits Coptes 131^{1–8} de la Bibliothèque Nationale avec Indication des Textes Bibliques," *Revue d'Égyptologie* 1 (1933): 105–16. See also Catherine Louis, "The Fate of the White Monastery Library," in *Akhmim and Sohag*, vol. 1 of *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, ed. Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 83–98.

liturgical, and literary manuscripts. A reconstruction and edition of the most important Coptic biblical version, the Sahidic, depends on the indispensable reconstruction and edition of the White Monastery manuscripts. The vestiges of the White Monastery manuscripts are dispersed over about thirty collections worldwide, while the Göttingen Old Testament project counts altogether more than one hundred collections worldwide owning Coptic biblical and literary manuscript fragments.⁸

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century until the end of the First World War, a surge of publications occurred of sometimes very diverse standards and quality that, in turn, complicated the task for a reconstruction and edition of the Coptic Bible because an overview of a comparably dispersed corpus of publications required special inventories. Nevertheless, only a limited portion of manuscripts became accessible in this way, and often editions of very diverse quality from this age have remained the standard publication for many biblical texts until today. Already before 1900 very old manuscripts of a further dialect came to light that was called after the alleged provenance Panopolis/Akhmim “Akhmimic.” So, the early twentieth century knew of Coptic biblical texts in four distinct dialects: Bohairic, Sahidic, Fayyumic, and Akhmimic.⁹

In 1910, another spectacular discovery brought the vestiges of a monastic library to light, about fifty mostly Sahidic manuscripts, among them some complete codices of the Old and New Testament, apparently stemming from the abandoned Archangel Michael Monastery at Hamuli in the Fayyum. The American tycoon John Pierpont Morgan purchased the bulk of the manuscripts for his collection in New York, and so, a

8. See Tito Orlandi, “The Library of the Monastery of Saint Shenute at Atripe,” in *Perspectives on Panopolis: An Egyptian Town from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest*, ed. Arnold Egberts, Brian Paul Muhs, and Jacques van der Vliet, *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 31 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 211–31; Tito Orlandi and Alin Suciu, “The End of the Library of the Monastery of Atripe,” in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008*, ed. Paulo Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Frederico Contardi, OLA 247 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 2:891–918. For the biblical manuscripts from the White Monastery, see Hany N. Takla, “Biblical Manuscripts of the Monastery of St. Shenoute the Archimandrite,” in *Akhmim and Sohag*, vol. 1 of *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, ed. Gawdat Gabra and Hany N. Takla (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2008), 155–67.

9. See Feder, “Coptic Texts.”

dispersal on the same scale as the White Monastery manuscripts was avoided.¹⁰ However, in spite of a complete facsimile edition published in 1922—which was unfortunately only given to a very limited number of libraries in the United States, Egypt, and Europe—the first edition of one of the complete Old Testament manuscripts appeared only in 1970, and a complete modern and comprehensive catalogue of the Morgan collection was published as late as 1993.¹¹ A quite symptomatic situation for the slow progress in the exploration of the Coptic Bible.

The monumental edition of the Bohairic and the Sahidic New Testament by James Horner between 1898 and 1924 had nourished the expectation that an equal initiative for the Old Testament was only a matter of time.¹² Many new discoveries of important and early Old and New Testament manuscripts in the years until 1945 largely increased the preconditions for such an enterprise. However, the Second World War destroyed any hope in this direction. Moreover, the newly discovered New Testament manuscripts made Horner's edition quickly appear incomplete.¹³

After the Second World War, Coptic studies were somehow overshadowed by the discovery of the gnostic library from Nag Hammadi. Its edition and interpretation attracted many young scholars but also distracted forces from other important tasks, like the reconstruction and edition of the Coptic Bible. Moreover, new manuscripts of apparently the earliest extant Greek and Coptic Christian texts surfaced in the 1950s and mostly came into the collections of the private collectors, Chester Beatty and Martin Bodmer. These altered the picture of the earliest Coptic translations and the context of their development in a paradigm shifting way. The Coptic manuscripts were mostly published immediately between

10. For more details, see Brent Nongbri, *God's Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018), 86–91; a good deal of the Hamuli fragments, nevertheless, ended up in other collections.

11. James Drescher, *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Kingdoms I, II (Samuel I, II)*, CSCO, *Scriptores coptici* 35 (Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1970); Leo Depuydt, *Catalogue of Coptic Manuscripts in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, 2 vols., *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts* 4, Oriental Series 1 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993).

12. George Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect, Otherwise Called Memphitic and Bohairic*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1898–1905); Horner, *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Southern Dialect, Otherwise Called Sahidic and Thebaic*, 7 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911–1924).

13. See Feder, "Coptic Texts."

1958–1965, something completely unusual up to that time. Among the so-called Bodmer Papyri, the first witness of an old Bohairic version also became known, P.Bodmer 3 (Gospel of John and the beginning of Genesis; fourth century), which was nothing less than revolutionary because the oldest Bohairic manuscripts of the classical Bohairic version dated to the ninth century. The new discoveries of important Old and New Testament manuscripts, together with linguistic studies, drew a new picture of the Coptic dialects and the earliest Coptic translations and definitely made Horner's New Testament edition outdated. Toward the end of the millennium, it has become clear that biblical translations into Coptic are extant in six distinct principal dialects (with some subdivisions among them).¹⁴ We will shed some light on the actual knowledge about the emergence of the Coptic translations in the following section. However, the reconstruction and edition of the Coptic biblical manuscripts, despite important new editions and studies, has remained an unfinished task.¹⁵

2. The Emergence of an Egyptian/Coptic Translation of the Bible and Its First Witnesses

In Egypt, as a province of the Roman Empire, Greek was the language of administration, law, and official communication. Life in the cities, provincial centers, as well as minor communities, was shaped by Hellenistic education and culture. The population had a high percentage of Greek speaking members, and the native Egyptian upper class was strongly bilingual. In this atmosphere, it must have been normal to first receive the Christian message and document it in writing in Greek. Therefore, it must appear consistent that the earliest witnesses of a translation of biblical texts into Egyptian, and the only textual witnesses in Coptic that could be dated to the third century, are Coptic glosses in Greek biblical manuscripts.¹⁶ The glosses are added in the margin of papyrus manuscripts of the Greek text of Isaiah and the Minor Prophets. We possess three such examples in the Freer Collection in Washington, in the Chester Beatty Collection in Dublin, and in the British Museum. The Greek manuscripts are dated to

14. See Feder, "Coptic Texts."

15. See Feder, "Coptic Texts."

16. See Frank Feder, "Die ältesten Textzeugen der koptischen Septuaginta-Übersetzung," in *Die Septuaginta—Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*, ed. Eberhard Bons et al., WUNT 444 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 643–45.

the late third or to the fourth century. The language of the Coptic glosses is still indistinct; the dialect rather resembles a form of Fayyumic. Given the importance of these sources, the Coptic glosses have been almost ignored by scholarship, and there is certainly more to be discovered.¹⁷

The next witnesses, probably datable to the first half of the fourth century or a bit later, are a group of manuscripts written in different dialectal forms (even within one dialect group like Fayyumic), which can be described quite appropriately as miscellany manuscripts because of their diverse compositions of texts. They include texts from the Bible (Old Testament and New Testament), sometimes combined with apocryphal texts, and they can combine also Coptic and Greek texts in the same manuscript. A straightforward explanation for their existence and character could be an ad hoc composition for an Egyptian/Coptic speaking audience, probably as a form of liturgy for a certain church celebration or event (like Easter service) in an otherwise Greek dominated context of Christian services. Further research can definitely unveil more details about the function and the background of these miscellanies.¹⁸

2.1. The Coptic Biblical Translations of the Fourth Century and the Emergence of the Sahidic Standard Translation

Despite the problems with an exact dating of Coptic manuscripts, it is quite safe to state that we possess an astonishingly comprehensive corpus of witnesses from the fourth century. This is all the more important since the earliest Greek witnesses are practically contemporary with their Coptic counterparts. While it is still difficult to exactly locate the individual manuscripts at a fixed point in time during the fourth century, the sequence of historical events and results of recent text-historical studies can here help us to find at least a rough time hierarchy. The core of the fourth century manuscripts is kept in the Bodmer and Chester Beatty collections. As Brent Nongbri has convincingly shown, it is very unlikely that even a major part of the manuscripts in these collections once belonged to one library or private collection, and given the many apocryphal texts and the pagan Greek authors among them, a church or monastery library seems even more unlikely.¹⁹ Within the still diverse components of Coptic and

17. See Feder, "Die ältesten Textzeugen," 645–46.

18. See Feder, "Die ältesten Textzeugen," 647–48; Feder, "Coptic Canon," 216–17.

19. Nongbri, *God's Library*, 130–56 (Chester Beatty), 157–94.

Greek, biblical and apocryphal, and even pagan texts of the Bodmer Papyri a significant group of Coptic papyrus and parchment nonmiscellany manuscripts stands out.²⁰ They show a clear codex structure and transmit the biblical books in a sequence that we would expect from the canon of the Septuagint. They are dated from the (later) fourth century to the fifth (one manuscript, P.Bodmer 40, even to the sixth century). They are written in a relatively pure and developed Sahidic dialect, and there appears to be a preference for parchment towards the end of the fourth century and the dawn of the fifth century.²¹

Clearly, Coptic biblical translations in different dialects coexisted in the fourth and in the fifth century, not to mention the apocryphal, gnostic, and Manichean texts that circulated also in Coptic and Greek at the same time in Egypt. That this was regarded with much disapproval by the church authorities underlines the Thirty-Ninth Festal Letter by Archbishop Athanasius written in 367. Obviously to end confusion, which writings belong to the Bible and which are wrongly added by “enemies of the faith,” Athanasius presents in this letter his famous canon of biblical books. His letter and the canon of biblical books was met with great approval by the leaders of the powerful native Egyptian monastic movement. A translation of the Festal Letter into Coptic must have been at hand very soon. As a consequence, under the authority and control of a church authority, or more likely a monastic leader (probably Shenoute of Atripe [ca. 347–465] himself, the most prominent monastic leader of his time and beyond and author of a huge corpus of writings in Coptic), and supported by the Alexandrian Archbishops, the start of an authoritative Coptic translation of the Greek canon given by Athanasius was initiated in the interest of a missionization of the native Egyptian population and, especially, of the monastic movement itself.²² The Sahidic Standard Translation, as I called this initiative, must have taken place in the late fourth and/or the early fifth century.²³ The Sahidic Standard Translation is characterized by a highly standardized Sahidic dialect and an unusual high degree of tex-

20. See Anne Boud’hors, “Quelques réflexions sur la cohérence de la composante copte des P.Bodmer,” *Adamantius* 21 (2015): 79–85.

21. Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 648–51; Feder, “Coptic Canon,” 217–20.

22. Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 651–55; Feder, “Coptic Canon,” 220–23.

23. It is improbable, however, that the translation work began directly after 367; it seems more likely after the council of Constantinople 381 or during the patriarchate of Theophilus (384–412). See Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 654–55.

tual uniformity that has been largely maintained, according to the extant manuscripts, throughout the Sahidic text transmission until the eleventh or twelfth century, when the Sahidic Bible was eventually replaced by the classical Bohairic version and the translation of the literary heritage of the Coptic church of Egypt into Arabic.²⁴ This separates it from the other early dialectal versions. Most of these (old Bohairic, Akhmimic, Mesokemic, and Lycopolitan) disappear from the written record in the fifth century or reappear only marginally and sporadically (Fayyumic), which provides additional evidence that the Sahidic version was the only version authorized by the church of Egypt from the fifth century onward. Moreover, text-historical studies of the previous century have already demonstrated that the Akhmimic and Lycopolitan (formerly called Sub-Akhmimic) versions are only avatars of the Sahidic version and have to be regarded as inner-Coptic dialectal translation.²⁵

Despite the fragmentary transmission of the Sahidic biblical texts (for some books, like 1–2 Ezra/Esdra, no textual witness seems to have survived), we can quite safely confirm that the canon of biblical books of the Sahidic Standard Translation corresponds well to Athanasius's canon in his 39th Festal Letter and, therefore, also corresponds well to the number and sequence of books in the Septuagint as we know it mainly from the Greek pandect Bibles. So, the books of the Maccabees, though there are some early witnesses in Sahidic and Akhmimic, or the Odes or Psalms of Solomon were excluded from the canon of the Sahidic Bible.²⁶

When, however, it comes to the text character of the early and diverse dialectal versions *and* the Sahidic Standard Translation, we can observe significant deviations from the Greek text in the Greek pandect Bibles (codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus).

3. The Text-Critical Value of the Coptic Versions for the Textual History of the Septuagint

Given the still incomplete reconstruction of the Coptic manuscript transmission and the unsatisfactory state of research, we are still far from a conclusive evaluation of the place which the Coptic versions hold within the textual history of the Septuagint text and of their value for the

24. Feder, "Coptic Canon," 235–39.

25. Feder, "Coptic Canon," 225–27.

26. Feder, "Coptic Canon," 222–24.

reconstruction of the earliest attainable Greek text. Nevertheless, some preliminary insights have already been gained more than one hundred years ago and especially recent and more detailed studies have paved the way for a clearer picture which forthcoming studies will amplify further. I will try to summarize them here concisely with the necessary references.

Pentateuch²⁷

The Sahidic version is seemingly the oldest of the books of the Pentateuch and represents the Sahidic Standard Translation. The Sahidic text is, unfortunately, not completely preserved; particularly in Genesis and Exodus there are lacunae. Besides some insignificant fragments in sporadic dialects, only the Akhmimic version of some passages of Exodus has survived. They are, however, dependent on the Sahidic version. The Bohairic version is well preserved, mostly in complete manuscripts. While the bulk of manuscripts dates to the thirteenth century or later, MS Vatican Copto 1, a complete Pentateuch of the tenth–eleventh century to which the Arabic version on the margin was added later,²⁸ is an important earlier witness. Despite an attempt to provide a modern critical edition of the Bohairic Pentateuch by Melvin K. Peters in the 1980s (only Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy appeared),²⁹ it is deplorable that there are no critical nor any editions of the manuscripts themselves.

It is still uncertain whether the Bohairic version is a new translation without influence from Sahidic. No systematic comparison between the Sahidic and the Bohairic version has been made so far. However, the fourth-century miscellany manuscript P.Bodmer 3, which preserves Gen 1:1–4:2 in old Bohairic, seems to show Sahidic influence.³⁰ A recent edition of the Sahidic Deuteronomy in the fourth century miscellany P.London (BL

27. For an up-to-date summary with all relevant references, see Peter Nagel, “Pentateuch: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations),” in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1A–C (Leiden: Brill, 2016–2017), B:211–15.

28. See Anne Boud’hors, “Pentateuque Copte-Arabe (Vaticano copto 1),” in *Coptic Treasures from the Vatican Library: A Selection of Coptic, Copto-Arabic and Ethiopic Manuscripts; Papers Collected on the Occasion of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome, September 17th–22nd, 2012*, ed. Paola Buzi and Delio Vania Proverbio (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 2012), 63–71.

29. Melvin K. H. Peters, *A Critical Edition of the Coptic (Bohairic) Pentateuch*, SCS 15, 19, 22 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983, 1985, 1986).

30. The manuscript has been reedited recently, Daniel Sharp, *Papyrus Bodmer III:*

Or 7594), with variant readings of two other Sahidic manuscripts from the fourth (P.Bodmer 16) and from the ninth–tenth century (New York, ML M.566, one of the intact manuscripts from Hamuli already mentioned above) basically confirmed that these three witnesses are representatives of the Sahidic Standard Translation.³¹ A recent Australian dissertation on the Sahidic Leviticus has confirmed, in its turn, that all extant Sahidic manuscripts of Leviticus are equally members of the Standard Translation. On the other hand, it has shown, that the most complete Sahidic witness of the Pentateuch, MLM.566 (Leviticus-Exodus-Deuteronomy), often has a corrupted text.³²

Historical Books³³

The Sahidic manuscript transmission did not favor the historical books since they played no significant role in the liturgy. At least, the book of Joshua is virtually complete and extant in several manuscripts. Noticeable is its regular combination with Tobit³⁴ in the manuscripts. The oldest extant manuscript is the fourth-century papyrus manuscript P.Bodmer 21, whose leaves are divided between the Bodmer and the Chester Beatty collection.³⁵ It, however, only contains Tob 14:13–15. It has been observed that the Joshua text of this manuscript differs from the later witnesses, but without a critical edition, it remains unclear if the text of

An Early Coptic Version of the Gospel of John and Genesis 1–4:2, ANTF 48 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016).

31. Peter Nagel, *Das Deuteronomium sahidisch: Nach Ms. BL Or. 7549 der British Library mit dem ergänzenden Text und den Textvarianten des Papyrus Bodmer XVIII du der Handschrift M 566 der Morgan Library and Museum New York*, TSKB 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020). See Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 647, 650.

32. Antonia S. Demiana, “The Sahidic Book of Leviticus” (PhD diss., Macquarie University Sydney, forthcoming).

33. For an up to date summary with all relevant references, see Alin Suci, “Former Prophets: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations),” in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, B:403–9; Suci, “Five Scrolls: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations),” in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:461–65 (Ruth 463–64); and Frank Feder, “Textual History of the Deuterocanonical Texts (Coptic Texts),” in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, 431.

34. Dylan Burns, “Tobit (Coptic),” in *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, THB 2A–C (Leiden: Brill, 2019–2020), C: 447–49.

35. See Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 650.

Joshua in that manuscript has only been revised later or if, in fact, it has been newly translated.

The Sahidic version of Judges is also extant in a couple of manuscripts, in combination with other historical books, particularly with Ruth, but the text is not completely preserved. Ruth and Esther are completely preserved but only scarcely attested, Esther in only one manuscript. Ruth and Esther seem to be representatives of the Sahidic Standard translation, and, for Esther, a dependence on the Old Greek text form has been suggested.³⁶ No critical editions or pertinent studies exist for any of these Sahidic books. Every serious approach must begin with a modern reconstruction and edition of the extant manuscripts followed by a critical edition of the books they contain.

The Sahidic transmission of 1–2 Kingdoms (1–2 Samuel) is extraordinarily well preserved. There is a practically complete parchment manuscript from the ninth–tenth century, also from the Hamuli Monastery (New York, MLM.567), and (at least) twenty-three other fragmentary witnesses. Equally unusual for the situation of the Coptic versions is that M 567 has been edited (1970, with translation) in a semi-critical edition noting already the variant readings of nineteen other Sahidic witnesses.³⁷ In sharp contrast to this, Sahidic 3–4 Kingdoms (1–2 Kings) is only sporadically preserved. Since the textual history of Sahidic 1–2 Kingdoms has already been studied before, the important and exemplary study on 1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) by Elina Perttilä from 2017 had also an extraordinary good starting point.³⁸ Perttilä's focus was the impact of translation technique on the estimation of the value of the Sahidic version for the critical apparatus of the Greek text. She could, however, also confirm that the entire Sahidic transmission (mostly medieval sources) of 1 Kingdoms preserves the textual basis of an initial translation event, the Sahidic Standard Translation, supporting in this way what has been observed for Sahidic Leviticus. Moreover, she observed a significant number of deviations from the Greek text of the pandect Bibles. These partly correspond to Hexaplaric-type readings found in the witnesses of the Lucianic recension.

36. Sofia Torallas Tovar, "Esther, Additions to (Coptic)," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, 412–13.

37. Drescher, *Coptic (Sahidic) Version*, already quoted above.

38. Elina Perttilä, *Sahidic 1 Samuel: A Daughter Version of the Septuagint 1 Reigns*, DSI 8 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 2017); see also the review by Frank Feder in *JSCS* 53 (2020): 147–57.

However, the Sahidic readings cannot be assigned clearly to any known Greek (LXX) text family. So, a now lost Greek source must have been the *Vorlage* for the Sahidic translation of 1 Kingdoms. We will meet this phenomenon again in the prophetic books.

Witnesses in other dialects are almost nonexistent for the Kingdom books. Only the Bohairic version has been preserved in a number of pericopes in late liturgical manuscripts. These contain excerpts from Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms, and 1–2 Paraleipomena. The books Ruth, 1–2 Esdras, Esther, Judith, and Tobit are not extant in Bohairic. It is very likely, as it has been proved for the pericopes from Sirach and Wisdom, that these excerpts are only transpositions from Sahidic *Vorlagen*.³⁹

Poetical and Wisdom Books

These books were extremely popular with the Egyptian Christians, particularly the Psalms, and they are extant in early manuscripts and in several dialects. The Sahidic transmission of these books is rich and the poetical and wisdom books (except the Psalter) are often combined in the same manuscripts, however, with a flexible sequence of books.⁴⁰

The Psalms were extremely important to the liturgy of the Coptic church, and we possess more manuscripts of the Psalter than of any other book of the Coptic Bible.⁴¹ Moreover, the psalms are completely preserved in Sahidic, Bohairic, and Mesokemic, while in the other dialects (Akhmimic, Fayyumic, and Lycopolitan) at least some fragments have survived. That means the Psalter is the only book of the Coptic Bible that is attested in all literary dialects of Coptic.⁴² The Psalter is also the only book of the Coptic Bible with a long lasting tradition of bilingual Greek-Sahidic manuscripts. Given the unparalleled rich transmission of the psalms in Coptic, editions and studies on the text character of the different Coptic versions should be possible and a desirable task. However, only the famous Septuagint scholar Alfred Rahlfs dedicated a study to it (1907) and used the Coptic versions for his edition of the LXX Psalter

39. See Feder, "Coptic Canon," 235–37.

40. See Feder, "Textual History," 430–31.

41. For a recent overview, see Peter Nagel, "Psalms: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations)," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:119–22.

42. See Frank Feder, "Psalms 151–155 (Coptic)," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, C:312–14.

(1931).⁴³ Rahlfs's assignment of the Bohairic Psalter to a Lower Egyptian recension (determined by the Greek codices Vaticanus and Sinaiticus) and the Sahidic to an Upper Egyptian has been profoundly challenged by the discovery and publication of the early Greek manuscript P.Bodmer 24 (1967) and the Mesokemic Psalter (1995), which Rahlfs did not know yet. Gregor Emmenegger's important study of 2007 tried to solve the text-historical problem identifying a particular intermediate position for the Mesokemic version,⁴⁴ but without a critical edition of the Sahidic and the Bohairic Psalm tradition, a definitive answer cannot be given yet. The few extant verses of the Psalms in Akhmimic are, again, only a transposition from Sahidic.

Proverbs are also extraordinarily well preserved. The Sahidic Proverbs are completely extant in several manuscripts.⁴⁵ The edition of a complete sixth–seventh century, small-format manuscript in Chicago by William H. Worrell (1931), who noted the variant readings of all witnesses known to him (also quotations in Sahidic Patristic literature), is still the best edition we dispose of.⁴⁶ With the publication of P.Bodmer 6 (1960), a unique witness came to light preserving a text form of Proverbs written in a still unstandardized alphabet, usually referred to as “Old Coptic,” rather typical for second–third century magical texts. The dialect of this text form was, therefore, coined “Proto-Sahidic” (*P*). While the parchment manuscript and its copy of the text are very likely from the fourth century, the translation and its written documentation in this archaic writing system might well have happened already in the third century. Moreover, we also possess a complete version of Proverbs in Akhmimic, in a fourth-century papyrus manuscript kept in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek).

43. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien 2: Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907); Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, SVTG 10 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931).

44. Gregor Emmenegger, *Der Text des koptischen Psalters aus al-Mudil: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte der Septuaginta und zur Textkritik koptischer Bibelhandschriften, mit der kritischen Neuausgabe des Papyrus 37 der British Library London (U) und des Papyrus 39 der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek* (2013), TUGAL 159 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007).

45. For a quite up to date summary with all relevant references, see Frank Feder, “Proverbs: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations),” in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:283–85.

46. William H. Worrell, *The Proverbs of Solomon in Sahidic Coptic according to the Chicago Ms* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931).

From the other dialects, only a version of Proverbs in Bohairic is preserved. It is extant only in late medieval manuscripts (fourteenth century and younger), which combine Proverbs always with Job and the text ends with Prov 14:26. Alexander Böhlig studied the Akhmimic and Sahidic version already in 1936 and came to the conclusion that the Akhmimic version, once more, depends on the Sahidic.⁴⁷ But, the Sahidic transmission would appear to be quite diverse. He also observed Hexaplaric-type additions in the Sahidic text. The shorter Bohairic version would be an independent version following closer the Greek mainstream of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. However, without a critical edition of the Sahidic version, and the Göttingen LXX edition of Proverbs also has not been published yet, any estimation can only be preliminary.

Ecclesiastes and Canticles are completely preserved in Sahidic and Fayyumic.⁴⁸ While the Sahidic transmission is, as usual, extant in several fragmentary manuscripts, we possess the Fayyumic version of both books in two early miscellany manuscripts from the fourth century.⁴⁹ Ecclesiastes belongs to the books of which we have no Bohairic version, and of Canticles only a short pericope (Song 4:14–5:10) appears in liturgical manuscripts whose text very likely is only a transposition from Sahidic. Despite the ideal situation that we have the complete text of Ecclesiastes and Canticles in Sahidic and Fayyumic, and the P.Bilinguis Hamburg 1 contains a Greek *and* a Coptic text of Ecclesiastes, no text-critical study and no critical edition of both versions has been provided yet.⁵⁰

The book of Job is almost completely preserved in Sahidic. Already in the nineteenth century, scholars remarked that the Sahidic version is a representative of the pre-Hexaplaric short text of LXX. All extant witnesses of the Sahidic translation seem to represent the Sahidic Standard Translation preserving a very stable text until the Middle Ages. The very sporadic and fragmentary witnesses in other dialects can add no or only little information. By contrast, the equally completely preserved Bohairic

47. Alexander Böhlig, *Untersuchungen über die koptischen Proverbientexte* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936).

48. For an up-to-date summary with most relevant references, see Suciu, “Five Scrolls,” 464–65.

49. See Feder, “Die ältesten Textzeugen,” 647.

50. The recently published Göttingen LXX edition of Ecclesiastes by Peter Gentry, *Ecclesiastes*, SVTG 11.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), and its use of the Coptic versions must still be evaluated.

version is almost exclusively extant only from the thirteenth century onwards, and the entire subsequent Bohairic manuscript transmission seems to depend on one manuscript. The Bohairic manuscript tradition combines Job always with an abbreviated version of Proverbs. The Bohairic version is independent from the Sahidic and conforms to the long version of LXX.

Despite the outstanding importance of the Sahidic Job text for LXX research, the studies by Leon Dieu on the Sahidic (1912) and the edition of the Bohairic text by Émile Porcher (1924) are still state of the art.⁵¹ In his Göttingen LXX edition of Job, Joseph Ziegler, of course, made widely use of the Sahidic text, but only a critical edition including all Sahidic witnesses can lead to a definitive answer.⁵²

Wisdom and Sirach were usually transmitted together, in flexible combination with other poetical and wisdom books, in the Sahidic manuscripts.⁵³ Their text is (nearly) completely preserved. However, only two manuscripts are the principal witnesses, besides a growing number of fragmentary manuscript remains. Since the text of the two principal witnesses is practically identical, it appears very likely that we have here, again, textual members of the Sahidic Standard Translation. There is one fragment of Sirach extant also in Akhmimic. In Bohairic, once more, only excerpts from Wisdom and Sirach appear in liturgical manuscripts. Since a study could demonstrate that these are mere transpositions from a Sahidic *Vorlage*, we have concluded that this could also be the case for the Bohairic pericopes from the historical books.⁵⁴ As long as we do not have critical editions and pertinent studies of the Sahidic version, the only relevant Coptic version for Septuagint textual criticism of Wisdom and

51. Leon Dieu, "Le texte de *Job* du Codex Alexandrinus, et ses Principaux Témoins," *Le Muséon* n.s. 13 (1912): 223–74; Émile Porcher, *Le livre de Job version copte bohairique* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924).

52. Joseph Ziegler, *Iob*, SVTG 11.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982). For an up-to-date summary of Job with all relevant references, see Frank Feder, "Job: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations)," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:209–12.

53. For an up-to-date summary of Wisdom with relevant references, see Dylan Burns, "Wisdom of Solomon (Coptic)," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, C:512–14. For an up-to date summary of Sirach with relevant references, see Burns, "Ecclesiasticus/Ben Sira (Coptic)," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, B:262–63.

54. See Feder, "Coptic Canon," 235–37; Feder, "Textual History," 430–31.

Sirach, the assumption that its text is close to the Greek text of the pandect Bibles (Vaticanus etc.) remains merely speculative.

Prophetical Books

The Minor Prophets present an outstanding situation of transmission.⁵⁵ They are completely preserved in Bohairic and nearly completely in Akhmimic, but this time the Sahidic version is incomplete and fragmentary. However, among the fragmentary Sahidic witnesses are two fourth-century miscellany manuscripts (we already mentioned above their possibly liturgical function), which transmit the earliest version of the book of Jonah.⁵⁶ The Bohairic version is not only extant in its classical late form (fourteenth century and much younger) in several manuscripts, but also in one of the two old Bohairic manuscripts (the other is P.Bodmer 3 with John and Genesis we met above) from the fourth century. P.Vatican Copto 9 largely preserved this old Bohairic version of the Minor Prophets. Among the sporadic witnesses from other dialects are the Coptic glosses to a Greek papyrus of Hosea and Amos, as we observed above, one of the earliest witnesses of a Coptic translation of the Bible.

Thanks to this extraordinary situation of transmission, and the outstanding study by Willem Grossouw (1938) as well as the recent reanalysis by Nathalie Bosson,⁵⁷ especially for Jonah, the text-historical evaluation of the Coptic versions of the Minor Prophets is more advanced than for the other books of the Old Testament.⁵⁸ While for the Akhmimic version again a direct dependence on the Sahidic could be clearly demonstrated, the Sahidic version seems to have had an older stratum that is manifest in the early miscellany manuscript Crosby Schøyen 193, for Jonah at least.

55. For an up-to-date summary with all relevant references, see Nathalie Bosson, "Minor Prophets (Coptic)," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, 671–77.

56. See Feder, "Die ältesten Textzeugen," 647–48; Feder, "Coptic Canon," 216–17.

57. Nathalie Bosson, "Jonas: La version saïdique du Crosby-Schøyen Ms. 193 et les ses liens avec la version paléo-bohairique du Papyrus Vatican Copte 9 des Petites Prophètes," in *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Rome September 17th–22nd, 2012, and Plenary Reports of the Ninth International Congress of Coptic Studies, Cairo, September 15th–19th, 2008*, ed. Paola Buzi, Alberto Camplani, and Federico Contardi, 2 vols., OLA 247 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 1:821–37.

58. Willem Grossouw, *The Coptic Versions of the Minor Prophets* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1938).

It seems that the other, or later, Sahidic witnesses (also the other miscellany manuscript, BL Or 7954) and the Akhmimic version should represent the Sahidic Standard Translation, whereas the Old Bohairic witness and Crosby Schøyen 193 share a significant number of readings, which result very likely from a Greek *Vorlage* of the Old Greek text (especially Codex Washingtonianus). The classical Bohairic text seems to be a representative of the Alexandrian (Hesychian) text group.⁵⁹ However exciting these insights already are, we are still far from a definitive evaluation of the text-historical details of the Coptic versions of the Minor Prophets. The old Bohairic Vatican manuscript still awaits its edition, and all other versions must be critically edited first and intensively studied again.

The transmission of the books of the Major Prophets⁶⁰ is not equally distributed. Only Isaiah is completely preserved in Sahidic, additionally partly in Fayyumic. Jeremiah is always transmitted together with Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, and Baruch. While the Sahidic book of Jeremiah itself is very fragmentally transmitted until chapter 40, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, and Baruch are complete. Lamentations is also completely preserved in Fayyumic, but only some verses survived of Jeremiah and Epistle of Jeremiah.

By contrast, only roughly a half of the book of Ezekiel is extant in Sahidic but nothing in Fayyumic. Daniel (with additions) is very incompletely preserved in Sahidic and only sporadically in Fayyumic and Akhmimic. All prophetic books are well and completely preserved in the classical Bohairic version, however, as usual only in very late manuscripts.

There is no critical edition of the book of Isaiah in any dialect. Recent research on the well preserved Sahidic transmission by Alin Suciu and the Göttingen Coptic Old Testament project revealed that the entire manuscript transmission, from the fourth to the fourteenth century, is very stable and must go back to the Sahidic Standard Translation.⁶¹

59 See also Feder, "Coptic Canon," 222.

60. For an up-to-date summary with relevant references, see Frank Feder, "Latter Prophets: Secondary Translations; Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel (Coptic Translations)," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, B:665–71; Sofia Torallas Tovar, "Daniel: Secondary Translations (Coptic Translations)," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:579–82; Torallas Tovar, "Daniel, Additions to (Coptic)," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, 161–65.

61. Alin Suciu, "The Sahidic Tripartite Isaiah: Origins and Transmission within the Coptic Manuscript Culture," *AfP* 66 (2020): 377–406.

The entire Jeremianic corpus (Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Baruch) was edited and studied by Frank Feder.⁶² This is the only critical edition of the Sahidic Bible in a strict sense (noting systematically the variant reading to LXX). Feder's text-historical evaluation showed that the Sahidic transmission of Jeremiah, Lamentations, and Epistle of Jeremiah is very uniform, like in the case of Isaiah, and it is clear that the initial translation at the basis of this transmission was the Sahidic Standard Translation. Only the text of Baruch as preserved in the earliest extant manuscript (P.Bodmer 22) has been revised later but without abandoning the original textual basis completely.

The text-critical analysis revealed that the Sahidic version of the Jeremianic corpus shows many changes towards the Greek text of the pandect Bibles, which must result from Hexaplaric-type readings in the *Vorlage* of the Sahidic translator. They seem to adopt the Sahidic text closer to a text type that conforms better to the MT, but much less consequent than the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensions do, with which it nevertheless shares a considerable number of readings. As we observed for 1 Kingdoms above, there is no extant Greek manuscript group that can be identified as model for the Sahidic version.

Unfortunately, nothing comparable exists for Ezekiel.

As far as we can see without detailed studies and modern critical editions, the Bohairic version of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Baruch, and Epistle of Jeremiah (in Bohairic, Epistle of Jeremiah is usually the last chapter of Baruch) and Ezekiel seem to be independent translations and group with the Alexandrian Greek text in the pandect Bibles.

The fragmentary transmission of book of Daniel in Sahidic and the notorious lack of an edition makes it difficult to draw any conclusions. The sequence of books seems to be that Susanna preceded Daniel. Daniel and the additions were very popular in liturgy and in popular culture, especially the additions to chapter 3 (Prayer of Azariah, Song of the Three). Therefore, it is mostly unclear if separate leaves belonged to a Daniel codex or to a liturgical manuscript or an odes collection. Also, the few preserved Fayyumic verses mostly stem from the additions to chapter 3. The Bohairic version is completely preserved, as usual in late manuscripts. The corpus is generally divided in fourteen visions.⁶³ The oldest extant

62. Frank Feder, *Biblia Sahidica: Ieremias, Lamentationes (Threni), Epistula Jeremiae et Baruch*, TUGAL 147 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002).

63. See Feder, "Textual History," 429–30.

Bohairic manuscript (P.Bodmer 44 and five leaves in the Palau Ribes Collection), probably datable to the ninth–tenth century, is still unpublished.

The Coptic transmission of Daniel was studied in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Without examining the whole dispersed material, they came to surprisingly clear conclusions. The Sahidic version would be translated from Theodotion (generally following Vaticanus), while the Bohairic would be influenced by a Hexaplaric text type. Given the lack of a critical edition including the entire Coptic manuscript transmission, these estimations can only be preliminary and must be regarded with caution.

4. The Complete Digital Edition and Translation of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament

Given the many obstacles that have prevented a reconstruction and edition of the Coptic Old Testament for so long, it is obvious that only a systematic and coordinated approach using all technical advantages of the digital age can be successful. A new project for the complete edition of the Sahidic Old Testament has started its work in 2015: The Complete Digital Edition and Translation of the Coptic Sahidic Old Testament. The initiative of Heike Behlmer and Frank Feder for a new Old Testament project was eventually successful, the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities accepted the project for long-term funding. Already in 2010, the New Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (NTVMR)⁶⁴ was developed by Troy Griffiths for the project *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior* (ECM) at North Rhine-Westfalian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Münster to store and edit the numerous Greek New Testament manuscripts in a diplomatic edition. A digital (ideally color) image of the manuscript page is connected with a transcription in Unicode based characters. The transcription can be exported in XML TEI standard text files. On the basis of the individual transcriptions of the manuscripts, a collation engine automatically generates a critical apparatus. The text for the critical edition is taken from a digital base text of the latest edition of the Greek New Testament (NA²⁸) and can be now adapted, according to the editor's judgment on the results of the exhaustive collation, to generate the critically assured text of the ECM.

64. See <http://ntvmr.uni-muenster.de>.

From the beginning, the Coptic Old Testament project could use the technical know-how of NTVMR, and Griffiths as software engineer and Ulrich Schmid as digital humanities specialist could be hired for the development of a sister database and publication platform the Coptic Old Testament Virtual Manuscript Room (CoptOTVMR).⁶⁵ CoptOTVMR possesses all functionalities of NTVMR for administrating and editing manuscripts and generating diplomatic and critical editions. Moreover, the system has been adapted and further developed to deal with the special problem of a very fragmented manuscript transmission.

The Göttingen project works in close cooperation and coordination with the ECM project in Münster and with other important initiatives in the field of Coptic studies and beyond.⁶⁶ It was clear from the beginning that a successful reconstruction and edition of the Coptic Old (and New) Testament must not only be based on a database and a virtual manuscript room, but also on a close cooperation and coordination with all scholars and projects who work on the Coptic Bible, literature, et cetera, and in close contact with biblical scholarship and Septuagint studies in general.

The image archive of the project could make use of the archives of Tito Orlandi (CMCL), Karlheinz Schüssler (Biblia Coptica), and of the Halle project Koptische Septuaginta, which the owners generously made available.⁶⁷ Together with the new images, which the project collaborators made themselves during their collection visits, which the project acquired from the collections, or which the collections themselves made available online, the Göttingen project contains the most comprehensive archive of Coptic manuscript surrogates in the world. Siegfried Richter from the ECM New Testament project and Feder from the Göttingen Old Testament project agreed already in 2016 to introduce a new inclusive numbering system for Coptic biblical manuscripts, the List of Coptic Bib-

65. See <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com>. For an initial introduction into the project work, see Heike Behlmer and Frank Feder, "The Complete Digital Edition and Translation of the Coptic Sahidic Old Testament: A New Research Project at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities," *EC* 8 (2017): 97–107.

66. See <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/project-partners>.

67. See <http://www.cmcl.it>. Schüssler had already begun to catalogue the biblical manuscripts of the other dialects too. He made his material generously available for both projects.

lical Manuscripts (LCBM).⁶⁸ The updates to LCBM will appear annually (first version online).

The project website⁶⁹ offers a couple of digital resources and links: for example, an online dictionary (Coptic Dictionary Online), a selected and regularly updated bibliography on the Coptic Bible. Moreover, a list of recent publications by the project members is added to the page. The project members report in blog posts on interesting events and new discoveries that are in this way immediately available to the public. As I write this article, the manuscript catalogue⁷⁰ hosting the digital diplomatic editions of the project is expanding, and the first editions can be visited already. At the same time, the potential of the digital tools for a critical edition (as described for the NTVMR) is tested in model editions.

The project work is accompanied also by a new book series: *Texte und Studien zur koptischen Bibel* (TSKB). To date, two volumes have been published.⁷¹

Since the Göttingen Old Testament project now coordinates and administrates, in close cooperation with the ECM partners and other projects, most of the research activities on the Coptic Old Testament, its collaborators have also decisively contributed (on the Coptic Versions) to Brill's Handbook series *Textual History of the Bible* (THB).⁷² It is a sign of the quick progress in research on the Coptic Bible in the recent years that many articles on the Coptic version in THB 1 (2016–2017) are not up to date anymore.

68. See Frank Feder and Siegfried G. Richter, "The Münster Göttingen Collaboration for a Complete Reconstruction and Edition of the Coptic Sahidic Bible," *Journal of Coptic Studies* 22 (2020): 95–100.

69. See <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com>.

70. See <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-catalog>. The catalogue includes New Testament and Old Testament manuscripts. Since the coptologists of the ECM project in Münster have the absolute priority to provide the variant readings of the Coptic versions for the ECM apparatus, the New Testament manuscripts do not show diplomatic editions yet. The Old Testament manuscripts begin with sa 2000.

71. Heike Behlmer, Ute Pietruschka, and Frank Feder, eds., *Ägypten und der Christliche Orient: Peter Nagel zum 80. Geburtstag*, TSKB 1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018); Peter Nagel, ed., *Das Deuteronomium sahidisch: Nach Ms. BL Or. 7594 der British Library mit dem ergänzenden Text und den Textvarianten des Papyrus Bodmer XVIII und der Handschrift M 566 der Morgan Library & Museum New York*, TSKB 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2020).

72. See <https://brill.com/view/serial/THB>.

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The Original Language of the Book of Judith: A Comparison with the Vulgate

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Abstract: This paper is part of the long-standing debate on the original language of the book of Judith. Unlike previous studies that have mostly involved linguistic and philological analysis of the Greek text of the LXX, it offers a comparison between the LXX and the version of the Vulgate, which presents many modifications, missing parts, and additions. In the preface of the book of Judith, Jerome declares to have used for his translation a Chaldean manuscript very different from the Greek text. After investigating the method of translation adopted by Jerome and proving the real existence of his Chaldean manuscript, the paper focuses on some passages that allow supposing that the Chaldean manuscript depends, directly or indirectly, on a lost original Hebrew. In particular, these are cases in which the discrepancy between Latin—and therefore the Chaldean—and Greek can be traced back to an error in transmission from Hebrew. If this hypothesis is correct, the original language of the book of Judith might be Hebrew.

Risen at the end of the last century, the issue of the original language of the book of Judith is still debated among scholars.¹ For a long time, the opinion that the Greek text of the book was an almost literal translation of a lost Hebrew or Aramaic original was undisputed.² In the last decade,

This essay is part of a larger study performed under the supervision of Luciano Bossina and discussed at the University of Padua in June 2016.

1. For a good summary of the *status quaestionis*, see, e.g., Deborah Levine Gera, *Judith*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 79–94.

2. See, e.g., Louis Soubigou, “Judith,” in *La Sainte Bible*, ed. Louis Pirot and Albert Clamer (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1952), 483–85; Yehoshua M. Grintz, *Sefer Jehudit: A Reconstruction of the Original Hebrew Text with Introduction, Commentary*,

however, another trend has taken hold: several scholars have advanced the hypothesis that the LXX version of the text is not a translation and that the book was originally written in Greek.³ Regardless, nothing can be said definitively, and the question is far from resolved: on the one hand, Semitisms in the Greek text of Judith are indubitably widespread and manifest; on the other hand, the arguments in favor of the Greek composition of the book are also persuasive and well founded.

The aim of this article is not to debate the arguments of the two positions; we will try instead to look at the problem from a different point of view. What all previous researchers have in common is that they have mostly dealt with the issue by engaging in linguistic and philological investigations of the Greek text of the LXX. In the tradition of the text, however, there is a witness that passes down a textual form that is very different from the LXX and her translations: the Vulgate of Jerome presents numerous missing parts, additions, and modifications in terms of both form and content. After investigating the method of translation adopted

Appendices and Indices (Yerushalaim: Bialik Institute, 1957); Morton S. Enslin and Solomon Zeitlin, *The Book of Judith: Greek Text with an English Translation, Commentary and Critical Notes* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 1–56; Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith*, MSU 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 9–13; Erich Zenger, *Das Buch Judith*, JSHRZ 1.6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1981), 430; José Vilchez Lindez, *Tobías y Judit*, Nueva Biblia Española (Estella: Verbo Divino, 2000), 235; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *La Biblia griega, Septuaginta II: Libros históricos* (Salamanca: Sigueme, 2011), 696.

3. Helmut Engel, “Der HERR ist ein Gott, der Kriege zerschläg: Zur Frage der griechischen Originalsprache und der Struktur des Buches Judith,” in *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen*, ed. Klaus-Dietrich Schunck and Matthias Augustin, BEATAJ 20 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1992), 155–68; Jan Joosten, “The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith,” *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 159–76; Jeremy Corley, “Septuagintalism, Semitic Interference, and the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *Studies in the Greek Bible: Essays in Honor of Francis T. Gignac, S.J.*, ed. Jeremy Corley and Vincent T. M. Skemp, CBQMS 44 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2008), 65–96; Barbara Schmitz, “Ιουδίθ und Iudith: Überlegungen zum Verhältnis der Judit-Erzählung in der LXX und der Vulgata,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 359–79; Schmitz and Helmut Engel, *Judith: Übersetzt und ausgelegt*, HThKAT (Freiburg: Herder, 2014), 40–43; Gera, *Judith*; Eberhard Bons, “The Language of the Book of Judith,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 393–406.

by Jerome (§1) and understanding the reasons for the differences (§§2, 3), the objective of this study is to reexamine what role Jerome's translation of the Vulgate can play in disentangling the problem of the original language of the book of Judith (§4).

1. The *Praefatio* of the Vulgate and Its Role in the Debate about the Original Language

The translation of the book of Judith was made by Jerome in the last period of his activity, probably between 405 and 407 BCE. The manner in which it was made is described by the author himself in the *praefatio*: he claims to have translated a manuscript written in Chaldean language and, having eliminated the numerous divergences between the codes, to have translated into Latin only what was perfectly understandable in Chaldean.⁴ Only a single night of work was spent on the translation, and he did not adopt the criterion of extreme fidelity to the text that characterizes the translation of the other books (translation *verbum e verbo*), but it was translated *ad sensum*.⁵

Why is the Vulgate so different from the LXX? Can the differences only be ascribed to the free translation *ad sensum* by Jerome, or did the Chaldean manuscript belong to a branch of tradition different from the LXX, which can therefore not be the original archetype? The words of Jerome have been interpreted by the scholars in different ways, and vari-

4. See Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, *Biblia sacra iuxta Vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 691: "apud Hebraeos liber Iudith inter Agiografa legitur; cuius auctoritas ad roboranda illa quae in contentione veniunt, minus idonea iudicatur. Chaldeo tamen sermone conscriptus inter historias computatur. Sed quia hunc librum sinodus nicena in numero Sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse, adqueivi postulationi vestrae, immo exactioni, et sepositis occupationibus quibus vehementer artabar, huic unam lucubrationem dedi, magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens. Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi; sola ea quae intellegentia integra in verbis chaldeis invenire potui, latinis expressi. Accipite Iudith viduam, castitatis exemplum, et triumphali laude perpetuis eam praeconiis declarate. Hanc enim non solum feminis, sed et viris imitabilem dedit, qui, castitatis eius remunerator, virtutem talem tribuit, ut invictum omnibus hominibus vinceret, insuperabilem superaret."

5. The reason for this choice is clear: the book of Judith was considered among the apocrypha, and therefore it does not enjoy the venerable sacredness that requires the word of God to be translated unchanged.

ous explanations have also been given for the differences that characterize the Vulgate; some opinions are reported below:

(1) According to Helmut Engel, Jerome actually used a manuscript that was neither in Greek nor in Latin, but there is no way to prove that it derives from a hypothetical Hebrew archetype, nor that it was written in Chaldean language.⁶ The scholar hypothesizes, in fact, that with *verba Chaldaea* Jerome could refer to a Syriac translation of the Greek. However, when Jerome speaks of “Chaldean language” in his works, he mostly refers to the Aramaic language; it will suffice to mention the preface to the book of Daniel, where he says that he has studied Chaldean to translate the parts of that book written in that language (he certainly refers to sections 2:4–8:28 of the book of Daniel written, precisely, in Aramaic), and, among the many passages of the commentary to Daniel where he speaks of Chaldean with clear reference to the Aramaic (see, for example, 4:6, 7:8), it is worth quoting here 6:4, where Jerome reports a word in Aramaic saying *chaldaice dicitur*: it makes clear that, for him, the Chaldean language is Aramaic.

(2) Morton S. Enslin and Solomon Zeitlin believe that it is plausible that Jerome used a Chaldean manuscript, but they argue that there is no evidence to prove that it derives from the lost original Hebrew.⁷ It is for them rather a late translation of the Greek, like the *Veteres* and the Syriac. In the light of these statements, the divergences of the Vulgate are explained both as a consequence of Jerome’s hurry in carrying out the translation and as the outcome of some personal intervention. But even more important would be another factor: according to these authors, Jerome would not have translated Aramaic directly into Latin, but, being a poor connoisseur of that language, he would have first had the Aramaic text translated into Hebrew, and later he would have translated Hebrew into Latin. In reality, Jerome had studied Aramaic, as he himself clearly states in the preface to the book of Daniel.⁸ Moreover, the double translation from Aramaic to Hebrew and then from Hebrew to Latin was a procedure used by Jerome for the book of Tobit, as described in the *praefatio* of that book, not for that of Judith, which he undoubtedly claims to have translated directly from Chaldean.

6. Engel, “Der HERR ist ein Gott,” 156: “bei den *verba chaldaea*, die Hieronymus sich ins Hebräische übersetzen ließ, kann es sich um eine syrische Übersetzung und Bearbeitung entweder eines hebräischen oder schon eines griechischen Textes gehandelt haben.”

7. Enslin and Zeitlin, *Book of Judith*, 3–52.

8. For the prefaces to the books of the Vulgate, I refer from now on to the edition of Weber and Gryson, *Biblia sacra*.

(3) Robert Hanhart believes that the manuscript mentioned by Jerome was not a late translation of the Greek and that it descended independently from the Hebrew or Aramaic archetype of the book.⁹ For him, the fact that the Vulgate diverges considerably from the Greek, both in form and content, is due to the fact that the Aramaic model of Jerome is only one of the many variations in which the story of Judith had developed.

(4) Jan Joosten denies that what is declared by Jerome in the *praefatio* is true: in his opinion, Jerome “may have done little more than to rework an Old Latin version of the book.”¹⁰ He goes on saying that the text of the Vulgate does not at any point find a better solution than the text of the LXX, indeed in several cases it seems clearly to depend on it; the Vulgate therefore would not offer arguments against the hypothesis that the book of Judith was originally written in Greek.

(5) According to Satoshi Toda, what Jerome says concerning the original language of the book of Judith should be regarded with great caution.¹¹ He analyzes some passages of the Rules of Pachomius, and, after having observed that Jerome’s translation is free in comparison with the Coptic and the Greek version, he declares that also for the book of Judith Jerome’s translation cannot be held in high esteem for the purposes of textual criticism, because here he himself says that the translation is not verbal or literal.

But can we really affirm that the version of Judith of the Vulgate is a mere reworking of the *Veteres*? In the following paragraphs, we will try to understand the method of translation adopted by Jerome (§2) and to understand if the Chaldean manuscript that he mentioned really existed (§3).

2. The Translation of the Vulgate between Literalism and Innovation

From a systematic comparison between the text of the LXX, the *Veteres Latinae* and the Vulgate,¹² we can state the following:

9. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 9–13.

10. Joosten, “Original Language,” 167–68.

11. Satoshi Toda, “Rethinking the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Stellenbosch 2016*, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, SCS 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 161–70.

12. Critical editions of reference: Robert Hanhart, *Judith*, SVTG 8.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979); Pierre Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* (Remis, 1743); Weber and Gryson, *Biblia sacra*.

(1) Jerome made a translation *ad sensum*, drawing widely also from the *Veteres*. That the translation is not literal is evident: many passages are paraphrased, and only the content, often simplified and reduced, is rendered, while neither the syntactic construction nor the lexical choices are respected. As for the texts that Jerome used as a model, it is clear that the translation was not made only on the basis of the Chaldean manuscript as he declared, but that he also used some Latin manuscripts, since, in many cases, the text of the *Veteres* is taken almost literally. An example of that is given, by the comparison between the LXX, the most important manuscripts of the *Veteres*,¹³ and the Vulgate.

8:7 LXX: καὶ ἦν καλὴ τῷ εἶδει καὶ ὡραία τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα· καὶ ὑπελείπετο αὐτῇ Μανασσῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ παῖδας καὶ παιδίσκας καὶ κτήνη καὶ ἀγρούς καὶ ἔμενεν ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

Regius e Sangerm. 4: et erat bona in aspectu, et formosa facie. *Quia reliquerat ei Manasses vir eius aurum et argentum, servos et ancillas, pecora et praedia; et mansit in eis.*

Sangerm. 15: et erat bona in aspectu, et formosa facie valde. *Quia reliquerat ei Manasses vir eius aurum et argentum, servos et ancillas, et pecora et praedia; et mansit in eis.*

Corb.: et erat bona facie valde. *Et reliquerat vir eius aurum et argentum multum, et servos et ancillas, et iumenta et agros.*

Vulg.: erat autem eleganti aspectu nimis, cui vir suus reliquerat divitias multas, et familiam copiosam, ac possessiones armentis boum, et gregibus ovium plenas.

It is clear that here Jerome follows the *Veteres*, in particular the version of the Corbeiensis: in both versions the description of the beauty of Judith is reduced to a single expression (Corb.: *et erat bona facie valde*; Vulg.: *erat*

13. According to the work *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* by Pierre Sabatier, the most important manuscripts of the *Veteres* are the Regius, the Sangermanensis 4, the Sangermanensis 15, the Pechianus, and the Corbeiensis 7. For a description of these manuscripts, see Edwin Edgar Voigt, *The Latin Version of Judith* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1925), 46–54.

autem elegante aspectu nimis), instead of being expressed in two distinct phrases as in Greek (καὶ ἦν καλὴ τῷ εἶδει καὶ ὡραία τῇ ὀψει σφόδρα) and in the other manuscripts of the *Veteres* (Regius and Sangerm.4: *et erat bona in aspectu, et formosa facie*; Sangerm. 15: *et erat bona in aspectu, et formosa facie valde*). Anyway, the text reflected by the Corbeiensis is not reproduced literally: the expression of Jerome is much more accurate, both in lexicon (*bona facie* is rendered with *eleganti aspectu*; *aurum et argentum multum* with *divitias multas*; *servos et ancillas* with *familiam copiosam*; *iumenta et agros* with *possessiones armentis boum, et gregibus ovium plenas*), and in syntax, as Jerome builds two very short phrases in a single one, perhaps to avoid redundancy. The last sentence, moreover, presents a chiasmic construction: *possessiones armentis boum, et gregibus ovium plenas*.

(2) The Vulgate lacks many passages (of 340 Greek verses, 42 are fully or largely omitted). However, the content of these passages is never fundamental for the development of the narration, as they are always discarded details and secondary particulars (toponyms, catalogs of objects, epithets, genealogies, etc.). Such amputations can be ascribed to the Chaldean manuscript and therefore could suggest the existence of a model different from the LXX; however, they can also be the result of the choices Jerome made during the process of translation in accordance with the procedure set out in the *praefatio*.¹⁴ The following example is a case in point.

4:3 (Greek 4–5): LXX: καὶ ἀπέστειλαν εἰς πᾶν ὄριον Σαμαρείας καὶ Κωνὰ καὶ Βαιθωρὼν καὶ Βελμάιν καὶ Ιεριχώ καὶ εἰς Χωβὰ καὶ Αἰσωρὰ καὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα Σαλήμ, καὶ προκατελάβοντο πάσας τὰς κορυφὰς τῶν ὀρέων τῶν ὑψηλῶν etc.

Regius e Sangerm. 4: *et miserunt in omnem finem Samariae, et in castella et vicos, et Boccha, et Bethorom, et Abelmam, et Hiericho, et Choban, et Belon, et Aulona, et Artosia, et Selem in porticum Hierusalem; et praeoccupaverunt omnia cacumina montium excelsorum.*

Sangerm. 15: *et miserunt in omnes fines Samariae, et in Coegat, et in Bethronon, et Abilma, et in Hiericho, et in Chiba, et in Bethura,*

14. "Multorum codicum varietatem vitiosissimam amputavi." See Weber and Gryson, *Biblia sacra*, 691.

et in aulona Salem; et praeoccupaverunt omnes vertices montium altissimorum.

Corb.: *et miserunt in omnem Samariam, et Cocca et Bothoron et Abelma et Hiericho et Incoba et Belur et aulona in Ierusalem; et preoccupaverunt omnes vertices montium.*

Vulg.: *et miserunt in omnem Samariam per circuitum usque Hiericho, et praeoccupaverunt omnes vertices montium.*

This passage is an example of how the Vulgate omits a long list of toponyms, which are very frequent in the book of Judith. The places indicated here have not been identified with precision, nor were they likely known at the time of translation (the variation in the names from one manuscript to another is a clear indication that the copyists were uncertain about the locations that the names referred to). The Vulgate chooses to keep only the name *Hiericho*, the only city actually known, while omitting any other geographical reference, perhaps because of the lack of agreement between the different versions. For other similar cases see, for example, 1:6–8; 4:5; 7:3; 15:5.

(3) The intervention of Jerome does not seem only limited to a translation *ad sensum* and to the elimination of some parts: it is believed that entire passages (or important changes to them), contained in the Vulgate and in no other textual witness, are a creation of the author. As evidence of this, we must first note the formal aspect of these passages: the Latin style does not reflect any foreign feature but is fluent and often adorned with rather refined rhetorical figures. Such concern over expression excludes that they are translated passages: even if the translation of Jerome is always refined, it is, nevertheless, a translated text linked to a model that does not abound in rhetorical figures; rather, it fits perfectly with the personal style of Jerome, a writer always very attentive to the form. In addition to the style, the content of these passages is also typical of the personality of Jerome. They are, in fact, all centered on themes very dear to the author: chastity, prayer, repentance. He expanded and placed emphasis on aspects that were already part of the text, but he amplified them and put them in the foreground. Below are some passages (or changes to verses) that are likely thought to be attributable to the initiative of Jerome. The passages are divided into two groups, based on the content.

Virtue and Chastity of Judith

The theme of the education of women is more important in Jerome than anywhere else in ancient Christian literature.¹⁵ He categorizes women by virtue into three categories: the third category is reserved for married women, as conjugal obligations are an obstacle to the exercise of the Christian duties; the widows are placed in the second category, as they can still, after their husbands' death, follow an ideal of ascetic life; the highest praise is reserved for the virgins, who devote their entire life to God.¹⁶ Jerome reserved specific rules for each category of women.

Some passages seem to be mostly directed to the second of these female categories, the widows: Jerome wanted to present Judith as an ideal model of behavior for them, in order to offer an example of virtue and concrete application of those norms that he himself preached. This intention is already clear in the preface:¹⁷ Judith is presented to the readers as an excellent ideal of chastity, which must be imitated by both women and men. The following passages are illustrative examples.¹⁸

16:26 (Greek 22): LXX: καὶ οὐκ ἔγνω ἀνὴρ αὐτὴν πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτῆς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀπέθανεν Μανασσῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς καὶ προσετέθη πρὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ.

15. On these topics, see, e.g., Valeria Novembri, "Philosophia and Christian Culture: An Antidote for Female Weakness in Jerome's Letters," *StPatr* 44 (2010): 471–86; Novembri, "L'educazione delle donne nel cristianesimo antico: Fra modelli tradizionali e nuovi paradigmi," *Storia delle donne* 5 (2005): 189–200; Marcos Sánchez, "Mulier sancta et venerabilis, mulier ancilla diaboli en la Correspondencia de San Jerónimo," *Studia Historica–Historia Antigua* 4–5 (1987): 235–44.

16. See *Ep. ad Geruchiam de monogamia* (123.9). For the letters of Jerome, from now on, I refer to the editions of Isidorus Hilberg, *Epistulae* 1–70, CSEL 54 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910–1918); Isidorus Hilberg, *Epistulae* 71–120, CSEL 55 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910–1918); Isidorus Hilberg, *Epistulae* 120–154, CSEL 56 (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1910–1918).

17. "Accipite Iudith viduam, castitatis exemplum, et triumphali laude, perpetuis eam praeconiis declarate. Hanc enim non solum feminis, sed et viris imitabilem dedit, qui castitatis eius remunerator, virtutem ei talem tribuit, ut invictum omnibus hominibus vinceret, et insuperabilem superaret" (Weber and Gryson, *Biblia sacra*, 691).

18. Only the Vulgate and the LXX text is reported because that of the *Veteres* does not differ from them.

Vulg.: erat enim virtuti castitas adiuncta, ita ut non cognosceret virum omnibus diebus vitae suae, ex quo defunctus est Manasses vir eius.

For Jerome, the maintenance of chastity and the refusal of new marriage were fundamental prerogatives of a widow who wanted to live in virtue; these warnings are repeated constantly in every writing that concerns widowhood, for example, the epistle *ad Geruchiam de monogamia*, as well as the epistle *ad Furiam de viduitate servanda*, and the letter *ad Salvinam*.¹⁹ What is relevant is that both these last two epistles mention Judith and give her a prominent role. In light of this, the addition of the phrase *erat enim virtuti castitas adiuncta* has the purpose of emphasizing that particular virtue of Judith, in order to create a model for widows to emulate.

10:4 Vulg.: cui etiam Dominus contulit splendorem: quoniam omnis ista compositio non ex libidine, sed ex virtute pendebat: et ideo Dominus hanc in illam pulchritudinem ampliavit, ut incomparabili decore omnium oculis appareret.

This passage, which does not appear in Greek or in the *Veteres*, is probably an addition by the author. By attributing the merit of the heroic enterprise not to the physical beauty of Judith (as in Greek and in the *Veteres*), but to the intervention of God who gives her extraordinary grace on account of her chastity, the text exhibits the ideal of devaluing physical beauty and bodily care, which appears frequently in Jerome, also in reference to the conduct of widows.²⁰

8:5 LXX: καὶ ἐποίησεν ἑαυτῇ σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς etc.

Vulg.: et in superioribus domus suae fecit sibi secretum cubiculum, in quo cum puellis suis clausa morabatur.

The Vulgate specifies that Judith spends her time locked in the tent in the company of only young girls: if we consider the moral precepts that Jerome

19. Jerome, *Ep.* 123; 54; 79.

20. For example, in the aforementioned epistle, *ad Furiam*, he clearly condemns every attention given to the appearance.

reserves for widows, this significant passage is probably attributable to Jerome himself. In the letter *Ad Furiam* and in that *Ad Salviniam*, he dispenses numerous indications about the company that the young widows must keep. Thus the Vulgate's detail assumes a certain importance: Judith with her habits provides all the widows with a clear principle to follow.

15:11 (Greek 10): LXX: ἐποίησας ταῦτα πάντα ἐν χειρί σου, ἐποίησας τὰ ἀγαθὰ μετὰ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ εὐδόκησεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὁ θεός· εὐλογημένη γίνου παρὰ τῷ παντοκράτορι κυρίῳ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον etc.

Vulg.: *quia fecisti viriliter, et confortatum est cor tuum, eo quod castitatem amaveris, et post virum tuum, alterum non scieris: ideo et manus Domini confortavit te, et ideo eris benedicta in aeternum.*

In ancient Christianity, the woman, as daughter of Eve, was considered the cause of sin and, according to the definition of Tertullian, authentic *ianua diaboli*.²¹ So, very often, a woman who wanted to be virtuous had to assume masculine behavior or was described in such terms.²² In this regard, Judith, who accomplishes virtuous and heroic deeds with the help of God, because of her chastity, acts *viriliter*, which is a virtue only suitable for men. Additionally, the topic of the chastity of Judith, which is absent both in Greek and in the *Veteres*, appears again: by virtue of her self-restraint Judith has not contracted new marriages and for this God has supported her.

Prayer and Penance

Asceticism was a lifestyle that Jerome fully embraced; the only way to purify oneself from the passions of the flesh and to be able to hope for

21. Tertullian, *Cult. fem.* 1.1: "Tu es diaboli ianua, tu es arboris illius resignatrix, te es divinae legis prima desertrix, tu es quae cum perusasisti, quem diabolus aggredi non valuit."

22. See, e.g., Jerome, *Ep.* 22, where some virgins, ashamed of being women, wear virile clothes and cut their hair as a sign of profound rejection of their femininity; Passion of Perpetua, where Perpetua, before martyrdom, endures torments and tortures with a manly soul and exclaims *masculus facta sum*; Jerome, *Ep.* 49, where the ideal of *mulier virilis* is exalted through an etymological explanation: *virgo a viro*, for this reason the virgin is equal in virtue to man.

future salvation was to live in the most rigid abstinence from any kind of pleasure, completely dedicating oneself to prayer.²³ These themes also appear in some passages of the book of Judith, and, since they are not found in any other witness, they are regarded as insertions of Jerome. Some of these passages are shown below by way of example.

7:4 LXX: οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ὡς εἶδον αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, ἐταράχθησαν σφόδρα

Vulg.: *fili autem Israel, ut viderunt multitudinem illorum, prostraverunt se super terram, mittentes cinerem super capita sua, unanimes orantes ut Deus Israel misericordiam suam ostenderet super populum suum.*

In the Greek and in the *Veteres*, the reaction of the inhabitants of Bethulia at the sight of the enemy army is described generally as upheavals (ἐταράχθησαν σφόδρα; *turbati sunt valde*). Instead, Jerome chooses to explicitly describe their actions: in that difficult moment they fall down to the ground, and, with their heads covered in ashes, they unanimously invoke God's help. In all probability, these details have been added by Jerome himself to clarify the right attitude of humility and submission that men must maintain towards God in moments of prayer.

8:14–17 (Greek 16–17) LXX: ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ ἐνεχυράζετε τὰς βουλάς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀπειληθῆναι οὐδὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου διαιτηθῆναι. ¹⁷διόπερ ἀναμένοντες τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐπικαλεσώμεθα αὐτὸν εἰς βοήθειαν ἡμῶν, καὶ εἰσακούσεται τῆς φωνῆς ἡμῶν, ἐὰν ᾗ αὐτῷ ἀρεστόν.

Vulg.: *sed quia patiens est Dominus, in hoc ipso poeniteamur, et indulgentiam eius fusis lacrimis postulemus: non enim quasi homo Deus sic comminabitur, neque sicut filius hominis ad iracundiam inflammabitur. Et ideo humiliemus illi animas nostras, et in spiritu constituti humiliato, servientes illi dicamus flentes Domino, ut secundum voluntatem suam sic faciat nobiscum misericordiam*

23. The most effective description of such practices is found in the *Ep.* 22.7, where Jerome describes his two-year experience of asceticism in the Chalcidian desert. The importance of prayer and the ascetic lifestyle is also the subject of *Vigil.* 15.

suam: ut sicut conturbatum est cor nostrum in superbia eorum, ita etiam de nostra humilitate gloriemur.

The admonition not to treat the Lord like a man and to invoke his help already appears in the Greek and in the *Veteres*.²⁴ In Jerome, however, there is a notable accentuation of the theme of humility in prayer, as is clear from the dense presence of terms referring to this semantic fields: *In hoc poeniteamus; Indulgentiam fuis lacrimis postulemus; Humiliemus illi animas nostras; In spiritu constitutes humiliato; Servientes illi; Dicamus flentes; De nostra humilitate gloriemur.*

8:30–32 (Greek 32–33) LXX: καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς Ἰουδὶθ ἀκούσατέ μου, καὶ ποιήσω πρᾶγμα ὃ ἀφίξεται εἰς γενεὰς γενεῶν υἱοῖς τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν. ³³Ὑμεῖς στήσεσθε ἐπὶ τῆς πύλης τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, καὶ ἐξελεύσονται ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἄβρας μου, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις, μεθ' ἃς εἶπατε παραδῶσιν τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἡμῶν, ἐπισκέψεται κύριος τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν χειρί μου.

Vulg.: *et dixit illis Iudith: sicut quod loqui potui, Dei esse cognoscitis: ³¹ita quod facere disposui, probate si ex Deo est, et orate ut firmum faciat consilium meum Deus. ³²Stabitis vos ad portam nocte ista, et ego exeam cum abra mea: et orate, ut sicut dixistis, in diebus quinque respiciat Dominus populum suum Israel.*

In the Greek and in the *Veteres*, Judith appears to be sure of her success and emphasizes her own acting *audite me, et faciam rem, et cetera; Respice Dominus to Israel in manu mea, sicut ego fido*. The Judith of the Vulgate is, in some ways, somewhat different: she does not seem certain of the success of her mission, as it totally relies on the will of God and the prayer of the citizens of Bethulia: *et orate ut firmum faciat Deus consilium meum; Et orate ut in diebus quinque respiciat Dominus populum suum Israel.*

3. The Existence of the Chaldean Manuscript

As we have seen, many differences that the Vulgate has when compared to the text of the LXX and the *Veteres* can be attributed to the freedom Jerome

24. In this passage, there is a quotation of Num 23:19.

allowed himself not only to broaden the scope of *ad sensum* translational practice, but also to go beyond casual interpolations and rewritings. However, many divergences do not seem justifiable on the basis of these reasons. In these cases, it seems reasonable, therefore, to take seriously the hypothesis that Jerome used for his translation a model partly different from the Greek text and the witnesses derived from it; if the arguments that we will collect in the following pages are valid, the existence of the Chaldean manuscript, affirmed by Jerome and denied by some scholars, can therefore be recognized also on a textual basis.

We will consider two necessarily complementary clues.

(1) Semitisms as linguistic clues: some passages of the Vulgate are marked by the presence of traits that are interpretable as Semitisms. The stark difference between these passages and those that were most likely introduced by Jerome (see above) raises the possibility that they were based on a Semitic model. For their correct evaluation it is important to remember that they only appear in the Vulgate. The list below shows the Semitizing traits in the Vulgate, which can be attributed to a Semitic model, and some passages where they are found.

- ◆ The presence of verbal forms that seem to represent the active causative aspect of the Semitic languages: Jerome, when he translates from Hebrew, renders this form by the periphrastic construction, *facio* + infinitive, both active and passive. If, in the Vulgate version of Judith, a similar expression appears, it can be deduced that the form is a translation of an Aramaic causative; see, for example, 2:16–17 *fecit incidi*; 7:6–7 *incidi praecepit*.
- ◆ Sometimes the relative clauses seem to follow the Semitic construct: the relative clauses in Hebrew present the determination of the relative indeclinable pronoun by means of a suffix pronoun or an adverb. This construct is also common in Aramaic, where the relative particle ܐܝܢ, which is also indeclinable, must be specified syntactically at the end of the sentence. If the Vulgate presents a construction of this type, it is probable that the passage is a calque from the Chaldean manuscript; see, for example, 5:22 *a via quam dederat illis Deus, ut ambulant in ea*. A more fluent Latin would have a different construction, using *ubi* instead of *quam ... in ea*, with a phrase like that one: “they turned away from the road where the Lord had ordered them to walk.”

- ◆ There are examples of the use of the conjunctions *ut* and *ita ut* that seem unusual and foreign to Latin, while they appear to reflect Aramaic use;²⁵ see, for example, 6:2 *quod gens Israel defendatur a Deo suo, ut ostendam tibi*; likewise 8:10 *quod est hoc verbum ... ut tradat*; 15:7 *Mox autem ut ortus est dies*; 16:22 *et mox ut purificati sunt* and again in 6:5 *ut autem noveris quia*. In all these cases, the use of *ut* would hardly be expected in good Latin, but it very appropriately stands for the Aramaic particle ܐܕ. This could lead to the hypothesis that, in those passages, Jerome translated from Aramaic, where the particle ܐܕ is very frequently used. The same can be said of *ita ut*, which is often found in the Vulgate without correspondence to the texts of the *Veteres* and is probably a translation of the Aramaic ܐܕܝܐ (see, e.g., 15:2 *ita ut nullus loqueretur* and also 7:11, 4:16, 10:13, 15:18, etc.).
- ◆ Some Semitizing expressions and formulas are detectable: in the Vulgate, there are some terms and phrases that seem typical of Latin translated from a Semitic model and not consistent with Jerome's own style. It is therefore conceivable that the passages with these expressions are derived from the Chaldean manuscript; see, for example, 7:6–7 *per gyrum*; 12:17 *coram*; 9:11 *brachium tuum*; 5:11–19 *filius hominis*; 15:6 *in ore gladii*; 6:1 *factum est autem*; 1:7 *cor eius elevatum est*.²⁶ One could argue that these

25. For a deeper explication of argument and of the examples, see Voigt, *Latin Version of Judith*, 52–53.

26. The expression *per gyrum* appears in the Vulgate countless times (in Exodus, it appears six times, e.g., in 28:32; Lev 7:2, 8:15, 16:18; Num 1:50, 53; Judg 2:14, 7:20; 2 Sam 5:9; 1 Kgs 6:5; 1 Chr 9:27; 2 Chr 14:7, 17:10; Jer 50:29; in Ezekiel, it is found in twelve cases, e.g., 1:28) always as a translation of Hebrew סָבִיב, while it is very seldom used by Jerome when he writes freely (only in Jerome, *Comm. Am.* 2:5); therefore, also in this passage, it might very well represent a translation of the Aramaic equivalent of סָבִיב. *Coram* is, in fact, an expression that in the Vulgate appears frequently (over twenty times) as a translation of Hebrew פָּנִים. It only appears three times in a text that is not a translation, because usually Jerome prefers to use different expressions (e.g., *in conspectu*). It is likely that, also in this case, the expression is a translation of a similar Aramaic form, even if it cannot be excluded that it may be a phrase added by Jerome himself. *In ore gladii* is a typically biblical phrase, which appears very frequently in the Vulgate as a literal translation of Hebrew לִפִּי חֶרֶב. It is a phrase that Jerome would hardly have used when writing freely, having a strong Semitizing flavor. It is therefore believed that it is an expression of translation of the analogous Aramaic formula. *Factum est autem* is the typical beginning of a biblical verse; it

features are hardly proof of translation from a Chaldean manuscript, because Jerome might have used them to give the story a biblical coloring. But, as we have seen in the passages before, when he adds passages or changes some traits of them while translating freely, he has no interest in disguising his intervention: he writes always in a fluent and elegant Latin, and these features of biblical style do not appear at all. So, when Jerome intervenes in the text, he does not try to pretend to translate literally: for him the book of Judith is an apocryphal writing; therefore, it does not have to be translated literally, but one can freely modify it in order to make it edifying. Therefore, Jerome would have no reason to use these Semitizing figures.

- ◆ There is, in some passages, an abundant use of personal and demonstrative pronouns and possessive adjectives: this characteristic could be due to a Chaldean *Vorlage*, since, in Aramaic, as in Hebrew, pronominal suffixes are used very frequently; for example, 2:12; 7:6–7; 13:20; 5:11–19.
- ◆ There is a frequent use of the adjective *omnis*, which is superfluous in Latin and is not a usual feature of Jerome's style. In Aramaic, as in Hebrew, the noun כל is frequently used instead. It should therefore be considered that a consistent presence of this adjective can be an element of confirmation of the Semitic origin of a certain passage. See, for example, 2:12; 2:16–17; 15:6.
- ◆ The syntax in many passages is simple and predominantly paratactic. This trend is not really Latin, nor is it peculiar to the style of Jerome, which is often characterized by complex syntactic constructions. Both Hebrew and Aramaic, on the other hand, have a flat and linear syntax, dominated by coordination. If a passage is characterized by a clear paratactic trend, it can probably be

appears constantly in the Vulgate in over fifty cases, alternating with the analogous form *et factum est*, and it is always a translation of Hebrew ויהי. It is believed that this could be the expression of a translation of the corresponding Aramaic verb. *Cor eius elevatum est* has a strong Semitic flavor; even more significant is the fact that it is very close to Dan 5:20 לבבה ורוחה תקפת להזדה ("in the heart and in the spirit he became obstinate in pride"), which Jerome translates *elevatum est cor eius et spiritus illius obfirmatus est ad superbiam*. It is therefore probable that the Aramaic expression of the book of Judith in the Chaldean manuscript was the same, since the translation of Jerome is the same.

derived from the Chaldean manuscript; for example, 2:12; 13:20; 15:6; 5:11–19.

It is clear that many of these Semitizing traits, if isolated, cannot constitute sufficient evidence to suggest a Semitic model for a passage; what is telling in this regard is the presence of many of these features in the same passage. Finally, in some cases, the content of the passages might be relevant: some of them introduce irrelevant changes, not in line with the *ad sensum* translation nor with the criteria of innovation of Jerome (e.g., 2:16–17; 5:11–19; 13:20).

(2) Clues of content: we have seen how the passages and additions that Jerome has inserted himself are always purposeful and are in line with an easily recognizable ideological program; the passages that will be analyzed here, on the other hand, have a very different content: they show details that are apparently secondary, descriptive lists that Jerome generally tends to omit. This tends to exclude the idea that these innovations are introduced by Jerome, while it is probable that they are a translation of the Chaldean manuscript.

3:1 LXX: καὶ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους λόγοις εἰρηνικοῖς λέγοντες.

Vulg.: *tunc miserunt legatos suos universarum urbium, ac provinciarum reges ac principes, Syriae scilicet Mesopotamiae, et Syriae Sobal, et Libyae, atque Ciliciae, qui venientes ad Holofernem, dixerunt.*

In the LXX and in the *Veteres*, it is only said that the messengers go in the presence of Holofernes, while the Vulgate specifies who the senders of these messengers are, *provinciarum reges ac principes*; then a long list of locations follows to specify the different areas of origin of these kings and princes: that does not appear in any other passage. This abundance can only be explained by supposing that it was already present in the Chaldean manuscript, as it seems improbable that they are parts inserted by Jerome, because, as we have seen, the general tendency of the author faced with long lists of toponyms was to simplify them or even to omit them altogether (see, e.g., 6:3).

16:31 Vulg.: *dies autem victoriae huius festivitatis ab Hebraeis in numero sanctorum dierum accipitur, et colitur a Iudaeis ex illo tempore usque in praesentem diem.*

It is the final sentence of the book of Judith of the Vulgate; the anniversary feast established in honor of the heroine is not mentioned elsewhere. It is probably a local tradition that, over time, fell into oblivion and was no longer identifiable. Jerome probably drew this information from the Chaldean manuscript, since it does not appear in any other source.

5:20 (Greek 16): LXX: καὶ ἐξέβαλον ἐκ προσώπου αὐτῶν τὸν Χαναναῖον καὶ τὸν Φερεζαῖον καὶ τὸν Ιεβουσαῖον καὶ τὸν Συχέμ καὶ πάντας τοὺς Γεργεσαίους καὶ κατώκησαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἡμέρας πολλάς.

Vulg.: *denique Chananaeum regem, et Iebusaeum, et Pherezaeum, et Hethaeum, et Hevaeum, et Amorrhaeum, et omnes potentes in Hesebon prostraverunt, et terras eorum, et civitates eorum ipsi possederunt.*

The Vulgate presents innovative details: the list of the tribes of Israel is much richer; moreover, instead of simply saying that these people were expelled from their region, he says that they were deprived of their lands and cities. Although we can find some common ground with the *Veteres* in 5:14, where there is a reference to the Amorites and the Esebonites, it is believed that Jerome drew these verses from the Chaldean manuscript, since the differences are at the same time too marked and contentiously irrelevant to suppose that they are due to the intervention of Jerome.

4. Hypothesis for a Hebrew Archetype

So far, we have tried to show how it seems improbable that the composition of the Vulgate is a mere reworking of a Latin text, while it seems more convincing to admit the actual existence of the Chaldean manuscript. Still, the fact that this manuscript presents many differences and additional parts does not necessarily imply that it derives from a branch that is independent of the one to which the Greek text belongs and therefore does not necessarily imply the assumption of the existence of an archetype different from the Greek one. In fact, it could actually be hypothesized that these modifications took place in a witness that descended from the Greek at a late stage.

However, some passages reflect differences between the Vulgate and the Greek that are only understandable if we assume a Hebrew word at the origin of the corruption. If the proposed arguments are valid, this would

show that the Chaldean manuscript that Jerome used is independent from the Greek and derives instead from a Semitic archetype of the book.²⁷

2:9–10 (Greek 18) LXX: καὶ ἐπισιτισμὸν παντὶ ἀνδρὶ εἰς πλῆθος καὶ χρυσίον καὶ ἀργύριον ἐξ οἴκου βασιλέως πολὺ σφόδρα.

Regius e Sangerm. 4: *et frumenta ad omni homini ad satietatem et aurum et argentum de domo regis, multum nimis.*

Sangerm. 15: *et apparatus escae omni homini in saturitate et et aurum 10et argentum ex domo regis, multum valde.*

Corb.: *et frumentum in multitudinem et aurum et argentum de domo regis, multum.*

Vulg.: *frumentum ex omni Syria in transitu suo parari constituit. Aurum vero et argentum de domo regis assumpsit multum nimis.*

For this passage, the Vulgate offers a text that looks very different. It would be reasonable to suppose that it is an example of a translation *ad sensum*, but, in this case, it would seem to be excluded, because the elements of the Vulgate do not appear in any other witness. Instead, we have seen how the *ad sensum* translation procedure normally does not faithfully reproduce the syntax and lexicon of the model, but that the same content is reported. It does not even seem convincing that this change was implemented by Jerome, because it concerns an irrelevant detail, while his interventions, as previously noted, always have a precise purpose. The only reasonable possibility therefore seems to be that the Vulgate inherited this divergence from the Chaldean manuscript.

However, it remains to be explained how the variant was produced. If one wants to suppose that the Chaldean manuscript descends from the Greek, the corruption should have originated from the Greek, but this does not seem plausible. On the contrary, the difference seems easily understandable if one assumes that the change was produced already in a Hebrew text: in fact, if we consider the Hebrew words מִן (man) and

27. For the conjectures concerning the passages 2:9–10 and 14:12, see also Giuseppe Priero, *Giuditta* (Torino: Marietti, 1959), 47 and 122, respectively.

ארם (land of Aram, which corresponds to Syria), the change appears completely plausible. The two terms differ only in the central radical, but the interchange of *daleth* and *resh* is very common, because of strong graphic resemblance of the two letters.²⁸

The expression *in transitu suo* was probably added later (we cannot know whether by the copyist who made the Chaldean manuscript or by Jerome himself) in order to specify the need to prepare the wheat in Syria. In this way, therefore, the presence of the variant of the Vulgate is easily explained.

14:12 (Greek 13) LXX: ἔγειρον δὲ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν, ὅτι ἐτόλμησαν οἱ δοῦλοι καταβῆναι ἐφ' ἡμᾶς εἰς πόλεμον, ἵνα ἐξολεθρευθῶσιν εἰς τέλος.

Regius e Sangerm. 4: *suscita domum nostrum, quoniam ausi sunt filii Israel descendere ad nos in bellum, ut pereant usque in finem.*

Sangerm. 15: *suscita nunc domum nostrum, quoniam ausi sunt Iudaei descendere ad nos in pugnam, ut exterminetur in consummationem.*

Corb.: *excitate domum nostrum, quoniam ausi sunt Iudaei descendere ad nos in pugnam, ut exterminent in consummationem.*

Vulg.: *intrate, et excitate illum, quoniam egressi mures de cavernis suis, ausi sunt provocare nos ad praelium.*

The Vulgate in these verses clearly diverges from the Greek: the metaphor that compares the inhabitants of Bethulia to mice that vilely hide in their burrows is not present in any other witness. Faced with this difference, it is necessary to ask whether it is attributable to an intervention of Jerome. Surely the image of the mouse represented as a vile animal that hides in its burrows is widespread, for example, the famous story of Aesop, then reworked by Horace in the second book of the satires, in which two rats,

28. It is interesting to quote briefly other passages where similar cases appear: the *daleth-resh* confusion is pretty common as we can see in 1 Kgs 11:25 where the MT has *Aram* and the LXX reads *Ἐδωμ*, or, a case which is very similar to Jdt 2:18, in Ezek 27:16 the MT has *ארם* while the LXX reads *ἀνθρώπους*.

one from the country and another from the city, trying to steal the delicious food of humans, are discovered, and εἰσεπήδησαν κρυβέντες ἐπὶ τρώγλης. A similar image is also reported to the Jews, when, in the first book of Samuel, Jonathan is seen by the Philistines, who exclaim: ἰδοὺ οἱ Εβραῖοι ἐκπορεύονται ἐκ τῶν τρωγλῶν αὐτῶν, οὗ ἐκρύβησαν ἐκεῖ. It is significant that Jerome translates this same passage in the Vulgate *hebraei egrediuntur de cavernis in quibus absconditi fuerant*, given that the expression *de cavernis* is very close to *de cavernis suis*. Although these considerations are rather persuasive, it remains to be noted that 1 Sam 14:11 lacks the reference to the mice, which are central in Judith; therefore it seems plausible to exclude the possibility that Jerome is alluding directly to that passage. It is possible to suggest that this is a free insertion of Jerome, which does not allude to any passage but is dictated by the influence of the collective imagination where rats are cowardly animals by definition, it would certainly be an acceptable subject; however, we must remember that Jerome intervenes in the text with certain criteria and purposes, as previously analyzed: in this case, there seems to be no reason to justify the change of οἱ δοῦλοι or *Iudaei* (depending on whether he looked at the Greek or the *Veteres*) into *mures*.

There is perhaps a simpler and a more probing way to understand the divergence: one can suppose that the alternative version of the Vulgate derives from the Chaldean manuscript and that it was originated by a corruption from Hebrew. If we consider the words of which the different versions are translations, the solution becomes clear: עבר (= δοῦλος), עבר (= Ἰουδαῖοι, *Vet. Ioudaei*),²⁹ עבבר (= *mures*), are, in fact, very similar terms. It can be assumed that the original version was the one attested by the *Veteres* (which came from the LXX witnesses that contained the reading Ἰουδαῖοι, which was then lost), and that δοῦλοι in the surviving witnesses of the LXX is the result of a confusion of *daleth* and *resh*, while in the Vulgate's archetype, it would be transcribed עבבר by dittography, then changed to עבבר to give meaning to the text (very probable also considering the similarity of the letters *beth* and *kaph*). But it is also plausible that the original

29. It is noteworthy that, in the *Veteres*, the term *slaves* is not present but is replaced by another variant, *fili Israel*. This is quite significant because it seems to indicate that Jerome did not look at the *Veteres* for this passage, but at the Chaldean manuscript, which, as is evident from these verses, does not seem to present any kind of contamination with them or with the Greek but to derive independently from the Hebrew archetype.

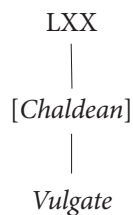
version was that of the LXX, so that the difference of the *Veteres* would be easily explained from the Greek, as οἱ δούλοι may have become corrupt in Ἰουδαῖοι, and in the Vulgate from עבד would be produced עבבר by ditotography and exchange of *daleth* and *resh*. However, the different versions seem understandable only if the existence of a Hebrew archetype is supposed. The detail of the caves was probably added later, suggested by the idea that the Israelites remained safe on their mountains within the city walls and perhaps as a reminder of the passage quoted above, 1 Sam 14:11.

5. Conclusions

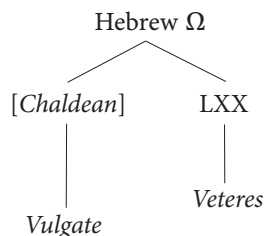
Based on the research conducted here, it seems possible to draw the following conclusions.

(1) Jerome seems to have used his translation of a Chaldean manuscript (which for him is Aramaic) very different from the Greek text and the ancient Latin versions that depend on it. This can be deduced from the examination of numerous passages that only appear in the Vulgate, which cannot be attributed to Jerome on grounds of linguistic traits and content.

(2) The existence of the Chaldean manuscript would help to explain some of the many divergences between the text of the Vulgate and the LXX, but this is not sufficient reason to conclude that the original language of the book of Judith was Semitic rather than Greek. From a hypothetical point of view, it is possible that the Chaldean manuscript itself depends on the Greek (with autonomous variants taken in turn by Jerome).



(3) Other passages, however, allow us to suppose that the Chaldean model rather depends, directly or indirectly, on a lost original Hebrew Ω. In particular, these are cases in which the discrepancy between the Latin (and therefore the Chaldean) and Greek texts can be traced back to an error in the transmission of a Hebrew text. The LXX and the Vulgate would thus be the expression of two independent branches but both traceable to a Hebrew original. If this hypothesis is correct, the original language of the book of Judith might indeed be Hebrew.



Anyway, even assuming that this is the case and therefore that the text of the LXX is a translation of a lost Hebrew original, it would remain an

unexplained problem: the Greek text presents linguistic traits more easily interpretable as original creations of a Greek author, rather than results of a translation from Hebrew. Was the translator a good connoisseur of the Greek, and even if in a translation generally faithful to Hebrew, did he sometimes use a freer and literary Greek? This is, naturally, only a speculation, and there is no way to prove it. The question of the original language of the book of Judith still remains unsolved.

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Paratextual Features of Deuteronomion and Their Interpretive Significance

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Abstract: From a survey of the ancient Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of Deuteronomy this essay indicates that early scribes embedded features into their texts to delimit sense units for the aid of reading. Some of these features signal shifts in character voicing in narrative, lists or parallel structures in laws, cola in poetry, and more. Markings, punctuations, enlarged letters, and even spacing should be heeded for their interpretive weight. This essay also points to a disconnect regarding these paratextual features between our modern editions of Deuteronomion and extant ancient manuscripts. Finally, implications from this study for the inter-linear paradigm are briefly pursued.

Introduction: Paratexts as Framing for the Text

Through my work on Deuteronomion in Codex Alexandrinus, I have been drawn not only to the text, that is, the words of Alexandrinus, but also to the early fifth-century manuscript itself. My appreciation has grown for its overall presentation of Deuteronomion as a complete textual production.

Literary critic Gérard Genette helps us consider the details of textual or manuscript production and their interpretative significance for the text. Evident details of this production he calls “paratext”; this is the

zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of *transition* but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of a pragmatics and strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that ... is at the service of a better

reception for the text and a more pertinent reading (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies).¹

Elements of publishing, in other words, situate and contextualize the words of a text; they shape its appearance to achieve a desired reputation. This manipulation of the text is generally either the work of the author or an agent (publisher or scribe) on his or her behalf. We know that modern graphic design is highly innovative with its “discourse around texts,” but Genette is quick to point out that paratextuality is neither absent nor irrelevant for understanding ancient texts whose presence was given in more raw form:

I say an *almost* raw condition because the sole fact of transcription ... brings to the ideality of the text some degree of materialization, graphic or phonic, which ... induce paratextual effects. In this sense, one may doubtless assert that a text without a paratext does not exist and never has existed.²

As the threshold between production and reception, paratexts function to make the words of the author a possibility for the reader, so by attending to a text’s materialization, we see how the author or his agent (publisher or scribe) wants the ideality conceived and received.

Scholars who regularly study manuscripts are well acquainted with descriptions of scribal hand and a book’s materials as a conveyance of the textual message. For example, these and other paratextual aspects, including paleographic characteristics, assist in the task of dating a work. Provenance, if known, aids in reconstructing the history behind a manuscript. This history then may tie into discussions of the text’s relations to the Old Greek, recensions, et cetera. Paratextual features are not ignored, in other words. Nevertheless, their presence is crucial not only for historical interests related to the manuscript but also for reading the text *as text*. The latter is the main interest of this present endeavor. Some paratextual aspects of Alexandrinus literally shape the very words of the manuscript. Titles and colophons may be some of the most conspicuous shaping factors as are ornamented letters and illustrations, not as abundant in Codex

1. Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

2. Genette, *Paratexts*, 3.

Alexandrinus as much as in other manuscripts. They partner with the words to guide one's reading. Again, these are some examples of the more obvious paratextual elements, but there are more.

My attention for this project has fallen on more subtle aspects of textual production, namely, the use of spaces and punctuation by which the scribe(s) has directly manipulated the presentation of his words. These nontextual aspects of the manuscript most intimately frame a text's meaning, casting the letters, words, clauses, and paragraphs into a mold. Our own writing uses spaces strategically; that is, we write these spaces into our texts to signal paragraphing, to highlight bullet points or lists, to alternate between characters' voicing, to expose poetic meter, et cetera. Writers create this mold intentionally, so formatting carries semantic value.³ Nevertheless, the subtlety of spacing and punctuation means they may be *read* unreflectively. Whether they be in modern or ancient texts, spaces and punctuation are often passed over without recognizing their influence on the text and hints at exegesis.⁴ The intent of this essay is to pause and appreciate their value in shaping the words of Deuteronomion. The guiding question of this research was how did ancient scribes frame the words of LXX Deuteronomy? In this essay, I present the results, mostly in summary form.

Codex Alexandrinus

The treatment of Codex Alexandrinus will be slightly belabored to provide a glance at the underlying work process and to highlight the importance of observing paratextual features in manuscripts. Some paratextual aspects of Codex Alexandrinus are extraordinary, such as the beauty of the writing, the quality of the parchment, and the substantial size of the codex. It was obviously a costly endeavor guided by professional hands who reproduced the text of their sources. In other words, the codex's function as scripture is admirably matched by these praiseworthy aspects of the materials. The

3. Dan Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity: Lectors, Manuscripts, and the Sound in the Oral Delivery of John 1–4*, NovTSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), repeatedly emphasizes that literary form in ancient manuscripts relates directly to its function; e.g., pp.18–25.

4. See Larry Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Manuscripts: Manuscripts and Christian Origins* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2006), 178, 181.

sacred goal of the writing was achieved by both its preservation of revered content as well as its extraordinary presentation.

Another clear feature of Codex Alexandrinus are modest pieces of ornamentation that begin and end the books. This was done with a combination of red and black inks. One should also note the two numbering systems at the head of many of the pages. The ancient Greek enumeration begins at ΙΔ (fourteen) in Deuteronomion and, according to Frederic G. Kenyon, was at the head of each quire. Page numbers, then, suggest a context from which one might infer meaning for the work's title, a *deutero* (a second time or second look at the) *nomos*. Then by extension, page numbers also imply a context for interpreting the words of Deuteronomion: for example, its legal material may be reasonably compared and contrasted with Exodus or Leviticus based on their presence in the preceding quires.

Along with these macro divisions, the scribe used enlarged capital letters that hang in the left margin (*ekthesis*) to signal new paragraphs.⁵ There are over three hundred such markers for Deuteronomion in Codex Alexandrinus.⁶ Accompanying *ekthesis*, the reader may also encounter (1) spaces at the end of the preceding lines, (2) punctuation dots, usually mid or high dots, or (3) both. By such means, sense units, sections and paragraphs, are well marked throughout.⁷ For a quick comparison, these paragraph markers substantially exceed the MT's 167 divisions (*petuhoth* and *setumoth*). It is true that, at the judgement of the scribe, there are times when this paragraphing has created awkward readings (e.g., 13:18–14:3). At other times, they clarify the text substantially better than a reader may find from either Rahlfs's or Wevers's presentations (e.g., chapters 1–4 in narrative, especially for direct address).

Alexandrinus's scribe employed spaces and dots for other purposes. For example, they accentuate lists in the commands of 5:16–21; condem-

5. Eric Gardner Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 11, indicates *ekthesis* was used as early as the first century CE. More recently, Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Artifacts*, 179–80, discusses this scribal technique. Deuteronomion in Codex Alexandrinus has no indentations (*eisthesis*).

6. These are usually the initial letters of the paragraph. However, as Frederic G. Kenyon, introduction to *The Codex Alexandrinus (Royal MS 1 D v–viii) in Reduced Photographic Facsimile: New Testament and Clementine Epistles* (London: British Museum, 1909), 9, observed, “if a paragraph ends near the beginning of a line, the next paragraph is begun in the same line, after a short blank interval, without enlargement, and the first letter of the next line is enlarged.”

7. This scribe employed no *paragraphoi*.

nations of foreign peoples in 20:17; covenant curses in 27:16–26; and blessings in 28:3–6. Further, chapters 32–33 are subdivided via spaces and dots into poetic cola, and simultaneously the scribe utilized slightly enlarged letters that are only partially offset from the left margin. A comprehensive treatment of the function of these paratextual features in Deuteronomion would add many more examples of such paragraphing to signal changes in speaker when the text uses direct address, particularly to highlight the Lord's speeches, as well as Alexandrinus's penchant to separate out parallel structures within the legal codes. In this latter example, paragraphs may signal series of conditional clauses, prohibitions, and commands (e.g., 20:5–8). Therefore, and not completely unlike modern use of spacing, this scribe signaled basic genre changes through strategic formatting of his text.

There are more uses of spaces that do not occur with *ekthesis*, lists, or series. Alexandrinus's use of spaces in Deuteronomion also delimit sentences or important words, and this spacing ranges from single to multiple spaces. Dots may intrude on the text with a similar function. I have given more consideration, that is, more interpretive weight, to spaces than dots, since spacing is certainly original, while dots are not necessarily so as they may have been added at any subsequent point in time.⁸ Long spaces seem to reflect more significant divisions in the text than short.⁹ Accordingly, I segregated these breaks in the text into major and minor breaks. Spaces equal to or greater than four letters are considered major breaks. There are fifteen major breaks that do not accompany *ekthesis* or lists. Two of these correspond to paragraphs (cf. MT's *setumah*: 25:3; *petuhah*: 31:13). Twelve of these breaks signal new verses (seven) or clauses (five). The sole remaining example appears mid-clause and offers no apparent semantic value (22:2).

There are approximately forty-three minor breaks in Alexandrinus's Deuteronomion, that is, two–three characters' width in length, that do not correlate with *ekthesis*. These generally indicate less significant divisions in the text. Three of these correspond to paragraphs (cf. MT's *setumoth*: 12:19; 24:18; and 18). Thirty-three break up texts at verses (twenty-six) or

8. See the discussion by Wim de Bruin, "Interpreting Delimiters: The Complexity of Text Delimitation in Four Major Septuagint Manuscripts," in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*, ed. Marjo C. A. Korpel and Josef N. Oesch, Pericope 3 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2002), 79–80, 86.

9. See Nässelqvist, *Public Reading in Early Christianity*, 24–25.

clauses (seven). Of the seven remaining minor breaks, most divide simple nominal phrases (e.g., 34:11). Again, only one appears mid phrase, and this too does not appear to indicate an important sense division (11:4).

Therefore, attending to spacing and punctuation will almost always pay us, the readers, interpretive dividends.

This is true even if Alexandrinus does not anticipate three of our modern chapter divisions, namely, chapters 14, 17, and 21. Much later, a secondary scribe added notations in the manuscript's margins to mark the book's thirty-four chapters' divisions.¹⁰ Since *ekthesis* and spacing normally corresponded to these, the scribe usually added only a number in the margin. These three places, however, required additional markings. For example, *ekthesis* appears at 13:18 and at 14:4, but not at 14:1 which was divided only by a single space. In the case of chapter 17, not even a space was recorded by the scribe before verse 1. Instead, the original scribe chose to break the text later at verse 2 with spacing and *ekthesis*. The text of 21:1 was signified with only a minor in-line break (two spaces) and no *ekthesis* or dot. Consequently, the later scribe interrupted these three texts, inserting markings between letters that trailed out into the margin. This third case is quite curious when we recognize that the MT marked the break with a *petuhah*. It would be tempting to conclude that the scribe merely forgot to use *ekthesis* here. Yet, since the preceding and succeeding breaks also do not correlate to our verse divisions (20:20b and 21:3a), the entire section is puzzling.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a substantial overlap between Alexandrinus's use of paragraphing and the MT, even if there are considerably more divisions. For example, the MT's *petuhoth* is matched 27 of 32 times, so there are only five passages with no corresponding break in Codex Alexandrinus.¹¹ Likewise, the divisions in Alexandrinus corresponds with the MT's *setumoth* 99 of 135 times. We will return to these observations below.

Codex Vaticanus

Attention may now turn to Codex Vaticanus, since it too is a complete and early (i.e., early to mid-fourth century) manuscript of Deuteronomion. A

10. Kenyon, introduction, 1.

11. See 7:12; 13:2; 14:22; 25:17; 30:11.

few, brief comments on Codex Vaticanus are in order. It, like Alexandrinus, indicates paragraph divisions quite clearly by *ekthesis*. Codex Vaticanus does not use it as frequently, but it does appear 171 times. Unlike Alexandrinus, Vaticanus occasionally marked its text with paragraphoi. This occurs twenty-one times by my count, and it overlaps with *ekthesis* only six times. Therefore, there are 186 clear marks for paragraphing in Vaticanus. Additionally, Vaticanus employs spaces and dots (both single and double) to divide its text, and many times, where Vaticanus lacks *ekthesis*, its spacing and dots corresponded with Alexandrinus's use of *ekthesis*. In total, between *ekthesis* and spacing, I found significant overlap with Alexandrinus in 218 places.¹² Again, in the study of Codex Vaticanus, more weight was given to spacing than to dots, since, as is well known, the text of Vaticanus was retraced by a later scribe(s) who may have added the punctuation at a later time. Probably also from later hands are the two numbering systems for paragraphs that appear in the margins of Vaticanus. One system uses capital letters, and the other, more numerous, was written in lower case. Because of the uncertainty of their origin, they were rarely considered.¹³

As to special formatting with the use of spaces and dots, it is noted that the scribe for Vaticanus was generally parsimonious with his spacing; he was much less inclined than the scribe of Alexandrinus to use spacing for such formatting. Instead, he relied more on a combination of punctuation dots, both single or double dots, with short breaks of one–two spaces to set off key sense divisions in Deuteronomion. For example, Vaticanus separated commands in the Decalogue by regularly inserting a high dot and space. Other noteworthy examples of special formatting include the following: (1) the list of birds unfit for eating were highlighted by high dots and spaces (14:19–22); (2) individual laws in the collections in chapters 22–23 (i.e., 22:4–13 and 23:16–26) are segregated by dots and spaces; (3) covenant curses are listed with *ekthesis* and spacing (27:15–26) as are the blessings (28:3–6); and (4) the cola of chapter 32 are separated by high dots and short spacing.

12. *Significant* indicates that the passage had to correspond in both Alexandrinus and Vaticanus in two ways: (1) both Alexandrinus and Vaticanus used *ekthesis* or *paragraphoi* or (2) either Alexandrinus or Vaticanus used *ekthesis* and the other marked the place by both dots and spaces.

13. If they were given fuller consideration, at least another ten passages would be included: e.g., 3:1; 4:25, 29; 8:1; 12:28; 23:20; 24:7, 16; 25:4; 26:16.

This data, combined from both Codex Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, then became a baseline for a comparison given below with earlier, fragmentary manuscripts. Thus, using the agreements of these *complete* manuscripts, even if they were later, seemed significant.

Early Fragmentary Greek Manuscripts

Once this compilation was complete, attention was given to earlier LXX papyri, principally P.963 and P.848 (as well as P.847 and P.458).¹⁴ Papyrus 963 is from the early to mid-second century CE, and P.848 is even earlier, coming from the mid-first century BCE. With these texts, therefore, we move back several centuries from the great uncials. Neither of these papyri are complete, but they are substantial. Neither of them uses *ekthesis*, but *paragraphoi* and spacing as well as dots were employed by both their scribes to signal key divisions in their texts.

Very briefly regarding P.963, in its present state, four *paragraphoi* are visible. Again, its scribe found it useful to place spaces strategically in his text to highlight pauses and sense divisions. Of the four visible *paragraphoi*, each agrees with the list of paragraphs compiled from Alexandrinus and Vaticanus; there were no uniquely placed *paragraphoi*. In fifteen more cases, spaces and dots marked breaks in the text that corresponds to this list, and seven of these had lacunae where a *paragraphos* may have been found originally. Also, in fifteen more cases, it agreed with Alexandrinus (but not Vaticanus) separately; incidentally, in no cases did it agree with Vaticanus over Alexandrinus. There were three instances of disagreement, that is, there was no indication, either by *paragraphos* or spacing, of agreement with the list.¹⁵ Three more cases are inconclusive because of lacunae. Papyrus 963 indicates low correlation to the MT, with only five of its nineteen paragraph divisions matching it.

Partially by what is visible and partially by reconstruction we may ascertain signs of spaces and dots intruding on words of chapter 32, precisely where we know the cola of its poetry are divided, and thus it appears

14. P.848 and P.458 were too fragmentary for an analysis of paragraphing and special formatting, although P.458 exhibited use of spacing for dividing phrases, clauses, and sentences (e.g., in 25:1–3). In one instance, a high dot also accompanied a space to separate the sentences of 24:1 and 2.

15. I.e., 4:1; 6:1; 28:8; 29:1; 31:9.

that the scribe was sensitive to this genre shift. Unfortunately, lacunae prevent a more comprehensive study.

A quick glance at P.848 may now be provided. Similar strategies in the use of *paragraphoi*, spaces, and (less often) dots demarcate Deuteronomion's text in this manuscript from the first century BCE. In its present state, P.848 preserves seventeen clear instances of *paragraphoi* and three more passages, which cannot attest *paragraphoi*, nonetheless have major breaks of four or more spaces, indicating twenty total major sense divisions. Of these twenty, twelve agree with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, while eight agree either with Alexandrinus or Vaticanus. So, there are none that depart from the patterns we have seen in the major manuscripts. In eleven more cases, spaces (minor major breaks) are evident; eight breaks agree with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, and three agree with either Alexandrinus or Vaticanus. Of the twenty passages it shares with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, fifteen (75 percent) agree with the MT and five (25 percent) do not. The eleven minor agreements with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus are matched with the MT only five times.

There is only one case, namely, 25:7, where there is disagreement with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, since it is clear that P.848 does not divide where they do.

The best evidence for this scribe's influence on the words of Deuteronomion comes once again in chapter 32 where it demonstrates divisions for each cola with even more clarity than P.963. Again, with so much missing from P.848, there is no evidence of other passages with special formatting, such as mentioned with Codex Alexandrinus or Vaticanus.

Early Hebrew Manuscripts from Qumran

Finally, consideration was also given to Hebrew manuscripts from Qumran for their representation of textual divisions in Deuteronomy, and obviously these texts are earlier than Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. The Qumran texts used *paragraphoi* only on a few occasions, although they are not completely absent, since spacing was apparently a preferred means of breaking the text into sections (cf. 1:9 in 2QDeut^a and 10:6 and 28:1 in 4QDeut^c).¹⁶ Unfortunately, the manuscripts are highly fragmentary,

16. Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 143, 145, 148, 273–74.

so many key portions of their texts cannot be accessed for our comparisons. Still, enough material has survived to show us that sense divisions were important to these Hebrew manuscripts and to their scribes in the second and first centuries BCE. While I acknowledge that these manuscripts have different characters, for this discussion, I am treating them as a corpus. There are twenty-eight times when their divisions, signaled by larger spaces (*vacats*), aligned with both Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. Four more times it was with Alexandrinus or Vaticanus. In six instances, these divisions were aligned neither with Alexandrinus or Vaticanus and thus constituted disagreements.¹⁷ Of the twenty-eight concords, twenty-one (or 75 percent) also aligned with the MT, and seven (or 25 percent) preserved breaks that the MT does not follow. All four of the minor agreements with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus were aligned with the MT.

Special formatting was found again in chapters 32–33 among the Dead Sea Scrolls. 4QDeut^h from the first century BCE preserves portions of chapters 32 and 33 with indications of poetic cola.¹⁸ Other texts only reflect poetic divisions for chapter 32. The earliest is 4QDeut^b from mid-second century BCE,¹⁹ but see also 1QDeut^b 18–19, 4QDeut^q 2–5, and 4QpaleoDeut^r 41–44.

Conclusion

There are two main conclusions to this paper, and these will be followed by a brief reflection on the interlinear paradigm. One conclusion is straightforward, and one will require some development.

First, sense divisions had been written into Greek literature in times well before the scribal work in codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, and indeed we know that signs of sense divisions predated even the work of translating LXX Pentateuch in the third century BCE. As C. H. Roberts has illustrated, spaces, *paragraphoi*, coronis, metrical lines, and others are found in Greek papyri from the fourth century BCE.²⁰ Emanuel Tov

17. See 7:22 (4QDeut^e); 8:7, 9, 10 (4QDeutⁿ); 11:28 (1QDeut^a); and 28:20 (4QpaleoDeut^f).

18. Eugene Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4 IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings*, DJD 14 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 61–62, 68; see also Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 136.

19. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4 IX*, 9–10.

20. Colin H. Roberts, *Greek Literary Hands: 350 B.C.–A.D. 400* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1956); see esp. 1, 2, 6, 11.

has likewise demonstrated that sense divisions in Hebrew manuscripts developed even from the First Temple period into the late Second Temple period.²¹ He maintains such features are most clearly demonstrated in the biblical Greek and Aramaic translations discovered at Qumran.²² Tov postulates that the biblical manuscripts reflect oral traditions that accompanied the public reading of the Hebrew Bible, which would certainly predate the translation efforts for the Greek Pentateuch.²³ Therefore, it should not surprise us, given the evidence of correspondence in the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts of Deuteronomion, if the *translator* himself would have included lectional signs on his manuscript.²⁴ Such spacing and signs, as key paratexts, then could have been passed down in the manuscript tradition from translator to copyists to preserve Jewish reading habits. Tov's study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Larry Hurtado's study of Christian manuscripts both agree that later Christian scribes likely depended upon Jewish scribal precedents for imprinting their manuscripts with lectional hints.²⁵ Thus, it is possible that extant Hebrew manuscripts may represent reading traditions that the translator inherited and thus embedded in his work.

Our brief survey has indeed found a correspondence between the formatting of both the Greek and Hebrew manuscripts in chapter 32 and its poetry. This is probably the clearest sign that Greek scribes who copied Deuteronomion may have followed the translator. It clearly was a consistent concern to indicate the shift in literary character by special formatting. Certainly, we wish that P.963 and P.848 (as well as P.847 and P.458) were complete so that we might trace the formatting of other lists and or parallel structures in Deuteronomion. Nevertheless, and at a minimum, it is evident that *form and formatting* were clearly an ancient concern.

Second, having compared Alexandrinus and Vaticanus with these ancient manuscripts, it is informative to look at how the ancient (especially

21. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 132–42. Hebrew texts even differentiate words by spacing, exceptions being *tefillin* or *mezuzoth* that use *scriptio continua*. Many features are evident in the Elephantine papyri from the fifth century BCE; see p. 155.

22. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 136.

23. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 135, 156.

24. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts*, 9, describes these as “aids to the reader” in order to “help him understand correctly.”

25. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 150; Hurtado, *Earliest Christian Manuscripts*, 183–85. Tov argues that Christian scribes tended to reduce the lectional signs under the influence of Greek literary traditions; see Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 160.

Greek manuscripts) compare with our modern editions. It bears repeating that it was observed, by *ekthesis* and extended spacing and punctuation, that there are 218 occasions of agreement between Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. Therefore, it is surprising to note that in Alfred Rahlfs's edition of Deuteronomion, there are only 143 divisions and in John William Wevers's Göttingen text, there are only 153 divisions.

Of Rahlfs's 143 divisions, five were not aligned with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus or even Alexandrinus or Vaticanus. Sixteen aligned with Alexandrinus or Vaticanus, and 122 matched both. In other words, there is some measure of concord in 138 occasions. However, the number of missing paragraphs, when compared to our master list, would be ninety-six. Similarly, Wevers's Göttingen edition included 153 total divisions, of which seven did not align with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus or even Alexandrinus or Vaticanus. Twenty divisions matched Alexandrinus or Vaticanus, leaving 127 divisions that matched Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. The total number of agreements is 147. However, Wevers's edition is still missing ninety-one divisions from the list of Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. These statistics indicate that the modern editions are significantly out of alignment with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus.

This misalignment is made even clearer when the relationship with the MT in those areas of overlap and divergence are analyzed. When Rahlfs agrees with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus or even Alexandrinus or Vaticanus (138x), it is highly likely this division will also be in the MT's divisions. This is true 72 percent of the time. On the other hand, when Rahlfs disagrees *by omission*, it is found that that division was found in the MT only 24 percent of the time. When Wevers agrees with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus or even Alexandrinus or Vaticanus, it is likely this passage will also be in the MT divisions; this is true 68 percent of the time. Conversely, when Wevers disagrees *by omission*, it is found that that sense division will be in the MT only 32 percent of the time. These directions of correlations with the MT, in both Rahlfs and Wevers, makes it clear that both heavily correlated their work with the MT and that they significantly overlooked the divisions preserved in our oldest complete Greek manuscripts.

The general concord between the great uncials and the papyri (P.963 and P.848) makes the formatting of modern editions more puzzling. For example, Rahlfs does not include fourteen instances where Alexandrinus and Vaticanus agree with either P.963 or P.848. It should be noted that only four of these are in agreement with the MT. Wevers disagrees with Alexandrinus and Vaticanus with either P.963 or P.848 twelve times and only

twice do these match the MT. So, despite strong ancient evidence for these sense divisions, the modern editions are not following. The corollary we may now see is that the Hebrew Bible in the MT has exercised an undue influence on the modern Greek editions, over and above the ancient Greek manuscripts.²⁶ Again, this is a problem and it is indicative of a need to revise our modern presentations of Deuteronomion.

Reflection on the So-Called Interlinear Paradigm

This study on the early shape of Deuteronomion runs somewhat against the grain of the interlinear paradigm. All extant manuscript evidence for Deuteronomy, both in the early Hebrew copies of Qumran's caves and in the early Greek copies of the LXX, point to patterns of formatting for the book.²⁷ To this conclusion we should add Tov's general observations on Torah scrolls: namely, that it is especially the Greek (LXX) and Aramaic (Targum) copies which appear to have embedded lectional hints for public readings, and these hints probably reflect existing, oral traditions associated with the Hebrew.²⁸ The implications of these observations becomes clear when we recognize that we do not have manuscript evidence that the LXX ever began in the *form* of an interlinear text.²⁹ Yet, form and function are naturally interconnected, and most writers naturally embed function in their work's form.

Proponents of the interlinear paradigm, while acknowledging that their paradigm is a hypothesis about its original *function* and not so much about its original literary *form*, nevertheless persist with *interlinear*, even though, as a heuristic device, it is out of sync with the likely form of the translators' work.³⁰ There is no intention here of talking past the inter-

26. See also Dominique Barthélemy, *Studies in the Text of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Hebrew Old Testament Text Project*, Textual Criticism and the Translator 3 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 412.

27. The *pesharim*, found at Qumran, bear an interlinear format, and their form is apropos to their function.

28. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 135–36, 155.

29. It is regarding the form of the original translation that is precisely what cannot be conceded to Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference*, ed. Johann Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 339–40.

30. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "In a Mirror Dimly—Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of*

linear paradigm by failing to see it purely as a mental figuration, but this model does not appreciate the LXX as scrolls that most likely embedded aids for readers to observe character voicing, lists, genre shifts, poetic cola, and more. An adequate interpretive model should account for these higher functions of the texts. For the interlinear model to *function* successfully, the following conditions must have been present simultaneously (1) a Hebrew source text *and* (2) competent reader of Hebrew who would accompany every reading of every LXX page *and* (3) a reader of the Greek who would ignore sense divisions in his copy, divisions which would give higher semantic value to the Greek text. Based on the present study of Deuteronomion, the last point is difficult to concede. Even if this scenario could be proved feasible, *interlinear* is a poor name, and *intercolumnar* would be preferable.³¹ Stated differently, if the literary *form* of a LXX scroll was coherent and meaningful, then the original manuscript could have been considered an independent textual production immediately. Purposeful and knowledgeable assistance would be constantly required for the Greek to stay connected (“subservient”³²) to the Hebrew’s lexical and literary traditions, otherwise it would be seen as a textual production in its own right. Comparisons between the LXX and short Homeric scholastic texts fail both by comparison with our knowledge of the textual forms of Deuteronomion, for example, and also by the sheer volume of material constituted by the Pentateuch, which would far exceed the practical need of a pedagogical context.³³ If the original Pentateuch’s forms were typical of manuscripts forms that we possess, then is it too much to imagine that they were intended to be read as such from the start?

Our stress on the importance of form holds even if one concedes that tightly coupled translation values (Hebraisms, calques, etc.) appear

Greek Jewish Scriptures, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 28–29, moves from a small portion of the *Iliad*, which is truly in the form of an interlinear text, in order to make a comparison with the entirety of the LXX. First, the strength of this analogy would be greater if in fact the LXX’s earliest form was interlinear, but again we have no evidence of this. Secondly, the length of the texts is in no way comparable.

31. This is hardly nit-picking. Reading parallel columns is not as disruptive to the text as reading parallel lines. Literary form is better appreciated in the former, while the latter weakens it considerably. See Pietersma, “New Paradigm,” 347–49.

32. Pietersma, “New Paradigm,” 350.

33. Pietersma, “New Paradigm,” 348–49, 357–60.

at times (although Genesis exhibits this less than Deuteronomy).³⁴ The original form of the scrolls must be ignored for an interlinear model to work.³⁵ Hence, if the LXX Pentateuch was likely not interlinear in *form* and if the translator preserved in his translation and transliteration both content and literary form, that is, the paratextual elements of his Hebrew *Vorlage*, then the interlinear paradigm ignores the form's influence on its content.

A tendency to bypass *paratext* and rush to the *text* has certainly been exhibited at times in discussions which reduce the LXX translation to the status of a glossary. For example, Albert Pietersma has contended that "in a word-based translation, the primary unit of meaning is the word."³⁶ One may conclude this only by ignoring the Pentateuch's considerable grammatical, syntactic, and discursive elements and rather see it as a mere list of lexical forms, such as nominative nouns or infinitive verbs.³⁷ However, if there are in fact Greek sentences, then the primary unit of meaning is not the word. Furthermore, if manuscripts present their sentences within paragraphs and sections, then the primary unit of meaning is not even the sentence! Such considerations would be natural if the text is imagined in a manuscript's discursive form; by contrast, an imaginative excision of Deuteronomion's content into an ethereal, formless text allows it to be seen

34. This point may be made in the face of awkward Greek constructions or even grammatical infelicities. It is possible that these would tacitly point towards their hypotext; Michael Riffaterre comments on ungrammaticalities as pointers towards intertextual readings; see his "Compulsory Reader Response: The Intertextual Drive," in *Intertextuality: Theories and Practices*, ed. Michael Worton and Judith Still (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 57–58. Nevertheless, not all readers would have the time and resources to trace these clues back to the hypotext, leaving them with the need to read on and use *intratextual* clues for meaning. In the case of Deuteronomion, it is highly likely to have been translated in connection with other books from the Torah, and as a corpus, they often would provide a substantial basis for intratextual readings.

35. Contra Benjamin G. Wright, "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo," in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 60. It would take significant effort to separate a true interlinear text into its constituent parts, but independent scrolls would take significant effort to remain together.

36. Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 38.

37. It is an ineffective characterization of the Pentateuch to say it is a *verbum e verbo* translation, as Pietersma does; "New Paradigm," 357. Even if Deuteronomion does not rise to high literary levels, the text is quite intelligible.

as a mere crib for the Hebrew.³⁸ Indeed, the impracticality of the model, insisting that two scrolls always be unrolled *and* set side-by-side *and* that a learned tutor of the foreign Hebrew be present, ignores our manuscripts as whole and meaningful textual productions.

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- . "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint." Pages 337–64

38. Pietersma, "New Paradigm," 360.

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Exegetical Substitutions in Theodotion Daniel

Daniel Olariu

Abstract: The aim of this study is to discuss exegetical substitutions in Th-Dan within the framework of a translation-revision relationship between OG-Dan and Th-Dan. The inquiry benefits from the ideal context of comparing two complete, parallel texts. The unique recensional substitutions in Th-Dan are singled out not so much by determining content differences between Th-Dan and the MT. Examples of this type are few in number and the small amount affirm the character of Th-Dan as a literal revision. The best approach to analyze recensional substitutions, and the one suggested in this study, is to single out instances where the literal reviser deviated from his stereotyped equivalents. Such cases are important because they point to the exegetical rationales that affected the reviser's literal agenda.

The Septuagint Daniel presents a unique situation among other translational units: it was transmitted in two complete parallel texts, namely, the Old Greek and Theodotion versions (henceforth: the OG[-Dan] and Th-Dan). This situation is reflected in the modern editions that included both texts, either by placing them on the same page or on separate ones.¹

This study is partly based on sections of my PhD dissertation, supervised by Emanuel Tov and Michael Segal: "An Analysis of the Revisional Process in Theodotion's Greek Text of Daniel" (Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2021). It also is a sequel to my previous investigation on the recensional additions in Th-Dan: Daniel Olariu, "Recensional Additions: Insights from Theodotion Daniel," in *The Göttingen Septuagint: Papers Presented at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, SBL, Denver 2018*, ed. Felix Albrecht and Frank Feder, DSI (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming).

1. For the manuscripts' selection as the base texts for the old and modern editions, as well as for their layouts, see Amara's discussion: Dalia Amara, "Septuagint,"

The editorial decisions were demonstrably influenced by the intriguing transmission history of the OG and Th-Dan. The church fathers document that the former was replaced by the latter, resulting in the preservation of Th-Dan in the best manuscripts and the almost complete obliteration of the OG.² However, thanks to the discovery of P.967, the OG acquired a new reliable witness and inspired fresh studies over the twentieth century.³ Naturally, the focus on the OG led to the situation that Th-Dan was

in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1A–C (Leiden: Brill, 2016–2017), C:543.

2. With respect to the replacement of OG with Th-Dan, Jerome writes: “The Septuagint version of Daniel the prophet is not read by the Churches of our Lord and Saviour. They use Theodotion’s version, but how this came to pass I cannot tell. Whether it be that the Language is Chaldee, which differs in certain peculiarities from our speech, and the Seventy were unwilling to follow those deviations in a translation; or that the book was published in the name of the Seventy, by some one or other not familiar with Chaldee, or if there be some other reason, I know not; this one thing I can affirm—that it differs widely from the original, and is rightly rejected.” Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 1341 (lines 1–7). The translation is quoted from *The Principal Works of St. Jerome*, trans. W. H. Fremantle, NPNF 6, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 492. Before the discovery of P.967, the OG was preserved only in two manuscripts: Codex Chisianus (or MS 88) and the translation into Syriac of the fifth column included in Origen’s Hexapla, that is, the Syro-Hexapla (Syh). These manuscripts were published in Simon de Magistris, *Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex tetraplis Origenis nunc primum editus a singulari Chrisiano codice* (Rome: Typis Propagandae Fidei, 1772) and Antonio Maria Ceriani, *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus*, Monumenta sacra et profana 7 (Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874), folios 143a–151b. See further Daniel Olariu and Michael Segal, “The Greek Texts of the Book of Daniel: Old Greek and Theodotion,” in *Die Wirkungs- und Rezeptionsgeschichte der Septuaginta*, ed. Martin Meiser and Florian Wilk, LXX.H 6 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher, forthcoming).

3. Sections from the book of Daniel preserved in P.967 have been prepared and published by Frederic G. Kenyon, *Daniel 3,72–6,18: The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri: Description and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*, Fasc. 7: Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, 2 vols. (London: Walker, 1938), text (vol. 1) + plates (vol. 2); Angelo Geißen, *Daniel 5–12, Susanna, Bel et Draco, Esther: Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 5–12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1,1a–2,15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 5 (Bonn: Habelt, 1968); Winfried Hamm, *Daniel 1–2: Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 1–2, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*, Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 10 (Bonn: Habelt, 1969); Hamm, *Daniel 3–4: Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel, Kap. 3–4, nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*, Papyrologische Texte

less investigated.⁴ When it did finally receive attention, the character of Th-Dan was assessed as a *de novo* translation.⁵

und Abhandlungen 21 (Bonn: Habelt, 1977); Ramon Roca-Puig, *Daniel: Dos semifolis del còdex 967: Papir de Barcelona, Inv. n.º. 42 i 43* (Barcelona: Grafos, 1974); Roca-Puig, "Daniel: Dos Semifogli del Codex 967," *Aeg* 56 (1976): 3–18.

The studies inspired by the discovery of P.967 generally corrected earlier opinions that the OG contains paraphrastic and midrashic tendencies. See, for instance, the studies of Timothy R. Ashley, "The Book of Daniel Chapters I–VI: Text, Versions and Problems of Exegesis" (PhD diss., University of Saint Andrews, 1975); A. McCrystall, "Studies in the Old Greek Translation of Daniel" (PhD diss., Oxford University, 1980); Pace Sharon Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7–12*, CBQMS 19 (Washington: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1988), 32–57; and Dean Orrin Wenthe, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 1–6" (PhD diss., University of Notre Dame, 1991). For their place within the textual scholarship on Daniel, see Daniel Olariu, "Textual History of Daniel," in Lange and Tov, *Hebrew Bible*, C:517–27.

4. The literature review as well as the necessity of a study of this kind are presented elsewhere. For these aspects and further methodological considerations, see Olariu, "Recensional Additions."

5. McLay was the first to challenge the opinion that Th-Dan reflects an independent translation: R. Timothy McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, SCS 43 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 242. From the same author, see further McLay, "Syntactic Profiles and the Characteristics of Revision: A Response to Karen Jobes," *BIOSCS* 29 (1996): 15–21; McLay, "It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and the Old Greek Texts of Daniel," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla*, ed. Alison Salvesen, TSAJ 58 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 231–54; McLay, "The Relationship Between Greek Translations of Daniel 1–3," *BIOSCS* 37 (2004): 29–53; McLay, "Double Translations in the Greek Versions of Daniel," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: University Press, 2005), 255–67; McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55.3 (2005): 304–23; McLay, "The Greek Translations of Daniel 4–6," in *The Temple in Text and Tradition: A Festschrift in Honour of Robert Hayward*, ed. R. Timothy McLay, LSTS 83 (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 187–214; McLay, "Daniel (Old Greek and Theodotion)," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 544–54.

McLay's view on the character of Th-Dan is reflected to a lesser or greater extent in other studies such as Chukwudi J. Obiajunwa, "Semitic Interference in Theodotion-Daniel" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1999); Birte Braasch, "Die LXX-Übersetzung des Danielbuches—Eine Orientierungshilfe für das religiöse und politisch-gesellschaftliche Leben in der ptolemäischen Diaspora: Eine rezeptionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung von Dan 1–7" (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 2003); and Dalia Amara, "The Old Greek Version of Daniel: The Translation, the Vorlage and the Redaction" [Hebrew] (PhD diss., Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, 2006).

My recent investigations on the issue led to the opposite conclusion: Th-Dan displays the traits of a literal revision.⁶ That is, the thorough analysis of both the commonalities and the differences between the OG and Th-Dan yields the conclusion that the Greek version attributed to Theodotion displays cases of both dependence on and correction of the OG.

I suggest that both tendencies become visible through the analysis of the *substitutions* in the Greek versions of Daniel. As such, the fact that the OG constituted the base text of Th-Dan's revision can be deduced from instances wherein the latter shares with the former significant substituted elements. Furthermore, the recensional tendencies are clearly demonstrated by the reviser's numerous corrections of substituted elements in the base text toward a literal representation of his source text, which resembles the MT. I have already provided ample evidence of such tendencies in previous studies, and, in this contribution, I shall supplement this evidence with more examples of unique recensional substitutions.

The working definition for *recensional substitutions* in this study covers two areas. First, it refers to instances in which the reviser's departure from literal renderings of the source text is discernable. Second, given Th-Dan's character as a revision, the definition also includes instances wherein the reviser's departure from his favored equivalents is noticeable. I suggest that examples in both areas offer valuable glimpses into the exegetical world of Th-Dan's literalist reviser. They not only help us to recognize his exegetical sensibility, but they also illuminate the textual circumstances that influenced his decision to deviate from either the source text or his recensional patterns. In the latter case, his exceptional equivalents constitute

6. Daniel Olariu, "The Quest for the Common Basis in the Greek Versions of the Book of Daniel" (MA thesis, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2015); Olariu, "Analysis of the Revisional Process in Theodotion's Greek Text of Daniel." In the first study, the conclusion was based on the consideration of significant equivalents. In the second study, I examine the differences between the OG and Th-Dan and show that they emerged from processes of revision. See also Olariu, "Criteria for Determining the Common Basis of the Greek Versions of Daniel," *Textus* 28 (2019): 105–24; Olariu, "The Mechanics of the Recensional Process: Theodotion's Treatment of First-Found Equivalents in Old Greek Daniel," *JSCS* 52 (2019): 177–95; and Olariu, "How Does a Reviser Work? Insights from Theodotion's Recension of Daniel," paper presented at the International Symposium "Explorări în Tradiția Biblică Românească și Europeană," 9th ed. of Universitatea "Alexandru Ioan Cuza" din Iași, 9–11 May 2019.

acceptable renditions of the Semitic lexemes. However, they substitute the stereotyped equivalents, affecting the reviser's literal agenda. Both types of renditions qualify as recensional substitutions, and, hence, a section is devoted for their discussion.

This study proceeds by presenting a select number of cases that attest Th-Dan's dependence on the OG in selecting its lexical choices. The renditions are tantamount to significant agreements (§§1.1–3). Section 2 selectively discusses cases of recensional corrections. They indicate the reviser's goal to rework the base text to correspond in content with his MT-like *Vorlage* (§§2.1–3). Section 3 highlights unique cases of recensional substitutions in Th-Dan. The examples give some indication of the obstacles that hindered the reviser from achieving literal representation (§§3.1–2). Finally, the study discusses the results within a translation-revision framework.

For my presentation of the data, I take into consideration form and content criteria. With regard to form, I first describe the contextual elements in relation to the source text. Accordingly, the elements can be described as additions, omissions, and substitutions. Concerning content, I mainly refer to factors that probably resulted in their formation. In this regard, I distinguish between linguistic, exegetical, and theological factors. For the purposes of the study, I limit the discussion to substitutions.

The biblical verses in the first two sections are cited in part or as a whole and are presented in charts, grouping readings from the MT, the OG, and Th-Dan⁷ with English translations.⁸ The string of words under discussion are underlined in each chart. The examples are listed in the sequence of how they occur in the book of Daniel.

1. Substitutions from OG-Dan in Th-Dan

The following examples are cases in which Th-Dan has demonstrably adopted elements from the OG.

7. The Hebrew text reflects *BHS*; the excerpts from the Greek versions are cited from Joseph Ziegler, Olivier Munnich, and Detlef Fraenkel, eds., *Susanna, Daniel, Bel et Draco*, 2nd ed., SVTG 16.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999).

8. The English translation of the Hebrew text follows JPS; the translation of the Greek versions follows NETS.

1.1. Linguistic Elements

No. 1. Dan 9:11

- MT ותתך עלינו האלה והשבעה
so the curse and the oath ... have been poured down upon us
- OG καὶ ἐπῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡ κατάρα καὶ ὁ ὅρκος
And the curse and the oath ... have come upon us
- Th καὶ ἐπῆλθεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἡ κατάρα καὶ ὁ ὅρκος
And the curse and the oath ... have come upon us

נתך, “to pour out,” has presumably caused problems for both the OG and Th-Dan.⁹ Consequently, ἐπέρχομαι, “to come upon,” “to be at hand,” appears to be a contextual guess in 9:11. This verse contains the first instance of ἐπέρχομαι in Th-Dan, whereas the term appears twice earlier in the OG.¹⁰ This difference and the apparent unfamiliarity with the meaning of נתך indicate the dependence of the former on the latter.

No. 2. Dan 9:27

- MT ונחרצה תתך על שמם
until the decreed (destruction) will be poured down upon the appalling thing
- OG καὶ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν
and a consummation will be given for the desolation
- Th συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν
and a consummation will be given for the desolation

9. Though נתך occurs nineteen times in the MT and has been translated with seven different equivalents, neither δίδωμι nor ἐπέρχομαι are among them. Consequently, it is unlikely that two translators derived the same equivalents independently. נתך has been rendered in the LXX as follows: στάζω, “to trickle,” “to drop” (Exod 9:33; 2 Sam 21:10; Jer 42[49]:18 [2x]; 44[51]:6; 2 Chr 12:7); χέω, “to pour,” “to scatter” (Jer 7:20); χωνεύω, “to cast (metal),” “to smelt” (2 Kgs 22:9; Ezek 22:20 [2x], 21, 22; 2 Chr 34:17); τήγω, “to melt” (Ezek 24:11; Nah 1:6); δακρύω, “to weep” (Job 3:24); ἀμέλγω, “to milk,” “to pour like milk” (Job 10:10); ἐκκαίω, “to burn,” “to inflame” (2 Chr 34:21, 25).

10. Prior to Dan 9:11, the OG utilizes ἐπέρχομαι twice in 4:16[19]; 5:30. After 9:11, Th-Dan replaces ἐπέρχομαι with ἔρχομαι twice in 9:13; 10:13, and εἰσέρχομαι three times in 11:15, 17, 41. Th-Dan has ἐπέρχομαι once more in 11:13. All equivalents are rendered according to the root בוא.

נתן, “to pour out,” occurs once more in 9:27 where both versions share the unique equivalent *δίδωμι*, “to give.” Here, *δοθήσεται* renders תתן, which probably reflects linguistic exegesis with the OG translator assuming an interchange between the graphically similar letters *nun* and *kaph*, that is, תתן to נתן. Amara similarly remarks that, in verse 27, Th-Dan draws on the OG’s paraphrastic translation.¹¹

No. 3. Dan 8:13

- MT ואשמעה אחד קדוש מדבר ויאמר אחד קדוש לפלמוני המדבר
Then I heard a holy being speaking, and another holy being said to
whoever it was who was speaking
- OG καὶ ἤκουον ἑτέρου ἁγίου λαλοῦντος, καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἕτερος τῷ φελμουני τῷ
λαλοῦντι
And I kept hearing another holy one speaking, and the other one
said to the Phelmouni who was speaking
- Th καὶ ἤκουσα ἐνὸς ἁγίου λαλοῦντος, καὶ εἶπεν εἷς ἅγιος τῷ φελμουני τῷ
λαλοῦντι
And I heard one of the holy ones speaking, and one holy one said to
the Phelmouni who was speaking

The LXX translators struggled with the indefinite pronoun פלני אלמני as well as with its shorter form הפלני, “that certain one.”¹² Its variation in Daniel is unique¹³ as is its transliteration in the OG. The reviser has adopted the OG’s unique transliteration, betraying his linguistic limitations as well as his dependence on the OG.¹⁴

11. By paraphrastic rendering, I refer to the long sentence ועל כנן שקוצים משמם ועד כלה ונחרצה תתן על שמם in v. 27, that OG-Dan renders with καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται ἕως συντελείας, καὶ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν. Th-Dan retains it for the most part: καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων, καὶ ἕως συντελείας καιροῦ συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν. See Amara, “Old Greek Version of Daniel,” 21.

12. The various forms of the indefinite pronoun were rendered as follows: פלני אלמני—Φελλανι Αλεμωνι (1 Sam 21:3); פלני אלמני—ελμωνι (2 Kgs 6:8); פלני אלמני—κρύφιος (Ruth 4:1); הפלני—Φελωνι (1 Chr 11:27; 27:10); and הפלני—Φαλλους (1 Chr 11:36).

13. In its form, פלמוני in Dan 8:13 constitutes a combination between פלני and אלמני. See Louis H. Ginsberg, *Studies in Daniel*, Texts and Studies of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America 14 (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1948), 83.

14. It is no surprise that, starting with Aquila, φελμουני was taken as a “proper, angelic

1.2. Exegetical Elements

No. 4. Dan 8:25a

MT ובשלוה ישחית רביםwill destroy many, taking them unawaresLXX καὶ δόλῳ ἀφανιεῖ πολλοὺςAnd by deceit he will annihilate manyTh καὶ δόλῳ διαφθερεῖ πολλοὺςAnd by deceit he will destroy many

שלוה denotes “prosperity,” “tranquility,” and occurs three times in MT-Dan. Both versions agree only in Dan 8:25, rendering it with δόλος, “deceit.” In the other two occasions, Th-Dan substitutes the conjectural OG equivalent ἐξαπναια, “suddenly,” with the literal εὐθηνία, “prosperity” (Dan 11:21, 24).¹⁵ The motive for Th-Dan to retain δόλος in 8:25 was exegetical. Since the basic meaning of שלוה hardly made sense in the context, the OG translator rendered it in view of the מרמה, “deceit,” of the same verse.¹⁶ Significantly, מרמה was rendered with ψεῦδος, “lie,” “falsehood,” in the OG, whereas in Th-Dan with δόλος. The effect of this deliberate substitution is that it negatively depicts the actions of the little horn, while textually leveling שלוה with מרמה.¹⁷

name.” See further James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1964), 344 and Louis F. Hartman and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*, AB 23 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1978), 226.

15. Besides Daniel, שלוה occurs five times, with its meaning deduced erroneously three times (Jer 22:21; Prov 1:32; 17:1). In the other two instances, LXX renders it with the more suitable equivalent εὐθηνία, “prosperity” (Ezek 16:49; Ps 122[121]:7).

16. As tempting as it may be to suggest a different Aramaic *Vorlage* in this case, i.e., שלח or שלח (cf. Dan 3:29; 6:5; Ezra 4:22; 6:9) instead of שלוה, this possibility is mitigated by the fact that the Greek versions offer a different, contextual translation for שלח/שלח in 3:29(96). Both readings probably would have challenged the process of translation in Dan 8:25.

17. For a recent, lengthier discussion of the textual problems involved in v. 25, see Ian Young, “What Is Old Greek Daniel Chapter 8 About?,” *JSOT* 44 (2020): 708–9.

1.3. Theological Elements

No. 5. Dan 8:11

MT וַעַד שַׂר הַצִּבָּא הַגָּדִיל

It vaunted itself against the very chief of the host

LXX ἕως ὃ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν
until the commander in chief delivers the captives

Th καὶ ἕως οὗ ὃ ἀρχιστράτηγος ῥύσεται τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν
even until the commander in chief delivers the captives

Both the OG and Th-Dan do not allow שַׂר הַצִּבָּא, “the chief of the host,” to be attacked by the little horn (see also the next example). The phrase was likely understood as referring to a heavenly being, and, thus, the attack would be an inappropriate scenario. This might explain the reviser’s adoption of the OG’s erroneous equivalent ῥύομαι, “to deliver,” for לָדַל *hiphil*, “to magnify oneself,” and the addition of αἰχμαλωσία, “captivity,” “captives.”

No. 6. Dan 8:25b

MT וְעַל שַׂר שָׂרִים יַעֲמֵד

and will rise up against the chief of chiefs,

LXX καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπωλείας ἀνδρῶν στήσεται
and he will rise by the destruction of men

Th καὶ ἐπὶ ἀπωλείας πολλῶν στήσεται
and he will rise by the destruction of many

The deviation from a literal rendering of שַׂר שָׂרִים originated because of theological exegesis.¹⁸ Since the appellation was regarded as referring to God,¹⁹ the OG translator found the language unacceptable and therefore

18. In those instances where שַׂר stands alone (and not as part of phrases such as שַׂר־הַצִּבָּא, שַׂר־שָׂרִים, etc.), Th-Dan has consistently employed the equivalent ἄρχοντας, “ruler” (9:6, 8; 10:13, 20, 21; 11:5; 12:1), while the OG has used δυνάστης, “ruler,” “king,” “official” (9:6, 8; 11:5); στρατηγός, “captain,” “commander” (10:13, 20); and ἄγγελος, “messenger,” “angel” (10:21; 12:1).

19. Montgomery (*Daniel*, 351) notes that “The ‘Prince of princes’ is ‘the Prince of the host,’ v. 11, *q.v.*, i.e., God.” See also John J. Collins, *Daniel*, Hermeneia (Minne-

translated the text as though the little horn would destroy people. Th-Dan has accepted the OG's exegesis and, with it, also its equivalent ἀπωλείας.²⁰

2. Revision of OG-Dan Substitutions

The OG features various linguistic, exegetical, and theological substitutions that were meant to either circumvent difficult language, clarify tensions in the Semitic *Vorlage*, or overtly utter the religious beliefs of the translator. Th-Dan was quick to notice such deviations and replaced them with literal renditions. This category reflects the largest number of examples. I exemplify the processes at work with a select number of them.

2.1. Linguistic Elements

No. 7. Dan 2:31

MT צלמא דכן רב זויוה יתיר קאם לקבלך ורנה דחיל

This statue, which was huge and its brightness surpassing, stood before you, and its appearance was awesome.

LXX καὶ ἦν ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκείνη μεγάλη σφόδρα, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερῆς ἐστήκει ἐναντίον σου, καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις τῆς εἰκόνος φοβερά·

And that image was exceedingly great. And its appearance, being extraordinary, stood in front of you, and the appearance of the image was frightening.

Th μεγάλη ἡ εἰκὼν ἐκείνη καὶ ἡ πρόσοψις αὐτῆς ὑπερφερῆς, ἐστῶσα πρὸ προσώπου σου, καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτῆς φοβερά·

That great image and its appearance was extraordinary. It was standing before you, and the sight of it was frightening.

apolis: Fortress, 1993), 341, 331–33; and John E. Goldingay, *Daniel*, WBC 30 (Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 218.

20. Th-Dan further substituted ἀνδρῶν with πολλῶν, presumably being influenced by the immediate context. The previous clause of the same verse ובשליוה יתיר רבים was rendered with καὶ δόλω διαφθερεῖ πολλούς in Th-Dan and καὶ δόλω ἀφανιεῖ πολλούς in OG-Dan. As such, the reviser kept his equivalents within the framework required by the context.

The translator's recourse to the rare *πρόσψις*, "appearance,"²¹ for both imported words *זו*, "radiance," "brightness" and *רו*, "appearance" (from Akkadian and Canaanite, respectively) may indicate that they were challenging to translate.²² The graphical similarity of the letters and the use of the same equivalent within the immediate context of Dan 2:31 suggest that the translator has etymologically levelled both words. Apparently, *זו* was interpreted by means of *רו*, that is, *ראה*. The reviser has distinguished between both words, borrowing the imprecise LXX *πρόσψις* for the former and employing the more precise *ὄρασις*, "sight," for the latter.

A similar maneuver is apparently at work in OG-Dan 7:20:

- MT וַחֲזוֹה רַב מִן חִבְרָתָהּ
and which was more conspicuous than its fellows
 LXX καὶ ἡ πρόσψις αὐτοῦ ὑπερέφερε τὰ ἄλλα
and its looks surpassed the others
 Th καὶ ἡ ὄρασις αὐτοῦ μείζων τῶν λοιπῶν
and its appearance was greater than the rest

The translator was alert to the fact that *חזו*, "vision," no longer indicates a night vision or dream (MT reserves the spelling *חזו* for this meaning) but the external appearance of the "little horn." Consequently, the spelling *וַחֲזוֹה* in verse 20 is unique. Since the context required linguistic interpretation, *וַחֲזוֹה* perhaps called to mind the graphically similar readings *וְרוּה* and *וְזוּה* from 2:31. In this case, the linguistic and contextual exegesis might explain the use of the rare *πρόσψις* also for *חזו* in the OG. In Dan 7:20, the reviser has substituted *πρόσψις* with his main equivalent *ὄρασις* for *חזו*.

No. 8. Dan 9:24

- MT וְלַחֲתָם [וְלֵהֵתָם] חֲטָאוֹת [חַטָּאת] ... וְלַחֲתָם חֲזוֹן וְנִבְיָא
 and that of sin complete ... and prophetic vision ratified

21. Besides OG-Dan where it occurs three times, *πρόσψις* occurs once more in 2 Macc 6:18. In Th, *πρόσψις* is confined to Dan 2:31.

22. I have discussed *זו* elsewhere (see "Mechanics of the Recensional Process," 188). For a discussion of *רו*, see Hans Bauer and Pontus Leander, *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1927), 184.

LXX καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι ... καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τὸ ὄραμα
 to make iniquities scarce ... and for the vision to be consummated
 Th καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ἀμαρτίας ... καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὅρασιν καὶ προφήτην
 and to seal sins ... and to seal vision and prophet

Th-Dan substitutes both *σπανίζω*, “to be scarce,” and *συντελέω*, “to finish,” with *σφραγίζω*, “to seal.” From the vantage point of the reviser, both OG equivalents have rendered *תתח qal*, “to seal,” inaccurately, and, therefore, he corrected them with the more precise reading *σφραγίζω*.²³ Furthermore, considering the adequate translation of *תתח* in OG-Dan 12:4, 9, it is safe to assume that the OG translator was familiar with this root. Consequently, we should look for a different explanation than the easy assumption that his linguistic knowledge was poor. The answer can most likely be found in the translator’s different understanding of the vocalization of the consonantal text. Indeed, the use of *σπανίζω* and *συντελέω* for the root *תתח* would suggest a vocalization such as *תתחִי*, which is supported by the *qere* reading in the case of the former.²⁴

2.2. Exegetical Elements

No. 9. Dan 2:12

MT ואמר להובדה לכל חכמי בבל
 and gave an order to do away with all the wise men of Babylon
 LXX προσέταξεν ἐξαγαγεῖν πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας
 ordered to bring forth all the savants of Babylonia
 Th εἶπεν ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος
 said to destroy all the sages of Babylon

23. Besides Daniel, *תתח* is attested twenty-three times and was rendered mainly with *σφραγίζω* (Deut 32:34; 1 Kgs 21:8; Isa 8:16; 29:11 [2x]; Jer 32[39]:10–11, 44; Job 14:17; 24:16; Song 4:12; Esth 8:8 [2x], 10; Neh 10:2) or with its derivatives such as *ἀποσφράγισμα*, “seal,” “signet” (Ezek 28:12); *κατασφραγίζω*, “to seal” (Job 9:7; 37:7); and *ἐπισφραγίζω*, “to seal” (Neh 10:1 [+ לע]). In a single case, *תתח* was parsed as a form of *תתח* and rendered with *ἐκφοβέω*, “to terrify” (Job 33:16). In addition, in Lev 15:3, it was rendered contextually by *συνίστημι*, “to associate with.” LXX = 0: Jer 32[39]:14; Esth 3:12.

24. Montgomery, *Daniel*, 377.

The imprecise rendering ἐξάγω, “to lead away,” “to bring out,” for אבד, “to perish,” “to destroy,” in Dan 2:12 most likely reflects contextual exegesis. Verse 12 records the reaction of the king at the end of the last encounter scene with the Chaldeans (vv. 2–11). According to the narrative flow in the MT, the group witnesses both the king’s burst of fury and his extermination decree, because they were unable to reveal the dream and its interpretation. However, according to the OG-Dan, the sequence of events has been altered by the translator: the king has first ordered to bring the wise men out, presumably, from the audience room; then, in their absence, he has promulgated the extermination edict (v. 13).²⁵ Th-Dan has revised it with the literal ἀπόλλυμι, “to destroy,” “to ruin.”

No. 10. Dan 8:10

MT : תגדל עד צבא השמים ותפל ארצה מן הצבא ומן הכוכבים ותרמסם

It grew as high as the host of heaven and it hurled some stars of the [heavenly] host to the ground and trampled them.

LXX καὶ ὑψώθη ἕως τῶν ἀστρῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἐρράχθη ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτῶν κατεπατήθη.

And it was raised unto the stars of the sky. And it was thrown down upon the earth from the stars and was trodden upon by them.

Th ἐμεγαλύνθη ἕως τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀστρῶν, καὶ συνεπάτησεν αὐτά,

It became great all the way up to the host of heaven. And it fell upon the earth from the host and from the stars and trampled them under foot,

Th-Dan replaces the inaccurate translation of ותרמסם in the base text. The phrase צבא השמים was understood in the OG as a physical reference to

25. Our interpretation of προσέταξεν ἐξαγαγεῖν goes against NETS’s unwarranted translation of the phrase with “ordered to bring forth,” which creates ambiguity. The wise men were not only in the king’s presence in v. 12, but NETS also implies that, somewhere between vv. 11 and 12, the wise men were dismissed and summoned again to receive their punishment. For a broader discussion of the exegetical problems of Dan 2, see Michael Segal, “From Joseph to Daniel: The Literary Development of Daniel 2,” *VT* 59 (2009): 123–49.

the “stars of the sky.”²⁶ The interpretation however created the hardly conceivable situation that the stars could be harmed by the earthly little horn entity (v. 9). The translator solved the exegetical tension by simply assuming an opposite scenario, disregarding the MT.

2.3. Theological Elements

No. 11. Dan 2:11

MT ואחרן לא איתי די יחונה קדם מלכא להן אלהין די מדרהון עם בשרא לא איתוהי:
there is no one who can tell it to the king except the gods whose abode is not among mortals.

LXX καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐστίν, ὃς δηλώσει ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεῖ, εἰ μὴ τις ἄγγελος, οὗ οὐκ ἔστι κατοικητήριον μετὰ πάσης σαρκός· ὅθεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι καθάπερ οἶει.

And there is no one who can disclose these things except some angel, whose habitation is not with any flesh; therefore, it is not possible that it happens, as you imagine.

Th καὶ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃς ἀναγγελεῖ αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἢ θεοί, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατοικία μετὰ πάσης σαρκός.

And there is no other who can tell it before the king but gods, whose dwelling is not with any flesh.

The underlined phrase is part of the Chaldeans' reply to the king and reflect polytheistic language. The OG negates the capability of other gods to disclose secret revelation by rendering the plural אלהין with singular ἄγγελος.²⁷ The alteration may further reflect views about the chain of revelation which involved angels as intermediaries between God and

26. צבא, “host,” in the phrase השמים צבא occurs seventeen more times in the MT and was translated with κόσμος, “adornment” (Deut 4:19; 17:3); στρατιά, “army” (1 Kgs 22:19; Jer 8:2 [ἀσπὴρ doublet]; 19:13; Zeph 1:5; Neh 9:6; 2 Chr 33:3, 5); δύναμις, “(military) force” (2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5; 23:4, 5; 2 Chr 18:18). LXX = 0: Isa 34:4; Jer 33[44]:22.

27. Amara observes that the theological reason behind this change was the translator's interest in the oneness of God (“Old Greek Version of Daniel,” 178). Alternatively, since the translator did not systematically rework the polytheistic passages, I suggest that the rationale of this alteration aimed to downgrade the capabilities of the other gods.

humans.²⁸ Th-Dan corrects toward the Aramaic with the literal equivalent θεοί (plural).

No. 12. Dan 2:35

MT :אבנא די מחת לצלמא הות לטור רב ומלת כל ארעא:

But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.

LXX καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πατάξας τὴν εἰκόνα ἐγένετο ὄρος μέγα καὶ ἐπάταξε πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

And the stone that struck the image became a great mountain, and it struck the whole earth.

Th καὶ ὁ λίθος ὁ πατάξας τὴν εἰκόνα ἐγενήθη ὄρος μέγα καὶ ἐπλήρωσεν πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.

And the stone that struck the image became a great mountain, and it filled the whole earth.

The use of πατάσσω, “to strike,” in OG-Dan 2:35 may reflect the translator’s theology about the doom of the world. Πατάσσω has been used in the immediate context to translate twice **מכה**, “to strike,” in reference to the statue (vv. 34–35). Its exceptional employment for **מלא** in verse 35 equates exegetically the doom of the statue with the doom of the world. The translator seemingly attempted to say that the whole earth will be “destroyed” eventually by the big mountain and not be “filled.” The reviser substitutes the OG’s πατάσσω with the literal πληρόω, “to fill,” “to fulfill.”²⁹

3. Unique Contextual Substitutions in Th-Dan

In the preceding section, I have shown that the OG exegetical elements were singled out and were attentively revised by Th-Dan so that the base

28. This conception could have been derived contextually (cf. Dan 7:16, 23; 8:15–19; 9:20–21; LXX-Sus 44/45). In Christian literature, the chain of revelation also involved angels, as it is clearly stated in the opening verse of the book of Revelation: Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἣν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς δεῖξαι τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἐσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννῃ (Rev 1:1).

29. OG-Dan employs πατάσσω once more within the context of v. 44 for **קד**, “to crush,” most likely as an exegetical link to vv. 34–35.

text may conform quantitatively and qualitatively to the source text. In this section, I adduce examples that showcase the exegetical sensibility of Th-Dan's reviser. They are unique in the sense that they are not paralleled by the OG. The cases where Th-Dan's substituted elements differ in content from the MT are few when compared to those in the OG. I found that the most effective way to recognize the reviser's exegesis was to identify changes in his stereotyped equivalents. Together with the cases of content differences, such changes indicate the textual circumstances that cause the reviser to substitute elements.

The data are presented as follows: the Semitic lexeme, which presumably attracted exegesis, is listed as the heading; the chart, which presents the corresponding equivalents in Th-Dan and the OG, is followed by a discussion of the context where the lexeme is attested.

3.1. Linguistic Elements

Confronted with difficult language, the reviser sometimes departs from precise or stereotypical renderings of the source text. He approximated certain obscure Semitic lexemes, though he was presumably quite confident that his equivalents were superior to those found in the OG, fitting better within the context.

No. 13. אָתָה (to come, bring)

OG = 0: Dan 3:26[93]*

אָתָה was further rendered in *peal* only with ἔρχομαι (Dan 3:2; 7:13 [+ הוּהוּ], 22), while in *haphel/hophal* with both ἄγω and φέρω.

Th δεῦτε (δεῦρο) *come! come, now!* (Dan 3:26[93])

אָתָה was further rendered in *peal* only with ἔρχομαι (Dan 3:2; 7:13, 22), while in *haphel/hophal* with both ἄγω and φέρω.

The only deviation from consistently rendering אָתָה is Th-Dan 3:26[93]. In this context, the reviser—like the OG translator—was challenged by the nature of the idiomatic command פָּקוּ וְאָתוּ, consisting of the two synonymic words אָתָה, “to come” + נָפַק, “to go out.” Whereas the OG opted to omit נָפַק, Th-Dan aimed for quantitative representation. However, since he consistently maintained ἐξέρχομαι for נָפַק, the reviser employed δεῦτε instead of its stereotyped ἔρχομαι for אָתָה, thus avoiding an artificial ren-

dering, such as ἐξέρχομαι, “to come out” + ἔρχομαι, “to come,” “to go” (each in imperative form).³⁰

No. 14. יכל (to be able)

- OG 1. δύναιμι *to be able* (Dan 2:10, 47; 3:29[96]; 5:16²⁰)
 2. εἰμί *to be* (Dan 2:27)
 3. εἰμί + δυνατός *strong, able* (Dan 3:17)
 4. τροπώ *to cause to turn away* (Dan 7:21)
 OG = 0: Dan 4:15[18], 34[37]; 5:16¹⁰; 6:5[4], 6:21[20]
 Th 1. δύναιμι *to be able* (Dan 2:10, 47; 3:29[96]; 4:15[18], 34[37]; 5:16^{2X}; 6:21[20])
 2. εἰμί *to be* (Dan 2:27)
 3. δυνατός *strong, able* (Dan 3:17)
 4. ἰσχύω *to be able, be strong* (Dan 7:21)
 5. εὐρίσχω (Dan 6:5[4]; יכלין להשכחה)

יכל appears twelve times in the Aramaic section. Except for several cases where they share significant renditions,³¹ the OG and Th-Dan employ δύναιμι as their main equivalent: four and eight times, respectively. The reviser has probably also followed the OG's pattern in diverging from its main rendition in Dan 7:21. Here, the phrasal verb יכל + ל denotes to “prevail against,” “to defeat,” being the only occurrence where יכל departs from its standard meaning in biblical Aramaic, that is, “to be able.”³² Though Th-Dan uses ἰσχύω instead of τροπώ, they are synonymous, and ἰσχύω still semantically renders יכל. Both the OG's τροπώ and Th-Dan's ἰσχύω in

30. נפק occurs altogether nine times—seven times in *peal* and twice in *haphel*. In Th-Dan, נפק was consistently translated in *peal* with ἐξέρχομαι, “to come out,” “to go out” (Dan 2:13–14; 3:26[93] [2x]; 5:5; Th = 0: Dan 7:10) and in *haphel* with ἐκφέρω, “to carry out,” “to carry away” (Dan 5:2–3). Conversely, in *peal*, the OG renders נפק with δογματίζω, “to ordain” (Dan 2:13); προστάσσω, “to command” (Dan 2:14); ἐξέρχομαι, “to come out,” “to go out” (Dan 3:26[93] [2x]; 5:5); ἐκπορεύομαι, “to go,” “to come out” (Dan 7:10); while in *haphel* with φέρω, “to bring,” “to carry” (Dan 5:2); OG = 0: Dan 5:3.

31. Th-Dan has been influenced by the OG in adopting εἰμί, “to be,” in Dan 2:27 and δυνατός, “strong,” “able,” in Dan 3:17. See further Olariu, “Quest for the Common Basis,” 92–93, 102. OG = 0: Dan 4:15[18], 34[37]; 5:16¹⁰; 6:5[4], 6:21[20]. Th-Dan has εὐρίσχω for יכלין להשכחה in Dan 6:5[4].

32. HALOT, s.v. “יכל.”

7:21 are unique renditions, but the former greatly departs from the literal meaning.

No. 15. חבא (to hide)

OG σπουδή *haste; speed; zeal; pursuit* (Dan 10:7)

Th φόβος *fear, terror; reverence* (Dan 10:7)

Both versions erroneously render חבא, suggesting that their renderings were contextually inferred.³³ OG-Dan interprets חבא as pertaining to the speed of the action, that is, בהחבא, “and they run away in haste.” The reviser uses φόβος, “fear,” “terror,” inferring its meaning from the preceding clause, which depicts the reaction of those with Daniel at the time of the reception of his vision: אבל חרדה גדלה נפלה עליהם, “rather a great terror fell upon them.”

No. 16. אלם (to be dumb)

OG σιωπάω *to be silent* (Dan 10:15)

Th κατανύσσομαι *to stab; to slumber* (Dan 10:15)

Th-Dan employs κατανύσσομαι as a consequence of the difficult MT terminology describing the prophet’s reaction in the presence of a heavenly being. MT-Dan reports three such reactions in Dan 8:17–18; 10:8–10, 15–19. In the first two passages, the Hebrew features רדם, “to sleep soundly,” “to be dazed/stunned,” to describe the prophet’s response. In 10:15, the language features אלם, “to be struck dumb,” which was translated in OG-Dan with σιωπάω. Both the rejection of σιωπάω and the use of the rare κατανύσσομαι, which was coined by the reviser in 10:9 as an equivalent for רדם, indicate

33. Notwithstanding the fact that straightforward equivalents were assigned to חבא in LXX, there are other instances wherein a sort of conjecture is discernible. The equivalents which properly render חבא include: κρύπτω, “to hide” (Gen 3:8, 10; Josh 2:16; 6:25; 10:17; Judg 9:5; 1 Sam 10:22; 13:6; 14:11, 22; 19:2; 2 Sam 17:9; 1 Kgs 18:4, 13; 2 Kgs 6:29; 11:3; Isa 42:22; 49:2; Job 5:21; 24:4; 29:8); κρυφῶς, “secretly” (Gen 31:27[26]); κατακρύπτω, “to hide” (Josh 10:16; 2 Chr 18:24; 22:12); and ἐγκρύπτω, “to hide in,” “to conceal” (Amos 9:3). The renditions which were seemingly approximated contextually include καταφεύγω, “to flee” (Josh 10:27); μακαρίζω, “to bless” (Job 29:10); καταβαίνω, “to come down” (Job 38:30); μεθεχαβίν (transliteration of מתחבאים in 1 Chr 21:20); ἰατρῶν, “to heal” (2 Chr 22:9). LXX = 0: Josh 6:17; 1 Sam 23:23.

his exegetical interest in connecting both responses by lexically leveling the language.³⁴

3.2. Exegetical Elements

The reviser deviates at times from stereotyping in order to underscore contextual exegetical ideas. Some of the exegetical insights can be traced back to the OG, though the reviser has employed different equivalents. In other cases, the exegetical ideas are unique, the reviser showing contextual sensitivity and establishing exegetical connections between passages.

No. 17. מַן (man)

OG ἄνθρωπος *man, human* (Dan 8:16, 17; 10:16, 18)

Th 1. ἀνὴρ *man, husband* (Dan 8:16)

2. ἄνθρωπος *man, human* (Dan 8:17; 10:16, 18)

In light of Th's tendencies toward stereotyping and standardization, the variation of its equivalence for an otherwise common word is intriguing.³⁵ Furthermore, there is no need to assume that Theodotion freely employed ἀνὴρ in Dan 8:16, given the use of ἀνὴρ and ἄνθρωπος in the OG and Th-Dan.³⁶

34. There is a high degree of probability that the OG-Dan's σιωπάω represents a contextual approximation. מַן is a rare lexeme, and, as a rule, the translators came close to its meaning only if the context provided clues, though even so they departed from the lexeme's semantic range. Consequently, the best contextual approximations are those which exploited poetical parallel lines featuring language that clearly described speechlessness: ἄφωνος, "speechless," "unsounded" (Isa 53:7 and γίνομαι + ἄλαλος, "to become speechless" (Ps 31[30]:19). The other guesses include κωφόω, "to make dull" (Ps 39[38]:3, 10); ἀποκωφόομαι, "to become deaf" (Ezek 3:26; 24:27); and συνέχω, "to surround," "to constrain" (Ezek 33:22). The OG translator seemingly arrived at σιωπάω in 10:15 because of the continuation in v. 16 which indicates that the effect of the angel's touch on the prophet's lips was recovering his capacity of speech. The reviser seemingly perceived the OG's rendition as a guess and found it more appropriate to interpret and render מַן in v. 15 in light of v. 9.

35. The standard equivalent for מַן in LXX is ἄνθρωπος; see Gen 1:26–27; 2:5, 7–8, 15–16, 18–21; Exod 4:11; 8:13–14; 9:9–10, 19, 22, 25; 12:12; 13:2, 13, 15; Lev 1:2; 5:3–4, 22; 7:21; 13:2, 9; 16:17; 18:5; 22:5; 24:17, 20–21; Num 3:13; 8:17; 12:3; 16:29, 32; 18:15; 19:11; Deut 4:28, 32; 5:24; 8:3; 20:19; 32:8; Judg 16:7; etc.

36. The possibility that the use of ἀνὴρ in Dan 8:16 is merely incidental is miti-

I suggest that the variation is exegetical, probably inspired by OG-Dan's exegesis of the context. Daniel 8:15 introduces the figure of *angelus interpretum* by the language *גבר כמראה* לנגדי, "there appeared before me one who looked like a man." Verse 16 introduces a new figure: *ואשמע קול אדם בין אולי*, "I heard a human voice from the middle of Ulai." By employing *ἄνθρωπος* for both *גבר* in verse 15 and *אדם* in verse 16, OG-Dan exegetically connects these figures as being one and the same person. Th-Dan seemingly follows the OG's literary strategy, leveling *גבר* and *אדם* in translation with *ἀνήρ*. Although the reviser employs *ἀνήρ* in verse 15 in conformity with his revising techniques, he maintains it in verse 16 for exegetical reasons.³⁷

No. 18. דין (judgment)

- OG *κριτήριον judgment-seat, tribunal, case* (Dan 7:10)
κρίσις judgment, decision, legal case; meaning (Dan 7:22, 26)
 OG = 0: Dan 4:34[37]
- Th *κριτήριον judgment-seat, tribunal, case* (Dan 7:10, 26)
κρίμα judgment, decree, decision (Dan 7:22)
κρίσις (κρίνω) judgment, decision, legal case; meaning (Dan 4:34[37])

gated by the following considerations: (1) whereas *ἄνθρωπος* seems to be favored by OG-Dan—it appears thirty-nine times and renders various Hebrew/Aramaic words, *ἀνήρ* appears twenty-five times in Th-Dan, consistently rendering *גבר* in the Aramaic section and *איש* in the Hebrew part; the only exception to this consistent pattern in Th-Dan is the use of *ἀνήρ* for *אדם* in 8:16 instead of the expected *ἄνθρωπος*; (2) *ἄνθρωπος* was used freely in OG-Dan, whereas in Th-Dan it consistently translated the Aramaic *אנש* and its Hebrew semantic equivalent, *אדם*.

37. I present the text of Dan 8:15–16 in both versions, for comparative purposes: *καὶ ἰδοὺ ἕστη κατεναντίον μου ὡς ὄρασις ἀνθρώπου (גבר). καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπου (אדם) ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Οὐλαι (OG); καὶ ἰδοὺ ἕστη ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ ὡς ὄρασις ἀνδρός (גבר). καὶ ἤκουσα φωνὴν ἀνδρός (אדם) ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ Οὐβαλ (Th).* We can arguably determine that Th's use of *ἀνήρ* in its textual leveling process was due to its revising mechanics: since Th consistently employed *ἀνήρ* for *גבר* (including v. 15), it was natural that *ἀνήρ* be maintained in v. 16. Furthermore, the switch to *ἄνθρωπος* in v. 17 could be explained either as a shift toward standardization (see above) or as an exegetically motivated decision. In the latter case, the exegetical trigger would have been the phrase *אדם בן אדם* which also occurs in 10:16 and is implied in 10:18. Similarly, the Aramaic cognate *בן אנוש/בני אנוש*, was translated with *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (2:38); *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (5:21), and *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (7:13).

Th-Dan shows contextual sensitivity in the translation of the idiomatic phrase **יְהוָה יִתְּב** in Dan 7.³⁸ That the reviser relied on OG-Dan in verse 10 is demonstrated by their shared significant equivalent *κριτήριον*,³⁹ which refers to a courtroom in session, in conformity with the source text context. The further use of *κριτήριον* in verse 26 reflects the reviser's desire to exegetically link the vision and its interpretation.

No. 19. **פָּלַח** (to serve)

- OG 1. *λατρεύω* to serve, worship (Dan 3:12, 14 [+ 0-**יְהוָה**], 18 [+ 0-**יְהוָה**], 28[95]; 6:17[16], 21[20]; 7:14)
 2. + 0-**וַיִּפְּחֵם**—*φοβέω* to fear; frighten, terrify (Dan 3:17)
 3. *ὑποτάσσω* to subject; to submit (Dan 7:27)
 Th 1. *λατρεύω* to serve, worship (Dan 3:12, 14 [+ 0-**יְהוָה**], 17, 18 [+ 0-**יְהוָה**], 28[95]; 6:17[16], 21[20])
 2. *δουλεύω* to serve as a slave (Dan 7:14, 27)

The reviser's departure from the consistent use of *λατρεύω* for **פָּלַח** in Dan 7 documents his sensitivity to different contexts. While *λατρεύω* in Dan 3 and 6 matches the plot and theme of both narratives, which revolve around worship, *δουλεύω* more accurately fits the language of royalty and dominion evoked by Dan 7:14, 27.⁴⁰

No. 20. **מִרְגְּלוֹת** (at the feet)

- OG *πούς* foot (Dan 10:6)
 Th *σκέλος* leg (Dan 10:6)

38. Whereas the phrase **יְהוָה יִתְּב** is attested in vv. 10 and 26, in v. 22 we have the phrasal construction **יְהוָה יִתְּב לִי**, having the “Ancient of Days” as subject and the “holy ones of the Most High” as complement. Various proposals have been suggested to decode the phrase's meaning in v. 22, e.g., “to pronounce judgment in favor of,” “power,” “rule,” etc. (*HALOT*, s.v. “**יָדַן**”). This difficulty apparently caused the reviser to reject *κριτήριον* and employ *κρίμα*, which is a synonymous equivalent of the OG's *κρίσις* in v. 22.

39. Olariu, “Quest for the Common Basis,” 56–57.

40. By means of his equivalence choices, the reviser seemingly underscored that Dan 7:14, 27 deals with the nations subjection to the rulership of “Son of Man”/“holy people of the Most High” rather than their worship.

The term derives from the primary noun רגל, “foot,” “leg,” which was consistently rendered with the expected πούς. The use of σκέλος in 10:6 is all the more intriguing it accords with neither the reviser’s own technique of using standard equivalents nor the wording of OG-Dan, which employs the expected πούς. However, it appears that the reviser’s reading aimed to linguistically differentiate between מרגלות and רגל in the target language. Since Greek did not allow for a derivate from πούς, Th-Dan equivalent was influenced from the remote context of LXX-Ezek 1:7.

No. 21. שנה (to change)⁴¹

- OG 1. διαφέρω *to be better, to differ, spread, carry over* (Dan 7:3)
 2. διαφόρως [adv.] *differently, variously, excellently* (Dan 7:7)
 3. διαφθείρω *to destroy* (Dan 7:19)
 1. διαφέρω *to be better, to differ, spread, carry over* (Dan 7:23)
 1. διαφέρω *to be better, to differ, spread, carry over* (Dan 7:24)
 4. ἀλλοιόω *to change, alter, reject, alienate* (Dan 7:25)
 1. διαφέρω *to be better, to differ, spread, carry over* (Dan 7:28)
 Th 1. διαφέρω *to be better, to differ, spread, carry over* (Dan 7:3, 7)
 2. διάφορος [adj.] *different, superior; unlike* (Dan 7:19)
 3. ὑπερέχω *to excel, exceed, be better than* (Dan 7:23)
 4. ὑπερφέρω *to surpass* (Dan 7:24)
 5. ἀλλοιόω *to change, alter, reject, alienate* (Dan 7:25, 28)

I have argued elsewhere that διαφέρω is a significant equivalent.⁴² It was also shown that the alternation from ἀλλοιόω (chs. 2–6) to διαφέρω (7:3, 7, 19)⁴³ and back to ἀλλοιόω (7:25, 28) in Th-Dan happened under the influence of the OG. However, the reviser’s use of ὑπερέχω in verse 23 and ὑπερφέρω in verse 24 is intriguing. Notwithstanding that they might suggest some sort of translational freedom, I maintain that his deviation from stereotyping involves exegesis.

In verse 23, the reviser opts for ὑπερέχω apparently because he wants to emphasize progression. Consequently, the fourth beast is depicted not merely as מלכותא כל מן כל מלכותא, “being different from all the kingdoms,”

41. The chart above limits to present the equivalents for שנה only in Dan 7.

42. Olariu, “Quest for the Common Basis,” 64–67.

43. Olariu, “Mechanics of the Recensional Process,” 190.

but as ἥτις ὑπερέξει πάσας τὰς βασιλείας, “surpassing all the kingdoms.”⁴⁴ By means of the new equivalent in verse 24, the reviser aims to take the progression to a new level. In the context in question, ὑπερφέρω is employed to boost the profile of the little horn as exceeding the others: יהוה ושנה מן אדמיה—ὁς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν, “who shall surpass in evil all the previous ones.”⁴⁵

No. 22. דבר (word, speech; thing, something)

- OG 1. πρόσταγμα *command* (Dan 9:2, 12, 23 [2x], 25; 10:1 [3x], 11 [2x], 15; 12:4, 9)
 2. λαλιά *speech* (Dan 10:6, 9^{1°})
 3. ῥῆμα *word, thing* (Dan 10:12 [2x])
 4. τρόπος *way, manner; customs, kind of life, deportment* (Dan 1:14)
 5. λόγος *word, speech, message, argument; book, volume* (Dan 1:20)
 OG = 0: Dan 1:5; 10:9^{2°}
- Th 1. λόγος *word, speech, message, argument; book, volume* (Dan 9:2, 12, 23^{1°}, 25; 10:1^{1°}, 2°, 6, 9^{1°}, 11 [2x], 12 [2x], 15; 12:4, 9)
 2. ῥῆμα *word, thing* (Dan 1:20; 9:23^{2°})
 3. ὁ *the, who, which* (Dan 1:5)
 Th-Dan = 0: Dan 1:14; 10:1^{3°}, 9^{2°}

OG-Dan demonstrably distinguishes among the words or speech of three agents: God, majestic heavenly beings, and Daniel.⁴⁶ On the other hand,

44. The same exegetical effect was obtained in v. 7 by a different technique. While introducing the fourth beast of the vision, the reviser used an added adverb to boost the profile of the dragon over the other deformed animals: יהוה משניה מן כל חיותא; καὶ αὐτὸ διάφορον περισσῶς παρὰ πάντα τὰ θηρία, “it was exceedingly different from all the beasts.”

45. The reviser’s dependence on OG-Dan is clearly visible in the borrowing of the explicating exegetical addition κακός, “evil.” The effect of this addition was to indicate that the nature of the horn’s supremacy relates to its wicked behavior.

46. The correlation between the OG’s equivalents and the speaking entities becomes apparent considering the following observations: πρόσταγμα designates the revelation received by the prophets from God—Daniel included among them (see the explicating addition παρὰ κυρίου in Dan 9:23, which clearly endorses such a conclusion); λαλιά renders the speech of the heavenly entity described in Daniel 10 (vv. 6 and 9^{1°}); and ῥῆμα indicates the words of Daniel. This suggestion further explains the absence of λόγος as a main equivalent in OG-Dan: since it was used in Dan 1:20 with

Th-Dan works toward stereotyping and standardization,⁴⁷ showing less concern to differentiate who is speaking. There is, however, an exegetical input from the reviser: the semantic differentiation between the two meanings of דבר as “word” and “thing.” For the latter he uses ῥῆμα, while for the former he employs λόγος.

No. 23. צלם (image)

- OG εἰκών *image* (Dan 2:31 [2x], 32, 34, 35; 3:1, 2, 3²⁰, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18)
 μορφή *form, appearance* (Dan 3:19)
 OG = 0: Dan 2:32; 3:3¹⁰
- Th εἰκών *image* (Dan 2:31 [2x], 32, 34, 35; 3:1, 2, 3 [2x], 5, 7, 10[11], 12, 14, 15, 18)
 ὄψις *face* (Dan 3:19)

Both OG and Th-Dan deviate from their stereotyped εἰκών, “image,” for צלם in Dan 3:19 because of exegesis. Throughout Dan 2 and 3 the term צלם denotes an idol statue, but in 3:19 it was used in reference to a human face. Hence, the OG employed μορφή and Th used ὄψις.

No. 24. חזה (to see)

- OG 1. + 0-הוה—θεωρέω *to see, observe* (Dan 4:10[13]; 7:2, 4, 6–7, 9, 11¹⁰, 13)
 2. + 0-הוה—ὁράω *to see, view, perceive* (Dan 2:31, 34)
 3. + 0-הוה—κατανοέω *to understand, consider* (Dan 7:21)
 4. ὁράω *to see, view, perceive* (Dan 2:26, 41, 43, 45; 3:25[92] cf. Ra ≠ Mu, 4:2[5], 20[23]; 5:5; 7:1)
 5. δεῖ *it is necessary* (Dan 3:19)
 6. θεωρέω *to see, observe* (Dan 3:27[94])

the meaning of “argument,” “topic,” it was subsequently avoided in order to keep his exegetical agenda.

47. Out of the twenty-one occurrences of דבר in MT-Dan, Th-Dan renders it fifteen times with its main equivalent in LXX, i.e., λόγος (Gen 29:13; 34:18; Exod 4:28; 5:9; 18:19; 19:7–8; 20:1; 24:3, 8; 33:17; 34:27; etc.); and twice with ῥῆμα, which also frequently renders דבר in LXX (Gen 15:1 [2x]; 18:14, 25; 19:21; 20:8; 21:11; 22:1, 16, 20; 24:9, 28, 30, 33, 52, 66; 27:34, 42; etc.).

- OG = 0: Dan 2:8, 41^{2o}; 4:6[9], 7[10], 15[18], 17[20]; 5:23; 7:11^{2o} [+ 0-הוזה]
- Th 1. + 0-הוזה—θεωρέω *to see, observe* (Dan 2:31, 34; 4:7[10], 10[13]; 7:2, 4, 6–7, 9, 11^{1o}, 13, 21)
2. + 0-הוזה—ἐκεῖνος *that, that one, he* (Dan 7:11^{2o})
3. ὁράω *to see, view, perceive* (Dan 2:8, 26, 41 [2x], 43, 45; 3:25[92]; 4:2[5], 6[9], 15[18], 17[20], 20:23; 7:1)
4. τέλος *end, goal; tribute* (Dan 3:19)
5. θεωρέω *to see, observe* (Dan 3:27[94]; 5:5)
6. βλέπω *to see* (Dan 5:23)

The translation technique analysis of הוזה reveals a clear pattern in the OG: when it appears in the phrase הוזה הויה, it was rendered with θεωρέω; when it stands alone, the preferred equivalent was ὁράω. The pattern was adopted by Th-Dan and implemented it with greater consistency. In view of these observations, the deviation of Th-Dan from the revising pattern in 3:19, 27[94]; 5:5, 23; and 7:11^{2o} requires an explanation. In the case of 5:5, I contend that the reviser maintained θεωρέω for exegetical reasons. Possibly the reviser perceived that the king was privy to a special revelation by observing the hand which was writing on the wall. Consequently, in order to distinguish it from the ordinary act of seeing, he has employed θεωρέω. The use of βλέπω in verse 23 likely marks another subtle exegetical distinction: this is the only case where הוזה has as referent the idols, to whom the author denies the ability of seeing.⁴⁸

No. 25. חיל (strength, might)

- OG 1. ὄχλος *people* (Dan 3:4)
2. + 0-גבר warrior—ισχυρός *adj. superl. the strongest* (Dan 3: 20^{1o})
3. δύναμις *power; (military) force* (Dan 3: 20^{2o})
4. φωνή *voice* + μέγας *great* (Dan 5:7)
- OG = 0: Dan 4:11[14], 32[35]
- Th [1] ισχύς *strength, might* (Dan 3:4; 20^{2o}; 4:11[14]; 5:7)
- [2] + 0-גבר warrior—ισχυρός *strong, might* (Dan 3: 20^{1o})

48. The blatant deviation of the equivalent in Th-Dan 7:11^{2o} is the result of a different *Vorlage*. Τέλος was contextually used in Dan 3:19 because of the difficult nature of the source language. The agreement between the OG and Th-Dan in 3:27[94] has the traits of an important agreement.

[3] δύναμις *power; (military) force* (Dan 4:32[35])

Th-Dan consistently revises the free renditions in OG-Dan,⁴⁹ excepting Dan 4:32[35], which he appears to render contextually in order to distinguish between human forces and “the host of heaven” (אֱלֹהֵי שָׁמַיָא—τῆς δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ).⁵⁰

4. Interpretation of the Data

The aim of this study was to discuss exegetical contextual substitutions within the framework of a translation-revision relationship between OG-Dan and Th-Dan. The inquiry benefits from the ideal context of comparing two complete, parallel texts. The analysis of their commonalities and differences provides a compelling case for a relationship of this type. That is, Th-Dan reflects the character of a recension based on the OG; the latter was reworked by Th-Dan’s reviser to bring its content into conformity with his MT-like *Vorlage*.

The use of the OG as the base text for Th-Dan’s recension is demonstrated by their shared exegetical substitutions which qualify as significant agreements. It can hardly be maintained that the linguistic (§1.1), exegetical (§1.2), and theological (§1.3) elements that Th-Dan shares with the OG are the result of independent mental processes. They are rather indications that the reviser used the OG as his base text and was influenced by its exegesis. Confronted with difficult language in the source text, the reviser had recourse to the base text. This tendency is visible in the way he has dealt with the problematic root נִתַּךְ (nos. 1–2) and the peculiar indefinite pronoun פִּלְמוֹנִי (no. 3). In order to circumvent the difficult root, the OG translator resorted to contextual guessing and etymological derivation, while for the indefinite pronoun to transliteration. Significantly, Th-Dan mirrors both the maneuvers and the lexical choices.

49. Th-Dan succeeds even in keeping the same register of equivalents in Dan 3:20, in which the collocation גְּבַרֵי חַיִּל דִּי בַחִילָה presented a challenge for translation.

50. It appears that δύναμις was similarly employed in Dan 8:9 where, in rendering the difficult word צְבִי, “beauty,” the Th-Dan reviser used etymological exegesis, deriving its meaning from the root צָבָא under the influence of the context. Indeed, צָבָא occurs four times within the contours of MT-Dan 8:9–13, and once in the phrase עֲצַבַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם (v. 10), which was rendered in Th-Dan with τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ as in Dan 4:32[35].

Beside the tendency to make use of the base text to circumvent difficult Semitic language, the reviser's high regard for the OG is discernable from his decision to adopt exegetical and theological elements presumably when the plain meaning of the source text was in conflict with his exegetical ideas. This perhaps explains the rationale behind the contextual translation of שלוח with δόλος, "deceit" (no. 4) in order to negatively portray the little horn. Similarly, Th-Dan accepts the OG's theological interpretation of שר הצבא and שר שרים (nos. 5–6). On both occasions, the reviser adopts the OG's portrayal of the little horn, which reflects the view that it was not possible for the horn to bring harm to the entity represented by these phrases. The contexts suggest that the Greek authors had in mind a heavenly being and thus the attack would be an inappropriate scenario.

The shared substituted exegetical elements between the OG and Th-Dan indicates the use of the OG as a base text for the latter. The evaluation of the content differences between the Greek versions suggest that they are the result of recensional corrections applied to the base text to conform it qualitatively to the reviser's MT-like source text (§§2.1–3). These corrections are numerous. I illustrated the tendencies at work with a sample of such corrections. The OG manifests a free translational style. At times, the OG translator textually levels Semitic lexemes, employing a single equivalent for two lexemes (no. 7). He further introduces with ease exegetical substitutions to solve certain perceived exegetical tensions in the source text (nos. 9–10). With the same flexibility he substitutes elements to reflect his own theological ideas (nos. 11–12). Such substitutions drew the attention of the reviser, who aimed at literal representation. His style prioritizes literal equivalencies. Consequently, he attempted to replace as much as possible the OG substituted elements with renditions that maintained the distinction between the lexemes in the source language, employing literal equivalents and disregarding exegesis and theology.

The unique recensional substitutions in Th-Dan are singled out not so much by determining content differences between Th-Dan and MT (§§3.1–2). Examples of this type are few in number and the little amount affirms the character of Th-Dan as a literal revision. A more productive approach to analyze recensional substitutions—and which was integrated in this study—is to single out instances where the literal reviser deviated from stereotyping. Such cases are important since they point to the exegetical rationales that affected the reviser's literal agenda. The subsequent observations complement each other in presenting an overall picture of the recensional substitutions in Th-Dan.

(1) There is a small number of cases of substituted elements in Th-Dan caused by the reviser's limited knowledge of the source text's language. The rendering of חָבֵא, "to hide," is a sample of this type (no. 15). While the OG used σπουδή, "haste," Th-Dan employed φόβος, "fear." However, the former equivalent adds a nuance which is not present in the context, while the reviser's choice is influenced by the words in the immediate context. The reviser at times, though he understands the source language, is obstructed by the requirements of the target language to consistently use his stereotyped equivalent. In one instance, by means of a skilled maneuver, the reviser successfully fills in a minus, which, in the OG, resulted from the limitations of the target language (no. 13). In another instance, forced to switch to a new rendering, he produces a more suitable contextual equivalent (no. 14). At least, this would seem so from the reviser's standpoint. At times, Theodotion's interest in linguistic precision required him to distinguish between the meanings of a Semitic lexeme and to translate accordingly. A case in point is the use of equivalents ῥῆμα and λόγος to differentiate between the two meanings of דְּבַר, "word" and "thing," respectively (no. 22).

(2) Contextual sensitivity is probably the major cause for the reviser to switch to a new equivalent. But even in such cases he seemingly follows in the footsteps of the OG translator. However, the reviser brings novel elements to this approach, namely, consistency and linguistic precision. For instance, the reviser adopts from the OG the pattern of using θεωρέω for חִזָּה when it appears in the phrase חִזָּה הוּיָהּ and ὁράω when חִזָּה stands alone. However, the reviser maximizes the pattern's use. In addition, he adds new context-sensitive renderings such as θεωρέω (Dan 5:5) and βλέπω (Dan 5:23) for חִזָּה. In the former context, he does so to suggest that the king was privy to a special revelation while in the latter context to negate the idol's ability of seeing. Such subtle context-sensitive distinctions are further discernable in the way the reviser changed his equivalents in rendering lexemes like צֶלֶם (no. 23), פֶּלֶח (no. 19), and חֵיל (no. 25).

(3) On rare occasions, the reviser aims to exegetically connect passages by substituting elements in his source language and/or by substituting stereotyped equivalents. The technique again seems to be borrowed from the OG's translator. The reviser likely adopted the significant equivalent κριτήριον from the base text in Dan 7:10 and further employed it in verse 26 to exegetically link the vision to its interpretation (no. 18). Similarly, he deviates from the stereotyped equivalent ἄνθρωπος for אָדָם in Dan 8:16; he uses ἀνῆρ instead to exegetically present the angelic figures in verses 15

and 16 as one and the same person (no. 17). The same desire is reflected in the treatment of אֱלֹם (no. 16). Th-Dan's equivalent *κατανύσσομαι* departs from its literal representation. However, by its use, the reviser exegetically connects the prophet's reaction in the presence of a heavenly being from Dan 10:15 with that in verse 9 where *κατανύσσομαι* was employed for רָדַם.

(4) In a single case, we noticed the reviser's concern for literary nuances in the target language (no. 21). By subtle interchanges of equivalents, he successfully underscores progression in Dan 7. Consequently, the fourth beast (i.e., the fourth kingdom) is presented as "surpassing all the kingdoms" and not merely as "being different from all the kingdoms," as the Aramaic text would suggest. In order to introduce such a nuance, the reviser switches from *διαφέρω* and *διάφορος* to *ὑπερέχω*. A similar maneuver is discernable regarding the little horn. The reviser again elevates its status over the other ten horns using the equivalent *ὑπερφέρω*, "to surpass." These exegetical strategies were employed at the expense of consistency. Such substitutions are valuable in the revisional process. They provide rare insights into the literally minded reviser of Th-Dan.

(5) Notably, I did not single out unique substitutions in Th-Dan that were theologically motivated. This characteristic accords well with the view that Th-Dan typifies a literal revision. The reviser's theological beliefs are rather visible in the elements that he accepts from the OG. Consequently, he deemed it as theologically important to adopt in his work the OG's interpretation that "the chief of the host" and "the chief of chiefs" cannot be attacked by any evil forces. Both appellations were understood as references to God.

5. Conclusions

The investigation of substituted elements in Th-Dan is tantamount to examining recensional substitutions. Taken together, the preserved and corrected elements from the OG affirms the view that Th-Dan reflects a revision. Moreover, since Th-Dan reflects the traits of a literal revision, I suggested that next to the small number of instances where it displays differences in content from the MT, examples where the reviser deviates from its stereotyped or main equivalents also provide unique insights into Theodotion as an exegete. As many of the examples above show, Th-Dan deviates from stereotyping only when his favored equivalent for a Semitic lexeme does not adequately fit the context. In this respect, the reviser shows contextual sensitiveness and does not impose rigid equivalencies for certain lexemes at the expense of their semantics in a particular con-

text. This contextual sensitiveness is also evident in certain cases where Theodotion failed to understand his *Vorlage*. In such cases, he inferred the meaning of Semitic lexemes from the immediate context. For the sake of analogy, the contextual-sensitive idiosyncrasy is also reflected in the recensional work of Aquila, a text which was praised since its inception for the acute literalism.

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Part 2

Historical Context

Legal Principles and Torah Stipulations: Jewish Legal Reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt

Robert Kugler

Abstract: While many commentators argue that the petitioners to the Jewish *πολίτευμα* in Herakleopolis did not rely on Torah in any significant way, my work has established a strong case for the opposite view. In this article, I refine my perspective by demonstrating how these petitioners relied less on specific stipulations in the Torah than on *general legal principles* derived from specific stipulations, principles they clearly expected adjudicators to recognize and apply in judging their appeals. This strategy for forming agreements and settling disputes was not unique to the Jews in the Herakleopolite nome; it can also be observed in petitions and agreements among Jews in the administrative district (*meris*) of Polemon in the Fayum, where adjudicators were sure to be typical Ptolemaic officials. To provide evidence for this claim, I present three case studies: one petition to the *πολίτευμα* in Herakleopolis (P.Polit.Iud. 2) and two to Ptolemaic officials in the *meris* of Polemon (P.Tebt. 3.1.800 [= *CPJ* 1.133]; P.Enteux. 23 [*CPJ* 1.128]).

On first reading of the documentary record, there is seemingly little reason to think that the Jews of Hellenistic Egypt relied on the law available to them in the Septuagint to form agreements among themselves and settle their disputes. Even among the petitions to the leaders of the Jewish *πολίτευμα* in second century BCE Herakleopolis, where we are certain Jews were free to call on their ancestral norms, only once does a complainant explicitly invoke a stipulation from the Greek Torah (Deut 24:1 in P.Polit.Iud. 4.23–24).

However, comparing the rhetoric and reasoning in the *πολίτευμα* petitions with other appeals from Hellenistic Egypt that address similar kinds of disputes reveals language and arguments that are often unique in the

wider juridical context. To the present I have argued in a number of publications that what explains these singularities is the petitioners' reliance on the Greek Torah to make their arguments against those they accuse of having wronged them.¹ I use this opportunity to explain how my research has led me to refine that central argument and to show that it applies to other petitions and legal documents involving Jews from Hellenistic Egypt not associated with the *πολίτευμα* at Herakleopolis.² The refinement is this: petitioners, as it turns out, relied less on specific stipulations in the Torah than on *general legal principles* derived from specific stipulations, principles they clearly expected adjudicators to recognize and apply in judging their appeals. This strategy for forming agreements and settling

1. Robert Kugler, "Dorotheos Petitions for the Return of Philippa (P.Polit.Jud. 7): A Case Study in the Jews and Their Law in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology: American Studies in Papyrology*, ed. Traianos Gagos et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 387–96; Kugler, "Dispelling an Illusion of Otherness? A First Look at Juridical Practice in the Heracleopolis Papyri," in *The "Other" in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. Daniel C. Harlow et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011), 457–70; Kugler, "Uncovering New Dimensions of Early Judean Interpretation of the Greek Torah: Ptolemaic Law Interpreted by Its Own Rhetoric," in *Changes in Scripture: Rewriting and Interpreting Authoritative Traditions in the Second Temple Period*, ed. Hanne von Weissenberg, Juha Pakkala, and Marko Marttila, BZAW 419 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 165–75; Kugler, "Peton Conquests Paying Double Rent on Farmland (P.Heid.Inv. G 5100): A Slice of Judean Experience in the Second Century BCE Herakleopolite Nome," in *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric F. Mason et al., JSJSup 153.1–2 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2:537–51; Kugler, "Uncovering Echoes of LXX Legal Norms in Hellenistic Egyptian Documentary Papyri: The Case of the Second-Century Herakleopolite Nome," in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 59 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 143–53; Kugler, "Judean Legal Reasoning in P.Polit. Iud. 3–5: A Research Report," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh International Congress of Papyrology Warsaw, 29 July–3 August 2013*, ed. Tomasz Derda et al., JPSup 28 (Warsaw: Journal of Juristic Papyrology, 2016), 3:1565–78; Kugler, "What Really Troubled Andronikos? A Note on P.Polit.Iud. 1," in *Sibyls, Scriptures, and Scrolls: John Collins at Seventy*, ed. Joel Baden, Hindy Najman and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, JSJSup 175 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 673–87.

2. Since submitting this essay for publication I have completed and published a long-planned monograph treating all of the *πολίτευμα* petitions according to this principle. Much of what appears here has been included in that monograph; see Robert Kugler, *Resolving Disputes in Second Century BCE Herakleopolis: A Study in Jewish Legal Reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt*, SJSJ 201 (Leiden: Brill, 2022).

disputes was not unique to the Jews in the Herakleopolite nome; it can also be observed in petitions and agreements among Jews in the administrative district (*meris*) of Polemon in the Fayum. To provide evidence for my general argument I present three case studies, one petition to the *πολίτευμα* in Herakleopolis and two from the *meris* of Polemon.³

P.Polit.Iud. 2: Petaus Seeks Release from Detention

In P.Polit.Iud. 2, Petaus, son of Philippos, a Jew, petitions the *πολιτάρχης* Alexandros and the *πολίτευμα* for help in obtaining his release from jail.⁴ He explains that he has been confined in the local jail and has experienced the vagaries of detention for what he describes as “sufficient time.” It is clear: he understands his imprisonment as a punitive measure for an unnamed misdeed, and he asks Alexandros and the *πολίτευμα* for their help in obtaining his release because he judges his period of detention to have paid his debt.

Transcription

- Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολιτάρχῃ καὶ τῷ
 πολιτεύματι
 παρὰ Πέταυτος τοῦ Φιλίππου
 Ἰουδαίου τοῦ συνεχομένου
 5 ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ. ἐπεὶ
 τυγχάνω{!} καταξίως
 νενουθετημένος
 καὶ πεῖραν φυλακῆς
 ἰληφῶς ἱκανὰς τε
 10 ἡμέρας κατεφθαρ-
 μένος ὢν ἐπὶ ξένης,
 οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα,
 ἀξιῶ δεόμενος μεθ’ ἱκε-
 τείας μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν με

3. The following discussions are abbreviated versions of the fuller treatments I give to each text in Kugler, *Resolving Disputes*, 35–61, 83–95.

4. For the *editio princeps* of the text, see James M. S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.) (P.Polit. Iud.)*: Papyri aus den Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien, *Papyrologica Coloniensis* 29 (Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001), 40–45.

15 ἀλλ' ἐὰν φαίνεται ἀντιλαβο-
 μένους μου συντάξαι με ἐκ τῆς
 ἀνακαλέσασθαι με ἐκ τῆς
 [φυλακῆς *traces*]

Translation

To Alexandros *politarches* and the *politeuma* from Petaus son of Philippos, a Jew being detained in prison. Since I have been duly admonished, both having experienced prison and having been brought to naught for sufficient days being away from home and not having basic necessities, I humbly beg you with supplication not to overlook me, but, if it seems right to assist me, order [arrange?] to summon me from the [prison ...]

Formally, the petition is straightforward. A typical opening address in lines 1–5a precedes the body of the complaint in lines 5b–12, which is followed by a direct appeal for a remedy in lines 13–18. The argument for release from prison, though, is hardly conventional.

To understand the unconventional character of Petaus's appeal, we need to appreciate the *conditions* and *purposes* of incarceration in Hellenistic Egypt and the routinized language prisoners use in their appeals for release.⁵ The *conditions* detainees faced in prison were difficult. Prisoners had to provide their own food, water, and other necessities, and if they lacked their own resources, they had to rely on relatives or associates to

5. The literature on the general topic of prisons and incarceration in the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman worlds has grown significantly in recent years. See Cécile Bertrand-Degenbach et al., ed., *Carcer: Prison et privation de liberté dans l'Antiquité classique actes du colloque de Strasbourg (5 et 6 décembre 1997)* (Paris: Boccard, 1999); Bertrand-Degenbach et al., ed., *Carcer II: Prison et privation de liberté dans l'Empire romain et l'Occident medieval; Actes du colloque de Strasbourg (décembre 2000)* (Paris: Boccard, 2004); Sofía Torallas Tovar and Immaculada Pérez Martin, ed., *Castigo y reclusion en el mundo antiguo* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2003). For Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt in particular, see Raphael Taubenschlag, "L'emprisonnement dans le droit gréco-égyptien," in *Opera Minora* (Warsaw: Panstwowy Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1959), 2:713–19; Arnaldo Marcone, "La privation de liberté dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine," in Bertrand-Degenbach et al., *Carcer*, 41–52; John Bauschatz, "Ptolemaic Prisons Reconsidered," *Classical Bulletin* 83 (2007): 3–48; and Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2013), 238–60.

provide them.⁶ Absent resources or the mercy of others, they went entirely without and experienced the consequences of such privation (καταφθείρω, lines 10–11).⁷ To be a prisoner in a locale distant from one's resources *and* family, friends, and supporters, as was Petaus, was particularly vexing.⁸

The *purpose* of detention in Hellenistic Egypt was different from what we might expect, given modern notions of incarceration as largely *penal* in nature.⁹ For example, for an outstanding debt the goal was to procure payment, which ended the confinement. For publicly disruptive behavior, incarceration was temporary and aimed only to protect the public and/or give officials and private parties time to assess fines or arrange for other dispositions of the offender. In short, incarceration was *not* penal in nature: John Bauschatz, the authority on these matters, writes, “the notion of incarceration as punishment did not exist in Ptolemaic Egypt.”¹⁰

As to the standard rhetoric in these petitions, Petaus uses much of it himself. He says with respect to his confinement καὶ πείραν φυλακῆς ἐλήφως¹¹ and κατεφθαρμένος ὢν ἐπὶ ξένης κοῦκ ἔχων τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, “and having experienced the trial of incarceration,” and “being brought to naught and not having the necessities [for sustenance].” Likewise, he

6. That friends, family, and associates were responsible to provision prisoners is nicely demonstrated by the well-known petition from a royal farmer who was bringing food συνεχόμενοι τινι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ, to someone detained in jail when he was robbed of the food and the donkey carrying it (SB 16.12468 [Arsinoite, 250–200 BCE]). Lacking the ἀναγκαῖα is one of the grounds for petitions for release from prison; see, for example, PSI 4.416.7 (Philadelphia [Arsinoite], middle of the third century BCE); P.Coll.Youtie 1.12.11 (Tebtunis?, 177 BCE); see also being in need of τῶν δεοντῶν (P.Cair.Zen. 3.59495.7 (Philadelphi [Arsinoite], middle of the third century BCE)).

7. See the use of καταφθείρω to denote wasting away for lack of necessities and extended incarceration in, among others, P.Tebt. 3.1.777.11 (Tebtunis, early second century BCE); SB 24.16285.28–29 (Krokodilopolis, August 202 BCE).

8. See SB 16.12468, cited above.

9. The precise reason people landed in jail is often uncertain; causes for incarceration are known for fewer than half of the prisoners known to us. Of one hundred fifty-five known instances of imprisonment in the Ptolemaic documentary record catalogued by Bauschatz, one is for assault; one is for assault and theft; nine are for theft alone; thirty-five are for debt; three are for public disturbance; five are for the detention of slaves; and ten are for work-related wrongdoing (Bauschatz, “Ptolemaic Prisons Reconsidered,” 47–48).

10. Bauschatz, *Law and Enforcement*, 278.

11. πείρα + λαμβάνω + τινος is a circumlocution for making trial of something, having the experience of something; see the entry in LSJ, s.v. “πείρα,” sec. A.

pleads for help with stereotypically obsequious rhetoric in lines 13–14.¹² The purpose of such pathetic rhetoric was to construct for oneself a pitiable identity that encouraged officials to release the prisoner.

Three times, though, Petaus also uses unexpected language in the petition. His rhetorical departures express his view that, contrary to the Ptolemaic norm, incarceration is punitive and so its duration is limited by the scope of the injury one has caused another.¹³ First, in addressing the petition, he incorporates his status as a prisoner into his fixed identity, those personal features determined for one by circumstance or law. In his circumstance, this is technically the correct way to classify his status: detention *is* part of his fixed identity. But his admission is singular among such appeals, since petitioners seeking release from prison normally leave this feature to the narrative of their circumstances. There is no point in reinforcing the fixed feature of one's identity one hopes to unfix. Instead, it is better to consign it to the features of what I call one's constructed identity, the subjective features a petitioner provides for himself or herself to elicit sympathy from adjudicators. But Petaus embraces the status as a part of his fixed identity. For Petaus, detention is part of one's objective status while it lasts—it is a just function of the law. Second, Petaus opens the account of his imprisonment with a declaration unique among texts of this kind, saying that τυγχάνω{!} καταξίως νενουθετημένος, “I have been duly admonished.”¹⁴ The phrase telegraphs unmistakably his singular notion

12. The obsequiousness of his rhetoric, ἀξιῶ δεόμενος μεθ' ἱκετείας μὴ ὑπεριδεῖν με (lines 13–14), is not out of the ordinary; see, for example, BGU 14.2375.26–27 (Herkleopolite, 62–50 BCE), ἀξιῶ οὔ[ν σε μεθ' ἱ]κετείας; P.Mich. 1.87.5 (Arsinoite, middle of the third century BCE), δέομαι σου καὶ ἱκετεύω; P.Petr. 2.19 frag. 1A.1–2 (Arsinoite, third century BCE), ἀξιῶ σε μετὰ δεήσεως καὶ ἱκετείας; UPZ 19.9 (Memphis, 161–160 BCE), δέομαι ὑμῶν μεθ' ἱκετείας.

13. My survey of the evidence depended in the first place on the list of 113 texts having to do with imprisonment (which testify to 155 instances of incarceration) collected by Bauschatz, “Ptolemaic Prisons Reconsidered,” 28–46; around half of the texts Bauschatz lists are from prisoners seeking release or at least better care. A search of papyri.info using words for detention (the middle and passive of verbs like ἀσφαλίζω, κατέχω, and συνέχω) for additional texts entered since Bauschatz published his article and his later book (*Law and Enforcement in Ptolemaic Egypt*) turns up only a few potentially relevant texts from the Ptolemaic period and Roman period texts, as well, not one of which provides another instance of an imprisoned petitioner who uses the unusual rhetoric I describe next in the manner employed by Petaus.

14. The editors of the text say Petaus's admission amounts to the “Eigenständnis des Petenten, daß seine Zurechtweisung berechtigt ist” (P.Polit.Jud. 2.6–7). They also

that incarceration is retributive, as well as his view that the full measure of retribution for the wrong he committed has already been exacted from him. The third unusual rhetorical flourish is the addition of the phrase *ἱκανὰς τε ἡμέρας*, “sufficient days,” an accusative of time expression that further underscores Petaus’s judgment that he has served the time owed for his misdeed.¹⁵ Together the three departures from the customary rhetoric of an appeal for release from prison express Petaus’s view that his detention was justly punitive but that its purpose had been served so he should be released.

This argument has no basis in the conventional Greek-Ptolemaic understanding of incarceration outlined above. Recognizing, though, that he is appealing to the Jewish *πολίτευμα* offers a way to understand his argument. That incarceration might be understood as justly punitive rests easily on the *lex talionis* principle derived from Exod 21:23–25 and Lev 24:19–20. The notion that one pays a price for a wrong done proportional to the impact of the wrong explains Petaus’s unique view of incarceration in the Hellenistic Egyptian context and his anticipation that Alexandros and the *πολίτευμα* would share that view.

rightly note that *νουθετέω* appears in the papyri otherwise only in the Roman and Byzantine periods (P.Brem. 61.31–32 [Hermopolis, 113–120 CE]; P.Fouad 25, r.2.18 [unknown provenance, second century CE]; SB 3.6263.26–27 [Alexandria?, 150–200 CE]; PSI 13.1334.18 [Oxyrhynchite?, third century CE]; P.Grenf. 2.93.3 [Apollonopolis?, sixth to seventh century CE]). All the same, the word has a long history of use in literary texts prior to this and it appears with frequency in LXX Job (4:3; 23:15; 30:1; 34:16; 36:12; 37:14; 38:18; 40:4).

15. I have been able to locate two other uses of a form of *ἱκανός* in petitions seeking release from jail, and neither one corresponds in meaning to the use here. In BGU 8.1847 (Herakleopolite, 51–50 or 50–49 BCE), prisoners who were found innocent yet languish in jail say that they *ἱκανὸν χρόνον καταφθαρμένοι* (line 21). In P.Cair.Zen. 4.59639.14–15 (Krokodilopolis [Arsinoite], middle of the third century BCE), one might think to have found an example that parallels this one, as the petitioner has been jailed for failing to honor a work contract fully; he seems to acknowledge some failure on his part but appeals for release so that he can make good on his obligation, and in the course of making his case says *ἱκανῶς τετιμώρημαι*, a phrase that might be thought to match the sentiment Petaus expresses in his appeal. However, his declaration is not an agreement that merited punishment, so much as an observation that his contract partner felt the need to take a pound of flesh in exchange for perceived contractual failures and as far as he (the petitioner) was concerned, the pound had been sufficiently taken, whether he agreed with its taking or not.

One additional oddity in this petition supports this reading. That Petaus appeals to Alexandros and the *πολίτευμα* for help in obtaining his release appears at first, frankly, unwise. Ordinarily, a prisoner addresses an appeal for release to officials with the power to provide it, such as a *στρατηγός*, the royals, or a prison official.¹⁶ But the language of Petaus's direct appeal suggests that Alexandros and the *πολίτευμα* have no power to release Petaus. What they can do, Petaus hopes, is to take his argument into consideration and to help obtain an order for his release. As it happens, given the facts of incarceration in Hellenistic Egypt, Petaus's strategy is actually quite clever. The evidence suggests that few detainees obtained help from the Ptolemaic officials to whom they appealed for their release.¹⁷ But as a Jew calling upon Jewish law in a place where its value was valorized with imperial authorization of the *πολίτευμα*, he could hope that his fellow Jews would appreciate his dilemma and use their authority to address the officials who did have power over his fate. Petaus, it seems, saw a way to game the system.

Notably, this bit of legal reasoning by Petaus would not have worked just anywhere in Hellenistic Egypt. To put it simply, although he was especially unfortunate to be detained while away from home, he was especially lucky that it was in the town that was home to a Jewish *πολίτευμα*. To make agreements and adjudicate disputes with an eye toward principles rooted in the Greek Torah, one had at least to be among other Jews who shared that horizon of juridical expectations.

The second and third case studies come from just such a place. The *meris* (administrative district) of Polemon in the Fayum was home to Samareia, Magdola, Theognis, and Trikomia, villages where we know Jews resided in unusually large numbers and from whom we have some interesting Hellenistic-era documents. What follows indicates that in this place, too, Jews were relying on principles drawn from the Greek Torah to shape their agreements and settle their disputes.¹⁸

16. A *στρατηγός* (BGU 8.1847 [Herakleopolite, 51–50 or 50–49 BCE]), the royals (P.Enteux. 81 [Magdola, 221 BCE]), or a prison official (Chr.Mitt. 5 [Arsinoite, about 218 BCE]).

17. Unless overcrowding or the like made it the officials' best interests to release prisoners, it seems that most pleas simply fell on deaf ears.

18. On Jews in this region, see among others, Willy Clarysse, "Jews in Trikomia," in *Proceedings of the Twentieth International Congress of Papyrologists: Copenhagen, 23–29 August, 1992*, ed. Adam Bülow-Jacobsen (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum

P.Tebt. 3.1.800 (= CPJ 1.133): Sabbataios Seeks the Detention of Joanna

Sometime around the middle of the second century BCE, Sabbataios, a Jew of Samareia petitions the *καμογραμματεὺς* (village scribe) regarding an attack on his pregnant wife.¹⁹

Transcription

- [... καμογ]ραμματεῖ
 [Σαμαρείας πα]ρὰ Σαββαταίου
 [- ca.9 - 'Ιου]δαίου τῶν
 [ἐργαζομένων κα]ί μισθαρ-
 5 [νῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς] κώμης
 [(ἔτους) κη Παῦνι] τῆ! κ ὄντος
 [μου -ca.?-]
traces of lines 8–24
 25 traces ὑπὸ
 τῶν πληγῶ[ν] καὶ τ[ο]ῦ πτώμα-
 τος δεινῶς κακοπ[α]θεῖν
 καὶ κλινοπ[ετοῦς γεγο]νυίας
 κινδυνεύει [δ] ἔχει ἐν γ[α]στρῇ
 30 παιδίον ἐκ[τ]ρωμα γί[νεσ]θα[ι]
 μεταλλάξαν τ[ὸ]ν βίον. ἐπι-
 δίδωμί σοι τὸ ὑπόμνημα ὅπως
 ἐπελθὼν εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ ἐφι-
 δ[ων]. πην . [...] ρ ... διαχέιται
 35 ἀσφαλισθῇ ἡ Ἰωάννα μέχρι τοῦ
 τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀποβῆσαι καὶ μὴ
 συμβῇ ἀτόπ[ου] τινὸς πράγματος

Press, 1994), 193–203. See also CPR 18.9, 11 (Theognis or Samareia, 231 BCE), a dowry return receipt issued by a woman to her erstwhile son-in-law and an abstract of a combined land lease and work-for-hire contract between the same two parties; in a study of the latter text I hope to publish in the near future, I suggest that its peculiarities are best explained against the backdrop of unique concerns among Jews for managing the transfer for real property to a woman from her parents.

19. For the *editio princeps*, see Arthur S. Hunt and J. Gilbert Smyly, eds., *The Tebtunis Papyri*, assisted by Bernard P. Grenfell, Edgar Lobel, and Mikhail Ivanovich Rostovtzeff (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 3:253–54; see also the edition in Victor Tcherikover and Alexander Fuks, ed., *Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 1:246–47 (henceforth CPJ 1).

γενομένου διαφυγεῖν τὴν
 Ἰωάνναν ἀθώαν.
 40 (ἔτους) κη Π[α]ῦνι κα
 ἔχω(ρίσθη) Παῦ(νι) κε.

Translation

To ..., scribe of the village of [Samareia], from Sabbataios, son of ..., a Jew, one of the hired laborers of the same village. On Pauni 20 in the 28th year, when I was ...

Fragmentary remains of seventeen lines

... from the blows and the fall she suffers terribly, and having become bedridden, the child she carries is in danger of miscarriage and death. I give you this petition so that, when you have come to the place and have seen ... [how?] she [the injured woman] is situated, Joanna might be detained until the outcome for her is apparent, so that it may not come to pass that Joanna, in case of any bad thing happening, might escape unpunished. The 28th year, Pauni 21. Registered Pauni 25.

Virtually nothing of the story of the attack survives, but we know that as a result of it Sabbataios's wife is bedridden with her injuries, and her unborn child is in danger of being miscarried and dying. Sabbataios asks the village scribe to see for himself the severity of the circumstances and to detain the perpetrator, Joanna, so that she be forced to pay the consequences for her actions should the result of the whole incident prove to demand requital from her.

At first blush, this looks like a conventional Ptolemaic-era plea regarding an assault.²⁰ In Hellenistic legal practice assailants in cases where life was endangered were held until the outcome of the attack was clear and were required to pay a fine for injuries incurred.²¹ Sabbataios's request that

20. The general term for any assault or attack on another in Ptolemaic law is ὕβρις; for a full discussion of the delict in its various forms, see Hans-Albert Rupprecht, "Hybris," in *Überlieferung, Bewahrung und Gestaltung in der rechtsgeschichtlichen Forschung*, ed. Stephan Buchholz et al. (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1993), 269–75.

21. See the texts cited by Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 332 B.C.–640 A.D., 2nd ed. (Milan: Cisalpino-Golliardica, 1972), 439, n. 53–54 (including the present text); cf. P.Enteux. 78.13 (218 BCE), where

Joanna be held until the fate of his wife and unborn child were determined is well in line with these norms.

However, if we look at the other known petitions involving injury to a pregnant woman, a crucial difference in Sabbataios's appeal becomes evident. In every other similar case, the petitioner focuses on the woman's health, not that of the being *in utero*. Damage to the unborn is mentioned merely as an aggravating factor to portray the heinous character of the attack on the woman.

In PSI 3.167 (Thinite, 118 BCE), a woman complains of an attack on her person while pregnant. The appearance of κινδυ- at the end of line 20 may echo the reference to the danger the child faces according to our text, but a first-person singular middle/passive ending in the following line suggests that whatever the precise nature of her comment on her pregnancy, its purpose was likely what we see otherwise in these texts, to name an aggravating factor in her own injury. In P.Ryl. 2.68 (Hermopolis, 89 BCE), a pregnant woman who was assaulted is again the complainant, and, in this case, the complainant's language is worth quoting at length. It leaves no doubt that the damage to the being *in utero* is recounted not out of concern for it, but to intensify an adjudicator's sympathy for the woman. She says that the assailant ἔ[πληξέν] με ταῖς αὐτῆς χερσὶν [πλη]γαῖς πλεί[στα] ἰς εἰς τυχὸν τοῦ σώμα[τό]ς μου ἐν γαστρ[ί] ἐχούσης π[ε]ν/τάμηνον, ὥ[στε] διὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀρρωστησάσα(ν) κατακεῖσ(θ)αι κινδυνεύουσα(ν) τῷ βίῳ, "gave me as many blows as possible on my body with her hands, and I was in the fifth month with child. On account of the blows I am bedridden, being unwell and in danger of losing my life" (lines 10–17). And P.Mich. 15.688 (Soknopaiou Nesos, II–I BCE) features a victim who was injured by a neighboring property owner's wall falling on her. Her husband is the petitioner, and he holds the owner of the wall liable for damages to his property as a result of the wall's collapse. He mentions his wife's pregnancy only as an aggravating factor in the damage to her health, along with his loss of property value as a result of the collapse of the neighbor's wall!

the plaintiff only asks that the defendant be censured. See also Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt*, 437–39, and the texts he cites; see also the comments and texts cited by Hans-Albert Rupprecht, "Straftaten und Rechtsschutz nach den griechischen Papyri der ptolemäischen Zeit," in *Symposion 1990: Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. Michael Gagarin (Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1991), 142; Sandra Lippert, *Einführung in die altägyptische Rechtsgeschichte* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2008), 130–31.

The unique character of Sabbataios's complaint in P.Tebt. 3.1.800 is obvious. He is as concerned about the fate of the *παιδίον*, the child his wife was carrying, as he is with his wife's wellbeing, if not more so. While Sabbataios uses conventional rhetoric to say that his wife is bedridden and suffering as a result of the attack, his declarations regarding the *παιδίον* are unique. He extends the formulaic aside about pregnancy as an aggravating factor to declare that *κινδυνεύει* [δ] ἔχει ἐν γ[α]στρί / *παιδίον* ἔχ[τ]ρωμα γί[νεσ]θα[ι] / *μεταλλάξαν* τ[δ]ν βίον, "the child she carries is in danger of miscarriage and death" (lines 29–31). Sabbataios's interest in the *παιδίον*'s fate is unique in the wider petitionary context.

Recourse to a principle deriving from a Torah stipulation can explain Sabbataios's unusual position. Exodus 21:22 requires recompense to the husband of a pregnant woman struck by two men fighting if the pregnancy is lost as a result. To be sure, the trauma to Sabbataios's wife was not caused by two men fighting, but rather by one woman's attack, rendering the match between the *precise biblical law* and its possible application here imperfect. But a clear *principle* can be drawn from Exod 21:22 that can explain Sabbataios's reasoning in making his complaint about the fate of the *παιδίον*: someone responsible for a miscarriage through an act of violence impacting a pregnant woman is liable for damages, paid to the husband of the injured woman and father of the lost child. Sabbataios's request that Joanna be detained until the outcome is clear so that she does not escape without paying a penalty for her actions is standard Ptolemaic practice arising from Greek norms. Holding her to account for the possible loss of the *παιδίον*, though, is rooted in what might be said here to be Jewish custom arising from Jewish law.

P.Enteux. 23 (= CPJ 1.128):

Helladote Complains That She Is Deprived of Her Property

In 218 BCE, Helladote, residing in the Fayum region and feeling she has been wronged by her husband from whom she is estranged, appeals for help in dealing with him because he has unhoused her and withheld other things due her.²²

22. For the *editio princeps* of the text, see Octave Guéraud, *ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ: Requêtes et plaintes adressées au Roi d'Égypte au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Cairo: Le Caire, 1931–1932), 63–65. Commentary on this petition beyond that offered in the original publication and the CPJ edition includes Francesca Bozza, "Il matrimonio nel dritto dei

recto

- 1 βασιλεῖ Πτολεμ[αίωι χαίρειν Ἑλλαδότη Φιλωνίδου ἀδικοῦμαι
ὑπὸ Ἰωνάθου Ἰουδαίου ἀνδρός μου. συγγραψα[μένου]
- 2 γὰρ αὐτοῦ μοι ἔχ[οντα—ca. forty-five letters—κατὰ τὸν νόμον
τὸν π]ολιτικὸν τῶν [Ἰου-]
- 3 δαίῳν ἔχειν με γυν[αῖκα—ca. fifty-five letters—] .ικου· νυνεὶ δὲ
β[ουλό-]
- 4 μενος ἀπαδικεῖν . [—ca. sixty letters—]... ηγα υ ...
- 5 (δραχμὰς) ρ ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκ[ίαν μου—ca. fifty-five letters—τὰ
προσῆ]κοντα οὐ παρέχει,
- 6 ἐκκλείει τέ με ἐκ[τῆς οἰκίτους μου—ca. forty-five letters—] .ην
παντελῶς με
- 7 ἐκ πάντων ἀδικεῖ. [δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, προστάξαι
Διοφάνει τῷ στρατηγῷ γράψαι]ωι τῷ ἐπιστάτῃ
- 8s [τε]τάχθαι ἀποτρέχειν ἔξω
- 8 [Σ]αμαρείας μὴ ἐπιτ[ρέπειν με ἀδικεῖσθαι—ca. forty-five let-
ters—] Ἰωναθὰν ἀποστεῖλαι
- 9s α ...
- 9 ἐπὶ Διοφάνην ὅπω[ς—ca. sixty letters—]τε .τι . .αι . .ρας
- 10 ὡν ανεγυης μεθ'ηγα! [—ca. 60 letters—]υσαν ἅμα οἰκησαν .[
-ca.?-]
- 11s ἐκλ .τήσαντος αὐτοῦ
- 11 τούτου γὰρ γενομένου [διὰ σέ, βασιλεῦ, τεύξομαι τοῦ δικαίου—
ca. twenty-five letters—] εὐτύχει.

verso

- 12 (ἔτους) δ, Δίου γ, Φαμεν[ὡθ κζ].
- 13 Ἑλλαδότη Φιλωνίδου . [-ca.?-]
- 14 περὶ φερνῆς καὶ ἐγγ[αίων-ca.?-]

papyri dell'epoca tolemaica," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934): 212–14; Ernst Schönbauer, "Untersuchungen zum Publizitätsrechte in ptolemäischen und römischen Aegypten," *APF* 13 (1939): 51; Edoardo Volterra, "Intorno a P. Ent. 23," *JJP* 15 (1965): 21–28; Hans Julius Wolff, *Written and Unwritten Marriages in Hellenistic and Post-classical Roman Law* (Haverford, PA: American Philological Association, 1939), 24, n. 86, 28, n. 96, 76; and Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Ramses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 111–12. Among other things, the possible reference to the "law of the Jews" in line 2 has provoked interest.

Translation

To King Ptolemy, greetings. Helladote of Philonides, I am wronged by Jonathas, a Jew, my husband. He made a contract of marriage with me, to h[ave me as wife? ... according to τὸν νόμον τὸν π] ὀλιτικὸν of the Jews.... Now he wants to withhold wrongfully ... 100 drachmas and my house ... he does not give me my due, and he shuts me out of my house ... wrongs me absolutely in all things. I ask you, therefore, O king, to order Diophanes the strategos to write to NN the epistates of Samareia not to permit me to be wronged ... was ordered to depart out of ... to send Jonathas to Diophanes so that ... τε . τι . . αι . . ρας | ων ανεγυης μεθηναι ... they dwelt together with.... This coming to pass on account of you, O king, I will receive justice. Farewell.

Even though the petition is fragmentary, the facts of the case and the relief Helladote seeks can be surmised from what remains. She says that she and Jonathas formed their marriage according to the law of the Jews, while her narrative indicates that they also followed Greek marriage norms insofar as she probably supplied a dowry (which is likely mentioned in the large gap in line 2). She may have brought additional property of her own to the marriage, perhaps a house. She also *expects* Jonathas to respect the Greek legal norm prohibiting a husband from expelling a wife from their shared domicile while their union encounters rough waters. His failure to honor that norm seems to be the reason for her complaint against Jonathas (line 6), along with the fact that he withholds things due to her, likely a reference to her dowry (line 5), which also violates Greek marriage norms. She condemns Jonathas with unusually strong rhetoric in lines 6–9 and may in line 10 be accusing Jonathas of living with someone else, perhaps another woman, possibly even in Helladote's house. Following this, Helladote concludes the petition with the plea for relief.

Readers of the petition have focused mostly on the fact that, while Helladote seems to invoke in her favor the Greek norm that a husband may not unhouse his wife during a marital dispute, she also says they were married according to the law of the Jews, which means that Jonathas *could* dismiss her if εὑρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχήμον πρᾶγμα, “he has found a shameful/unseemly thing in her” (Deut 24:1). Thus, commentators ask, how does Helladote understand the relationship between these two competing legal norms implicated in the petition? In the *CPJ* edition of the text, Victor Tcherikover wonders whether Jewish law had so melded with Hellenistic

norms that to be married according to the law of the Jews was in fact to marry according to Greek norms. On this reading, Helladote's appeal is simply that officials enforce the rule against a husband unhousing a wife.²³ Méléze Modrzejewski suggests that Helladote presumes a conflict between Jewish and Greek law and aligns herself with Greek norms (perhaps as a Greek woman) to assert the injustice of Jonathas's action and to appeal to the officials to reverse it.²⁴

However, comparing Helladote's complaint with those of other women who appeal to officials that their estranged husbands are failing to meet their legal obligations, it seems that her case involves another argument. She acknowledges the authority of Greek and Jewish norms regarding a wife's housing in marital disputes, but she maintains that only one set of norms applies to her circumstances.

Evidence for this judgment lies in a comparison of P.Enteux. 23 with nine more Ptolemaic-era petitions from women dealing with husbands who fail to honor their partner obligations. Seven of these women explicitly call their errant spouses to account according to the terms of the kind of marriage agreement they made with each other. Two of the seven cite a *συγγραφὴ συνοικισίου*, the Greek marriage document deposited in a public records office (SB 16.12687 [Arsinoite, end of the third century BCE]; BGU 8.1848 [Herakleopolite, 47 BCE]), and five petitioners cite a *συγγραφὴ Αἴγυπτια τροφῆτις*, or more simply a *συγγραφὴ τροφῆτις*, an "alimentation contract" that had its origin in Egyptian marriage agreement practices (P.Tebt. 3.1.776 [Oxyrhynchite, mid-second century BCE]; P.Ford. inv. 5

23. CPJ 1:238.

24. Méléze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 111–12. He assumes that Helladote was Greek (because of her patronymic, Philonides), but also that because "she had become the spouse of a Jew 'according to the civic law of the Jews,' she must have been integrated into the community of her husband" (111). Méléze Modrzejewski believes that Helladote's reference to being kept out of her house indicates that Jonathas invoked Deut 24:1, which allows a dissatisfied husband to give a writ of dismissal to his wife and cast her out. But because the Greek Helladote rightly saw this as incompatible with "current Greek matrimonial custom, which recognized the equality of husband and wife in divorce proceedings" (112) and explicitly prohibited a husband from barring his wife from their shared domicile, Méléze Modrzejewski argues that she was objecting to that incompatibility and invoking Greek law on her side against Jonathas's reliance on Jewish law. See also the discussion offered by Volterra (cited above), who speculates more expansively on possible insights to be drawn from later Jewish legal thought on marriage for reading P.Enteux. 23.

[Oxyrhynchite, mid-second century BCE]; P.Enteux. 24 [Magdola, 221 BCE]; BGU 8.1827 [Herakleopolite, 51 BCE]; SB 20.14592 [Panopolis, 76 BCE]). The remaining two petitions are too fragmentary to be certain that the women mentioned a particular marriage agreement (P.Sorb. 3.109 [= SB 18.12838] [Mouches, 224/3 or 219/8 BCE]; BGU 8.1820 [Herakleopolite, 55 BCE]), but the surviving material in each matches the pattern evident in the seven where an agreement is cited. That is to say, all of these women indict spouses for failing to meet widely known, formulaically expressed spousal obligations laid out in the Greek *συγγραφὴ συνοικισίου* or the Egyptian *συγγραφὴ τροφίτις*. All nine women ask officials to hold their husbands to account according to objective, contractual standards. In the language of fixed and constructed identities, the women attribute to their husbands the fixed identities of men contractually obliged to behave in certain ways, and construct identities of miscreants by those contractual standards.²⁵

Helladote's complaint does not match this pattern. She cites no marriage or alimentionation document that provides the objective measure of Jonathas's misbehavior. Instead, the fixed identity that she assigns to Jonathas she embraces for herself as well: they were married according to the law of the Jews, and she accepts the fact that he can evict her if εὔρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἀσχήμον πρᾶγμα, "he has found a shameful/unseemly thing in her." Having done so, though, she immediately begins to establish their respective constructed identities, with a standard opening line for a petition, ἀδικοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰωνάθου, "I am wronged by Jonathas." She is the victim; Jonathas is the victimizer. Then she reinforces their respective constructed identities with rhetoric otherwise unknown in the contract-based indictments of errant husbands: she says that Jonathas β[ουλόμενος ἀπαδικεῖν, "wants to withhold wrongfully" (lines 3–4), τὰ προσή]κοντα οὐ παρέχει, "does not give me my due" (line 5), ἐκκλείει τέ με ἐκ[τῆς οἰκίτους, "shuts me out of the house" (line 6), and παντελῶς με ἐκ πάντων ἀδικεῖ, "wrongs me absolutely in all things" (lines 6–7).

Seen in light of the comparative evidence, Helladote's legal reasoning is clear. To be sure, she says, her fixed identity is that of a woman bound by Jewish law, which provides an exception to the Greek law prohibiting a husband from unhousing a wife if he εὔρεν ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα. But the facts of the case show that she is free of blame, while Jonathas is the one

25. Only in BGU 8.1827 do we find a woman adding charges in the way Helladote seems to have done, but, in the former case, the extra charges are made to add evidence of the man's failure to meet his obligations under the *συγγραφὴ τροφίτις*.

in whom can be found *ἀσχήμονα πράγματα*, “shameful/unseemly things.” In short, Helladote does not reject the Jewish norm’s authority; she only denies its relevance to the circumstance pertaining to her and Jonathas, leaving *him* in violation of the Greek norm that otherwise prohibits him from unhousing her in the midst of marital troubles.

What do we learn from these case studies about the relationship between ordinary Jews in Hellenistic Egypt and the law available to them in the Septuagint for making agreements and settling disputes? Their use of the Septuagint in their legal reasoning certainly is not a direct-quote approach to deploying it. Rather, it is more that they invoke *principles* one can derive from the specifics of the Torah to shape their legal arguments and agreements. Even Helladote depends on principle over the specifics of Deut 24:1. I confess that I am still trying to sort out in my own thinking what this means about these Jews’ actual acquaintance with the Greek Torah. It is possible that most Jews only knew the *principles* that derived from the specifics of the Greek Torah, much as Hellenes throughout Egypt seem to have only known the general customs and norms descended from more specific laws of classical Athens. Yet, my work on the petitions to the Jewish *πολίτευμα* in Herakleopolis also brings to light instances of legal reasoning that builds on more specific stipulations in the Greek Torah. So, for now I am inclined to think that the Greek Torah was available to these people either directly or through the help of scribes and that some were able to and did use it in the more specific sense that I allude to above, while others (perhaps most), although having access to the Torah itself, were content to rely on the principles that had arisen from its use over time. This is certainly the posture of Sabbataios and Petaus and, in large part, of Helladote, too. And it is certainly a pattern of legal reasoning found from antiquity to the present. My work merely demonstrates that these Jews were not unusual as legal thinkers.

There is one more thing to say for the moment in light of the second and third case studies. Sabbataios and Helladote petition officials who are unlikely to have been Jews. Yet both petitioners seem to expect that their addressees will grasp their arguments and act on them. As I have noted in passing, these are not the only texts I have investigated that attest to this phenomenon in the documentary record from the Polemon *meris*.²⁶

26. Here, I mention the peculiar land lease arrangement between two Jews preserved in *CPR* 18.11 (Theogonis, 231–206 BCE) cited in n. 18 above.

What I think we can conclude from this is that some of the *principles* that I argue had become a part of the mental furniture of Jews in these parts of Hellenistic Egypt were known as well by at least some non-Jewish officials with adjudicatory roles living in those places. This is actually less surprising than it at first seems, given the Ptolemaic policy of respecting a range of legal and normative systems as a part of the administration's overall aim of providing a peaceful, welcoming land for those whose labor and skills were essential to enriching the empire.

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The Rhetorical Function of Judith

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Abstract: Much has been written about the composition of Judith in its Hellenistic Greek context, but the reason and purpose of its composition remain a mystery. Some work has already been done on the connections between Judith and other Greek compositions, as well as how Judith may have been understood in terms of Greek philosophy. This paper intends to shed some light on how Judith can be read as a myth in the context of the Hellenistic Greek world. This research aims to understand why the Jewish community/communities of the Hellenistic age may have felt that a Jewish heroine was needed and what value this story adds to those communities. The paper will also discuss whether Greek religion may have had an influence over how and why Judith was written in this context.

My aim in this essay is to take a closer look at the book of Judith and contribute to the understanding of why the book was written by examining its function in its original context. I hope to offer some new data towards this end by analyzing the important speeches in the book in a new light and to suggest a new point of view on the characters and their purpose.

The book of Judith is still a subject of much debate; time and place of composition, original language, and purpose are all still matters of investigations for modern scholars. Fortunately, Deborah Levine Gera has produced one of the most extensive and exhaustive works on Judith, and I follow her suggestions in many places here.¹ On the one hand, early commentators believed that it is an *apologia* for Pharisaic Judaism, promoting piety and patriotism—a view that held sway for some time.² On

1. Deborah Levine Gera, *Judith*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014).

2. Carey A. Moore, *Judith*, AB 40 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1985), 76–78, lists

the other hand, scholars such as Nicolae Roddy, Benedikt Eckhardt, and Michael Wojciechowski believe that, while a product of Pharisaic Judaism, Judith represents a rhetoric that deliberately runs counter to the Hasmoneans with the voluntary circumcision of Achior serving as a rebuke of the forced circumcision of the Itureans and Idumeans under John Hyrcanus and Aristobulus and the imperialism of the Assyrians serving as a warning against the imperialistic designs of the later Hasmoneans.³ Still others, such as Tal Ilan and Dilys Naomi Patterson, see the story of Judith functioning to promote Shelamzion, the only Hasmonean Queen.⁴

One must, however, take into consideration the background of Hellenistic religion when Judith was created. Walter Burkert identifies this time as one in which religion was changing over from a corporate, state-run affair to a more intimate and individually directed affair, as the Greek world in general was focused more than previous societies on the place and importance of the individual.⁵ This, he says, explains the rise of the mystery religions, on which I have more to say presently. This means that the Jews of the Hellenistic world suffered not only external pressure to participate in Greek religions, but perhaps internal pressure as well, since

a wide variety of scholars who support this view spanning from the late nineteenth century through the mid-twentieth century.

3. Benedikt Eckhardt, "Reclaiming Tradition: The Book of Judith and Hasmonean Politics," *JSP* 18 (2009): 243–63; Nicolae Roddy, "The Way It Wasn't: The Book of Judith as Anti-Hasmonean Propaganda," *Studia Hebraica* 8 (2008): 269–77; Michael Wojciechowski, "Moral Teachings in the Book of Judith," in *A Pious Seductress: Studies in the Book of Judith*, ed. Géza Xeravits, DCLS 14 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012), 85–96.

4. Tal Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999), 150–51; Dilys Naomi Patterson, "'Honoured in Her Time': Queen Shelamzion and the Book of Judith" (PhD diss., University of Ottawa, 2002). Cf. Jeremy Corley, "Judith: An Unconventional Heroine," *ScrB* 31 (2001): 70–85. See also Gera, *Judith*, 42.

5. Walter Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 12–29. Burkert cites as a prime example of this the prevalence of votive offerings that become more numerous during this period of time. The fact that the mystery cults themselves are elective and geared toward individual acceptance and initiation lends credence to this theory. This turn towards the *individual* in religion should not be confused with the turn towards the *personal* in religion, which is a product of Western Enlightenment thinking. Jan Bremmer also sees this same transformation happening, beginning around the end of the fifth century BCE, but ascribes it to different causes—the rise of literacy, intellectualism, and philosophy. Jan N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion*, New Surveys in the Classics 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 89–94.

Judaism is not an individualistic religion, and there is little that the ordinary Jew can do in terms of personal devotion to God when living at a distance from the temple.

I see three purposes in the book of Judith, each directed at a different audience. These three purposes are not new ideas. I am merely hoping to add further evidence and greater clarity to the proposed purpose(s) of Judith by exploring the text. The first purpose is aimed at a gentile audience: the Jewish people are diverse and widespread, but the temple of Jerusalem remains the heart of their religion and therefore central, in some sense, to their Jewish identity.⁶ The gentile world needs to know who the Jews are and that they are monotheistic and will not worship other gods. Wherever they may live, they will die to protect their faith, their temple, or their identity. It may even be dangerous or foolish to try to oppose them by force. This purpose is simple, but it is an idea that the Jewish people want to spread as far and as wide as possible in order that it might help some of them. Although there are certainly elements of warning in this purpose, the story exists to educate more than to warn. Whether or not the story every reached a gentile audience is immaterial—the gentile audience may be a rhetorical construct rather than a real group of people without it affecting the analysis of the text.

The second purpose is for the Jewish audience and is a reinforcement of an old lesson: only God can help the Jewish people, and no other god or religious practice will aid the Jewish people aside from their own law. The Jewish faith is corporate, but each individual Jew has the duty to participate in it. To preserve this source of help, the Jewish people must set themselves apart from the Greek people, the law being carefully observed especially with regard to purity practices. Pollution must be avoided both socially (worshipping other gods by participating in public rituals and processions) and personally (eating nonkosher foods, not becoming contaminated through contact with impure people/things, fasting and praying in appropriate times/manners).

The third purpose is for the gentiles who were Jewish sympathizers, the God-fearers: gentiles may become part of the Jewish community and are encouraged to join, but only through circumcision and renunciation of their old religion. The Jewish people should welcome such conver-

6. Erich S. Gruen, "Judaism in the Diaspora," in *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*, ed. Matthias Henze and Rodney A. Werline, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2020), 85–87.

sion. This idea is less explicit than the first two but still important. The conversion of Achior serves as an important example of how the Jewish community is open to outsiders.

The first two purposes are examined through the lens of the speeches of the three main characters, especially their first speech in the text. It has long been acknowledged that, in the theater, a character's first speech on stage defines that character's purpose and identity and is formative for the interpretation of the dramatic work as a whole.⁷ It is not much of a stretch to imagine Judith as a work of Greek drama—it even corresponds to Aristotle's format for this: three main narrative sections called the prologue, the episode, and the exode, each separated from one another by choral songs (chs. 4 and 15), sung by a chorus of the inhabitants of Israel (in ch. 4) and Bethulia (in ch. 15).⁸ Therefore, it seems plausible to use this type of analysis with the book of Judith, as it helps to highlight the importance of the purposes that run throughout the work.

The first words after the prologue, in the main part of the drama, are spoken by Holophernes, the first of three main characters that the text introduces. Though they are his first words in the book (5:3–4), the speech does not sound important, for it does not enhance him as a character. But his words here are definitive of the work as a whole, serving to define the first of the purposes and, in some sense, the *raison d'être* of the book of Judith by giving a voice to the questions of the entire gentile world. “Who is this people who lives in the highlands?” “What cities do they inhabit?” “What is the size of their army?” “In what does their might and strength lie?” “Who rules as king over them and lead their army?” “Why have they, of all the people of the West, disdained to come and meet me?”⁹ These questions are phrased in such a way that the remainder of the book gives the detailed response to each. These are the questions the Jewish author imagines that the gentile world around him needs to be asking and for which he wishes to provide answers. Although Holophernes is the main villain, his first lines serve to define the work as a whole.

7. This is an idea that is common in theatre criticism and especially in the analysis of Shakespeare and other early modern playwrights; however, it is an idea so prevalent that it is never cited. In my research, I have seen this method of analysis used (in informal classroom and internet classroom settings) to discuss the meaning and importance even of ancient Greek dramas by modern scholars.

8. These divisions of ancient tragedy are found in Aristotle, *Poet.*, 12.

9. Quotations from scripture throughout are taken from Gera, *Judith*, 113–471.

Achior, the second main character introduced by the text, in his first speech begins to answer these questions and thereby reinforces their importance for the work. His speech (5:6–19) gives the following answers: These are the Jewish people. They inhabit many cities, cities like Bethulia, and each one is crucial to the defense of the Jewish people and the Jewish way of life.¹⁰ They have no army, for their might and strength lie with the Lord of Armies (one of many war-related titles used of God in the work). Finally, most importantly, they have disdained Holophernes because he represents a foreign influence that desires and encourages the Jewish people to worship foreign gods and participate in foreign religion. Moreover, Achior's recounting of the history of the Jews seems to exaggerate the ethnic connections of the Jewish people—they are connected to the land of the Chaldeans (southern Mesopotamia), northern Mesopotamia, Canaan, Egypt, and the lands of many conquered people. This implies, to a gentile reader, that the Jewish people are to be found everywhere, not just in Jerusalem, and that the Jewish people are intertwined with other ethnic groups throughout the Near East. Achior also stresses that the Jewish people are united together by their sanctuary in Jerusalem (5:19).

Judith, though the primary character of the book, is introduced third after Holophernes and Achior. Her introductory speech in chapter 8 gives voice to the second purpose of the book. Gera calls this speech “the richest theological discussion in our book.”¹¹ In the first part of this speech, the rebuke of the elders (8:11–27), Judith reiterates that keeping faith with God is the duty of all the people of Israel and a religious obligation that has benefits for the entire Jewish people. She scolds the elders for their actions in being willing to surrender Bethulia: “Who are you, now, that you put God to the test today and take the place of God among mortals?... You are scrutinizing the Lord Almighty, even though you will never know anything” (8:12, 13). This leads to a contradiction in Judith's character—Judith scolds the elders for presuming to have knowledge of God's plans, but she herself claims to know God's plans and presumes that God is with her (8:32–33). One might object that Judith obviously does share the council of God, yet nowhere in the story does Judith receive any kind of communication from

10. Gera believes that Bethulia is intended to be a fictional city, not an actual city, thus enhancing the feeling that Bethulia could be any Jewish city or group of Jewish inhabitants in a gentile city (Gera, *Judith*, 34, 176–77).

11. Gera, *Judith*, 274.

God, and God himself seems remote from the action of the book.¹² This contradiction is striking, especially considering that Uzziah's assessment, that God will act within five days to save Bethulia, is, in fact, correct. The scene creates the impression that Judith must have some closeness to God that the elders do not. One might wonder how she achieved this.

In the scolding, Judith echoes the Deuteronomistic viewpoint, just as Achior did, that the Jews are punished only when they worship other gods (8:18).¹³ Since no one in Bethulia has done this, she expresses her firm belief that God is saving them, and therefore all of Judea, by testing their faithfulness in resisting assimilation to foreign influences. Those who claim to do God's will are known by their willingness to resist such influences to the point of death (8:24–27). The consequences of their surrender are dire, for the entire temple and city of Jerusalem depend on them holding Holophernes at bay (8:21). This gives the Bethulians (and the Jewish people) a heavy responsibility. Their deaths here are preferable to slavery—if the salvation of Jerusalem can be bought with their deaths, then it will be worth the price. But to surrender Bethulia now will forever make them traitors to their people (8:22–23). Finally, Judith turns to exhortation, in order that the sting of the rebuke may be mitigated by a course of action which her wisdom recommends. She reminds the elders and the Jewish audience that this sort of testing is a sign of God's closeness to his people, that even if it should result in their death, it brings God's salvation to all Israel.

Judith's speech carries a specific message to the Jewish audience: despite living in a society that encourages and promotes syncretism and multiple allegiances towards competing deities, the Jewish person must under no circumstance participate in Greek or other foreign religion—the very existence of Judaism depends on the faithful actions of every Jewish person.

Judith advances the second purpose of the book through actions as well: notice, for instance, how careful she is to take kosher food with her to be available even while feasting with Holophernes (12:1–2). Her bathing at night, in addition to being seductive, also expresses her desire for cleanness. Later, when she returns to Bethulia with Holophernes's head, she says (13:16): "As the Lord lives, who guarded me on the path I took, I swear that my face seduced him to his destruction, but he committed no

12. Gera, *Judith*, 187–88, 296–98.

13. Gera, *Judith*, 281.

sin with me to defile me or shame me.” The story seems to imply that her heroic actions and favor with God depend on her devotion to this type of ritual purity and the laws of *kashrut*.

If these purposes are crucial to understanding the book, then one should expect to find them in the final chapter as a way of emphasizing them and bringing them to conclusion. Indeed, these themes are echoed there: “the Lord is a God who crushes wars” (16:2), “they perished because of the battle of the Lord, my God” (16:12), and “woe to the nations who rise up against my people; the Lord Almighty will take his vengeance upon them” (16:17). In the viewpoint of the author, the Jews do not themselves go to war; instead God fights on their behalf, such that it is not worth the effort to try to oppress the Jewish people. After the victory song, the second purpose again comes forward: “When they entered into Jerusalem, they bowed down to God. After the people purified themselves, they offered their burnt offerings, voluntary offerings, and gifts” (16:18); then Judith herself dedicated all of the spoils of Holofernes to God as a votive offering. Ritual purity of one’s person here is the prerequisite for engagement with Jewish faith. Moreover, it stresses the individual components of the main character’s faith, showing her engaged in individual actions that would be familiar to the Jewish audience: pilgrimage, voluntary offerings, and donations of money to the temple.

The third purpose of Judith is the welcoming of converts. This idea is less dominant than the first two; it does not appear in the prologue or the introductory speeches; it does not reappear in the final chapter. This idea is found predominantly in chapter 6, as the story of Judith’s victory takes an extended break in order to narrate what happens to Achior. For the sake of comparison, it takes about as much space in the book as the entirety of Holofernes’s conquests and Israel’s response to these conquests, but it hardly moves the story forward at all. At this place, the narrator halts to linger over each detail of Achior’s treatment at the hands of Holofernes’s troops and then the Bethulians. Even more out of place, we find that Achior’s reception into Bethulia culminates in a drinking party and feast, which is completely out of character for a town that is under siege (even if this is the first day of it!). Therefore, this scene is important to the story of Judith not for what it adds to the narrative, but for what it adds to the reader. Consider what Achior experiences in chapter 6: He is (1) seized and led towards the city; (2) pelted with stones; (3) tied up and left cast down at the foot of the mountain in the open; (4) untied by the Jews and led into the city; (5) stood in the midst of the people to answer questions put to

him by an elder before finally; (6) the entire people prostrate themselves before God and recite this phrase (6:19): “O Lord, God of Heaven, observe their arrogance and take pity on the humble state of our people. Watch this day over those who are consecrated to you,” followed by a drinking party. Especially of note here is the use of the word *consecrated*—in the book of Judith, the verb is used mostly of the temple and objects devoted to God; only here is it used of people.¹⁴ But in the narrative, it does not appear that any person by word or action is being consecrated to God, neither Achior nor anyone else.

The setting here looks to be initiatory, perhaps even a model of a real ritual. It has all the same elements characteristic of mystery initiations—the movements from darkness to light, outside to inside; experiencing extremes of emotion (terror or humiliation and perhaps pain); the exaltation of being received and accepted; the utterance of a special phrase which distinguishes between initiated and uninitiated; and finally a celebration.¹⁵ What Achior experiences maps with almost one to one correspondence to what an initiate of the Greek mysteries would have experienced. Achior is beginning a journey, much like an initiate, which allows him to have access to the divine in a similar way as Judith does, completed forty days later under the watchful eyes of Judith and the elders of the people when she returns (14:8–10). Seen in this light, perhaps some of the contradictions in the character of Judith also can be resolved—she has knowledge of God’s actions, approval, and plan because she belongs to a higher order of spiritual awareness, a special connection that gives her wisdom beyond that of the elders that she scolds. If Achior represents an initiate, even metaphorically, Judith represents one who has already mastered this path.¹⁶

14. The same is true generally for the verb in Second Temple period documents. In the biblical literature of the Second Temple period, it is far more common for things and sites and the temple to be sanctified than for a person (Gera, *Judith*, 171, 230–31).

15. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, 89–114, especially 93–95. The extent to which each of the various mystery cults exercised these features is not fully known; however, since Burkert is generalizing from what is found in essentially public texts of the ancient world, it can safely be assumed that what little is known about the mystery cults were widely known even to noninitiated people of the ancient world.

16. Roitman says of Achior that “he is designed thematically as well as functionally as the mirror image of Judith, being a kind of double or ‘alter ego.’ In some way, the Ammonite leader is the masculine/pagan version of the feminine/Jewish Judith.” Adolfo D. Roitman, “Achior in the Book of Judith: His Role and Significance,” in *No One Spoke Ill of Her: Essays on Judith*, ed. James C. VanderKam, EJL 2 (Atlanta: Scholars Press,

In some ways, the entirety of Hellenism is an evolving response to a world and society that is turning away from being dominated by the state towards the individual. The mysteries are testament to the way that this movement happened in ancient Greek religion. However, I am not suggesting that there was some unknown Jewish mystery cult in Judaism whose initiation is being revealed here. What I am suggesting, though, is that the need felt by the Greeks, which the mystery religions fulfill, is recognized and partially fulfilled among the Hellenistic Jews by some ritual to which the story of Judith is connected. Although it is possible that the initiatory setting or ritual that is found in chapter 6 is used only for converts, the sharp contrast between the actions and wisdom of the elders of Bethulia and Judith points to a special elevation open to both converts and natural born Jews. The book of Judith may be part of an attempt to express the Jewish faith in the changing atmosphere of Hellenism and to respond to it, an attempt to exert Judaism as a unique faith that has both corporate and individual elements. Indeed, one sees in the book of Judith a people much more personally and individually involved in their faith than is typical of earlier Second Temple period documents such as Ezra and Nehemiah. It is obvious from analyzing the elders that it is possible to be observant of Jewish faith and still fail to be wise and knowledgeable about the ways of God. Achior's initiation (if we can call it that) suggests that it is possible to bridge the gap between the elder's failure and Judith's success. This is doubly so when one considers that Achior is one of the first indications that the Jewish people were beginning to understand the barrier between Jew and non-Jew as a permeable barrier which a gentile could cross over and not tied directly to ethnic identity.¹⁷

It is not tenable to suggest that there is a mystery component to Jewish faith at this time, but what went on in the Greek mystery religions and what is going on with Achior in chapter 6 is a Venn diagram with a lot of overlap. A worshipper of the Greek mysteries and faithful Jews in the book of Judith both participate in a religion that is closed to the uninitiated outside world but that puts the worshipper into a religious context and allows them to experience the divine. Both engage their faith

1992), 38. This mirroring, especially the wisdom portrayed by Achior, is the reason to believe that what Achior experiences is not just a conversion ceremony but an initiation into the type of wisdom and action to which Judith has access.

17. Shaye J. D. Cohen, *The Beginnings of Jewishness: Boundaries, Varieties, Uncertainties* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 109–74, especially 129–35.

as individuals as well as members of a body of worshippers. Jewish readers of Judith, like those Greeks engaged in the mysteries, relive some of the fear, terror, ecstasy, joy, and liberation that the inhabitants of Bethulia experience in the story. Is it possible then that there were elective rites in Judaism that a person could undergo to increase that individual's connection with the divine, whereby they were recognized to belong to a group that was considered wise? Could this be a way that the individual Jew living in the diaspora could unite themselves with the cult of the temple from a distance and thus participate in Jewish ritual? Although this analysis is not conclusive, I think that the discourses in Judith and the narrative-breaking focus on Achior suggest an affirmative answer to both these questions. There is hardly sufficient evidence to conclude that this is the case, and there are many missing elements. One would like to see these ideas reappear in the final chapter, as the first two purposes of Judith do. However, the secretive nature of the mystery religions has long hampered modern understanding of them—there simply is not enough data recorded to give a modern scholar a firm grasp of what happened or why. In a similar way, there is little reason to suppose that any elective and individual component to Jewish faith would be recorded in books designed for popular distribution like Judith—hints and suggestions are all that may exist of such modes of belief. Either way, Judith provides an enticing answer to the question: what did it mean to be a Jew in the Hellenistic world?

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Whose God Protects Whom?

LXX Exodus 15:3 against the Background of Isis Worship in Ptolemaic Egypt

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Abstract: This essay argues for an Egyptian background to explain the rather incongruous rendering of יהוה איש מלחמה as κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, “the Lord (is) the one who crushes wars,” in LXX Exod 15:3. After an initial section on the date and provenance of the LXX according to the Letter of Aristeas and modern research, I will outline previous research on the Egyptian background of the Old Greek translation in general. In a second section, I will turn my attention to the famous crux in Exod 15:3. I propose looking to depictions of Isis and Horus in Egyptian (Demotic) and Greek texts to illuminate this. I will suggest that κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους is a deliberate attempt to differentiate the God of Israel from the Ptolemaic tutelary goddess Isis.

The translation of the Pentateuch into Greek in Ptolemaic Egypt was arguably the most significant translation enterprise of the ancient world. Whether the Ptolemaic king was responsible for initiating or supporting an originally Jewish project, purportedly carried out in Alexandria, is contentious.¹ My own view is that the narrative in the Letter of Aristeas (Let.

1. Many studies discuss the origin of the Old Greek Pentateuch through the framework of the Letter of Aristeas. See Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003); and, generally, Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: 'Aristeas to Philocrates' or 'On the Translation of the Law of the Jews'*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 6–15. For an attempt to verify two of the aspects of the Letter of Aristeas from external indications, see Arie van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of the Pentateuch,” in *Law, Prophets, and Wisdom: on the Provenance of Translators and Their Books in the Septua-*

Aris.) is largely, if not wholly, fictional, incorporating literary figures and legend to compose a work of historical fiction in order to convey the expedient view of LXX origins current among Alexandrian Jews in the second

gint Version, ed. Johann Cook and Arie van der Kooij (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 34–62; and Van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of the Pentateuch and Ptolemaic Rule,” in *The Pentateuch as Torah: New Models for Understanding Its Promulgation and Acceptance*, ed. Gary N. Knoppers and Bernard M. Levinson (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 289–300, esp. 298 on accepting the tradition of Letter of Aristeas about Demetrius.

The crux of the issue is the acceptance of the Letter of Aristeas’ basic narrative and/or the supposed connection of the translators to the scholarly activity of the Museon in Alexandria. On this, see Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria,” *Semitica et Classica* 2 (2009): 81–89, who argues for the scholarly milieu of the Greek Pentateuch based on the translators’ alleged knowledge of Homeric poetry and Greek education.

The posited connection to Alexandrian scholarship need not, however, necessarily point to Alexandria, as the numerous papyri finds from the Chora most likely attest knowledge of poetical Greek literature, even the Callimachean poems, a generation after his demise. Cf. P.Lille 76 (Hugh Lloyd-Jones and Peter Parsons, ed., *Supplementum Hellenisticum* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1983], 254–69), provenance near ancient Magdola; Peter Parsons, “Callimachus and His Koinai,” in *Brill’s Companion to Callimachus*, ed. Benjamin Acosta-Hughes (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 134–52. The attestation of further literary texts in the Fayum—whether they were brought there from Alexandria or produced there is debated—among them Posidippus P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309 (late third century BCE) and Lloyd-Jones and Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, 961 and 985 (from the area of Gurob) as well as Jews of the Epigone in the same period requires further research (CPJ 19 reports the results of a trial 236 BCE between two Jews, one Dositheus of the Epigone and Herakleia, before the Court of Ten).

The directional changes implemented by the translator of the first tabernacle account in Exod 27:9–19 do not prove an Alexandrian provenance—contra Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, “L’orientation du parvis du sanctuaire dans la version grecque de l’Exode (Ex. 27,9–13),” *L’antiquité Classique* 50 (1981): 79, who opines the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek at Alexandria is “Pour le Pentateuque ... une certitude,” and Alison Salvesen, “Exodus,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 31—but rather an Egyptian provenance. In the same way, the loanwords ὄϊβις, ἄχει, and οἰφί do not point specifically to Alexandria.

Another related issue is the posited otherness of Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἢ πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, though the dearth of papyri and archaeological remains from the capital city probably skews the picture. Peter Fraser, commenting on underground galleries “concerned with the cult of Anubis” in Alexandria writes: “The existence of this catacomb or funerary temple, apparently of Ptolemaic date, reminds us forcibly that the Egyptian features of the cult of the Egyptian Gods were by no means neglected.” Peter M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:270.

century BCE. Regarding the date of the translation, the Letter of Aristeas could be transmitting accurate information, though a date to the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–222/221 BCE) or Ptolemy IV Philopator I (222/221–204 BCE) cannot be fully excluded.² During the latter's reign or shortly thereafter, Demetrius the Chronographer wrote a treatise on the kings in Judea, presupposing a translation of at least Genesis and Exodus.³ The earliest papyrus, P.Ryl. 458 (= Rahlfs 957) containing parts of Deuteronomy, does not alter this range of dates (dated to 200–150 BCE).⁴

There is widespread agreement on the provenance of the translation, namely, Alexandria. However, apart from the Letter of Aristeas, there is no definitive proof of this place of origin. Furthermore, even if the translation was carried out in Alexandria, this does not rule out cooperation between Jewish scholars in Alexandria⁵ with Jews from the Chora, above all Schedia, 30 km southwest of Alexandria and the Fayum. *Proseuchai* (synagogues) are attested during the reign of Ptolemy III for the latter two places: Schedia (modern Kom el Giza) and Arsinoe-Krokodopolis (modern Medinet el-Faiyūm).⁶ The Fayum had a well-attested Jewish pop-

2. The lexical and syntactical argument for dating the translation is not definitive. See Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2004), 50–51.

3. See Joachim Schaper, “Exodos/Exodus/Das zweite Buch Mose,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 56, “probably before 260 BCE, in any case before 210 BCE”; Salvesen, “Exodus,” 31; Carl R. Holladay, *Historians*, vol. 1 of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (Atlanta: Chico, 1983), 51–52.

4. See John W. Wevers, “The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy,” *CBQ* 39 (1977): 240–44. The earliest fragments from Qumran are roughly contemporary: Parsons tentatively dates 4Q122 = 4QLXXDeut to the early or mid-second century BCE on paleographical grounds. Peter Parsons, “The Palaeography and Date of the Greek Manuscripts,” in *Qumran Cave 4, IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, ed. Patrick W. Skehan et al., DJD 9 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 12. The palaeographical dating of 4Q119 = 4QLXXLev^a is less secure: “a script earlier than that of the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll,” dated to the later first century BCE, Parsons, “Palaeography,” 10.

5. Van der Kooij, “Septuagint of the Pentateuch,” argues most forcefully for the Palestinian provenance of the translators.

6. Schedia: JIGRE 22. See Stefan Pfeiffer, *Griechische und Lateinische Inschriften zum Ptolemäerreich und zur römischen Provinz Ägypten* (Berlin: LIT, 2015), no. 17, p. 100 for bibliography. ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης | Βερενίκης ἀδελ- | φῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ | τῶν τέκνων | τὴν προσευχὴν | οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. Arsinoe-Krokodopolis: Fayoum 1.1: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου τοῦ | Πτολεμαίου καὶ | βασιλίσσης | Βερενίκης

ulation of the *epigone*, and the earliest known document is from 226 BCE.⁷ Certainly, the forebears of these communities and land-owning soldiers could have procured the means necessary for the translation.⁸ Slightly later is the *proseuche* dedication, presumably during the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181 BCE), found in Tell-Athrib in the southern Delta.⁹

Within this corpus translated in Egypt, Exod 15:1–19, the so-called Song of the Sea, stands out by virtue of its inclusion in the Book of Odes, the somewhat elevated style of the Old Greek translation,¹⁰ and the frequent anaphoric reference to the odd translation of יהוה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה in the later books of the LXX (Jdt 9:7; 16:2; Isa 42:13; Hos 2:20). This paper will focus on the crux in LXX Exod 15:3 by elucidating a possible Egyptian background for the rather incongruous rendering of יהוה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה as κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, “the Lord (is) the one who crushes wars.” The first part will quickly outline some previous scholarship on the Egyptian background of the Old Greek translation from Egyptian sources. In the second part, we will turn our attention to the aforementioned curious rendering in the Song of the Sea against the background of Isis ideologies in Ptolemaic Egypt. I will suggest that κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους is a deliberate attempt to differentiate the God of Israel from the Ptolemaic tutelary goddess Isis.

1. The Egyptian Background of the LXX

While there is consensus on the Egyptian provenance of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, the elucidation of the Egyptian background has

τῆς | γυναικὸς καὶ | ἀδελφῆς καὶ τῶν | τέκνων οἱ ἐν Κροκ[ο]- | δίλων πόλει Ἰου[δαί]- |
οι τὴν προ[σευχὴν].

7. P.Gurob 2 = CPJ 19; Cf. P.Gurob 8 = CPJ 21, 210 BCE.

8. On the military vocabulary in the LXX, see Jan Joosten, “Language and Symptom: Linguistic Clues to the Social Background of the Seventy,” *Textus* 23 (2007): 69–80.

9. OGIS 96 = CPJ 3.1443: ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | Πτολεμαῖος Ἐπικύδου | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακῶν | καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι | τὴν προσευχὴν | θεῶ Ὑψίστῳ. A further dedication (OGIS 101 = CPJ 3.1444) on behalf of Ptolemaios and Cleopatra and their children, erected by Hermias and his wife Philotera, could be slightly later than OGIS 96. They dedicated an Exedra, seating, in the synagogue at Athribis.

10. Deborah Levine Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry in Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107–20.

been largely restricted to the Greek evidence from the sands of Egypt. One factor has certainly contributed to this result. Until recently, the nature of Alexandrian culture has been understood to be fairly monolithic, dominated by Macedonian and Hellenistic culture. Stefan Pfeiffer, among others, has recently nuanced this one-sided depiction.¹¹

Nevertheless, the Egyptian background of the LXX from Egyptian sources has received sporadic treatment, and as Emanuel Tov remarks, not all supposed connections to Egyptian thought and texts are convincing.¹² The avoidance of concurrent terminology probably led the translator to render Joshua ben Nun as Joshua son of Ναυη (Exod 33:11, etc.) since Nun was an Egyptian deity.¹³ Siegfried Morenz has pointed to examples in the LXX that demonstrate the translators' propensity to utilize contemporary

11. Stefan Pfeiffer, *Alexandria in Ägypten, Ägypten in Alexandria: Das kulturelle Erbe der Pharaonen in einer griechischen Weltstadt*, Hallesche Universitätsreden 15 (Halle an der Saale: Universitätsverlag Halle-Wittenberg, 2017); and Kyriakos Savvopoulos, "Alexandria in Aegypt: The Role of the Egyptian Tradition in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: Ideology, Culture, Identity, and Public Life" (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2011); and Susan A. Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 37 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003) for possible Egyptian influence on the court poets.

12. Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint*, ed. Emanuel Tov, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 434, n. 22. For other treatments, see Siegfried Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in den Septuaginta," in *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser*, ed. Alfred Stuiber and Alfred Hermann, JACSup 1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1964), 250–58; Manfred Görg, "Ptolemäische Theologie in der Septuaginta," in *Das Ptolemäische Ägypten: Akten d. internat. Symposions, 27.–29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. Herwig Maehler and Volker Michael Strocka (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1978), 177–86; Görg, "Die Septuaginta im Kontext spätägyptischer Kultur: Beispiele lokaler Inspiration bei der Übersetzungsarbeit am Pentateuch," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Offerhaus, BWANT 153 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer 2001), 115–30; Görg, "In der Septuaginta sichtbare ägyptische Einflüsse auf das Judentum," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel*, ed. Heinz-Josef Fabry and Ulrich Offerhaus, BWANT 153 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 131–54; Yvan Koenig, "Quelques 'égyptianismes' de la Septante," *BIFAO* 98 (1998): 223–32; Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, MJS 9 (Münster: LIT, 2001), 186–91; Christoffer Theis, "Θεαμελείας und תהפנים in 1. Könige 11,19," *JSCS* 49 (2016): 50–60.

13. Görg, "Die Septuaginta im Kontext," 116f. See on Nun *LGG* 3:543–47.

Egyptian divine epithets in order to present the God of Israel as superior or equal to an Egyptian deity or to denigrate other local deities. An example of the former, according to him, is the adoption of Egyptian terminology found in a bold addition to Moses's prayer in Deut 9:26. The rendering Κύριε κύριε βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν for the Hebrew אֲדֹנֵי יְהוָה is, as Morenz has posited, most likely an emulation of the epithet for the Theban Amun-Re, King of the gods ('*Imn-R^c nsw nṯr.w*).¹⁴ This formulation, '*Imn-R^c nsw nṯr.w*, is also found in Ramesside Inscriptions (KRI 1.60.8–9), which may have been known in scribal schools at the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.¹⁵ Through the identification of Zeus with the God of Israel in Let. Aris. 16 and Zeus with the Theban Amun, attested in Herodotus (*Hist.* 2.42), Morenz sees the reference to the Amun-Epithet as established:¹⁶ "So hat man hier unter Beseitigung der Eigennamen die stärkste Potenz der ägyptischen Götterwelt *ad maiorem Jahwe gloriam* verwendet."¹⁷ In light of Let. Aris. 16, however, we learn that the equation of the God of Israel and Zeus was, for some Jews, not problematic. With this in mind, the appropriation of an epithet of Amun for the God of Israel could merely reflect the equation of the two deities without a pejorative tone. On the other hand, the qualms of the translators surface when referring to Isis. The not so covert reference to Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων—often associated with Agathe Tyche—the tutelary deity of Alexandria, is likely a polemic against Isis worship in LXX Isa 65:11:¹⁸

14. Literally, "He of the sedge" the sign of upper Egypt. Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in den Septuaginta," 421.

15. See Boyo G. Ockinga, "The Satrap Stele of Ptolemy: A Reassessment," in *Ptolemy I and the Transformation of Egypt: 404–282 BCE*, ed. Paul McKechnie and Jennifer A. Cromwell, Mnemosyne Supplements 415 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 190–91, on the scribe of the Satrap Stele's possible sources of allusions to older texts.

16. Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in den Septuaginta," 421.

17. Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in den Septuaginta," 422.

18. Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren," 418–19. With reference to Isaac L. Seeligmann (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*, MVEOL 9 [Leiden: Brill, 1948], 99–100), Joachim Schaper has pointed out that the polemic against Agathos Daimon and Agathos Tyche could be understood as a reference to private Hellenistic religious practice, though he does not rule out the political interpretation, i.e., the tutelary deities of Alexandria are in view. See Joachim Schaper, "God and the Gods: Pagan Deities and Religious Concepts in The Old Greek Of Isaiah," in *Genesis, Isaiah and Psalms: A Festschrift to Honour Professor John Emerton for His Eightieth Birthday*, ed. Katherine Dell, Graham Davis, and Yee Von Koh, VTSup 135 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 146–47.

ὕμεῖς δὲ οἱ ἐγκαταλιπόντες με καὶ ἐπιλανθανόμενοι τὸ ὄρος τὸ ἅγιόν μου καὶ ἐτοιμάζοντες τῷ δαίμονι τράπεζαν καὶ πληροῦντες τῇ τύχῃ κέρασμα.

But as for you who forsake me and forget my holy mountain and prepare a table for the demon and fill a mixed drink for Fortune (NETS)

The sword awaits those who perform acts of worship to Daimon and Tyche (Isa 65:12). The feminine article before Baal in LXX Jeremiah (2:8, etc.) has also been understood as a possible critique of the Alexandrian Isis cult.¹⁹ Turning to the Pentateuch, Martin Vahrenhorst has pointed out that the translator of Leviticus (19:27) uses the Egyptian word σισόη, a transliteration of the Demotic *t3j-d(w)j*, to describe the prohibited hairstyle:²⁰

οὐ ποιήσετε σισόην ἐκ τῆς κόμης τῆς κεφαλῆς ὑμῶν
Do not form a hair-lock from the hair of your head.

This so-called youth lock was originally an Egyptian hair style typical of the later New Kingdom consisting of one braid of hair worn in front of the ear, similar to *payot* though substantially larger.²¹ Σισόη was, as far as I am aware, not used as a loanword in the Greek papyri but the name Σισώης and other variants were widespread.²² While the Demotic equivalent *t3j-d(w)j* was mostly attested as a name, it does appear in Papyrus Krall, “The Con-

19. Andreas Vonach, “H Baal in der Jer-LXX: Erschließung neuer Horizonte als Übersetzungstechnik,” in *Horizonte biblischer Texte: Festschrift für Josef M. Oesch zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Andreas Vonach and Georg Fischer, OBO 196 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 59–70. For another explanation see Siegfried Kreuzer, “Entstehung und Entwicklung der Septuaginta im Kontext frühjüdischer Kultur und Bildung,” in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 21.

20. Martin Vahrenhorst, “Levitikon. Leviticus/Das dritte Buch Mose,” in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 395.

21. See Annika Backe-Dahmen, “Roman Children and the ‘Horus Lock’ between Cult and Image,” in *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis: Agents, Images, and Practices*, ed. Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymiers, *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 187 (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 512; and Christa Müller, “Jugendlocke,” *LÄ* 3:273–74.

22. For the variants, see Erich Lüddeckens, *Demotisches Namenbuch* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1997), 1:1354–55.

test for Inaros' Armor," as an opprobrious name alongside "incense eater," perhaps as a polemic against weak priests (see P.Krall 5.2, 5; 9.5–6).²³ As Jan Joosten has pointed out, this translation of the prohibition in Lev 19:27 seems to be polemicizing against imitating the hairstyle of the Horus-child²⁴ and presumably cult officials who grew this long lock of hair as a central symbol of the cult. In fact, the name Σισόις was later adopted by cult officials to accentuate the connection to youthful rejuvenation and the young Horus.²⁵ Iconography of this Horus lock is often depicted on Isis statues in which the Nilotic goddess is breast feeding the Horus child, though the depictions of Horus alone, that is, the Harpocrates on the Mendesstele and numerous Horus *cippi*, are also depicted with this sidelock.²⁶

2. The Book of Exodus and Egyptian Ideology

Given the above veiled references to (the) Isis(cult) in the Greek scriptures, looking for more such references could yield a better understanding

23. For Demotic: see Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Kopenhagen: Cissalpino-Goliardica, 1954), 669; Janet H. Johnson, ed., *The Demotic Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, 2001), T:13. In the later Egyptian dialect, Coptic, it appears as ⲭⲓⲗⲟⲩ. See Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1977), 443; Walter E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 800a. For Papyrus Krall: see the edition of Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros: Studien zum P.Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus*, MPER NS 26 (Wien: Brüder Hollinek, 1996); Herman De Meulenaere, "Le nom propre Σισόις et son prototype égyptien," *ChronÉg* 66 (1991): 132 remarks: "que dans trois contextes identiques du Papyrus Krall (V, 2, 5; IX, 5–6) où il semble être utilisé comme une sorte d'épithète injurieuse dans un sens difficile à déterminer avec précision."

24. Jan Joosten, "The Egyptian Background of the Septuagint," in *The Library of Alexandria: A Cultural Crossroads of the Ancient World*, ed. Christophe Rico and Anca Dan (Jerusalem: Polis Institute Press, 2017), 79–88.

25. De Meulenaere, "Le nom," 133–34 points to other names carried alongside Σισόις: Ὠρος, Ἀπολλώνιος and Λολοῦς.

26. E.g., the Magical stela or Cippus of Horus, MET, New York, acc. no. 20.2.23. Beside the statue depicted in Joosten, "Egyptian Background of the Septuagint," 86, see Georges Michaelides, "Contribution à l'étude de la grande déesse en Égypte: II. Isis déesse de l'amour," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte* 37 (1956): 191–213; Hans W. Müller, "Isis mit dem Horuskinde: ein Beitrag zur Ikonographie der stillenden Gottesmutter in hellenistischen und römischen Ägypten," *Münchener Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 14 (1963): 7–38. Another possible but less likely referent for the prohibition is the side lock worn by the sem priest of Ptah.

of the milieu of the translation. Among the deviations from the MT in LXX Exod 15:1–19, I will focus on the anomalous reading in Exod 15:3. The text reads:

κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.
יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו

The Greek translation is problematic due to the lack of an article. This rendering may perhaps be intended to mirror the poetic Hebrew of the Song which contains no definite article.²⁷ The participle modifying κύριος could be attributive, predicative, or even substantival, though the attributive understanding leaves the thought incomplete, unless the period after verse 2 is modified.²⁸ The substantival understanding (“The Lord is the one who crushes wars”)²⁹ is most likely.

The motivation for the change remains elusive since no philological explanation can be attributed to the competent translator.³⁰ Since the work of Zacharias Frankel on the influence of Judean exegesis on Alexandrian Jewish hermeneutics, this rendering has been understood as a deliberative avoidance of anthropomorphic language.³¹ Joachim Schaper cautiously questions whether this phrase could have been a common epithet in Hellenistic Judaism and traces the change partly to a pacifistic view of God: “Von Gott wird erhofft, dass er ein Ende aller Kriege herbeiführen wird.”³² While this messianic expectation is found in Jewish texts (e.g., Sib. Or.

27. See Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry,” 110.

28. Larry Perkins, “‘The Lord Is a Warrior’—‘The Lord Who Shatters Wars’: Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7; 16:2,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 130–31.

29. Eberhard Bons, “The Lord Is the One Who Crushes Wars—A Fresh Look at the Septuagint Translation of Exod 15:3,” in *Die Septuaginta—Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz*, ed. Martin Meiser et al., WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 159, n. 3 with reference to SSG, 368.

30. Joachim Schaper, “Exodos/Exodus/Das zweite Buch Mose,” in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 293; Bons, “Lord,” 159, n. 4, who notes the tension between this observation and the presence of rather free renderings in Exodus.

31. Zacharias Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Barth, 1851), 85; Barbara Schmitz, “Κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους: ‘The Lord Who Crushes Wars’ (Exod 15:3LXX): The Formative Importance of the Song of the Sea (Exod 15:1–18LXX) for the Book of Judith,” *JSCS* 47 (2014): 5–16. For previous research see Bons, “Lord,” 161–62.

32. Schaper, “Exodos” (*Septuaginta Deutsch*), 293.

3.652–56), the tone of Exodus is bellicose. Against such an understanding, one could simply cite verses 6–7:

ἡ δεξιὰ σου χεῖρ, κύριε, ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς.
καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δόξης σου συνέτριψας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους·

Your right hand, O Lord, crushed enemies.
And with the fullness of your glory you squashed the adversaries.

The destruction of the Egyptian army in the Red Sea could not be ameliorated through this one felicitous rendering “the Lord is the one who crushes wars” at the beginning of the Song of the Sea.³³ Furthermore, this understanding has rightly been questioned in secondary literature, as Larry Perkins and Eberhard Bons have recently reminded us.³⁴ However, I do not see the supposition that anthropomorphic language was avoided to be at odds with Bons’s understanding of κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους as God’s miraculous intervention on the part of Israel in assisting his people to avoid war.³⁵ If the Lord is a “mighty warrior,” an ἄνθρωπος πολεμιστής (as in Isa 3:2), this would not exclude his one-sided defeat of the Egyptian army in Exodus, as the Israelites are without weapons and Moses says, “The Lord will fight for you, and you should be silent” (Exod 14:14). Both could be true. The translator seeks to avoid an anthropomorphism, and, when faced with the possible renderings after excising “man,” he incorporates a theological understanding of God’s intervention on Israel’s behalf when faced with martial conflict. This is how the phrase “the Lord who crushes wars” was understood in Jdt 9:7 and 16:2. Israel will win through

33. Joachim F. Quack, “The Interaction of Egyptian and Aramaic Literature,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid Period: Negotiating Identity in an International Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 383 points out that the adaptation of Ahiqar in Egyptian circles would possibly have required drastic alteration, because “it is hard to imagine that the Egyptians would have liked a story telling of their own defeat.” Quack refers to Heinz Heinen, “Ägypten im Römischen Reich: Bemerkungen zum Thema Akkulturation und Identität,” in *Ägypten unter fremden Herrschern zwischen persischer Satrapie und römischer Provinz*, ed. Stefan Pfeiffer, Oikumene 3 (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Antike, 2007), 203–4, who points out rejoicing at the drowning of the Egyptians in Egypt is first attested long after the advent of Christianity.

34. Bons, “Lord,” 162–63; Perkins, “Lord,” *passim*.

35. Bons, “Lord,” 166: “God’s aim is that Israel should avoid a war.”

trust in the mighty Lord, not by force of arms. This also coincides with Josephus's rhetorically skewed retelling of Israel's conflicts, in which they escaped unharmed due, not to their military prowess but rather to their trust in God: "In short, there is no instance of our forefathers having triumphed by arms or failed of success without them when they committed their cause to God" (*B.J.* 5.390).

This understanding of God's unilateral action of "crushing wars" as fighting for Israel at exactly this juncture in the text, when Pharaoh and the Egyptian army are defeated, still requires explanation, especially since Egyptian texts are replete with bellicose imagery in connection with gods and the Ptolemaic king.

The possible literal translation "man of war" corresponds to *rmt qnqnw*,³⁶ a term in Demotic literature that denotes simply the warrior. The Rosetta stone has the plural *rmt.w (n) qnqn*, and the equivalent in the Greek version is μάχιμοι.³⁷ This Demotic designation is strikingly similar to the LXX's συντριβω since the lexeme *qnqn* means "hit," "fight," and "pulverize."³⁸ As a noun, it means "battle" or, in the context of the Raphia decree,³⁹ probably "victory." This decree orders the erection of a statue called *ptrwmjs Hr-nd-it.t=fntj n3-n n3j=fqnqn[w]* "Ptolemaios, Horus who avenges/protects his father, whose victories are pulchritudinous/lovely."⁴⁰

A God who crushes wars by crushing the opponents himself (cf. Exod 15:7) corresponds to the epithet *nb š.t*, "Lord of slaughter," which is used of Thot, and *nb š.j*, "Lord of slaughter," which is used of Amun in P.Ryl. 9.⁴¹

36. The qualitative of *qnqn* = *qnqnw* is used in the phrase, *rmt qnqnw*.

37. Rosetta 11: Gr. OGIS 1.90, line 19.

38. For "fight" and "hit," see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 542 and WÄS 5:55; and for "pulverize," see *Chicago Demotic Dictionary* Q:52.

39. For the text, see Robert S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1996), –57; Henri Gauthier and Henri Sottas, *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV* (Kairo: Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale, 1925). See also Friedhelm Hoffmann, *Ägypten, Kultur und Lebenswelt in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Eine Darstellung nach den demotischen Quellen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000), 160–64.

40. Raphia 32: no Greek text.

41. According to WÄS 4:416–17, the meaning of *nb š.t* is "Gemetzelt, Schlacht, Kampf." For *nb š.t* in reference to Thot, see *ALEX* 77.4098; Raphael Giveon, "Inscriptions of Sahurê' and Sesostri I from Wadi Khariğ (Sinai)," *BASOR* 226 (1977): 61, no. 13: "Toth, Lord of slaughter, who smashes Asia." The inscription dates to the fifth dynasty. Giveon ("Inscriptions," 62) notes the parallel *wr š.t*, "Great of slaughter" in

The word *š.t* can mean “slaughter” as well as “war” or “battle.” An alternative to “Lord of carnage” is “Great of carnage,” *wr š.t*, though, according to LGG, this is used sparingly, for example, for Horus.⁴²

Papyrus Rylands 9 contains a report, purportedly written in Darius’s ninth year, 513 BCE, of a conflict between Petese and the priests of the temple of Amun in El-Hiba over the rightful ownership of a large portion of the temple revenue. At the conclusion of the family history of Petese, recounted to justify his claim to the revenue as scion of the prophet of Amun in El-Hiba, are three hymns inspired by Amun, which call on the same god to avenge the outrage of the priests in depriving the grandson of his share. In the hymnic context, the vocative address “O Amun, Lord of Carnage” in line 2 of column 25 foreshadows the “crushing” of the wicked priests’ sons in line 5. The wicked priests do not acknowledge that the wrath of God is against them (l. 5), therefore “you crush their sons in their presence” *i-ir=k hrš n n3j=w s3.w? m-b3h=w*.⁴³ We may point out that the word *hrš*, which must mean “break” or “crush” in this context, has been recognized as a variant for *qrš*, which is one of the many words (κωωρε) in Coptic to translate the word συντρίβω.⁴⁴ Despite this correlation, the paucity of similar bellicose language for Amun in the Ptolemaic era leads us to consider other deities with bellicose characteristics. Osiris is sporadically characterized in warlike terms, as, for example, in a text from Tutankhamun’s burial site: *h3ti pw n Wsir ir(w) š.t nb.t*, “This is the heart of Osiris, which wreaks all carnage.”⁴⁵ Despite this text and a reference to

the Egyptian Book of the Dead. See Ernest A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead: The Papyrus Ani in the British Museum; The Egyptian Text with Interlinear Transliteration and Translation, a Running Translation, Introduction, etc.* (London: British Museum, 1895), 144. For *nb š.j* in reference to Amun, see P.Ryl 9.25.2: *Imn p3 nb š.j*, “Amun is the lord of slaughter.” Günther Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, ÄAT 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 1998), 2:627, cites Rosetta 15 (with reference to Robert K. Ritner, “Two Demotic Notes,” *Enchoria* 13 [1985]: 213, but here as in P.BM 10507 1.4 the language is “belonging to slaughter.”)

42. E Mammisi 168, 6; see LGG, 2:462.

43. Text from Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9*.

44. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 130b; see also Vittmann, *Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2:630–61; Joachim F. Quack, “Philologische Miszellen II,” *LingAeg* 3 (1993): 152 on the spelling of *h3s* as *q*. Johnson, *Demotic Dictionary*, H:149 has combined the two lemmata. See also Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 545.

45. In the Hymn to Osiris at Philae (dated to Ptolemy II’s reign), Osiris is “lord of life who repelled his enemy,” *nb nḥ dr rkw.f*. See Louis V. Žabkar, “A Hymn to

sending demons to inspire war in the “Battle for Inaros’ Armor,” the personal participation of the god Osiris in martial conflict remains rare.⁴⁶ In the early Ptolemaic era, however, the divine spouse of Osiris and mother of Horus, the goddess Isis, is often depicted as engaging in slaughter, as warlike, as “great of massacre” (*wr.t ṣ̌.t*, a variant of the above mentioned *nb.t ṣ̌.t* and “vanguard of the army”). Furthermore, the close and growing connection between the Sarapis and Isis cults and the Ptolemaic king from Ptolemy I Soter onward, speaks for the relevance of Isis in the Ptolemaic realm. Of the many facets of the Isis cult in Ptolemaic Egypt, two finds provide apposite evidence for the current study. On a handful of *oinochoai* (wine jugs) from Alexandria, the deified Arsinoe is commemorated with the inscription: [Αγ]αθῆς τύχης [Α]ρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἰσιος.⁴⁷ Her identification with Isis is thereby confirmed. Arsinoe worship, propagated by decree on the Mendes Stela, is attested in over twenty-five places in Ptolemaic Egypt. In these places, Arsinoe’s cult statue was erected beside local gods.⁴⁸ This official veneration attracted the attention of a certain Peteermotis, an Egyptian who petitioned Zenon to appoint him to the temple of Arsinoe being built in Philadelphia. Peteermotis understood his desired role, presumably with regular revenues, as ἵνα καὶ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς σῆς ὑγιείας προσεύχωμαι (P.Lond 7.2046.4). The exact role of the Egyptian in this temple is unclear. It is, however, likely, that Arsinoe would have been identified as Isis, as the above-cited wine jug demonstrates for Alexandria,⁴⁹ and that the service involved some sort of intercessory cultic activities. The presence of this temple in Philadelphia as well as in other

Osiris Pantocrator at Philae,” *ZÄS* 108 (1981): 143; László Kákosy, “Ein literarisch-mythologisches Motiv: Osiris als Gott des Kampfes und der Rache,” in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto*, ed. Jan Assmann, Erika Feucht, and Reinhard Grieshammer (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1977), 286.

46. P. Krall 1.4: Osiris sends two demons “the one who loves war” and the “revenge of Horus” (or revenging Horus). See Friedhelm Hoffmann and Joachim F. Quack, *Anthologie der demotischen Literatur* (Münster: LIT, 2018), 374 n. d. to stir up war. See Kákosy, “Motiv,” 285–88.

47. Dorothy B. Thompson, *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faience* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1973), nos. 142, 144, 146.

48. Dorothy J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, 2nd ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 118–20.

49. One must be cautious about this identification since Arsinoe had many epithets. See Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter, *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 382.

prominent places in the Fayum could not have gone unnoticed by Jews. In fact several factors speak for the Jews' cognizance of, and reaction to, the Ptolemaic propaganda.⁵⁰

In Saqqara, the presence of the transliteration of ʔs.t ʕ3.(t), "great Isis," as ʔs.t ʕ3.(t) shows that Aramaic speakers in the fifth century were aware of Egyptian Isis titles.⁵¹

The synagogue inscriptions, referred to earlier, seem to be reactions to the Sarapis and Isis dedications so prevalent during the reigns of the third and fourth Ptolemies. The trilingual synodal decree of the priests at Alexandria on 3 December 243 BCE was the result of a meeting which took place "in the Temple to Isis and the sibling gods" (Ptolemy II and Arsinoe).⁵² The Ptolemaic initiative to promote this cult created a close connection between the ruler cult and the cult of Isis and Sarapis and motivated the upper class to make dedications on behalf of Ptolemy to Sarapis and Isis.⁵³ Apollonius, a member of the Ptolemaic administration, ordered Zenon to build a shrine for Sarapis in Philadelphia in the Fayum next to those for Isis and the sibling gods.⁵⁴ The dedications are widespread and follow a pattern, on behalf of either the king and his wife and children ὑπὲρ βασιλέως, et cetera, along with the deities in the dative case, or both the royal pair and the gods in the dative case.⁵⁵

The Jews probably used the former dedications as their *Vorlage* for the *proseuche* dedications as can be seen by comparing the following inscriptions:

50. Ptolemy IV Philopator emphasized his connection to Horus, Son of Isis, through the innovative introduction of "Beloved of Isis," *mrjw Jst*, into the personal name of his official five-fold titulary. See Werner Huß, *Ägypten in hellenistischer Zeit 332–30 v. Chr.* (Munich: Beck, 2001), 385–86: "Mit der Aufnahme der Schützgöttin Isis in die Königstitulatur gliedert sich der König in besonderer Weise in den Isis-Osiris-Horus-Kreis ein.... Und seine Feinde wird er ber Rhapsia—um es überspitzt zu sagen—nicht als Horus, sondern als Hariese („Horus, Sohn der Isis“) töten."

51. Judah B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqāra [Sakkara]: With Some Fragments in Phoenician*, Texts from Excavations, Sixth Memoir, Excavations at North Saqqara Documentary Series 4 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1983), NSaq Pap 56.R.1.2.4.

52. Pfeiffer, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, no. 13.

53. Eleni Fassa, "Sarapis, Isis, and the Ptolemies in Private Dedications: The Hyper-Style and the Double Dedications," *Kernos* 28 (2015): 133–53.

54. P.Cair. Zen. 2.59168. I owe this reference to Marianne Bergmann, "Sarapis im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.," in *Alexandria und das ptolemäische Ägypten*, ed. Gregor Weber (Berlin: Antike, 2010), 116.

55. E.g., OGIS 62.

OGIS 64 Memphis? Reign of Ptolemy III

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου καὶ
 βασιλίσσης Βερενίκης, θεῶν
Εὐεργετῶν, καὶ τῶν τέκνων Σαράπιδι,
Ἰσιδι τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸν περίβολον
 Ἀπολλώνιος Φιλίωνος Ἀμμωνιεὺς⁵⁶
 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Δημητρία.

CIJ 2.1440 Schedia Reign of Ptolemy III

ὑπὲρ βασιλέως | Πτολεμαίου καὶ
 βασιλίσσης | Βερενίκης ἀδελ- |
 φῆς καὶ γυναικὸς καὶ | τῶν τέκνων |
 τὴν προσευχὴν
 οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι. |

The *proseuche* dedications probably represented attempts by the Jewish community to express loyalty to the Ptolemaic rulers without participating in the ruler cult. They were among the many shrines that were set up for invocations to the gods who should hear their prayers.⁵⁷

Turning now to Isis, the correspondence with Exod 15:3 will become sharper. If we accept that the anonymous translator wished to avoid the anthropomorphism “man of war,” one which was already attested in Demotic literature, he was immediately confronted by another such epithet.

In the Cyme aretalogy,⁵⁸ Isis claims:

ἐγὼ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία. (§41)

There is some dispute about the background of this epigraphic Isis aretalogy, which is found in many copies throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.⁵⁹ Pfeiffer writes: “Gerade ... 41–43 sind schwer mit ägyptischen Vorstellungen zu erklären.”⁶⁰ Dieter Müller likewise sees this formula as

56. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:n. 21; 1:n. 44 on the Deme name possibly derived from Zeus-Ammon.

57. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:277.

58. IG 12.14 = I.Kyme 41 = Totti 1 = RICIS 302/0204 = Pfeiffer, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, 42.

59. Pfeiffer, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, 199.

60. Pfeiffer, *Griechische und lateinische Inschriften*, 204.

pure Greek, noting that nearly every deity could be credited with granting Pharaoh victory and that this phrase can hardly be translated into Egyptian, by which he means hieroglyphics.⁶¹

Against the Greek background of this aretalogy, which claims to “have been copied from the Stele which is in Memphis” §2 τὰδε ἐγράφηι ἐκ τῆς στήλης τῆς ἐν Μέμφει, Joachim Quack has pointed to Egyptian precedence for the use of the first person in laudatory contexts⁶² and offers a retranslation of the Cyme aretalogy into Demotic. At this juncture, he renders ἐγὼ εἰμι πολέμου κυρία as “Ich bin die Herrin von Kampf und Streit,” *ink t3 nb.t 3h mlh*.⁶³ Martin Stadler, emphasizing Quack’s self-admission that his reconstruction of the Demotic is merely an attempt, opines that the philological argument is not fully satisfactory.⁶⁴ We would not, however, expect any translation to be a mere transfer of Egyptian ideas into Egyptianized Greek. In fact, the translation of Quack offers a nice double translation, a phenomenon well-known to LXX scholars.⁶⁵ Furthermore, the Rosettana (Dem 12) has a rather dynamic equivalent for *r ir 3h wb3 Kmi*, “(against those who came on Land and Sea) to wage war against Egypt,” with ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπελθόντας ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

The bellicose nature of Isis is confirmed for the late Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

From the early second century CE (98–136 CE), a long invocation to Isis from Oxyrhynchus takes up many familiar attributes of Isis. One recorded in the Oxyrhynchus Litany is as follows: σὺ στρα-|τείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας κυρία τοὺς <τυράνους> εὐ-|κόπως διαφθείρεις πιστοῖς βου-|λεύμασιν-, “You are the lady of war and rule, easily destroyest tyrants by trusty counsels.”⁶⁶

61. Dieter Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, ASAW Philologisch-historische Klasse 53.1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961), 72, who sees the only possibility for war as *hrwjw* (WÄS 3:326).

62. See the note by Martin A. Stadler, “Zur Ägyptischen Vorlage,” *GM* 205 (2005): 8, who notes the connection to Diodorus, *Bib. hist.* 1.27 who places the I am statements of Isis in a funerary context.

63. Joachim F. Quack, “‘Ich bin Isis, die Herrin der beiden Länder’: Versuch zum demotischen Hintergrund der memphitischen Isisaretalogie,” in *Egypt—Temple of the Whole World: Studies in Honour of Jan Assmann*, ed. Sibylle Meyer, Studies in the History of Religions 97 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 338. For the vocabulary see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 8 and 170.

64. Stadler, “Zur Ägyptischen Vorlage,” 8.

65. P.Krall 23.30 (“The Contest for Inaros’s Armor”) has the doublet *3h mlh*.

66. P.Oxy. 11.1380.239–42 (trans. Bernard P. Grenfall).

An unpublished Demotic text from the Fayum dating to the first half of the first century CE also describes Isis in violent terms.⁶⁷ The hymns of a certain Isidorus inscribed on the pilasters of a Hellenistic temple at Narmouthis (modern Medinet Madi) also recount the power of Isis.

Hymn 3.16–18:

ὅππου δὴ πόλεμοί τε ἀνδροκτασίαι τε μάλιστ[α],
 μυριάδων ὄχλων τε τὸ σὸν σθένος, ἡ δύνα[μὶς σου],
 πλῆθος ἀπημαύρωσ', ὀλίγοισι δὲ θάρσος ἔ[δωκε].⁶⁸

And where indeed there are wars and slaughter
 of countless throngs, Your strength and godly power
 annihilates the multitude; but to the few it gives courage.⁶⁹

The date of the composition of these hymns is disputed, ranging from shortly before they were inscribed in the early first century BCE to the third century BCE.⁷⁰ Even if we do not accept the early date for this composition, the sentiment of Isis as “mistress of carnage” and a goddess who smites the enemy is found in earlier texts.

In a second century BCE papyrus Isis is invoked:

67. Martin A. Stadler, “New Light on the Universality of Isis (pVienna D. 6297+6329+10101),” in *Entangled Worlds: Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire; The Cults of Isis, Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus*, ed. Svenja Nagel, Joachim F. Quack, and Christian Witschel, ORA 22 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 232–43.

68. Étienne Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine: Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*, Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon 98 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1969), 175.

69. Translation from Vera F. Vanderlip, *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and The Cult of Isis*, American Studies in Papyrology 12 (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972).

70. See Thomas M. Dousa, “Imagining Isis: On Some Continuities and Discontinuities in the Image of Isis in Greek Hymns and Demotic Texts,” in *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies: Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, ed. Kim Ryholt, CNI Publications 27 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2002), 151 n. 7 citing for the early date János Bollók, “Du problème de la datation des hymnes d'Isidore,” *Studio Aegyptiaca I* (1974): 27–37.

perform massacre against [them ... un]til their [battle-]weapons
are [broken(?)].⁷¹

Earlier texts also highlight her bellicose role. The hieroglyphic hymns to Isis from Philae, dating to the reign of Philadelphus, highlight her role in slaughter. In Hymn 5 (according to Žabkar's numbering) Isis is described as "Great of massacre":

Who took possession of the Two Lands,
Ruler of the gods and goddesses;
Who attacks the powerful ones,
Mightier than the mighty, stronger than the strong; (*pḥty[.t] r*
pḥty.w)
Who smites millions (by) cutting of (their) heads,
Great of Massacre against her enemy (*Wr[.t] šꜥ.t r ḥfty.s*).⁷²

Two observations on this text are pertinent. The context of this description is mythological, the enemy being Seth. Strength was an attribute used of both gods and the king.⁷³ This strength translates into battlefield success.

(Praise be) unto you,
Divine Mother of Horus, the mighty Bull,
forthcoming of arm, who smites his enemies,
And makes them non-existent.⁷⁴

Since the same functions are attributed now to Horus and now to King Ptolemy, and Ptolemy II is identified with Horus in the Hymn to Osiris in Room V of the present temple, Louis Žabkar surmises that Horus and

71. P.Heid. Dem. 736 v.x + 4 in Holger Kockelmann, *Praising the Goddess: A Comparative and Annotated Re-edition of Six Demotic Hymns and Praises Addressed to Isis*, APF 15 (Leipzig: Teubner, 2008), 8.

72. Translation from Louis V. Žabkar, *Hymns to Isis in Her Temple at Philae* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1988), 58.

73. As exemplified by Ptolemy I on the Satrap Stela 2–3; For a translation see Robert K. Ritner, "The Satrap Stela," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. William K. Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 392–97. See also WÄS 1:540 4.5.

74. Translation by David Klotz, "The Hymns to Isis from Philae Revisited (Žabkar, *Hymns* 1–2)," *BSÉG* 30 (2014–2015): 75–107. On the reading *ir s(t) n/m tm-wn*, see 84–85.

Ptolemy II have coalesced in this imagery.⁷⁵ Furthermore, both Ptolemy II and Horus are seen as Rulers over Nubia and the foreign lands (cf. Hymn 1). The legend above the hymn attributed to Isis: “I have given you Heaven (itself) with what is in it; I have given you victory over the south” is paralleled in the legend above Hymn 2 behind Isis “O my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt.... I have given you the north as far as Heaven.”⁷⁶ Here, we see the merging of the heavenly and earthly realms: Isis is the mother of Horus and the mother of the King, the King is Horus himself, and by way of extension, the one “who smites his enemy” (Hymn 1). All this, however, is only possible by the sanction of Isis. “Thus Isis, mother of Horus, is also mother of the king ... because his royal function and character are coextensive with those of Horus, her son, who long ago had become the mythical prototype of the Egyptian king, with whom the Ptolemies tended to identify themselves.”⁷⁷

To praise the Ptolemaic ruler with elements from mythology serving a double function is clearly part of the strategy of Hellenistic court poetry. Callimachus and Theocritus use Greek mythology telescopically to praise either the earthly manifestation of the divine object of the poem or to set the Ptolemaic king parallel to the same. Callimachus's Hymns 1 and 4 stand out in this regard, but for the present inquiry, the *Herakliskos* (*Id.* 24) of Theocritus and the imagery set out in this poem are significant. Ludwig Koenen has masterfully drawn attention to a possible contemporary allusion within the poem:⁷⁸

Ζηνὶ δ' ἐπιρρέξαι καθυπερτέρῳ ἄρσενα χοῖρον,
δυσμενέων αἰεὶ καθυπέρτεροι ὡς τελέθοιτε.

75. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 24–25.

76. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 31.

77. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 25.

78. Ludwig Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift aus Ägypten und frühptolemäische Königsfeste*, Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 56 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1977), 79–84. Graham Zanker, “Current Trends in the Study of Hellenic Myth in Early Third-Century Alexandrian Poetry: The Case of Theocritus,” *Antike und Abendland* 35 (1989): 98–99 is probably correct that positing the sacrifice of a pig at the Basileia and Genethlia goes too far. Furthermore, his statement: “we have seen that the identification of a Ptolemy with Horus is attested only for Epiphanes” (98) is simply not true since he has overlooked the close parallel offered in the Philae hymns of Horus and Philadelphus as well as the Edfu reliefs and the Horus name of the Pharaoh as evidence for the identification of the Ptolemaic sovereign with Horus before Epiphanes.

And sacrifice to Zeus the Master a boar-pig
that ye may ever be masters of your foes. (*Id.* 24.99–100)⁷⁹

Koenen posits that the sacrifice of a pig⁸⁰ not only invokes the Greek context, but also evokes imagery of Seth, represented iconographically as a pig, being symbolically defeated at a sacrifice at Philadelphus's enthronement. This sacrificial imagery may or may not have an historical referent, namely a sacrifice to Zeus at the Basileia and Genethlia of Philadelphus at the occasion of his accession to coruler in 285 BCE, as Graham Zanker has noted.⁸¹ However, Koenen maintains that the king's official title as ἀντιπάλων ὑπέρτερος is alluded to by Theocritus (*Id.* 24.100) in the words δυσμενέων καθυπέρτεροι, and this allusion would have not escaped the earliest hearers of the poem.⁸² One of the ways the Ptolemaic king was "superior to the adversaries" was exemplified by his defeat of Seth. As the earthly incarnation of Horus, he defeated Seth who is depicted either as a pig or a hippopotamus. Furthermore, the king was depicted as Horus in statue groups in which the king is subduing a barbarian figure, perhaps a Celt or Seleucid, and twists his right arm behind his back while pushing his head downward. The date of this wrestling motif is not completely settled, but the earliest statue could be a depiction of Philadelphus, as François Queyrel suggests.⁸³ A Baltimore group (Walters Art Gallery 54.1050) depicts Ptolemy VI with the Horus lock, with this wrestling motive.⁸⁴ Even if the Athens group is dated to a later Ptolemy, the connec-

79. Translation A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1952).

80. The multivalence of *rr(t)* complicates the imagery; this word could also denote a hippopotamus, thus Wolfgang Helck, "Schwein," *LÄ* 5:762.

81. Zanker, "Current Trends," 98–99. See also Ludwig Koenen, "The Ptolemaic King as a Religious Figure," in *Images and Ideologies: Self-Definition in the Hellenistic World*, ed. Anthony Bulloch et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 78: the Basileia was "originally a thanksgiving feast for victory in honor of Zeus."

82. Koenen, *Eine agonistische Inschrift*, 83.

83. See the so-called Athens group; National Archaeological Museum, ANE 2547; François Queyrel, "The Portraits of the Ptolemies," in *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, ed. Olga Palagia (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 210. Helmut Kyrieleis, "ΚΑΘΑΠΕΡ ΕΡΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΩΡΟΣ," *Antike Plastik* 12.1–13 (1973): 133–47 argues that the prototype was the Istanbul wrestler-group (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum, no. 190, see the picture in Queyrel, "Portraits," 210) depicting Ptolemy III as Hermes-Thoth and that the Athens and Baltimore groups were adapted from this type.

84. Koenen, *Inschrift*, 83, n. 176 already referred to these statutes, but see the

tion with Horus is clear from the fivefold official titulary. The first name in the titulary of the reigning pharaoh, the so-called Horus name, indicates that “the divine power of kingship (Horus) is incarnated in the individual X who resides in the palace.”⁸⁵ This incarnation of Horus and the defeat of Seth was part of the drama scenes at Edfu, where a Ptolemy is depicted as triumphant over a hippopotamus, clearly evoking the famous mythology.⁸⁶

The smiting of the enemy and ruling over the north and the south by both Horus and Ptolemy Philadelphus were historicized already at this stage, and as the above examples make clear, the identification continued to be utilized. The historicizing connection of Isis’s intervention in military conflict on behalf of her son is found during the reign of Euergetes I in the temple inscriptions from Aswan. There her role regarding warfare shifts slightly:

Isis, the chief of the army, [*ḥꜣt pꜣ mꜣꜥ*] residing at Aswan, who restrains the aggressor, protects the Black Land for her Horus, and subdues the foreign countries for the Lord of the Two Lands.⁸⁷

A subsequent explication at the temple of Philae, addressed to Ptolemy VIII, illuminates the role of the Nilotic goddess in battle: “Isis is more effective than a million soldiers.”⁸⁸ In other words, Isis’s power in martial conflicts outweighs all the human armies’ strength, and she herself is responsible for the victory, for the slaughter. This more historical application of Isis’s bellicose nature was probably “stimulated to a considerable extent by the phraseology of Hymn V” (at Philae).⁸⁹ Furthermore, the

updated literature: Günter Grimm and Dieter Johannes, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum Kairo* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1975); Helmut Kyrielleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer*, AF 2 (Berlin: Mann, 1975), E6 pl. 43 Abb. 1 for the Athens groups and E7 Abb. 2 for the Baltimore group; and especially Queyrel, “Portraits,” 194–224.

85. Quotation from James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 82; For the Ptolemaic titulary, see Dieter Kürth, “Anhang Ptolemaios,” *LÄ* 4:1193–97.

86. See John Dillery, *Clio’s Other Sons: Berrosus and Manetho* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2015), 177.

87. Translation adapted from Žabkar, *Hymns*, 60.

88. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 61.

89. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 73.

phrase “more effective than millions” was adapted from the description of Amun in the Kadesh inscription “more effective than millions of infantry, hundreds of thousands of chariotry.”⁹⁰ This appropriation of older traditional material for Isis dovetails with the observation that earlier material only rarely describes the Nilotic goddess in bellicose terms, only highlighting her newfound qualities at Philae and Aswan.⁹¹

The epithet “chief” or “vanguard of the army” is taken up in the graffiti *proskynemata* at Aswan:

3s.t wr(.t) t3 nṯr.t 3s.t t3 nb.t phṯ h3(t.t) p3 mšc t3 nb.t Swn

Isis, the great, the great goddess, the mistress of strength, the chief of troops, the lady of Aswan.⁹²

What was implied in the Hymn I at Philae and moved out of the mythological realm into the historical by way of the coextension of Horus and Ptolemy II is now made explicit during the reign of Euergetes. Isis leads the army, she is the most powerful soldier, she intervenes for her Horus.

3. Conclusion

Lexically and philologically there is no exact parallel in the Egyptian sources for κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους. It has been argued that the literal translations of the Hebrew of Exod 15:3 with and without an anthropomorphism were already attested concepts in Egyptian thought. Moreover, the idea expressed in the phrase, κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, signifying that the God of Israel will intervene in martial conflict and smite the enemy (Exod 15:3, 7) is paralleled in Egyptian ideology: the “mistress of carnage,” protecting her Horus, the pharaoh, leads the army and is stronger than the strong, more effective than a million soldiers. Traditional imagery previously applied to Pharaoh⁹³ and other deities underscores the prevalence and conspicuousness of these qualities of Isis in the early

90. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 63.

91. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 60. For the time until the end of the New Kingdom, see Martin A. Stadler, *Isis, das göttliche Kind und die Weltordnung: Neue religiöse Texte aus dem Fayum nach dem Papyrus Wien D. 12006 Recto* (Wien: Hollinek, 2004), 205.

92. GrAssuan 13.3–5, probably Ptolemaic: Edda Bresciani, *Assuan, Il tempio Tolomaico di Isi. I blocchi decorati e iscritti* (Pisa: Giardini 1978), 129.

93. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 66.

Ptolemaic period. The Greek text of Exodus would have evoked strong emotions in Egypt, above all due to the fact that the representative of Horus on earth was not able to be saved when pitted against the God of the unarmed Israelites. If he had maintained good relations with gods and temples, the protection of the reigning pharaoh would be in Isis's hands. Once more citing the Hymns of Philae, Ptolemy II plays the sistra before Isis and invokes her thus: "Protect the Son of Re, Ptolemy, forever." A later text from Hypostyle Hall of the Philae temple from the reign of Tiberius and referring to his rule summarizes and extends the Isis ideology of the late Ptolemaic period. Isis is:

Mistress of battle, Monthu of combat,
 One to whom one cries out on the day of encounter;
 Mighty protectress without her equal,
 Who saves all those she loves on the battlefield.⁹⁴

Against this background, the Greek song of Moses in Exod 15 seems to depict the God of Israel as someone who stands above the pharaoh, who depends on his close connection to his mother Isis, who, in turn, establishes and protects his rule and leads his army. He is not the god or lord of war, not the mighty warrior of Egyptian Demotic fable, but someone who crushes wars for his people—in short, someone with no equal, as the Hebrew and Greek versions read in Exod 15:11: "Who is like you among the gods, O LORD? Who is your equal?"

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94. Žabkar, *Hymns*, 69.

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King-Physician: The Medical Metaphor in the Greek Translation of Proverbs 24

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Abstract: In this short contribution, I focus on the relationship between MT Prov 31:1–9 and its Greek translation, a passage that could be described as a *speculum principis*. I argue that the translator is influenced by the Platonic image of the ruler as physician of the sick body-state and therefore cleverly employs the vocabulary and subtly introduces images that are typically found in the Platonic dialogues.

Introduction and Aim

This study focuses on the translation of the first thematic half of Prov 31 (vv. 1–9) into Greek. The passage is introduced in Hebrew as the teaching of Lemuel's mother, and it lists a series of wise words to which the king should pay heed. In the Greek version, these verses occur in 24:69–77 (in Swete's edition), right before another series of proverbs about kingship attributed to Solomon and allegedly put into writing by Hezekiah's courtiers (cf. Prov 25:1). The core argument of this study is that, in the Greek translation, the relationship between the king and his subjects reads differently from that in the Hebrew. The Hebrew text envisages a relationship predicated on the opposition between a powerful and prosperous monarch and his indigent and destitute subjects. The Greek translation, for its part, revolves around a medical metaphor: the king is a physician, and, as such, it behooves him to take care of his ailing subjects and to heal the sick body-state. All modifications may have not been introduced into the Greek text voluntarily, given that most Greek words are regularly employed as equivalent terms of the Hebrew. Yet to a Greek

reader, well-acquainted with medical terminology and its use in political discourse, the text reads differently from the Hebrew. In order to understand how the image conjured up in the Greek text to convey the same message of the Hebrew differs from its source text, I will illustrate the recurring use of the metaphor in the broader context of Greek literature, with special attention to the Platonic dialogues.

Medicine as τέχνη

In Greek literature, medical notions are attested as early as Homer in the two poems containing the encyclopedic knowledge attained by the Greek people. The human body is also the object of investigation by pre-Socratic philosophers down to the fifth century BCE. It is in this golden age, during which Athens and the Hellenic cities and islands flourished and reached their cultural acme, that medicine acquires an independent status among other long-established τέχναι. Hippocrates of Kos, born around 460 BCE, who was accorded heroic honors soon after his death in the first half of the fourth century BCE, is considered the *πρώτος εὐρητής* of the medical art. A prose corpus of about seventy treaties in the Ionic dialect has been handed down under his name, although it is certain that these works belong to different authors, times, and geographical areas. Plato, who was active during the second half of Hippocrates's life, and Aristophanes, who likewise wrote his comedies between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth centuries BCE, both attest to the fame of the "father of medicine."¹ Plato himself is mentioned, along with other Pythagorean philosophers and among many famous and unknown doctors of antiquity, in the Anonymous Londinensis from the second century CE. There, the author summarizes Plato's *Timaeus*, a dialogue in which the Athenian philosopher expounds in detail his doctrine of the world and his understanding of some aspects of the human body.

For the purpose of this essay, it is important to understand how deep the impact of the medical art was for the Greeks of the fifth century BCE and why its method of enquiry became a model for philosophers such as Plato.

Because the founder of the Academy plays a central role in the adoption of the medical metaphor into political discourse, I will begin with his

1. For Plato, see *Prot.* 311b and *Phaedr.* 270c. Aristophanes, on the other hand, delightfully spoofs the Hippocratic oath in *Thesm.* 270–274.

definition of τέχνη.² This term indicates the human ability and possibility to subdue and reshape the world. Plato, providing a rather creative etymology of the word on the basis of phonological similarities, defines τέχνη as the possession of mind:

Socrates: One of which is to see what the word τέχνη means.

Hermogenes: Certainly.

Socrates: Does not this denote possession of mind [ἐξῆν νοῦ], if you remove the τ and insert the ο between the χ and the ν and the ν and the η [making ἐχονόη]? (Plato, *Crat.* 414b [Fowler, LCL])³

To do something, namely, to display τέχνη, presupposes the possibility of being able (having the δύναμις) to do it. And such δύναμις relies on the precise and accurate knowledge (ἐπιστήμη) of the specific matter and task:

Socrates: I wish that might be the case; but consider this point with me: could a person do what he did not know [ἐπίσταιτο] how and was utterly powerless to do [δύναιτο]?

Hippias: By no means; for how could he do what he was powerless to do? (Plato, *Hipp. maj.* 296b [Fowler, LCL])

Let it be clear that ἐπιστήμη does not refer to general knowledge but to a very specific and determined kind of competence. For instance, there will be a medical ἐπιστήμη, an engineering ἐπιστήμη, a military ἐπιστήμη, and so on. As a consequence, we can say that there is a medical τέχνη, an engineering τέχνη, and a military τέχνη. This reveals the judging (κρίνω) nature of the mind (νοῦς), which identifies specific differences between activities and distinct competences to perform each of them. The human mind is the means through which one acquires a specific ἐπιστήμη, which is then acted out as τέχνη. Medicine can rightfully be counted among the τέχναι.

In the *Statesman* (293a–c), the Stranger affirms that the physicians, who exercise authority by art or science (τέχνη), are the perfect counterpart of the rulers who exercise their authority in a proper way, with some art or science (κατὰ τέχνην). Plato, in fact, employs the image of the physician on

2. Enlightening in this regard is Umberto Galimberti's treatment of the subject. In my outline of Plato's definition of τέχνη, I will draw mainly from his monograph, *Psiche e techne: l'uomo nell'età della tecnica* (Milano: Feltrinelli, 1999).

3. I have added the actual Greek letters to the English translation to make the process visually clearer.

and on in his dialogues, very often in comparison with that of the statesman. As the physician heals the whole body, so the politician looks after the sick body-state (*Leg.* 684bc, *Hipp. Maj.* 296b).

Further, in book 4 of the *Laws* (720), Plato draws a comparison between the physician and the lawgiver. On the one hand, the free physician and the true lawgiver know what they do, and they are trustworthy because their τέχνη derives from the appropriate ἐπιστήμη of their respective disciplines. On the other hand, the slave's (namely, the physician's assistant) and the tyrant's art are merely based on δόξα. In the *Republic* (404e–405a), Plato sees a relationship between society's mores and individual health.

Justice and injustice are also compared to health and disease elsewhere in the *Republic* (444c–e), where terms such as ὑγίεια, νόσος, and ἀσθένεια are employed. The comparison between physicians and judges/kings is further elaborated in another passage of the same work (408d–409b), where a very relevant expression for our discussion of LXX Proverbs occurs (κρινεῖν ὑγιῶς τὰ δίκαια).

To sum up, the medical τέχνη is an excellent metaphor for the political τέχνη, which is understood by Plato as θεραπεία for the sick body of the city. Both recreate harmony, and as health is the mark of individual welfare, so justice is the sign of corporate happiness.

Lastly, both medicine and politics, being τέχναι, look to the future. The procedure adopted to somehow predict the future is called prognosis, and it goes back to an archaic time, when medicine and mantic prophecy were still considered as pertaining to the same area and they were performed together. It is not by chance that Apollo was the patron of both disciplines, before Asclepius took on the same function for the medical art.⁴ Plato often employs the medical category of prognosis in his dialogues, applying it to different domains (cf. *Prot.* 356b).

The Greek Translation of Proverbs 24:69–77 (MT 31:1–9)

69 דברי למואל מלך משא אשר־יסרתו אמו

Οἱ ἐμοὶ λόγοι εἴρηνται ὑπὸ θεοῦ· βασιλέως χρηματισμὸς ὃν
ἐπαίδευσεν ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ.

4. See Volker Langholf, *Medical Theories in Hippocrates: Early Texts and Epidemics* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990), 232–54.

- 70 מה־ברִי ומה־בר־בטני ומה־בר־נדרי
 τί, τέκνον, τηρήσεις; τί; ῥήσεις θεοῦ· πρωτογενές, σοὶ λέγω, υἱέ·
 τί, τέκνον ἐμῆς κοιλίας; τί, τέκνον ἐμῶν εὐχῶν;
- 71 אֶל־תִּתֵּן לְנָשִׁים חֵילךְ וּדְרִיכֶךָ לִמְחוֹת מַלְכִּין
 μὴ ὧς γυναιξὶ σὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ τὸν σὸν νοῦν καὶ βίον εἰς
 ὑστεροβουλίαν.
- 72 אֶל לְמַלְכִּים לְמוֹאֵל אֶל לְמַלְכִּים שְׁתוּיִין וּלְרוֹזְנִים אוֹ שָׂכָר
 μετὰ βουλῆς πάντα ποίει, μετὰ βουλῆς οἰνοπότει. οἱ δυνάσται
 θυμῶδεις εἰσίν, οἶνον δὲ μὴ πινέτωσαν·
- 73 פֶּן־יִשְׁתַּה וְיִשְׁכַּח מִחֻקֵּי וְיִשְׁנֶה דִּין כְּלִבִּי־עֲנִי
 ἵνα μὴ πιόντες ἐπιλάβωνται τῆς σοφίας, καὶ ὀρθὰ κρῖναι οὐ μὴ
 δύνωνται τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς.
- 74 תִּגְדֹּשׁ שָׂכָר לְאוֹבֵד וַיִּין לְמָרִי נֶפֶשׁ
 δίδοτε μέθην τοῖς ἐν λύπαις, καὶ οἶνον πίνειν τοῖς ἐν ὀδύναις,
- 75 יִשְׁתַּה וְיִשְׁכַּח רִישׁוֹ וְעַמְּלוֹ לֹא יִזְכֹּר־עוֹד
 ἵνα ἐπιλάβωνται τῆς πενίας, καὶ τῶν πόνων μὴ μνησθῶσιν ἔτι.
- 76 פֶּתַח־פִּיךָ לְאֵלִים אֶל־דִּין כְּלִבִּי חָלוּף
 ἄνοιγε σὸν στόμα λόγῳ θεοῦ, καὶ κρῖνε πάντας ὑγιῶς·
- 77 פֶּתַח־פִּיךָ שְׁפֹט־צֶדֶק וְדִין עֲנִי וְאֲבִיוֹן
 ἄνοιγε σὸν στόμα καὶ κρῖνε δικαίως, διάκρινε δὲ πένητα καὶ
 ἀσθενῆ·

Having expounded the genesis and use of the medical metaphor in Plato's dialogues, it is now time to address the Greek translation of Proverbs. The Hebrew text of Prov 31:1–9 reports the teaching of Lemuel's mother to her son, the king. The woman's sayings are complemented by the second half of the chapter (vv. 10–31), which depicts the woman of strength. The book of Proverbs is thus capped off with the words and portrayal of two women of virtue. In verses 1–9, Lemuel's mother vehemently warns the king against two sins, which, if committed, would undermine his role as king. On the one hand, the king should not have sexual intercourse with those women who could bring damage to his kingship. On the other hand, giving in to the temptation of wine and beer and to intoxication is flagged as equally dangerous. Drinking excessively would hinder the king from judging his subjects wisely and justly. Sexual immorality and alcohol often go hand in hand. Admonitions against sexual dissoluteness and immoderation in drink are a widespread motif in ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian wisdom literature. For instance, in an Egyptian letter, a father describes to his son a situation in which a group of drunk boys is gathered

in a whorehouse. In Sumerian literature, the wise Shuruppak admonishes his son not to perform the task of a judge while being drunk.⁵

The Hebrew text emphasizes the power relationship between the king and his subjects. The king is strong and wealthy, whereas his subjects are poor and needy. Even in the sexual sphere, the king possesses *חיל*, that is, sexual power (besides wealth). If one accepts that *דרך* may have the same meaning as Ugaritic *drkt*, “rule, power,”⁶ then the parallelism repeats the concept of sexual prowess. In judicial matters, it is the king who is in charge and has the authority to decide for his subjects. The latter category is described in verses 5–9 as *אביון עני, בני חלוף, אדם, מרי נפש, אובד, בני עני*, and affected by *ריש* and *עמל*. The terms *עני* and *אביון*, which often occur together, mainly refer to destitution and poverty. The noun *ריש* occurs only in Proverbs and refers precisely to poverty. Along with it, there is *עמל*, a general term to indicate trouble and toil. The Hebrew *אובד* and *בני חלוף* both describe in a dramatic way the outcome of a life of struggles, namely, death. The picture of the needy subjects is one of hardship, stemming mainly from their destitution, the absence of financial means to live with dignity, and the lack of justice. The subject who is *אדם* has no voice to defend himself/herself and may be exemplified by the orphan, the widow, or the foreigner. Those who are *מרי נפש* are bitter and often enraged because of injustice, and therefore wine is particularly suitable for them as it alleviates the pain.

As for the Greek translator, his task is to communicate to the readers the core significance of the Hebrew text, namely, that the king is the authority responsible for the lives and welfare of his subjects. In order to do so, the king’s exercise of power implied in the Hebrew text and outlined in the previous paragraph is enriched with the new image of the king-physician. In the eyes of the translator, the Platonic metaphor conveys a suitable message for his Alexandrian readership.

At the beginning of this essay, the word *τέχνη* was defined by Plato as *ἔξις νοῦ*, “possession of mind.” In Prov 24:71, the translator introduces into the text the word *νοῦς*, apparently for *דרך*.⁷ The king’s *νοῦς*, the source from which his decisional power emanates, should not be beclouded with

5. See Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 10–31*, AB 18.2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 886–87.

6. See *DULAT*, 279.

7. On the other hand, the translator may have played on the phonological similarity between *מחנות*, “destroyers,” and Aramaic *מוח*, “marrow, brain.” Tov and Polak

remorse for the mistakes he may have made with women. Similarly, he should be cautious about inebriating drinks. In fact, the king himself is by nature inclined to be affected by his passions, which could be the symptom of a medical condition. The use of θυμώδης in this context, followed by ἀσθενής, τοῖς ἐν λύπαις, τοῖς ἐν ὀδύναις, and ὑγιῶς is quite interesting. In Ancient Greek medical terminology, -ωδης was one of the most used suffixes (along with -σις, -τήριος, -ικός).⁸ The term θυμώδης describes an ill state of the θυμός. It also brings to the mind the Platonic term θυμοειδής, that is, the irascible inclination that characterizes those who, by nature, are assertive and, mostly, hold leading positions. It is an attribute of the heroic and warrior aristocracy. The king, being naturally inclined to wrath, should shun drunkenness if he wants to administer justice with moderation. A drunk monarch has no δύναμις (cf. v. 73) to perform his τέχνη and judge correctly. In verses 71–73, therefore, the Platonic idea that the art of administering justice stems from the νοῦς and is carried out because of the δύναμις to do so is introduced into the text by the translator. He articulates and grounds these basic ideas in the two-pronged admonition occurring in the Hebrew text, which forms the foundational ethical framework for a king: he should avoid sexual licentiousness and intoxication in order to preserve both his νοῦς and δύναμις and thus apply his royal and juridical τέχνη (a term, it should be noted, that never occurs in this passage nor anywhere else in Proverbs). Trespassing these boundaries and ignoring the caveats would lead to social injustice.

After warning against what a king should not do, the text goes on and states what and how a king should positively act to establish justice among his people. Thus, in verse 76, the translator reshapes the text and introduces the rare adverb ὑγιῶς, “healthily.” This word occurs with κρίνω not

(Accordance), in their aligned text, suggest that the Greek text’s counterpart καὶ βίον may be due to the construal of the Hebrew form כִּי־חַיִּים as being based on חַיִּים.

8. See the following examples: αἱμορραγώδης, αἱμορροώδης (hemorrhagic), βηχώδης (coughing), δακνώδης (biting, painful), δυσεντεριώδης (dysenteric), ἐμετώδης (accompanied by vomiting), ἰκτεριώδης (jaundiced), καυσώδης (burning), λειεντεριώδης (passing food undigested), μαλθακώδης (emollient), μανιώδης (mad), μελαγχολώδης (melancholic), ῥοώδης (running), σπληνώδης (splenetic), στραγγουριώδης (suffering from strangury), ταραχώδης (troubled, disordered), ὕδρωπιώδης (dropsical), φθινώδης (consumptive), φονώδης (deadly, malignant). See Dimitrios Lipourlis, “Medical Vocabulary,” in *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. Anastassios-Fivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1110–11.

only in Prov 24:76, but also in Plato's *Resp.* 409a (mentioned above), where the philosopher discusses the character of the judge in the same paragraph in which he also deals with doctors:

ἀλλ' ἄπειρον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκέραιον δεῖ κακῶν ἡθῶν νέαν οὔσαν γεγονέναι, εἰ μέλλει καλὴ καγαθὴ οὔσα κρινεῖν ὑγιῶς τὰ δίκαια

No, the soul itself must be without experience of, and be uncontaminated by bad characters when it is young if, as a fine beautiful soul, it is going to judge what is just in a healthy way. (Plato, *Resp.* 409a [Emlyn-Jones–Preddy, LCL])

The judge's soul judges (κρινεῖν) what is right (τὰ δίκαια), which is echoed in Prov 24:77. An even closer parallel is found in Demosthenes's *De corona* (298). Either the orator has in mind Plato's passage, or the metaphor has gained common usage by the dawn of the Hellenistic period. Yet, the manifold similarities between the two texts seem to point to the former possibility:

ἀλλ' ἀπ' ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας καὶ ἀδιαφθόρου τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ μεγίστων δὴ πραγμάτων τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων προστάς πάντα ταῦθ' ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως πεπολίτευμαι

with a soul upright [ὀρθῆς], honest [δικαίας] and incorruptible [ἀδιαφθόρου], appointed to the control of more momentous transactions than any statesman of my time, I have administered them throughout in a healthy way and in righteousness [ὑγιῶς καὶ δικαίως]. (Demosthenes, *Cor.* 298 [Vince–Vince, LCL])

Demosthenes uses both adverbs ὑγιῶς and δικαίως, like the Septuagint translator does in 24:76–77 (the former in a rather surprising way). The adjective ὀρθός occurs both in Demosthenes and in Prov 24:73. A healthy king, who avoids dissoluteness and whose mind is never numb, can in his own turn establish justice in a healthy way and thus heal a state where morbid injustice and inequality hold sway. His judicial actions are restorative; his righteous verdicts are social medicine.

The beneficiaries of the healing acts of the king are his subjects. Here, the translator does not intervene by introducing new words or turns of phrase, but he employs the material already available to him in the Hebrew text. The Greek translation stresses the physical symptoms of pain and weakness, though without doing away with the material idea of poverty, which, in any case, is not incompatible with the image of the ailing sub-

jects. Therefore, *πενία* and *πένης* are still used, respectively, for ריש (v. 75) and עני (v. 77). The expression בני עני, whose *nomen rectum* is related to עני, is rendered in Greek with *ἀσθενής*. Elsewhere in Proverbs, *ἀσθενής* translates דל (21:13), עני (22:22), and אביון (24:77). The last occurrence may be due to the presence of עני immediately before אביון. In fact, this adjective is never translated with *ἀσθενής* in the Septuagint. The only other occurrence of *ἀσθενής* for עני is Job 36:15. What may be interesting is that both in Prov 22:22 and in Job 36:15, *ἀσθενής* occurs as the semantic beneficiary of a judicial action.⁹ The medical metaphor may be present also in these passages. Now, *ἀσθενής* most certainly can also refer to poverty, but its primary meaning is “feeble” or “sick” as a condition of the body.¹⁰ The translator, by employing this term, slightly moves the emphasis from the needy subjects of the Hebrew (בני עני and אביון) to the feeble subjects of the Greek (*ἀσθενής* in both cases). Yet, the concept of *πενία* and the character of the *πένης* is not removed completely from this passage, as already pointed out. A new nuance emerges in the Greek text. In medical terminology, one finds very often the opposition between *ὑγιεινός* and *ἀσθενής*, *ὑγιερός* and *πονέων* (Ionic)/*πονῶν* (Attic), *ὑγίης* and *ἀσθενέων* (Ionic)/*ἀσθενῶν* (Attic), which is also used in opposition to the verb *ὑγιαίνω*.¹¹ In Prov 6:8bc—the Greek addition on the bee—*ἀσθενής* is preceded by both *πόνος* and *ὑγίεια*. In this new light, even a term such as *πόνος* (v. 75), which is regularly used to render the Hebrew word עמל, can indicate physical pain and suffering as opposed to a state of *ὑγίεια*.

Finally, in verse 74 we find the synonyms *λύπη* and *ὀδύνη*. The latter is often used to translate the root מרר,¹² whereas *λύπη* never corresponds to the root אבד. While the Hebrew text mentions perishing, enraged and frustrated people, the Greek text dwells on the image of physical, and possibly mental, pain.

The Greek translator may have cleverly employed the usual equivalent words to translate the Hebrew text, adding only minor modifications. The final product, enriched with a medical metaphor, reads differently

9. Compare *κρίνω* in Prov 22:23 and *κρίμα* in Job 36:15, the latter being absent in the Hebrew text.

10. See LSJ, s.v. *ἀσθενής*.

11. See Lipourlis, “Medical Vocabulary,” 1105–6.

12. See Isa 38:15; Ezek 21:6; Amos 8:10; Micah 1:12 (?); Zech 12:10; Job 3:20; Prov 17:25. In 1 Kgdms 1:10 and 22:2, the adjective *κατώδυνος* occurs.

from the Hebrew and echoes Plato's dialogues. The occurrence of many common words in medical treatises also points in the same direction.

Conclusion

Proverbs 24:69–77 forms a sort of *speculum principis* in which the sovereign receives instruction on two specific aspects of life, with the goal of making his judgments fair and equal: he has to avoid intemperance with respect to both sexuality and alcohol. Only then will he be able to carry out his duties regarding the citizens of the state. A potent metaphor, first adopted by Plato, in relation to the responsibilities of a sovereign is that of the work of the physician. The art of medicine and the character of the physician lend themselves very well to a comparison with government. In fact, both the king and the physician deal with a body that needs care and healing. In order to understand why such a body is ailing, they should pay attention to the symptoms and make a diagnosis. Once health has been restored, both may proceed with a prognosis, lest the body experience a relapse. This image is integrated into the Greek translation of Proverbs, shifting the attention of the Hebrew text from wealth to health. The concept of poverty and welfare is still present in the Greek text, but the focus is now on the healing acts of the king and on his feeble and sick subjects.

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The Septuagint and the History of Marriage Gifts in Early Jewish Law

Jelle Verburg

Abstract: The LXX turns the Hebrew “bride-price” (מָהָר) into the Greek “dowry” (φερνή). Elias Bickerman understood the LXX’s φερνή as a covert reference to the *ketubah*, a divorce settlement. This note shows that the meaning of the Greek φερνή is broader than previously thought. In a fragmentary papyrus, the groom provides a significant part of the “dowry” (P.Tebt. 3.815). Such an arrangement, in which the groom pays a part of the dowry, would make good sense in the context of the law of seduction (Exod 22:15–16).

The LXX’s Dowry and the Rabbinic כְּתוּבָה

In Gen 34:12 and Exod 22:15–16, the LXX translated the word מָהָר, an “indemnity” the groom pays to the bride’s family, as φερνή, property given by the bride’s family and “brought” into the marriage “by the wife.”¹ This is potentially a crucial moment in the history of Jewish marriage customs. Elias Bickerman understood the LXX’s φερνή to be identical to the rabbinic כְּתוּבָה, a pledge of property by the husband to his wife in case of divorce or death.² He cited the Mekhilta de R. Ishmael, which identifies the rabbinic pledge with the biblical מָהָר: “there is no other *mōhar* than

1. HALOT, s.v. “מָהָר”; LSJ, s.v. “φερνή.”

2. Elias J. Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation,” in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, ed. Amram Tropper (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 1:163–94; Bickerman, “Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint,” in Tropper, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History*, 1:195–217.

the *ketubah*” (ואין מוהר אלא כתובה) (Nez. 17).³ Bickerman thought this was precisely the interpretation underlying the LXX:

The Septuagint shows that this interpretation ... was already current by 250 B.C.... The term [φερνή] here means the stipulation in the marriage contract ... by which the husband promises a certain sum for the maintenance of the divorced wife or widow.⁴

The φερνή functions as a kind of Hebraism but not the kind familiar to students of the LXX. The word φερνή, according to Bickerman, is used in the sense not of the *Vorlage*’s מהר but of the rabbinic כתובה!

Michael Satlow gives a different interpretation of the evidence. He critiques Bickerman for anachronistically imposing the rabbinic כתובה on the LXX’s φερνή. Instead, he argues: “It may well have been that the Egyptian Jews of this period ... used only dowries for marriage payments.”⁵ He gives an alternative account of the emergence of the כתובה. A rabbinic narrative presents the כתובה as the natural outcome of an organic development of marriage gifts. One compact version of that tradition is found in the Tosefta.⁶

בראשונה כשהיתה כתובתה אצל אביה היתה קלה בעיניו להוציאה התקין שמעון
בן שטח שתהא כתובתה אצל בעלה וכותב לה כל נכסים דאית לי אחראין וערבאין
לכתובתיך דא

At first, when the *ketubah* was with her father, it was easy for him [*sc.* the husband] to send her away. Shim’on ben Shetaḥ ruled that the *ketubah* should be with her husband and he should write for her: All my possessions are sureties and warranties for your *ketubah*. (t. Ketub. 12:1)

Mordechai Friedman thought that “these texts [referring, *inter alia*, to the Tosefta] must be seen as containing partial reminiscences of ancient

3. Jacob Z. Lauterbach, ed., *Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2004), 1:445–46.

4. Bickerman, “Two Legal Interpretations,” 204.

5. Michael L. Satlow, “Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment,” in *The Jewish Family in Antiquity*, ed. Shaye D. Cohen (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 136 n. 9.

6. Satlow, “Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment,” 136. Variants of the same tradition can be found in y. Ketub. 8:32b–c; b. Ketub 82b.

practices.”⁷ Satlow disagrees and argues that this is fiction, fabricated “to yield a coherent historical explanation for a rabbinic legal institution.”⁸ Instead, he argues that the *ketubah* was in fact “a rabbinic legal *innovation* of the first century C.E.”⁹

Aristotelian logic dictates that Satlow and Bickerman cannot both be right. The כתובה cannot be both an innovation of the first century CE and attested in a translation traditionally dated to the third century BCE. Bickerman and Satlow give radically different evaluations of the LXX, but they share a determination to trace the source of the כתובה. In that sense, their interpretations of the evidence are a continuation of a debate already found within rabbinic literature. The rabbis too were concerned with where *their* כתובה came from. In the Bavli, R. Shim’on b. Gamliel is quoted as pleading for the abrogation of the כתובה precisely because there was no scriptural precedent for it. “Rabban Shim’on ben Gamli’el says: The *ketubah* is not derived from the words of Torah but from the words of the scribes” (רבן (שמעון בן גמליאל אומר כתובת אשה אינה מדברי תורה אלא מדברי סופרים (b. Ketub. 10a).

Meaning and Origin

The origins of ideas and legal institutions are of great intellectual interest. But we can understand the LXX better if we momentarily suspend the question of the כתובה’s origins. In a crucial passage in *On the Genealogy of Morals*, Friedrich Nietzsche makes an important point about the method of historiography:

There is no more important proposition for every sort of history than that which we arrive at only with great effort but which we really *should* reach,—namely that the origin of the emergence of a thing and its ultimate usefulness, its practical application and incorporation into a system of ends, are *toto coelo* separate; that anything in existence, having somehow come about, is continually interpreted anew, requisitioned anew, transformed and redirected to a new purpose by a power superior to it; that everything that occurs in the organic world consists of *overpowering, dominating*, and in their turn, overpowering and dominating consist

7. M. A. Friedman, “Mohar Payments in the Geniza Documents,” *PAAJR* 43 (1976): 25.

8. Satlow, “Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment,” 150.

9. Satlow, “Reconsidering the Rabbinic *Ketubah* Payment,” 149, emphasis added.

of re-interpretation, adjustment, in the process of which their former “meaning” [*Sinn*] and “purpose” must necessarily be obscured or completely obliterated.¹⁰

In other words, in order to understand what something means, questions such as “How old is it?” and “Where did it come from?” do not suffice. Instead, Nietzsche forces the inquirer to ask “How is it used, interpreted, transformed?” and “How does it function within the system?”

Following Nietzsche’s reasoning, the meaning of the LXX’s φερνή does not lie exclusively in its origins—whether in its semantic antecedent in Hebrew or in the legal practice at Alexandria. Instead, the meaning of a “thing”—for example, a word or a rule—lies in the “system”—for example, a language or a law code. This paper takes a textualist approach—it tries to make sense of the text as an intelligent reader—that is, a reader with knowledge of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek language—might have understood it.¹¹

The מָהֵר in the Hebrew Bible and the Elephantine Papyri

In the Hebrew Bible, the מָהֵר consistently indicates a gift from the groom to the bride’s father: Shechem offers to pay a מָהֵר to Jacob for Dinah (Gen 34:12), David pays one hundred Philistine foreskins to Saul for Michal

10. Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, trans. Carol Diethe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 51.

11. For a useful definition of *textualism*—as opposed to *intentionalism*—see Antonin Scalia, *A Matter of Interpretation: Federal Courts and the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 23–37. Our exercise is notably more complex than, say, interpreting the Constitution, because the task of the historiographer is not to prescribe how people *should* read the law but to describe how they *did* read the law. That exercise proceeds in two steps. We need first to determine the meaning of the Hebrew words *at the time of the LXX’s translation*. The LXX’s translators were not originalists—they took words to mean what they meant in their own days. On this point, see Jan Joosten, *Collected Studies on the Septuagint: From Language to Interpretation and Beyond*, FAT 83 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 25–80. Second, to understand the meaning of the LXX’s Greek, we need to reconstruct the meaning of words at the oxymoronic original moment of translation (as opposed to the later meanings attributed to it, e.g., by church fathers). Making sense of the LXX, then, is an awkward combination of an organic or constructionist reading of the LXX’s *Vorlage* and an originalist *and* textualist reading of the LXX itself.

(1 Sam 18:25).¹² But there is another text, which does not use the keyword *מהר*, but may nevertheless reveal something about the purpose of the gift. In Gen 31, Jacob suggests to Leah and Rachel that they should all run away from Laban. Leah and Rachel agree. One of the reasons they cite is that Laban “has consumed our money” (וַיֹּאכַל גַּם אֶכּוֹל אֶת כֶּסֶּפֶּנוּ).

ותען רחל ולאה ותאמרנה לו העוד לנו חלק ונחלה בבית אבינו: הלא נכריות נחשבנו לו כי מכרנו ויאכל גם אכול את כספנו: כי כל העשר אשר הציל אלהים מאבינו לנו הוא ולבנינו ועתה כל אשר אמר אלהים אליך עשה

Rachel and Leah answered and said to him: “Do we still have a portion or inheritance in our father’s house? Are we not considered strangers by him? Because he has sold us and he has consumed our money. All the wealth that God has taken from our father belongs to us and to our children. Now, do everything that God has said to you.” (Gen 31:14–16)

There are competing understandings of Leah and Rachel’s answer. In one possible explanation, Leah and Rachel expected an actual inheritance from their father (note *חלק ונחלה* in Gen 31:14). But from Gen 31:1, it is known that Laban has sons as well, who would be first in line to inherit. The five daughters of Zelophehad, in Num 27 and 36, *did* inherit their father’s property. But their case is framed as an exception: a special divine oracle is needed to break the rule of male inheritance (Num 27:7–11).¹³ After a complaint by the Gileadites in Num 36, the first oracle is rendered practically meaningless: the daughters have to marry within their tribe to prevent Zelophehad’s land from being transferred to another tribe.¹⁴

An alternative reading of Leah and Rachel’s answer comes from Millar Burrows, who compares the Hebrew *מהר* to the Akkadian *terḫatum*. He

12. For a detailed study of the *מהר* and its function in society, see Tracy M. Lemos, *Marriage Gifts and Social Change in Ancient Palestine: 1200 BCE to 200 CE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

13. Simeon Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah*, FAT 2/71 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), esp. 264: “If the oracular novellas are historicized versions of the form of adjudication-records at the episodic level, which maintain the human initiative, the Priestly history has the form of their origin story, inverting the relationship so that Yahweh largely initiates the mass of legislation, but ongoing inquiry is envisioned—and prized.”

14. Itamar Kislev, “Numbers 36,1–12: Innovation and Interpretation,” *ZAW* 122 (2010): 249–51.

concludes: “The simplest interpretation of the complaint of Laban’s daughters ... would be that Laban had used up their ‘bride-price,’ whereas (by implication) he should have either given it to them or held it for them in trust.”¹⁵ The major commentaries have adopted this reading. Jacob had given Laban fourteen years of his time, during which his property significantly increased. Leah and Rachel expected to see a share in Laban’s profit from Jacob’s free labor. If so, the ultimate goal of the *מהר* was not the compensation of the woman’s father but the financial security of the woman and her children. Bernard Jackson even argues that the *מהר* was, by this time, understood as “an indirect dowry.”¹⁶

Among the Elephantine papyri, there are two marriage contracts that explicitly mention a *מהר*.¹⁷ In a contract from 449 BCE, Eshor is said to have paid a *מהר* of five shekels to the father of Mivtahiah (*TAD* B2.6). But, in the attached list of property, the *מהר* is counted among Mivtahiah’s property. The same goes for a contract from 420 BCE: Ananiah says he has given an amount of silver to the brother of Jehoishma but the inventory lists the *מהר* as *her* property (*TAD* B3.8). How did the *מהר* end up in the woman’s possession? There are two possible answers: either the man gave the *מהר* directly to his own wife or no one paid anyone anything—it was a “legal fiction.”¹⁸ In the case of the contracts from Elephantine, perhaps the groom and the bride’s father settled on a price or picked a piece of property already in the woman’s possession that would nominally count as a *מהר*.

Both Gen 31 and the Elephantine papyri can contribute to an explanation of the LXX’s equation of *מהר* and *φερνή*. Perhaps readers understood the *מהר* as property nominally in the possession of the woman, as in the Elephantine papyri, or as property for the ultimate benefit of the woman, as in the case of Leah and Rachel. But any explanation of this type only works on the level of semantics.

15. Millar Burrows, “The Complaint of Laban’s Daughters,” *JAOS* 57 (1937): 268.

16. Bernard S. Jackson, “The ‘Institutions’ of Marriage and Divorce in the Hebrew Bible,” *JSS* 56 (2011): 224.

17. Reuven Yaron, “Aramaic Marriage Contracts from Elephantine,” *JSS* 3 (1958): 1–39.

18. Bezalel Porten, *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 181 n. 17.

The Greek *φερνή*

The syntax of Exod 22:15–16 shows that *φερνή* cannot be used in the normal sense of “that which is brought by the wife” (LSJ).

Ἐὰν δὲ ἀπατήσῃ τις παρθένον ἀμνήστευτον καὶ κοιμηθῇ μετ’ αὐτῆς, φερνῇ φερνιεῖ αὐτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα. ἐὰν δὲ ἀνανεύων ἀνανεύσῃ καὶ μὴ βούληται ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς δοῦναι αὐτὴν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα, ἀργύριον ἀποτείσει τῷ πατρὶ καθ’ ὅσον ἐστὶν ἡ φερνὴ τῶν παρθένων.

If someone seduces an unbetrothed virgin and sleeps with her, he shall endow her with a dowry as his wife. If he refuses and her father does not want to give her to him as a wife, he shall pay her father as much silver as the dowry of virgins is. (Exod 22:15–16)

Here, it is the seducer who has to pay: “*he* will endow *her*” (*φερνιεῖ αὐτήν*). But it is not immediately clear who the recipient of the *φερνή* is. In the MT, it was presumably—following the custom discussed above—the father who was the recipient of the *מָהָר*.

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If a man seduces a virgin girl who has not been betrothed and sleeps with her, he shall make her his wife by paying the bride-price. If her father refuses to give her to him, he shall weigh out silver according to the bride-price of virgins. (Exod 22:15–16)

But the Greek says: “with a dowry he will endow *her*” (*φερνῇ φερνιεῖ αὐτήν*), but in the next verse: “he shall pay money *to her father*” (*ἀργύριον ἀποτείσει τῷ πατρὶ*). It has been argued that the unusual verb *φερνίζω* should be translated as “to pay a bride-price *for someone*,” meaning that in this case the *φερνή* is not given to the bride but to her father.¹⁹ This would leave the accusative *αὐτήν* dangling as some kind of “adverbial accusative of respect” instead of the object of the verb.²⁰ The verb is very rare and its precise meaning is elusive. But in three occurrences in the papyri, the verb is consistently used for endowing a *woman* before marriage.²¹

19. Robert J. V. Hiebert, “Deuteronomy 22:28–29 and Its Premishnaic Interpretations,” *CBQ* 56 (1994): 209–10; NETS.

20. Hiebert, “Deuteronomy 22:28–29,” 209

21. These three occurrences are: “having been endowed by my father” (*πεφερμισμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου*) in P.enteux. 9.8, third century BCE; “endowed by

The noun *φερνή* normally indicates a gift from a father to his daughter, who in turn lends her husband the right of use for the duration of the marriage (Herodotus, *Hist.* 1.93.4; Euripides, *Hipp.* 629). In Greek marriage contracts from Egypt, the *φερνή* remained the inalienable property of the woman. The husband had the right of use, but—in contrast to Roman law—could not do with the dowry whatever he wanted. Some women wrote petitions accusing their own husbands of taking unwarranted risks with *their* dowries (e.g., P.Tebt. 3.776). Many marriage contracts stipulate that the dowry should be returned to the woman in the case of divorce, and sometimes that the man—especially if he committed adultery—should pay an additional fine of 50 to 100 percent (e.g., P.Eleph. 1.1).²²

Scholars have argued that “dowry” is the *only* meaning of *φερνή*,²³ but there are a handful of examples that prove that the word was a little bit more flexible than that and could describe a more than a one-time gift from the woman’s father to the man.

(1) In Euripides’s *Medea*, Medea finds out that her husband, Jason, is planning on marrying another princess, Glauce. She sends her two children with gifts—a poisoned diadem and cloak—to the bride. She describes these gifts as *φερνάς*.

λάζυσθε φερνάς τάσδε, παῖδες, ἐς χέρας
καὶ τῇ τυράννῳ μακαρία νύμφη δότε
φέροντες· οὗτοι δῶρα μεμπτὰ δέξεται.

Children, take these *fernai* in your hands.
Bring and give them to the ruler’s fortunate bride.
She will accept unsuspecting gifts. (Euripides, *Med.* 956–958)

Classicists have given two explanations for this use of the word. Euripides presents a parody of marriage among the Athenian upper classes: earlier

our father” (φερνισθεῖ[σα] ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν) in P.Lond. 2.177.15–6, first century CE; “and when she gives her away to a man, to endow [sc. her]” (καὶ ἐὰν ἐγ[δ]ῶται αὐτὴν ἀνδρὶ φερ[ν]ιεύειν) in UPZ I.2.15, 163 BCE.

22. See Raphael Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*, 332 B.C.–640 A.D. (New York: Herald Square, 1944), 90–97.

23. Günther Häge, *Ehegüterrechtliche Verhältnisse in den griechischen Papyri Ägyptens bis Diokletian* (Cologne: Döhlau, 1968), 24: “Eine andere Bedeutung als Mitgift kommt dem Wort *φερνή* nicht zu.” Stefan Schorch, “Hellenizing Women in the Biblical Tradition: The Case of LXX Genesis,” *BIOSCS* 41 (2008): 8, n. 14: “all external evidence ... unanimously exhibit the meaning ‘dowry.’”

on in the play, Medea had argued that women “buy” their husbands (*Med.* 223–224). Euripides’s use of φερνή is meant to “provoke the audience to reflect” on the function of marriage gifts in society.²⁴ Alternatively, the word is anachronistic. Euripides wants to describe the archaic custom—the suitor giving gifts to the girl’s family—but forgot the proper archaic word, ἔεδνα. Instead, he used the word for the marriage gift in use at his own time.²⁵

(2) In bilingual Egyptian-Greek marriage contracts, φερνή is attested as a translation of two different kinds of marriage gifts. Pieter Pestman grouped all Egyptian marriage contracts into three categories: in type A the man gives a gift to the woman (*šp n s.hm.t*); in type B the woman gives a sum of money to her husband (*s’nh*); in type C the woman gives money to her husband in exchange for her maintenance (*hd n ir hm.t*).²⁶ In the Greek subscripts to Egyptian marriage contracts, we find the gifts of both type B, a gift to the man, and type C, a gift to the man for the sustenance of the woman, translated as φερνή (P.Tebt. 2.386; P.Dime 3.39–40).

(3) There is a transcript of a marriage contract from the 223/2 BCE, in which the φερνή does not just come from the side of the bride’s family. In the contract, Ptolemaios the son of Stephanos formally acknowledges the receipt of a dowry of seven hundred drachmae from his wife, Theuxena. But then the papyri says: “Stephanos provides 200 dr. out of the dowry” (παρέχει Στέφανος ἀπὸ τῆς φερ[νῆς] [δραχμὰς] σ; P.Tebt. 3.1.815, fr. 4).²⁷

24. Melissa Mueller, “The Language of Reciprocity in Euripides’ *Medea*,” *AJP* (2001): 490–91.

25. Donald J. Mastronarde, ed., *Euripides: Medea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 210. Such anachronisms may have served a pedagogic function, reminding the audience that they are watching a story from the distant past but should still take seriously its moral implications. See Patricia E. Easterling, “Anachronism in Greek Tragedy,” *JHS* 105 (1985): 9.

26. Pieter W. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman* (Leiden: Brill, 1961).

27. Here is the full text of the papyrus: διομολογεί Πτολεμαῖος Στεφάνου Σαλαμεινίος τῆς ἐπιγονῆς | ἔχειν παρὰ Θεουτείας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου Κυρηνίας με|τὰ κυρίου vac. ? φερνήν τῆς αὐτῆς θυ(γατρὸς) | Θεουξένας χαλκοῦ ἰσονόμου (δραχμὰς) ψ ἐφ’ ὧι πρήσειν συ|γγραφὰς συνοικεσίου, ἐὰν δὲ ... πατὴρ αὐτῆς Ἡρα|κλεῖ[δου] ... ἡ Θεουτεία ἢ Θεουξένα τῇ | [φερνήν ἀποδότῳ] παραδεχόμενος αὐτῷ τὰ ἀναλώματα | πάντα [...] κατ’ ... παρέχει Στέφανος ἀπὸ τῆς φερ(νῆς) (δραχμὰς) σ. “Ptolemaios son of Stephanos, a Salaminian of the epigone, acknowledges to have received from Theutime, daughter of Herakleides from Cyrene with her guardian ... the dowry of her daughter Theuxena, 700 copper drachmae, for which he shall make a marriage

Of this dowry, five hundred drachmae were given by the bride's father and two hundred by the groom's father.

These are rare exceptions to the rule, but they make an important point: for Theuxena's dowry to be valid and for Euripides's provocation to be efficacious, we have to assume that the word *φερνή*, even when used in this way, was still comprehensible.

The LXX's Voice in a Debate on Justice

If we assume that these words are used in the same way in the LXX, the LXX appears to suggest that the man who seduces a virgin has to endow her *out of his own pocket*. This dowry will never really be *his*; it will be her inalienable property. If he ever thought of divorcing her, he would stand to suffer a financial loss, because the dowry—assuming it was governed by similar conditions as contemporary dowries—would go to her.

If so, the LXX is an autonomous voice in a contemporary debate about the *justice* of the law of seduction.²⁸ The Covenant Code lays out two possible consequences for the seducer. If the father refuses, the seducer still has to pay the value of a *מָהָר*. Or if the father agrees to give his daughter, the seducer only has to pay the *מָהָר*.

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If a man seduces a virgin girl who has not been betrothed and sleeps with her, he shall make her his wife by paying the bride-price. If her father refuses to give her to him, he shall weigh out silver according to the bride-price of virgins. (Exod 22:15–16)

In the second scenario, the seducer is hardly punished at all. If he had pursued the girl in the normal way, he would also have to pay the *מָהָר*. How can this be a *just* consequence for the crime of seduction?

contract, and if ... her father Herakleides ... Theutime or Theuxena ... receiving for himself all the expenses ... Stephanos provides 200 drachmae out of the dowry."

28. Joshua Levinson writes: "Every text creates its meaning by reacting to other texts.... We should try to understand the text as an active participant in a multivoiced cultural discourse." Joshua Levinson, *The Twice Told Tale* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2005), 26; cited in Yuval Blankovsky, "A Silent Revolution: The Talmudic Discussion about Tort Law," *JQR* 109 (2019): 1. Levinson is writing about midrash haggadah, but the same applies to early midrash halakhah.

Jewish literature from antiquity shows that this question of justice was on people's minds. The deuteronomic school modelled its own law of *rape* on the Covenant Code's law of seduction, but it attached an extra punitive measure: "because he has humiliated her, he may not divorce her all his days" (תחת אשר ענה לא יוכל שלחה כל ימיו) (Deut 22:29).²⁹ The Temple Scroll merged these two laws, attaching the clause of no divorce from Deuteronomy's law of rape to the case of seduction (11QTA LXVI, 8–11).³⁰ Philo interpreted the dowry paid by the seducer as a fine (he uses the passive of ζημιώω), and adds two further conditions: "he [*sc.* the seducer] must not be at liberty to draw back, or to make difficulties" (μήτε ἀναδύεσθαι τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχέτω μήτε παραιτεῖσθαι) (*Spec.* 3.70).³¹ The tannaitic rabbis did allow the seducer (המפתה in rabbinic jargon) to divorce. But if he did so, he would have to make three payments: "[for] indignity, [for] blemish and the [prescribed] fine" (בשת ופגם וקנס) (m. Ketub. 3:4).³²

In conclusion, the use of φερνή in the LXX is not just a reflection of *halakhah*—whether prerabbinic or Alexandrian. When it is assumed that the LXX meant what intelligent readers construed it to mean, a different possibility emerges. The LXX suggests that the seducer himself, instead of the father, should pay the dowry to the bride: "he [*i.e.*, the seducer] shall endow her with a dowry" (φερνῇ φερνεί αὐτήν) (Exod 22:15). When compared to other ancient Jewish literature on the consequences of seduction, the uncommon—though still comprehensible—use of the word φερνή

29. On the literary relation between the Covenant and Deuteronomic "Codes," see Bernard M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

30. The reasons for the scroll's omission of "to grab" (תפ"ש) and its use of "to seduce" (פת"ה) are a matter of debate. It could be a case of scribal amnesia. See James M. Tucker, "Scribal Error or Scribal Innovation? A Closer Look at the Law(s) of Seduction and Rape in the Temple Scroll," in *Sacred Texts and Disparate Interpretations: Qumran Manuscripts Seventy Years Later*, ed. Henryk Drawnel, STDJ 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 413–39. Others have argued that the scroll's conflation of the laws is due to a merely semantic development. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll*, ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 534. Hauptman, by contrast, argues that the scroll amounts to a denial of the possibility of rape. See Judith Hauptman, *Rereading the Rabbis: A Woman's Voice* (Boulder: Westview, 1997), 80.

31. F. H. Colson, ed., *Philo, Volume VII*, LCL (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), 518–19.

32. Herbert Danby, ed., *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933), 248.

reveals the translator's exegetical purpose. The translator of the Covenant Code sought to balance the scales of justice by enshrining a financial penalty for the seducer in the text of the law.

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Part 3
Syntax and Semantics

Animalia in Libro Job: The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Animal Names in LXX Job

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Abstract: In recent years, Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn have developed the so-called content- and context-related approach in order to come to a more precise and adequate characterization of the translation technique of the different LXX books. This approach takes the rendering of content- and context-related criteria, such as Hebrew *hapax legomena*, Hebrew wordplay in the context of parallelism, and jargon-defined vocabulary, as a starting point. As part of the analysis of jargon-defined vocabulary, I have recently focused on the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in LXX Proverbs. This study (published in ZAW 131.2) has given more insight into the translation technique and identity of the LXX translator of Proverbs by pointing *inter alia* to the familiarity of the translator with both Greek and Hebrew language. The present paper will focus on the translation technique of LXX Job by looking at the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names. In this way, this study aims at providing a more nuanced and adequate characterization of the translation technique of LXX Job. Moreover, the results of this study on LXX Job will be compared with the results of my study on LXX Proverbs in order to formulate a preliminary and indicative answer to the question whether both LXX Job and LXX Proverbs have been translated by one and the same person.

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1. Introduction

In order to study the translation technique of the LXX translators, Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn have developed the content- and context-related approach.¹ This approach examines the Greek rendering of well-defined Hebrew, semantically difficult situations on the basis of content- and context-related criteria, for example, wordplay in the context of Hebrew parallelism or Hebrew *hapax legomena* and jargon-defined vocabulary.² In line with this approach, I have recently proposed a new criterion that I have applied to LXX Proverbs: the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names.³ These names are very specific and ask for a profound knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek in order to provide an adequate rendering from

1. For more information regarding the content- and context-related approach that has been developed in Leuven see, *inter alia*, Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Content-Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique," in *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 356–76; Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Faithful Creativity Torn between Freedom and Literalness in the Septuagint's Translations," *JNSL* 40 (2014): 53–69; Lemmelijn and Ausloos, "Septuagint Studies in Louvain," in *The Present State of Old Testament Studies in the Low Countries: A Collection of Old Testament Studies Published on the Occasion of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap*, ed. Klaas Spronk, OTS 69 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 145–58.

2. See, *inter alia*, Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Content-Related Criteria," 368–70; Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Faithful Creativity," 62–64. For some examples regarding the rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena*, see Elke Verbeke, "The Use of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in Septuagint Studies: Preliminary Remarks on Methodology," in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn, and Marc Vervenne, BETL 224 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 507–21; Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in LXX Proverbs and Job: A Clue to the Question of a Single Translator?," in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin De Troyer, T. Michael Law, and Marketta Liljeström, CBET 72 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 133–50. For research concerning jargon-defined vocabulary see, e.g., Lemmelijn, "Flora in Cantico Canticorum: Towards a More Precise Characterisation of Translation Technique in the LXX of Song of Songs," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 27–51.

3. See Bryan Beeckman, "Proverbia de Animalibus: The Greek Rendering of Animal Names in Proverbs," *ZAW* 131.2 (2019): 257–70.

Hebrew to Greek. In this regard, these words might have formed a difficulty for the translator and, consequently, forced him to make a specific choice of rendering. Therefore, by studying the Greek translation of the Hebrew animal names, we can come to a more adequate description of the translation technique that the LXX translator used to translate his Hebrew *Vorlage*. The present study will analyze the Greek rendering of the animal names in Job.⁴ By analyzing the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names, this study aims at a more adequate description of the translation technique of the LXX translator of Job.⁵

Moreover, the results of this study will be compared with the results of the analysis of the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in LXX Proverbs in order to give an indicative answer to the question whether or not LXX Job and LXX Proverbs could have been translated by one and the same person. The hypothesis of a single translator for LXX Proverbs and LXX Job was first introduced by Gillis Gerleman in 1946.⁶ According to Gerleman, LXX Job and LXX Proverbs show some similarities regarding linguistics and vocabulary.⁷ Later, in his work on LXX Proverbs, Gerleman indicated other similarities between the two books, that

4. In 2015, Anna Angelini has already analyzed the Greek rendering of several difficult Hebrew animal names in LXX Job. See Anna Angelini, "Biblical Translation and Cross-Cultural Communication: A Focus on the Animal Imagery," *Semítica et Classica* 8 (2015): 33–43. Although her conclusions concern the translation technique of the LXX translator, her primary aim was to indicate how the LXX version of Job is influenced by cross-cultural communication. Moreover, she only analyzes several animal names whereas this study analyzes the Greek rendering of all Hebrew animal names in Job. Nonetheless, her study has given more insight on how the LXX translator of Job has rendered several Hebrew animal names. Therefore, the results of her study will be discussed during the evaluation of the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in this article.

5. With the phrase *LXX translator of Job*, the OG translator of Job is meant. Therefore, the asterisked material will not be analyzed because the renderings in those verses do not belong to the activity of the original translator of the book. Some scholars have failed to distinguish between the OG version and Theodotion's asterisked material and thus ascribed the asterisked material as originating from the OG translator. See Claude Cox, "Some Things Biblical Scholars Should Know about the Septuagint," *ResQ* 56 (2014): 88–89. For a complete list of the asterisked material, see Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, SCS 38 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 31.

6. See Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I: The Book of Job*, LUÅ 43.2 (Lund: Gleerup, 1946), especially 15–17.

7. See Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I*, 15–17.

is, the use of the same expressions and the tendency to Hellenize biblical matters.⁸ Once again, he concludes that both LXX Job and LXX Proverbs have been translated by one and the same person (or group of persons).⁹ Recently, Gerleman's hypothesis has been debunked by other scholars, for example, John G. Gammie, Jan Joosten, and Johann Cook, who do not underscore the hypothesis of a single translator.¹⁰ Nonetheless, there are scholars, for example, Gilles Dorival, Julio Trebolle Barrera, Jean-Daniel Kaestli, and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, who, explicitly or implicitly and contrary to Gammie and Cook, share the same opinion as Gerleman.¹¹ Thus, the question regarding the identity of the LXX translator of both books is far from solved. Therefore, this study aims at providing a tentative but

8. Gillis Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint III: The Book of Proverbs*, LUÅ 52.3 (Lund: Gleerup, 1956), 59–60.

9. Claude Cox posits that LXX Job and LXX Proverbs originated from the same group of translators. However, they were not written by the same translator because LXX Proverbs does not have a shortened text as LXX Job. Therefore, both texts can be seen as different kind of texts. See Claude Cox, "The Historical, Social and Literary Context of Old Greek Job," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Leiden, 2004, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 116. D'Hamonville shares the same opinion as Cox. See David-Marc D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, BdA 17 (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 139–41 (especially 141): "Notre enquête lexicale ferait plutôt penser à deux traducteurs distincts mais issus d'un même milieu d'origine."

10. See John G. Gammie, "The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs," *CBQ* 49 (1987): 15; Jan Joosten, "Elaborate Similes—Hebrew and Greek: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique," *Bib* 77.2 (1996): 236; Johann Cook, "Aspects of the Relationship between the Septuagint Versions of Proverbs and Job," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Cambridge, 1995, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 45 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 309–28; Cook, "Were the LXX Versions of Proverbs and Job Translated by the Same Person?," *HS* 51 (2010): 129–56.

11. See Gilles Dorival, "L'achèvement de la Septante dans le Judaïsme: De la faveur au rejet," in *La bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien*, ed. Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival, and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1988), 105; Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 319; Jean-Daniel Kaestli, "La formation et la structure du canon biblique: Que peut apporter l'étude de la septante," in *The Canon of Scripture in Jewish and Christian Tradition/Le Canon des Écritures dans les traditions juive et chrétienne*, ed. Philip S. Alexander and Jean-Daniel Kaestli, PIRSB 4 (Lausanne: Les Éditions du Zébre, 2007), 106; Lemmelijn, "Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena," 135.

relevant answer to the question of a single translator by comparing the results of the studies on the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in LXX Proverbs and LXX Job.

This study will first register all the Hebrew animal names and their Greek translation. Afterwards, the Greek rendering will be described and evaluated in order to characterize the translation technique of the LXX translator of Job. Subsequently, the results of Job will be compared with those of LXX Proverbs in order to identify if there were one or two translators at work.

2. Registration of the Hebrew Animal Names and Their Greek Rendering in LXX Job

Compared to Proverbs, more animal names are attested in Job.¹² There are seventy-five animal names in Job. All these instances are listed in the table below. Since we are only interested in the translational activity of the LXX translator, the asterisked material, indicated by the *siglum* “※” in Joseph Ziegler’s edition of the Greek text, will not be presented in the table because the renderings in those verses do not belong to the activity of the original translator of the book.¹³ Where applicable, the attestations in the Qumran scrolls (DSS) are listed as well.¹⁴ For the Qumran Scrolls

12. A complete list of all attestations of animals can be found in Lesley C. F. Deyssel, “Animal Names and Categorisation in the Hebrew Bible: A Textual and Cognitive Approach” (MA diss., Department of Ancient Languages and Cultures, University of Pretoria, 2017), 290–316. Note that we are not interested in general designations for groups of animals (e.g., flock, cattle, wild animals, four-footed animals, etc.), but rather specific animal names since they might have posed a greater difficulty for the translator due to their specific nature.

13. See n. 5. For the delimitation of the asterisked material, the following works have been consulted: Joseph Ziegler, *Job*, SVTG 11.4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982); Gentry, *Asterisked Materials*, 31.

14. The book of Job is attested in 2QJob, 4QPaleoJob^c, 4QJob^a and 4QJob^b, see Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân*, DJD III (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 71; Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, ed., *Qumran Cave 4 IV: Paleo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts*, DJD IX (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 155–57; Eugene Ulrich et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 4 XI: Psalms to Chronicles*, DJD XVI (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 171–80. Fragments of the Targum version of Job (i.e., 4QtgJob and 11QtgJob) have also been found. See Józef T. Milik, *Qumrân grotte 4 II: Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)*, DJD VI (Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 90; and especially Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg and

the *siglum* / indicates that the verse is not attested in Dead Sea Scrolls. Whenever a certain verse is attested in the manuscript, but the word is not attested due to lacunae in the manuscript, it is indicated by “lacuna.”¹⁵

Verse	MT	LXX	DSS
1:3	צאן (sheep)	πρόβατον (sheep)	/
1:3	גמל (camel)	κάμηλος (camel) ¹⁶	/
1:3	בקר (cow)	βοῦς (cow)	/
1:3	אתון (female donkey)	ὄνος θήλεια (female donkey)	/
1:14	בקר (cow)	βοῦς (cow)	/
1:14	אתון (female donkey)	ὄνος θήλεια (female donkey)	/
1:16	צאן (sheep)	πρόβατον (sheep)	/
1:17	גמל (camel)	κάμηλος (camel)	/
3:8	לויִתן (Leviathan, sea-monster)	κῆτος (sea monster, huge fish, cetacean)	/
4:10	אריה (lion)	λέων (lion)	/
4:10	שחל (lion-cub)	λέαινα (lioness)	/
4:10	כפיר (young lion)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	/

Adam S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Florentino García Martínez et al., ed., *Qumran Cave 11 II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31, DJD XXIII* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 79–180. See also Émile Puech, “Le targum de Job de la grotte 4: 4Q157 = 4Q^tgJob,” *RevQ* 32.1 (2020): 135–41. The attestation of animal names in the Qumran fragments of the Targum version are also presented in the table above.

15. Since the *BHQ* of Job, which is being prepared by Robert Althann, is not yet published, the Masoretic text (MT) is based upon the *BHS*. For the LXX version, the Septuagint text, the Göttingen edition is used: Ziegler, *Job*. English translation of Hebrew is taken from William L. Holladay, *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); and *HALOT*. English translation of Greek is taken from LEH.

16. According to LEH, this is a Semitic loanword, see LEH, s.v., “κάμηλος,” 304.

4:11	לִישׁ (lion)	μυρμηκολέων (ant-lion) ¹⁷	/
4:11	לִבְיָא (lioness)	λέων (lion)	/
4:19	עשׂ (moth)	σῆς (moth)	/
6:5	פֶּרָא (zebra, wild donkey)	ὄνος ἄγριος (wild donkey)	/
6:5	שׁוֹר (bull, ox, steer)	βοῦς (cow)	/
7:5	רִמָּה (maggot)	σκώληξ ([wood]worm)	/
7:12	תַּנִּין (monster, sea-dragon, serpent)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	/
8:14	עֲכָבִישׁ (spider)	ἀράχνη (spider)	/
10:16	שׁחַל (lion-cub)	λέων (lion)	/
11:12	פֶּרָא (zebra, wild donkey)	ὄνος ἐρημίτης (desert donkey)	/
12:7	עוֹף (bird)	πετεινός (winged creature, bird)	/
12:8	דָּג (fish)	/	/
13:28	אֲכָלוּ עֵשׂ (moth-eaten)	σητόβρωτος (moth-eaten) ¹⁸	/
17:14	רִמָּה (maggot)	σαπρία (decay, decayed matter)	lacuna
20:14	פֶּתֶן (asp, cobra)	/	/
20:16	פֶּתֶן (asp, cobra)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	/
20:16	אַפֵּסָה (snake)	ὄφεις (snake, serpent)	/
21:10	שׁוֹר (bull, ox, steer)	βοῦς (cow)	lacuna

17. LEH records this as a neologism; see LEH, s.v. “μυρμηκολέων,” 410.

18. LEH records this as a neologism; see LEH, s.v. “σητόβρωτος,” 552.

21:10	פרה (cow)	ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα (the one having in the belly = the pregnant one)	הריתהון (the one of them who is pregnant)
21:11	צאן (sheep)	πρόβατον αἰώνιος (eternal sheep)	/
21:26	רמה (maggot)	σαπρία (decay, decayed matter)	lacuna
24:3	חמור (donkey)	ὑποζύγιον (draught animal, beast of burden, ass, mule or horse)	/
24:3	שור (bull, ox, steer)	βοῦς (cow)	/
24:5	פרא (zebra, wild donkey)	ὄνος (donkey)	/
24:20	רמה (maggot)	/	/
25:6	רמה (maggot)	σαπρία (decay, decayed matter)	lacuna
25:6	תולעה (maggot, worm, vine-weevil)	/	תולע[תא] (maggot, worm, vine-weevil)
26:12	רהב (Rahab)	ῥῆτος (sea monster, huge fish, cetacean)	lacuna
26:13	נחש (snake)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	תנין (sea-monster, sea-dragon, serpent)
28:7	עֵיט (birds of prey)	πτευνός (winged creature, bird) ※	lacuna
28:7	איה (falcon)	/	lacuna
28:8	שחל (lion-cub)	/	lacuna
28:21	עוף (bird)	/	עוף (bird)

29:18	חול (phoenix, palm-tree)	φοῖνιξ (phoenix, date palm, date) ¹⁹	/
30:1	כלב (dog)	κύων (dog)	כלב (dog)
30:29	תן (jackal)	σειρήν (siren, demon of the dead living in the desert) ²⁰	lacuna
30:29	יענה (ostrich, kind of owl)	στρουθός (sparrow, ostrich)	יענה (ostrich, kind of owl)
31:20	כבש (young ram)	ἀμνός (lamb)	lacuna
35:11	עוף (bird)	πετεινός (winged creature, bird)	צפר (bird)
38:39	לביא (lioness)	λέων (lion)	/
38:39	כפיר (young lion)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	/
38:41	ערב (raven)	κόραξ (raven)	/
39:1	יעלי-סלע (mountain goat)	/	כפא יעלי (mountain-goat)
39:1	אילה (doe of a fallow deer)	/	lacuna
39:5	פרא (zebra, wild donkey)	ὄνος ἄγριος (wild donkey)	פראא (zebra, wild donkey)
39:5	ערוד (wild ass)	/	ערדא (donkey)
39:9	ראם (wild ox, oryx) ²¹	μονόκερως (unicorn)	ראם [א] (wild ox)

19. LEH (s.v. “φοῖνιξ,” 651) only records “date palm, date.” However, according to Gerleman, the Greek word is also ambiguous and can also mean phoenix just as its Hebrew counterpart. See Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I*, 44–46.

20. LEH notes that this Greek equivalent is often used to translate Hebrew animal names such as ostriches, desert owls, and jackals; see LEH, s.v. “σειρήν,” 550.

21. Dictionaries, such as HALOT, will only identify ראם as a “wild ox” on the basis of the article *Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament* of Johan J. Hess. See

39:13	רננים (female ostriches)	/	/
39:18	חסידה (stork, heron)	/	/
39:19	סוס (horse)	ἵππος (horse)	/
39:20	ארבה (locust)	/	lacuna
39:26	נץ (falcon)	ἰέραξ (hawk, falcon)	נצא (falcon)
39:27	נשר (eagle, vulture)	ἀετός (eagle)	נש[רא] (eagle, vulture)
40:15	בהמות (hippopotamus, crocodile)	θηρίον (wild animal, beast, monster)	/
40:15	בקר (cow)	βοῦς (cow)	/
40:25	לויטן (Leviathan, sea-monster)	δράκων (dragon, serpent)	תנין (sea-monster, sea-dragon, serpent)
41:5	צפור (bird)	ὄρνειον (bird)	/
42:8	פר (young bull)	μόσχος (the young of cattle, calf, young bull)	/
42:8	איל (ram)	κρίος (ram)	/
42:12	צאן (sheep)	πρόβατον (sheep)	/
42:12	גמל (camel)	κάμηλος (camel)	/
42:12	בקר (cow)	βοῦς (cow)	/
42:12	אתון (female donkey)	ὄνος θήλεια (female donkey)	/

Johan J. Hess, "Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament," ZAW 35 (1915): 121. The identification of the ראם with the oryx has been noted by several scholars. See, e.g., Charles M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1924), 327–28.

3. Evaluation of the Greek Rendering of the Hebrew Animal Names in LXX Job

From the table above, we can make some preliminary observations from which we will try to evaluate the different variant readings. These observations are the following: some renderings (1) show a potential lack of variation, (2) are potential nonadequate renderings, (3) are missing in the Greek text, and (4) are adequate translations.

3.1. Potential Lack of Variation

The Greek noun *δράκων* occurs six times in LXX Job and is used to render several Hebrew nouns, that is, כפיר (4:10 and 38:39), תנין (7:12), פתן (20:16), נחש (26:13), and לויתן (40:25). Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie have examined the use of the noun *δράκων* in the LXX.²² Throughout the LXX, the word *δράκων* is used to translate six different Hebrew lexemes, that is, כפיר, תנין, פתן, נחש, לויתן, and תן. All of these lexemes occur in Job, but only five lexemes are rendered by *δράκων* (תן is rendered by *σειρήν* in LXX Job, see discussion below).

The noun כפיר is attested thirty-one times in the Hebrew Bible. In most of the cases, it is rendered by *λέων* and *σάυμνος*. In Job, however, it is never rendered by these lexemes. Both occurrences of כפיר in LXX Job are rendered by *δράκων*.²³ According to Eynikel and Hauspie, the translator opted for this odd rendering on the basis of concern for variation within the verse as well as *δράκων* being a symbol of the impious.²⁴ The argument of variation might be valid, but why did the translator not opt for the more obvious translation *σάυμνος* if he wanted to choose a different rendering than *λέων* as is the case in Ps 17:12 (LXX 16:12), Isa 5:29, and 31:4? Moreover, for the second argument, they use Ps 17:12 (LXX 16:12) as one of the examples in favor of the argument of a lion as a symbol for the impious.²⁵ However, the LXX translator of Psalms did not render כפיר with *δράκων*

22. Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, "The Use of *δράκων* in the Septuagint," in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor et al. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 126–35.

23. In Beeckman, "Proverbia de Animalibus," 264, I state that כפיר is rendered by *λέων* in LXX Job. This is a mistake; it should have read Psalms instead of Job.

24. See Eynikel and Hauspie, "Use of *δράκων*," 133.

25. See Eynikel and Hauspie, "Use of *δράκων*," 133.

in 17:12 (LXX 16:12) but with σκύμνος. The LXX translator of Job was familiar with the Greek lexeme σκύμνος since he has used it as a rendering of ובני לביא (σκύμνοι δὲ λεόντων) in Job 4:11. Thus, he could have rendered כפיר by σκύμνος as the LXX translator of Psalms did but instead opted for δράκων. Therefore, it seems that the LXX translator of Job was not familiar with the Hebrew lexeme כפיר and tried to find an appropriate lexeme instead.²⁶ The most appropriate lexeme to the LXX translator of Job was δράκων because the combination of λέων and δράκων was well-known to the LXX translators and occurs elsewhere in the Greek Bible, that is, Sir 25:16, Ps 91:13 (LXX 90:13) and Ezek 32:2.²⁷

According to Eynikel and Hauspie, the translation of פתן by ἀσπίς (20:14) and δράκων (20:16) can be seen as an indication of the translator wanting to put some variation in his translation.²⁸ However, Job 20:14 is part of the asterisked material and can thus not be taken into consideration for the analysis of the translation technique of LXX Job. Therefore, I tend to doubt Eynikel and Hauspie's conclusion in this respect. The Hebrew ראש פתנים of Job 20:16 has a parallel with Deut 32:33:

חמת תנינם יינם וראש פתנים אכזר:

Their wine is the poison of serpents, the cruel venom of asps.²⁹

26. Although contemporary dictionaries always record “young lion” as translation of כפיר, this was not always the case. In the past, scholars have wondered whether כפיר might have been a “young lion” or perhaps some sort of serpent. See Charles Taylor, Edward Wells, and Augustin Calmet, *Scripture Illustrated by Means of Natural Science, in Botany, in Geology, in Geography, Natural History, Natural Philosophy, Utensils, Domestic and Military, Habiliments, Manners and Customs* (Charlestown: Samuel Etheridge Junior, 1814), 126. According to these authors, כפיר might also be read as some sort of serpent based on Nicander's *Theriac* in which a certain snake is referred to as a “spotted lion” (λέων αἰόλος) due to its characteristics. See p. 126. For the fragment of Nicander, see Otto Schneider, *Nicandrea: Theriaca et Alexipharmaca* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1856), 246, v. 463. However, most LXX translators rendered כפיר by σκύμνος or λέων. Therefore, the meaning of some sort of serpent for כפיר seems to be implausible.

27. See Marieke Dhont, *Style and Context of Old Greek Job*, JSJSup 183 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 130.

28. See Eynikel and Hauspie, “Use of δράκων,” 133. In Deut 32:33, the words ἀσπίς and δράκων are paralleled.

29. English translation from NRSV.

θυμὸς δρακόντων ὁ οἶνος αὐτῶν, καὶ θυμὸς ἀσπίδων ἀνίατος.³⁰
 their wine is the wrath of dragons, and the wrath of asps beyond
 cure.³¹

The LXX version of Job 20:16 also attests θυμὸς δρακόντων. This might be an example of a so-called anaphoric or associative translation, whereby a passage from elsewhere in the LXX corpus is being transferred into LXX Job, which is often applied by the LXX translator of Job.³²

The lexeme שׁננ is mostly rendered by ὄφις and only twice by δράκων (Job 26:13 and Amos 9:13). Although שׁננ bears the meaning of dragon and serpent, it is peculiar that it is only rendered twice by δράκων. According to Eynikel and Hauspie, the LXX translators of Amos and Job have opted for the Greek lexeme δράκων because “it concerns a mythological sea-monster.”³³ However, in the Targum scroll of Job found at Qumran (= 11QtgJob) the Aramaic תנין is found. This lexeme is almost always rendered by δράκων (also in Job 7:12).³⁴ Since this Targum version of Job agrees with the LXX on certain details,³⁵ the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX translator might have attested תנין. Therefore, the LXX translator rendered it by the common rendering δράκων. This might also be the case in 40:25 where the Targum attests תנין instead of לוייתן (Leviathan),

30. LXX text taken from John W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, SVTG 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

31. English translation from NETS.

32. The term *anaphoric translations* is applied by Homer Heater whereas Claude Cox prefers *associative translations* because “it places the translator’s approach in a larger framework.” See Homer Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job*, CBQMS 11 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982); Cox, “Historical, Social and Literary Context,” 116, n. 53.

33. Eynikel and Hauspie, “Use of δράκων,” 133.

34. In twelve out of fifteen occurrences of תנין, it is rendered by δράκων. In Isa 51:9, it is not rendered, in Neh 2:13, it is rendered by τῶν σκελῶν and in Gen 1:26 with κῆτος. See Eynikel and Hauspie, “Use of δράκων,” 130–32 for an elaborated discussion.

35. See Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg, *Le targum de Job de la grotte 11 de Qumran (11QtgJob): Première communication*, Mededelingen KNAW 25.9 (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1962), 553: “Les Septante et le targum de 11Q sont quelquefois d’accord sur certains détails, ce qui prouve, non une dépendance littéraire, mais une tradition exégétique commune” (= Van der Ploeg and Van der Woude, *Targum de Job*, 7). See also John Gray, “The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in Light of the Qumran Targum (11QtgJob),” ZAW 86.3 (1974): 331–50.

although the latter is very often translated with δράκων or κῆτος (Job 3:8).³⁶

Eynikel and Hauspie conclude that the LXX translator understood all of these Hebrew lexemes, identified them as being animals symbolizing evil and adequately rendered them by δράκων, which also symbolizes evil or evil forces.³⁷ In other words, the LXX translator cannot be accused of exhibiting a lack of variation in his usage of the Greek lexeme δράκων. Indeed, sometimes the LXX translator has rendered the same Hebrew lexeme by two different Greek lexemes, that is, לוֹיִתִּין-δράκων/κῆτος. For the rendering of תָּנִין, it is rendered with the most adequate Greek equivalent δράκων. This might also be the case for the rendering of נָחַשׁ. However, the latter can be ascribed to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX translator that probably attested תָּנִין instead of נָחַשׁ in verse 26:13. The rendering of פָּתָן by δράκων can be ascribed to the translator's translation technique who applied an anaphoric or associative translation. Only the rendering of כַּפִּיר by δράκων seems to be odd. This can, however, be explained due to the possibility that the LXX translator did not know the Hebrew lexeme כַּפִּיר.

3.2. Potential Nonadequate Translations

Some Hebrew animal names might seem to be not adequately rendered. In this section, we will evaluate these renderings and see if they are truly inadequate.

3.2.1. Semantic Domain of Lion

The LXX translator of Job renders Hebrew lexemes that belong to the semantic domain of lion with different Greek lexemes: אַרְיֵה (λέων [4:10]), שָׁחַל (λέαινα [4:10] and λέων [10:16]), כַּפִּיר (δράκων [4:10; 38:39]), לִישׁ (μυρμηκολέων

36. See Angelini, "Biblical Translation," 40; Eynikel and Hauspie, "Use of δράκων," 132.

37. Eynikel and Hauspie, "Use of δράκων," 135. Eynikel and Hauspie, however, generalize the LXX translator. They do not draw conclusions with regard to the translation technique of the different LXX translators of the different LXX books but seem to postulate one LXX translator for all books. Most likely this is not their intention. However, they should have nuanced their wording.

[4:11]), לְבִיא (λέων [4:11; 38:39]). Some of these renderings might seem odd at first sight and might therefore be potential nonadequate renderings.

The rendering of אַרְיֵה by λέων is a common one (fifty-three out of fifty-seven times it is rendered by this Greek lexeme). Therefore, λέων is an adequate equivalent for אַרְיֵה.

In LXX Job, שֹׁחַל is rendered one time by λέων (10:16) and one time by λέαινα (4:10). Although most dictionaries translate this word with “young lion,” some would argue to denote it as a “lion of some sort” without specifying the nature (young/old; female/male).³⁸ In Job 4:10, the translator might have opted for the rendering λέαινα for the sake of variation because he has rendered the before-mentioned אַרְיֵה in the same verse with λέων.

The rendering of כַּפִּיר by δράκων has been discussed above.

In Job 4:11, the LXX translator rendered שֹׁחַל by the *hapax legomenon* μυρμηκολέων. Later revisions of the LXX have found this translation equivalent odd and rendered it by a different word: λῖξ (Aquila) and ἀνυπόστατος λέων (Symmachus). Anna Angelini argues that “the translator [probably] knew some traditions concerning the μυρμηῆκες, lions or ferocious animals that were supposed to live in Arabic lands.”³⁹ She goes on to argue that this noun is attested in other Hellenistic sources such as Strabo, Aelianus and Agatarchides, also in the context of lions as is the case in Job 4:11.⁴⁰ Agatarchides lived during the same period when the LXX version of Job was translated (second half of second century BCE), and therefore it may be plausible that the LXX translator of Job shared a

38. See Brent A. Strawn, *What Is Stronger Than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, OBO 212 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 322 and 324. Sigmund Mowinckel has even suggested that the שֹׁחַל in Job 28:8 must be understood as a serpent-like creature. See Sigmund Mowinckel, “שֹׁחַל,” in *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver: In Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962*, ed. David W. Thomas and William D. McHardy (Oxford: Clarendon, 1963), 95–103. Scott J. Jones has argued that שֹׁחַל could connote both “lion” and “serpent,” the latter especially in Job 28:8. See Scott J. Jones, “Lions, Serpents, and Lion-Serpents in Job 28:8 and Beyond,” *JBL* 130 (2011): 663–86. Job 28:8, however, belongs to the asterisked material and will not be discussed because our primary interest is the translational activity of the OG translator of Job.

39. Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 34.

40. See Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 34. The same remark is made by Gerleman. See Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I*, 46.

common background.⁴¹ The neologism that the LXX translator of Job created is not surprising given the attestations of different Hebrew lexemes denoting a sort of lion in Job 4:10–11. In order to obtain variation, the LXX translator opted for a contraction of two nouns, μύρμηξ and λέων, and came up with the neologism μυρμηκολέων.⁴² Although μύρμηξ might also mean “ant,” by connecting it with λέων, by the attestation of μύρμηξ in connection with lions in other Hellenistic writings and the lion imagery in Job 4:10–11, it must have been clear to the target audience that a sort of lion was intended with μυρμηκολέων.⁴³

In all dictionaries, לביא is translated as “lioness.” Thus, one might think that the LXX translator did not render the Hebrew lexeme adequately and failed to provide a decent translation equivalent that matches the gender of the Hebrew lexeme. However, Brent A. Strawn has argued that לביא does not necessarily denote a female lion but can also denote a male lion.⁴⁴ Those who prefer to render לביא by “lioness” are heavily depending upon previous scholarship that is influenced by the Vulgate, which renders לביא by *leaena* in the majority of the cases.⁴⁵ Moreover, לביא is a masculine noun and should be translated as such.⁴⁶ Therefore, the LXX translator of Job rendered לביא by an adequate equivalent, λέων.

41. See, e.g., Agathargides's *De mari Erythreo* 69: Τῶν δὲ καλουμένων μυρμήκων οἱ μὲν πλείστοι κατὰ τὴν ιδέαν τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν παραλλάττουσι, τὴν δὲ τῶν αἰδοίων φύσιν ἀπεστραμμένην ἔχουσιν, ἐναντίαν τοῖς ἄλλοις. Karl Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores* (Paris: Didot, 1855), 1:158. LSJ translates μύρμηξ with “ant” but also with “fabulous animal in India.”

42. For an elaborate discussion on neologisms in the LXX, see James K. Aitken, “Neologisms: A Septuagint Problem,” in *Interested Readers: Essays on the Hebrew Bible in Honor of David J. A. Clines*, ed. James K. Aitken, Christl M. Maier, and Jeremy M. S. Clines (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 315–29.

43. See also Adina Chirilă, “They Made ‘a Mistake’ in Job 4, 11; Why Not Also in Prov, 30, 30? Implicitly, about Limits in Philology and the Necessity of Accepting Them,” *Diacronia* 7 (2018): 5–6. Mia I. Gerhardt has also shown that the μυρμηκολέων must have been a sort of lion. In her article, she also discusses the reception of this word up until the works of Albert the Great. See Mia I. Gerhardt, “The Ant-lion: Nature Study and The Interpretation of a Biblical Text; From The Physiologus to Albert the Great,” *Vivarium* 3 (1965): 1–23.

44. See Strawn, *What Is Stronger Than a Lion?*, 317–19.

45. See Strawn, *What Is Stronger Than a Lion?*, 317–18. In Job 4:11, the Vulgate translates לביא with *leo*, in 38:39 with *leaena*.

46. See Strawn, *What Is Stronger Than a Lion?*, 317–18.

3.2.2. פרה /ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα (21:10)

In Job 21:10, the Hebrew attests פרה (cow) whereas the LXX records ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα (the one having in the belly = the pregnant one). The Greek translation is not an exact equivalent since פרה is rendered by βοῦς (e.g., 1 Sam 6:7, 10, 12; Isa 11:7) or δάμαλις (Hos 4:16 and Amos 4:1), when a cow is intended. However, in the context of Job 21:10, it pertains to a cow that is pregnant; therefore the LXX translation is not that odd. Moreover, in 11QtgJob we find the following in Job 21:10 instead of הריתהון: פרה (the one of them who is pregnant). The Greek expression ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα seems to be closer to the Targum than the text that is preserved in MT. Moreover, in MT פרה is followed by a suffix third singular (פרתו) but in the Targum it is followed by a third plural. This plural form is also attested in the LXX: αὐτῶν ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα. Thus, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX translator of Job must have had a similar form as the one that is attested in 11QtgJob.

3.2.3. תן /σειρήν (30:29)

Where the MT version of Job attests תן (jackal), the LXX attest the odd rendering σειρήν (siren, demon of the dead living in the desert). Various studies have tried to come up with an explanation for this particular rendering,⁴⁷ especially because the Greek lexeme σειρήν appears elsewhere in the LXX corpus as a rendering of other animal names: three times for יענה (Mic 1:8; Isa 13:21; 34:13; Jer 27:39) and twice for תן (Job 30:29; Isa 43:20). Although Norman Henry Snaith has argued that the meaning of σειρήν could be close to the meaning given by Aristotle in his *Historium Animalium* (632b), that is, solitary bee or wasp, the majority of the scholars identify σειρήν as the siren of Greek mythology.⁴⁸ This

47. See especially Heinrich Kaupel, “‘Sirenen’ in der Septuaginta,” *BZ* 23.2 (1935): 158–65; Norman H. Snaith, “The Meaning of שְׁעִירִים,” *VT* 25.1 (1975): 115; Manolis Papoutsakis, “Ostriches into Sirens: Towards an Understanding of a Septuagint Crux,” *JJS* 55.1 (2004): 25–36; Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 35–37; Peter J. Atkins, “Mythology or Zoology,” *BibInt* 24 (2016): 52–53.

48. For bee/wasp, see Snaith, “Meaning of שְׁעִירִים,” 115. However, σειρήν could also denote a small singing-bird as is attested in Hesychius’s *Lexicon* (340). See LSJ, s.v. “σειρήν.” For siren, see, e.g., Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I*, 44; Kaupel, “Sirenen,” 163–65; Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 36; Atkins, “Mythology or Zoology,” 53. See also Peter Riede, “‘Ich bin ein Bruder der Schakale’ (Hi 30,29): Tiere als

conclusion seems reasonable given the siren imagery in Greek mythology that depicts sirens often as winged creatures that composed songs and sometimes appear with a musical instrument such as a lyre (κιθάρα). In Job 30:31, there is mention of a κιθάρα (lyre) (ἀπέβη δὲ εἰς πάθος μου ἡ κιθάρα ὃ δὲ ψαλμός μου εἰς κλαυθμὸν ἐμοί). If the LXX translator was alluding to the Greek sirens in Job 30:29, it fits the immediate context of the verse with the mourning and the lyre (30:31). Therefore, I am also inclined to define the meaning of σειρήν in Job 30:29 as an influence of Hellenistic culture, a common background shared by the LXX translator and his target audience.⁴⁹

3.2.4. אָר /μονόκερως (39:9)

The Hebrew noun אָר denotes an oryx or a wild ox, probably the *bos primigenius Bojanus*, and is rendered by μονόκερως (unicorn) in Job 39:9. The Greek rendering μονόκερως for אָר is a common translation throughout the LXX corpus, that is, in Num 23:22; 24:8; Deut 33:17; Pss 22:22 (LXX 21:22); 29:6 (LXX 28:6); 92:11 (LXX 91:11); and Job 39:9. The noun μονόκερως also occurs in other Greek literature, for example, Aristotle's *Hist. an.* 499b19, where it is mentioned next to the ox (βοῦς), stag (ἐλάφος), goat (αἴξ), and antelope (ὄρυξ). Indeed, as Angelini has argued, there is no need to postulate a mythical being onto μονόκερως.⁵⁰ Certainly, in fact, Aristotle mentions the animal in connection with nonmythical creatures and refers to μονόκερως as ὁ Ἰνδικὸς ὄνος (the Indian donkey) and the ὄρυξ (oryx).

Concerning the use of μονόκερως as an equivalent of אָר, Johann J. Hess, who regards אָר as “wild ox,” argues that the wild ox (*bos primigenius Bojanus*) was extinct during the time of the LXX translation. Therefore, the LXX translators only knew the wild ox from depictions on stelae (such

Exponenten der gegenmenschlichen Welt in der Bildsprache der Hiobdialoge,” in *Im Spiegel der Tiere: Studien zum Verhältnis von Mensch und Tier im alten Israel*, ed. Peter Riede, OBO 187 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 124. However, Riede does not give an explanation why the LXX opted for the particular rendering of אָר by σειρήν.

49. See Kaupel, “Sirenen,” 163–64: “Nicht verwunderlich, weil gerade in diesem Punt [= Dämonenglaube] auch das palästinische Milieu nicht der Diaspora nachsteht, wie es sich überhaupt dem Einfluss des Hellenismus wenigstens zeitweise nicht zu entziehen vermochte.” See also Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 33 and 36.

50. See Angelini, “Biblical Translation,” 37.

as the Babylonian stela). On these stela, the wild ox is depicted with one horn since its horns appear as one horn when looking at it from aside.⁵¹ Since the LXX translators probably only knew the ראם from these stela, it is likely that the μόνόκερως of the LXX refers to a wild ox instead of the mythological unicorn.⁵² Therefore, μόνόκερως seems to be an adequate rendering for the Hebrew noun ראם.

3.3. Missing Renderings

There are multiple animal names that are not rendered into Greek: דג (12:8), פתן (20:14), רמה (24:20), תולעה (25:6), איה (28:7), שחל (28:8), עוף (28:21), יעלי-סלע (39:1), אילה (39:1), ערוד (39:5), רננים (39:12), חסידה (39:18), and ארבה (39:20). These will be analyzed below.

3.3.1. Lexemes Pertaining to the Omitted Hebrew Material in LXX Job

The following Hebrew lexemes are not rendered by the LXX translator of Job: דג (12:8), פתן (20:14), תולעה (25:6), איה (28:7), שחל (28:8), עוף (28:21), יעלי-סלע (39:1), אילה (39:1), רננים (39:12), and חסידה (39:18). In the ecclesiastical Greek text of Ziegler, their Greek translation is indicated with an asterisk. Therefore, they do not originate from the LXX translator. The majority consensus on why these verses are not translated by the LXX translator of Job is that the LXX text does not reflect a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed from MT but that these verses are omitted by the LXX translator.⁵³

51. See Hess, "Beduinisches zum Alten und Neuen Testament," 121. See also Max Hilzheimer, *Die Wildrinder im alten Mesopotamien*, MAOG 2.2 (Leipzig: Verlag von Eduard Pfeifer, 1926), 6–7 (description) and image 10 and 14. According to Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, the LXX translators rendered ראם by μόνόκερως, because the Palestinian ראם was extinct, and thus single horns from Arabia were imported to Alexandria. See Robert Graves and Raphael Patai, *Hebrew Myths: The Book of Genesis* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1964), 56.

52. Joachim Schaper, on the other hand, gives a totally different explanation. He argues that μόνόκερως is used as a metaphor to enhance messianic imagery in the LXX. See Joachim L. W. Schaper, "The Unicorn in the Messianic Imagery in the Greek Bible," *JTS* 45.1 (1994): 117–36.

53. For an overview of the scholarly debate on whether the LXX text of Job reflects a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* than MT, see Claude Cox, "Does a Shorter Hebrew Parent Text Underlie Old Greek Job?," in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the*

3.3.2. רמה (24:20)

The Hebrew lexeme רמה appears elsewhere in the book of Job: Job 7:5; 17:14; 21:26; and 25:6. In these instances, the LXX translator has rendered רמה by σκώληξ (7:5) and σαπρία (17:14; 21:6; 25:6). Whereas the σκώληξ ([wood]worm) seems to be the best possible translational equivalent, σαπρία (decay, decayed matter) more or less expresses the same thought, that is, something that occurs when something is dead.

With regard to the nonrendering of רמה in verse 24:20, Claude Cox argues that this verse as well as the pre- and proceeding verses are obscure in the Hebrew text.⁵⁴ Therefore, the LXX translator has tried to come up with a different rendering. This seems to be plausible, given the obscurity of the Hebrew text in 24:18–20, 22–25.

3.3.3. ערוד (39:5)

This word is a *hapax legomenon* in the Hebrew Bible. It is not rendered in the LXX but it is also attested in 4QtgJob. In the first part of the verse, the LXX translator rendered פרא (zebra, wild donkey) with ὄνος ἄγριος (wild donkey). This is an adequate rendering that also occurs in Job 6:5. Although the LXX translator has many Greek lexemes to render “donkey” or something alike, for example, ὄνος, ὄνος ἄγριος, ὄνος θήλεια, ὄνος ἐρημίτης, and ὑποζύγιον, it seems that the LXX translator did not want to repeat the same animal again and instead rendered it by a pronoun (αὐτοῦ).⁵⁵

3.3.4. ארבה (39:20)

The whole Greek rendering of Job 39:20 does not align with the Hebrew of MT:

Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus, ed. Kristin De Troyer, T. Michael Law and Marketta Liljeström, CBET 72 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 451–62.

54. See Claude Cox, *Iob*, SBLCS (Atlanta: SBL Press, forthcoming). I would like to thank Claude Cox for making his (provisional) manuscript of his SBLCS on LXX Job available to me.

55. See Elke Verbeke, “Hebrew Hapax Legomena and their Greek Rendering in LXX Job” (PhD diss., KU Leuven, 2011), 329. This is also the case in LXX Prov 26:13 where the Hebrew lexeme שחל is not rendered due to repetition (ארי). See Beeckman, “Proverbia de Animalibus,” 265.

התרעישנו כארבה הוד נחרו אימה:

Do you make it leap like the locust? Its majestic snorting is terrible.

περιέθηκας δὲ αὐτῷ πανοπλίαν, δόξαν δὲ στηθέων αὐτοῦ τόλμη;
And did you endow it with full armor and the majesty of its breast
with courage?⁵⁶

התזענה בתקף [lacuna] בסחרוהי אימה ודחלה

Do you make him leap with force ... By his neigh (he inspires)
terror and fear.⁵⁷ (11QtgJob)

Our word under discussion, אַרְבֶּה, is not preserved in the Targum fragment. Johannes P. van der Ploeg and Adam S. van der Woude argue that the lacuna found in the manuscript (ca. 13 mm) is big enough to fit the Hebrew word אַרְבֶּה (as the locust).⁵⁸ Thus, we can assume that the Targum goes with MT. Therefore, the LXX translator has probably modified the verse because it did not fit within the context, Job 30:19–25, where war and horse imagery is prominent. This imagery is even strengthened in the LXX by the rendering of Job 30:20 and especially by the insertion of the Greek lexeme *πανοπλία* (full armor).

3.4. Adequate Renderings

Notwithstanding the foregoing cases, one can conclude that most of the Hebrew animal names that are attested in Job have been rendered adequately with a Greek equivalent by the LXX translator. The LXX translator had a profound knowledge of the Hebrew animal onomastics and rendered most of them adequately. This knowledge can especially be detected in the rendering of Hebrew animal names belonging to the same semantic domain, for example, donkey (ὄνος, ὄνος ἄγριος, ὄνος θήλεια, ὄνος ἐρημίτης, and ὑποζύγιον) or lion (λέων, λέαινα, and μυρμηκολέων, discussion see above).

56. English translation taken from NETS.

57. English translation from the French translation of Van der Ploeg and Van der Woude, *Targum de Job*, 77: “Le fais-tu bondir avec force ... par son he[nn]issement (il inspire) la terreur et la crainte” (original punctuation).

58. See Van der Ploeg and Van der Woude, *Targum de Job*, 76, n. 1.

3.5. Conclusion

The LXX translator of Job was well-versed in both the Hebrew and Greek languages. This enabled him to render each Hebrew animal name by an appropriate Greek lexeme. Only the Hebrew lexeme כפִּיר seems to be unknown to the LXX translator since he has translated it with δράκων.

Although some renderings might seem to reflect a potential lack of variation at first sight, the analysis above has indicated that this is not the case. Moreover, the LXX translator tried to create variation, if this was desirable, by opting for different lexemes pertaining to the same semantic domain (lexemes concerning “lion” and “donkey”), applying neologisms (μυρμηκολέων; Job 4:11), or by not repeating the same lexeme again (ערוֹד; Job 39:5).

The analysis of the missing rendering of ארבה (Job 39:20) has also indicated that the LXX translator enhanced the (horse and war) imagery found in the immediate context of the verse (Job 39:19–25). By doing so, he provided the target audience with a better and more coherent text.

4. LXX Job and LXX Proverbs: One or Two Translators?

As stated in the introduction of this article, this study also tries to provide an indicative, yet relevant answer to the question of a single translator for LXX Proverbs and LXX Job. The results will be compared on two levels: (1) general conclusions regarding translation technique and (2) Greek translation equivalents for shared Hebrew lexemes.

4.1. General Translation Technique with Regard to Animal Names

With regard to the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in Proverbs, I have concluded that the LXX translator provided an adequate or best possible rendering for each Hebrew animal name.⁵⁹ When a Hebrew animal name is not rendered, we can ascribe this to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* or the avoidance of repetition.⁶⁰ Therefore, the LXX translator was someone who was well-versed in both Hebrew and Greek.⁶¹

The LXX translator of Job also tried to avoid repetition (cf. Job 39:5), enhanced variation by creating neologisms (cf. Job 4:11), and enhanced

59. See Beeckman, “Proverbia de Animalibus,” 267–68.

60. See Beeckman, “Proverbia de Animalibus,” 268–69.

61. See Beeckman, “Proverbia de Animalibus,” 269.

the imagery that is present in a certain context (cf. Job 39:20). Moreover, he has rendered most Hebrew animal names with an appropriate Greek lexeme. Just as the LXX Proverbs, he had a profound knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek. However, he did not know the meaning of כפיר and therefore did not provide an adequate rendering.

We will now turn to the analysis of the Greek translation equivalents for shared Hebrew lexemes in order to see whether this ignorance is significant or not.

4.2. Greek Translation Equivalents for Shared Hebrew Lexemes

The MT version of Proverbs and Job share fourteen unique Hebrew animal lexemes, some of them occur multiple times in both versions.⁶² These occurrences and their respective Greek rendering in LXX Proverbs and LXX Job are listed in the table below.

MT	LXX Job	LXX Proverbs ⁶³
אילה (doe of a fallow deer)	/ (39:1)	ἔλαφος (deer, hind) (5:19)
צפור (bird)	ὄρνειον (bird) (41:5)	ὄρνειον (bird) (6:5; 7:23; 26:2; 27:8)
שור (bull, ox, steer)	βοῦς (cow) (6:5; 21:10; 24:3)	βοῦς (cow) (7:22; 14:4)/ μώσχος (calf) (15:17)
כפיר (young lion)	δράκων (dragon, serpent) (4:10; 38:39)	λέων (lion) (19:12; 20:2; 28:1)
סוס (horse)	ἵππος (horse) (39:19)	ἵππος (horse) (21:31; 26:3)
נשר (eagle, vulture)	ἀετός (eagle) (39:27)	ἀετός (eagle) (23:5; 30:17; 30:19)

62. As Strawn has noted, the Hebrew lexemes ארי/אריה, both translated by LXX Proverbs and LXX Job with λέων, are different lexemes. Therefore, they will not be discussed. See Strawn, *What Is Stronger Than a Lion?*, 294–95.

63. For a complete list of Hebrew animal names and their Greek rendering in Proverbs, see Beeckman, “Proverbia de Animalibus,” 261–62.

נחש (snake)	δράκων (dragon, serpent) (26:13)	ὄφις (snake, serpent) (23:32)
חמור (donkey)	ὑποζύγιον (draught animal, beast of burden, ass, mule or horse) (24:3)	ὄνος (donkey) (26:3)
כלב (dog)	κύων (dog) (30:1)	κύων (dog) (26:11; 26:17)
שחל (lion-cub)	λέαινα (lioness) (4:10); λέων (lion) (10:16)	/ (26:13)
כבש (young ram)	ἀμνός (lamb) (31:20)	πρόβατον (sheep) (27:26)
ערב (raven)	κόραξ (raven) (38:41)	κόραξ (raven) (30:17)
ארבה (locust)	/ (39:20)	ἀκρίς (locust) (30:27)
ליש (lion)	μυρμηκολέων (ant-lion) (4:11)	σχύμνος λέοντος (young lion) (30:30)

Out of the fourteen instances, the LXX version of Proverbs and Job share six translation equivalents (נחש/ὄφις, שור/βοῦς, סוס/ἵππος, נשר/ἀετός, כלב/κύων, ערב/κόραξ). Some renderings that are not aligned are to be explained due to a diverging *Vorlage* (נחש/δράκων [Job 26:13; see above]), avoidance of repetition (שחל [Prov 26:13]),⁶⁴ enhancing imagery (ארבה [Job 39:20; see above]), enhancing variation (ליש/μυρμηκολέων [Job 4:11; see above]), and omission (אילה [Job 39:1; see above]).

However, three Hebrew animal names are not rendered by the same Greek equivalent in LXX Proverbs and LXX Job: (1) כפיר/δράκων (Job)—λέων (Proverbs), (2) חמור/ὑποζύγιον (Job)—ὄνος (Proverbs), and (3) כבש/ἀμνός (Job)—πρόβατον (Proverbs). These renderings might reflect two different translators. Especially the first two lexemes might indicate a different translator. As argued above, the LXX translator of Job was probably not aware of the meaning of כפיר. The LXX translator of Proverbs, on the other hand, certainly was, since he rendered all three occurrences of the word by λέων. For the rendering of the Hebrew lexeme חמור, the LXX Job

64. See Beeckman, "Proverbia de Animalibus," 265.

records the Hellenistic word ὑποζύγιον, whereas LXX Proverbs attests the older ὄνος.⁶⁵ Therefore, on a lexical level, we cannot speak of a single translator for LXX Proverbs and LXX Job (*contra* Gerleman).⁶⁶

5. Conclusion

After having analyzed the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in LXX Job, we can formulate some conclusions on the translation technique of the LXX translator as well as on the question whether or not LXX Job and LXX Proverbs were translated by one and the same person.

With regard to the translation technique, we can conclude that the LXX translator of Job was well-versed in both Hebrew and Greek. The majority of Hebrew animal names are rendered with an adequate Greek lexeme. Thus, despite the fact that some renderings might seem to reflect a potential lack of variation at first sight, this is not the case. On the contrary, the LXX translator tried to create variation by opting for different lexemes that belong to the same semantic domain (e.g., domain of “lion” and “donkey”), creating a neologism, or by avoiding repetition. Moreover, in Job 39:20, the LXX translator shows himself to be a creative translator by enhancing the imagery found in the immediate context of the verse in order to provide a more coherent text.

In comparison to the translation technique of LXX Proverbs, we can conclude that both translators show themselves to be excellent translators, for example, by providing adequate Greek translation equivalents or by avoiding unnecessary repetition. However, since they opt for completely different renderings for some specific Hebrew lexemes, it seems unlikely that the same person has translated both LXX books. This does not exclude, however, that they might stem from the same group of translators.

Although this study has tried to provide a more nuanced characterization of the translation technique of LXX Job, more research needs to be done in order to come to a complete image of its translation technique. The same holds for the question regarding a single translator. This study

65. See John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 140–43.

66. The results of my study on the Greek rendering of Hebrew plant, floral, and herb names also reveal two translators instead of one. See Bryan Beeckman, “Unitas Vegetabilium? The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Floral, Plant and Herb Names in LXX Proverbs and LXX Job,” *JSCS* 53 (2020): 19–41.

has tried to provide a tentative but relevant answer to the question on the basis of the analysis of the Greek rendering of Hebrew animal names in both books. More content- and context-related criteria need to be studied in both books and the results of those studies compared with each other in order to come to a more nuanced description of the translation technique and identity of the LXX translator(s) of Proverbs and Job.

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Observations on the Vocabulary of Epiphanic Revelation in the LXX and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature

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Abstract: On several occasions, the Hebrew Bible speaks of the possibility of “seeing God” or of epiphanic revelations where God is said to be seen by an individual. The Hebrew verb used in these contexts is usually **הִרְאָה**, rendered by the LXX with forms of the verb **ὁράω**. However, the LXX seeks to avoid the idea that God can be seen by humans. For the appearance of a deity, the Greek language knows a different vocabulary: the verbs **φαίνομαι** and **ἐπιφαίνομαι** and the related noun **ἐπιφάνεια**. The aim of this paper is to examine both **ὁράω** and the use of these latter words. Where do they occur in the LXX and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature? Were they intended to replace the vocabulary of “seeing God”? Can we observe an evolution from LXX to Jewish-Hellenistic Literature and later Christian texts?

1. Introduction

The purpose of my paper is to provide an overview of key terms used in the Septuagint and in the remaining Jewish-Hellenistic literature to speak of the appearance of God and of divine messengers. In particular, I will concentrate on quotations where God himself, his glory, and his messengers are said to be visible in some way or another. A close look at these quotations reveals that the vocabulary is not very rich. It is basically limited to the two following roots: on the one hand, the verb **ὁράω**, “to see,” especially its middle and passive voice, and, on the other, the verbs **φαίνω** and **ἐπιφαίνω**, primarily in the middle and the passive voice, with the meaning of “to appear,” “to become revealed.” In order to pinpoint the differences

and to outline the specificities of the Jewish language for this specific form of visible revelation, a comparison with non-Jewish and non-Christian texts will be helpful.

As for so-called pagan texts dealing with epiphanic revelation, scholars have observed a certain uniformity. Thus, in his article “Seeing Gods: Epiphany and Narrative in the Greek Novels,” Robert Cioffi states: “divine epiphanies could ... be marked by a remarkably consistent vocabulary and set of ‘epiphanic protocols’ for describing a three-step process: the moment of divine self-revelation (usually expressed by φαίνω in the middle voice), mortal perception (most typically expressed by the aorist of ὁράω and/or the noun ὄψις), and, finally, recognition (often expressed by γιγνώσκω).”¹

Let me state from the outset that the LXX’s language only partially matches the nonbiblical vocabulary of epiphanic revelation. To a certain degree, it even remains restricted to the writings translated from a Hebrew source. In later texts, notably the Jewish-Hellenistic literature, this specific vocabulary is usually replaced by other terms.

In the first part of my paper, I shall focus on some details of the use of ὁράω in the middle and the passive voice. In the second part, I will present some cases where the LXX translators and later Jewish authors opt for φαίνω and ἐπιφαίνομαι.

2. The LXX Use of ὁράω in the Middle and the Passive Voice: Seven Observations

The topic of seeing God has been addressed by several authors in recent decades. Taking their interpretations into account, the textual evidence can be summarized in the following seven points.

(1) One of the most frequent verbs used to describe the appearance of God and his messengers is ὁράω in the passive voice. The first example in the Pentateuch is Gen 12:7:² ὠφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραμ [MT: וירא יהוה אל [אברם] ... ὠφθόμην ἐκεῖ Ἀβραμ θυσιαστήριον κτίσας τῷ ὀφθέντι αὐτῷ [MT: ויבן שם מזבח ליהוה הנראה אליו] “the Lord appeared to Abram ... there

1. Robert L. Cioffi, “Seeing Gods: Epiphany and Narrative in the Greek Novels,” *Ancient Narrative* 11 (2014): 3–4.

2. For exhaustive information as to the various Hebrew formulations (namely, verbs and prepositions) used with reference to the revelation of God, see Roberto Fornara, *La visione contraddetta: La dialettica fra visibilità e non-visibilità divina nella Bibbia ebraica*, AnBib 155 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 19–78.

Abram built an altar to the Lord who had appeared to him.” Obviously, in Gen 12:7, the translator of the book of Genesis introduced an equivalent of the Hebrew verb ראה in the *niphal* stem, and this became the standard rendering in the Pentateuch and in the biblical books translated subsequently. It will suffice to quote Gen 17:1; 18:1; 22:14; 26:2, 24; 35:1, 9; 48:3; Exod 3:16; 6:3. In these passages, the subject of the verb ὁράω in the passive voice is always God, and the addressees of the divine appearance are always individuals: Abraham (Gen 17:1; 18:1), Isaac (Gen 26:2, 24), Jacob (Gen 35:1, 9; 48:3), Moses (Exod 3:16), and Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Exod 6:3).

(2) Quite frequent in the LXX is the idea of the appearance of the messenger/angel of the Lord (ἄγγελος κυρίου). These occurrences have in common with the formula “God/the Lord appears to somebody” the fact that they use the verb ὁράω in the middle or the passive voice as equivalent of ראה *niphal*. In particular, the formula “the angel of the Lord appears to somebody” is used with reference to the following persons: Moses (Exod 3:2), Gideon (Judg 6:12) and the mother of Samson (Judg 13:3, 10). Conversely, with regard to Samson’s parents, it is said that the angel of God did not appear to them any more (Judg 13:21; in v. 22, Samson’s father describes their experience with “we have seen [a] God” [θεὸν ἑώρακαμεν]). Finally, the formula appears in Tob 12:22 where a Hebrew source text is not available for comparison.

(3) Here and there, the LXX introduces the idea of God’s appearance. Thus, in Gen 16:13, Hagar speaks of God as “the one who has seen me” (ראה). The LXX, however, offers a different wording: “(I have seen from face to face) the one who has appeared to me” (ὁφθέντα μοι). Regardless of whether the LXX text is based on a different Hebrew *Vorlage*³ or not, it is noteworthy that the Greek text of Gen 16:13 matches the other passages dealing with God’s appearances to an individual: like Abraham and other patriarchs, Hagar, an Egyptian slave-girl and mother of Ishmael, experiences a divine appearance.⁴ Likewise, in Gen 31:13, the LXX reads

3. This hypothesis is taken into consideration by Horst Seebass, “Zum Text von Gen. XVI 13b,” *VT* 21 (1971): 256; see also Colette Briffard, “Gen 16,13: Hagar a-t-elle vu Dieu?” *ZAW* 122 (2010): 436–38.

4. C.T. Robert Hayward, “Understanding of the Temple Service in the Septuagint Pentateuch,” in *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*, ed. John Day, LHBOTS 422 (London: T&T Clark, 2005), 386–88, explains the tendency to introduce the idea of seeing God by referring to the translator’s interest in creating an intertextual

the participle ὁ ὀφθείς σοι, which is a plus in comparison with the MT: ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὀφθείς σοι ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ, “I am the God that appeared to you [= Jacob] in the place of God.” In the MT, a verb expressing a divine appearance is lacking: אֲנִי הָאֵל בֵּית אֵל, “I am the God of Bethel.” How do we explain this divergence between the LXX and the MT? Whether the plus was already in the *Vorlage* or is to be attributed to the translator, it is obvious that the insertion of ὁ ὀφθείς σοι creates an intertextual relationship between two passages, Gen 31:13 and Gen 35:1. The latter text reads: ποιήσον ἐκεῖ θυσιαστήριον τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὀφθέντι σοι ἐν τῷ ἀποδιδράσκειν σε ἀπὸ προσώπου Ησαυ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, “build there [= in Bethel] an altar for the God who appeared to you when you were fleeing from the face of Esau, your brother.”

(4) The occurrences of the formula “God is ‘seen’ by somebody” decrease from the book of Exodus onwards. Outside the Pentateuch, they are scarcely attested. Thus, the expression occurs in Judg 6:26 where God gives the following order to Gideon: καὶ οἰκοδομήσεις θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ σου τῷ ὀφθέντι σοι ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ ὄρους Μαωζ, “and you will build an altar to the Lord your God who appeared to you on the peak of Mount Maoz.” Once more, the MT has no equivalent for τῷ ὀφθέντι σοι. Instead, it is the altar that is to be built on the top of the mountain. The LXX wording, in particular the formula τῷ ὀφθέντι σοι, is without a doubt reminiscent of Gen 35:1. In principle, two scenarios are possible, as in many other similar cases: either the plus in Judg 6:26 is due to the translator,⁵ or it depends on a *Vorlage* different from the later MT.⁶ In the Historical

relationship between the different devotees of God. For another explanation of this phenomenon, see Jan Joosten, “To See God: Conflicting Exegetical Tendencies in the Septuagint,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 295–96; Martin Rösel, “Tempel und Tempellosigkeit: Der Umgang mit dem Heiligtum in der Pentateuch-LXX,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 451.

5. The idea that the plus in Judg 6:26 is due to the translator is advocated, e.g., by Joseph Schreiner, *Septuaginta-Masora des Buches der Richter: Eine textkritische Studie*, AnBib 7 (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1957), 57: “Eine Beeinflussung unserer Stelle von dort—aus der bekannten Jakobsgeschichte [i.e. Gen 35:1]—ist möglich.”

6. For this hypothesis that it depends on a different *Vorlage*, see, e.g., Sven Lesemann, “Und Gideon starb in einem guten Greisenalter”: *Untersuchungen zu den hebräischen und griechischen Texttraditionen in Ri 6–8 unter Einbeziehung des jüdisch-*

Books, there are further scattered instances of the passive voice of *ὁράω* with the subject “God”: 2 Chr 3:1 (God appears to David), 3 Kgdms 3:5 // 2 Chr 1:7 (God appears to Solomon in a dream; see also 3 Kgdms 9:2, twice). Only once is the formula attested in a prophetic context, in Jer 38:3 (= MT 31:3; God appears to the prophet Jeremiah).

(5) These quotations should not lead to the assumption that only individuals are said to experience a divine appearance. In fact, one of the astonishing innovations of the LXX consists in creating links between various places and occasions where God is said to appear or to have appeared. Thus, by means of slight modifications, the LXX suggests that the already-mentioned divine appearances to individuals of the patriarchal and premonarchic epochs will be followed by something else: the idea of the visibility of God. Nevertheless, it should be underlined that none of these LXX texts says explicitly that God dwells in a specific place. In particular, three texts deserve attention:

- ◆ In Gen 22:14, both the MT and the LXX have in common the idea that the place where Abraham offered a ram rather than his son Isaac is named “the Lord has seen” (יהוה יראה—*Kýrios εἶδεν*) because “the Lord appeared on the mountain” (בהר יהוה יראה—*ἐν τῷ ὄρει Kýrios ὤφθη*). The difference between the two versions lies in another detail. Perhaps the LXX is following the tradition that Mount Moriah was the place where the future Jerusalem temple was erected (2 Chr 3:1). This hypothesis could explain a slightly different wording concerning the explanation of the name of the mountain: *ἵνα εἴπωσιν σήμερον ἐν τῷ ὄρει κύριος ὤφθη*, “that they might say today: ‘the Lord appeared on the mountain.’” However, instead of *ἵνα εἴπωσιν*, the MT has a more neutral formula: *היום היום יאמר*, “as it is said today.” Rather than rendering this phrase literally, the translator opts for a final sense (*ἵνα εἴπωσιν*), alluding perhaps to later generations who identified the Jerusalem temple with the place of God’s appearance.⁷
- ◆ In Exod 25:8, the tabernacle is constructed for God to dwell among his people: *ושכנתי בתוכם*, “so that I [= God] may dwell

hellenistischen und frühen rabbinischen Schrifttums, DSI 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 130.

7. For this interpretation, see Hayward, “Understanding of the Temple Service,” 387–88.

among them.” The LXX, however, does not render the verb שכן, “to dwell,” with a corresponding Greek verb. Instead, we find ὀφθήσομαι: ὀφθήσομαι ἐν ὑμῖν, “I will be seen among you.” In other words, rather than speaking of a place where God is said to dwell,⁸ the LXX associates the appearance of the Lord in the future tabernacle with the divine appearances to the patriarchs and Moses.

- ◆ A similar translation occurs in Deut 33:16, where God is spoken of as the one who has appeared in the bush (τῷ ὀφθέντι ἐν τῷ βάτῳ) while the MT has once more a form of שכן, “to dwell”: שכני סנה “of him who dwells in the bush.” The corresponding passage dealing with the appearance of the angel in the burning bush in Exod 3:2 reads: ὡφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάλτου, “an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a fire of flame out of the bush” (NETS). Hence, the adaptation of Deut 33:16 toward the Greek wording of Exod 3:2 shows that the translator of Deuteronomy was concerned to make a connection between the appearance of God to the patriarchs and his appearance to Moses. Moreover, in opting for the verb ὀράω in the passive voice, the translator once more avoids speaking of a certain presence of God, namely, the idea of his dwelling, in a specific place like the bush or the tabernacle. On the contrary, the LXX translators—and in this respect there is a tendency common to all the books of the Pentateuch⁹—emphasize the idea that God could or can be seen, by an individual or by the community of Israel in the tabernacle (see Lev 9:4) or in the future temple. Thus, the LXX underlines, on the one hand, that the God of Abraham continues to appear to his people, but, on the other, that it will be above all in the sanctuary where he will be seen in the future.¹⁰

(6) Unlike the passages previously quoted, certain biblical texts speak not of God’s personal self-revelation but of the appearance of his glory, δόξα (MT: כבוד). Thus, several texts, namely, Exod 16:10; Lev 9:6, 23; Num 14:10; 16:19; 17:7; 20:6, use the aorist ὡφθη or the future ὀφθήσεται in combina-

8. See Alain Le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevior, *L’Exode*, BdA 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 252.

9. Rösel, “Tempel und Tempellosigkeit,” 454, thinks of a common theological concept the translators would have shared.

10. See Hayward, “Understanding of the Temple Service,” 387.

tion with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ when dealing with God's appearances to Moses and/or Israel during the wilderness wanderings. However, one exception in this series of quotations deserves attention. According to the MT of Num 12:8, Moses can see God's תמונה, "likeness" or "form."¹¹ Unlike in other instances, Exod 20:4 and Deut 4:12, 15, for example, in Num 12:8, the LXX does not render the Hebrew noun תמונה with $\acute{o}\mu\iota\omega\mu\alpha$ but with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.¹² Whatever תמונה might mean in the context of Num 12:8, there is no doubt that the LXX text tones down the possibility of a vision of God,¹³ which is in line with Deut 4:12, 15, 29, a text that stresses the idea of God's invisibility. In sum, what can be seen by humans is, in the best case, God's $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$.¹⁴

(7) Introduced by the LXX of the Pentateuch, this specific use of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ had an impact on the following stages of the translation of biblical books. In fact, translators were faced again with the difficulty of blatantly anthropomorphic speech occurring in the Hebrew Psalms.¹⁵ Thus, Ps 17:15b reads אשבעה בהקיץ תמונתך, "when I awake, I shall be satisfied, [beholding] your likeness." Obviously, the translator is following the model of Num 12:8 by rendering תמונה with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$. The infinitive בהקיץ, "when I awake," is replaced with the infinitive aorist $\acute{o}\phi\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota$, used already in Num 12:8, so

11. For a careful interpretation of the Hebrew text of Num 12:8, see, e.g., Fornara, *La visione contraddetta*, 173–75; for the LXX innovations in Num 12:8, see, e.g., Michaël N. van der Meer, "Visio Dei in the Septuagint," in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Stellenbosch, 2016, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, SCS 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 178–79.

12. For an analysis of the LXX translation of this verse, see also Anthony T. Hanson, "The Treatment in the LXX of the Theme of Seeing God," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990), ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars, SCS 33 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 561–63.

13. See also Innocent Himbaza, "Voir Dieu: LXX d'Exode contre TM et LXX du Pentateuque," in *L'Écrit et l'Esprit: Études d'histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker*, ed. Dieter Böhler, Innocent Himbaza, and Philippe Hugo, OBO 214 (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2005), 107.

14. For a similar idea, see also Sir 17:13: μεγαλείον δόξης εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ δόξαν φωνῆς αὐτοῦ ἤκουσεν τὸ οὖς αὐτῶν, "Majesty of glory their eyes saw, and the glory of his voice their ear heard" (NETS); see also Hanson, "Treatment in the LXX," 564–65.

15. For the following observations, see also Eberhard Bons, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter—Übersetzung, Interpretation, Korrektur," in Karrer, Karrer, and Meiser, *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, 465–66.

that the Greek text reads: ἐν τῷ ὀφθῆναι τὴν δόξαν σου, “when your glory appears” (LXX Ps 16:15b). Thus, it is basically God’s δόξα that appears to the psalmist; in a similar way, the first half of the verse was also modified: whereas the MT lets the psalmist say to God, אֲנִי בַצֶּדֶק אַחֲזֶה פָנֶיךָ, “in truth, I will see your face,” the translator renders the active (“I will see”) into a passive: “I shall appear before your face in righteousness” (ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀφθῆσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου). Further, LXX Ps 16:15 is in line with LXX Ps 62:3 where we find the same idea but in an active formulation: τοῦ ἰδεῖν τὴν δύναμίν σου καὶ τὴν δόξαν σου, “to behold your power and glory”—a translation that perfectly matches the MT: לִרְאוֹת עֹז וְכְבוֹדְךָ. Finally, the passive formula, “God’s δόξα appears,” occurs in Isa 40:5 where the MT reads the verb גָּלַה *niphal*, “to be revealed,” as well as in Isa 60:2.

These seven observations allow us to draw some conclusions. The examples quoted can illustrate two opposing developments in the LXX. On the one hand, the LXX seeks to avoid the idea that God could be seen by humans: only God’s δόξα is supposed to be visible to humans. On the other hand, the LXX introduces here and there the idea that God has appeared (e.g., Gen 31:13) or will appear (e.g., Exod 25:8) where an analogous statement is lacking in the Hebrew Bible. The majority of the occurrences of this formula are concentrated in the Pentateuch, the addressees being the patriarchs, Hagar, and Moses. In the Historical Books and the Prophets, the formula is only scarcely attested. Thus, for example, God is said to have appeared to Gideon, David, Solomon, and Jeremiah. By contrast, the kings of Israel and Judah subsequent to Solomon appear not to be the favored recipients of such an epiphanic divine revelation. Likewise, the formula is completely missing in the prophetic books, except for Jeremiah, LXX Jer 38:3. Obviously, these texts prefer other concepts to express the idea that God reveals himself to humans. Nevertheless, the LXX points out that God can continue to appear in the tabernacle which implies that the community or at least the priesthood of Israel¹⁶ is the recipient of the divine appearance.

3. The Specific Use of ὁράω in Revelation Contexts—A Typically LXX Phenomenon?

The use of ὁράω in the middle and passive voice in contexts of divine appearances only partly matches the evidence of non-Jewish Greek literature prior

16. For this hypothesis, see Van der Meer, “*Visio Dei* in the Septuagint,” 201.

to, or contemporary with, the LXX. Moreover, the typical LXX use of *ὁράω* in contexts of divine appearances seems to be a linguistic feature that the LXX does not share with the remaining Jewish-Hellenistic literature. In particular, the following differences deserve to be mentioned:

(1) To the best of my knowledge, in non-Jewish Greek texts, the passive verb *ὁράομαι* rarely occurs with reference to an appearance of a deity. There might be some scattered cases in literature of the Roman epoch, for example, in Xenophon of Ephesus, *Ephesiaca* (1.2.7,40),¹⁷ where the heroine of the novel, Anthia, is worshipped in the Ephesian temple like the goddess Artemis: *Καὶ τότε ὃν ὁφθείσης ἀνεβόησε τὸ πλῆθος* (“when she was seen, the crowd shouted aloud”). However, this example is perhaps of minor importance.

(2) The verb *ὁράω* in the active voice appears quite often in Greek texts dealing with a deity being seen by humans. Thus, we find the verb in a scene of a divine appearance in *Il.* 1.197–200:¹⁸ the goddess Athena becomes visible to Achilles alone (*οἷω φαινομένη*) whose hair she seizes, while the bystanders cannot not see her (*τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὐ τις ὁρᾷτο*). However, turning around, Achilles recognizes the goddess at once (*ἐτράπετ’, αὐτίκα δ’ ἔγνω*). In the *Od.* 16.161, gods are said not to appear to all in manifest presence (*οὐ γὰρ πω πάντεσσι θεοὶ φαίνονται ἐναργεῖς*). Hence, Telemachus was unable to see the goddess Athene whereas Odysseus and the dogs are said to have seen her (*Od.* 16.162: *ἀλλ’ Ὀδυσσεύς τε κύνες τε ἶδον*).¹⁹

(3) In the biblical literature, the identity of the divinity or the heavenly being is not always known to the human recipient of the appearance from the outset. Thus, Jacob in Gen 32:30 and Moses in Exod 3:13 have no idea whom they are dealing with. However, the motif of the recognition of the divinity expressed by the verb *γινώσκω*,²⁰ though occasionally present in a text like Judg 13:16, 21, is not emphasized and does not play a significant role in biblical traditions.

17. For this quotation, see Cioffi, “Seeing Gods,” 14.

18. For this example, see also Cioffi, “Seeing Gods,” 4.

19. For more examples, namely, inscriptions and papyri, see Van der Meer, “*Visio Dei* in the Septuagint,” 190–93. The author concludes: “Apparently, the notion of seeing the deity had become so common in the Hellenistic world that it had acquired its own stereotyped literary formulations” (193).

20. See Cioffi, “Seeing Gods,” 3–4.

(4) Interestingly, the *ὁράω*-formulae found in the LXX are extremely rare in Hellenistic-Jewish literature. Thus, T. Iss. 2.1 reports the appearance of an angel of the Lord to Jacob who announces that Rachel will no longer be barren: Τότε ὤφθη τῷ Ἰακώβ ἄγγελος κυρίου λέγων ὅτι δύο τέκνα Ῥαχὴλ τέξεται, “Then an angel of the Lord appeared to Jacob, saying: ‘Rachel will bear two children.’”

(5) Further important sources for the analysis of the language of epiphanic revelation are the works of Philo and Josephus. As for the former, expressions formulated with ὤφθη are more or less restricted to biblical quotations (e.g., *Mut.* 1 as a quotation of Gen 17:1). As for the latter, he provides much comparative material, in particular in his *Antiquities*, where he retells a large number of biblical narratives. However, it is surprising that none of the quotations dealing with an appearance of God himself, his δόξα, or his angel has an exact equivalent in the *Antiquities*. The verse, Gen 17:1, already mentioned, is paraphrased as follows: ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἔσοιτο, “God appeared to him, and promised him that he should have a son by Sarai” (*A.J.* 1.191). Unlike Gen 17:1 in the LXX translation, Josephus avoids the verbal form ὤφθη in favor of the participle of the verb ἐπιφαίνομαι. It should be noted that this small difference on the level of vocabulary is in accordance with Josephus’s terminology inasmuch as he never uses ὁράομαι when speaking of an encounter between God or his angel and a human being. On the other hand, the verbs φαίνομαι and ἐπιφαίνομαι appear to be the *termini technici* denoting divine appearances in Greek literature. In the following paragraph, the question will be addressed whether this terminology is present in the LXX.

4. The LXX Use of φαίνομαι and ἐπιφαίνομαι: Three Observations

It can be stated from the outset that this terminology is not widely used in the LXX. The following observations can be made.

(1) The use of φαίνομαι with reference to God is quite uncommon in the LXX. Only some occurrences can be quoted. In the Balaam narrative, the verb is used to speak of the encounter between the Lord and Balaam (Num 23:3, 4). The corresponding Hebrew verb each time is קרא *niphal*, “to encounter.” In Isa 60:2, the Lord’s coming is expressed in a parallelism: ἐπὶ δὲ σὲ φανήσεται κύριος καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σὲ ὀφθήσεται, “but the Lord will appear upon you and his glory will be seen upon you.” The Hebrew equivalents of the two Greek verbs are זרח, “to rise,” “to appear,” and ראה

niphal, “to be seen,” “to appear.” Obviously, in rendering the latter verb, the translator of the book of Isaiah followed the example of his predecessors who translated the Pentateuch. As far as the first verb is concerned, the translator’s choice is not at all unusual. On the one hand, זרַח is rendered by the compound verb ἐπιφαίνω in Deut 33:2, a text dealing with the coming of the Lord; on the other hand, φαίνομαι is a contextually fitting choice as it is a *terminus technicus* for divine appearances.

(2) The verb ἐπιφαίνομαι is scarcely attested in the translated books of the LXX. However, with very few exceptions (e.g., Ezek 17:6), the subject of the verb is God. Thus, in Gen 35:5, the verb refers to God’s appearance to Jacob in Bethel (ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπεφάνη αὐτῷ ὁ θεός, “for there God had appeared to him”). In this case, the Hebrew equivalent is גלה *niphal*, with the meaning “to appear,” “to reveal oneself.” A future divine revelation is mentioned in Ezek 39:28 where God announces that he will appear to Israel among the nations (ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανῆναί με αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν). The MT reads the verbal form בהגלותי, the infinitive construct *hiphil* of גלה with enclitic pronoun, “because I sent [them] into exile.” However, the same Hebrew consonants can also be read as a *niphal* form of the verb, “when I appear [to them].”²¹ Similarly, in Jer 36:14 (MT 29:14), God declares: “I will appear to you” (καὶ ἐπιφανοῦμαι ὑμῖν). The MT reads “I will let you find me” (ונמצאתי לכם).

(3) Another divergent translation in the LXX is probably due to a confusion of verbal roots. In Zeph 2:11, the prophet announces that “the Lord will appear against them” (ἐπιφανήσεται κύριος ἐπ’ αὐτούς), destroying all the gods of the nations of the earth. The MT, however, offers the participle גורא, “fearful, to be feared,”²² from the root ירא, “to fear.” Apparently, instead, the translator rendered the verb אור, “to become day,” “to become bright,” perhaps in a *hiphil* form, as it is attested here and there in the Psalter, notably in phrases like פניך על עבדך, “let your face shine upon your servant” (Ps 31:17), translated as follows: ἐπίφανον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἐπὶ τὸν δοῦλόν σου (LXX Ps 30:17).

21. See also Almut Hammerstaedt-Löhr et al., “Jezekiel/Ezechiel/Hesekiel,” in *Psalmen bis Daniel*, vol. 2 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2967.

22. For analogous translations in the Twelve Prophets, see Joel 2:11; Hab 1:7; Zeph 3:11; see also Marguerite Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes 4–9: Joël, Abdïou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie*, BdA 23.4–9 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 354–55.

5. The Use of φαίνομαι and ἐπιφαίνομαι in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature

To begin with, it is striking that the results seem to be contradictory insofar as the terminology in question seems to be popular in this literature whereas Philo hesitates to use it in the context of divine appearances.

(1) In 3 Macc 6:9, the elders implore God to come to the aid of the threatened people: ἐπιφάνηθι τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ γένους ὑπὸ ἐβδελυγμένων ἀνόμων ἐθνῶν ὑβριζομένοις, “appear to those of the people of Israel who are mistreated by abhorred, lawless Gentiles.” Likewise, Josephus sometimes uses the compound verb when speaking of a concrete divine appearance: the angel that appears to Balaam (*A.J.* 4.110, cf. *Num* 22:31), to Samson’s mother (*A.J.* 5.277; cf. *Judg* 13:3 ὥφθη), and to a prophet (*A.J.* 8.240 [cf. 1 *Kgdms* 13:20], 268). Additionally, we can find some scattered occurrences of the simple verb φαίνομαι with God as its subject. Thus, *A.J.* 9.20, speaks of the appearance of the “God of the Hebrews” to Elijah the prophet (φανεῖς δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων θεὸς Ἡλίας τῷ προφήτῃ). Furthermore, Josephus uses the verb with reference to divine appearances to Nathan (*A.J.* 7.92), to Solomon (*A.J.* 8.196), and to Jeremiah (*A.J.* 10.177).

(2) By contrast with such an inflationary use of the verb in Josephus’s work, Philo was much more cautious, evidently for theological concerns as is evident from his commentary on *Gen* 17:1 in *Mut.* 15: here, Philo interprets the biblical expression ὥφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβραάμ, “the Lord appeared to Abraham,” as follows: ὑπονοητέον οὐχ ὡς ἐπιλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιφαινομένου τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίου ... ἀλλ’ ὡς μιᾶς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεων, τῆς βασιλικῆς, προφαινομένης, “this should be understood that the Cause of all things does not shine forth and appear ... but as if some one of the powers which surround him, namely his kingly power, had presented itself to the sight.” Obviously, the verb ἐπιφαίνομαι is being used deliberately because it stands elsewhere for the visible perception of a divine entity; therefore, it is a fitting word and appropriate to replace the biblical ὥφθη. However, Philo uses it to claim that God is *not visible* to human sensory perception. Nevertheless, the author admits that God can appear to a human soul (*Mut.* 6; for the same idea see also *Somn.* 1.228, 232). In conclusion: on the one hand, Philo tends to avoid the biblical wording when commenting upon *Gen* 17:1; on the other hand, the verb ἐπιφαίνομαι is deemed to be misleading because God is not discernible to the senses.

6. Concluding Remarks

Can we observe an evolution from the LXX to Jewish-Hellenistic literature and later Christian texts? It is difficult to give a clear-cut answer. However, we can make three observations.

(1) The preference of the LXX for forms of *ὁράομαι* ought to be explained against its background in the Hebrew Bible insofar as the LXX translates the Hebrew verb *ראה* *niphal* with *ὁράομαι*. As has been stated above, the LXX develops this use of *ὁράομαι* slightly by creating some new passages where God is said to have appeared to somebody, for example, Hagar. Nonetheless, this specific use of *ὁράομαι* seems to be limited to the LXX, with some exceptions. As we have seen, it is quite uncommon in other Jewish or non-Jewish Greek texts that prefer the verbs *φαίνομαι* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι*. However, *ὁράομαι* turns up occasionally in the New Testament, notably in the Gospel of Luke and in Acts (e.g., Luke 1:11; Acts 13:31) as well as in 1 Cor 15:5–8—that is, in texts that are influenced by LXX vocabulary in some way or another or seek to create a relationship with LXX appearance narratives, albeit by allusion.

(2) The verbs *φαίνομαι* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι* are only scarcely attested in the LXX. As for the translated texts of the LXX, these verbs normally occur when the corresponding Hebrew verb offers a *Vorlage* different from *ראה* *niphal*. This means that *ὁράομαι* turned out to be the favorite verb with which to translate the idea of divine appearance. Nonetheless, the translators appear to have been familiar with the contemporary specifically religious use of the two verbs *φαίνομαι* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι*. In fact, they opted for them when they no longer felt bound to translate a Hebrew verb in a somewhat literal manner with a Greek verb meaning “to be seen.” However, it remains a fact that the nontranslated texts of the LXX do not use these two verbs frequently.

(3) Philo and Josephus do not follow the terminology of the LXX. In fact, they avoid the verb *ὁράομαι* with reference to divine appearances quite systematically in favor of *φαίνομαι* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι*. We should assume that these authors wrote for a Hellenized public not familiar with the specific LXX use of *ὁράομαι*. Perhaps, these writers’ choice of *φαίνομαι* and *ἐπιφαίνομαι* had an important additional effect insofar as these verbs did not give rise to the misunderstanding that humans could see God actively. As we have seen, the LXX translators sought to avoid this idea, albeit non-systematically, thus, in a certain sense, underscoring the transcendence of the God of Israel.

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The Greek of Wisdom: Natural Usage and Septuagintal Influence

Ryan Comins

Abstract: Recent scholarly investigations of the Wisdom of Solomon are surprisingly lacking in detailed analysis of the book's linguistic features. Wisdom's grammar, in particular, has been almost entirely ignored by most commentators. This paper seeks to demonstrate how a more detailed understanding of Wisdom's linguistic profile may provide clues as to the social context of its composition as well as the potential influence of the Septuagint translation on the language of Greek-speaking Jews more broadly. A small selection of syntactic features in the text of Wisdom are investigated and discussed. This analysis provides new evidence to support the common perception of Wisdom as a higher-register Greek composition but also finds evidence of linguistic influence from the Septuagint. In combination, these two conclusions suggest that the author of Wisdom imitated elements of Septuagintal style but wove them into a more formal or literary register that educated readers could appreciate.

1. Introduction

Surprisingly little has been written by scholars on the Wisdom of Solomon from a purely linguistic point of view, and what has been written concentrates on vocabulary rather than grammar. In his influential commentary on Wisdom, David Winston limits his analysis of the book's language to a discussion of vocabulary, stylistic features such as metrical rhythm, and the old debates surrounding the text's original language.¹ In his chapter

1. David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 43 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 14–18.

on Wisdom in the *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, James Aitken devotes most of his linguistic attention to the book's vocabulary.² In the volume *The Language of the Septuagint*, Luca Mazzinghi's chapter on Wisdom is limited to a discussion of literary style rather than language per se.³ Although not focused on Wisdom, John Lee's *Greek of the Pentateuch* illustrates scholarly priorities: Wisdom is cited twice, both times with reference to vocabulary rather than grammar.⁴ The relative paucity of scholarly attention that has been devoted to the morphology and syntax of Wisdom is regrettable, since a thorough understanding of the kind of Greek in which Wisdom was written may provide important clues as to the social context of the book's composition. Furthermore, as an original Greek composition that demonstrates intimate familiarity with at least some of the translated books of the Septuagint, Wisdom provides an excellent case study for us to examine the potential linguistic influence of the Septuagint translation on the language of Greek-speaking Jews. This paper aims to draw attention to certain linguistic features of Wisdom's Greek that, in my opinion, may help to provide a clearer understanding of Wisdom's linguistic profile in a way that is relevant to these issues.

Before beginning, I wish to note three things. First, for the sake of convenience, when I use the word *Septuagint* in this paper, I am referring specifically to the earliest Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, not including original Greek compositions. Second, like most scholars, I believe that Wisdom was composed in Egypt sometime between 100 BCE and 100 CE.⁵ Finally, a note on the manuscript tradition: Even in very minor points, the major majuscule witnesses to Wisdom (codices Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, and Vaticanus) are usually consistent. Nonetheless, even when all these manuscripts agree, there remains a significant risk that they do not exactly preserve the precise orthography and morphology of the original text, since the accidental addition, omission, or alteration

2. James K. Aitken, "Wisdom of Solomon," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: T&T Clark, 2015), 401–9.

3. Luca Mazzinghi, "The Style of the Book of Wisdom," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2016), 386–92.

4. John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 81 and 84.

5. A. Peter Hayman, "The Wisdom of Solomon," in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*, ed. James D. G. Dunn and John William Rogerson (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 763.

of a single letter or a diphthong can occur so easily during textual transmission. Accordingly, I will avoid building too strong an argument on minor morphological points; most of my argument rests instead on the text's syntax, which is generally less subject to corruption. There are no syntactically significant textual variants attached to any of the examples I use below. All translations from Greek into English are my own, unless otherwise specified.

2. Natural Usage

Wisdom is usually described as a high-brow literary text written in quite a formal and polished register, especially when compared to the mostly vernacular Greek of many other Septuagint books.⁶ This is indisputably true of the book's vocabulary. Half a century ago, James Reese demonstrated the author's familiarity with technical philosophical, religious, and ethical terminology, and more recently, Aitken has drawn attention to the author's use of the poetic adjective *ἀέναιος* in the true Homeric sense of "ever-flowing."⁷ However, the book's grammar has mostly been ignored. As part of an unpublished dissertation on the language of Wisdom, I investigated several distinct grammatical features in Wisdom and found that the common portrayal of Wisdom as a higher-register text is in fact also supported by new evidence from the book's syntax.⁸ Here I will give just one example: the author's use of the optative in 7:15.

2.1. The Optative

In Wis 7:15, the author writes:

Ἐμοὶ δὲ δῶν ὁ θεὸς εἰπεῖν κατὰ γνώμην

6. Jan Joosten, "Varieties of Greek in the Septuagint and the New Testament," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to 600*, ed. James Carleton Paget and Joachim Schaper (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 24.

7. James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 1–31; James K. Aitken, "The Language of the Septuagint," in *The Jewish-Greek Tradition in Antiquity and the Byzantine Empire*, ed. James K. Aitken and James Carleton Paget (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 130–31.

8. Ryan Comins, "A Linguistic Analysis of the Wisdom of Solomon" (Undergraduate diss., University of Cambridge, 2019), 17–30.

But to me may God grant to speak with intelligence.

This is a volitive or voluntative optative; that is, it expresses an obtainable wish in the form of a polite request. This use of the optative is rare in low-register contemporary biblical writers. Instead, it is common in the context of prayer to find the imperative being used instead of the volitive optative, as in Rev 22:20: Ἀμήν, ἔρχου, κύριε Ἰησοῦ, “Amen, come, Lord Jesus!” Here, prayerful petition is expressed not in the optative but by a combination of the vocative and a second-person imperative.

In the papyri, too, polite requests are very rarely framed using the optative. Instead, they are often expressed with standardized formulae.⁹ One of these formulae is a verb of begging followed by the subjunctive, as in a letter from 16 CE:

παρακαλῶ σε, ὅπως τὸν ἵππον μου ἐπειμβληψῃς
I beseech you, that you observe my horse. (SB 5.7600)

Even more frequently, these polite requests are formulated using the infinitive. A good example is P.Oxy. 2.294, a letter dated to 22 CE:

ἔρωτῶ δέ σε καὶ παρακαλῶ γράψει μοι
I ask and beseech you to write to me.

One of the few contexts where the optative occasionally appears is with reference to deities. One short letter dated to the second or first century BCE, is especially pertinent:

τῷ κυρίῳ ... εὐχομαι πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς ὑγείαν σοι δῶναι.... Δοίησάν
σοι χάριν μορφὴν εὐπραξίαν καὶ ἡ Βούβαστις δοίη ὑγίαν
To [my] lord ... I pray to all gods to give health to you.... May
they give you grace, comeliness and success and may Bubastis give
[you] health. (P.Mich. inv. 4394 = SB 22.15324)

Here, we have the beseeching verb + infinitive construction and then two uses of the optative. It is not altogether surprising to find the optative used

9. Eleanor Dickey, “Latin Influence and Greek Request Formulae,” in *The Language of the Papyri*, ed. Trevor V. Evans and Dirk D. Obbink (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 208–20.

in a document of this sort. It addresses an important figure (τῷ κυρίῳ) and is written in the context of state religion. Presumably, the writer is using a formal register. According to Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, the writer's expressions are typical of Greek letters to high officials.¹⁰ The general rarity of optatives and the official context of this notable exception suggest that the optative was mostly limited to high-register Greek during this period.

Wisdom's use of the optative in 7:15 thus reflects quite a high register. The author could have used a more typical petition formula or addressed God imperatively. Instead, he chooses to use the optative, giving the prayer a formal or perhaps even literary quality. The common portrayal of Wisdom as a higher-register text, which in the past has been based mostly on vocabulary, is therefore borne out by this (and other) syntactic features.

3. Septuagintal Imitation

In general, then, Wisdom is written in natural, high-register, literary Koine Greek, and many Septuagintal idiosyncrasies, such as the repetitive καὶ ἐγένετο, are conspicuously absent. On the other hand, the literary influence of earlier Jewish writings is evident at every turn. More specifically, the author quotes the Greek Septuagint rather than translating himself from the Hebrew.¹¹ This suggests that the author knew and used Jewish texts primarily in Greek translation. We know that the Septuagint translation, especially the Greek Pentateuch, was influential for and highly esteemed by many Hellenistic Jewish writers roughly contemporary with the Wisdom of Solomon.¹² I therefore investigated whether any linguistic influence from the Septuagint translation could be detected in Wisdom's syntax.¹³ The following examples are intended to illustrate some of my general findings.

3.1. εἰς + Accusative of Subject Complement

One notable syntactic peculiarity of Biblical Greek, especially in the Septuagint, is the frequent use of εἰς + accusative, rather than a predicate

10. Roger S. Bagnall and Raffaella Cribiore, *Women's Letters from Ancient Egypt: 300 BCE–AD 800* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 105.

11. Wis 2:12 (Isa 3:10); 12:12 (Job 9:12, 19); 15:10 (Isa 44:20).

12. Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 63–80.

13. Comins, "Linguistic Analysis," 31–47.

nominative, to identify a subject complement. This tends to occur in two main linguistic contexts: following a passive form of λογίζομαι or following an equative verb. I will discuss the equative verb construction first.

The construction equative verb + εἰς + accusative appears frequently in Wisdom. Usually, the verb is a past tense of γίνομαι (Wis 2:14; 10:17; 14:11, 21), but we also find it once with a future tense of εἰμί (in Wis 4:19). This is consistent with Septuagintal usage, where γίνομαι is used in past tenses and εἰμί in the future. This structure is attested in wider Greek, but it is especially common in the Septuagint, the εἰς being used to convey the ל prefix in the ל + הִי structure. It also occurs occasionally in the New Testament, usually in quotations from the Septuagint.

This construction is understandable as natural Greek, especially when one recognizes that its meaning tends to emphasize a change in state. This is always the case in Wisdom, even in 4:19, where the author uses εἰμί rather than γίνομαι:

ἔσονται μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς πτώμα ἄτιμον καὶ εἰς ὕβριν ἐν νεκροῖς δι' αἰῶνος

After this, they will become a dishonored corpse and an object of insolence among the dead forever.

Here, the sense clearly conveys a change in state, not mere description. This is a natural extension of the common use of εἰς to convey result, and, indeed, it is attested even in classical authors like Theognis:

τὸ κακὸν δοκέον γίνεταί εἰς ἀγαθόν

That which seems bad turns into good. (Theognis, *Eleg.* 1.162)

Nonetheless, the frequency with which this construction occurs in Wisdom is striking. By comparison, it occurs in only twelve New Testament passages, of which seven are Septuagintal quotations, leaving only five independent uses¹⁴—the same number as in Wisdom. This means that it occurs as many times in Wisdom as it does in the entire New Testament corpus. Moreover, two of the five independent uses in the New Testament are from Revelation (Rev 8:11; 16:19), whose Greek may show

14. Matt 19:5 (Gen 2:24); Matt 21:42 (Ps 118:22–23); Luke 3:5 (Isa 40:3–5); Luke 13:19; John 16:20; Acts 5:36; 2 Cor 6:18 (2 Sam 7:14 // 1 Chr 17:13); Eph 5:31 (Gen 2:24); Heb 1:5 (2 Sam 7:14 // 1 Chr 17:13); Heb 8:10 (Jer 31:31–34); Rev 8:11; 16:19.

signs of Semitic interference.¹⁵ When New Testament authors do use this construction, it is always with γίνομαι rather than εἶμι, even in the future tense (John 16:20). Wisdom, by contrast, always follows the Septuagintal convention of using γίνομαι in the past and εἶμι in the future.

In three places, the author of Wisdom also uses the construction λογίζομαι (pass.) + εἰς + accusative of subject complement (Wis 2:16; 3:17; 9:6). In all three passages, the sense conveyed is “to be considered as [something].” One example is Wis 9:6:

τῆς ἀπὸ σοῦ σοφίας ἀπούσης, εἰς οὐδὲν λογισθήσεται

If the wisdom that comes from you is absent, he will be regarded as nothing.

This structure is a common idiom in the Septuagint,¹⁶ where it is often used to translate the Hebrew construction $\text{בשח} + \text{ל}$. In the New Testament, it occurs in only four passages (Acts 19:27; Rom 2:26; 4:3; 9:8), one of which is a quotation from the Septuagint (Rom 4:3, quoting Gen 15:6), leaving three independent uses. Again, this means that the construction occurs as many times in Wisdom, a text of less than seven thousand words, as it does in the entire New Testament corpus, a collection with over 138,000 words.

In Classical Greek, this expression usually denotes the currency or method of measuring something. A good example of this is in Xenophon, Cyr. 3.1.33:

χρήματα δ' ... ἔστιν εἰς ἀργύριον λογισθέντα τάλαντα πλείω τῶν
τρισχιλίων

And the property, ... when calculated in silver, is more than 3000 talents.

In Biblical Greek, the nuance is subtly different, conveying not so much a standard of evaluation as a sense of equivalence, so that this phrase would mean something like “property considered to be silver” rather than “property calculated in silver.” The biblical sense of this construction is, so far as I can tell, entirely unattested in extrabiblical sources.

15. John M. Court, *Revelation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1994), 86–87.

16. E.g., Gen 15:6; 1 Macc 2:52; Ps 105:31; Isa 40:17; Lam 4:2, etc.

The relatively frequent use of εἰς + accusative to identify a subject complement in Wisdom therefore demands an explanation. One might be tempted to hypothesize that this unusual structure is simply an idiosyncrasy of Jewish Greek. Yet, this seems unlikely given that it appears so rarely in the writings of the New Testament authors, many of whom were presumably Jewish. Even Mark, whose Greek may well show signs of Semitic interference, never uses this structure.¹⁷ Furthermore, evidence for a distinctive Jewish Greek dialect characterized by grammatical Semitisms is limited and rests on highly questionable assumptions. More plausibly, the use of this construction by the author of Wisdom is not a direct Semitism but rather a Septuagintalism, that is, an imitation of Septuagintal style. I will discuss this distinction at greater length below.

3.2. Complementary Genitive Infinitive

Another syntactic peculiarity of Septuagintal Greek is the unusually frequent use of the genitive articular infinitive. In general, this infinitival construction, so common elsewhere in the Septuagint,¹⁸ is rare in Wisdom. It occurs only three times. In 10:8, τοῦ μὴ γινῶναι expresses the result of ἐβλάβησαν:

ἐβλάβησαν τοῦ μὴ γινῶναι τὰ καλὰ

They were hindered from perceiving the beautiful things.

The use of the genitive infinitive to express result is standard in Greek of this period and bears no further comment.¹⁹ In 18:2, the meaning is slightly more obscure. The following is a fairly literal translation:

ὅτι δ' οὐ βλάπτουσιν προηδικημένοι, ἡὺχαρίστουν καὶ τοῦ διενεχθῆ-
ναι χάριν ἐδέοντο

And they were thankful that they [the Israelites] did them no harm, though they were wronged first, and they begged the grace of being carried different ways.

17. Willem S. Vorster, "Bilingualism and the Greek of the New Testament: Semitic Interference in the Gospel of Mark," *Neot* 24 (1990): 215–28.

18. SSG, 364–66 and 587–88.

19. Rodney J. Decker, *Reading Koine Greek* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2014), 369–72.

Most likely, τοῦ διενεχθῆναι is functioning epexegetically; that is, it clarifies or explains the meaning of χάριν, so that the second part of the verse could be paraphrased as: “They begged that the Israelites would grant them this favor: to be parted from each other.” Again, using the genitive infinitive to clarify or explain a substantive is quite common in Greek of this period.²⁰ However, διαφέρω in the passive can also mean “to be at variance,” in which case τοῦ διενεχθῆναι is best understood as a causal infinitive. This seems to be the interpretation of the NRSV translators: “They begged [the Israelites’] pardon for having been at variance with them.” It is slightly unusual for genitive infinitives to be used causally (more often, the neuter infinitive is used with διά), but this usage is common enough in natural Greek that its presence here would not be especially surprising.²¹

Far more noteworthy is 19:2, where the author of Wisdom complements ἐπιτρέπω with a genitive infinitive:

ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῦ ἀπιέναι καὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς προπέμψαντες αὐτοὺς
Having permitted [them] to depart and having sent them forth
with haste.

This use of the infinitive is puzzling. The ἐπιτρέπω + complementary infinitive construction is a common Greek construction. However, as with most finite verbs in complementary infinitive constructions, ἐπιτρέπω generally takes the simple infinitive.²² Of course, ἀπιέναι may be functioning substantivally, as the object of ἐπιτρέψαντες. This might explain the article, since substantival infinitives are often used with a nominalizing article.²³ However, if ἀπιέναι is functioning as a direct object in Wis 19:2, then one would expect the case to be accusative rather than genitive.²⁴ There are verbs that take genitive direct objects, but ἐπιτρέπω is not one of them.²⁵ For instance, in Strabo, *Geogr.* 12.2.8, we find ἐπιτρέπω with an accusative

20. Daniel B. Wallace, *Greek Grammar beyond the Basics: An Exegetical Syntax of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 607–11.

21. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 596–97.

22. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 598.

23. Ronald Dean Peters, *The Greek Article: A Functional Grammar of δ-items in the Greek New Testament with Special Emphasis on the Greek Article* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 207–9.

24. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 179–80.

25. LSJ, s.v. “ἐπιτρέπω,” 667–68.

object: Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιτρέψαντες τὴν κρίσιν, “Having entrusted the judgment to the Romans.” Of course, it is quite common in Greek of this period for a genitive articular infinitive to follow a finite verb, but as I noted earlier, this construction usually expresses the purpose and/or result of an action.²⁶ A good example of this is Matt 13:3: ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων τοῦ σπείρειν, “The sower went out [in order] to sow.” Here, ἐξῆλθεν ὁ σπείρων is a complete thought by itself, and τοῦ σπείρειν simply adds extra information regarding the goal of ἐξῆλθεν. In Wis 19:2, ἐπιτρέψαντες by itself is incomplete and ἀπιέναι is required to complete the sense of ἐπιτρέπω. It is specifically this complementary use of the genitive articular infinitive that is so unusual from the standpoint of typical Koine.

This construction is, however, quite common in the Septuagint.²⁷ In Ps 39:13, for instance, it appears with δύναμαι: οὐκ ἠδυνήθην τοῦ βλέπειν, “I was unable to see.” Outside of Biblical Greek, I have been unable to find a single genitive articular infinitive used in this complementary sense, so its presence in 19:2 is likely due to Septuagintal influence. In the New Testament, Frederick Conybeare and St. George William Joseph Stock claim that it is used three times in Acts.²⁸ Yet, the first two passages that they list actually express result and purpose, respectively. Acts 27:1, however, is indeed a strong candidate for the complementary construction:

ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
It was decided for us to sail away into Italy.

Here, the neat distinction between semantic categories that some grammars like to draw breaks down. Ἐκρίθη makes little sense by itself, whereas with τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν it forms a complete thought, so it can be legitimately labeled a complementary infinitive construction. On the other hand, τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν also acts as the subject of ἐκρίθη, so it could also be labeled a subject infinitive. Either way, the presence of τοῦ is just as odd here as it is in Wis 19:2. Acts 27:1 may similarly owe its peculiar syntax to Septuagintal influence, especially given the presence of several other Septuagintalisms

26. Wallace, *Greek Grammar*, 610.

27. Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare and St. George William Joseph Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2014), 59–60.

28. Conybeare and Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, 60.

throughout Acts.²⁹ Of course, in both Acts and Wisdom, the complementary genitive infinitive is far less common than in the Septuagint. Nonetheless, given this construction's prevalence in the Septuagint and its total absence elsewhere, except in texts that we know to be heavily influenced by the Septuagint, its rare appearances in Wisdom and Acts are best explained as Septuagintalisms.

4. Semitisms and Septuagintalisms

Distinguishing Semitisms from Septuagintalisms in Jewish Greek authors is an intrinsically difficult task, since many of the syntactical idiosyncrasies which characterize Septuagintal Greek are also characteristic of the Semitic languages in which the translators' source texts were written. It can therefore be difficult to determine whether a given idiosyncratic construction is a direct Semitism, arising from Semitic influences in the author's own linguistic background, or a Septuagintalism, that is, an indirect Semitism mediated through the translated Greek of the Septuagint. Given this difficulty, it is important to justify why I have interpreted the features discussed above as evidence of Septuagintal stylistic influence rather than direct Semitic interference.

First, there is the difficulty of explaining how or why Semitic interference would be present in an original Greek composition such as Wisdom. Early twentieth-century scholars who saw these idiosyncrasies as Semitisms generally relied upon three main explanations: (1) Wisdom was originally composed in Hebrew and then translated into Greek; (2) Wisdom is written in a distinctive Jewish Greek dialect; or (3) Greek was not the author's first language. However, all these explanations are deeply flawed. The consistent presence of Greek rhetorical devices, Septuagintal quotations and technical Greek vocabulary throughout the book, combined with the lack of external evidence for a Hebrew original, makes it virtually unquestionable that Wisdom was originally written in Greek, not Hebrew.³⁰ The theory of a distinctive Jewish Greek dialect rests upon several questionable assumptions, for example, that Egyptian Jews belonged to a discrete and poorly integrated group on the margins

29. Adelbert Denaux, "The Use of Scripture in Luke 9:51–56," in *The Scriptures of Israel in Jewish and Christian Tradition*, ed. Bart Koet, Steve Moyise, and Joseph Verheyden (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 57–79.

30. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 14–18.

of Egyptian society, that ethnic differences inevitably produce linguistic differences, or that Jewish writers were divinely inspired and therefore spoke differently from their contemporaries.³¹ This theory is therefore no longer credible and is rightly dismissed by most scholars.³² As for the position that the author of Wisdom was not a native Greek speaker, there is simply no convincing evidence for this. Often, commentators who argue for the author's lack of fluency merely point out peculiar words or phrases and conclude that he must not have known Greek very well.³³ Not only is this position blatantly contradicted by the author's extensive vocabulary and use of Greek rhetorical devices; it also follows a highly dubious methodology.

On a related note, linguistic interference is hardly the only explanation available for nonstandard vocabulary or grammatical structures. As Trevor Evans has pointed out, we must also consider "diachronic changes within the Greek language, linguistic register [and] educational levels," among other factors.³⁴ In literary texts such as Wisdom, we must further allow for creativity and artistic license, as well as literary influences from other texts.³⁵ Given the variety of potential factors at play, it is important to resist the temptation "to equate oddities too readily with bilingual influences."³⁶ Wisdom was written in Greek as an original composition by a fluent Greek author, and we should therefore seek first to understand its language with reference to its Greek context before looking for direct Semitic influences. An important part of that Greek context was the Sep-

31. Aitken, "Language of the Septuagint," 120–34.

32. Nicholas de Lange, "Jewish Greek," in *A History of Ancient Greek: From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity*, ed. Anastassios-Fivos Christidis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 639–40.

33. See, e.g., Joseph Reider, *The Book of Wisdom* (New York City: Harper, 1957), 28.

34. Trevor V. Evans, "Complaints of the Natives in a Greek Dress," in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, ed. Alex Mullen and Patrick James (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 123.

35. See Alexis Léonas, "The Poetics of Wisdom: Language and Style in the Wisdom of Solomon," in *Et Sapienter et Eloquent: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 107–35.

36. Trevor V. Evans, "Standard Koine Greek in Third Century BC Papyri," in *Proceedings of the 25th International Congress of Papyrology*, ed. Traianos Gagos (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 205.

tuagint, which appears to have been the author's prime literary source.³⁷ Occasionally, certain features of Wisdom's language mirror Septuagintal idiosyncrasies while differing noticeably from the linguistic patterns of surviving contemporary sources, both literary and papyrological. In these cases, Septuagintal influence seems the most likely explanation for these unusual linguistic features.

Recognizing these features as the result of Septuagintal imitation rather than Semitic interference affects how we understand the author's use of language in Wisdom. Interference implies that idiosyncrasies are best explained as accidental errors resulting from the inappropriate transfer of Semitic features to Greek; in other words, the author/translator follows the Semitic patterns too closely without enough sensitivity to the naturalness of the resulting Greek. By contrast, stylistic imitation is a much more deliberate and intentional process, implying a keen sensitivity to the style of the source text, an awareness of how this style is distinct from other ways of writing Greek, and a conscious decision to adopt this style for a specific purpose. An author whose language shows signs of interference is either unwilling or unable to write natural Greek; an author who employs stylistic imitation is so at home in the language that he can mimic recognizable linguistic variants as a deliberate literary device.

5. Conclusion

My intention in this paper has not been to present a detailed and comprehensive linguistic analysis of Wisdom from every angle. I have merely tried to illustrate, using selected examples, how linguistic analysis may help to improve our understanding both of Wisdom's register and of the Septuagint's influence on Greek-speaking Egyptian Jews. On the one hand, the author's use of the volitive optative to express a polite request points towards a formal or literary register, suggestive of a high social status and level of education. On the other hand, we occasionally find unusual syntactic constructions typical of the Septuagint, suggesting a degree of linguistic influence and further illustrating the Septuagint's important status. Holding these two conclusions side by side presents us with an author who imitates elements of Septuagintal style but also makes them

37. Hayman, "Wisdom of Solomon," 763.

his own, weaving them into a more literary register that educated readers could appreciate.

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Interpreting $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ and Its Compounds in the Septuagint: A Semantic, Syntactic, and Lexical Study

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Abstract: The term $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ and twenty of its compounds present a broad range of usages in the Septuagint, and the differing constraints on the Greek verbs and the English verbs that best translate them can pose difficulty for interpretation and translation. This paper resolves the occurrences of $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ and its compounds into sixteen distinct usages. The discussion of each usage describes features of the conceptualization of the usage, specifies the syntactic and semantic requirements for the verb with the usage, identifies the observed lexical realizations of required complements, and proposes translations that clarify the interpretation of the verbs with the usage.

Preliminary Considerations

This discussion introduces the three events most frequently grammaticalized by $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ and its compounds, identifies four possible features of the conceptualization of the events, and considers the permissible omission of verbal complements.

The Conceptualization of Events

An event is a cognitive schema of an action or state that sets two, three, or four entities in a particular relationship with each other. This discussion introduces the conceptualization of the three events most frequently grammaticalized by $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\omega$ and its compounds in the LXX.

The verbs most frequently grammaticalize the event of transference, which relates four entities that function semantically as an agent (A), “the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity”; theme (Θ), “the entity moving from one place to another or located in a place”; source (S), “the literal or figurative entity from which something moves”; and goal (G), “the literal or figurative entity towards which something moves.” According to the conceptualization of transference, an agent transfers a theme from a source to a goal.

ἐξήγαγεν Μωυσῆς τὸν λαὸν εἰς συνάντησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς
(Exod 19:17)

[Moses (A)] led [the people (Θ)] [out of the camp (S)] [to a meeting with God (G)].

ἐπάξει ἄνεμον καύσωνα κύριος ἐκ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπ’ αὐτόν (Hos 13:15)
[The Lord (A)] will bring [a scorching wind (Θ)] [from the desert (S)] [onto him (G)].

The event of motion relates three entities that function as a theme, a source, and a goal. According to the conceptualization of motion, a theme moves from a source to a goal. The LXX presents only one occurrence in which a verb realizes all three event entities as complements.

ἐπανάγων ἀπὸ δικαιοσύνης ἐπὶ ἁμαρτίαν (Sir 26:28)

[One (Θ)] going back [from justice (S)] [to sin (G)].

The event of effect relates two entities that function as an agent and a patient (P), “the entity undergoing an action.” According to the conceptualization of effect, an agent acts on a patient.

παιδίον μικρὸν ἄξει αὐτούς (Isa 11:6)

[A small child (A)] will lead [them (P)].

ἀνάγαγε τὸν λαὸν τοῦτον (Exod 33:12)

[[You] (A)] bring up [this people (P)]!

Features of the Conceptualizations of Events

The bare concept of an event is qualified by features that specify the conceptualization of that event associated with a number of verbs and verbs that designate a conceptualization of the same event with the same features constitute a verbal usage. Since all of the events grammaticalized by ἄγω and its compounds require qualification by one or more of the four features that qualify the conceptualization of transference, the following discussions develop the features in relation to the verbs that grammaticalize transference.

Feature 1: Perspective

Greek (like English) grammar permits verbs to raise at most three event entities as arguments. The verbs that grammaticalize transference address the restriction to three arguments by assuming the perspective in which the source (S) and agent (A) are coincident or at least proximate at the initiation of transference (S=A). With this perspective, the verbs omit consideration of the source, which can be retrieved from the initially coincident/proximate agent, and raise the agent, theme, and goal as arguments. These three arguments are associated respectively with the verbs' required first complement (the subject when the verbs are not passivized), second complement (the subject when the verbs are passivized), and third complement (the local complement that never functions as the subject). Verbs with these three required complements grammaticalize transference to a goal.

- S=A μετήγαγεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς Αἴγυπτον (2 Chr 36:3)
 [The king (A)] brought [him (Θ)] [[from the kings' initial
 locale (S)]] [to Egypt (G)].
- S=A οὐ προσάξουσιν ταῦτα τῷ κυρίῳ (Lev 22:22)
 [They (A)] will not offer [these things (Θ)] [[from them (S)]]
 [to the Lord (G)].

As the previously considered examples of transference in Exod 19:17 and Hos 13:15 indicate, the verbs with this perspective still have the capacity to license a source adjunct that offers a further specification of the location of the agent at the initiation of transference. This adjunct, however, is not required for the grammatical use of the verb.

Feature 2: Focus

Since the event of transference incorporates a source and a goal, it can be resolved into two segments, one containing the source and the other containing the goal. For the purpose of this discussion, the transition from the source segment to the goal segment may occur at any point along the trajectory of the theme. The conceptualization of transference may bring into focus both segments of the event or only the segment containing the agent, which is coincident/proximate to the source. Conceptualizations that focus on both segments of transference give rise to primary usages that permit retrieval of all four entities of transference. Conceptualizations that focus only on the segment containing the agent, in contrast, give rise to secondary usages that do not permit retrieval of the goal. Verbs with secondary usages raise as required complements the agent, theme, and source and grammaticalize transference from a source.

- primary ἤγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ (Judg 1:7)
 They brought him [[from where they were]] to Jerusalem.
- secondary ἤγαγέν σε τὸ χερουβ ἐκ μέσου λίθων πυρίνων (Ezek 28:16)
 The Cherub brought you from the midst of fiery stones.

In the former occurrence (Judg 1:7), the verb permits the retrieval of all four entities of transference because Judah and Simeon (they) and Adonibezek (him) are conceptualized as initially coincident or proximate. In the latter occurrence (Ezek 28:16), however, the verb does not permit the retrieval of the Goal but emphasizes the people's initial locale when the Cherub began to lead them.

Feature 3: Subject Affectedness

The verbs grammaticalize transference with active and/or middle base forms. Greek active and middle base forms signal differing conceptualizations of the affectedness of the first complement (subject/agent). Active base forms signal that the agent is unaffected by the action, while middle base forms signal that the subject is affected, but that this affectedness is not introduced by an entity internal to the event (A, Θ, S, or G). This discussion identifies the subject affectedness signaled by middle base forms as "external affectedness." Since English grammar has no means of marking verbs for external affectedness, the translations of verbs with middle

base forms introduce “[with affect]” immediately after the first required (subject) complement.

Active	ἐπήγαγέν μοι ὁ θεὸς πένθος μέγα (Bar 4:9) God brought great mourning upon me.
Middle	οὐκ ἐπάξονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἁμαρτίαν (Exod 28:43) They [with affect] will not bring sin upon themselves.

Feature 4: Functionality

Each logical entity of the event of transference is associated with a specific semantic function (agent, theme, source, and goal). A change in functionality occurs when the conceptualization attributes to the entity toward which the theme moves (goal) the function of the theme’s abiding locale at the termination of transference. This entity then functions as a semantic locative (the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs). The change in functionality from goal to locative (G>L) produces for verbs a primary usage of transference that differs from transference to a goal only in this feature. The interpretation and translation of verbs with usages having a required locative is difficult in English because English grammar prohibits verbs whose most frequent usage is transference to a goal from grammaticalizing parallel usages of transference terminating in a locative. In order to maintain the same translation of the verbs in the primary usages (goal and locative), the translations introduce “[terminating]” before the required locative complement.

G	κατήγαγον τὸν Ἰωσήφ εἰς Αἴγυπτον (Gen 37:28) They brought Joseph down to Egypt.
G>L	ἐν τοῖς ὀστέοις μου κατήγαγεν αὐτό (Lam 1:13) He brought it down [terminating] in my bones.

Note that the literal translation of Lam 1:13, “He brought it down in my bones,” has the interpretation that “he” is located in “my bones” during his action of bringing down.

Permissible Complement Omission

Greek grammar permits the omission of nonsubject required complements in three circumstances.

Nonsubject required complements can be omitted whenever they have a definite referent that is retrievable from the previous or immediately following context. Such definite null complements are bracketed and labeled DNC in the following examples with a DNC theme and a DNC goal.

ἤχμαλώτευσεν ἐξ αὐτῶν αἰχμαλωσίαν πολλήν καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς Δαμασκόν (2 Chr 28:5)

He led captive from them a great hoard and led [the hoard (DNC)] to Damascus.

ἀδελφή, ἐτοίμασον τὸ ἕτερον ταμιεῖον καὶ εἰσάγαγε αὐτήν (Tob 7:15)

Daughter, prepare the other chamber and bring her [into the other chamber (DNC)].

Greek grammar also permits the required theme complement of verbs with usages of transference to be null, even when the context provides no retrievable referent. When this occurs, the null theme complement has the indefinite but circumscribed interpretation, “people” or “human beings.” These indefinite null complements, which appear in passages of similar content, are bracketed and labeled INC in the following occurrences of the INC theme.

κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, κατὰγει εἰς ᾅδου καὶ ἀνάγει (Ode 3:6)

The Lord puts to death and gives life, he brings down [human beings (INC)] into Hades and brings up [human beings (INC)] [from Hades (DNC)].

κατάγεις εἰς πύλας ᾅδου καὶ ἀνάγεις (Wis 16:13)

You bring [human beings (INC)] to the gates of Hades and bring up [human beings (INC)] [from the gates of Hades (DNC)].

Passivization, which reduces an agent argument to nonsubject status and raises the second argument as verbal subject, permits omission of the agent complement even when it cannot be retrieved from the context. In such cases, the agent has the interpretation, “by someone.”

πᾶν, ὃ ἐὰν ἐπαχθῇ σοι, δέξαι (Sir 2:4)

Accept everything that may be brought upon you [by someone].

προσαχθήσεται πρὸς τὸν ἱερέα (Lev 14:2)

He shall be brought [by someone] to the priest.

Usages of Transference

Eighteen of the verbs grammaticalize four usages of transference: ἄγω (bring, lead), ἀνάγω (bring up, lead up), ἀπάγω (bring away, lead away), διάγω (lead through, pass through), διεξάγω (bring through), εἰσάγω (bring [to], lead [to]), ἐξάγω (bring out, lead out), ἐπάγω (bring [on], lead [on]), ἐπανάγω (bring [on], return), ἐπισυνάγω (bring ... together, gather), κατάγω (bring down, lead down), μετάγω (direct), παράγω (bring), περιάγω (bring around, lead around), προάγω (bring forth, lead forth), προσάγω (bring forward, present), συνάγω (bring ... together, gather), and συναπάγω (lead off). With these usages, the verbs assume the perspective in which the source and agent initially are coincident/proximate (S=A). The verbs license the agent as first complement, the theme as second complement, and the local argument (goal, locative, or source) as third complement. The usages differ in focus (primary or secondary usages) subject affectedness (active or middle base forms) and the functionality of the goal (goal or locative). The conventions for translating locative and middle usages permit the use of the same English verbs to translate all usages of transference.

Usage 1: Primary Active Transference to a Goal

All eighteen verbs that grammaticalize transference occur with the primary active usage of transference to a goal: ἄγω, ἀνάγω, ἀπάγω, διάγω, διεξάγω, εἰσάγω, ἐξάγω, ἐπάγω, ἐπανάγω, ἐπισυνάγω, κατάγω, μετάγω, παράγω, περιάγω, προάγω, προσάγω, συνάγω, and συναπάγω. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the agent and source are coincident/proximate (S=A), a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), an unaffected subject (active base forms), and no change in the functionality of the goal.

When the theme is realized, it appears in all but two occurrences as an accusative case noun phrase (N+acc).

συνάγουσιν τοὺς σατράπας τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πρὸς αὐτοὺς (1 Sam 5:8)

They bring [together] the satraps of the Philistines to them.

In the remaining two occurrences, *εἰσάγω* and *ἄγω* license a theme with a partitive sense (some of) using a genitive case noun phrase (N+gen) and an *ἐκ* prepositional phrase (P/ἐκ) respectively.

οὐ γὰρ εἰσήχθη τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον (Lev 10:18)
For some of its blood was not brought into the sanctuary.

εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Αβιεςδρι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχιευνούχῳ ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν μεγιστάνων τοῦ Ἰσραηλ (Dan 1:3)
The king told Ashpenaz his chief official to bring to him some of the sons of the nobles of Israel.

Eight of the verbs (*ἄγω*, *ἀνάγω*, *ἀπάγω*, *εἰσάγω*, *ἐπάγω*, *κατάγω*, *προσάγω*, *συνάγω*) occur with a DNC theme, and *κατάγω* occurs with an INC theme.

ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα οὐκ ἐξωογόνησεν τοῦ εἰσαγαγεῖν εἰς Γεθ (1 Sam 27:11)
He did not keep alive a man or woman to bring [them] to Gath.

ὁδοὶ ἄδου ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς κατάγουσαι εἰς τὰ ταμειῖα τοῦ θανάτου (Prov 7:27)
Her house is the ways of Hades leading [human beings] down to the chambers of death.

The goal is realized by one noun phrase, ten prepositional phrases, and six adverbs. The sole noun phrase realization (N+) occurs in the dative (N+dat).

προσάξει ἐν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν δώρων αὐτοῦ ἀφαίρεμα κυρίῳ (Lev 7:14)
He will offer one portion of all his gifts to [the] Lord.

The prepositional phrase realizations (P/) are introduced by *εἰς* (to, into), *ἔμπροσθεν* (before, in front of), *ἐναντι* (before), *ἐναντίον* (before), *ἐνώπιον* (before, in front of), *ἐξ ἐναντίας* ([to] opposite), *ἐξω* (out [to]), *ἐπὶ* with an accusative object (onto, upon), *πρός* with an accusative object (to), and *ὑπό* with an accusative object ([to] under).

ἠγάγosan αὐτὴν οἱ θεράποντες Ολοφέρνηου εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν (Jdt 12:5)

The servants of Holophernes brought her into the tent.

ἀπάξω ὑμᾶς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα (2 Kgs 6:19a)

I will lead you to the man.

The adverbial realizations (A/) are ἐκεῖ (there), ἐνταῦθα (here), ἔξω (out, outside), ἔξωθεν (outside), οὗ (where), ποῦ (where), and ὧδε (here).

εἰσήγαγέν με ἐκεῖ (Ezek 40:3)

He brought me there.

ἐξήγαγεν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔξω (Gen 15:5)

He led him out.

The DNC goal occurs with ἄγω, ἀνάγω, εἰσάγω, ἐξάγω, ἐπάγω, ἐπανάγω, ἐπισυνάγω, κατάγω, παράγω, προάγω, προσάγω, συνάγω, and συναπάγω.

εἰσήγαγεν αὐτόν (1 Sam 16:12)

He brought him [to Samuel, cf. 16:11].

Usage 2: Primary Middle Transference to a Goal

Three verbs grammaticalize the primary middle usage of transference to a goal: ἀπάγω, ἐπάγω, and προσάγω. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the agent and source are coincident/proximate (S=A), a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), an externally affected subject (middle base forms), and no change in the functionality of the goal. The translations signal external affectedness by introducing “[with affect]” after the first complement.

The realization of the theme for the three verbs consistently is N+acc.

οὓς ἐξελέξατο ἑαυτῷ, προσηγάγετο πρὸς ἑαυτόν (Num 16:5b)

He [with affect] brought to himself the ones whom he [with affect] chose.

The noun phrase realization of the goal is N+dat with ἐπάγω and προσάγω.

τί ἐπάξεται ἡμῖν ὁ παντοκράτωρ (Job 22:17)

What will the Almighty [with affect] bring onto us?

The prepositional phrase realization of the goal is P/πρός [+acc] (to) with ἐπάγω and προσάγω.

οὐκ ἐπάξονται πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἁμαρτίαν (Exod 28:43)

They [with affect] will not bring sin onto themselves.

The DNC goal occurs with all three verbs.

προσηγάγετό σε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου υἱοὺς Λευι μετὰ σοῦ
(Num 16:10)

He [with affect] brought you and all of your brothers [the] sons of Levi [to himself, cf. 16:5 above].

Usage 3: Primary Active Transference Terminating in a Locative

Five verbs grammaticalize the primary active usage of transference terminating in a locative: ἄγω, ἀπάγω, διάγω, κατάγω, and συνάγω. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the agent and source are coincident/proximate (S=A), a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), an unaffected subject (active base forms), and a change in the functionality of the goal to a locative (G>L). The translations introduce “[terminating]” to highlight the locative function of the local required complement.

The five verbs consistently realize the theme by N+acc and the locative by a prepositional phrase: P/ἐν (in), P/ἐπὶ [+dat] (on), P/ἐπὶ [+gen] (on), P/κύκλῳ (on the circle of, around), P/παρά (with), and P/πρός (at, at the threshold of).

διῆγεν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐν πυρί (2 Kgs 21:6)

I led their sons through [terminating] in fire.

συνῆξα αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν ἐρχόμενον πρὸς τὸν Εὐι (Ezra 8:15)

I brought them together [terminating] at the river coming to Ahava.

Usage 4: Secondary Active Transference from a Source

Nine verbs grammaticalize the secondary active usage of transference from a source: ἄγω, ἀνάγω, ἀπάγω, ἐξάγω, ἐπισυνάγω, κατάγω, παράγω,

προσάγω, and συνάγω. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the agent and source are coincident/proximate (S=A), a focus on only the source segment of the event (secondary usage), an unaffected subject (active base forms), and no retrievable goal.

The theme is realized by N+acc or is DNC or INC. The source receives realization by a noun phrase, prepositional phrases, and adverbs. The noun phrase realization, which occurs only with ἐξάγω, is N+gen.

τί ἐξάγομεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ ἡδίστου βίου (4 Macc 8:23)

Why do we bring ourselves away from this very pleasant life?

The prepositional phrase realizations of the source are P/ἀπό (from, away from), P/ἐκ (out of, from), P/ἔσωθεν (from inside), and P/παρά [+gen] (from before).

ἀνήγαγεν ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου (Josh 24:17)

He brought you and your ancestors up out of Egypt.

ἐξαγάγετε αὐτήν ἔσωθεν τῶν σαδηρωθ (2 Kgs 11:15)

Lead her out from within the saderoth.

The adverb realizations of the source are A/ἐκεῖθεν (from there), A/ἐντεῦθεν (from within), A/ἔξωθεν (from outside), A/κυκλόθεν (from all around), A/μακρόθεν (from afar), and A/ὅθεν (from where).

ἐξήγαγέν σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐκεῖθεν ἐν χειρὶ κραταιᾷ (Deut 5:15)

The Lord your God brought you from there with a mighty hand.

μή με ἀναγάγῃς ἐντεῦθεν (Exod 33:15)

May you not bring us up from here.

The DNC source occurs with ἄγω and ἀνάγω.

ἐρῶ τῷ βορρᾷ Ἄγε, καὶ τῷ λιβί Μὴ κώλυε· ἄγε τοὺς υἱοὺς μου ἀπὸ γῆς πόρρωθεν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας μου ἀπ' ἄκρων τῆς γῆς (Isa 43:6)

I will say to the north, "Bring [my sons and daughters] [from their far places]," and to the west, "Do not prevent [them]; bring my sons from a land far off and my daughters from outermost parts of the earth."

Usages of Motion

The event of motion logically includes three entities, a theme, a source, and a goal; and verbs grammaticalize this event with usages of both motion and state. The theme consistently functions as first (subject) complement, and the verbs do not admit to passivization because the theme is the only complement that can function as the verbal subject.

Eight verbs grammaticalize the event of motion with five usages of motion: *ἄγω*, *ἐξάγω*, *ἐπανάγω*, *παράγω*, *περίαγω*, *προάγω*, *προσάγω*, and *συνάγω*. With these usages, the verbs have the perspective either that the theme and source are coincident/proximate ($S=\Theta$) or that the goal and theme are coincident/codirectional ($G=\Theta$). With the former perspective, ($S=\Theta$), the verbs use active base forms; and, with the latter perspective ($G=\Theta$), the verbs use passive base forms. The verbs exhibit three categories of focus: on both segments of the event (primary usages); only on the segment containing the coincident/proximate source or coincident/codirectional goal (secondary usage); and only on the initial moment of motion at which the source and theme are strictly coincident (tertiary usage). The goal may function as a locative ($G>L$) in primary and secondary passive usages.

The English verbs that best translate the Greek verbs with usages of transference in general do not also designate motion. To address this, the discussion proposes for the verbs with active usages of motion translations using “go,” the basic English verb of motion with the theme and source coincident/proximate, and introduces additional translations where appropriate: *ἄγω* (go), *ἐξάγω* (go forth, go away), *ἐπανάγω* (go on up, return), *παράγω* (go along, pass by), *περίαγω* (go around), *προάγω* (go [forth], advance), and *προσάγω* (go [forth]). The discussion proposes for the verbs with passive usages translations using “come,” the basic English verb of motion with the theme and goal coincident/codirectional: *προάγω* (come [forth]) and *συνάγω* (come together).

Two verbs grammaticalize the event motion with a usage of state. With this usage, the verbs have the perspective that the theme and goal are coincident, focus only on the moment when motion of the theme ceases and the theme and goal are strictly coincident (tertiary usage), use passive base forms, and have a goal that functions as a locative ($G>L$), the abiding locale of the theme at the termination of motion. Since English verbs of motion do not also designate state, the discussion proposes translations for the Greek verbs that use “end up” and “be” plus an adverb: *προάγω* (end up/be ahead) and *συνάγω* (end up/be together).

Usage 5: Primary Active Motion to a Goal

Five verbs grammaticalize the primary active usage of motion to a goal: ἐπανάγω, παράγω, περιάγω, προάγω, and προσάγω. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the theme and source are coincident/proximate (active base forms), a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), and no change in the functionality of the goal.

The N+dat realization of the goal occurs only with προσάγω.

τίς ἐλεήσει ... πάντας τοὺς προσάγοντας θηρίους (Sir 12:13)
Who will pity ... all those going forth to wild animals?

The prepositional phrase realizations of the goal are P/ἐγγύς ([to] near), P/εἰς (to, into), P/ένώπιον ([to] before), P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (to, onto), P/ἕως (to), P/κατά [+acc] (down to), and P/πρός [+acc] (to).

ἐπάναγε ἐπὶ ὕψιστον (Sir 17:26)
Return to the Most High!

ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ παντὶ τῷ τῆς δυνάμεως φρυάγματι
κατὰ τὸν ἵππόδρομον παρήγεν (3 Macc 6:16)
The king with the wild animals and all the snorting of the force
was passing down to the hippodrome.

The only adverbial goal, A/ὧδε ([to] here, to this place), occurs with προσάγω.

προσαγάγετε ὧδε (Josh 3:9)
Go forth to this place!

The DNC goal occurs with ἐξάγω, παράγω, προάγω, and προσάγω.

οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Νικάνορα μετὰ σαλπίγγων καὶ παιάνων προσῆγον
(2 Macc 15:25)
Those around Nicanor were going forth [to Judas and his troops,
cf. 15:26] with trumpets and battle cries.

Usage 6: Tertiary Active Motion from a Source

Only ἄγω grammaticalizes the tertiary active usage of motion from a source. With this usage the verb has the perspective in which the theme and source are strictly coincident (active base forms), a focus on only the initial moment of motion (tertiary usage), and an irretrievable goal. The verb omits the source, which is strictly coincident with the theme at the initial moment of motion, and raises only the theme as a complement.¹ To assist in interpretation, the translation introduces within double brackets the strictly coincident and so omitted complements.

εἶπεν πρὸς τὸ παιδάριον αὐτῆς Ἄγε πορεύου (2 Kgs 4:24)
She said to her servant, “Go [[from where you are]], go forth!”

Usage 7: Primary Passive Motion from a Source

Only συνάγω grammaticalizes the primary passive usage of motion from a source. With this usage the verb has the perspective in which the theme and goal are coincident/codirectional (passive base forms), a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), and no change in the functionality of the goal.

The realizations of the source are P/ἀπό (from, away from) and P/ἐκ (from, out of).

συνήχθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκκλησία πολλή σφόδρα (Ezra 10:1)
A very great assembly came together to him from Israel.

οἱ υἱοὶ Ἀμμων συνήχθησαν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν (1 Chr 19:7)
The sons of Ammon came together from their towns.

The source also is DNC.

1. This usage, which is restricted to verbs that also grammaticalize transference (X transfers Y to/from Z), receives further consideration in Paul L. Danove, *A Grammatical and Exegetical Study of New Testament Verbs of Transference: A Case Frame Guide to Interpretation and Translation*, Studies in New Testament Greek 13; LNTS 329 (London: T&T Clark, 2009) 11–12, 118–19.

οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν πόλεσιν αὐτῶν—καὶ συνήχθη ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἄνθρωπος εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ (Ezra 3:1)

The people of Israel were in their towns—and the people came together as one man to Jerusalem [from their towns].

Usage 8: Secondary Passive Motion to a Goal

The realizations of the goal are P/εἰς (to, into), P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (to, onto), P/ἕως (to), and P/πρός [+acc] (to).

προήχθημεν καὶ εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα (3 Macc 3:16)

We also came forth to Jerusalem.

συνήχθησαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ μαστιγες (Ps 34:15)

Afflictions came together onto me.

The DNC goal occurs with both verbs.

οὗτος προαχθεὶς παραχρῆμα μαστιγωθείς ἀνετράπη τοῦ θράους (2 Macc 5:18)

Coming forth [to the treasury, cf. 5:18a], immediately being whipped, he was turned back from the audacity.

Usage 9: Secondary Passive Motion Terminating in a Locative

Only συνάγω grammaticalizes the secondary passive usage of motion terminating in a locative. With this usage the verb has the perspective in which the theme and goal are coincident/codirectional (passive base forms), a focus only on the segment containing the goal (secondary usage), an irretrievable source, and the goal functioning as a locative (G>L). The translations introduce “[terminating]” to highlight the locative function of the local required complement.

The propositional phrase realization of the locative is P/μετά [+gen] (with).

ἄρχοντες λαῶν συνήχθησαν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Ἀβραάμ (Ps 46:10)

The leaders of the people come together [terminating] with the God of Abraham.

The adverb realization of the locative is A/ἐκεῖ (there).

συνήγοντο ἐκεῖ πάντα τὰ ποίμνια (Gen 29:3)
All the flocks came together [terminating] there.

The locative never is DNC.

Usage 10: Tertiary Passive State

Two verbs, *προάγω* and *συνάγω*, grammaticalize the tertiary passive usage of state. With this usage the verbs have the perspective in which the theme and goal are strictly coincident (passive base forms), a focus on only the termination of motion when the theme is stationary (tertiary usage), an irretrievable source, and a change in the functionality of the goal to a locative (G>L). The verb omits the strictly coincident locative, which can be retrieved from the theme at the termination of motion, and raises only the theme as a complement.

τὴν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη (Prov 6:8c)
Honoring wisdom, [the ant] ends up ahead.

συνήχθησαν δὲ πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες (Gen 37:35)
All his sons and daughters were together.

Usages of Effect

Thirteen verbs grammaticalize the event of effect (agent, patient) with two usages of effect: *ἄγω* (lead, bring), *ἀνάγω* (lead up), *ἀπάγω* (lead away, arrest), *ἀποσυνάγω* (lead off, remove), *διάγω* (lead through), *εἰσάγω* (lead in), *ἐξάγω* (lead out), *κατάγω* (lead down, cause), *παράγω* (lead along, lead ... past), *περιάγω* (lead around), *προάγω* (lead ahead, advance), *συνάγω* (lead together, gather), and *ὑπάγω* (lead off). The verbs raise both the agent and patient as arguments, signal when the agent is unaffected (active) and externally affected (middle), and admit to passivization, insofar as the patient may function as subject. Since the conceptualization is concerned only with the action of the agent on the patient, the remaining features of the conceptualization of transference and motion (perspective, focus, and functionality of the goal) do not apply. As the proposed translations of the Greek verbs indicate, English verbs of transference also may designate effect, although

they frequently combine with an adverb in the same form as the preposition most frequently licensed by the verbs when designating transference.

Usage 11: Active Effect

All thirteen verbs grammaticalize the active usage of effect: ἄγω, ἀνάγω, ἀπάγω, ἀποσυνάγω, διάγω, εἰσάγω, ἐξάγω, κατάγω, παράγω, περιάγω, προάγω, συνάγω, and ὑπάγω. With this usage the agent is unaffected (active).

All thirteen verbs occur with the N+acc patient.

παρήγαγεν Ἰεσσαὶ τὸν Σαμα (1 Sam 16:9)
Jesse led Shammah past.

ὁ σοφὸς ἐν λόγοις προάξει ἑαυτόν (Sir 20:27)
The wise one will lead himself forward/will advance himself by
means of words.

The relative clause (V+δ) realization of the patient occurs with ἀνάγω.

ἀνάγαγέ μοι ὃν ἐὰν εἴπω σοι (1 Sam 28:8)

Bring up for me whomever I say to you.

The prepositional phrase realizations of the patient are P/ἀπό (some of) with ἄγω and συνάγω and P/εἰς (upwards of) with συνάγω.

ἄξεις ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν
ἱερέων (Jer 19:1)
You will bring some of the elders of the people and some of the
elders of the priests.

συνήγαγον εἰς ἑξακισχιλίους (2 Macc 8:1)
They gathered upwards of six thousand.

The DNC patient occurs with ἄγω, ἀνάγω, διάγω, εἰσάγω, ἐξάγω, κατάγω, and συνάγω.

εἰσαγαγὼν καταφύτευσον αὐτοὺς εἰς ὄρος κληρονομίας σου (Ode
1:17)

Bringing [them] in, you planted them onto a mountain of your inheritance.

Usage 12: Middle Effect

Only ἄγω (lead [in marriage], marry) grammaticalizes the middle usage of effect. The agent is affected by the action (middle base forms). The affectedness of the agent is based on the fact that the middle usage is reserved for “leading [someone] in marriage” or “making [someone] a bride,” which necessarily changes the status of the man. The translation signals the external affectedness by introducing “[with affect]” after the first complement. The consistent realization of the patient is N+acc.

ἔκρινα τοίνυν ταύτην ἀγαγέσθαι (Wis 8:9)

Therefore, I determined to [with affect] lead her in marriage for a life together.

Usages of Other Events

Individual verbs grammaticalize the remaining four events. The following discussions introduce the events and then provide descriptions of the usages in the usual fashion.

Usage 13: Active Relative Motion to a Goal

The event of relative motion relates four entities that function as a theme, a source, a goal, and a locative. According to the conceptualization of relative motion, a theme moves from a source to a goal while maintaining a fixed or constant relationship with respect to another entity (locative). Since the event contains a source and a goal, perspective, focus, and functionality of the goal apply.

With the active usage of relative motion to a goal, ἀντιπαράγω (go along opposite) has the perspective that the theme and source initially are coincident/proximate ($S=\Theta$), raises the theme, locative, and goal as arguments, uses active base forms, has a focus on both segments of the event (primary usage), and presents no change in the functionality of the goal.

In the only occurrence of this usage in the LXX, the realization of the locative is N+dat and the realization of the goal is P/εἰς (to).

Σιμων καὶ ἡ παρεμβολὴ αὐτοῦ ἀντιπαρήγεν αὐτῷ εἰς πάντα τόπον, οὗ
 ἂν ἐπορεύετο (1 Macc 13:20)

Simon and his force went along opposite him to every place wherever he went.

Usage 14: Active Description

The event of description relates three entities that function as an agent, a patient, and a current (the present state of an entity). According to the conceptualization of this event, the agent acts on a patient that has a concurrent characteristic (current). The verb raises all three entities as arguments and assumes an unaffected agent (active base forms).

Only ἄγω (lead as, conduct as) grammaticalizes the active usage of description.

The realization of the patient is N+acc and the realization of the current is N+acc.

ἔγον αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἀναπαύσεως μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐφροσύνης (Esth 9:17)

They conducted it [the day] as a day of rest with joy and merriment.

αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῆς αἰχμάλωτοι ἀχθήσονται (Ezek 30:18)

Her daughters will be led as captives.

Usage 15: Active Separation from a Source

The event of separation relates three entities that function as an agent, a patient, and a source. According to the conceptualization of this event, the agent acts on the patient to separate it from its composition with another entity (source). The verb with this usage raises all three entities as arguments and assumes an unaffected agent (active base forms).

Only ἀποσυνάγω (lead away/separate [from]) grammaticalizes the active usage of Separation in three similar statements within 2 Kgs 5:3–7. The realization of the patient is N+acc and the realization of the source is P/ἀπό (from).

τότε ἀποσυνάξει αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς λέπρας αὐτοῦ (2 Kgs 5:3)

Then he will separate him from his leprosy.

Usage 16: Active Comparison

The event of comparison relates two entities that function as a patient and a comparative (the entity or event compared to another entity or event). According to the conceptualization of this event, the patient is in a position or status above another entity to which it is compared (comparative). The verb with this usage raises both entities as arguments and assumes that the patient is unaffected by the comparison (active base forms). Since the event lacks a goal and so cannot be resolved into segments, perspective, focus, and functionality of the goal do not apply.

Only ὑπεράγω (be superior [to], be higher [than]) grammaticalizes the active usage of comparison. The realizations of the comparative are N+acc and P/ὑπέρ [+acc] (than, to).

ἦν ὑπεράγον πάντα τὰ θηρία (1 Macc 6:43)
It was higher than all the beasts.

ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνθρώπου ὑπεράγει (Sir 36:22)
[A woman's beauty] is higher than every desire of a man.

The comparative also is INC in one occurrence.

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου γίνου ὑπεράγων (Sir 33:23)
Be superior in all your works.

Conclusion

This essay resolved the occurrences of ἄγω and its twenty compounds in the LXX into sixteen usages that grammaticalize seven events. The discussion described the features of the conceptualization of the event associated with each usage, specified the syntactic, semantic, and lexical properties of all required verbal complements, and provided illustrations and translations of the verbs with the usages.

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Die Wortgruppe Glaube/Treue in der Septuaginta und bei Philon von Alexandria

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Abstract: The study is devoted to the word group πίστις in the Septuagint and in Philo. The noun πίστις, like the Hebrew אֱמוּנָה, encompasses both an expectation of a counterpart as well as an attitude that justifies such expectation. This is why the word group πίστις, which rarely denotes the God-relationship in Greek literature, could become the central concept of the relationship between God and man in the Septuagint as well as in the New Testament. The profane use of the word group is quite present in the history books and wisdom literature, but recedes in the prophetic literature. Numbers 14:11 has already been received several times within the biblical writings. The reference to the Torah becomes increasingly visible especially in the evidence for the adjective πιστός. In Philo of Alexandria, Gen 15:6 refers to Abraham's initial knowledge of God as well as to his abiding trust in God (*Virt.* 217, among others). Other important passages are *Abr.* 268 (faith is a human disposition related to God and therefore stable), *Leg.* 3.204 (human πίστις is correspondence to God being πιστός himself), and *Ebr.* 213 (faith is assent to life-enhancing doctrines).

Dass die theologische Relevanz des Themas „Glauben“ eine lexikalische Studie zur Wortgruppe πίστις rechtfertigt, steht außer Zweifel. Neutestamentliche wie zeitgleiche jüdische Schriften sind von ihrer Verwendung in der Septuaginta beeinflusst—wie, wird zu zeigen sein. Zunächst sei der Blick auf die Fragestellungen und die Methode dieses Beitrages gelenkt. An Fragen seien genannt:

1. Wie ist es möglich, dass die Wortgruppe πιστ- in der Septuaginta und in der von ihr abhängigen Literatur zu einem Zentralbegriff für das Gottesverhältnis werden kann, zu einem Begriff, der offen-

bar ohne weitere Erläuterung das Wesen dieses Verhältnisses summarisch zu erfassen vermag?

2. Lässt sich bei der Wortgruppe der Einfluss des anderweitig sichtbaren Phänomens der zunehmenden Thora-Zentrierung¹ nachweisen?

Die Methode besteht, wie kaum anders zu erwarten, in Kontextualisierung, Bestimmung semantischer Analogie- und Oppositionsbegriffe und Differenzierung nach den Hauptbegriffen, jeweils in Unterscheidung zwischen profanem und theologischem Gebrauch, durch die vier Schriftengruppen Pentateuch, Geschichtswerke, Weisheitsliteratur und prophetische Literatur hindurch.

1. Pagane Gräzität

Der Glaube an die Existenz von Göttern wird in der klassischen Gräzität nicht selten mit dem Verbum νομίζειν formuliert.² Die Wortgruppe πίστις ist nur gelegentlich Ausdruck eines religiösen Verhältnisses zu den Göttern, am ehesten bei den Tragikern.³ Bei Platon begegnet πιστεύειν, negativ gewendet, in der antisophistischen Polemik, nur selten positiv für einen positiven Bezug zu den Göttern.⁴ Nicht viel mehr ist bei nachklassischen hellenistischen Autoren zu holen.⁵ Markante theologische Texte wie der Zeushymnus des Kleantes (SVF 1.537) oder auch die Beschreibung des

1. Dazu vgl. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, MJS 9 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 237; Ludger Schenker-Schönberger, "Weisheit und Gottesfurcht: Ihr Verhältnis zueinander in den weisheitlichen Schriften nach MT und LXX," in *Die Septuaginta—Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*, hrsg. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser und Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 286 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 121; Benjamin G. Wright, "Torah and Sapiential Pedagogy in the Book of Ben Sira," in *Wisdom and Torah: The Reception of "Torah" in the Wisdom Literature of the Second Temple Period*, hrsg. Bernd U. Schipper und D. Andrew Teeter, JSJSup 163 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 157–86. Voraussetzungen dazu sind schon in den Chronikbüchern gegeben, vgl. Isaac Kalimi, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Chronisten: Literarisch-historiographische Abweichungen der Chronik von ihren Paralleltextrn in den Samuel- und Königsbüchern*, BZAW 226 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1995).

2. Platon, *Euthyphr.* 3b; Aischylos, *Pers.* 497–498; Aristophanes, *Nub.* 819.

3. Sophokles, *Oed. tyr.* 646.1445; *Phil.* 374.

4. Negativ: Bei Platon, *Gorg.* 454e, wird die πίστις ... ἄνευ τοῦ εἰδέναι der ἐπιστήμη gegenübergestellt. Positiv: Platon, *Leg.* 12.966d. Zu beachten ist auch das verneinte ἀπιστέω bei Platon, *Tim.* 40e; Euripides, *Ion* 557.

5. Gerhard Barth, "Pistis in hellenistischer Religiosität," *ZNW* 73 (1982): 110–26.

Verhältnisses des stoischen Weisen zu den Göttern bei Diogenes Laertios *Vit.* 7,119.124 kommen ohne die Wortgruppe aus.⁶ Deren Relevanz resultiert aus einem anderen Tatbestand.

2. Septuaginta

Die Wurzel מנא und ihre Derivate werden in der Septuaginta⁷ in hoher Konsistenz⁸ durch Derivate der Wortgruppe πιστ-⁹ wiedergegeben¹⁰ (nur im Psalter liegen die Verhältnisse anders, dazu s.u.). Möglich ist dies dadurch, dass beide Äquivalente passivisch wie aktivisch verwendet werden, d.h. sowohl das bezeichnen, was man erfährt, erwarten kann und worum man sich mühen muss, als auch das Verhalten, was man zeitigen muss, um eine entsprechende Erwartungshaltung überhaupt zu rechtfertigen.¹¹ Alternative Begriffe, die dieses Beides enthalten, das Passivische und

6. Dasselbe gilt, wenn Polybios den Vorzug des römischen Gemeinwesens formuliert, das der steten Bindung an die Götter seinen weltgeschichtlichen Aufstieg verdankt. Verwendet werden δεισιδαιμονία (Polybios, *Hist.* 6,56,7) und ἐννοίαι (Polybios, *Hist.* 6,56,12), aber nicht πίστις κτλ.—Bei SVF 3.147 frag. 548, wo das ἀπιστεῖν auf einer ψεῦδος ὑπόληψις, die πίστις auf einer κατάληψις ἰσχυρή beruht, ist ein theologischer Bezug denkbar, aber nicht nachweisbar.

7. Vgl. dazu jetzt umfassend Frank Ueberschaer, "Πίστις in der Septuaginta, oder: Der Glaube der Siebzig: Von was spricht die Septuaginta, wenn sie von πίστις schreibt?," in *Glaube: Das Verständnis des Glaubens im frühen Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt*, hrsg. Jörg Frey et al., WUNT 373 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 79–107.

8. Auf analoge Konsistenz bei der Wiedergabe von מנא durch ἀλήθεια und von דקדא durch δικαιοσύνη verweist Madeleine Wieger, "Le vocabulaire de la Septante dans le Nouveau Testament," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, hrsg. Eberhard Bons und Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 447.

9. Die Alpha-Privativa-Begriffe ἀπιστεῖν, ἀπιστία und ἄπιστος erscheinen nicht in den eigentlichen Übersetzungen.

10. Ausnahmen sind die Wiedergabe von מנא Ni. durch ἀκριβής in Sir 35(32),3, durch διαμένειν in Sir 44,11. In diesen Fällen handelt es sich wohl um kontextbedingte Übersetzungen. Ob ἔμμενος in Sir 30,17 מנא Ni. oder עמר wiedergibt, ist unsicher. In Prov 26,25 wird מנא Hi. durch πείθειν wiedergegeben. In Cant 7,2 führt τεχνίτης auf das Wort מנא (selbständiger Künstler, Handwerker). Zu den Ausnahmen beim Verbum πιστοῦν s.u. Dass in Ex 17,12 מונוה mit στηρίζει wiedergegeben wird, mag darin begründet sein, dass man den auf Personen oder auf Abstracta bezogenen Begriff πιστός nicht auf Concreta anwenden wollte.

11. Der diesbezügliche griechische Befund ist aufgearbeitet bei Ueberschaer, "Πίστις," 96–102.

das Aktivische, sind im Griechischen nicht gegeben. Die Frage, warum die Wortgruppe πιστ- zu einem der Zentralbegriffe für das Gottesverhältnis werden konnte, ist also philologisch zu beantworten, nicht speziell theologisch;¹² der theologische Zugewinn¹³ liegt nicht darin begründet, dass die Wortgruppe Dimensionen des Hebräischen aufnimmt, die im Griechischen nicht von Haus aus gegeben oder nur selten anzutreffen sind,¹⁴ sondern darin, dass der Gottesbezug auch sonst eine immer größere Rolle spielt in antiker jüdischer Literatur. Beim Verbum πιστεύειν ist der Regelfall die Konstruktion mit Dativ¹⁵ oder mit A.c.I. (nur einmal, in 4 Makk 7,19 mit ὅτι), eine Konstruktion mit ἐπὶ oder ἐν findet sich selten;¹⁶ die Verbindung πιστεύειν εἰς habe ich in der Septuaginta nicht gefunden. Die aktiven Verbformen geben מֵאָה Hi., die wenigen passiven Formen אֶמֶן Ni. wieder. Das Verbum πιστοῦν ist, in den Übersetzungsteilen der Septuaginta im Regelfall¹⁷ im Passiv gebraucht, die Wiedergabe von אֶמֶן Ni.

2.1. Die Wortgruppe im Pentateuch

In der Pentateuch-Septuaginta begegnet die Wortfamilie selten. Für das Substantiv ist nur Dtn 32,20 zu nennen, innerhalb einer Gerichtsankündigung Gottes für eine Generation, in der keine πίστις vorhanden ist. Für das Adjektiv πιστός finden sich im Pentateuch vier Belege. In Dtn 28,59 steht es von langanhaltenden Krankheiten, mit denen Gott die Ungehorsamen zu strafen droht.¹⁸ In Num 12,7 begründet es Moses Sonderstellung

12. Auch nach Ueberschaer, "Πίστις," 103, sind מֵאָה und πιστός letztlich „semantisch synonym.“

13. Ihn betont John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 51.

14. Vgl. etwa die Begriffe δόξα oder ψυχή.

15. Differenzen der hebräischen Konstruktion mit ל oder ב werden im Griechischen nicht abgebildet (Ueberschaer, "Πίστις," 88).

16. Ersteres Sap 12,2; letzteres Ps 77(78),22; Jer 12,6.

17. Die drei Ausnahmen, wo das Verbum aktivisch gebraucht wird, resultieren jeweils aus Verschreibungen. 2Reg 7,25 (hebr. Text הקם, = קום Hi.) dürfte eine Angleichung an 1Chr 17,23 (אֶמֶן Ni.) darstellen, die auch als Rückbezug zu 2Reg 7,16 verständlich ist; in der Vorlage von 3Reg 1,36 dürfte אֶמֶר zu אֶמֶן verschrieben sein, in der Vorlage zu 1Chr 17,14 עֲמַד Hi. zu אֶמֶן.

18. Vgl. Melvin K. H. Peters, "Deuteronomion," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, hrsg. Albert Pietersma und Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 167.

gegenüber anderen Propheten wie im Vergleich zu Mirjam und Aaron. In Dtn 7,9 benennt es eine Eigenschaft Gottes selbst, der *διαθήκην* und *ἔλεος* denen gegenüber bewahrt, die ihn lieben. Auch Dtn 32,4 wird das Adjektiv in Bezug auf Gott verwendet. Etwas reichlicher sind die Belege für das Verbum *πιστεύειν* gesät; neben dem berühmten Gen 15,6 sind innerhalb der Genesis-Septuaginta die profanen Belege Gen 42,20 und Gen 45,26 zu nennen, wo es jeweils darum geht, ob man dem Wort des andren glauben kann oder nicht. Gen 15,6 wie das verneinte Verbum *ἐμπιστεύειν* in Dtn 1,32 mit Gottesbezug. Auch im Exodus-Buch sind die Belege zumeist auf das Wort des Mose bezogen (Ex 4,1.5.8 [*bis*].9.31.), dann aber, in Ex 14,31 im Rahmen einer abschließenden Zusammenfassung für die Reaktion angesichts des Rettungswunders am Schilfmeer, dort als Glaube gegenüber Gott und seinem Knecht Mose aufgefasst. Auch das Wort Gottes an Mose nach Ex 19,9 „dass sie dir in Ewigkeit vertrauen“ ist summierend gemeint. Vorweg summierend steht das verneinte Verbum in der Reaktion Gottes auf das Murren der Israeliten innerhalb der Kundschafter-Episode Num 14,11, koordiniert zu dem Verbum *παροξύνειν*, das den affektiven Effekt dieses Unglaubens benennt. Der Unglaube erscheint angesichts der von Gott getanen *σημεῖα* umso unverständlicher. Ähnlich abstrahierend sind die Belege in Num 20,12; Dtn 9,23; 28,66 (jeweils das verneinte Verbum in einer Gottes- bzw. Moserede). M.E. sind Gen 15,6; Ex 14,31; Num 14,11 und Num 20,12 die Basis dafür, dass später das Verbum *πιστεύειν* die bekannte zentrale Stellung in der Beschreibung des Gottesverhältnisses einnimmt. Das Verbum *πιστοῦν* fehlt in der Pentateuch-Septuaginta.

2.2. Die Wortgruppe in den nachfolgenden Geschichtsbüchern

2.2.1. Die Verben *πιστεύειν*, *ἐμπιστεύειν* und *πιστοῦν*

Eine Anzahl von Stellen enthält das einfache Motiv, dass man dem Wort eines anderen nicht glaubt¹⁹ oder zu Unrecht arglos vertraut.²⁰ Die Zuverlässigkeit Davids in den Augen des Anchous (1Reg 27,12) wird in 1Reg 29,6

19. 3Reg 10,7; 2Chr 9,6; 2 Chr 24,5 v.l.; 1Esdr 4,28. Tob 2,14; Tob 5,2 G II; 1Makk 1,30; 10,46, faktisch auch das Kompositum *ἐμπιστεύω* in Ri 11,20^{LXX.B}; von einem menschlich verständlichen Zweifel steht das verneinte Verbum auch in Tob 10,8 G II, im Munde des Gottesfeindes in 4Makk 8,7.

20. 1Makk 1,30; 7,16; 12,46, in allen drei Fällen mit *ἐμπιστεύειν* formuliert. Subjekte dieses arglosen Vertrauens, das durch die Gegner Lügen gestraft wird, sind

mit den Attributionen εὐθής und ἀγαθός begründet. Das Verbum bezieht sich in profaner Verwendung manchmal darauf, dass ein Beauftragter im Sinne des Auftraggebers handeln wird (1Makk 7,7; 8,16). Manchmal stehen beide Verben auch für „anvertrauen.“²¹

Einen impliziten Gottesbezug enthält 1Reg 3,21. Dort gilt Samuel als zuverlässiger Prophet. In 4Reg 17,14^{Ant} findet sich wieder der abstrahierende Gebrauch des verneinten Verbums mit Gottesbezug; wahrscheinlich ist auf Num 14,11 Bezug genommen. 2Chr 20,20, mit dem wohl als Intensivum gedachten Kompositum ἐμπιστεύειν formuliert, bindet das Aktivische und das Passivische der Wortgruppe aufs Engste zusammen: Wer vertraut, wird Treue erfahren.²² Jdt 14,10 erfasst unter dem Begriff πιστεύειν die Reaktion Achiors auf das, was Gott für Israel getan hatte; die Stelle ist eine der Belege für πιστεύειν in der Sprache der Konversion zum Judentum. Tob 14,4 G II enthält den explizit theologischen Bezugspunkt der Worte des Propheten Nahum über Niniwes bevorstehenden Untergang. Einen impliziten Gottesbezug enthält die Aufforderung Sanheribs an die Israeliten, den Worten ihres Königs nicht zu glauben, da kein Gott und kein Mensch sein Volk vor seiner Macht retten könnten, in 2Chr 32,15; der Leser weiß allerdings, dass Gottes Macht größer ist. Dass Ananias, Azarias und Misael am Glauben festhalten (1Makk 2,59), führt dazu, dass sie aus der Flamme gerettet werden.²³ „Am Glauben festhalten“ steht funktional parallel zu „für die Thora eifern“; der Zentralbegriff πιστεύειν markiert die Thora-Zentrierung.

4Makk 5,25 zufolge begründet der werdende Märtyrer seine Haltung mit dem Glauben, dass Gott die Gesetze gegeben hat. Das Verbum impliziert

jeweils Juden. Indirekt ist dadurch die Charakteristik von Nichtjuden zum Negativen hin verstärkt.

21. 2Makk 3,22; 3Makk 3,21; 4Makk 4,7 (πιστεύειν) sowie, in einem gegebenen, aber nicht engelösten Versprechen 2Makk 7,24, dann ohne Wertung 2Makk 10,13 (jeweils ἐμπιστεύειν).

22. Der Sache nach (aber ohne Verdoppelung des Verbums) zu vergleichen ist 3Makk 2,7, ebenfalls mit ἐμπιστεύειν formuliert. 2Makk 8,13 enthält das Motiv, dass diejenigen, die nicht an die Gerechtigkeit Gottes glauben, auch nicht an der bevorstehenden Schlacht teilnehmen. Das hier ein einziges Mal in den Geschichtsbüchern verwendete Verbum ἀπιστεῖν hat hier jedoch keine grundsätzliche Gottlosigkeit zum Inhalt.

23. Zur Bewahrung aufgrund des Glaubens vgl. auch Dan 6,23^{Theod}. Ein ähnlicher Zusammenhang ist in 2Makk 3,12, wo das Verbum von Menschen steht, die ihr Vertrauen auf die Heiligkeit des Ortes und die Ehrwürdigkeit und Unverletzlichkeit des Tempels setzen.

hier die Annahme eines theologischen Lehrinhaltes. Ein ähnlicher Gebrauch ist für 4Makk 7,19 festzustellen, wo es um den Glauben an das postmortale Leben bei Gott geht, das, wie später in Mk 12,18–27, mit dem Verweis auf die Erzväter begründet wird. Als Zentralbegriff (πιστεύειν mit einfachem Dativ) erscheint der Begriff wieder in 4Makk 7,21.

Das Verbum πιστοῦν begegnet in den Büchern der Königtümer viermal, in den Chronikbüchern fünfmal, zumeist in Gebetstexten, wo es um die Erhaltung des Hauses Davids und des Tempels geht²⁴; jedes Mal ist Gott als logisches Subjekt gedacht. Im zweiten Makkabäerbuch begegnet es zweimal (2Makk 7,24; 12,25) von Nichtjuden, die ihre Bekräftigungen humanen Handelns dann doch nicht einhalten; indirekt trägt dieser Wortgebrauch zu einer generellen negativen Wertung von Nichtjuden bei. 3Makk 4,19 hat das Verbum, im Passiv gebraucht, das sichere Überzeugtwerden des nichtjüdischen Königs zum Inhalt, das letztlich der Rettung der Juden dient.

2.2.2. Das Substantiv πίστις

In den Geschichtsbüchern überwiegt der profane Gebrauch im Sinne von Zuverlässigkeit, Treue, Gewissenhaftigkeit, Loyalität gegenüber dem König.²⁵ In 4Reg 12,16; 22,7 ist das Vertrauen gemeint, dass man von den Arbeitern keine Abrechnung verlangt. Nicht die selbst erwiesene, sondern die gewährte πίστις steht in 1Chr 9,26.31 im Vordergrund, dass nämlich die eigene Zuständigkeit unangefochten bleibt.²⁶ Im Sinne von „Zusicherung“ begegnet das Wort in 3Makk 3,10. Ein theologischer Bezug ist in 1Reg 21,3 gegeben,²⁷ dann erst wieder in 4Makk 15,24, wonach die Mutter der sieben Märtyrer, die später selbst zur Märtyrerin wird, διὰ τὴν πρὸς θεὸν πίστιν alle menschlichen Gefühle angesichts des

24. 3Reg 1,36 (Wunsch Benajas nach Beständigkeit des Königtums Salomos); 2Reg 7,16 par. 1Chr 7,14 (göttliche Zusage); 2Reg 7,25 par. 1Chr 17,23.24^{LXX.B}; 2Chr 1,9; 3Reg 8,26 par. 2Chr 6,17 (Gebetstexte).

25. Zuverlässigkeit: 1Chr 9,22. Treue: 1Makk 14,35 (bis). Gewissenhaftigkeit: 2Chr 31,12.15.18; 34,12. Loyalität: Vgl. neben Est 3,13c = Est Zus. B 3 und 1Makk 10,27.37; 3Makk 3,3 vor allem 1Reg 26,23: mit πίστις ist hier gemeint, dass man nämlich nicht eine günstige Gelegenheit dazu ausnützt, sich seines Feindes durch Totschlag zu entledigen. Für die verweigernde Loyalität steht in 4Makk 12,3 v.l. ἀπιστία.

26. Das Verständnis ist m.E. auch für 2Chr 31,18; 34,12 diskutabel.

27. Die Stelle enthält das Substantiv in einem gegenüber dem hebräischen Text veränderten Teil in einem Ortsnamen „Gottes Treue.“ Vorausgesetzt ist אֱמוּנָה אל statt אֱלֹהֵינוּ.

gewaltsamen Todes ihrer Kinder überwunden habe.²⁸ Solche *πίστις* ist Adel (4Makk 17,2).

2.2.3. Das Adjektiv *πιστός*

In den älteren Geschichtswerken steht das Adjektiv allgemein von den Getreuen Israels (2Reg 20,18), von der Loyalität gegenüber dem König (1Reg 22,14) wie von der Zuverlässigkeit Samuels als Propheten (1Reg 2,35; 3,20),²⁹ ferner von der wie auch immer zu verstehenden Treue oder Zuverlässigkeit Davids (2Reg 23,1). Aufmerksamkeit verdient die Wendung *οἶκος πιστός* („beständiges Haus“) in der (bedingten) göttlichen bzw. menschlichen Heilsankündigung an Priester und Könige.³⁰ In Tob 5,8 gilt *πιστός* neben der Herkunft aus Israel als die entscheidende Voraussetzung dafür, dass Azarias (um dessen wahre Identität als Raphael nur der Leser weiß) Tobias begleiten kann. In den Makkabäerbüchern bezeichnet das Adjektiv die Loyalität gegenüber Menschen (1Makk 3,13; 7,8) und gegenüber Gott (1Makk 2,52).³¹ Auf Gott angewandt, bezeichnet das Adjektiv in 3Makk 2,11 die Treue Gottes, die sich in den Rettungstaten an den Vätern erwiesen hat.³²

2.3. Die Wortgruppe in der Weisheitsliteratur und in den Psalmen

2.3.1. Die Verben *πιστεύειν*, *ἐμπιστεύειν*, *πιστοῦν* und *ἀπιστεῖν*

Erwartungsgemäß begegnet das Verbum *πιστεύειν* in weisheitlicher Literatur³³ häufig³⁴ als verneint in der Warnung vor illusionärem Glauben,

28. Vgl. auch ihren Ratschlag an die Söhne 4Makk 16,22: Aufgrund ihres Gottvertrauens werden sie sich durch die Schmerzen nicht erweichen lassen, vom Martyrium zurückzustehen.

29. In 2Reg 20,18 ist *πιστοὶ Ἰσραήλ* wohl aus 2Reg 20,19 entnommen (*אֱמוּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל*). Dagegen mag in 1Makk 14,41 mit diesem Begriff die göttliche Bestätigung des erwarteten Propheten angezeigt sein.

30. 1Reg 2,35; 15,28 (aus dem Mund der Abigail); 3Reg 11,18.

31. Hierher gehört auch 4Makk 7,15, wo die Glaubwürdigkeit des Märtyrertodes für die Loyalität Gott gegenübersteht.

32. Das Adjektiv *ἀξιόπιστος* benennt in 2Makk 15,11 die Glaubwürdigkeit eines Traumes des Hohenpriesters, mit der er die bedrängten Juden vor der Entscheidungsschlacht ermutigt.

33. Das Verbum *ἐμπιστεύειν* begegnet innerhalb der Weisheitsliteratur nur im Buch Jesus Sirach, profan (Sir 4,16–17; 6,7; 7,25; 16,3; 19,4; 38,31) wie theologisch (Sir 2,10.13;

was das Wort eines anderen³⁵ oder eine günstige Wendung des Schicksals³⁶ betrifft. Daneben steht es wieder als Zentralbegriff persönlicher Frömmigkeit,³⁷ die auch eine positive Schicksalserwartung begründen kann (Ps 26,13; Sir 11,21), und steht in zwei Belegen parallel zu πέποιθα (Sir 35[32],24; Sap 16,28 [Sap 16,26 steht πέποιθα]). Als Alternative dazu, einem unerprobten Weg zu vertrauen (Sir 35[32],21), gilt das Vertrauen auf sich selbst, sofern bzw. weil es in der τήρησις ἐντολῶν besteht (Sir 35[32],23), denn, so Sir 35(32),24: ὁ πιστεύων νόμῳ προσέχει ἐντολαῖς, καὶ ὁ πεποιθὼς κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐλαττωθήσεται. Die Wendung „den Geboten Gottes vertrauen“ hier und in Ps 118(119),66 mag auf die Ankündigung Gottes an Mose Ex 19,9 zurückweisen.

Diese Verwendung ist auch noch in den Anklage Hiobs in 9,16 vorausgesetzt: „Wenn ich zu Gott rufe und er mich hört, werde ich nicht glauben, dass er mich erhört.“ Gegenstand des Nicht-Glaubens ist das εἰσακούειν, während das ὑπακούειν als gegeben, aber folgenlos angesehen wird. In Sap 16,26 (Vertrauen gegenüber Gott und seinem Wort, nicht gegenüber dem, was die Natur hergibt) wird eine Alternative aufgestellt, die sich auch bei Philon von Alexandria findet.

36[33],3; 50,24). Manchmal bestehen in der Handschriftentradition Variationen zwischen Verbum simplex und Verbum compositum (Sir 2,10.13; 36[33],3) oder zwischen verschiedenen Composita (Sir 16,3). Gerade das Nebeneinander von Sir 36(33),3 und Sir 35(32),24, wo derselbe Gedanke einmal mit dem Verbum compositum, das andere Mal mit dem Verbum simplex formuliert ist (s.u.), legt nicht nahe, dass theologische Gründe ausschlaggebend für diesen Wechsel sind. Ist ἐμπιστεύειν da gebraucht, wo im Hebräischen mit כָּן konstruiert wird?

34. In Hi 39,24 wird mit dem Verbum die Korrespondenz zwischen dem Signal eines Befehles und dem Verhalten, nämlich seiner Ausführung, in Worte gefasst—am Bild eines Pferdes, das im Krieg nicht eher losmarschiert, als es das Signal der Trompete hört.

35. Prov 14,15; Sir 19,15; dasselbe im Vergleich Sir 36(33),27. Der „andere“, dessen Wort man nicht vertrauen soll, ist nicht nur der „Feind“ (Sir 12,10), sondern kann selbst der „Herrscher“ (Sir 13,11) sein.

36. In der Eliphas-Rede in Hi 15,22.31, wie dann auch in der Hiobrede Hi 24,22. Hierher gehört faktisch auch die Warnung vor Illusionen, etwa das Verhalten des Wildesels betreffend, in Hi 39,12. Ein weiterer profaner Gebrauch liegt in Sap 14,5 vor, wo es um das „Anvertrauen“ des Lebens an ein Stück Holz, d.h. ein Schiff auf dem Meer geht.

37. Ps 115,1(116,10); Prov 30,1; Hi 4,18; 15,15 (Wie wird jemand gerecht sein, der κατὰ ἀγίων οὐ πιστεύει?); Sap 1,2; 16,26; Sir 2,6.8.10.13.

Auf das Kollektiv Israel angewandt, begegnet das Verbum, zumeist in Verneinung, in mehreren Geschichtsrückblicken, wohl mit Num 14,11 als Hintergrund (Ps 77[78],22.32; 105[106],24).³⁸ An zwei Stellen in der *Sapientia Salomonis* steht es positiv. Sap 12,2 zufolge wird Gott an den Sündern in Israel handeln, damit sie sich wieder ihm zuwenden und ihm glauben. In Sap 18,6 steht das Verbum vom Glauben der „Väter“ an die Zusagen Gottes, was ihre Rettung aus Ägypten betrifft; faktisch liegt eine inhaltliche Expansion von Ex 14,31 vor. Das Verbum fehlt allerdings im Lob der Väter Sir 44–49.

Die drei Belege für πιστοῦν im Psalter sind passivisch; Ps 77[78],8.37 handeln von der verweigten Festigkeit des Gottesvolkes im Bund; Ps 92[93],5 („deine Zeugnisse sind sehr zuverlässig“) ist als *passivum divinum* zu verstehen. Die beiden imperativischen Belege in Sir 27,17; 29,3 mahnen zur Zuverlässigkeit.

Das Verbum ἀπιστεῖν begegnet nur einmal in Sir 1,26^{LXX.S} in der Mahnung „Begehrst du Weisheit, so misstrau nicht der Furcht des Herrn.“ Die vier Belege in der Weisheit Salomos haben zweimal Unglauben in einer konkreten Situation zum Inhalt (Sap 10,7; 18,13), zweimal generell fehlenden Glauben an die Macht Gottes (Sap 1,2; 12,17).

2.3.2. Das Substantiv πίστις

Im profanen Gebrauch bezeichnet das Substantiv Treue sowie Vertrauenswürdigkeit, die man sich erwerben (Sir 22,23)³⁹ und vor deren Verlust, etwa durch Verrat von Geheimnissen, man sich schützen muss (Sir 27,16).⁴⁰ Konturen gewinnt der Begriff durch Nebeneinanderstellungen z.B. mit ἔλεος, ἐλεημοσύνη, πραότης und ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας sowie durch Kontrastierungen mit den Wortfamilien δόλος, ψεῦδος oder κακός.⁴¹ Im Psalter wird

38. In Ps 105(106),12 ist Ex 14,31 aufgenommen.

39. Nur der Weise erwirbt sich das (Sir 37,26).

40. In Cant 4,8 ist wohl ein Toponym (Amana, ein Fluss oder ein Gebirgszug im Anti-Libanon) nicht als solches identifiziert worden, vielmehr ist die Ableitung von der Wurzel *ḥns* vorausgesetzt.

41. ἔλεος: Prov 3,3; 14,22. In Prov 3,3 ist m.E. nicht von dem empfangenden, sondern von dem zu leistenden Wohlverhalten die Rede (so auch Johann Cook, „Proverbs“, in Pietersma and Wright, *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 625). ἐλεημοσύνη: Vgl. Sir 40,12 mit Sir 40,17, wo zunächst der πίστις, dann der ἐλεημοσύνη das „Bleiben in Ewigkeit“ zugeschrieben wird. πραότης: Sir 1,27; 45,4. ποιῆσαι εὐδοκίας: Sir 15,15 im Kontext der Stellungnahme zugunsten der Annahme des freien Willens. Der Begriff

אמונה bei Gott als Subjekt mit ἀλήθεια, bei Menschen als Subjekt mit πίστις wiedergegeben; der ἀλήθεια Gottes soll die πίστις des Menschen entsprechen.⁴² Wird πίστις in Bezug auf Gott vermieden, weil man sich scheut, das Urteil über Gottes Handeln dem Menschen anheimzustellen, wie er anderen Menschen πίστις attestiert oder nicht attestiert?

Einen theologischen Bezug hat πίστις, von Menschen gebraucht, in Sap 3,14, wo die Loyalität gegenüber Gott gemeint ist, die keine Gesetzesverstöße kennt, aber auch in 1,27; 15,15. Diese Haltung zielt die wohlwollende Beurteilung Gottes nach sich (Prov 15,27a; Sir 1,27; 40,12).⁴³ Vor illusionärem Glauben, vor geistig-moralischer Fehleinstellung wird in Sir 41,16 gewarnt.

Im Buch Jesus Sirach wird die Eigenschaft der πίστις im „Lob der Väter“ auch bestimmten Menschen attribuiert, nämlich Mose, Samuel und den Zwölf Propheten.⁴⁴ In den ersten beiden Fällen sind auch terminologisch biblische Vorbilder namhaft zu machen, nämlich Num 12,7 und 1Reg 3,20–21. wo ebenfalls das Adjektiv πιστός und das Verbum πιστεύω im Passiv nebeneinander begegnen. Von den Zwölf Propheten sagt Sir 49,10, sie hätten Jakob in der Treue der Hoffnung losgekauft (ἐλυτρώσαντο αὐτοὺς ἐν πίστει ἐλπίδος). Man kann fragen, ob hier die Beständigkeit als solche oder das unbeirrbar Festhalten an Gott im Vordergrund steht. Auf David wird die Wortgruppe trotz 2Reg 23,1 nicht angewandt. In PsSol 17,40 gelten πίστις und δικαιοσύνη als charakteristisch für den Gesalbten bei seiner Amtsführung

Von Gott gebraucht wird das Substantiv in Ps 32(33),4 („Alle Werke Gottes geschehen in Treue“), aber auch in PsSol 8,28: um seiner Treue willen wird Gott um die Heimholung der Diaspora gebeten.

πίστις kann hier sowohl die loyale Gesinnung als auch die Stetigkeit des Tuns des Wohlgefälligen bezeichnen. δόλος: Prov 12,17. ψεῦδος: Prov 12,22. κακός: Prov 15,28. Vgl. auch Prov 14,22: Erbarmen und Treue zu üben ist Kennzeichen derer, die Gutes planen, während diejenigen, die Böses planen, beides nicht kennen.

42. Ueberschaer, „Πίστις,” 93.

43. In Sap 14,25 mag offenbleiben, ob das—nur hier in diesem Buch verwendete—Substantiv ἀπιστία, Bestandteil eines Lasterkataloges, menschliche Treulosigkeit oder Unglauben meint.

44. Sir 45,4 (Gott hat Mose ἐν πίστει καὶ πραΰτητι geheiligt); Sir 46,15; Sir 49,10.

2.3.3. Das Adjektiv πιστός

Das Adjektiv steht teils allein, teils in Kombination mit anderen Begriffen für die richtige Lebenshaltung.⁴⁵ Neben dem allgemeinen Gebrauch von Menschen steht der Gebrauch speziell von Zeugen, der der Wahrheit verpflichtet ist (Prov 14,25), und von Boten, der seinen Auftraggebern gegenüber loyal bleiben soll (Prov 13,17; 25,13). Verlässlichkeit kann auch bedeuten, dass man Geheimes nicht öffentlich macht (Prov 11,13). Als semantische Oppositionen sind, z.T. ähnlich wie zu den Geschichtsbüchern, die Begriffe bzw. Wortgruppen δίγλωσσος, δόλιος, ἄπιστος und ψεῦδος zu benennen.⁴⁶ Dass ein ἀνὴρ πιστός schwer zu finden ist, weiß Prov 20,6. In Prov 2,12 meint μηδέν πιστόν wohl nicht nur das Unzuverlässige eines Wortes, dessen Unzuverlässigkeit derjenige, der das Wort gesprochen hat, nicht im Voraus abschätzen kann, sondern das, woraus man aus ethischen und moralischen Gründen keine Basis einer Beziehung ableiten kann. Nicht von dem zu Leistenden, sondern von dem zu empfangenden Lohn für Wohlverhalten steht πιστός in Prov 11,21.⁴⁷

In der jüngeren Weisheitsliteratur wird zunehmend betont, dass nur die Orientierung an Gott und an seiner Thora den Menschen dazu befähigt, ein ἀνὴρ πιστός zu werden. So hoch der Wert eines treuen Freundes zu schätzen ist (Sir 6,14–16), so bringt doch Sir 6,17 implizit einen Gottesbezug herein: Wer Gott fürchtet, wird Freundschaft „geraderichten“, d.h. auf die eigene richtige Gesinnung wie auf die Gesinnung möglicher Freunde bedacht sein. Ein weiser Mann ist der, der sich durchgehend am Gesetz orientiert (Sir 34[31],8, dem das Gesetz als πιστός gilt (Sir 36[33],3). Die zunächst erstaunliche Meinung in Sir 37,13, der Rat des eigenen Herzens ist zuverlässig, weshalb man sich darauf verlassen soll, ist eben unter dieser Maßgabe zu interpretieren. Die Früchte der Erziehung des Volkes durch einen Weisen sind πιστοί (Sir 37,23), was wohl nicht nur meint, dass sie verlässlich im

45. Allein: Ps 100(101),6; Hi 12,20; Sir 1,14 sowie Sir 34(31),8, in Abwehr der Orientierung an nichtigen Träumen. Im ähnlichen Sinne wird das Adjektiv ἀξίόπιστος in Prov 27,6 (für מַאֲמַן Ni.); 28,20 (für מַמְוֶנָה) verwendet. In Kombination: In Hi 17,9a steht das Adjektiv zusammen mit δίκαιος (Hi 17,8b) und καθαρός (Hi 17,9b) im Sinne eines dreifachen *parallelismus membrorum* für die richtige Lebenshaltung.

46. δίγλωσσος, δόλιος: Ersteres Prov 11,13, letzteres Prov 14,25. ἄπιστος, ψεῦδος: Ersteres Prov 17,6a; 28,25 v.l. (beide Belege meinen wohl Treulosigkeit), letzteres Prov 17,7 sowie Prov 14,5a. Dort heißt es lapidar: μαρτὺς πιστὸς οὐ ψεύδεται.

47. Hierher gehört wohl auch Sir 31(34),23: Das Zeugnis über das Wohlverhalten eines Menschen, der sich bei Gastmahlen zu benehmen weiß, ist glaubwürdig.

Sinne des planbaren Erfolges sind, sondern, dass sie in Orientierung an der wahren Weisheit hervorgebracht werden, die ihre Basis in der Befolgung des Gesetzes hat. In Sap 3,9 stehen *πεποιθότες* (gemeint: *πεποιθότες θεῶν*) und *πιστοί* nebeneinander;⁴⁸ ersteres bezeichnet die Basis des letzteren, das Letztere die Handlungsoptionen, die aus dem ersten resultieren.

Im Lob der Väter begegnet das Adjektiv einmal von Abraham (Sir 44,20), dann von Samuel (Sir 46,15, dazu s.o.) und von Jesaja (Sir 48,22, von dem es ähnlich wie bei Samuel heißt, er sei *πιστός* in seiner Vision gewesen).

Der Gebrauch des Adjektivs *πιστός* in Bezug auf Gott hat teil an der zunehmenden Thora-Zentrierung in der Frömmigkeitsgeschichte Israels. In Ps 88[89],29 betrifft das Prädikat noch speziell den Bund Gottes mit dem König; dieser Bund ist zuverlässig wie Gott selbst (Ps 88[829],38). Gemäß Ps 144(145),13 ist Gott *πιστός* in seinen Worten und *ὁσιος* in seinen Taten. Eindeutig ist der Thorabezug in Ps 18(19),8b (das Zeugnis des Herrn ist zuverlässig und macht Unmündige weise) und Ps 110(111),7b (Seine Gebote sind *πιστάι*) gegeben. Dieser Thorabezug ist auch vorausgesetzt, wenn in PsSol 14,1 (Er ist treu gegenüber denen, die ihn lieben) wieder eine etwas allgemeinere Formulierung erscheint, ebenso in PsSol 17,10.

2.4. Die Wortgruppe in den (hinteren) Prophetenbüchern

2.4.1. Das Verbum *πιστεύειν*

In Jon 3,5 wird das Verbum positiv von dem Verhalten der Bewohner Ninives gebraucht: Sie glaubten Gott, nach Jonas Bußpredigt. Die Haltung der Gottlosen wird in Hab 1,5 mit dem verneinten Verbum bezeichnet. In Jes 7,9; 28,16 regiert wieder der theologische Sprachgebrauch; das Verbum steht als Zentralbegriff.

Jes 53,1 wendet den profanen Gebrauch „dem Wort eines anderen glauben“ ins Theologische, zum Glauben gegenüber der Verkündigung des „wir,“ das über das Schicksal des Gottesknechtes nachdenkt. In Jer 12,6 erscheint die weisheitliche Warnung vor unbedachtem Vertrauen in eine Ermahnung, das Schicksal des Propheten betreffend, einbezogen. In Jer 25,8 steht wieder das Verbum als theologischer Zentralbegriff; im Ver-

48. Die Wendung *ἐν ἀγάπῃ* ist m.E. zu dem Verbum zu ziehen (so auch Michael A. Knibb, „Wisdom of Solomon,“ in Pietersma and Wright, *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 700), nicht zu *πιστοί*, und bezeichnet, auch wenn man anders entscheidet, nicht den Bezugspunkt der „Treue,“ sondern die Lebenshaltung der „Treuen.“

gleich zum hebräischen Text (er ist mit שמע, hören, formuliert) präzisiert der Übersetzer den Ausdruck. Das verweigerete πιστεύειν zieht das Gericht Gottes nach sich. In Jer 47(40),14 wie in Sus 14 und Sus 53^{LXX} steht der Begriff in profaner Bedeutung. Lam 4,12 steht das verneinte Verbum im Bezug auf die unerwartete Wendung des Schicksals Israels ins Negative. In Dan 6,23^{Theod} wird wie in 1Makk 2,59 das Bewahrungswunder mit dem Glauben des in Gefahr Befindlichen motiviert. Die Verben ἐμπιστεύειν und πιστοῦν fehlen in den Übersetzungen der prophetischen Bücher.

2.4.2. Das Substantiv πίστις

Das Substantiv πίστις begegnet zweimal im Dodekapropheton und darüber hinaus in der Jeremia-Literatur, fehlt aber bei Jesaja, Ezechiel und Daniel. Die πίστις von Menschen gilt als zentral; wird sie verweigert, folgt das göttliche Gericht.⁴⁹ Ähnlich wie in Prov 12,22 können die Wortgruppen πίστις und ψεῦδος gegenübergestellt werden (Jer 9,3; 15,18).⁵⁰ Andererseits begegnet die Koordination mit εἰρήνη, wenigstens in der göttlichen Zusage Jer 40(33),6. Menschliche πίστις kann als Ziel des ζῆτεῖν gelten (Jer 5,1). Die göttliche πίστις erscheint in der Heilszusage.⁵¹ In Hab 2,4⁵² ist die Texttradition m.E. schon im Hebräischen zwischen אֱמוּנָתוֹ und אֱמוּנָתִי gespalten; die πίστις kann sowohl von Gott als auch von dem Gerechten ausgesagt sein—beides ergibt guten Sinn. In der antiken christlichen Rezeptionsgeschichte habe ich keine kontroverse Diskussion der beiden Lesarten gefunden.

49. Jer 5,3 (sowie Jer 25,9 v.l.) und Jer 7,28. An letzterer Stelle gilt die πίστις als Ergebnis göttlicher παιδεία.

50. Dort, im Rahmen der Konfessionen, von Jeremias πλήγη, die ihm sein prophetisches Wirken einträgt.

51. Hos 2,22; Jer 40(33),6; Lam 3,23^{Pt} sowie Jer 39(32),41^{LXX}. Dort setzt die Wendung ἐν πίστει באֱמוּנָה statt באֱמֶת (so Jer 32,41^{MT}) voraus. In welche Richtung die Verschreibung geschah, und ob sie bewusst oder unbewusst erfolgte, lässt sich nicht mehr klären.

52. Zur Rezeptionsgeschichte von Hab 2,4 im Neuen Testament vgl. u.a. Wolfgang Kraus, "Hab 2:3–4 in the Hebrew Tradition and in the Septuagint, with Its Reception in the New Testament," in *Septuagint and Reception*, ed. Johann Cook, VTSup 127 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 101–17. Er deutet das Personalpronomen in der Wendung als *gen. obj.*: Treue zu mir = Gott. So liege Paulus von dem Verständnis des Textes in der Septuaginta weniger weit entfernt als dies manchmal behauptet werde (116).

2.4.3. Das Adjektiv πιστός

Das Adjektiv begegnet gelegentlich von Menschen im positiven Sinn (Jes 8,2^{LXX}; Dan 6,5^{Theod}), speziell vom Propheten und der Zuverlässigkeit seiner Deutung der Vision (Dan 2,45), zweimal sogar von einer einem eingeschlagenen Pflock Halt gebenden Stelle (Jes 22,23.25).⁵³ Die Rück-erinnerung Jes 1,21 enthält die Alliteration Πῶς ἐγένετο πόρνη πόλις πιστή Σιών; die hier gegebene semantische Opposition impliziert für das Ver-ständnis des Begriffes πιστός das Moment der stetigen Orientierung an Gott, wie dies auch in der Heilszusage Jes 1,26 zum Ausdruck kommt. Von Gott steht das Adjektiv einmal in nicht-auktorialer Perspektive,⁵⁴ mehr-fach aber in auktorialer Perspektive im Sinne der Zuverlässigkeit seines Handelns (Hos 5,9; Jes 49,7; 53,3).

2.5. Zwischenergebnisse

Es lassen sich mehrere Zwischenergebnisse formulieren.

1. Quer durch alle Schriftengruppen hindurch zeigt sich, dass die Wortgruppe, vor allem das Substantiv πίστις und das Adjektiv πιστός, die doppelte Verwendbarkeit für die Erwartung wie die Erfüllung des mit ihr gemeinten beibehalten hat. Dass die Pentateuch-Übersetzung das Modell für die nachfolgenden Schriftengruppen abgegeben hat, ist mög-lich, aber nicht sicher, da diese doppelte Verwendbarkeit und das Fehlen von Alternativen auch nachfolgenden Übersetzern die Wahl der Lexeme πιστ- für נאם nahelegen konnte.

2. Der profane Gebrauch der Wortgruppe ist in den Geschichts-büchern und der Weisheitsliteratur durchaus präsent, tritt aber in der prophetischen Literatur zurück. Das mag themenbedingt sein. Der zuneh-

53. In Jes 8,2^{LXX} heißt es: Mache mir zuverlässige Menschen zu Zeugen. Dan 6,5^{Theod} betont die Loyalität Davids gegenüber dem fremdländischen König. Jes 22,23.25: τόπος πιστός. In Jes 33,16 meint die Wendung καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῦ πιστόν wohl ein nie versiegendes Wasser. Beide Deutungen nach Ueberschaer, "Πίστις," 91. Das Adjektiv ἄπιστον in Jes 17,10 meint wohl „unbeständig.“

54. Die nach der Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Babylonier im Lande Ver-bliebenen rufen Gott zum wahrhaftigen Zeugen, dass sie sich in allen nach den Worten Jeremias richten werden (Jer 49[42],5), was dann aber bekanntlich nicht der Fall sein wird.

mende Thora-Bezug wird vor allem bei den Belegen für das Adjektiv πιστός sichtbar.⁵⁵

3. Bei der deutschen Übersetzung „zuverlässig“ ist zu beachten, dass es nicht nur um die Entsprechung zwischen menschlicher Erwartung und Erfüllung geht, dass dies vielmehr im Rahmen der Orientierung an einer allgemein geteilten generellen Frömmigkeitshaltung gedacht ist, die sich, so vor allem in der späteren Weisheitsliteratur, an Gott und seiner Thora orientiert.⁵⁶ Ob in anderen modernen Sprachen ein ähnliches Problem auftritt, wäre zu überprüfen.

3. Philon von Alexandria

Die Begrifflichkeit begegnet bei Philon von Alexandria⁵⁷ nicht nur im theologischen Gebrauch. Das Verbum πιστεύειν hat nicht selten den profanen Sinn des den Worten eines anderen Glauben Schenkens (*Her.* 251) oder Anvertrauens (*Her.* 129). Das Substantiv πίστις bedeutet bei Philon im profanen Sinn nicht selten „Beweis,“ dann auch Garantie, Treue, Redlichkeit, Zuverlässigkeit, also, wenn man es zugespitzt und paradox formulieren will, ein Verhalten, das πίστις im Sinne von „Glauben, Vertrauen“ rechtfertigt.⁵⁸ Auch im letzteren Sinne begegnet es, z.B. als Glaube

55. Von einer Zunahme der religiösen Konnotation spricht auch Ueberschaer, „Πίστις,“ 103.

56. So auch Ueberschaer, „Πίστις,“ 93, mit Alfred Jepsen, „ἰσ,“ *TWAT* 1:342.

57. Insgesamt zu Philon von Alexandria vgl. Martina Böhm, „Zum Glaubensverständnis des Philo von Alexandrien: Weisheitliche Theologie in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.,“ in *Glaube: Das Verständnis des Glaubens im frühen Christentum und in seiner jüdischen und hellenistisch-römischen Umwelt*, hrsg. Jörg Frey et al., WUNT 373 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 159–81. Sie legt den Schwerpunkt ihrer Darstellung auf die *Expositio legis*, die an die Adresse Außenstehender gerichtet ist (der allegorische Kommentar hat jüdische Leser, die ihren Glauben vertiefen wollen, als Adressaten im Blick).

58. Manchmal bedeutet das Substantiv auch das Anvertraute (*Her.* 108) bzw. die Bürgschaft (*Her.* 206). Beweis: *Opif.* 57.84.93.109.116.147; *Plant.* 150; *Ebr.* 93; 175; *Conf.* 156.198; *Migr.* 171; *Congr.* 178; *Mut.* 106; 155; *Fug.* 136; 178; *Somm.* 2.220; *Abr.* 39; 141; 226; 247; *Ios.* 51; 52; 100; 107; 127; 158; 188; 242; *Vit. Mos.* 1.247; 261 274; 280; 298; 2.12; 142; 177; 288; *Decal.* 59. In *Mos.* 1.34 ist die Treue gemeint, dass man Asylsuchende nicht ausnützt oder schlecht behandelt. Garantie: *Mut.* 135. Treue: *Congr.* 78; *Fug.* 150.152.154; *Ios.* 258. In *Plant.* 101, heißt es: Du darfst auch nicht nur deshalb im Kleinen die Treue wahren, um Vertrauen im Größeren zu finden (beides mit πίστις formuliert). Redlichkeit: *Mos.* 1.63; *Decal.* 172. Zuverlässigkeit: *Deus* 101; *Ebr.* 188.

gegen falschen Verdacht (*Jos.* 168; 185), einmal sogar im Sinne der antiso-phistischen Polemik Platons als unbegründetes Glauben (*Ebr.* 198).

3.1. Das Verbum πιστεύειν

In theologischen Bezügen steht das Verbum für das Vertrauen auf das Wort der Hl. Schrift, darüber hinaus für die grundsätzliche Lebenseinstellung, die sich als Gegensatz zur Schicksalsangst, aber auch als Gegensatz zu dem Vertrauen auf die eigene Stärke, auf haltlose Gedanken oder auf irdische Güter manifestiert.⁵⁹

Speziell Gen 15,6—das erste Mal, wo es in der Bibel von einem Menschen heißt: ἐπίστευσεν τῷ θεῷ (Philon betont das in *Virt.* 217)—ist bei Philon von Alexandria eine Grundaussage⁶⁰ und wird auf Abrahams initiale Gotteserkenntnis wie auf sein bleibendes Gottvertrauen bezogen. Das gilt sowohl für die an Außenstehende gerichtete *expositio legis*⁶¹ als auch für den an jüdische Leser gerichteten allegorischen Genesiskommentar. Initiale Gotteserkenntnis meint die Abwendung von dem als wandelbar durchschauten Irdischen (*Abr.* 268–269; *Leg.* 2.89; *Mut.* 186)⁶²

59. Das Vertrauen auf das Wort der Hl. Schrift: *Agr.* 50; *Somn.* 2.24. Schicksalsangst: *Mos.* 2.259, bei der Wiedergabe von Ex 16,5–30: Das Volk soll auf Gott vertrauen und nichts von dem Manna bis zum nächsten Tag aufheben wollen. Das Volk war aber am Zweifeln und war ungläubig (261). Dem Vertrauen auf die eigene Stärke: *Mos.* 1.225, wo Mose die Kundschafter mit der Klarstellung ausschickt, „Unsere Waffen und Werkzeuge aber und unsere ganze Macht liegen allein in dem Vertrauen auf Gott. Mit dieser Rüstung werden wir keinem Schrecknis zu weichen brauchen.“ Haltlose Gedanken: *Leg.* 3.229, wo solches Vertrauen auf Gott statt auf haltlose Gedanken als „wahre Lehre“ im Sinne der *fides quae* bezeichnet werden kann. Irdische Güter manifestiert: *Opif.* 45; *Det.* 9; *Praem.* 28; *Abr.* 269.

60. Philon erklärt diese Aussage daher in den hier zu verhandelnden Texten nicht unter Bezugnahme auf die Motive des Altarbaus (*Gen* 12,7–8; 13,18) und der Anrufung des Namens Gottes (*Gen* 13,4).

61. Dass das Verbum nicht schon in der Beschreibung des anfänglichen Aktes der Gotteserkenntnis in *Abr.* 62–88 zu finden ist, hat Martina Böhm mit der Zurückhaltung Philos gegenüber Außenstehenden zu begründen sein, schon hier „den Begriff πίστις/πιστεύειν in religiöser Bedeutung zur Bezeichnung einer idealen Haltung“ (Böhm, „Glaubensverständnis“, 175) einzuführen. Ergänzend könnte man darauf verweisen, dass die Wortgruppe in dem Prätext von *Abr.* 62–88, in *Gen* 11,26–12,9, nicht begegnet.

62. Ihm gegenüber kann die richtige Haltung geradezu als ἀπιστία benannt werden (*Mut.* 201; *Praem.* 28).

und den dort geltenden äußerlichen Verlockungen wie Geld und Ruhm (*Her.* 90–93; *Abr.* 263) und Hinwendung zu dem unwandelbaren Gott (*Abr.* 269; *Deus* 4) und den Rückschluss auf Gott als die oberste Ursache und ihre (stoisch gedachte) *πρόνοια* (*Virt.* 216; *Praem.* 49). In *Praem.* 27 wird Abrahams Vertrauen unter Zitat von Gen 15,6 als Belohnung dafür bezeichnet, dass Abraham, belehrt durch die Tugend, zur Vollkommenheit gelangte (dazu s.u.).⁶³

Die innere Einstellung des *πιστεύειν* befähigt Abraham zum Durchhalten seines Auszugs und seines Nomadendaseins (*Her.* 287), Joseph zur Bewältigung seines Schicksals (*Migr.* 18) und gibt Mose selbst die Freiheit zu kühnem Wort in der Begründung einer Gesetzgebung (*Plant.* 62).⁶⁴

3.2. Das Substantiv *πίστις*

Ein impliziter theologischer Bezug begegnet in der Wiederaufnahme von Ex 4 (dort begegnet *πιστεύειν* in V. 1.8–9) in *Mos.* 1.90: Mose tut angesichts von Anfeindungen seine Wunder, die ihm gelehrt worden waren (Verwandlung des Stabes zur Schlange), in der Hoffnung, die Israeliten würden sich vom Unglauben zum Glauben an seine Worte bekehren. Das Substantiv bezeichnet aber nicht nur die Reaktion auf ein konkretes Geschehen, sondern auch allgemein das Sich-Anvertrauen,⁶⁵ dann aber auch die Überzeugung bzw. grundsätzliche Lebensorientierung,⁶⁶ die man aufgrund des initialen *πιστεύειν* gewonnen hat.⁶⁷ Die *πίστις* kann

63. Ähnlich *Migr.* 44. Für das Moment der Belehrung Abrahams vgl. Philon, *Abr.* 52.

64. Der Glaube ist dabei nicht Dankbarkeit für die Gegenwart, sondern zukunftsbezogen, wie schon aus dem Futur in Gen 12,1 hervorgeht: „in das Land, das ich dir zeigen werde,“ nicht, „das ich dir zeige“ (*Migr.* 43). Im Vertrauen auf Gott findet Mose kühnere und stärkere Worte: Gott hat Erben; Gott selbst ist Erbe eines ganzen Stammes, der keinen Landbesitz hat (Levi), der Schutzfleher zu Gott hin ist und die Weisen symbolisiert, deren Anteil allein in der Tugend liegt.

65. *Ios.* 149 (auf das Vertrauen des Volkes gegenüber einem guten Staatsmann bezogen).

66. Für ersteres vgl. *Her.* 19, für letzteres *Somn.* 1.68; *Abr.* 268 (ἢ πρὸς θεὸν πίστις). In *Ebr.* 40–42 ist die *πίστις* auf die Erkenntnis Gottes als des Schöpfers und Lenkers des Alls bezogen.

67. Böhm, „Glaubensverständnis,“ 174, unterscheidet die Konstruktion *πιστεύειν* + Dativ, die ihren Schwerpunkt in der initialen Erkenntnis des Schöpfers und dem daraus resultierenden Vertrauen zu ihm hat, von der Konstruktion *πίστις* + *πρός*, die den Schwerpunkt ihrer Verwendung da hat, wo es um den Glauben als Prämie geht.

neben der εὐσέβεια als Tugend stehen (*Migr.* 132) und gilt als das fehlerlose und herrliche Opfer schlechthin (*Cher.* 85), als die sicherste (*Virt.* 216), als die vollendete Tugend (*Her.* 91, *τελειοτάτη ἀρετῶν*), als die Königin der Tugenden (*Abr.* 270).⁶⁸ Sie ist eine feste Seelenverfassung, dem Schwanken gegenübergestellt (*Conf.* 31; *Plant.* 70), und ist Entsprechung dazu, dass, wie Mose sagt, Gott selbst πιστός ist (*Leg.* 3.204; *Mut.* 182).⁶⁹ Ein wahres Loblied auf den Glauben singt Philon in *Abr.* 268: Der Glaube an Gott (ἡ πρὸς θεὸν πίστις) ist „Trost des Lebens, Erfüllung guter Hoffnungen, das Fehlen alles Bösen und eine Fülle des Guten, das Aufgeben des Gefühls der Unseligkeit, die Erkenntnis der Gottesverehrung, der Besitz der Glückseligkeit und in jeder Hinsicht eine Veredlung der Seele, die sich fest stützt auf den Urheber aller Dinge, der alles vermag und das Beste will.“ Der Glaube an Gott kann in dem Gesamtzusammenhang *Praem.* 27–51 in *Praem.* 27 neben der inneren Freude und der Gotteschau als einer der drei Prämien genannt werden, an denen sich der nach Tugend Strebende erfreuen darf.⁷⁰ Für die Zusammenstellung dieser Trias ist wiederum das Beispiel der drei Erzväter ausschlaggebend; Abraham hat sich Tugend durch Lernen aufgrund der Belehrung erworben, Isaak durch natürliche Veranlagung und Jakob durch rastloses Streben, deshalb fällt Abraham das Vertrauen (*Gen* 15,6) als Prämie zu, Isaak die Freude (aufgrund von *Gen* 21,6) und Jakob die Gottesschau (aufgrund von *Gen* 28,10–22).

Der Gebrauch von πίστις im Sinne der *fides quae* begegnet ebenfalls bei Philo: Glaube ist Zustimmung zu den lebensfördernden Lehren, ist die Überzeugung, dass die Gesetze der Thora keine Erfindungen der Menschen sind (*Ebr.* 213), sondern Offenbarungen Gottes (*Decal.* 15; *Virt.* 68).

68. *Migr.* 132: denn diese Tugenden stimmen zusammen und vereinigen die διάνοια mit der unvergänglichen Natur, war doch auch Abraham, als er zum Glauben gekommen war, Gott nähergekommen (*Gen* 18,23). In der Auslegung von *Gen* 15,6 kann Philon schreiben: Nichts ist so gerecht als das reine, ungetrübte Vertrauen auf Gott allein (*Her.* 94).

69. Der Eid gilt in *Plant.* 82 als Symbol eines ganz festen Glaubens (τὸ πίστεως βεβαιωτάτης σύμβολον). Die πίστις des Menschen soll daher fest sein und sich in nichts von der πίστις περὶ τὸ ὄν unterscheiden. Als πιστός können auch Mose (*Leg.* 3.204, aufgrund von *Num* 12,7) sowie Abraham (*Post.* 173) gelten.

70. Vgl. dazu Böhm, „Glaubensverständnis,” 176–77.

3.4. Zwischenfazit

Bei Philon bestätigt sich das, was schon zur Septuaginta zu beobachten war, dass nämlich die Wortgruppe πιστ- nicht nur die äußerliche Übereinstimmung von Verhalten und Erwartung umschreibt, sondern in sich auch ethische Konnotation enthält, die Orientierung an grundlegenden ethischen wie auch theologischen Normen.

4. Ausblick auf das Neue Testament

Das Verbum πιστεύειν hat im Neuen Testament fast durchgehend einen theologischen Bezug.⁷¹ Allgemeine Lebensfragen im Neuen Testament werden ja entweder gar nicht oder nur in Bezug auf den Glauben bzw. die Gruppe der Glaubenden erörtert.⁷² Immerhin ist zu Mk 5,34 Philos Benennung des Vertrauens auf Gott als σωτήρ in Krankheitsnot im Gegensatz zur Zuflucht bei irdischen Ärzten zu benennen (*Sacr.* 70).⁷³

Für das Substantiv πίστις kann man festhalten: Im Galaterbrief ist ein Gebrauch in Analogie zu Philon, *Ebr.* 213, *Decal.* 15, festzustellen; in den Pastoralpaulinen ein Gebrauch in Analogie zu Philon, *Abr.* 268 präsent. Für die in der Galaterbriefexegese heftige Debatte um das Verständnis des Syntagmas πίστις Χριστοῦ ist zu bemerken, dass einerseits Lukas manchmal mit πίστις εἰς klarer formuliert,⁷⁴ dass andererseits das Substantiv πίστις mit der Ausnahme Röm 3,3 bei Paulus in Analogie zum frühjüdischen Befund nur von menschlichen Subjekten begegnet und Christus bei Paulus nie als πιστός bezeichnet wird.

Das Adjektiv πιστός begegnet in den Evangelien und der Apostelgeschichte durchweg auf Menschen bezogen, bei Paulus und in

71. Dabei schimmert in Mk 13,22 parr. Mt 24,23.26; Mk 15,32 par. Mt. 27,42, sodann in Mt 21,32 u.a. noch die Deutung „dem Wort eines anderen glauben“ durch, aber auch hier ist in Verneinung wie Bejahung ein theologischer Bezug gegeben.

72. Interessant wäre, ob der profane Gebrauch des Verbums da wiederkehrt, wo es nicht mehr nur um theologische Dinge geht, z.B. in den *Stromata* des Clemens von Alexandria.

73. Bei Philon steht für die Entgegensetzung zu den irdischen Ärzten wohl Ex 15,25–26 im Hintergrund. Der einzige Retter von Krankheitsnot ist Gott allein (*Leg.* 1.252). An anderer Stelle kann Philon allerdings der medizinischen Kunst, da sie von Gott gegeben ist, durchaus ihr Recht zugestehen (*Deus* 87).

74. Apg 20,21; 24,24; 26,18. In Apg 2,13; 14,12 ist bei dem jeweiligen nominalen Syntagma ebenfalls nur der *gen. obj.* möglich.

nachpaulinischer Literatur auch in Bezug auf Gott, speziell in den Pastoralbriefen mit Bezug auf das Wort Gottes.⁷⁵ Als *terminus technicus* für „die Glaubenden“ begegnet es einmal bei Paulus in einem literarkritischen umstrittenen Abschnitt (2Kor 6,15), setzt sich dann aber in der dritten Generation durch.⁷⁶

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75. 1Thess 5,24; 1Kor 1,9; 2Kor 1,18; 2Thess 3,3, dann auch Hebr 10,23; 1Joh 1,9, von Christus Apk 1,5; 3,14; 19,11; 1Tim 1,15; 3,1; 4,9; 2Tim 2,11; Tit 1,9; 3,8; dann auch Apk 21,5; 22,6.

76. Als Attribut auf bestimmte Personen bezogen Apg 16,1; Kol 4,7,9; Eph 6,21; in absolutem Gebrauch Apg 10,45 (in analoger Funktion steht οἱ πιστεύσαντες); Eph 1,1; 1Tim 4,10.12. In frühjüdischer Literatur vgl. dazu *Vitae Prophetarum* 2,4; Sib. Or. 3.724; 5.426.

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Fear and Loathing in Alexandria? Abominable Words in the Septuagint Pentateuch and Disgust Theory

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Abstract: Terms such as βδελύσσομαι, βδέλυγμα, and προσέχθισμα in the LXX corpus may denote either ritual or ethical abomination. Lexical studies of the use of such terms in nonbiblical Greek¹ coupled with insights from the cognitive scientific approach of disgust theory can enhance our appreciation of the semantic choices of the Pentateuch translators.

1. Introduction: Cognitive Science and the Role of Disgust

Cognitive scientific approaches to the purpose of the disgust response in humans describe the physical expression of disgust as “part of a sophisticated but largely automatic signalling system to transmit information about what to avoid in the environment.”² Daniel Kelly’s 2011 study describes the imperfect fit between a cognitive system that evolved with reference to avoiding poisons and parasites and its appli-

1. Alison G. Salvesen, “Βδελύσσω (βδελύσσομαι), βδέλυγμα, βδελυγμός, βδελυκτός,” in *Alpha-Gamma*, vol. 1 of *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 1550–66.

2. Daniel R. Kelly, *Yuck! The Nature and Moral Significance of Disgust* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011). Kelly uses the coopt thesis and the entanglement thesis in tandem to construct “an integrated theory of disgust” (see, for example, the conclusion to chapter 4 on p. 135). The entanglement thesis is that disgust is a “composite emotion whose two main components originally evolved to protect against poisons and parasites,” while the coopt thesis argues that such disgust was coopted to regulate human social interaction (140).

cation to social and moral norms.³ Kelly speaks of disgust “elicitors” which have “contamination potency” (whether physical, social, or moral). He defines “core disgust” as “a sense of oral incorporation, a sense of offensiveness, and contamination sensitivity.”⁴ Disgust acts a “gatekeeper emotion” that prevents the integration of something into the body or being.⁵

Cognitive scientific studies of disgust rarely refer to biblical concepts of purity and impurity, dietary moral and cultic taboos. Yet much of what we find in Hebrew biblical sources well illustrates these modern analyses, since disgust or abhorrence in the Hebrew Bible acts as a “common denominator” of both ritual and moral impurity.⁶ Cognitive science argues that natural physical disgust at things one might put in one’s mouth aids the avoidance of potentially noxious foodstuffs. Furthermore, the application of the idiom of disgust to expressions of moral censure is a recognized sociological phenomenon: avoidant reaction to what is felt as a contaminant is transferred and applied to specific behavior inimical to the practices and values of a particular society.⁷

Some cognitive scientists argue that, at least in the sphere of morality, disgust is not the same as the feeling of abhorrence or abomination, which involves a more conscious and less visceral reaction.⁸ However, the two are closely related, with physical disgust leading to the avoidant shunning that is abhorrence.⁹

3. Kelly, *Yuck!*, 6.

4. Kelly, *Yuck!*, 19, 17, following in some respects the chapter by Paul Rozin, Jonathan Haidt, and Clark R. McCauley, “Disgust,” in *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis, Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, and Lisa Feldman Barrett, 3rd ed. (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 757–76.

5. Cf. the title of Susan Miller’s book, *Disgust: The Gatekeeper Emotion* (Hillsdale: Analytic Press, 2004).

6. Thomas Kazen, *Emotions in Biblical Law: A Cognitive Science Approach*, HBM 36 (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2011), 72.

7. See chapter 8 “The Moral Life of Disgust” in William I. Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 179–205.

8. Aurel Thomas Kolnai, *On Disgust*, trans. Barry Smith and Carolyn Korsmeyer (Chicago: Open Court, 2004), 30.

9. In fact, Ditte Marie Munch-Jurišić treats disgust and abhorrence/abomination as the same emotion (“Perpetrator Abhorrence: Disgust as a Stop Sign,” *Metaphilosophy* 45 [2014]: 270–87).

2. Abomination in the Hebrew Torah

Although it is difficult to reconstruct the original environment(s) of the purity laws in the Torah, given their evolution over a prolonged period,¹⁰ examples in the Hebrew Bible largely tally with what cognitive scientists have argued, namely, that core disgust toward “yucky” things and avoidant abhorrence of them is transferred by social education to behaviors that are seen as inimical to the group. In Leviticus and Deuteronomy, nouns and verbs from the roots תעב and שקץ are applied to creatures that might be touched and/or consumed.¹¹ In the category of שקץ are certain birds (Lev 11:13–19), creeping or swarming insects (Lev 11:20, 23, 41–43), and swarming aquatic creatures without fins or scales (Lev 11:10–12).¹² תועבה in Deut 14:3 designates any food that is not to be eaten as “abhorrent” (JPS), though the list that follows divides only into clean and unclean animals. Leviticus 18:22 specifically defines a man lying with a man as with a woman as תועבה, but the summary conclusion, especially verses 26–30, implies that a number of the sexual activities set out earlier in the chapter also fall into the category of תועבה. Other references in Deuteronomy to תועבה seem to refer to idolatrous practices or

10. Mary Douglas's later work on Leviticus, especially *Leviticus as Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) adopts a comparative anthropological and theological angle that seeks to explain the differences codes of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, but does not take a cognitive approach. Jonathan Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), discusses the moral aspect of תועבה (e.g., p. 26) but does not mention the nature or effects of what is שקוץ.

11. See Kazen, *Emotions in Biblical Law*, 76–86, for a useful discussion of the relationship between the terms תועבה, שקוץ, and שקץ: שקץ is a Priestly Code term found mostly in Leviticus, and תועבה is found mostly in Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, along with one occurrence of שקוץ. The two Hebrew word groups תעב and שקץ do not seem to differ much in actual meaning—“detest, loathe, abhor,” etc. implying reactions of disgust and physical avoidance

12. Jacob Milgrom, “Two Biblical Hebrew Priestly Terms: *Šeqeš* and *Ṭāmē*,” *MAARAV* 8 (1992): 107–16, argues for a development in meaning for the root שקץ, from the Priestly writer (a ritualistic use denoting what is prohibited as food), through the Holiness Code where its meaning is metaphorical, to the Deuteronomist, where it applies only to idolatry. All three senses appear in Ezekiel. In Lev 11, שקץ refers to what is not to be eaten but which does not cause impurity by touching, whereas טמא refers to what conveys impurity by touch (and also cannot be eaten). In Deut 14, only טמא appears, having supplanted שקץ, so this source sees the two terms as synonymous, and both indicating what is תועבה.

offences against the cult of the Lord. The frequent phrase *תועבת י'* implies that it is the Lord in particular who finds the behavior abhorrent (e.g., Deut 22:5; 23:18; 25:16); this construct phrase also appears many times in Proverbs for a range of unacceptable behaviors. *שקץ* only appears in the Pentateuch in Deut 29:15, but becomes widely used in the Prophets for practices linked to idolatry.

Biblical writers thus use derivatives of *תעב* and *שקץ* to categorize what cognitive science would term “elicitors” of core disgust and to signal the need for avoidance of those potential contaminants of the individual and the community. Disgust and abhorrence towards physical contaminants are then projected onto unacceptable forms of behavior within a community. However, since our knowledge of Classical Hebrew is mostly limited to the corpus of the Hebrew Bible and Qumran Hebrew, we cannot know whether terms such as *תעב* and *שקץ* were part of the everyday vocabulary of disgust outside of ritual contexts, and how emotive they were felt to be.¹³

3. Abomination in LXX

In contrast, as the entries in HTLS make clear, we have a huge advantage when dealing with the lexicon of the LXX corpus in that we have a wealth of comparative material available in the form of classical literature, epigraphy, papyri, and—though slightly later—in Philo, Josephus, and New Testament writers. As a consequence, we may gauge how well chosen and effective the LXX terms for disgust and abomination were in their Hellenistic environment, and how they fared in subsequent reception.

13. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991), 656, notes the Akkadian cognates to *שקץ* (including “to menace, give the evil eye” and “ulcer”) and states that normally *שקץ* would mean something “reprehensible.” However, he believes that in Leviticus the word has a “more precise, technical meaning.” Mary Douglas takes a similar line in arguing for a “cool and dry” legalistic rendering such as “completely shun” or “utterly reject” for *שקץ* in Leviticus (which she believes was specially coined), rather than the “warm and sticky” sense of “detest, abominate” (*Leviticus as Literature*, 166–67). However, the use of the same root elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible has such strong overtones of abhorrence that this seems unlikely.

3.1. Abomination in LXX: The Group of βδελ- Words

From the evidence set out in the entry for βδελύσσω, βδέλυγμα, βδελυγμός, and βδελυκτός in HTLS,¹⁴ it is clear that the first LXX translators deliberately selected a stem with strong connotations of both physical and moral disgust in secular Greek, in order to render עב, “loathe,” in *qal*, *piel*, or *hiphil*, and קש, “detest,” in *piel*, and the associated nouns תועבה, קיש, and קש. The main areas of Greek literature where this word group is found are medical treatises that describe physical feelings of disgust or nausea;¹⁵ forensic speeches denigrating the character of the opponent;¹⁶ and comedies (especially those of Aristophanes), where it has strong vulgar overtones. (This is probably why Sophocles and Euripides do not use the stem, and Plato uses the verb only once.¹⁷) David Konstan says that in the related words βδελύττομαι and βδελυρός, “the core idea is that of being revolted by someone or something.”¹⁸ In Classical Greek, then, the range of βδελ- words regularly signified not only a physical feeling of nausea at disgusting things but also obnoxious public behavior provoking revulsion in others. It should be noted that none of the βδελ- group of words in nonbiblical Greek are used in cultic or ritual contexts, perhaps precisely because of their vulgar connotations.

14. See Salvesen, “Βδελύσσω (βδελύσσομαι), βδέλυγμα, βδελυγμός, βδελυκτός,” 1550–66.

15. For medical treatise, see Hippocrates (fourth/fifth century BCE), who employs the verb βδελύττεσθαι, “to feel nauseous,” to describe a symptom of disease (*Morb.* 2.40). In a passage portraying a variety of revolting things, Galen, *Simpl. med. temp.* 10.1 (second century CE), uses the adjective βδελυρός, “disgusting, revolting,” to describe the medicinal consumption of sweat, urine, menstrual blood, and feces.

16. For forensic speeches, see, e.g., the adjective βδελυρός and the abstract noun βδελυρία rather than the verb: David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 198–99; Ed Sanders, “‘He Is a Liar, a Bounder, and a Cad’: The Arousal of Hostile Emotions in Attic Forensic Oratory,” in *Unveiling Emotions: Sources and Methods for the Study of Emotions in the Greek World*, ed. Angelos Chaniotis (Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 2012), 377; also Nick Fisher, “Demosthenes and the Use of Disgust,” in *The Ancient Emotion of Disgust*, ed. Donald Lateiner and Dimos Spatharas (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 105–24.

17. *Resp.* 10.605e; and the adjective βδελυρός only once, with the sense “scoundrel!” (*Resp.* 1.338d) in a derogatory sense about someone’s behavior.

18. Konstan, *Emotions of Ancient Greeks*, 198.

No such hesitancy prevented the LXX Pentateuch translators from adopting βδελύσσομαι, and their lead was followed in other books. Thus there are around fifty occurrences of βδελύσσομαι in the LXX corpus, mostly in the Pentateuch, Writings, and LXX books without original or extant Hebrew *Vorlage*, including the three occurrences in Esth 14:15–16 (4:17u–w), which may depend on a Semitic *Vorlage*.¹⁹

The Pentateuch translators may even have created the noun βδέλυγμα so familiar to scholars in biblical studies but unattested before the LXX Pentateuch.²⁰ It occurs well over one hundred times in the LXX corpus, sixteen times in books outside the Hebrew Bible canon. The books with the highest frequency are Leviticus (fifteen), Deuteronomy (eighteen), Proverbs (twelve), and Ezekiel (seventeen). Why did they need to create a new word? Classical Greek already had two nouns from the same stem, βδελυρία and βδελυγμία. However, βδελυρία means “coarse behavior” and βδελυγμία means “nausea” (LSJ), so these would not have reflected the sense of Hebrew terms used in the context of things or acts regarded as taboo from a cultic or social point of view. Similarly, the classical Greek adjective βδελυρός, “disgusting,” refers mainly to behavior exciting social censure rather than to something provoking human abhorrence and divine wrath. Another adjective, βδελυκτός, occurs two or three times in the LXX corpus, where it means “disgusting, abominable, abhorred.”²¹

The solution was to create a new formation from βδελ- whose meaning was obvious but which could operate as a technical term for Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. MM notes, “Probably any Greek writer who wanted to express the idea of τὸ ἐβδελυγμένον would have done the same without hesitation.”²²

19. In LXX, the active also occurs in the sense “to make abominable” (see Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare and St. George William Joseph Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980], §84b).

20. See the brief entry in John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 196.

21. Prov 17:15, ἀκάθαρτος καὶ βδελυκτὸς παρὰ θεῶν, “unclean and repugnant to God,” is a paraphrastic rendering of יהוה גַּם־שִׁנְיָהֶם תוֹעֵבָה; in 2 Macc 1:27 of the “despised and abhorred [Jews]” (ἐξουθενημένους καὶ βδελυκτοὺς). Philo speaks of “abominable and licentious women,” γυναικῶν ... βδελυκτῶν καὶ ἀκολάστων, *Spec.* 1.323, who would be initiated into mystery religions. Only attested in native Greek (Aeschylus) in the privative adjective ἀβδέλυκτα and compound βδελύκτροποι.

22. MM, §107. Cited in John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 47 n. 18.

This perfect passive participle does in fact appear in LXX, for example, in Lev 18:30:

ὅπως μὴ ποιήσητε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν νομίμων τῶν ἐβδελυγμένων
לבלתי עשות מחקות התועבה

However, the form τὸ ἐβδελυγμένον may have been considered too cumbersome for the sheer number of times it would be required in the Pentateuch.²³ The Genesis translator had already used the verb βδελύσσομαι in Gen 26:29, and he was also the first to use βδέλυγμα, for the first occurrence of תועבה (Gen 43:32; 46:34). The neologism really came to the fore in Leviticus.

It is hard to be certain whether the noun form βδέλυγμα was the invention of the Genesis translator or whether the term was already in existence in the Alexandrian Jewish community before the Pentateuch translation was started. It is possible it was ready-made, since the first time the verb βδελύσσομαι is used for תעב (*hiphil*) does not occur until Deuteronomy (7:26; 23:8), though βδελύσσομαι had been used to convey similar reactions of abhorrence in earlier books of the Pentateuch (for שקץ, געל, קוץ).²⁴

3.2. Abomination in LXX: προσοχθίζω and προσόχθισμα

תועבה, תעב, and שקץ appear together in Deut 7:26:

καὶ οὐκ εἰσίοισεις βδέλυγμα εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἔσῃ ἀνάθημα ὥσπερ τοῦτο· προσοχθίσματι προσοχθιεῖς καὶ βδελύγματι βδελύξῃ, ὅτι ἀνάθημά ἐστιν.
ולא-תביא תועבה אל-ביתך והיית חרם כמהו שקץ תשקצנו ותעב תתעבנו
כי-חרם הוא:

This verse from Deuteronomy marks the first appearance in the LXX corpus of προσόχθισμα, which like βδέλυγμα appears to be a neologism, created from a verb first used by the Genesis translator. In contrast to the βδελ- group, the verb προσοχθίζω (rare but not unknown in nonbiblical

23. Though note Prov 8:7 ἐβδελυγμένα for תועבה.

24. Βδελυγμός, “loathsomeness,” occurs only twice in the LXX corpus, in 1 Kgdms 25:31 for the *hapax* פוקה and in Nah 3:6 for שקצים. It is apparently another LXX coinage, like βδέλυγμα in terms of formation, but suggesting “loathsomeness” rather than “loathsome thing.”

Greek, see below) and the LXX-coined neologism *προσόχθισμα* have the sense of “to be angry with, vexed at” (plus dative): this indicates a reaction of anger rather than disgust.²⁵ In the Pentateuch, *προσοχθίζω* renders not only קַשַּׁשׁ, but other verbs: קִיַּי (Gen 27:46 of Rebecca being disgusted with her life), קִיא (Lev 18:25, 28,² of the land “vomiting” its inhabitants in disgust at their behavior; Num 22:3 of Moab dreading the Israelites), לַגַּל (Lev 26:15 of Israel’s “soul” finding God’s laws abhorrent, and conversely, God finding their behavior abhorrent, Lev 26:43), מַסַּח Ps 36:5 (LXX 35:5) of the evil man not rejecting evil; Ps 95:10 (LXX 94:10) of God “loathing” the wilderness generation; Ezek 36:31 of Israel’s self-loathing for their sins.

In almost all these cases, the connotations of physical loathing (especially of vomiting) in the Hebrew verbs have been converted by the LXX rendering into extreme anger or the feeling of being provoked. Though Muraoka defines *προσοχθίζω* as “to become weary of and dislike”—and for the noun “something disgustingly boring; object of intense dislike,”²⁶ these definitions fall short of the sense of the stem in context, in both biblical and nonbiblical Greek. *Προσόχθισμα* was presumably intended to indicate something that provokes God to wrath. It is certainly used of idolatry in nonpentateuchal books.²⁷

Moreover, the handful of occurrences of *προσοχθίζω* in nonbiblical Greek are in contexts that warrant a strong reaction. In the third century BCE, Satyrus of Callatis uses the verb of the playwright Euripides’s anger towards the female sex, caused by his wife’s adultery. He also employs it for the playwright’s annoyance with the grudging attitude of the local inhabitants.²⁸ In the later writer Cassius Dio (at least in the version of his much later epitomator, Zonaras), *προσοχθίζω* denotes the people’s indignation with Camillus because he did not immediately set aside a tithe of booty for the god, and because he celebrated his triumph in an excessive way.²⁹

25. The related verb *ὀχθέω* is found in Homer, where it means “be sorely angered, vexed in spirit” (LSJ).

26. *GELS*, 597.

27. However, the sense in Sir 27:13 is considerably attenuated: *διήγησις μωρῶν προσόχθισμα*, suggesting that when fools recount a story they are annoyingly boring, a sense that is close to Muraoka’s definition.

28. Greek text found at Oxyrhynchus and edited by Stefan Schorn, *Satyrus aus Kallatis: Sammlung der Fragmente mit Kommentar* (Basel: Schwabe, 2004), frag. 39, 12.21–22; frag. 39, 15.22–23.

29. τῷ δὲ Καμίλλῳ προσώχθισεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἐνεμέσῃσεν (Zonaras 7.21): Ernest Cary, trans., *Dio’s Roman History*, LCL 32 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 192–93. Cassius Dio lived ca. 150–235 CE.

3.3. Abomination in LXX: A Blurring of Distinctions

Often in the LXX Pentateuch, the translators gloss over any real difference between the three Hebrew terms שקץ, שקוץ, and תועבה by using the same Greek term βδέλυγμα indiscriminately for them in Leviticus and Deuteronomy.³⁰ This blurring continues throughout the rest of the LXX corpus. In the same way that שקוץ and תועבה are extended to refer to idolatrous practices, βδέλυγμα is also extended to represent various Hebrew words interpreted as gods or idols, though this is not only due to stereotyping of equivalents.³¹ Similarly, Sirach also uses βδέλυγμα for behavior deemed unethical or immoral.³² Yet, alternative, less emotive renderings of תועבה can also be found, referring to ethical rather than cultic or ritual misdemeanors. For example, in Proverbs we find ἀκαθαρσία, ἀκάθαρτος, πονηρία, et cetera, and in Ezekiel ἀνόμημα, ἄνομος, ἀσέβεια, ἐπιτήδευμα, ὁδός, and especially ἀνομία, coexisting with the frequent use of βδέλυγμα in the same books.³³

4. Interethnic Connotations of Disgust

As noted earlier, cognitive scientists have observed the role of disgust in creating both community cohesion and also boundaries between different social and ethnic groups.³⁴ So, of particular interest are the uses in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX corpus of תעב and βδέλ- terms in contexts of interethnic relationships, where they are sometimes suggestive of visceral xenophobia. Most of these also occur in the LXX Pentateuch.

תועבה can be used in the sense of behavior on the part of one ethnic group that is unacceptable to another community (Gen 43:32; 46:34; Exod 8:22, each rendered by βδέλυγμα). Moreover, the common factor in these

30. The exception was noted above, Lev 18:30, where the perfect passive participle of the verb is used instead of the noun.

31. See, for example, where it renders various Hebrew terms for idolatrous objects or practices: 3 Kgdms 11:5, 33; Isa 2:8, 20; 17:8; Jer 11:15.

32. E.g., Sir 1:25; 10:13; 13:20 (2x); 15:13; 19:23; 27:30; cf. Wis 12:23.

33. Prov 11:20; 12:22; 15:8, 9; 15:26; 20:23; 21:27 [MT lacks the second element]; 27:20a). The Greek phrase is a series of three iambs, according to David-Marc D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, BdA 17 (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 77, 95.

34. See Kelly, *Yuck!*, 123–25, who discusses earlier work on the ethnic markers of certain dietary items and the use of the rhetoric of disgust in dehumanizing other social and ethnic groups.

three non-Levitical uses is that all of them apply to outsiders' perceptions of Hebrews: eating with Hebrews is an abomination to Egyptians, as is their occupation of shepherding and their choice of sacrificial victims. So, the taboos are depicted as existing on the Egyptian side.³⁵ Neither תועבה nor βδέλυγμα are here used as specific to Hebrew society, but both apparently reference a more universal concept of boundaries between different groups, in line with Kelly's observation on "the role that disgust plays in ethnic cognition."³⁶

The three places where the verb βδελύσσομαι is used in similar contexts are even more interesting, since each represents a different Hebrew verb, none of them תעב. In Gen 26:29, the context involves a covenant to the effect that Isaac will do no harm to Abimelech's household just as Abimelech's people have not *touched* (נגג) Isaac's, but in Greek, Abimelech's people claim not to have *abhorred* him (καθότι ἡμεῖς σε οὐκ ἐβδελυξάμεθα).³⁷ In Exod 5:21, the elders complain to Moses and Aaron in Hebrew that the brothers have "made [the Israelites] smell unpleasant [*hiphil* באש] before Pharaoh" (cf. the English idiom "brought us unto bad odor with X"), while in LXX, it is "you *have made our smell abhorrent* (ἐβδελύξατε) before Pharaoh." In Exod 1:12, the use of ἐβδελύσσοντο for ריר, "feel loathing for," may be due to a biconsonantal association of ריר with רקש.³⁸

In all six cases, then, by using the verb βδελύσσομαι and noun βδέλυγμα, the translators of Genesis and Exodus present a more consistent representation of interracial abhorrence than is suggested by the Hebrew text. Similar interethnic dislike may be implied in the use of βδελύσσομαι in Deut 23:8, about not loathing an Idumean or an Egyptian, though since here βδελύσσομαι represents תעב (*hiphil*), this may be half-expected as a lexical choice. One of the Additions to Esther in Greek (but probably based on a Semitic *Vorlage*) has Esther pleading to God,

35. In later treatments of Gen 43:32, describing the Egyptian taboo of eating with Hebrews, Jos. Asen. 7:1 refers to Joseph not eating with Aseneth's Egyptian family, ὅτι βδέλυγμα ἦν αὐτῷ τοῦτο, "for this was an abomination *to him*": effectively inverting the taboo in the biblical text. Philo does not mention βδέλυγμα in the context of Gen 43:32 in his life of Joseph (*Ios.* 202) and speaks instead of Joseph organizing a meal according to the customs of each of the two peoples (this is perhaps because he was anxious to avoid accusations of Jewish xenophobia).

36. Kelly, *Yuck!*, 134: disgust is coopted to prevent interaction with members of other tribes.

37. Marguerite Harl, *La Génèse*, BdA 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 213–14.

38. Alain Le Boulluc and Pierre Sandevor, *L'Éxode*, BdA 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 77.

“you know I abhor [βδελύσσομαι] the bed of uncircumcised men and of every foreigner” (Esth 14:15u). Similarly, in nontranslated Jewish Greek literature, 3 Macc 2:33, 3:23; 6:9 use βδελύσσεσθαι in the context of the animosity between Alexandrian Jews and their Greek rulers, and between factions within the Jewish community. In 4 Maccabees, dating perhaps from the late first century CE, βδελύττεσθαι is employed in a dietary context, in the mouth of the Greek tyrant Antiochus concerning the priest Eleazar’s refusal to eat pork (4 Macc 5:8). Also in the first century CE, Plutarch shows a general liking for βδελύττεσθαι (twenty-eight times), but also uses the verb once specifically in the context of the Jewish attitude to pigs: “I think that if the Jews abhorred [ἐβδελύττοντο] the pig, they would kill it” (*Quaest. conv.* 4.5 [670d]).

The sole example of βδελύσσομαι found in Hellenistic papyri also occurs in a context of interethnic relations. In a letter dating from the early first century BCE, the writer addresses his steward,³⁹ expressing concern for the welfare of a priest of Tebtunis who has come to Memphis, and asks the steward to look after him and find him accommodation, “for you know that they abhor Jews,” οἶδας γὰρ ὅτι βδελύσ<σ>ονται Ἰουδαίους. Although the correspondents have Greek names, most scholars take the view that the writer, the priest, and the steward were all Jewish, since Tebtunis was predominantly settled by Jews.⁴⁰ The passage is relevant to the issue of existence of anti-Jewish sentiment in Hellenistic Egypt, though opinion is divided as to whether this was widespread, and what circumstance might have caused this prejudice.⁴¹ What exactly did the writer mean the verb βδελύσσονται to convey? A violent physical hatred from which the priest from Tebtunis needed protection, nauseated disgust on the part of Egyptians towards Jews, merely a jocular sense, or a metaphorical one?⁴²

39. SB 9564: improved readings over CPJ 1.141.

40. Roger Rémondon, “Les Antisémites de Memphis (PIFAO inv. 104 = CPJ 141),” *Chronique d’Égypte* 35 (1960): 254–55.

41. Jean Yoyotte, “L’Égypte ancienne et les origines de l’anti-judaïsme,” *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* 11 (1962): 142–43; Rémondon, “Les Antisémites de Memphis,” 260; Régis Burnet, *L’Égypte ancienne à travers les papyrus: Vie quotidienne* (Paris: Pygmalion, 2003), 70.

42. Violent physical hatred: Rémondon, “Les Antisémites de Memphis,” 257–58; Bernard Legras, “Κατὰ πολλὴν ἀπέχθειαν: Les discours de la haine contre les juifs dans l’Égypte ptolémaïque,” in *Les discours de la haine, récits et figures de la passion dans la cité*, ed. Marc Deleplace (Villeneuve d’Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2009), 45. Nauseated disgust: Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, *Greek Historical Documents: The*

Anti-Jewish sentiment in Egypt was a genuine problem under the later Ptolemies. However, we should bear in mind that in both secular and LXX Greek (as in modern English), βδελύσσομαι often has a less concrete sense in context, for example, “cannot stand,” “loathe.”

Again, we may quote the cognitive scientist Kelly: “Ethnic boundary markers are often highly emotionally charged, and attitudes and behaviors associated with ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and prejudice often follow the logic of disgust, depicting out-group members not just as wrong or different, but as tainted, contaminating, even subhuman.”⁴³

5. The Lexicon of Disgust in Later Hellenistic Jewish Reception

Both Pseudo-Aristeas and Philo show a more cerebral and less viscerally emotive approach to the taboos in Jewish law concerning food and animals. In the case of Pseudo-Aristeas, the only categories from the LXX Pentateuch regarding food and animals that the writer uses are καθάρος and ἀκάθαρτος, “clean and unclean.”⁴⁴ The high priest Eleazar uses neither the language of disgust (βδελύσσομαι/βδέλυγμα) nor of divine provocation (προσόχθισμα) when speaking of dietary and sexual taboos among Jews, even though the writer of Pseudo-Aristeas is familiar with the language of the LXX Pentateuch and does not hesitate to draw on it for certain terms.⁴⁵ Eleazar speaks of Jews being separate from and avoiding the company of evil people (rather than that of non-Jews)—presumably to counter accusations of Jewish xenophobia (§§130–131, 152)—and of people polluting themselves and others (μολύνω) by wrongful sexual relations. However, he does not employ other terms connoting disgust and abhorrence. Rather, his emphasis is on observing purity in soul and body and on the practice of piety (§§139, 142), on the basis of the “profound reason” (βαθύς λόγος) for abstinence (§142). Moral exemplarity is

Hellenistic Period, 2nd ed. (Malden: Blackwell, 2004), §175. Jocular: Cf. Burnet, *L'Égypte ancienne*, 70. Metaphorical: Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski, *Les Juifs d'Égypte de Ramesès à Hadrien* (Paris: A. Colin, 1991), 128–30.

43. Kelly, *Yuck!*, 7.

44. Katell Berthelot has noted the unexpected influence of Pythagorean views on Aristeas, on why one should not eat certain animals (“L’interprétation symbolique des lois alimentaires dans la *Lettre d’Aristée*: Une influence pythagoricienne,” *JJS* 52 [2001]: 253–68). See also Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: “Aristeas to Philocrates” or “On the Translation of the Law of the Jews,”* CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 266–92.

45. E.g., in §§57–58; 87; 96–98; 153–155; 158–60.

Pseudo-Aristeas's reason for the clean/unclean distinction among animals, giving as examples of the latter category mice, because they cause damage and render things unfit for human use (ἄχρηστον), and weasels, on the ground that they procreate unnaturally.

In Philo and Josephus, words associated with the process or state of pollution are used freely, especially μίασμα and μιαρός.⁴⁶ However, although pollution is the result of contamination, these writers rarely use terms derived from βδελ- (and never from προσοχθι-) that would indicate human or divine abhorrence. Philo uses βδελύττομαι only six times in his entire corpus, twice to explain the word βδέλυγμα (*Sacr.* 51), twice glossed with μισεῖν (*Migr.* 63; *Her.* 163), once in a biblical citation (*Virt.* 106), and once in a context that denigrates present-day Egyptians (when speaking of “virtues and virtuous deeds that the sensual Egyptian body detests,” in explanation of the phrase τὰ βδελύγματα Αἰγύπτου in Exod 8:22 [*Fug.* 18]).⁴⁷ In Josephus, the verb βδελύττομαι appears only twice: in *A.J.* 14.45 it is used of Aristobulus's entourage flaunting their finery in a manner that excites disgust; in *B.J.* 6.172 a Roman cavalry officer is disgusted by the boastfulness of an insignificant Jewish combatant.

So, from a cognitive scientific point of view, Philo and Josephus seldom employ the kind of words for elicitors of disgust (animals, sexual behavior, idolatry) that would function as a red flag or “stop sign” for the shunning of contaminants.⁴⁸ This may be for both literary and philosophical reasons within a milieu of educated Jews and Greeks. On the one hand, it may reflect a dislike of words seen as vulgarisms and neologisms, and, on the other hand, the avoidance of emotive terms evoking disgust that did not square with a more intellectual approach to the reasons for Jewish purity laws, especially if the taboos were regarded as absurd by non-Jewish readers.

Yet this does not mean that Jewish writers in the first century CE never use emotive terms signaling disgust. In fact, they occasionally deploy them

46. Occasionally found in LXX too: μίασμα in Lev 7:18 renders פגול; in Jer 39:34, it renders פקש; in Ezek 33:31, it occurs (unexpectedly) for בצע.

47. See Sarah J. K. Pearce, *The Land of the Body: Studies in Philo's Representation of Egypt*, WUNT 208 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 123.

48. Munch-Jurišić, “Perpetrator Abhorrence,” 270–87. For instance, although Philo vehemently opposes Egyptian zoolatry, he appeals to reason in describing it as “utterly ridiculous” (καταγελαστότερον), and elsewhere as “vanity,” τῦφος, or “foolishness,” ἡλιθιότης (Pearce, *Land of the Body*, 279–306).

for rhetorical purposes. Fourth Maccabees in particular uses both the language of pathos in its descriptions of horrific torture and also terms indicative of disgust in its account of the pressure placed on the martyrs to break dietary laws (for example, the nine uses of *μιαροφαγεῖν*, “to eat what is abominable”).⁴⁹ In *B.J.* 6.209–217, Josephus spares no sensibilities in his description of the incident where a Jewish mother is forced by hunger to kill and eat her own baby. By his descriptions of the physical reactions of shock among both rebels and Romans, and in particular by the double use of the strong term *μύσος* (“defilement,” as in classical tragedy),⁵⁰ Josephus portrays both rebels and Romans as united in utter revulsion at an act that breaks a universal code and suggests the effective contamination of both the whole city and individual citizens by an act that can only be covered over from heaven’s sight by the downfall of the nation.

6. Conclusion

Disgust theory may cast interesting light on concepts of pollutants and pollution in the Hebrew Bible, particularly the way in which disgust towards unpleasant things becomes abhorrence towards certain ritual practices and social behaviors within a community. However, given the limitations of our knowledge of Classical Hebrew, it is difficult to say how far words derived from *תעב* and *קש* were used in daily life by Hebrew-speakers and what their precise connotations were.

We are on more certain ground with the LXX renderings of these terms since we have access to a range of evidence in Classical and Hellenistic Greek. The translators of the LXX Pentateuch appear to have chosen the *βδελ-* group of words to render both these roots precisely because the stem had strong connotations of disgust within Greek culture, even though it was in literary texts that the verb was used, rather than papyri from the same region as the Pentateuch. *Βδελύσσομαι* appears to have been deemed particularly appropriate for situations of interethnic dislike (even

49. 4 Macc 5:3, 19, 25; 8:2, 12, 29; 11:16; 13:2; also the four uses of *μιαροφαγία*, 4 Macc 5:27; 6:19; 7:6; 11:25.

50. *ἀνεπλήσθη δ’ εὐθέως ὅλη τοῦ μύσους ἡ πόλις*, “the whole city was immediately filled with the abomination,” *B.J.* 6.212; *τὸ τῆς τεκνοφαγίας μύσος*, “the abomination of infant-cannibalism,” *B.J.* 6.217. In LXX, *μύσος* is found only in 2 Macc 6:19 (of Eleazar’s attitude towards eating swine’s flesh), but cf. the related adjective form *μυσερός* in Lev 18:23 rendering *תבול*.

where the Hebrew verbs it rendered indicated something rather different), and this is precisely the context for which we have a sole occurrence of the verb in the papyri. It is possible that the Genesis translator coined the word βδέλυγμα, which in later books became something of a standard rendering for תועבה and שקץ. The Deuteronomy translator may have devised the similar formation προσόχθισμα as a rough synonym, though with different nuances, for practices liable to provoke God's anger.⁵¹ Though both nouns βδέλυγμα and προσόχθισμα may conceivably have been used among Hellenistic Jews to denote taboos specific to Judaism, later Jewish writers with literary and philosophical aspirations largely avoided using such terms in Greek when referring to the Jewish way of life and its taboos.

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51. In contrast, the Peshitta translators were both less consistent and less inventive in their renderings, employing around ten different roots for derivatives of תועב and שקץ, none of them with the sense of disgust or abhorrence conveyed by βδέλ-. Most renderings relate to the realm of pollution (لأف, the strongest term used) or uncleanness (لأف), but many others convey the sense of rejection (لأف) or hatred (لأف). Other occurrences are rendered in a general way and according to context as "ways," "idols," "laws," "deeds," "sins," etc. It is possible that this indicates a lack of interest in cult and ritual among the Peshitta translators (whether Jewish or Christian), who were more focused on the problem of idolatry and infractions of morality.

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Considerations on the Use of *σέβομαι* in the Septuagint and in Jewish-Hellenistic Literature

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Abstract: In nonbiblical Greek, the verb *σέβομαι* is very common with the meaning “to worship.” In the Septuagint, however, it is very rare, particularly in the translated books. The standard verb used for expressing the relationship of Israelites with the Lord is *φοβέομαι*. The scope of this paper is to investigate why the Greek Bible sometimes uses *σέβομαι* for expressing the idea of reverence or worship in contexts where the religious practice of Israelites or non-Israelites is at issue. In this regard, it is necessary to explain the terminological choices of translators and authors of different books of the Septuagint and of other Jewish-Hellenistic texts, examining various possibilities in order to better understand why the translators or the authors opt for *σέβομαι* instead of *φοβέομαι*. In the light of the analysis carried out on the occurrences of the verbs in question, it can be observed that, in the respective books, the use of *σέβομαι* appears as a very precise terminological choice.

Introduction

In the Greek language, the verb *σέβω/σέβομαι* means “to revere.” In religious contexts, it normally has as direct object a noun designating a god or the gods in general.¹ Thus, in Xenophon’s *Mem.* 4.4.19, the following statement is put into the mouth of Socrates’s interlocutor Hippias: *καὶ γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται θεοὺς σέβειν*, “for among all men what is held for the first law is to fear the gods.” In the Septuagint, this verb is

1. See, e.g., the article on *σέβομαι* in Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque: Histoire des mots* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968–1980), 992 : “éprouver une crainte respectueuse.”

not very frequent: it appears about twenty-two times of which only seven are in the translated books, normally in the middle voice. When speaking of belief in the God of Israel, the Septuagint prefers the verb φοβέομαι, “to fear, to revere,” which, in the translated books, has the verb אָרַי as its Hebrew equivalent.²

The scope of this paper is to investigate why the Greek Bible sometimes uses σέβομαι to render the same verb for expressing the idea of reverence in contexts where faith in the God of Israel of Israelites or non-Israelites is at issue. Accordingly, I shall attempt to give an answer to some questions, for example, why some passages of the Septuagint use this verb, considering that the more characteristic verb for expressing reverence before God by Israelites or non-Israelites is normally φοβέομαι. Is it possible to affirm that σέβομαι is used as a synonym of φοβέομαι, or does this verb express a different *nuance* of meaning? Or is it used only in specific contexts? In this regard, I seek to explain the terminological choices of translators and authors of different books of the Septuagint and of other Jewish-Hellenistic texts, examining various possibilities in order to better understand why the translators or the authors opt for σέβομαι instead of φοβέομαι. To the best of my knowledge, in past research on the vocabulary of the Septuagint, this topic has been more or less neglected.³

In the Septuagint, as mentioned above, the standard verb used for worshipping the God of Israel is φοβέομαι, which usually corresponds to the Hebrew verb אָרַי. In this connection, it is sufficient to quote two examples:

Deut 6:13: κύριον τὸν θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ [MT: אָרַי] καὶ αὐτῷ λατρεύσεις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν κολληθήσῃ καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὁμῇ

2. For the idea of fear of God in the Hebrew Bible, see Phillip Michael Lasater, *Facets of Fear: The Fear of God in Exilic and Post-Exilic Contexts*, FAT 2/104 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

3. This is the case in the monograph by Suzanne Daniel, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966), 33–92, where the vocabulary of service is analyzed. Maria Vittoria Cerutti, “La terminologia religiosa e cultuale nel Pentateuco greco,” *Annali di Scienze religiose* 6 (2001): 191–214, does not take the verb into consideration, probably because it is missing in the Greek Pentateuch. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, MJS 9 (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2001), 233, notices the absence of the verb in most of the books of the Septuagint, but does not address the problem further.

The Lord your God you shall fear, and him you shall serve, and to him you shall cling, and by his name you shall swear. (NETS)

Ps 32(33):18: ἰδοὺ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους [MT: יִרְאֵי-ל'] αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ τῷ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ
Look, the eyes of the Lord are on those who fear him, those who hope in his mercy. (NETS)

But what about the occurrences of the verb σέβομαι in the Septuagint? In what follows, I shall try to highlight the precise contexts in which it is found in order to grasp its specific connotations and usages in the Septuagint and in Hellenistic-Jewish literature. In particular, the verb is found to indicate the worship of the God of Israel or of other deities. On close inspection of the occurrences, five categories emerge: (1) the context of faith considered insincere or ostentatious; (2) the context of idolatrous attitudes; (3) contexts in which non-Israelites are involved; (4) passages dealing with a future situation; (5) texts using σέβομαι as a standard verb. In general, I shall focus my attention on the occurrences of the verb in the Septuagint. Without claiming completeness, I shall take into account some examples belonging to the Hellenistic-Jewish literature that are in line with the Septuagint evidence.

1. The Usage of σέβομαι in Contexts of Faith Considered Ostentatious or Insincere

As for the first category, the verb σέβομαι describes the worship of the Lord condemned by God himself in Isa 29:13 where he considers the faith of the Israelites as merely formalistic and insincere:⁴

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος ἐγγίξει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος, τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτῶν τιμῶσίν με, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, μάτην δὲ σέβονται [MT: סֵבִי] με διδάσκοντες ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδασκαλίας
The Lord said: "These people draw near me; they honor me with their lips, while their heart is far from me, and in vain do they worship me, teaching human precepts and teachings." (NETS)

4. For some considerations on the lack of sincerity in faith of which Israel is accused in these verses, see, e.g., Lasater, *Facets of Fear*, 78–80.

Σέβομαι appears also in Job 1, in the dialogue between God and the slanderer. More precisely, it is found in a rhetorical question which the latter addresses to God to emphasize the alleged insincerity of the faith of Job who is suspected of worshipping God in the hope of some return. In fact, Job enjoys complete divine protection and blessing (see v. 10).

Job 1:9: ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ διάβολος καὶ εἶπεν ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου μὴ
δωρεὰν σέβεται [MT: 𐤒𐤓] *Iwβ tōn theōn*

Then the slanderer answered and said before the Lord, “Does Iob really worship the Lord for nothing?” (NETS)

If we consider the occurrences of the verb φοβέομαι in the two books, respectively, namely, the books of Job and Isaiah, we find that its use diverges from that of σέβομαι. In the book of Isaiah, in most of the cases, the verb 𐤒𐤓 is rendered with φοβέομαι, in particular when the verbs express a kind of genuine faith in the Lord to be expected in the future, for example, Isa 50:10; 59:19. In other cases, φοβέομαι appears to be the standard translation of 𐤒𐤓, see, for example, 41:5; 57:11; 63:17.

As for the book of Job, the verb φοβέομαι usually indicates the feeling of fear in the face of a danger or the enemy (i.e., Job 5:21, 22; 6:21; 9:35; 11:15; 32:6); the only exception is a passage that refers to all humans who fear God because of His power and righteousness (i.e., Job 37:24: διὸ φοβηθήσονται αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, φοβηθήσονται δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ καρδίᾳ, “Wherefore men shall fear him; and the wise also in heart shall fear him”).

2. The Usage of σέβομαι in Contexts of Idolatry

In some texts, the verb σέβομαι is associated with acts of idolatry carried out by Israelites or non-Israelites. Joshua 24:33 relates that, when Eleazar died, he was buried in Gibeah, a region belonging to his son, Phinehas. The Septuagint has quite a long plus:

οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς τὴν
ἐαυτῶν πόλιν καὶ ἐσέβοντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν Ἀστάρτην καὶ Αστάρωθ
καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν κύκλῳ αὐτῶν καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς
κύριος εἰς χεῖρας Ἑγλωμ τῷ βασιλεῖ Μωαβ καὶ ἐκυρίευσεν αὐτῶν ἔτη
δέκα ὀκτώ

And the sons of Israel departed each to their place and to their own city, and the sons of Israel worshipped Astarte and Astaroth

and the gods of the nations round about them. And the Lord delivered them into the hands of Eglom, the king of Moab, and he dominated them eighteen years. (NETS)

In this case, the verb σέβομαι serves to express an act of infidelity by Israelites who worship foreign gods, and that is why they are said to have suffered the domination of the Moabites for several years by the will of God who was punishing them.⁵ Conversely, in Josh 24:14, the verb φοβέομαι appears when God admonishes his people to fear Him and not to serve the foreign gods whom their fathers served in Egypt:

καὶ νῦν φοβήθητε [MT: יִרְאֵי] κύριον καὶ λατρεύσατε [MT: יַדְבִּיגוּ]
αὐτῷ ἐν εὐθύτητι καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ περιέλεσθε τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς
ἄλλοτρίους οἷς ἐλάτρευσαν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ
καὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ λατρεύετε κυρίῳ
And now fear the Lord, and serve him in straightness and in righteousness, and put away the foreign gods that your fathers served beyond the river and in Egypt, and serve the Lord. (NETS)

This means that the translator chooses the standard equivalent of the two Hebrew words in question: the verb יִרְאֵי is rendered with φοβέομαι and the verb יַדְבִּיגוּ, when it refers to the worship of a deity, with the verb λατρεύω (e.g., Exod 3:12; Deut 4:19).

It is interesting that, in the Wisdom of Solomon, the verb σέβομαι occurs twice in relation to idolatry. It is questionable whether the author of the book was familiar with the usage of this verb in the Septuagint or if he followed the normal Greek usage of the verb, that is, “to worship.” Be that as it may, in Wis 15:6, the verb alludes to all those who worship idols, attracted by their colorful images and without knowledge of the God of Israel and his power. For the author of the book, these people desire the form of a dead image that has no breath. For this reason, the worshipers are condemned as follows: “Lovers of evil things and worthy of such objects of hope are those who make or desire or worship them” (κακῶν ἐρασταὶ ἄξιοί τε τοιούτων ἐλπίδων καὶ οἱ δρῶντες καὶ οἱ ποθοῦντες καὶ οἱ σεβόμενοι). In the same chapter of the Wisdom of Solomon, the verb

5. Concerning the purpose of this plus, see, e.g., Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué)*, BdA 6 (Paris: Cerf, 1996), 239.

σέβομαι is associated with zoolatry. In verse 18, in fact, it is said that those who follow the idols “worship the most hateful animals; for, when compared for lack of intelligence, they are worse than all others” (καὶ τὰ ζῷα δὲ τὰ ἐχθίστα σέβονται· ἀνοία γὰρ συγκρινόμενα τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ χείρονα).⁶ In contrast to the book of Joshua, the Wisdom of Solomon does not make a distinction between σέβομαι with the connotation of worship of idols, on the one hand, and φοβέομαι with the connotation of fearing the Lord, on the other. In fact, φοβέομαι never occurs with reference to the Lord. Instead, several times, we find the verb typical of the theological vocabulary of the Septuagint, πέποιθα, “to trust” (e.g., Deut 32:37; Ps 2:12; Prov 2:5), which is used with reference to both the Lord (e.g., Wis 3:9; 16:24) and the idols (e.g., Wis 14:29).

Similarly, in *Bel and the Dragon*, the verb appears four times to describe the cultic conduct of non-Israelites who worship other divinities, for example:

Bel 3^{OG}: καὶ ἦν εἰδωλὸν Βηλ ὃ ἐσέβοντο οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι
And there was an idol, Bel, which the Babylonians revered.

Bel 4^{OG}: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσέβετο αὐτόν [i.e., Βηλ]
And the king revered him.

Bel 23^{OG}: καὶ ἦν δράκων ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ ἐσέβοντο αὐτὸν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι.
And there was a dragon in that same place, and the Babylonians revered it.

Bel 27^{OG}: ὁ Δανιηλ ... ἔδειξεν αὐτὸν τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων· οὐ ταῦτα σέβεσθε βασιλεῦ
Daniel ... showed it to the king, saying, “Aren’t these the things you worship, O king?”⁷

6. For the use of σέβομαι in the Wisdom of Solomon, see also Giuseppe Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza: Testo, Traduzione, Introduzione e Commento* (Brescia: Paideia, 1999), 3:156.

7. All quotations NETS, slightly modified. It is not necessary here to quote the Theodotion version of *Bel and the Dragon* as well because, despite its textual variants, it is rather similar to the Old Greek text, except for vv. 3 and 27. For an in-depth analysis of the differences between the OG and the Theodotion text of *Bel and the Dragon*,

As a preliminary result, concerning the use of φοβέομαι in these three latter books, it is noteworthy that it is never associated with foreign divinities. Moreover, in the Wisdom of Solomon and in Bel and the Dragon—two books of which only a Greek text is available—the verb employed for the worship of idols is σέβομαι. Given this scarcity of occurrences, it is difficult to decide whether the authors of the books in question were following the typical Greek usage of the verb or whether they were influenced by Septuagint texts that consider the verb useful for expressing an irregular type of worship. As for the Jewish-Hellenistic literature, we find different scenarios: the use of φοβέομαι and σέβομαι under the influence of the Septuagint, on the one hand, and, on the other, the disappearance of φοβέομαι which is replaced by σέβομαι (see below, §5).

A good example of the first case is the novel *Joseph and Aseneth*,⁸ where the verb σέβομαι is attested, associated with the worship of foreign gods. Although this text knows the verb φοβέομαι, which occurs several times (e.g., Jos. Asen. 7.2; 10.1; 24.1), only once, in Jos. Asen. 2.3, is it used for expressing Aseneth's faith in the Egyptian gods. Moreover, on this single occasion, it is found in parallel with σέβομαι with the aim of reinforcing the idea the author wants to communicate to the reader at the beginning of her personal story of conversion,⁹ Aseneth, the epitome of pagan woman, is extremely devoted to the pagan gods whom she literally fears:

Καὶ πάντας ἐκείνους ἐσέβετο Ἀσενὲθ καὶ ἐφοβεῖτο αὐτοὺς καὶ θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐπετέλει

Aseneth worshipped them all [i.e., her gods], feared them and offered sacrifices to them every day.

see, e.g., Joachim Schüpphaus, "Das Verhältnis von LXX- und Theodotion-Text in den apokryphen Zusätzen zum Danielbuch," ZAW 83 (1971): 49–72. However, this article does not specifically address the issue of the use of σέβομαι.

8. The Greek text of the novel quoted in this essay is the following critical edition: *Joseph und Aseneth: Kritisch herausgegeben von Christoph Burchard. Mit Unterstützung von Carsten Burfeind und Uta Barbara Fink* (Leiden: Brill, 2003).

9. For a detailed analysis of Aseneth's process from the worship of the Egyptian gods to the worship of the God of Joseph, see Daniela Scialabba, *Creation and Salvation: Models of Relationship between the God of Israel and the Nations in the Book of Jonah, Psalm 33 (MT and LXX) and the Novel Joseph and Aseneth*, FAT 2/106 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck: 2019), 223–92.

By contrast, *σέβομαι*, which occurs in the novel five times, always refers to Aseneth's pagan past from the point of view of her conversion to the God of Joseph, that is, to the time when she was worshipping the Egyptian gods. The first phase of her conversion process is referred to in Jos. Asen. 9.2:

Καὶ ἔκλαυσε κλαυθμῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ πικρῷ καὶ μετενόει ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῆς, ὧν ἐσέβετο

She wept with strong and bitter tears and converted from the gods whom she worshipped.

Furthermore, in her soliloquy, Aseneth realizes that the worship of the God of Joseph is not at all compatible with idolatry (Jos. Asen. 11.7):

Καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς τοῦ δυνατοῦ Ἰωσήφ <ὁ ὕψιστος> μισεῖ πάντας τοὺς σεβομένους τὰ εἰδῶλα, διότι θεὸς ζηλωτῆς ἐστὶ καὶ φοβερὸς ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς σεβομένους θεοὺς ἀλλοτρίους

And the Lord God of the mighty Joseph, the Most High, hates all those who worship the idols, because he is a God who is jealous and fearful towards all those who worship foreign gods.

Looking back on her past, Aseneth becomes aware of the fact that her former idolatry was ultimately due to her ignorance (Jos. Asen. 13.11):

ἰδοὺ οὖν τοὺς θεοὺς πάντας οὓς ἐσεβόμην τὸ πρότερον ἀγνοοῦσα νῦν ἔγνων ὅτι ἦσαν εἰδῶλα κωφὰ καὶ νεκρά

Behold, then, all the gods whom I worshipped before because I was ignorant. Now I know that they were dumb and dead idols.

For a similar quotation, see also Jos. Asen. 21.13.

3. The Usage of *σέβομαι* in Dialogues with Non-Israelites

That the translators and authors of the books of the Septuagint as well as the authors of the Jewish-Hellenistic writings did not at all feel bound to the biblical-Greek use of *φοβέομαι* but were quite familiar with the common Greek use of *σέβομαι* can be seen from another series of passages.

In at least two texts, the verb *σέβομαι* serves to express a sort of profession of faith in the God of Israel. Thus, the verb is used by an Israelite before interlocutors belonging to peoples alien to the faith of Israel.

To begin with, in the book of Jonah, where the relationship between the God of Israel and non-Israelites constitutes the fundamental issue of the entire didactic narrative, the prophet declares in presence of the mariners (Jonah 1:9):

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς· δοῦλος κυρίου ἐγὼ εἰμι καὶ τὸν κύριον θεὸν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἐγὼ σέβομαι [MT: 𐤒𐤕] ὃς ἐποίησεν τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν

And he told them: “I am a slave of the Lord, and I worship the Lord, God of the sky, who made the sea and the dry land.”

This is the statement through which Jonah answers the sailors, people with a different cultural background and probably worshipping other divinities, in order to introduce himself.¹⁰ In this sentence, which, in the narrative, constitutes a sort of brief presentation of the prophet before the sailors who ask him who he is, the use of σέβομαι is a cause for astonishment for the Septuagint scholar. In fact, in all the other verses of this book where the verb 𐤒𐤕 is used with the meaning “to fear” (i.e., Jonah 1:5, 10, 16), the Greek translator uses the verb φοβέομαι systematically. In other words, when Jonah is speaking to his non-Israelite interlocutors, he uses a standard verb they are supposed to know, σέβομαι. By contrast, the narrator uses the verb φοβέομαι when speaking of the faith of the sailors worshipping the God of Israel (Jonah 1:16).

Another example that deals with the faith professed by an Israelite in the presence of non-Israelites can be found in a text available only in Greek, in Bel 4–5. Answering the king’s question as to why he does not worship Bel, an idol worshiped by the Babylonians, Daniel underlines his fidelity toward his God:

Bel 4–5: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσέβετο αὐτόν καὶ ἐπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς καθ’ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν καὶ προσεκύνει αὐτῷ, Δανιηλ δὲ προσηύχετο πρὸς κύριον. καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Δανιηλ· διὰ τί οὐ προσκυνεῖς τῷ Βηλ, καὶ εἶπε Δανιηλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα· οὐδένα σέβομαι ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ κύριον τὸν θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυριεῖαν

10. For more details, see Scialabba, *Creation and Salvation*, 42.

And the king revered him, and the king went every day and did obeisance to him. But Daniel prayed to the Lord. And the king said to Daniel, “Why do you not do obeisance to Bel?” And Daniel said to the king, “I revere no one except the Lord God, who created heaven and earth and has sovereignty over all flesh.”

In this passage, the verb *σέβομαι* is used to express the faith of Daniel in the God of Israel, and it seems a sort of *credo* formula: Daniel points out that he refuses to worship any other god except the one who created heaven and earth. The idea of Daniel’s faith in the God of Israel, expressed by the formula *σέβομαι ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ κύριον τὸν θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυριεῖαν*, is stressed in Theodotion’s version of the passage in question. In fact, Theodotion completes Daniel’s affirmations, adding further elements:

ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ σέβομαι εἰδῶλα χειροποίητα ἀλλὰ τὸν ζῶντα θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυριεῖαν
But he said: “I don’t revere handmade idols, but the living God who has created the sky and the earth and has sovereignty over all flesh.”

Here, the verb *σέβομαι*, used with the negation *οὐ*, is part of a declarative sentence followed by the adversative conjunction *ἀλλά* and some additions concerning the direct object. These elements underline the object of Daniel’s faith in a stronger manner insofar as they make a sharp contrast between God as living, as creator and as lord of all humankind, and the idols made by hands. In this regard, the faith formula in the prophet’s mouth turns out to be more explicit. In conclusion, in these two passages, in Jonah 1:6 and Bel 4, it is interesting to note that an Israelite speaker addresses a non-Israelite interlocutor using a sort of common vocabulary with which the interlocutor is supposed to be familiar.

A similar use of the verb can be found in a text belonging to Judeo-Hellenistic literature, the Testament of Joseph,¹¹ where Joseph reminds Potiphar’s wife forcefully that the worship of God is not a question of impurity or adultery but of purity of heart and lips (T. Jos. 4.6):

11. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs are quoted according to the following edition: Marinus de Jonge, ed., *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, PVTG 1.2 (Leiden: Brill, 1978).

λέγω δὲ πρὸς αὐτήν· Οὐκ ἐν ἀκαθαρσίᾳ θέλει κύριος τοὺς σεβομένους αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς μοιχεύουσιν εὐδοκεῖ

And I said unto her [= Potiphar's wife]: The Lord wills not that those who reverence Him are in uncleanness, nor does He take pleasure in them that commit adultery.

Once more, an Israelite speaker uses the verb σέβομαι when dealing with a non-Israelite. Elsewhere in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, however, the protagonists prefer the verb φοβέομαι when they call upon their descendants to fear the Lord, for example, T. Levi 13.1:

Καὶ νῦν, τέκνα μου, ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν ἵνα φοβεῖσθε τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας

And now, my children, I command you that you fear our Lord with your whole heart.

For similar formulations, see also T. Zeb. 10.5 and T. Benj. 3.3.

4. The Usage of σέβομαι in Passages Referring to the Future

Unlike the use of the verb in Jonah 1:9 and in Bel 5, in Josh 22:25, σέβομαι occurs in a statement that alludes to the danger of a future cultic separation between the tribes of Israel¹²:

ἀπαλλοτριώσουσιν οἱ υἱοὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς υἱοὺς ἡμῶν ἵνα μὴ σέβωνται κύριον [MT: וְלִבְלִחֵי יִרְאֵהוּהוּהוּ]

And your sons shall alienate our sons, that they not worship the Lord. (NETS)

Justifying themselves before the other Israelite leaders, the Transjordanian tribes argue that the altar built on the border of the Jordan is not an expression of an act of rebellion before the Lord but a testimony of the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and half of Manasseh who want to manifest that they belong to Him, they and their descendants. Given that the Jordan is a natural boundary, the altar in question should prevent any separation between the tribes of Israel, that is, the attempt of worshipers of the other tribes to dissuade the Transjordan tribes from continuing to worship the

12. For more historical and exegetical details, see the commentaries on the book of Joshua, e.g., Hartmut N. Rösel, *Joshua*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 343–52.

Lord. How do we explain the use of the verb *σέβομαι* in this context? On close inspection, it appears in a dialogue between individuals belonging to different tribes of Israel. Perhaps the translator of the book of Joshua opted for this verb instead of *φοβέομαι*—a verb he was actually familiar with (e.g., Josh 24:14)—because *σέβομαι* expresses the worship of a god in a rather neutral and less performative way, specifically in a context where two parties are quarrelling over loyalty or infidelity to the traditional faith and, in consequence, their religious identity.

A similar idea can be observed in Josh 4:24. In this verse, Joshua alludes to the extraordinary work God has performed for his people by making them cross the Jordan on dry ground, and, having set up twelve stones at Gilgal, he concludes:

ὅπως γινῶσιν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς ὅτι ἡ δύναμις τοῦ κυρίου ἰσχυρά ἐστίν καὶ ἵνα ὑμεῖς σέβησθε [MT: םתאיר] κύριον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν ἐν παντὶ χρόνῳ

so that all the nations of the earth may know that the power of the Lord is mighty and in order that you may worship the Lord your God for all time.

Despite the obvious differences between the two passages of the book of Joshua, they have one idea in common, at least in their Septuagint version: when speaking of a future situation in which Israelites may be prompted to recognize the God of Israel in one way or another or to do the exact opposite, the translator opts for the verb *σέβομαι*. In other words, both texts refer to a possible situation in the future in which it would be necessary to claim the fear of God, not to a present situation.

Finally, the verb *σέβομαι* appears in a text announcing a future time when God will be recognized by faithful Israelites. In the last chapter of the book of Isaiah, Jerusalem, once restored after a long period of suffering, is invited to understand that it owes its new prosperity to the Lord himself, Isa 66:14:

καὶ ὕψεσθε καὶ χαρήσεται ὑμῶν ἡ καρδία καὶ τὰ ὀστά ὑμῶν ὡς βοτάνη ἀνατελεῖ καὶ γνωσθήσεται ἡ χεὶρ κυρίου τοῖς σεβομένοις [MT: תאיריבד] αὐτόν καὶ ἀπειλήσει τοῖς ἀπειθοῦσιν¹³

13. Codex Vaticanus (B) and L read *φοβουμένοις* instead of *σεβομένοις*, opting for the more usual verb in the Septuagint.

And you shall see, and your heart shall rejoice, and your bones shall grow like grass, and the hand of the Lord shall be known to those who worship him, and he shall threaten those who disobey him. (NETS)

In this verse, the *σεβόμενοι* of the Lord are contrasted with the *ἀπειθοῦντες*, that is, disloyal people.¹⁴ Interestingly, the Hebrew equivalent of *σεβόμενοι* is the plural of the noun דָּבָר, “servant,” in this context, probably, a noun denoting God’s faithful in a general sense.¹⁵

5. The Use of σέβομαι in Descriptive Contexts: The Case of the Letter of Aristeas

The situation is different in the Letter of Aristeas: on the one hand, the verb *φοβέομαι* is completely absent. On the other hand, the verb *σέβομαι* is the usual choice insofar as it occurs indiscriminately with reference to both foreign deities and the God of Israel.¹⁶ As for the faith of the Israelites, the writer of the letter explains the faith of the Jews to Ptolemy, using a common vocabulary instead of *φοβέομαι* (§16):

τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην θεὸν οὗτοι σέβονται, ὃν καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δέ, βασιλεῦ, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία
They [i.e., the Jews] worship the same God—the overseer and creator of the universe, as all other men, as we ourselves, O king, though we call him by different names, such as Zeus or Dis.

14. For an in-depth analysis of the verb *ἀπειθέω* in the Septuagint, see Michaël N. van der Meer, “Problems and Perspectives in Septuagint Lexicography: The Case of Non-Compliance (*ἀπειθέω*),” in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-history, Usage, Reception*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, SCS 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 65–86; for Isa 66:14 in particular, see p. 83.

15. See already Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias*, *Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen*, 12.3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1934), 42. For a more nuanced interpretation of the word, see David A. Baer, “What Happens in the End? Evidence for an Early Greek Recension in LXX Isaiah 66,” *The Old Greek of Isaiah: Issues and Perspectives*, ed. Arie van der Kooij and Michaël N. van der Meer, CBET 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 2010), 1–31.

16. For this observation, see also Benjamin G. Wright, *The Letter of Aristeas: ‘Aristeas to Philocrates’ or ‘On the Translation of the Law of the Jews’*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 265.

Albeit in a less polemical manner than in the texts cited above (see §2, above), the high priest Eleazar explains to the delegation coming from Egypt that the fundamental difference between Jews and other people lies in their belief in one God whereas the other peoples assume that many gods exist (§134):¹⁷

ποιησάμενος οὖν τὴν καταρχὴν ταύτην, καὶ δείξας ὅτι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωποι πολλοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζουσιν, αὐτοὶ δυναμικώτεροι πολλῶ καθεστῶτες ὧν σέβονται ματαίως
Beginning from this starting point, he went on to show that all mankind 'except ourselves' believe in the existence of many gods, though they themselves are much more powerful than the beings whom they vainly worship.¹⁸

Nevertheless, for the author of the Letter of Aristeas, the verb σέβομαι appears to be the standard verb when it comes to summarizing religious convictions in one word, regardless of whether it refers to Jews or other peoples. Thus, the High Priest underlines that Jews worship the one God who is mighty above the whole creation (139: τὸν μόνον θεὸν καὶ δυνατὸν σεβόμενοι παρ' ὅλην τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν). Accordingly, being called "Men of God," Jews deserve this title because it belongs only to a person who worships the true God (140): εἰ μὴ τις σέβεται τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν θεόν.

Conclusions

In the light of this analysis of the occurrences of the verb in question, it can be observed that, in the respective books, the use of σέβομαι appears as a very precise terminological choice. In fact, for the translated books, where the Septuagint could opt for translating ⲡⲓ with φοβέομαι, the translators here and there use σέβομαι. In particular, they do so with reference to specific cases:

17. That this distinction is of paramount importance for determining the *Sitz im Leben* of the Letter of Aristeas has been underlined by Ekaterina Matusova, *The Meaning of the Letter of Aristeas: In Light of Biblical Interpretation and Grammatical Tradition, and with Reference to Its Historical Context*, FRLANT 260 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 42.

18. For the English translation of the Letter of Aristeas, see Rutherford H. Platt, ed., *The Letter of Aristeas: A Book of the Apocrypha* (London: Abela, 2017).

- ♦ The verb σέβομαι serves to describe the allegedly insincere worship of God as well as the practice of idolatry attributed to Israelites or non-Israelites.
- ♦ The verb σέβομαι seems to be part of a sort of somewhat universal language that Israelites and non-Israelites have in common and that, in consequence, allows them to share a common vocabulary.
- ♦ In some scattered cases, the verb appears in contexts dealing with a potential situation in the future where Israelites will be prompted to worship the Lord or do the contrary.
- ♦ In a text like the Letter of Aristeas, σέβομαι is the verb denoting, indiscriminately, the faith of Israelites and the religious practices and convictions of non-Israelites.

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Part 4
Exegesis and Theology

Καταπέτασμα in Exodus and Hebrews: A Reevaluation of the Inner and the Outer Veil

Elena Belenkaja

Abstract: This study explores the use of the term *καταπέτασμα* in the books of Exodus and Hebrews. Israel's tabernacle had one veil at its entrance and a second veil that separated the inner sanctuary from the outer. In the LXX, the Hebrew term for the second, inner veil, is regularly translated *καταπέτασμα*, which is employed only occasionally to designate the outer veil (e.g., Exod 37:5; 39:40). The veil marks the point of transition to the *sanctissimum* and the divine presence. In Heb 9:1–5, the author gives a description of the tabernacle, calls the tabernacle's forecourt the “first tent,” and locates the “Ἁγία Ἀγίων” “behind the second veil.” The terminology is peculiar. The LXX depicts the tabernacle as a single tent with two parts and not as two tents. Furthermore, the altar of incense is situated in the most holy place (9:4). According to the Old Testament, the altar is usually located in the holy place. The question thus arises what reasons have led to this modification. For Hebrews, the numbering is decisive for the argument of a spatial and temporal contrast. By using this terminology, the author identifies the forecourt of the tabernacle with the realm of flesh and the present time whereas the “Ἁγία Ἀγίων” corresponds to the age to come and the heavenly sanctuary.

1. Introduction

“The image of the veil is rooted in the Old Testament's accounts of the desert tabernacle. According to Exodus there were two curtains, the first (ךסמ) at the entrance to the tabernacle ... and the second

(פרוכת) before the inner portion of the tabernacle.”¹ The LXX regularly translates the inner veil with τὸ καταπέτασμα and the outer veil with τὸ κάλυμμα. In some instances, however, the Septuagint translator(s) use(s) τὸ καταπέτασμα for the outer veil and the veil in the courtyard.² The two veils in the wilderness tabernacle divided the sanctuary into two chambers. The “inner chamber was a cube measuring ten cubits on each side, while the outer chamber was a long room ten cubits in width and height and twenty cubits in length.”³ The first chamber was called the “holy” and the second the “holy of holies” (Exod 26:33). The inner veil was made of blue, purple, and crimson fabric with a woven work of cherubim.

The different uses of τὸ καταπέτασμα create the impression that the LXX did not know of any strict terminological distinction. The frequent appearance of τὸ καταπέτασμα in the Pentateuch gives rise to the presumption that the term is a cultic one.⁴

The description of the functionality of the inner and the outer veil in the Old Testament serves as the foundation for the reception in the New Testament. The (inner) veil is the point one must pass to reach the *sanctissimum* and the divine presence. Only selected people were entitled to enter the holy and most holy place of the sanctuary.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, καταπέτασμα is mentioned three times (6:19; 9:3; 10:20). In Heb 6:19, the author declares that Jesus has entered τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος (“the inner place of the curtain”). This phrase refers to Lev 16:12, 15 (which lacks the first article). As “disclosed later in the sermon, ‘the inner place’ is not the Holy of Holies in the tabernacle, which the high priest entered once a year on the Day of

1. Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, Hermeneia (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 184. He locates the first curtain at the west end, but it is the east end of the tabernacle.

2. Cf. George E. Rice, “Hebrews 6:19: Analysis of some Assumptions concerning *Katapetasma*,” *AUSS* 25 (1987): 65–71. See also the response of Roy E. Gane, “Re-opening *Katapetasma* (‘Veil’) in Hebrews 6:19,” *AUSS* 38 (2000): 5–8.

3. Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “The Form and Fate of the Tabernacle: Reflections on a Recent Proposal,” *JQR* 84 (1995): 131.

4. In his commentary on Leviticus, Hieke postulates: “‘Parochet’ ist der Spezialbegriff für den Vorhang vor dem Allerheiligsten; es ist nicht der Vorhang am Eingang zum Vorhof vor dem Zelt der Begegnung.... Das Wort ist im Altgriechischen sehr selten und wird ausschließlich in kultischen Kontexten verwendet.” See Thomas Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, HThKAT (Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau, 2014), 235.

Atonement to perform the rite of atonement there (9:3, 7), but the heavenly sanctuary.”⁵ The portrayal of the tabernacle in Heb 9:1–5 differs from the Old Testament account and contains scriptural allusions. This creates some exegetical difficulties.

Hebrews 9:1–10 features a description of the earthly tabernacle and its regulations.⁶ The author relates that the tabernacle had a veil that separates the holy from the most holy place (9:3), but he calls the tabernacle’s forecourt the “first tent” and locates the Ἁγία Ἀγίων “behind the second veil” (μετὰ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα). This terminology is peculiar. The LXX depicts the tabernacle as a single tent with two parts and not as two tents. Furthermore, the altar of incense is situated in the most holy place (9:4). According to the Old Testament, the altar is usually located in the holy place. For the author of Hebrews, the earthly sanctuary, covenant, and its regulations stand in opposition to the heavenly sanctuary, Christ’s high priesthood, and self-sacrifice (9:11–14). Therefore, the description of the tabernacle differs from its scriptural base. What has led to this modification?

In the first section, I focus on statistical observations of τὸ καταπέτασμα in the LXX, especially in LXX Exodus, and explore the Hebrew equivalents. In a second section, I want to examine the function of the veil. For this purpose, I will analyze Exod 26:31–35, which is the basis of theological content for the role of τὸ καταπέτασμα.⁷ The focus of this study is primarily the inner veil. In addition, the sacrificial procedures at the Day of Atonement (Lev 16), which involves the inner veil, needs to be considered in more detail. They are important for the illustration of the (inner) veil in Hebrews. Finally, I will focus on Heb 9:3, specifically its reception of τὸ καταπέτασμα and its rendition of the tabernacle.

5. John W. Kleinig, *Hebrews*, ConCom (Concordia Publishing House: Saint Louis, 2017), 319.

6. Cf. Kleinig, *Hebrews*, 419: “The ordinances for the service are given by God in his first speech to Moses on Mount Sinai in Ex 25:1–30:10, and then in the other six speeches in Ex 30:11–31:17, as well as the ritual instructions in Ex 40:1–16; Leviticus 1–7; 16–17.”

7. Cf. James W. Thompson, *Hebrews*, Paideia (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2008), 183: “The description of the tabernacle furnishings is based primarily on Exod 25 and 26, and the distinction between the holy and most holy place is found in Exod 26:33.”

2. Statistical Observations

2.1. καταπέτασμα in the LXX

In the LXX, καταπέτασμα occurs thirty-eight times, with most instances in Exodus (twenty-one times): 26:31, 33(3x), 34, 35, 37; 27:21; 30:6; 35:12; 37:3, 5, 16; 38:18; 39:4, 19; 40:3, 5, 21, 22, 26. In addition, we find a few more instances of καταπέτασμα in Lev 4:6, 17; 16:2, 12, 15; 21:23; 24:3, Num 3:10, 26; 4:5, 32; 18:7, 3 Kgdms 6:36, 2 Chron 3:14, 1 Macc 1:21; 4:51, and Sir 50:5. The statistical observation makes clear that καταπέτασμα is a preferred term of the Pentateuch.⁸

2.2. καταπέτασμα in Josephus and Philo

Philo uses καταπέτασμα twelve times: *Gig.* 1.53; *Mut.* 1.192; *Mos.* 2.80, 86, 87(2x), 95; 2.101; *Spec.* 1.171; 1.231, 274, 296. In *Mos* 2.101, he makes a distinction between the outer (τὸ κάλυμμα) and inner veil (τὸ καταπέτασμα), but the outer veil does not have a cultic meaning. Philo's understanding is influenced by his symbolic interpretation. In *Gig.* 1.53 (ὁ ἐσωτάτῳ καταπέτασμα καὶ προκάλυμμα), he uses the same combination as in Exod 40:21 (τὸ κατακάλυμμα τοῦ καταπετάσματος) for the inner veil.⁹

Josephus mentions καταπέτασμα ten times: *A.J.* 8.75, 90; 12.250; 14.107; *B.J.* 5.212, 219, 232; 6.389, 390; 7.162. The term denotes the outer as well as the inner veil (cf. *A.J.* 8.75). He also uses the distinction between two veils and calls them the "first" and "other" (*A.J.* 3.125–27 καταπετάννυμι). But, in Josephus, the terms were used for successive courts of the Herodian temple.¹⁰

8. LXX translates תָּכֶסֶת once with ἐπίσπαστρον (Exod 26:36). This is a *hapax legomenon*. Gooding explains the change from ἐπίσπαστρον (תָּכֶסֶת) in Exod 26:36 to καταπέτασμα in Exod 26:37 (תָּכֶסֶת) with inaccuracy of the translator. Cf. D. W. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus* (repr. Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1978), 23. Daniel Gurtner claims instead: "LXX translators betray contextual or syntactical elements beyond the mere word-level of their translation that indicate which 'καταπέτασμα' was intended, and therefore felt free to choose different terms for the veil." Cf. Daniel M. Gurtner, "LXX Syntax and the Identity of the NT Veil," *NovT* 47 (2005): 348–49.

9. Karl Schneider, "καταπέτασμα," *TWNT* 3:631.

10. Cf. Peter T. O'Brien, *The Letter to the Hebrews*, PNTC (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 307, n. 17. See also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 232. In *Let. Aris.* 1.86,

2.3. Hebrew Equivalents to καταπέτασμα

The Masoretic text (MT) has two Hebrew equivalents for καταπέτασμα: פרכת (twenty-five times) and מסך (thirty-one times). In most cases, καταπέτασμα is the translation of פרכת (twenty-four of twenty-five occurrences). It is striking that καταπέτασμα can refer to various veils, but the Hebrew word פרכת unambiguously denotes the inner veil.¹¹ Roy Gane and Jacob Milgrom give the following definition of פרכת: “bezieht sich ausschließlich auf den das Allerheiligste vom Heiligtum trennenden verhüllenden Vorhang, 24mal im Wüsten-(Zelt-) Heiligtum und 1mal (2Chr 3, 14) im salomonischen Tempel. Der Vorhang diente als Schranke, um Eingang und Sicht zu verhindern, und markierte zugleich den Ort, in / auf dem Gott thront.”¹²

The Hebrew term פרכת is a *terminus technicus*. Rainer Albertz traces it back to the Akkadian word *parāku*, which he translates with “sich querlegen, sperren.” In this case, פרכת is defined as a barrier or with Albertz “Absperrung.”¹³

In the description of Exodus, the tabernacle was standing in a court (Exod 27:9–19). Linen curtains marked the court off from the desert. The door to the tabernacle was formed by curtains, which screened the sanctuary. Their name was “screen for the doorway” (מסך Exod 26:36; 27:16). The design was simpler and of lesser quality than the design of פרכת but also composed of fine linen. “The absence of cherubim marks the curtain

καταπέτασμα describes the outer veil. Joseph and Aseneth (10:4) mentions a leather curtain from the door (Καὶ ἔσπευσεν Ἀσενὲθ καὶ καθεῖλεν ἐκ τῆς θύρας τὴν δέρριν τοῦ καταπετάσματος). For the disputed opinion that τὸ καταπέτασμα was a double curtain, see m. Yoma 5.1.

11. Cf. Gane, “Re-Opening,” 6.

12. Roy Gane and Jacob Milgrom, “פְּרֻכֶּת,” *TWAT* 6:755–57. Cf. Scott D. Mackie, “Ancient Jewish Mystical Motifs in Hebrews’ Theology of Access and Entry Exhortations,” *NTS* 58 (2012): 88–104. The veil “constitutes an almost impenetrable barrier to the divine presence” (93). Houtman postulates, similar to Gane and Milgrom, that פרכת “is used almost exclusively (see 2 Chr. 3:14) as term for the tapestry separating the Holy Place from the Most Holy Place.” See Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus*, HCOT (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 3:437. See also Daniel M. Gurtner, *Exodus: A Commentary on the Greek Text of Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 420.

13. Cf. Rainer Albertz, *Exodus*, ZBK (Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2015), 2:179.

as boundary. The cherubim are not to be exposed to the eyes of unauthorized individuals.”¹⁴

The LXX translates מסך with καταπέτασμα seven times. There is no equivalent in Exod 38:18 (MT 36:34); Num 3:10; 4:32 and 3 Kgdms 6:36 (MT 1 Kgs 6:36).¹⁵ The following table provides an overview of the diversity of how the term is rendered in LXX:

καταπέτασμα	פרכת	מסך	no equivalent	inner veil	outer veil	courtyard
Exod 26:31	x			x		
Exod 26:33 (3x)	x			x		
Exod 26:34 ¹⁶	x			x		
Exod 26:35	x			x		
Exod 26:37		x			x	
Exod 27:21	x			x		
Exod 30:6	x			x		
Exod 35:12	x	x		x		
Exod 37:3 (MT 36:35)	x			x		
Exod 37:5 (MT 36:27)		x			x	
Exod 37:16		x				x
Exod 38:18 (MT 36:34)			x	x		
Exod 39:4 (MT 38:27)	x			x		

14. Houtman, *Exodus*, 3:418.

15. Looking at Hatch and Redpath, it is surprising why Gurtner mentions Num 3:10 with a Hebrew equivalent. Cf. HRCS, 2:741 and Gurtner, “LXX Syntax,” 345, n. 6. But he is right with his statement that lexical evidence alone is not enough. Especially when comparing the statistical observations of Gurtner, Rice, “Hebrews 6:19,” 65–71, Gane, “Re-opening *Katapetasma*,” 5–8, and HRCS, it is clear that they all differ because the Hebrew and Greek texts offer some space for interpretation. The following table reflects my interpretation of the occurrences.

16. LXX reads פרכת instead of כפרת. Cf. Daniel M. Gurtner, “‘Atonement Slate’ or ‘Veil’? Notes on a Textual Variant in Exod XXVI 34,” VT 54 (2004): 396–98.

Exod 39:19 (MT 39:40)		x		x	x
Exod 40:3	x			x	
Exod 40:5 (κάλυμμα καταπετάσματος)		x		x	
Exod 40:21	x	x		x	
Exod 40:22	x			x	
Exod 40:26	x			x	
Lev 4:6	x			x	
Lev 4:17	x			x	
Lev 16:2	x			x	
Lev 16:12	x			x	
Lev 16:15	x			x	
Lev 21:23	x			x	
Lev 24:3	x			x	
Num 3:10			x	x	
Num 3:26		x			x
Num 4:5	x			x	
Num 4:32			x		x
Num 18:7	x			x	
1 Kgdms 6:36 (MT 1 Kgs 6:36)			x		x
2 Chr 3:14	x			x	
1 Macc 1:22			x	x	
1 Macc 4:51			x	x	x
Sir 50:5	x			x	

2.4. καταπέτασμα in the New Testament

In the New Testament, there are only six occurrences of the term *καταπέτασμα*. Three appear in the Epistle to the Hebrews (6:19; 9:3; 10:20) and an individual proof appears in the Synoptic Gospels: Matt 27:51 // Mark 15:38 // Luke 23:45. The meaning of the term in the gospels is disputed. Presumably, the evangelists have thought of the veil in front of the *sanctissimum*. In this case, the death of Jesus opened up access to the most holy place and thus to God himself.¹⁷

3. καταπέτασμα in Exodus: Function and Symbolism of the Veil in the Tabernacle

The initial command of God to Moses in Exod 25:8–9 describes the purpose of the tabernacle:

And let them construct a sanctuary for Me, that I may dwell among them. According to all that I am going to show you, *as* the pattern of the tabernacle and the pattern of all its furniture, just so you shall construct *it*. (NASB)

The tabernacle is a sanctuary (מקדש) where God dwells (שכן) among Israel. This portable “tent of meeting” (אהל מועד) is a place of meeting and communication and the first real sanctuary of Israel.¹⁸ It consists of an outer court with a bronze altar for burnt offerings and a water basin.¹⁹ The door to the tabernacle is screened by the first veil.²⁰ Another veil sepa-

17. Cf. Schneider, “καταπέτασμα,” 631. See also the conclusion of Gurtner, “LXX Syntax,” 353.

18. “The sanctuary is the center of cultic worship, where the sacrifices are brought (Lev. 1:3, 5 etc.) and religious rituals performed” (Houtman, *Exodus*, 3:321).

19. Cf. Lev 16:12, 18, 20; 25:33.

20. Exod 34:36 describes the purpose of this veil (לפתח האהל), that means מסך functions as “Abgrenzung des Zelts zum Hof hin. bzw.—mit Blick auf das ‘Heilige’—als die der *Parochet* entsprechende und ihr gegenüberliegende Begrenzung des Raums außerhalb”. And later (233–34) he continues: “Der *māsakh* steht somit—auch hinsichtlich seiner Beschaffenheit—buchstäblich zwischen zwei Räumen, dem ‘Heiligen’, das durch *Parochet* und *māsakh* eingefasst ist, und dem Hof. Damit ist er einerseits als eine Größe zu fassen, die diese Räume voneinander abtrennt und damit auch einen wichtigen Anteil daran hat, diese zu definieren.” Cf. Matthias Ederer, *Identitätsstiftende*

rates the holy place from the most holy place, which is equipped with the mercy seat upon the ark and the tablets of the covenants.²¹ God has given Moses concrete instructions to build the tabernacle, both of which appear in the book of Exodus. Exodus 25–31 presents a prescriptive text, proceeding from the innermost to the outer parts, whereas Exod 35–40 presents a description that follows an opposite direction from the outer to the innermost parts.²² The LXX differs considerably from the MT. Whereas it closely follows the Hebrew *Vorlage* in the descriptive part, the second section shows numerous divergences between the sequence of the items in the first conception and the two textual traditions.²³ Therefore, Anneli Aejmelaesus has called the end of Exodus “one of the greatest textual problems in the Greek Pentateuch.”²⁴

3.1. Exod 26:31–35

The first mention of *καταπέτασμα* in the LXX appears in Exod 26:31–35:

And you shall make a veil from blue and purple and twisted scarlet and spun linen. A wovenwork you shall make it, with cheroubim. And you

Begegnung: Die theologische Deutung des regelmäßigen Kultes Israels in der Tora, FAT 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 232.

21. Cf. Lev 16:2, 14, 15.

22. There is widespread consensus that chapters 25–31 (and 35–40) belong to the Priestly source. See Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus: A Critical, Theological Commentary*, OTL (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 529; Houtman: *Exodus*, 3:308. For Exod 35–40, see Christian A. Eberhart, *The Sacrifice of Jesus: Understanding Atonement Biblically* (Wipf & Stock: Eugene, 2018), 35. Childs, *Exodus*, 633–34, observes that chapters 35–39 are “a verbatim repetition of the earlier chapters, but with some significant alterations and omissions. Several different principles appear to be involved in the changes.”

23. Cf. Radu Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews: An Investigation of its Influence with Special Consideration to the Use of Hab 2:3–4 in Heb 10:37–38*, WUNT 2/160 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 86 and n. 46.

24. Anneli Aejmelaesus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques: A Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account,” in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars, SCS 33 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1992), 382. Aejmelaesus suggests the “possibility of a different Hebrew *Vorlage*” (387). See also Gurtner, “Atonement Slate,” 396–98. At the other end of the discussion, Gooding regards the two accounts of the tabernacle as the work of one translator. Cf. Gooding, *Account*, 99–100.

shall set it on four, decay-resistant pillars gilded with gold. And their capitals shall be gold, and their four bases silver. And you shall place the veil on the pillars, and you shall carry there inside the veil the ark of witness. And the veil shall divide for you between the holy and between the holy of holies. And you shall conceal by the veil the ark of witness in the holy of holies. And you shall place the table outside of the veil, and the lampstand opposite the table on the side of the tent towards the south, and the table you shall place on the side of the tent toward the north. (NETS)

The first information about the veil is that פרכת/καταπέτασμα is made of special material: fine linen, embroidered with cherubim. The standard interpretation describes the form of the פרכת/καταπέτασμα as “a veil hung upon four pillars, each 10 cubits in height.”²⁵ Exodus 26:33 designates the primary function of the inner veil as separation. More specifically, the veil divides the holy place from the most holy place in the tabernacle. In Exod 35–40, this information is missing.²⁶ In his text-critical analysis of Exod 25–31, Volkmar Fritz understands the distinction as “eine nachträgliche Interpretation des Gebäudes, ursprünglich trennte der Vorhang nur den Ort der Lade ab.”²⁷

An indication of another function is manifest in Exod 26:34, namely, concealing the ark of witness. This aspect is only contained in the LXX Exod 26:34. However, the act of covering is common in Exodus (cf. 35:12; 40:3; 40:21). Exodus 40 is about the erection and the consecration of the tabernacle. God instructs Moses how to finish the work and, at the end, covers the tent by the cloud and the entrance of his glory (40:34–38; cf.

25. Michael M. Homan, *To Your Tents, O Israel! The Terminology, Function, Form, and Symbolism of Tents in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, CHANE 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 156. Homan draws attention to the alternative theory of Friedman who argues “for a large canopy under which rests the Ark.” This is based on Friedman’s preference of the LXX reading in Exod 26:33. The Greek text places the veil ἐπὶ τοὺς στύλους, “on the pillars” (NETS), “upon the frames” (Friedman). LXX.D translates “an den Säulen.” The MT reads instead קרסים, “clasps.” Cf. Homan, *To Your Tents*, 157–58, n. 89. Fritz claims that the translation of the LXX is a harmonization and not the original version. Cf. Volkmar Fritz, *Tempel und Zelt: Studien zum Tempelbau in Israel und zu den Zeltheiligtum der Priesterschrift*, WMANT 47 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1977), 120, n. 38.

26. The synoptic comparison of Houtman, *Exodus*, 3:436, demonstrates clearly the omission between Exod 26:31–37 and 36:35–38.

27. Fritz, *Tempel*, 120.

24:17–18). In Exod 40:3, God gives Moses the command to “screen” (סכך/σκεπάζω) the ark of witness with פרכת/καταπέτασμα.²⁸

You shall place the ark of the testimony there, and you shall screen the ark with the veil. (NASB)

Exodus 40:21 reports Moses’ execution of the instruction.²⁹

He brought the ark into the tabernacle, and set up a veil for the screen, and screened off the ark of the testimony, just as the LORD had commanded Moses. (NASB)

MT and LXX use equivalent verbs for describing the act of covering: סכך/σκεπάζω, though the term for the veil differs. The Hebrew expression consists of a pleonastic phrase in Exod 40:21: פרכת המסך. The LXX translates this expression with τὸ κατακάλυμμα τοῦ καταπετάσματος (cf. Exod 40:19). This formulation replaces the usual terms τὸ καταπέτασμα or τὸ ἐπίσπαστρον. Joachim Schaper observes that τὸ κάλυμμα accentuates more the function and τὸ καταπέτασμα concretizes which veil is in focus.³⁰ However, the function is clear. The veil screens the ark and symbolically God’s presence.³¹ After the ark of witness and its mercy seat, פרכת/καταπέτασμα becomes the most holy sacred object in the tabernacle.

One more function is conveyed in Exod 26:35. The inner veil belongs to the cultic furniture of the tabernacle just like the table and the lampstand.³² This becomes evident in Leviticus when the high priest performs

28. The translation of NETS “protect” seems to interpret the function of the veil. LXX.D: “verdecken.”

29. Seebass defines this verse (and Exod 35:12; 39:34) as secondary evidence. Cf. Horst Seebass, *Numeri*, BKAT 4.1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2012), 102.

30. Cf. Joachim Schaper, “Exodos/Exodus/Das zweite Buch Mose,” in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 324.

31. Cf. Num 4:5: פרכת המסך. The LXX translates the pleonasm with τὸ καταπέτασμα τὸ συσκαίδζον. Συσκαίδζω appears in Exod 25:20 where the cherubim cover the mercy seat with their wings. Num 4:5 refers back to this text. Cf. Martin Rösel, “Arithmoi/Numeri/Das vierte Buch Mose,” in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 446. Seebass stresses that Num 4:4–15 is a secondary addition to the text. The Hebrew pleonasm (and Greek translation) describes the inner veil. Cf. Seebass, *Numeri*, 102.

32. Exod 26:35 describes two objects of the cultic furniture placed directly before

different rituals for consecration and atonement. The tabernacle is not only the place where God dwells amongst Israel, but also a venue for the permanent priesthood of Aaron and his descendants (Exod 27:20–21). In this sanctuary, the priests fulfill the will of God and in the ritual of sacrifice, the high priest “atones continually for the sins of the people.”³³

In conclusion, the passages Exod 26:31–35; 40:3, 21 describe two main functions of the inner veil: separation and covering. The veil marks also the point of contact with God. The attendance in the ritual of sacrifice needs further clarification. Thus, I will proceed with an exploration of the use of τὸ καταπέτασμα in Leviticus.³⁴

4. καταπέτασμα in Leviticus: The Veil and Its Symbolism

In Leviticus פרכת/καταπέτασμα is mentioned seven times: Lev 4:6, 17; 16:2, 12, 15; 21:23; 24:3. All occurrences describe in my opinion the inner veil of the sanctuary.³⁵ The entrance into the most holy place behind the veil (εἰς τὸ ἅγιον ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος) is carefully regulated because any wrongful contact with the *sanctissimum* is life threatening. The tragedy

the inner veil, the lampstand and the table. The golden altar (Exod 25:22–29[MT 23–30]) is used to burn incense. Ederer, *Begegnung*, 555 argues that “der Parochet—und in Ex 30,6 auch der Kapporet—die Funktion zu[kommt], als *abtrennende* und damit zugleich auch als *vermittelnde* Instanzen zu fungieren, die einerseits die notwendige Separation des ‘Hochheiligen’ bewerkstelligen und andererseits die Korrelation zwischen den Kultgeräten und der ‘*edūt*’ gewährleisten können.”

33. Childs, *Exodus*, 41.

34. Philip Mayjee, *Leviticus in Hebrews: A Transtextual Analysis of the Tabernacle Theme in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Oxford: Lang, 2011), 24, notes: “The Exodus narrative concludes the construction of the tabernacle.... Leviticus continues the discourse about the tabernacle, primarily articulating what it means to have God take up residence among a people he calls ‘my people’ (Exod. 3:7).”

35. Leviticus 16 plays an important role to the wider context in view of Hebrews. In Heb 9:6–10, the author postulates sacrificial procedures on the Day of Atonement with the goal to show the ineffectiveness of the entire cult. In the following section (9:11–28), he develops a rhetorical device of comparative amplification (*a minori ad maius*) and defines Christ’s death as the starting point of the New Covenant. For this, he uses the motif of sacrifice together with the motif of sacrificial blood. In Heb 10:20, he identifies the σάρξ of Jesus as ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος. For a better understanding of the sacrificial language in Hebrews, it is helpful to look at the ceremonies and sacrifices in Leviticus, which includes procedures around the inner veil.

which killed Nadab and Abihu (Lev 16:1; 10:1–2) should not repeat itself. Therefore, in Lev 16:2, God gives Moses an instruction for Aaron:

LORD said to Moses: Tell your brother Aaron that he shall not enter at any time into the holy place inside the veil, before the mercy seat which is on the ark, or he will die; for I will appear in the cloud over the mercy seat. (NASB)³⁶

The text describes a central idea for cultic concepts. Aaron is not allowed to enter the most sacred area (שקדקד) “at any time.” As noticed later in Lev 16:34, he and his descendants are authorized to enter the most holy place and to fulfill the annual liturgy only at Yom Kippur, the day of purgation. What is the role of the veil in this cultic concept? The phrase ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος highlights two aspects, protection and separation. Unauthorized entry results in death.

4.1. Lev 4:6, 17 and 16:15

Leviticus 4:6, 17 belong to the paragraph 4:1–5:13, the law of the sin offering (חטאת).³⁷ The sacrificial procedure consist of different steps. If the anointed high priest sins unintentionally (Lev 4:2–3), he needs to atone for himself and the sanctuary. Only then, God can continue to dwell in the tabernacle amongst Israel. In Lev 4:6 and 17 a ritual blood application procedure is mentioned:³⁸

36. NETS: “And the Lord said to Moyses: Speak to Aaron your brother, and let him not enter at any time into the sanctuary inside the veil facing the propitiatory that is on the ark of witness, and he will not die, for I will be seen in the cloud.”

37. Cf. Hieke, *Levitikus 1–15*, 229.

38. In Lev 4:17, the LXX reads κατενώπιον τοῦ καταπετάσματος τοῦ ἁγίου. The MT has no equivalent for “holy” (but the Samaritanus and one Hebrew manuscript have it). The translator(s) follow(s) the text in Lev 4:6. Cf. Martin Vahrenhorst, “Levitikon/Leviticus/Das dritte Buch Mose,” in Karrer and Kraus, *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, 353. He postulates that it is not clear if the genitive is derived from τὸ ἅγιον or the adjective ἅγιος. Georg Gäbel points out: “Das Sprengen des Blutes (an den Vorhang nach Lev 4,6.17 und an die Südplatte der Lade nach Lev 16,14 f) ist den Opferriten vorbehalten, bei denen Blut ins bzw. zum Allerheiligsten gebracht wird, während am äußeren Brandopferaltar lediglich Blut an die Hörner gestrichen bzw. an die Basis des Altars gegossen wird.” Georg Gäbel, *Die Kulttheologie des Hebräerbriefes: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Studie*, WUNT 2/212 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 260.

6. And the priest shall dip his finger in the blood and sprinkle some of the blood seven times with his finger before the Lord in front of the holy veil.

17. And the priest shall dip his finger into some of the blood of the bull calf and sprinkle it seven times before the Lord in front of the holy veil. (NETS)

The anointed high priest needs to make an offering when his sins bring guilt on other people accidentally (Lev 4:3). First, he shall slaughter the bull calf in front of the Lord and, after taking some of the blood of the bull calf, bring it into the tent of witness (Lev 4:4–5). Second, he takes some of the sacrificial blood to the tent of meeting and sprinkles (*hiphil* נזה) the blood in the direction of the inner veil on the ground in front of the most holy place.³⁹ This blood rite is performed before God. Bernd Janowski understands the ceremony as “einen vorbereitenden Weiheakt.”⁴⁰ It forms the first part of the big blood rite. The second part contains blood application on the horns of the altar of the incense (Lev 4:7). Janowski defines this part as “den eigentlichen Reinigungs- oder Sühneakt.”⁴¹ A parallel action takes place on Yom Kippur in Lev 16:14–15:

Moreover, he shall take some of the blood of the bull and sprinkle it with his finger on the mercy seat on the east side; also in front of the mercy

39. Rolf Rendtorff, *Leviticus 1,1–10,20*, BKAT 3.1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 156–57 suggests a subject change. This theory was refuted by Christian A. Eberhart, *Studien zur Bedeutung der Opfer im Alten Testament: Die Signifikanz von Blut- und Verbrennungsriten im kultischen Rahmen*, WMANT 94 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2002), 123. See also Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 250. For the sprinkling of the blood, see Eberhart, *Studien*, 124. See also Hieke, *Leviticus 1–15*, 251. An interesting parallel is Lev 8. In Lev 8, the great rite of consecration takes place. Moses prepares the Aaronites for their mediatorial office and “sprinkles the altar seven times, atoning its utensils as well as the laver with the holy atoning oil.” Cf. Roland Kenneth Harrison, *Leviticus*, TOTC (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1980), 97. The function of this rite is sanctification (לְקַדְּשׁ, Lev 8:11). The full sanctification is reached with the טַהֲרָה-ritual in Lev 8:30.

40. Bernd Janowski, *Sühne als Heilsgeschehen: Studien zur Sühnetheologie der Priesterschrift und zur Wurzel KPR im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*, WMANT 55 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1982), 226.

41. Janowski, *Sühne*, 226. Cf. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A Book of Ritual and Ethics*, CC (Augsburg: Fortress, 2004), 31. He states: “In commanding that the blood be daubed on the horns of the altar, the text is indicating that the altar is contaminated and must be purified.”

seat he shall sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times. Then he shall slaughter the goat of the sin offering which is for the people, and bring its blood inside the veil and do with its blood as he did with the blood of the bull, and sprinkle it on the mercy seat and in front of the mercy seat. (NASB)⁴²

The comparison between Lev 4:6, 17, and 16:15 shows a few similarities. Not only does a blood rite take place, but the high priest sprinkles (נזה)⁴³ some of the blood seven (שבע) times in front of a sacred object. In Lev 4:6, 17, this cultic furniture is the inner veil, in 16:15 the so-called mercy seat (הכפרת/τὸ ἱλαστήριον). The MT uses the same phrase to designate the direction of the blood-sprinkling ritual, אֶת פְּנֵי פֶרֶכֶת (Lev 4:6, 17) and וּלְפָנֵי הַכִּפֶּרֶת (Lev 16:15). The Greek text translates this movement first with κατὰ (Lev 4:6), then with κατενώπιον (4:17) and finally with κατὰ πρόσωπον (16:15). It should be noted that the procedure only takes place inside the tabernacle (cf. Lev 16:19; Num 19:4). The sprinkling brings the consecrated substance into contact with the holy without a direct physical contact of the priest.⁴⁴ The veil belongs to “an inventory of the materials the high priest need to perform his rites, and the screen ... is indispensable.”⁴⁵

The intertextuality has been observed by many scholars. Rolf Rendtorff, for example, summarizes: “Der erste Blutritus, das siebenmalige Spritzen, ist also ganz auf das Allerheiligste ausgerichtet. Mit ihm wird gleichsam in unvollkommener und vorläufiger Weise vollzogen, was am jährlichen Versöhnungstag seine Vollendung findet.”⁴⁶

42. NETS: “And he shall take some of the blood of the bull calf and sprinkle with his finger onto the propitiatory towards the east. In front of the propitiatory he shall sprinkle some of the blood with his finger seven times. And he shall slaughter the goat for sin that is for the people before the Lord and bring in its blood inside the veil and do with its blood as he did with the blood of the bull calf, and he shall sprinkle its blood on the propitiatory in front of the propitiatory.”

43. This verb is preferred by the MT for the blood rite. Cf. Janowski, *Sühne*, 224.

44. Cf. Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 260–61.

45. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 168.

46. Rendtorff, *Leviticus*, 162. See also Hieke, *Levitikus 1–15*, 253; Benedikt Jürgens, *Heiligkeit und Versöhnung: Levitikus 16 in seinem literarischen Kontext*, HBS 28 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2001), 339. An overview about the blood rite on Yom Kippur in early Jewish and rabbinical sources gives Gäbel, *Kulttheologie*, 254–76.

One main difference in the sin offering is that the central blood rite on Yom Kippur is located beyond the veil in the most holy place and not in front of it. Aaron is instructed to sprinkle the blood of the bull on the כפרת directly in God's presence. The term כפרת is untranslatable.⁴⁷ "Mercy seat" is the most common rendering in English.⁴⁸ Benedikt Jürgens suggest to define the term as a symbol for the throne of God and his presence. One other significant difference between the texts is the double חטאת-ritual on Yom Kippur.⁴⁹ The sin offerings described in Lev 4 should make atonement in case of accidental violations of prohibitions. The sin offerings in Lev 16 should make atonement for the holy place, because of the impurities of the sons of Israel and because of their transgressions in regard to all their sins (16:16). The central aspect of the blood rite at the ἱλαστήριον is the consecration of the sanctuary.⁵⁰

4.2. Lev 16:12; 21:23; and 24:3

Leviticus 16:12; 21:23; and 24:3 also mention פרכת/καταπέτασμα. All three occurrences categorize different actions that take place beyond/before or near the inner veil.

Leviticus 16:12 belongs to the ritual ceremony on Yom Kippur (Lev 16:11–22).⁵¹ Leviticus 16:12 is about the approach to the most holy place. Aaron is advised to carry two handfuls of finely pulverized incense ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπέτασματος. This specification refers to the most holy place and the location where the incense should be positioned.⁵²

47. Cf. Jürgens, *Heiligkeit*, 76.

48. Cf. Harrison, *Leviticus*, 169.

49. For a more detailed analysis of the חטאת-ritual in Lev 16, see Jürgens, *Heiligkeit*, 107–11; Eberhart, *Studien*, 140–72; Janowski, *Sühne*, 190–93. This difference is not important to our context.

50. Cf. Wolfgang Kraus, *Der Tod Jesu als Heiligtumsweihe: Eine Untersuchung zum Umfeld der Sühnevorstellung in Römer 3,25–26a*, WMANT 66 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 45, 54–59. He observes: "Vergeben werden dabei die Sünden, durch die das Heiligtum verunreinigt wurde und nicht schlechthin alle." Later he remarks: "Die Vergebung der übrigen Sünden erfolgt Lev 16 nicht durch den Blutritus, sondern durch den Asasel-Bock (69)."

51. Verses 11–14 "beschreiben die Details des Entsündigungsopfers Aarons, das er im Blick auf sich und die Priesterschaft darbringen soll." Thomas Hieke, *Levitikus 16–27*, HThKAT (Herder: Freiburg im Breisgau, 2014), 580.

52. Cf. Hieke, *Levitikus 16–27*, 581.

Leviticus 21:23 belongs to the section Lev 21:1–22:33. This text describes the rules for priestly holiness. “A priest who is blemished physically is prohibited from presenting sacrificial offerings, but still can partake of sacrificial meat.”⁵³ The regulations prohibit him from entering the sacred space close to the veil and the altar because of possible desecration. The phrase *πρὸς τὸ καταπέτασμα οὐ προσελεύσεται* (אל הפרכת לא יבא) describes that part of the sanctuary, which needs to stay holy. This holiness can only be guaranteed when nobody defiles it.

Leviticus 24:3 belongs to the paragraph Lev 24:1–9. The main topic of this section is “die Etablierung zweier Geräte im Raum des Heiligtums vor dem Allerheiligsten (Leuchter und Tisch)—hinter den sehr technisch wirkenden Anweisungen steht als Grundgedanke die Präsenz der Israeliten und Israeliten vor JHWH im Heiligtum.”⁵⁴ Leviticus 24:3 focuses on the golden lampstand (Exod 25:31–40). This should burn continually in the tabernacle (Lev 24:2), more precisely in the holy place “outside the veil of testimony.” Therefore, God advises Moses that the Israelites are called to put the lampstand with fuel consisting of pure oil from beaten olives *ἔξωθεν τοῦ καταπετάσματος ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* (מחוץ לפרכת).⁵⁵ The statement of place is in focus again.

4.3. καταπέτασμα in Leviticus: Interpretive Considerations

In the book of Leviticus, the term *τὸ καταπέτασμα* is used in different ways.

פרכת/καταπέτασμα belongs to the sacred objects in the tabernacle. In case of sin, the inner veil needs to be purified as well as other furniture.⁵⁶ The consecration of the sanctuary can only be reached with blood because it has a cleansing function and purges impurities. It is impossible for God to abide in a polluted sanctuary. Another way to keep the inner veil holy is to respect it as a barrier. The inner veil symbolizes a border that should never be approached by priests with physically blemishes or people who are excluded from this place. Death is the punishment for breaking this rule (cf. Lev 10:10).

53. Harrison, *Leviticus*, 211.

54. Hieke, *Leviticus 16–27*, 939.

55. Cf. Harrison, *Leviticus*, 220. The same phrase appears in Exod 27:21 (cf. Exod 30:6). The statement of place is in focus. Hieke, *Leviticus 16–27*, 945, interprets the word combination as a conflation.

56. Cf. Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 31. See also Mayjee, *Leviticus*, 35.

In sum, the functions of the veil mentioned in Exodus occur in Leviticus, too. As previously stated, the inner veil acts as a barrier, a cultic utensil and a screen for God's throne and presence. It also acts as a point of contact between humans and God and a protection against death.

It is obvious that the description of the role of the inner veil is located in the texts about the tabernacle and the procedures for consecration. Despite the different theories about the meaning of ritual blood applications, "most scholars agree with the idea that the killing of an animal or a living being is the basis of the sacrificial ritual. This killing happens in favour of a human individual or group, thus making a sacrifice a vicarious process."⁵⁷ The question thus arises if Hebrews understands the sacrifice of Jesus in the same way. Furthermore, it is important to determine if the different functions of the inner veil also appear in Hebrews.

5. καταπέτασμα in Hebrews 9:3

5.1. Hebrews 8:1–10:18: The Main Section

The symbolic landscape of Hebrews, especially Heb 7–10, is dominated by the motif of the heavenly sanctuary. The author uses a number of components common to ancient Jewish accounts like the tabernacle and τὸ καταπέτασμα for his hortatory strategy. The community's ability to access God in the heavenly sanctuary plays a significant role in his argument.

The eternal Son of God has become an effective high priest by his sacrifice (7:1–28). He offered himself for sin and opened the access to God. He has "been perfected forever" (7:25). The effect of that self-offering is the main topic in the central section 8:1–10:18.⁵⁸ In chapter 8, the author makes a thematic shift from the appointment of Jesus as high priest to the location of his liturgical ministry in the heavenly tent. In Heb 8:1–2, he formulates the "main point":

Now the main point of what we are saying is this: We do have such a high priest, who sat down at the right hand of the throne of the majesty

57. Christian A. Eberhart, "Characteristics of Sacrificial Metaphors in Hebrews," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights*, ed. Gabriella Gelardini, BibInt 75 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 39. In his investigation, Eberhart questions the consensus and makes another suggestion.

58. I divide it in Heb 8:1–13, 9:1–22, and 9:23–10:18.

in heaven, and who serves in the sanctuary, the true tabernacle set up by the Lord, not by a mere human being.

Three themes are dominant in Heb 8:1–10:18: sanctuary, sacrifice, and covenant.⁵⁹ Hebrews 9 forms the second part in the movement of the central section 8:1–10:18. Jesus's self-sacrifice (e.g., Heb 5:7; 7:27; 9:12) "has two effects: it becomes the initial step of his exaltation and office as the heavenly high priest; and it purifies human beings so that they may approach the heavenly sanctuary."⁶⁰

God has established a new covenant because the first covenant was flawed (8:7). The Levitical priesthood has become obsolete (8:13) and replaced ἐφάπαξ (!) by a superior eternal high priesthood of Christ after the type of Melchizedek. Hebrews 9:1–10 presents a detailed description of the portable sanctuary and the regulations of worship that belonged to the old covenant. The relationship between the heavenly ministry to earthly worship is in focus.⁶¹

5.2. καταπέτασμα in Hebrews 9:3 and the Context of Hebrews 9:1–10

5.2.1. Hebrews 9:1–10: Introduction

In Heb 9:1–10, the author explicitly points out the ineffectiveness of the old covenant and its regulations for worship. Neither the daily sacrifices nor the once-a-year ritual of Yom Kippur had an effect on the consciences of humans or the removal of sin. In this section, he focuses on the (earthly) tabernacle and its provision for worship. "Both structure and liturgy have a twofold significance: First, they demonstrate the impossibility of approaching God through the old sanctuary. Second,

59. Cf. Gareth Lee Cockerill, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, NICNT (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2012), 346.

60. Eberhart, "Characteristics," 38.

61. Chapter 9:1–10 is divided into two paragraphs: 9:1–5 and one long sentence in 9:6–10. Cf. Felix H. Cortez, "From the Holy to the Most Holy Place: The Period of Hebrews 9:6–10 and the Day of Atonement as a Metaphor of Transition," *JBL* 125 (2006): 527–47. Thompson gives an alternative outline of Heb 9:1–14: Heb 9:1–7 (The entrance of the high priest into the earthly tent); Heb 9:8–10 (the way not yet opened); Heb 9:11–12 (the entrance of Christ into the heavenly tent) and Heb 9:13–14 (The cleansing of the conscience). See Thompson, *Hebrews*, 183.

they anticipate the ‘new and living way’ (10:20) of approach to God through Christ.”⁶²

5.2.2. Hebrews 9:1–5

In 9:1, the author introduces a new paragraph, indicated by the use of the word οὖν. The adjective πρώτη (διαθήκη) links the new theme with the preceding section and forms an ellipse with Heb 8:13 (and 8:6). The first covenant is qualified by two characteristics, the “regulations of worship” (τὸ δικαιώματα λατρείας) and the “earthly sanctuary” (τὸ ἅγιον κοσμικός) (cf. Heb 9:24). The singular τὸ ἅγιον is untypical. Usually Hebrews uses the neuter plural (8:2; 9:3, 8, 12, 24, 25) for the inner sanctum. This term therefore clearly refers to the outer tent in 9:2. The quality “earthly” stands in opposite to the “true” and “heavenly” tent (8:1–5).⁶³ This term recalls the limitation of Mosaic institutions.

In Heb 9:2–5, the author focuses on the topic of earthly sanctuary. According to Exodus, the tabernacle with its priesthood and service was God’s main gift to Israel in the covenant. The design of the tabernacle in Hebrews is identical to its heavenly “pattern” (Heb 8:5; Exod 25:40) that had been prepared by Moses. The single sentence in Heb 9:2–5 contains one main verb κατεσκευάσθη, “to construct” (cf. Heb 3:4). The construction of the first tent starts with its outer court.⁶⁴

ἡ σκηνὴ ἢ πρώτη is called τὰ Ἅγια.⁶⁵ The holy place is equipped with the lampstand, table, and loaves. The author gives only a brief description of the cultic utensils and counts exactly three. He designates the showbread as ἡ πρόθεσις τῶν ἄρτων. It seems to be a separate item from the table. In Exodus, the table belongs together with the showbread (Exod 25:30; 39:17; cf. 1 Macc 4:51). It is located at the north side of the front compartment (Exod 26:35). Hebrews does not mention that the table and lampstand were overlaid with pure gold (Exod 25:23–40; 37:10–24). For his argument, this is not essential.

The adjective “first,” ἡ σκηνὴ ἢ πρώτη, implies a second tent in the next verse. Instead, in Heb 9:3, the author mentions a “second” veil, τὸ δεύτερον

62. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 372.

63. For the heavenly reality, he never uses “tent” without a qualifying description (cf. 8:2; 9:11).

64. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 232.

65. For a text-critical discussion, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 230–34; Gheorghita, *Role*, 84–85, n. 41.

καταπέτασμα, and a tent named Ἁγία Ἀγίων. Ἡ σκηνή ἡ δεύτερα appears later in the text, in Heb 9:7–8. The distinction between the first and second tent seems peculiar. The author gives a description that could suggest two separate tents although he knows that only one earthly sanctuary exists.⁶⁶ This is evident by his use of the singular τὸ ἅγιον in Heb 9:1.⁶⁷ Kenneth Schenck rightly points out that the word order is “arranged in such a way as to highlight the fact that these are two tents, placing σκηνή first on its own, in order to set the argument up for the conclusion to come in Heb 9:8!”⁶⁸ The focus lies on the division of the sanctuary into two parts. This distinction “will become a major focus of the argument, as the author depicts the entry of the exalted high priest behind the curtain (cf. 6:19; 10:19) into the heavenly world.”⁶⁹ The mentioning of a second veil distinguishes this veil from the first veil of the tabernacle, which separated the holy place from the outer court.⁷⁰ Τὸ δεύτερον καταπέτασμα refers to the inner veil which separates the holy and the most holy place (Exod 26:33). Thus, the question arises if the typological use in Heb 6:19 and 10:20 is the same.⁷¹

In Heb 6:19, the author points out that Jesus has gone behind the veil, εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπέτασματος. There, he serves above the heavens (7:26–28) as high priest (6:20). The πρόδρομος, “forerunner,” was the first

66. I agree with Cockerill when he postulates that there is an indication of cosmic speculation or a definition of the first tent as the created universe and the second as heaven. The author is following “an exegetical tradition that understood the Mosaic shrine as composed of two separate tents. Heb 8:5; 9:21; and 13:10 demonstrate clearly that the author knew there was one Tent with two parts.” Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 373–74 n. 13. See also Hans-Friedrich Weiß, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 450; Otfried Hofius, *Der Vorhang vor dem Thron Gottes: Eine exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zu Hebräer 6,19 f. und 10,19 f.*, WUNT 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1972), 61.

67. Usually, Hebrews uses the neuter plural for the sanctuary entered by Christ (8:2; 9:3, 8, 12, 24, 25).

68. Kenneth L. Schenck, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Hebrews: The Setting of the Sacrifice*, SNTSMS 143 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2007), 148.

69. Thompson, *Hebrews*, 183. Cf. Knut Backhaus, *Der Hebräerbrief*, RNT (Regensburg: Pustet, 2009), 305: “Freilich spricht er [Hebr] anders als sein Prätext, wohl um die Anwendung auf Diesseits und Jenseits vorzubereiten, von zwei Zelten und verstärkt so den Unterschied.”

70. As a scribe, it is possible that the author knew about the different use of τὸ καταπέτασμα in the Pentateuch. The LXX does not mention a “second” veil.

71. Schneider, “καταπέτασμα,” 632 thinks of the inner veil in all instances.

to enter (εἰσερχομαι) God's presence (9:24).⁷² The believers are called to follow him because they have received the privilege of entrance through his self-sacrifice, specifically by his blood (10:19).⁷³ The phrase εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος occurs four times in the LXX: Lev 16:2, 12, 15, and Exod 26:33. In Exodus, it refers to the location of the ark; in Leviticus, it describes the high priest entering of the most holy place. Therefore, Hebrews pays attention to the Day of Atonement in 6:19–20 and prepares for the later argument in chapter 9.⁷⁴ The veil “was analogous to the curtain before the Most Holy Place of the Mosaic Tent, and thus is representative of the barrier that kept mankind from approaching God. Christ himself has passed through that barrier.”⁷⁵ The characterization of the anchor of hope in Heb 6:19 reaching εἰς τὸ ἐσώτερον τοῦ καταπετάσματος where Jesus has entered symbolizes the safe harbor of the divine realm. The author uses this cultic image for his metaphor and connects it with the significance of Jesus's death and exaltation. “As high priest Jesus passed through the curtain to make atonement for others, while as forerunner he opened a way for others to follow. Rhetorically, this helps to heighten the listeners' appreciation for what Jesus has done.”⁷⁶

After the exposition of Christ's high-priestly work and his sacrifice in Heb 8:1–10:18, the author directly addresses the community with an appeal. In Heb 10:19–21, he starts with an affirmation of what has been achieved:

Therefore, brothers and sisters, since we have authorization to enter the Most Holy Place by the blood of Jesus, by a new and living way opened for us through the veil, that is, his flesh, and since we have a great priest over the house of God ...

Verses 19 and 20 correspond to each other:

72. Cf. Heb 9:12: εἰσῆλθεν ἐφάπαξ εἰς τὰ ἅγια.

73. Cf. Heb 4:16; 7:25; 12:22, 24.

74. Cf. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 291, n. 22. See also Norman H. Young, “‘Where Jesus Has Gone as a Forerunner on Our Behalf’ (Hebrews 6:20),” *AUSS* 39 (2007): 169.

75. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 468.

76. Craig C. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 36 (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 335.

Verse 19

A for free access

B to the heavenly sanctuary

C by the blood of Jesus

Verse 20

A' a new and living way that leads to life

B' though the veil

C' that is his flesh

The enigmatic phrase διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος, τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ has caused various attempts of interpretation.⁷⁷ The juxtaposition of veil and flesh produces difficulties. The imagery “through the veil” (10:20) creates a parallel structure to the sanctuary (10:19). This recalls the cultic meaning of the term. Just as in Heb 6:19 and 9:3, the veil marks the barrier that separated God’s people from his presence. The local and literate use evokes the image of the high priest accessing the most holy place on Yom Kippur. It describes “the point one must pass to reach the inner sanctuary and the divine presence.”⁷⁸ The addition of “that is his flesh”⁷⁹ serves as an explanatory comment.

One common view is a brachylogy.⁸⁰ This construal associates the phrase τοῦτ' ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ with the whole clause, focusing on the verb ἐγκαινίζω. The preposition διὰ is implicated before the explanatory phrase, but understood instrumentally whereas the first διὰ is used in a local sense. In this case, the translation would be “through the veil, *by means of* his flesh.” “So, despite the description of the “curtain” in 6:19 as the entryway into the inner shrine, the “curtain” here is understood as a metaphor for Christ’s flesh. That in turn is taken as a figure of speech for his sacrificial death, rather than the way into that place.”⁸¹ This interpretation causes different problems. Harold Attridge rightly points out that “the dissociation of καταπετάσματος and σαρκὸς is, however, unwarranted and is ultimately based on the unlikely construal of vss 19 and

77. Cf. the overview in Attridge, *Hebrews*, 285–86; Martin Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer: Kapitel 5, 11–13, 25*, ÖTK 20.2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008), 218–19.

78. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 285.

79. Cf. the use of τοῦτ' ἔστιν in Heb 2:14; 7:5; 9:11; 10:20; 11:16, 13:15.

80. This view is supported by Hofius, *Vorhang*, 76–84. His interpretation focuses on the aspect of incarnation, however, diminishes the meaning of Jesus’s death in Hebrews.

81. Kleinig, *Hebrews*, 496.

20 as a case of inverse or chiasmic parallelism.”⁸² Another attempt was made by John Kleinig, in his commentary. He observes that “entrance into the holy places by the blood of Jesus” (10:19) and “a new and living way through the curtain ... of his flesh” (Heb 10:20) develop a parallel structure. He argues:

While the “way of his flesh” does refer to the course of his life as his bodily self-offering to God, it goes beyond that, because it culminates in his exaltation with his humanity at God’s right hand (10:10–14). He did not just assume our human flesh to sanctify it for our bodily participation in the heavenly service (10:22), but he also shares his sanctified human flesh with his brothers (2:14), so that it is now their way into the heavenly realm. Thus the flesh of Jesus is correlated with his blood not just by their common reference to his sacrificial death or to his incarnation and death but also to the presence of Christ’s flesh and blood in the Divine Service (cf. Jn 6:51–58), for here in Heb 10:19–20 the “blood” and “flesh” of Jesus provide the congregation with their present means of entry and way of entry into the heavenly realm.⁸³

Martin Karrer also draws attention to this aspect:

Im Ergebnis verschmilzt der Vorhang geradezu mit Jesu Fleisch (“das ist” 10,20 bei stärkster Interpretation als Identifikation). Die Menschen, die wissen, dass Jesus im Fleisch an ihrem Leben teilnahm, sehen sein Fleisch, seine Lebensteilnahme vor sich, wenn sie sich zum himmlischen Heiligtum erheben. Das erlaubt ihnen, obwohl das himmlische Heiligtum zutiefst jenseitig ist, den Zugang vom Diesseits (der Sphäre der *sarx*) aus.⁸⁴

The recipients have “boldness” (ἡ παρρησία) to enter the divine presence⁸⁵ by means of the blood of Jesus. In Heb 9:11–15, the author explains the function of the blood. Τὸ αἷμα cleanses (καθαρίζω) the conscience from dead works (which are ἄγνῳμα, cf. 9:7)⁸⁶ to serve the living God (9:14). The effect of Jesus’s self-sacrifice is the opening of a new and living

82. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 286.

83. Kleinig, *Hebrews*, 496.

84. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 218.

85. The genitive τῶν ἁγίων refers to the inner portion of the tabernacle. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 284.

86. Cf. Kraus, *Tod*, 239.

way. The description of the entrance is better understood as consecration. “Nach 10,19f besteht die Wirkung des Todes Jesu in der Eröffnung (besser: ‘Einweihung’) eines neuen, lebendigen Zugangs zum Allerheiligsten durch den Vorhang, d.i. durch sein Fleisch hindurch.”⁸⁷ The verb ἐγκαινίζω appears also in Heb 9:18. Both occurrences describe the act of consecration through a blood ritual.⁸⁸ The object of the consecration is ἡ δόξ.⁸⁹ In Heb 10:19–20, the imagery of “blood of Jesus” forms a parallel with τοῦτ’ ἔστιν τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ. In Hebrews, the term σάρξ references the entire life of Jesus (cf. 2:14; 5:8). The moment of Jesus’s dedication of his blood is the moment of his death and self-offering. On the one hand, he acts as the high priest on Yom Kippur taking blood into the most holy place for the sacrifice and cleansing ritual. On the other hand, he offers himself as the sacrificial animal.⁹⁰ Σάρξ “steht hier für die Lebenshingabe Jesu und zwar im Sinn der Ermöglichung des Eintritts.”⁹¹

Hebrews’ explicit mention of the inner veil corresponds mostly to the Old Testament. Τὸ καταπέτασμα operates in its typological use as a barrier between God and his people and denotes also the point of contact. Moreover, the veil screens the most holy place. One main difference is that the old covenant was unable to open the access to God. The other difference is Heb 10:19–20. Nowhere else do we find a concept that compares the inner veil with Jesus’s flesh. In addition, the sanctuary is now located in heaven and, through Jesus’s self-offering, the entrance to the greater and more perfect tent is not limited anymore but fully open to the people of God.

In Heb 9:4, the author focuses on the incense altar covered with gold and the golden Ark of the Covenant, in which were a golden jar containing manna, Aaron’s rod that budded, and the tablets of the covenant.⁹² The first item in the inner tabernacle is the θυμιατήριον (9:4). This term presents one more crux. According to the Old Testament,

87. Kraus, *Tod*, 245.

88. In the LXX, it is often used for such ceremonies. Cf. Kraus, *Tod*, 246. See also Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 467, n. 14. In Heb 9:18, Moses inaugurates the first covenant with blood.

89. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 215. He continues: “Das Blut Jesu weiht nicht allein den Zugang zum Heiligtum. Es rüstet gleichzeitig Menschen für diesen Zugang zu.” See also Kraus, *Tod*, 247.

90. Cf. Kraus, *Tod*, 246.

91. Kraus, *Tod*, 245, n. 66.

92. For the interpretation of Heb 9:4 see further O’Brien, *Hebrews*, 308–10; Koester, *Hebrews*, 395–96, 401–2. I only focus on the *crux interpretum*.

the Greek word is regularly used for the censer and not mentioned in the accounts of the tabernacle in Exodus. Besides, the altar of incense was located in the holy place and not the most holy place. Between the commentators there is a consensus that the author has the *θυσιαστήριον* in mind.⁹³

Attridge explains the anomalies with a different exegetical tradition.⁹⁴ Albertz emphasizes the discrepancy by the different text variant of Exod 30:6b in LXX.⁹⁵ Gareth Cockerill observes that “the author was too conversant with the OT to mistakenly locate the Altar of Incense in the Most Holy Place.”⁹⁶ Radu Gheorghita favors the explanation that suggests the placement of the altar being a partial result of reading the LXX passage regarding the incense altar.⁹⁷ Comparing Heb 9:4 with Exod 30:6–7, he notes three aspects. First, the author might have read the preposition *ἀπέναντι*, “over against,” as indication for the inner veil sanctuary.⁹⁸ This reading is supported by the Greek text but not the MT. Second, the LXX translates the Hebrew phrase in Exod 30:7, *בבקר בבקר*, “daily,” with *τὸ πρῶτῳ πρῶτῳ*, “early,” or “very early.” This could be understood as “a temporal reference to the morning of the Day of Atonement, and not to a daily event.” Finally, in LXX Exod 30:10, the collocation *ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων ἐστὶν κυρίῳ* is another possible reason for the placement of the *θυμιαστήριον* in the most holy place.⁹⁹

93. Cf. Gheorghita, *Role*, 88.

94. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 232–37. He reads the text of Heb 9 against the background of Numbers.

95. Albertz, *Exodus*, 2:237, n. 12. He considers that the additional text is a gloss taken from Lev 16:13 (229). See also Wolfgang Kraus, “Zur Aufnahme von Ex 24f. im Hebräerbrief,” in *Heiliger Raum: Exegese und Rezeption der Heiligtumstexte in Ex 24–40, Beiträge des Symposiums zu Ehren von Helmut Utzschneider*, 27.–29. Juni 2014, ed. Matthias Hopf, Wolfgang Oswald, and Stefan Seiler, ThAkz 8 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2016), 106.

96. Cockerill, *Hebrews*, 375.

97. Gheorghita, *Role*, 89.

98. Cf. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 234.

99. Gheorghita, *Role*, 89. He continues: “The probability of this solution increases even more when one considers that the LXX recounts the instructions regarding the incense altar only once in ch. 30, unlike the text that is represented by the Masoretic tradition which reiterates this section in ch. 37:25–29.” Eberhart notes that Hebrews possibly creates a modified version of the tabernacle with the goal to increase the importance of the entry of the high priest into this unique area of the sanctuary. Cf.

In Heb 9:5, the goal is reached. “The movement in this list is inward from the lampstand and then upward to the mercy seat as the focal point of the tabernacle and its services.”¹⁰⁰

5.2.3. Hebrews 9:6–10

Hebrews 9:6–10 is one lengthy periodic sentence. The author gives attention to the high priest’s offering of blood and his entry into the most holy place. In Heb 9:6–7, he forms a contrast (μὲν ... δέ) “between the continual ministry of the regular priests in the outer tent and the once-a-year entry of the high priest into the second tent.”¹⁰¹

Verse 6, First Tent	Verse 7, Second Tent
A multiple priests	A’ high priest alone
B continually	B’ once a year
C multiple service	C’ offering of blood ¹⁰²

Hebrews 9:6 emphasizes the continuous, repeated priestly ministry. The priests are entering (εἰσίσιν) the first tent (εἰς μὲν τὴν πρῶτην σκηνὴν), which is the holy place, regularly (διὰ παντός). By contrast, the high priest enters the second tent, which is the most holy place, only once in a year. This procedure is adapted christologically.¹⁰³ In Heb 9:7 and 9:11–12, the author draws attention to the blood application rites on Yom Kippur.¹⁰⁴ This is the dominant motif. The process of purgation requires that the blood comes “into contact with those things in need of ritual puri-

Christian A. Eberhart, *Kultmetaphorik und Theologie: Opfer- und Sühneterminologie im Neuen Testament*, WUNT 306 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 152.

100. Kleinig, *Hebrews*, 417.

101. Schenck: *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 149. Cf. Cortez, “From the Holy,” 536.

102. Cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 404.

103. Eberhart, *Kultmetaphorik*, 152. See further interpretations in Gheorghita, *Role*, 87.

104. The special quality of sacrificial blood is mentioned in Lev 17:11: “For the life of all flesh is its blood, and I have given it to you for making atonement for your souls on the altar, for it is its blood that makes atonement for the soul” (NETS). This passage summarizes the main idea of blood sacrifice. Blood contains life and this belongs to God. It has a special quality that makes it effective for rites of purification and atonement. Cf. Eberhart, “Characteristics,” 39–44.

fication. This occurred on Yom Kippur when the priest entered the holy of holies and sprinkled the blood on the mercy seat ... this purity allowed the human to approach the deity and the deity to remain in contact with humanity.”¹⁰⁵ It is striking that Hebrews hints at Lev 16:2, 14–15¹⁰⁶ and the $\Pi\aleph\Upsilon\eta$ -ritual for the consecration of the sanctuary. The term *ἀγνότημα* is a reference to Lev 4:2.¹⁰⁷ This forms a contrast with Heb 9:11–12 where the author introduces the better blood sacrifice of Christ that opened the way into God’s presence.

In Heb 9:8–9, the author develops the previous argument (9:1–7) symbolically. The two tents represent the two covenants. The old covenant was not able to give access into God’s presence. The continual ministry has only created a multiplicity of sacrifice.¹⁰⁸

The phrase *τοῦτο δηλοῦντος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου* makes it clear that the author is providing a special insight. The Holy Spirit reveals that the approach to God (*τὴν τῶν ἁγίων ὁδὸν*) is closed (*μήπω πεφανερῶσθαι*) as long as the first tent is still standing. The “way to both the earthly and heavenly *ἄγρια* is blocked.”¹⁰⁹ In Heb 9:9, the author provides an anthropological distinction between flesh and conscience and goes on with his explanation of the first tent. He calls it a *παραβολή*, a symbol of the present time before the inauguration of the new covenant.¹¹⁰ The first tent¹¹¹ symbolizes the ineffectiveness of the sacrifices and regulations of the first covenant. Both gifts and sacrifices were unable to purify the conscience. The present time forms a contrast to the *μέχρι καιροῦ διορθώσεως* (9:10). The new age of

105. David M. Moffit, “Blood, Life and Atonement: Reassessing Hebrews’ Christological Appropriation of Yom Kippur,” in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretations in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Thomas Hieke and Tobias Niklas, TBN 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 219.

106. Because of the intertextuality Lev 4:6, 17 should also be mentioned here.

107. Cf. Tob 3:3; Sir 23:2; 51:19; 1 Macc 13:39.

108. Cortez, “From the Holy,” 541: “The description of the two-room Israelite sanctuary creates, however, a logical suspense that is not solved until 9:6–10. It is there that it becomes clear that this description is necessary to describe the two-phased ministry of the Israelite sanctuary, which in turn illustrates the transition between two ages represented by the old and the new covenants.”

109. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 240. Koester observes one incongruity. Cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 405.

110. Cf. Thompson, *Hebrews*, 184. This phrase has led to a variety of interpretations. See the summary by O’Brien, *Hebrews*, 314.

111. The whole sanctuary is in focus here.

Christ's sacrifice overlaps with the present time. "The new covenant has been inaugurated, but the old had not yet disappeared (8:13)."¹¹²

In Heb 9:10, the author summarizes more generally that the different regulations of the old covenant (for food, drinks, and ablutions) were unable to purify because they are "fleshly ordinances" (δικαιώματα σαρκός). His entire argument is aiming at the last sentence. He is referring to the "corrected" time when Christ establishes the new covenant in Heb 9:11–14.

5.2.4. Hebrews 9:11–14

Hebrews 9:11–14 contrasts the ministry of Christ in the heavenly world with the ministry of regular priests in the earthly sanctuary. The author develops a rhetorical device of comparative amplification (*a minori ad maius*). "Two aspects of Christ's priestly activity, modelled on elements of the Yom Kippur ritual, are now described in two parallel clauses."¹¹³ Christ entered the heavenly ἄγια through (local διά) the greater and more perfect tent (9:11). This tent is not of this creation (τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως), which means not earthly as the Mosaic tent. Hebrews 9:12 recalls the meaning of the atonement. The entering was realized by the blood of Christ (διὰ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος). This event has a soteriological consequence. Because his sacrifice was perfect, he secured an eternal redemption for his people. The deliverance that Christ brings is cleansing from defilement.¹¹⁴ The accent lies on the emphatic adverb ἐφάπαξ, "once for all." This highlights the singularity of the event. Hebrews 9:13–14 points out the consequences for believers developing the contrast between the blood of Christ and that of animals. The limitations of the old covenant are compared with the new and living way of the new covenant. The regulations and sacrifices of the first covenant were unable to cleanse the flesh from dead works. The blood of Christ was of better quality. Thus, he offered himself without blemish to God and cleansed the conscience of God's people (καθαριεῖ τὴν συνείδησιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ νεκρῶν ἔργων). Through Christ's sacrifice, no more purification is needed and sins are washed away. A result of the cleansing is that the believers can serve the living God (τὸ λατρεύειν θεῷ ζῶντι).

112. O'Brien, *Hebrews*, 314.

113. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 245.

114. Cf. Koester, *Hebrews*, 412.

6. Conclusion

In summary, I argue that the MT uses concrete terms for the inner and the outer veil in the Mosaic tent. פרכת is a *terminus technicus* for the inner veil and מסך for the outer veil. The LXX translation practice differs from the MT in some points. Most of the time, τὸ καταπέτασμα denotes the inner veil. Alternatively, the term is used for the outer veil and the veil in the courtyard. Nevertheless, the statistical observations have shown that this occurs only rarely. LXX mostly renders מסך by the term τὸ κάλυμμα. The outer veil screens the door of the tabernacle.

In the Pentateuch, especially Exodus and Leviticus, the role of the inner veil results from the cultic context. First, the inner veil belongs to the furniture of the tabernacle. It is hung in the holy place to separate it from the most holy place. The inner sanctum is the dwelling place of God where he communicates with Moses and Aaron. At the same time, the inner veil demonstrates the border between God and the Israelites. The inner veil screens his presence and protects unauthorized individuals from death. The entrance to the tabernacle was strictly regulated. In case of defilement through unintentional sins, the tabernacle requires purification. In the sacrificial ceremony of Lev 4, the high priest sprinkles blood in front of the veil standing in the holy place and restores the holiness of the *sanctissimum*. On Yom Kippur, however, he fulfils the will of God and goes behind the veil into the most holy place. There he cleanses the *sanctissimum* through the prescribed blood application rite.

The author of Hebrews develops his arguments christologically. The inner veil marks, just as in the Old Testament, the border between God and his people. Moreover, it screens the presence of God. The true tent, however, is located in heaven. This barrier was overcome by the self-sacrifice of Jesus. He acts as the high priest on Yom Kippur taking blood into the most holy place for the sacrifice and cleansing ritual. At the same time, he offers himself as the sacrificial animal. By his blood, he consecrates the ὁδὸς once and for all and passes through the inner veil directly into God's presence in heaven. In this manner, he opens a new and living way for all people of God. With a purified conscience they are able to enter the dwelling place of God. Karrer¹¹⁵ rightly points out:

115. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 218.

Der Hebr schafft damit eine faszinierende Pointe frühchristlicher Theologie: Der Vorhang des himmlischen Heiligtums wartet das Jenseits des Himmels. Doch weil dieser Vorhang durch Jesu Fleisch bestimmt wird, trennt er den Himmel nicht mehr vom irdisch-körperlichen Leben der Menschen. Vielmehr geleitet er die Menschen gerade aus ihrem körperlichen Leben und unter Würdigung dieses Lebens zu Gott.

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About the Translation of the Verb שׁוּב in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth

Beatrice Bonanno

Abstract: The book of Ruth, especially its first chapter, plays extensively on the double meaning of the verb שׁוּב. The concrete meaning that indicates a spatial movement back coexists side by side with a more symbolic and theological meaning, which refers to an inner movement, even a conversion. The Septuagint translator does not render this verb consistently, but rather by three different compound verbs of στρέφω (ἐπιστρέφω, ἀποστρέφω, and ἀναστρέφω). On the base of this evidence, this paper analyzes the occurrences of the verb in the Masoretic text and its different translations in the Septuagint of Ruth. The aim of this study will be twofold: (1) to make clear whether it is an inconsistent translation of the Hebrew verb or a specific choice of the translator, whose intention would be to confer greater clarity on the text, to bring innovations at a theological level to his translation or to give it a particular nuance and (2) to better understand the nuances and specificities of the Greek text of Ruth.

Introduction

The Septuagint (LXX) of the book of Ruth is considered to be a literal and relatively precise translation of the supposed Hebrew *Vorlage*, which seems to correspond to the known Masoretic text (MT).¹ In the LXX, however, it

I would like to thank Graeme Auld, whose questions and suggestions during and after the presentation of this paper at the IOSOT/IOSCS meeting in Aberdeen let me improve my text. The Greek text is from Udo Quast, *Ruth*, SVTG 4.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006). The translations are from NETS (from Accordance). The translations of the verbs ἐπιστρέφω, ἀποστρέφω, and ἀναστρέφω, however, have

is possible to recognize divergences with respect to the MT in the details and in the lexical choices.² In this regard, a detailed study on the vocabulary of the servitude has been conducted by Eberhard Bons.³ He clearly shows how the LXX translator does not render his *Vorlage* “mechanically,” but rather he attempts to bring greater clarity to his text by differentiating the terms related to servitude and, therefore, by introducing new nuances at the narrative level of his text.⁴ In the wake of this study, this article will focus on the Greek rendering of the verb שׁוּב (“to return”). Indeed, the return of three women is the main theme of the first chapter of the book of Ruth:⁵ Noemin and Orpha return to their own country, and Ruth returns

been adapted in accordance with the interpretations presented in the paper. I will give the NETS translation of these verbs in the footnotes. Moreover, in the translation, the names of “Ruth” and of “Judah” will be given according to the common spelling (instead of “Routh” and “Iouda,” attested in NETS).

1. See Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909), 13; Quast, *Ruth*, 125; Frederick W. Knobloch, “Routh,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 239; María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro, “Libro de Rut,” in *La Biblia griega, Septuaginta II: Libros históricos*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos and María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2011), 175. See also Simone I. M. Pratelli, “Ρουθ, Ruth,” in *La Bibbia dei Settanta: Libri storici*, ed. Pier Giorgio Borbone, *Antico e Nuovo Testamento* 15 (Brescia: Morcelliana, 2016), 230.

2. See Eberhard Bons, “Ruth/Das Buch Rut,” in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 701.

3. Eberhard Bons, “The Vocabulary of Servitude in the Septuagint of the Book of Ruth,” in *Textkritik und Textgeschichte: Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, ed. Eberhard Bons, *FAT* 93 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 241–49.

4. Bons, “Vocabulary of Servitude,” 243–49.

5. See Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*, *AB* 7 (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 78–80; Hans W. Hertzberg, *Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth*, *ATD* 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), 265; Werner Dommershausen, “Leitwortstil in der Ruthrolle,” in *Theologie im Wandel*, ed. Joseph A. Ratzinger and Johannes Neumann (Munich: Wewel, 1967), 396–98; Marjo C. A. Korpel, *The Structure of the Book of Ruth*, *Pericope* 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001), 87; Jack M. Sasson, *Ruth: A New Translation with a Philological Commentary and a Formalist-Folklorist Interpretation* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 37; Robert L. Hubbard, *The Book of Ruth*, *NICOT* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 99; see also Frederic W. Bush, *Ruth, Esther*, *WBC* 9 (Dallas: Word, 1996), 84–87, who underlines this theme and also the titles given to this first part of the book of Ruth in the commentaries; A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, *The Daily Study Bible*, *Old Testa-*

to Baithleem, a place where she has never been before. In the Hebrew text, the book of Ruth, especially its first chapter, plays extensively on the double meaning of the verb שׁוּב. The concrete meaning indicating a spatial movement back coexists side by side with a more symbolic and theological meaning, which refers to an inner movement, even a conversion. The LXX's translator does not render this verb consistently, but rather by three different compound verbs of στρέφω.

After analyzing the occurrences of the verb in the MT and its different translations in the LXX of Ruth, we will try to make clear whether it is an inconsistent translation of the Hebrew verb or a specific choice of the translator, whose intention would be to confer greater clarity on the text, to bring innovations at a theological level to his translation, or to give it a particular nuance. As a consequence, we will try to better understand the nuances and the specificities of the Greek text of Ruth.

General Considerations

The verb שׁוּב is attested fifteen times in the MT of Ruth,⁶ the LXX offering a plus in 1:14. It has been rendered by the verb στρέφω, whose first meaning is "to turn, to return," composed with three different prefixes: ἐπι-, ἀπο-, and ἀνα-.⁷ The compound verbs express nuances of meaning that could nevertheless be important for the understanding of the Greek text.⁸

ment (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 261; Kirsten Nielsen, *Ruth: A Commentary*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 39 (also 46).

6. Concerning the verb שׁוּב, see William L. Holladay, *The Root šûb in the Old Testament, with Particular Reference to Its Usages in Covenantal Contexts* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), and the שׁוּב entries in BDB, HALOT, and DCH.

7. See the corresponding entries in LEH, GELS, LSJ, and Anatole Bailly et al., *Dictionnaire grec-français* (Paris: Hachette, 2000). Concerning the consistency of the translation as element for the evaluation of the translation technique, see Galen Marquis, "Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox, SCS 23 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 405–24.

8. Georg Bertram (TWNT, s.v. "ἐπιστρέφω," 7:723) argues: "So herrscht also weithin Übereinstimmung mit dem HT. Allerdings wechseln in den LA die Kompos ziemlich häufig, u die Ursprünglichkeit des ἐπι- gegenüber ἀπο- u anderen Kompos u dem Simplex ist meist nicht nachzuweisen. Auch das vorliegende Kompos umfaßt in realem wie übertr Sinn gegensätzliche Bdtg u kann *Hinwendung* u *Abwendung*, *Abkehr* u *Heimkehr* u vor allem in religiösem Sinne *Abfall* u *Bekehrung* bedeutet. Dabei ist wie

The translator uses ἐπιστρέφω ten times, three times in the passive form (1:11, 12, 15) and once with causative value (4:15), to render the Hebrew *hiphil*. The verb ἀποστρέφω has been used five times, twice in the passive form (1:8; 2:6) and once with causative value (1:21), to render the Hebrew *hiphil*; he opts for ἀναστρέφω just once, in 1:15.

We note that:

- ♦ the difference between the active and the passive form is not significant, since the passive is restricted to imperatives (1:11, 12, 15);⁹
- ♦ the choice between ἐπιστρέφω and ἀποστρέφω is not determined by the preposition that follows and is not directly related to this or that character or the destination of the return.

The Verb ἀναστρέφω (Ruth 1:15)

Ruth 1:15

ותאמר הנה שבה יבמתך אל-עמה ואל-אלהיה שובי אחרי יבמתך:
καὶ εἶπεν Νωεμὶν πρὸς Ῥούθ Ἰδοὺ ἀνέστρεψεν ἡ σύννυμφός σου πρὸς
λαὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῆς· ἐπιστράφητι δὲ καὶ σὺ ὀπίσω
τῆς συννύμφου σου.

Once Orpha has gone back to her people (1:14), Noemin encourages Ruth to follow her sister-in-law (1:15). The translator uses ἀναστρέφω in 1:15, when Noemin tells Ruth that Orpha has returned to her people and her gods.

In the LXX, this verb (ἀναστρέφω) has a link to verse 14, where the translator specifies that Orpha “returned [ἐπιστρέφω] to her people.” However, Noemin adds an element: her daughter-in-law does not only return to her people, but also to her gods.¹⁰ Now, both in the MT and in the LXX,

bei der hbr Grundlage für das Verständnis der Zshg entscheidend. *Vielleicht bemüht sich LXX wenigstens in manchen Texten und Hdschr durch Verwendung verschiedener Kompos zu differenzieren.*”

9. See GELS, s.v., “ἐπιστρέφω.” In any case, it should be noted that the use of the passive form gives a special nuance to the text, perhaps stressing the correctness of the “return.”

10. The Hebrew substantive אלהים refers either to “the God of Israel” (Majesty plural) or to the “gods” in general. The translator here uses a plural form, even if the religion of Moab primarily refers to the god Chemosh (cf. Mesha inscription lines 5, 9, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 32, 33; Num 21:29; Judg 11:24; 1 Kgs 11:7, 33; 2 Kgs 23:13;

this is the only passage where there is an explicit mention of a return to a divinity. Although the character of Orpha represents some kind of antithesis to Ruth, whose choices and actions result in Obed's birth (4:13), King David's ancestor (4:17, 21–22), the Hebrew text does not judge the act of Orpha negatively.¹¹

How, then, does the Greek translator interpret the passage? Does he translate this verb by conferring on it a religious value or a moral sense or by emphasizing the antithesis with Ruth? Since the preposition ἀνά simply means “backward,”¹² the verb ἀναστρέφω suggests the idea of turning around, returning back after having traveled a certain distance.

This translation of the Hebrew שׁוּב by ἀναστρέφω followed by the complement “to god/gods” is unique in the Greek Bible.¹³ Presumably, by this choice, the translator does not want to convey a religious connotation or some moral judgment (be it positive or negative), but rather the “neutrality of a physical return,”¹⁴ in line with the Hebrew. In this case, the translator seems to be faithful to his *Vorlage*.¹⁵

Jer 48:46). See also Sasson, *Ruth*, 29–30. In the following verse, in Ruth's words, the translator renders אֱלֹהִים as a singular.

11. Campbell (*Ruth*, 82) describes Orpha as “a character in drama who contrasts with the person upon whom the audience has its eye fixed [Ruth].” Ronald M. Hals speaks of *Heilsgeschichte*. See Ronald M. Hals, *The Theology of the Book of Ruth*, Facet Books, Biblical and Historical Series 23 (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1969), 17. See also the analysis of Jennifer L. Koosed, *Gleaning Ruth: A Biblical Heroine and Her Afterlives* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2011), 35 or Nielsen, *Ruth*, 48. The later Midrashic literature, for example, will give her this negative judgment. See Harry Freedman, L. Rabinowitz, and Maurice Simon, *Midrash Rabbah 8: Ruth* (London: Soncino, 1983), 38–39.

12. Bailly, *Dictionnaire grec-français*, “ἀνά.”

13. See Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Including the Apocryphal Books* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 82–83. On this subject, the expression in Jer 3:7, where the verb שׁוּב is translated by ἀναστρέφω followed by the complement “to me” to indicate God, might be significant, but (1) it is not the same context or the same construction of the sentence; (2) it is a prophetic text where the complexity of the use of the verb שׁוּב is well underlined by Holladay (see Holladay, *Root šûbh*, 128–38); (3) in verse 3:10, where it is a return “with the whole heart,” the verb used is ἐπιστρέφω.

14. Bons argues: “Die LXX gebraucht unterschiedliche Verben, um zwischen den beiden Frauen zu differenzieren: ἀναστρέφω für Orpha, ἐπιστρέφω in Bezug auf Ruth.” Bons, “Ruth/Das Buch Rut,” 705.

15. See, on this topic, Hans Ausloos, “Translation Technique,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford:

The Verb ἀποστρέφω (Ruth 1:6, 8, 16, 21; 2:6)

Ruth 1:6

ותקם היא וכלתיה ותשב משדי מואב כי שמעה בשדה מואב כי־פקד יהוה את־עמו לתת להם לחם:

καὶ ἀνέστη αὐτὴ καὶ αἱ δύο νύμφαι αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπέστρεψαν ἐξ ἀγροῦ Μωάβ, ὅτι ἤκουσαν ἐν ἀγρῷ Μωάβ ὅτι ἐπέσκειται κύριος τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ δοῦναι αὐτοῖς ἄρτους.

Ruth 1:8

ותאמר נעמי לשתי כלתיה לכנה שבנה אשה לבית אמה יעשה [יעש] יהוה עמכם חסד כאשר עשיתם עִם־המתים ועמדי:

καὶ εἶπεν Νωεμὶν ταῖς νύμφαις αὐτῆς Πορεύεσθε δὴ ἀποστρέφετε ἐκάστη εἰς οἶκον μητρὸς αὐτῆς· ποιῆσαι κύριος μεθ' ὑμῶν ἔλεος, καθὼς ἐποιήσατε μετὰ τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ·

Ruth 1:16

ותאמר רות אֶל־תפגעייבי לעזבך לשוב מאחריך כי אל־אשר תלכי אלך ובאשר תליני אלין עמך עמי ואלהיך אלהי:

εἶπεν δὲ Ῥούθ Μὴ ἀπαντήσαι ἐμοὶ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν σε ἢ ἀποστρέψαι ὀπισθέν σου· ὅτι σὺ ὅπου ἂν πορευθῇς, πορεύσομαι, καὶ οὗ ἂν αὐλισθῇς, αὐλισθήσομαι· ὁ λαός σου λαός μου, καὶ ὁ θεός σου θεός μου·

Ruth 1:21

אני מלאה הלכתי וריקם השיבני יהוה למה תקראנה לי נעמי ויהוה ענה בי ושדי הרע לי:

ἐγὼ πλήρης ἐπορεύθην, καὶ κενὴν ἀπέστρεψέν με ὁ κύριος· καὶ ἵνα τί καλεῖτέ με Νωεμίν; καὶ κύριος ἐταπείνωσέν με, καὶ ὁ ἱκανὸς ἐκάκωσέν με.

Ruth 2:6

ויען הנער הנצב על־הקוצרים ויאמר נערה מואביה היא השבה עִם־נעמי משדה מואב:

Oxford University Press, 2021), 165–79, or also Emanuel Tov, “The Septuagint,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in the Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, ed. Martin J. Mulder and Harry Sysling, CRINT 2 (Assen: Van Gorcum; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 161–88 (especially 173–74).

καὶ ἀπεκρίθη τὸ παιδάριον τὸ ἐφεστὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς θερίζοντας καὶ εἶπεν
 Ἡ παῖς ἡ Μωαβίτις ἐστὶν ἡ ἀποστραφεῖσα μετὰ Νωεμὶν ἐξ ἀγροῦ
 Μωάβ

Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine write: “Les deux verbes *epistréfein* et *apostréfein* fonctionnent en opposition l’un par rapport à l’autre: *epistréphein* indique un retour vers le lieu d’origine de tel ou tel personnage, *apostréphein* le fait de s’en détourner.”¹⁶ It is noteworthy that the returns (ἀποστρέφω) in 1:8 and in 1:20 are also to the point of origin. However, if we accept the distinctions Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine make, the focus of the LXX translator is not on the destination in each case but on the fact of the changed direction.

By keeping in mind that the use of the one or the other verb is not systematically the only possible solution, we should seek another explanation.

The preposition ἀπό indicates a starting point and is also used when someone is moving away from a particular place.¹⁷ Ἀποστρέφω therefore indicates a “return by drawing away,” focusing on the point of origin or the point of departure. It is this more general meaning that should be maintained in Ruth.

The value of this verb is well underlined in 1:6a when the narrator specifies the starting point of the return of the three women: “And she [Noemin] set out, she and her two daughters-in-law, and they returned¹⁸ from the countryside of Moab, for they had heard in the countryside of Moab that the Lord had looked upon his people, giving them bread.” The changing of the subject—from singular in the MT (“[Noemin] returned”) to plural in the LXX in reference to the three women—attributes the action to all three women and makes clear that from the beginning Orpha

16. Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Ruth*, BdA 8 (Paris: Cerf, 2009), 52.

17. See Luigi Heilmann, *Grammatica storica della lingua greca* (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1963), §303. He writes: “ἀπό, mic. *a-pu*, eol. arc. cyp. ἀπύ, (cfr. ai. *ápa*, lat. *ab*, got. *af*) esprime il punto di partenza e si costruisce in greco col genitivo per l’ablativo; il dativo è attestato in arc. cyp. (arc. ἀπύ τῶν ἱεροῦ, cyp. ἀπύ τῶν ζῶν), ma è certamente secondario. ἀπό, esprime, come valore concreto, il punto di partenza nello spazio e nel tempo, e come valori figurati l’origine, la causa, il mezzo donde origina l’azione che si realizza e l’agente donde emana l’azione stessa.”

18. In NETS, “came back.”

and Ruth also started to return because all three of them (and not only Noemin, as in the MT)¹⁹ have heard that God has given bread.

In 1:8, Noemin asks her daughters-in-law to go back to their mother's house. In the LXX, the verb of verse 6, ἀποστρέφω, is repeated; why is the verb שׁוּב translated by ἀποστρέφω and not by ἐπιστρέφω, since it is the direction ("the house of the mother") that is highlighted here? Is it a *variatio* to avoid the repetition of the same verb in two consecutive verses?²⁰ From reading the following verses (see vv. 11–12), it seems that the translator does not mind using the same verb in two consecutive verses. Now, some authors underline the ambiguity of Noemin's proposal in the MT.²¹ Edward Campbell identifies an "undertone of complaint" in her words.²² The Greek translator seems to maintain the ambiguity of the MT by using the verb ἀποστρέφω: in his words, Noemin asks to return, but also, at the same time, to take into consideration the starting point of this return, namely, the place where they are, where Noemin is.

In 1:16, it is again ἀποστρέφω that is used, when Ruth states that she does not want to abandon Noemin or to "return from behind her," an expression that can be rendered by "drawing away from her."²³ If, in verse 15, Noemin invited Ruth to "return [ἐπιστρέφω] behind her sister-in-law," in verse 16, Ruth replies that she does not want to "turn away [ἀποστρέφω] from behind her."²⁴ The change of point of view of verse 15 to verse 16

19. Concerning the return in the MT, Judah J. Slotki writes: "At the first the decision to return was only Naomi's." See Judah J. Slotki, "Ruth: Introduction and Commentary," in *The Five Megilloth: Hebrew text, English Translation and Commentary* (London: The Soncino Press, 1952), 43. Hubbard also mentions a return that concerns only the character of Noemin. See Hubbard, *Ruth*, 99–100.

20. Regarding *variatio*, see Christophe Rico, *The Translator of Bethlehem: The Interpretive Genius of Saint Jerome in Linguistics*, LD 270 (Paris: Cerf, 2016), 112–15. I would like to thank prof. Christophe Rico, whom I met in Jerusalem and who helped me to better reflect on these texts.

21. Jeremy Schipper, *Ruth: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 7D (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 93; and Bush, *Ruth*, 86.

22. Campbell, *Ruth*, 82. This undertone will be explained in the following verses (11–13).

23. Hubbard (*Ruth*, 117) writes: "For Ruth, to return meant not movement 'toward' something (preposition 'el, v.15), but 'away from' Naomi (preposition *min*)."

24. Eberhard Bons argues: "In 1,15–16 unterscheidet die LXX jedoch zwischen ἐπιστρέφειν und ἀποστρέφειν. Das erste Verb meint die Rückkehr Ruts mit Orpa in ihr Heimatland, das zweite dann wohl die Abkehr Ruts von Noemi und somit dasselbe wie das vorausgehende καταλιπεῖν σε." See Eberhard Bons, "Die Septuaginta-Version

is indicated in the MT through the renewed use of the same verb with a variation of preposition.²⁵ The Greek translator maintains the morphological variation of the preposition²⁶ and emphasizes the tension between Noemin and Ruth by changing the prefixes of the verb: ἐπι- in 1:15 and ἀπο- in 1:16. Indeed, in the verses that follow (vv. 16–17), Ruth explains that where Noemin is, there she will be: *ubi tu, ibi ego*, as the Latin expression goes!

After their arrival in Baithleem (1:19), facing a city in commotion, Noemin replies (1:21): “I went away full, and the Lord has returned me²⁷ empty. Why do you call me Noemin when the Lord has abased me and the Sufficient One has maltreated me?” It appears from these words that it is God who lets one return: the God who had given bread to his people in 1:6 is here the God who returns Noemin empty. Indeed, by using the verb ἀποστρέφω used before in verse 6, the translator emphasizes that the return of Noemin is still somehow related to her point of departure, not of arrival. In 4:15, the words of the woman of the city will echo those of Noemin here. We will discuss this occurrence later.

The last occurrence of the verb ἀποστρέφω is in 2:6 when Boos’s servant introduces Ruth and says: “She is the Moabite lass, the one who returned (lit. turned away)²⁸ with Noemin from the countryside of Moab.” It is evident here that the servant wants to emphasize the fact that Ruth is a foreigner:²⁹ he introduces her as “the Moabite,” “from the countryside of Moab,” “returned with Noemin,” and the translator underlines that by rendering שׁוּב by the verb that underlines the starting point and not the point

des Buches Rut,” in *Textkritik und Textgeschichte: Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hebräischen Alten Testament*, ed. Eberhard Bons, FAT 93 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 228.

25. אָחֲרַי at v. 15 and מֵאַחֲרַיִךְ at v. 16.

26. ὁπίσω at v. 15 and ὀπισθέν at v. 16.

27. In NETS, “has brought me back.”

28. In NETS, “came back.”

29. Hubbard writes: “Through repetition of the term *Moabite* in ch. 2 (cf. vv.2,21) the author may have sought subtly to remind the reader of Ruth’s alien background.” Hubbard, *Ruth*, 147. André Lacocque also argues: “Describing the young woman as going from one field to another seems like an innocuous detail; but more disturbing is the implicit allusion to the ‘fields of Moab,’ where Israel was seduced by the Moabite woman (see Number 25). That Ruth is a Moabite is the first thing said about her. Her name is not even mentioned; her origins obliterate everything else.” See André Lacocque, *Ruth: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 66.

of arrival. At the same time, the use of the aorist (cf. 1:22 and 4:3 where the same Hebrew form is translated by a present participle) stresses the fact that the action of returning is accomplished and completed by Ruth.³⁰

The Verb ἐπιστρέφω (Ruth 1:7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 22; 4:3, 15)

Ruth 1:7

ותצא מן־המקום אשר היתה־שמה ושתי כלתיה עמה ותלכנה בדרך לשוב
אל־ארץ יהודה:

καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου, οὗ ἦν ἐκεῖ, καὶ αἱ δύο νύμφαι αὐτῆς μετ'
αὐτῆς· καὶ ἐπορεύοντο ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι εἰς τὴν γῆν Ἰούδα.

Ruth 1:10

ותאמרנה־לה כי־אתך נשוב לעמך:
καὶ εἶπαν αὐτῇ Μετὰ σοῦ ἐπιστρέφομεν εἰς τὸν λαόν σου.

Ruth 1:11

ותאמר נעמי שבנה בנתי למה תלכנה עמי העוד־לי בנים במעי והיו לכם
לאנשים:

καὶ εἶπεν Νωεμὶν Ἐπιστρέφῃτε δῆ, θυγατέρες μου· καὶ ἵνα τί
πορεύεσθε μετ' ἐμοῦ; μὴ ἔτι μοι υἱοὶ ἐν τῇ κοιλίσῃ μου καὶ ἔσονται
ὑμῖν εἰς ἄνδρας;

Ruth 1:12

שבנה בנתי לכן כי זקנתי מהיות לאיש כי אמרתי יש־לי תקוה גם הייתי
הלילה לאיש וגם ילדתי בנים:

ἐπιστρέφῃτε δῆ, θυγατέρες μου, διότι γεγήρακα τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀνδρὶ·
ὅτι εἶπα ὅτι ἔστιν μοι ὑπόστασις τοῦ γεννηθῆναί με ἀνδρὶ καὶ τέξομαι
υἱούς,

30. Concerning the value of the aorist, see Heilmann, *Grammatica storica*, §322. He writes: "Il tema dell'aoristo (ἀόριστος "indeterminato") è spoglio dei valori soggettivi di durata e compimento proprii [sic] del presente o del perfetto, esso constata un fatto passato la cui durata, indipendentemente dalla sua estensione, è priva di interesse per il parlante. [...] Nell'aoristo la nozione verbale tende a ridursi a un punto e quindi all'indeterminatezza temporale a tutto vantaggio della nozione di aspetto." Concerning the aspect, he writes §320: "L'aspetto esprime le diverse prospettive secondo le quali il parlante considera l'avvenimento: l'aspetto 'perfettivo o definito' se l'azione è vista in sé come qualcosa di compiuto, il cui interesse sta solo nell'avere avuto luogo; 'aspetto imperfettivo o indefinito' se l'azione è vista nel suo volgersi."

Ruth 1:14

καὶ ἐπῆραν τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ ἔκλαυσαν ἔτι· καὶ κατεφίλησεν Ὀρφὰ τὴν πενθερὰν αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν εἰς τὸν λαὸν αὐτῆς, Ῥοῦθ δὲ ἠκολούθησεν αὐτῇ

Ruth 1:15

ותאמר הנה שׁבָה יבמתך אל־עמה ואל־אלהיה שׁוּבִי אחרי יבמתך: καὶ εἶπεν Νωεμὶν πρὸς Ῥοῦθ Ἰδοὺ ἀνέστρεψεν ἡ συννυμφός σου πρὸς λαὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῆς· ἐπιστρέφῃ δὴ καὶ σὺ ὀπίσω τῆς συννύμφου σου.

Ruth 1:22

ותשב נעמי ורות המואביה כלתה עמה השׁבָה משׁדי מואב והמה באו בית חם בתחלת קציר שערים: καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Νωεμὶν καὶ Ῥοῦθ ἡ Μωαβῖτις ἡ νύμφη αὐτῆς ἐπιστρέφουσα ἐξ ἄγρου Μωάβ· αὗται δὲ παρεγενήθησαν εἰς Βαιθλέεμ ἐν ἀρχῇ θεισμοῦ κριθῶν.

Ruth 4:3

ויאמר לגאל חלקת השדה אשר לאחינו לאילימלך מכרה נעמי השׁבָה משׁדה מואב: καὶ εἶπεν Βόος τῷ ἀγχιστεῖ Τὴν μερίδα τοῦ ἀγροῦ, ἣ ἐστὶν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν τοῦ Ἀβιμέλεχ, ἣ δέδοται Νωεμὶν τῇ ἐπιστρεφούσῃ ἐξ ἀγροῦ Μωάβ,

Ruth 4:15

והיה לך למשיב נפש ולכלכל את־שיבתך כי כלתך אשר־אהבתך ילדתו אשר־היא טובה לך משבעה בנים: καὶ ἔσται σοι εἰς ἐπιστρέφοντα ψυχὴν καὶ τοῦ διαθρέψαι τὴν πολιάν σου, ὅτι ἡ νύμφη σου ἡ ἀγαπήσασά σε ἔτεκεν αὐτόν, ἣ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὴ σοι ὑπὲρ ἑπτὰ υἱούς.

In Greek, the preposition ἐπί refers to direct contact.³¹ When used as a prefix to στρέφω, it accentuates the point of arrival of the return, and,

31. Heilmann, *Grammatica storica*, §307. He writes: “ἐπί (ἐπι) da un tema alternante *epi/*opi/*pi (cfr. ai. *āpi*, arm. *ev*, ambedue con valore di congiunzione, e *ὀπι-θεν* *πι-έζω*, lat. *ob*) esprime con tre diversi casi, genitivo dativo e accusativo, le differenti modalità del contatto con la superficie. Il genitivo esprime un contatto reale e limitato

therefore, the verb ἐπιστρέφω seems to indicate a turning toward. For this reason, in the LXX, this is one of the main verbs used to suggest conversion.³² What, then, is the meaning given to this verb by the translator of Ruth? Does he give it a particular nuance or even a religious or moral value?

Its primary meaning, indicating a physical return, is well highlighted in its first occurrence in 1:7: “And she went out from the place, there where she had been, and her two daughters-in-law with her, and they were going on their way to return to the land of Judah.” The sentence is clear: the purpose of the path is “to return,” until arriving in the land of Judah.³³

a un periodo di tempo definito, in senso figurato tutto ciò su cui ci si fonda, come argomentazioni ecc. Il dativo con valore locativo indica un contatto senza precisare se sia parziale o totale, e in questo senso va interpretato il dativo con ἐπί ricorrente in alcuni antichi epitaffi lesbici, fociasi, locresi e specialmente beotici (ἐπί φηκαδάμοε ἐμί, ἐπί Ὀκίβαε); in senso proprio il dativo esprime il favore o l'ostilità. Infine l'accusativo esprime una presa di contatto diretta (e spesso totale) sottolineandone l'estensione nello spazio e nella durata.”

32. See Paul Aubin, *Le problème de la conversion: Étude sur un terme commun à l'hellénisme et au christianisme des trois premiers siècles*, Théologie Historique 1 (Paris: Beauchesne, 1963), 33–47. Concerning terminology used in the LXX but more specifically in Joseph and Aseneth and in the Acts of the Apostles in order to express the admission of Gentiles in the community of believers, see Daniela Scialabba, “The Vocabulary of Conversion in Joseph and Aseneth and Acts of the Apostles,” in *Die Septuaginta—Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 501–14. She writes: “This verb [ἐπιστρέφω] takes on a spatial connotation in both texts [Joseph and Aseneth and Acts of the Apostles] to describing the passage from pagan religion to adhesion to the true God. The term thereby vividly describes the change of course that consists in rejecting one's old behavior in order to turn to the only true God. It is true that the verb belongs to the semantic field of conversion” (514).

33. In his analysis of the Hebrew text, Hubbard grants this sentence the same meaning. He argues: “The author clearly specifies that the purpose of their departure was *to return to the land of Judah*. The reoccurrence of the key word *return* (šûb) reinforces the chapter's theme. Their destination is *the land of Judah*.” Hubbard, *Ruth*, 101. Sasson also underlines the importance of this sentence: “The author of *Ruth* sought to heighten the drama of verses 8–18, by sandwiching it between two verses, the first (7) speaks of *three* people about to leave Moab, while the second (19) speaks of only Ruth and Naomi. The contrast not only underscores Ruth's decision but also confers upon the scene fluidity and spontaneity.” Sasson, *Ruth*, 22. Paul Joüon, instead, writes: “L'écrivain ne redoute pas une certaine prolixité: le v.7 n'ajoute pas grand chose au v.6.” Paul Joüon, *Ruth: Commentaire philologique et exégétique*, SubBi 9 (Rome: Institut Biblique Pontifical, 1986), 35. With regard to the LXX, it

When Noemin asks her daughters-in-law to turn away from her to their mother's home to rest in a man's house (v. 8), they reply (v. 10): "We are returning with you to your people." The focus here is again on the point of arrival which, for the first time, is not a physical place (a land like v. 7 or a house like v. 8), but rather a community, a people, presented from the point of view of the daughters-in-law, who designate it as "your people." It is therefore not surprising that the translator here renders the verb שׁוּב by ἐπιστρέφω. This choice of translation underlines the opposition between the words of Noemin and those of the daughters-in-law even more: "Turn back [ἀπο-: move away] to your mother's house" and "We are returning [ἐπι-: until arriving] with you to your people."³⁴

In verses 11–12, with a double anaphora, Noemin asks her daughters-in-law to return because she can no longer have children or have a man. The translator here uses the verb ἐπιστρέφω by adopting again the verb used in verse 10 by the two daughters-in-law and by underlining the absolute meaning of the return.

In verse 14, obeying Noemin's request, Orpha returns to her people. This expression is absent in the MT,³⁵ and it obviously refers to the expression of the daughters-in-law in verse 10 (where there was a "return to a people"). This sentence distorts the syntactic balance of the chiasmic structure of the Hebrew in order to emphasize the real and completed return of Orpha.³⁶

Noemin then invites Ruth to "return" behind her sister-in-law (v. 15), but she refuses and expresses her fidelity to Noemin by stating that she considers Noemin's people and God as her own, and in verse 17, she calls God YHWH (κύριος in Greek).³⁷

seems important here to emphasize that the subject of the verb are the three women, as it is underlined by the use of the imperfect in the third plural person ἐπορεύοντο on which the final implicit sentence depends (contrary to the statement of Assandhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Ruth*, 52).

34. See also Carsten Ziegert, "Das Buch Ruth in der Septuaginta als Modell für eine integrative Übersetzungstechnik," *Bib* 89 (2008): 239.

35. In opposition to Joüon, who considers the plus of the LXX as primitive, and in agreement with Bons. See Joüon, *Ruth*, 41 and Bons, "Ruth/Das Buch Rut," 705. It is Orpha who kisses Noemin in v. 14 and not vice versa as in v. 9 (see Campbell, *Ruth*, 72).

36. See Bush, *Ruth*, 72–73. The verb is, in fact, an aorist. Cf. n. 30.

37. Joüon argues: "Ruth emploie dans sa formule d'imprécation le nom de Jéhovah: le Dieu de Noémi est donc déjà son Dieu." See Joüon, *Ruth*, 42. Yael Ziegler also

Once arrived in Baithleem (v. 19), the narrator says (v. 22): “And Noemin returned, and Ruth the Moabite, her daughter-in-law, returning from the countryside of Moab.” The chiasmic structure of the sentence³⁸ places the two women in correlation. However, in the chiasm, we can observe an imbalance in favor of Ruth, whose personal data are developed; the position of the participle between two mentions of Moab emphasizes, among other things, the exceptional character of this “return”: it is the return of a foreigner. From a grammatical viewpoint, the LXX rendering of the *qatal qal* by a present participle can be justified by a different accentuation of the Hebrew text.³⁹ From a semantic point of view, however, the choice of ἐπιστρέφω enlightens the correlation between both women⁴⁰ and stresses the point of arrival of this return. The physical meaning of the verb here coexists side by side with the more symbolic and theological one, referring to an interior movement: it confirms formally the true position that this woman had taken in verses 16–17 and establishes her return as a return to the people and the God of Israel, even her conversion.⁴¹ More-

underlines that the oath formula uses the divine name אלהים, except in two cases (Ruth 1:17 and 1 Sam 20:13). See Yael Ziegler, “So Shall God Do ...: Variations of an Oath Formula and Its Literary Meaning,” *JBL* 126 (2007): 59–81 (especially 77–80).

38. See the verb to return + subject + subject + verb to return.

39. Joüon, *Ruth*, 45. He writes: “Avec l’accent mile^eel, serait un parfait et l’article aurait la valeur du pronom relatif (J 145e); encore 2,6; 4,3; mais cf. 4,11 הַבָּאָה. Les Naqdanim ont peut-être préféré le parfait pour mieux exprimer le passé. Ici et 4,3 הַשָּׂבָה suit un nom propre.” On this subject, see also Hubbard, *Ruth*, 128 or Schipper, *Ruth*, 109. In this case, in LXX, the focus is on the process of this return. See Heilmann, *Grammatica storica*, §321.

40. Both Noemin and Ruth “return” (verb ἐπιστρέφω); cf. 2:6 where the verb is translated by ἀποστρέφω.

41. It should be noted that Ruth is not said to “return to God” like Orpha in 1:15. However, it seems here that the verb “return” means more than a simple physical move. Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine speak about a genuine conversion and they write: “Le verbe *epistréphein*, réservé jusque-là à Noémi dans l’expression ‘rentrer du Champ de Moab’, renvoie ici à Ruth et marque sa conversion en cette dernière étape du ‘retour’” (Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Ruth*, 53). In the Targum, Ruth says explicitly that she wants to become a proselyte (1:16), Noemin teaches her the precepts of the religion of Israel and Ruth responds by showing all her faithfulness. Thus, in 2:6, the servant of Boos presents her as “the one who has become a proselyte.” Cf. Étan Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Ruth*, AnBib 58 (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1973). Holladay describes the verbs in 1:22(2) and 2:6 as indicating an “‘adopted’ motion back.” See Holladay, *Root šûbh*, 59–60. Hertzberg writes: “Natürlich hat *schûb* hier nichts von dem Gewicht, das ihm die Umkehrpredigt der Propheten verleiht. Es ist wirkliche

over, the minus in the LXX of the complement “with her” could obviously be explained as a case of parablepsis, but, to the reader, this minus guaranteed Ruth the autonomy⁴² of her return.

The last occurrence of ἐπιστρέφω is in 4:15,⁴³ where the more symbolic value of the verb שׁוּב is obvious and clear. After YHWH granted pregnancy to Ruth who gave birth to a son, the women of Baithleem say to Noemin, “Blessed be the Lord, who did not bring your next-of-kin to an end this day! And may he call your name in Israel! He shall be to you the one who makes life return⁴⁴ and sustains your gray head. For your daughter-in-law, who loves you, who is better to you than seven sons, has

Heimkehr, rein lokal verstanden, aber eben damit eine Heimkehr nach dem Lande des Herrn. Darum ist hier dieses Wort dem Kapitel zur Überschrift gegeben worden. Vielleicht soll seine starke Verwendung unterstreichen, wie bedeutsam es ist, daß Ruth in der richtigen Richtung heimgekehrt ist, die als die ungünstige, ja verkehrte erscheint, aber, aufs Ende gesehen, die glückliche und rechte ist.” Hertzberg, *Ruth*, 265. Dommershausen, followed by Bush writes: “Im eigentlichen Sinn kehren also nur Noomi und Orpa heim, nur sie gehen zu ihrem Volk und zu ihrem Gott. Wenn darum Ruths Gang nach Bethlehem wahre und echte Heimkehr sein soll, muß sie *Aufnahme in die Volks- und Gottesfamilie Israel finden*. Sub beinhaltet also auch *ein religiöses Moment*, freilich nicht im Sinne des ‘Umkehrens’ der Prophetenpredigt.” Dommershausen, “Leitwortstil in der Ruthrolle,” 398 and Bush, *Ruth*, 96. Hubbard argues: “The author’s meaning remains uncertain.” Hubbard, *Ruth*, 129. Campbell asks if the return of Ruth can be understood as a symbol of proselytization and states that one can speak of “conversion or proselytization” in the case of Ruth only if one takes into consideration the behavior of this character. See Campbell, *Ruth*, 79–84. Lacocque writes also about a genuine conversion. See Lacocque, *Ruth*, 43–49 (especially 46–48, 57). By contrast, Schipper denies any form of conversion in favor of a commitment towards Noemin’s house. See Schipper, *Ruth*, 104–5.

42. The eye of the copyist could have passed from the first ה (of בלתה) to the second one (of עמה). Sasson underlines that the verb שׁוּב must “normally apply to persons who return to a place they once left,” and, for this reason, he suggests that we cannot talk about a return for Ruth; instead, by stressing the complement “with her,” Sasson proposes that the return of Ruth is linked to Noemin to such an extent that we can translate the verb שׁוּב as “accompany.” See Sasson, *Ruth*, 37. By contrast, Holladay, following Dietrich (Erich Kurt Dietrich, *Die Umkehr [Bekehrung und Buße] im Alten Testament und im Judentum* [Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1936], 9–10), explains that the return is not necessarily a return to an initial point of departure. See Holladay, *Root šûbh*, 53–54.

43. The verb ἐπιστρέφω is also used in 4:3, where Boos presents Noemin to the close relative.

44. In NETS, “a restorer of life.”

borne him.” Now, it is life that returns; if it is a matter here of a real return, it is not a physical one, but rather a symbolic one, and the Greek translator renders it by ἐπιστρέφω. If in 1:21 Noemin lamented because God let her return (ἀποστρέφω) empty, emphasizing the starting point rather than the point of arrival, in 4:15, the women answer her⁴⁵ by pointing out the “fullness” of the situation (the presence of God, a close relative, a descendant, the care for Noemin’s old age, and the love of the daughter-in-law). By using ἐπιστρέφω, the Greek translator explains that this is a real return, a return of life,⁴⁶ and accentuates even more the opposition between the two situations.

Who is the subject of the verb “to return” here? Is it again God who guarantees this return? The pronoun “him” suggests that the subject of the verb “[to make] return” is here the child of Ruth and Boos. However, until the moment when one reads this pronoun, a certain ambiguity is present in the text, which suggests that it is God who lets life return. In any case, it must be underlined that the child who makes life return is the one who was begotten thanks to the only divine action of the whole book of Ruth, reported by the narrator himself, who expresses his own point of view.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Concerning the LXX of the book of Ruth, Bons writes: “Its translation technique does not permit much in the way of exegesis by the translator,

45. It is necessary to notice that, in 1:21, Noemin’s words remained unanswered; here, the women of the city speak without being questioned. The link between the two verses is also clear by the contrast between Noemin’s sense of emptiness and the fullness of this situation, as well as by the use of the verb “to return.” These are the only two cases in the book of Ruth where this verb is used in *hiphil* in the MT or with the causative value in the LXX. Cf. Schipper, *Ruth*, 179 or Bush, *Ruth*, 257.

46. The same expression is also found in 1 Kgs 17:21, 22 (*qal*); Ps 19:8 (*hiphil*); 23:3 (*poel*); 35:17 (*hiphil*); Job 33:30 (*hiphil*); Prov 25:13 (*hiphil*) and Lam 1:11, 16, 19 (*hiphil*). In 1 Kgs 17:21, Ps 19:8, 23, Lam 1:11, 16, 19, the verb שׁוּב is translated by ἐπιστρέφω (see Wis 18:5 where we find the only expression “to make return the life” rendered with the verb ἀποστρέφω).

47. The narrator presents God’s action also in 1:6, where, however, the point of view is that of a woman (or women in LXX), not of the narrator. See Jean-Pierre Sonnet and Marc Maja, “Le Dieu caché du livre de Ruth: Un chemin de lecture, un chemin pour la foi,” *NRTh* 133 (2011–2012): 177–90 (especially 179–80, 186–90).

but by close attention to the vocabulary and translation choices some sense of the translator's setting and theology may be gleaned."⁴⁸

Often, the Greek translator of Ruth renders the vocabulary of the Hebrew text in a nonuniform way. Sometimes he differentiates the vocabulary by making use of terms from different Greek roots.⁴⁹ Other times he employs different renderings that are phonetically similar.⁵⁰ In other cases, he even uses words derived from the same root and makes small changes to the morphology of the Greek word.⁵¹ In this way, he creates nuances in the meaning or understanding or, more specifically, in the ideology of his text.

The translator introduces some particular exegetical nuances by always translating the verb שׁוּב by στρέφω but with three different prefixes for the verbs:

- ♦ in its most neutral understanding, the concept of "return" is expressed by ἀναστρέφω;

48. Eberhard Bons, "Ruth," in *T&T Clark Companion to Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 118.

49. See, for example, the different translations of the Hebrew substantive לִי (and not בָּה, as indicated by Bons, "Ruth," 122) with δύναιμι, -εως when the substantive refers to Ruth (3:11 and 4:11) and ἰσχύς, -ύος when referring to Boos (2:1). See also the rendering of לִיד by υἱός, -οῦ in reference to Noemin's sons (1:5) and by παιδίον, -ου in reference to Ruth's child (4:16); or the verb דָּבַק, rendered by ἀκολουθέω, when it refers to the action to follow Noemin (1:14) and by (προσ)κολλάω, when it is about "staying close/sticking" with Boos's servants (2:8, 21, 23). See also the article mentioned above: Bons, "Vocabulary of Servitude," 241–49.

50. See, for example, the rendering of שַׁעַר by πύλη, -ης in 4:1, 11 in reference to "gate" and by φυλή, -ῆς in 3:11; 4:10 in reference to "tribe, clan," a metonymic meaning of שַׁעַר.

51. See, for example, the case of כַּנָּף, translated in Greek with πτέρυξ, -υγος in 2:12 to indicate God's "wings" and with πτερύγιον, -ου in 3:9 to designate part of Boos's cloak; or the case of בְּרִיךְ, rendered by εὐλογητός, ἡ, ὅν when the blessing is related to God (4:14; 2:10) and by εὐλογημένος, ἡ, ὅν, when it is offered by people (2:19). Cf. Bons, "Ruth/Das Buch Rut," 702. Concerning the blessing in the LXX of Ruth, see Sabine van den Eynde, "Blessed by God—Blessed be God: εὐλογέω and the Concept of Blessing in the LXX with Special Attention to the Book of Ruth," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez, Marc Vervenne, and Brian Doyle, BETL 142 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 415–36.

- ♦ a return that focuses on the point where the turn happens and the return begins is expressed through ἀποστρέφω;
- ♦ indeed, the completed return, not only physical, but also symbolic and theological, is rendered by the verb ἐπιστρέφω.

So, we can qualify the Greek translator of the book of Ruth as faithful to the Hebrew text; at the same time, it seems that we cannot talk about literalism *stricto sensu*, where each occurrence of the verb שׁוּב would be translated in the same identical way but instead of sensitive accommodation to the resources of the target language.

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Antiochus's Confession in 2 Maccabees 9:12: Text, Translation, and a Possible Homeric Allusion

Crispin Fletcher-Louis

Abstract: The original text of 2 Macc 9:12 had ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν not ὑπερήφανα φρονεῖν (as some manuscripts have it), and ἰσόθεα is best treated as an adverbial form of the common compound ἰσόθεος. Antiochus recognizes that, while he has, according to the preceding narrative (2 Macc 9:4–11), conducted himself, in thought and deed, in a god-equal manner, it is right that human beings, like himself, should “not, being mortal, think in a god-equal manner.” Although the adverbial expression ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν is unusual, it is carefully chosen for the context. Although the syntax is rare, it is not without parallel, especially for divine rulers. It is likely formed with a conscious allusion to an episode in Diomedes’s *aristeia* (Homer, *Il.* 5). Other features of 2 Macc 9:4–12 suggest the author of 2 Maccabees interprets Antiochus’s blasphemous attack on Jerusalem and the Judeans as a case of theomachy (see 7:19) that recalls Diomedes’s fighting with the gods.

1. Introduction

For the most part, 2 Maccabees is an epitome of a longer, lost work by Jason of Cyrene. The author (the epitomizer and presumably Jason) has written in good Hellenistic Koiné, employing a rich and diverse vocabulary in a style that reflects training in Greek rhetoric.¹ This study investigates the meaning of the two words ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν found in some, but not all, manu-

1. Overviews of the linguistic character: Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, CEJL (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2008), 67–84; Frank Shaw, “The Language of Second Maccabees,” in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2016), 407–15; Nikolaos

scripts at 9:12. I argue for a new translation, for the possibility that the words are the second in a series of allusions to portions of Homer, *Il.* 5, and that, with recent commentators, we should be confident they are the words that the epitomizer (and probably Jason) wrote.

Second Maccabees 9 recounts Antiochus IV's abusive treatment of the Jews in Judea, his just punishment, and his death. The grizzly account of his sufferings climaxes when he comes to his senses (v. 11), and he admits the folly of his divine self-pretentions (v. 12b), confessing, in some manuscripts:

Δίκαιον ὑποτάσσεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ θνητὸν ὄντα ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν²

Other manuscripts, which are the basis of Robert Hanhart's text in the Göttingen edition of the Septuagint, have *ὑπερήφανα* for *ἰσόθεα*.³ The former makes for an unproblematic translation: "It is right to submit to God and, being mortal, not to think arrogantly."⁴

However, recent commentators have favored the reading *ἰσόθεα*, and with good reason.⁵ This has early external attestation (in Hippolytus and Cyprian) and is supported by the Vulgate (*paria Deo sentire*). The adjective *ἰσόθεος* is common, but the form *ἰσόθεα* is without parallel in either the Septuagint or any other near contemporary Greek text.⁶ So, it is the *lectio difficilior*. Because it is an unusual word, it is not surprising that scribes

Domazakis, *The Neologisms in 2 Maccabees*, *Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia* 23 (Lund: Lund University, 2018), 67–71.

2. The text adopted is from Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

3. Werner Kappler and Robert Hanhart, *Maccabaeorum liber II*, SVTG 9.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 86. For Hanhart's defence of the reading *ὑπερήφανα*, see Robert Hanhart, *Zum Text des 2. und 3. Makkabäerbuches: Probleme der Überlieferung der Auslegung und der Ausgabe* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), 42–43.

4. Cf. Joachim Schaper in NETS: "It is right to be subject to God and that a mortal should not think *haughtily*."

5. For the reading *ἰσόθεα*, see Christian Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch*, JSHRZ 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1976), 245; Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 358–59; Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 184.

6. Besides patristic citations of 2 Macc 9:12, the form *ἰσόθεα* appears (outside 2 Maccabees) first in Vettius Valens's second-century CE *Anth.* 9.1, in the expression *ἔργα ἰσόθεα*; cf. Iamblichus *Myst.* 3.18.

changed it to *ὑπερήφανα*. That word reflects the description of Antiochus's *ὑπερηφανία* and his behaving *ὑπερηφάνως* in the preceding narrative (at 9:4; 7, 11, and already at 2 Macc 5:21).⁷ The noun, along with cognate verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, appear many times in biblical Greek texts.

On the other hand, as Daniel Schwartz points out, talk of divine equality makes for a better contrast to the "being mortal [*θνητὸν ὄντα*]" than does "thinking arrogantly."⁸ In any case, and as we shall see, Antiochus's crime is not merely arrogance but a challenge to God's own unique transcendence. Antiochus Epiphanes's problem is not the common temptation of those in power to think too highly of themselves, but the problem for which he, above all Hellenistic rulers, was a parade example for Jewish authors: the senseless self-pretension of a divine ruler cult. Those texts that have *ισόθεα* employ the language of divine equality that took on an almost technical function in accounts of the status and activity of rulers after Alexander the Great.

The textual variant *ὑπερήφανα* at least highlights the fact, overlooked by translators and commentators, that *ισόθεα* is striking if not odd. In one way or another, it has been treated as an adjectival form of the compound *ισόθεος* "god-equal, godlike": "mortals should not think that they are equal to God" (NRSV), "It is right ... being mortal, not to think oneself equal to God" (Schwartz),⁹ "(Es ist) recht ... sich nicht für gottgleich zu halten" (LXX.D). But for such translations we would expect some other Greek expression, perhaps *Δίκαιον ... θνητὸν ὄντα οὐκ ισόθεον ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτόν*.¹⁰

Conceivably, *ισόθεα* is a substantive: "It is right ... not to think god-equal things." However, for that we might have expected it to be preceded by an accompanying article (*τα*). Another possibility is that *ισόθεα* is an adverbial (neuter plural accusative) form of the adjective and that it means

7. See also 1:28 and 7:36.

8. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 359.

9. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 350. Félix-Marie Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris: Gabalda, 1949), 401 paraphrases (perhaps under the influence of John 5:18?): "Il est juste ... de n'avoir pas la prétention de s'égaliser à la divinité."

10. Cf. Isocrates, *Nic.* 5, "all think that those who are in the position of kings are the equals of the gods [*ισοθέους ἅπαντες νομίζουσι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ὄντας*]" (LCL); Plato, *Phaed.* 258c, "Well then, when an orator or a king is able to rival the greatness of Lycurgus or Solon or Darius and attain immortality as a writer in the state, does he not, while living, think himself equal to the gods [*ἄρ' οὐκ ισόθεον ἡγεῖται αὐτός τε αὐτὸν ἔτι ζῶν*]...?" (LCL); Philostratus, *Ep. Apoll.* 44:1 "To Hestiaeus, his brother: Why is it surprising that most of humanity thinks me equal to a god [*ισόθεον ἡγούμενων*]" (LCL).

“in a God-equal manner.” Antiochus confesses that mortals should not think the way God thinks.

In the remaining three parts of this essay, I first set out the evidence that *ισόθεα φρονεῖν* is, indeed, an adverbial construction. It is best treated as a variant form of a recognizable, albeit unusual and probably archaic sounding, way of describing a mode of thinking and action in which the implied subject imitates the conduct and identity of the gods. In the second part, I show that this way of speaking about a mortal’s (supposed) divine equality fits well in the literary context of Antiochus’s confession. In the third part, I consider the possibility that *μὴ θνητὸν ὄντα ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν* also intends an allusion to scenes from Homer’s *Iliad*.

2. The Syntax and Meaning of *μὴ θνητὸν ὄντα ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν*

Robert Doran interprets the words *ισόθεα φρονεῖν* in the light of the Homeric *ισόθεος* for the “godlike hero” (*ισόθεος φῶς*).¹¹ But Antiochus does not say “it is not right to call oneself, or be called, *ισόθεος*.” If he did, that would make for a weak contrast with *θνητὸν ὄντα*, “being mortal,” since in both the Greek world and according to Israel’s scriptures, one can be both godlike and mortal (2 Sam 14:17; 19:27; Isa 9:5; Ps 89:25).¹² Antiochus’s crimes, we shall see, are far more serious than merely thinking he is godlike.

Alternatively, *ισόθεα* has been connected to the frequently attested technical term *ισόθεοι τιμαί* (lit. “God-equal honors” or “honors equal to those given to the Gods”).¹³ Making such an interpretative connection has the merit of attending to the specific function of the language in its literary context and in relation to the contested status of rulers in the historical sit-

11. Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 189. Homer, *Il.* 2.565; 3.310; 4.212 and a further eight times in the *Iliad*, and once in the *Odyssey* (1.324). The expression *ισόθεος φῶς* is not attested in Hellenistic literature prior to Sib. Or. 5.138 (of Nero).

12. For a Jewish author content to say that a human being is worthy of a “god-equal honour” (*ισοθέου τιμῆς καταξιοθέντα*) see Artapanus, fr. 3.6 (in Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.27.6) on Moses. Artapanus is exceptional but illustrates the point that standard translations of 2 Macc 9:12 offer a rather weak contrast with “being mortal.”

13. Joseph H. Hellerman, “Μορφή Θεου as a Signifier of Social Status in Philip-pians 2:6,” *JETS* 52 (2009): 789. On *ισόθεοι τιμαί*, see, e.g., Simon F. R. Price, “Gods and Emperors: The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult,” *JHS* 104 (1984): 88; Angelos Chaniotis, “The Divinity of Hellenistic Rulers,” in *A Companion to the Hel-lenistic World*, ed. Andrew Erskine (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 433.

uation for which 2 Maccabees was composed. After Alexander, Hellenistic rulers received cultic honors equivalent to those traditionally given to the gods: divine names or epithets (*theos, soter*), sacrifices in temples (to their images), hymns of praise, and so forth. The *ισόθιοι τιμαί* they received gave Alexander and his successors a divine status. Such a status was typically viewed with horror and ridicule by Jewish authors.¹⁴ If Antiochus's words reference such honors, then he makes a typically Jewish confession that such a status is inappropriate for the human creature—for the merely *mortal* (*θνητός*).

Certainly, on this view, those texts that have *ισόθεια* at 2 Macc 9:12 have a better historical fit to the implied literary and historical context than those that have *ὑπερήφανα*. However, there is no mention of such god-equal honors in Antiochus's confession or in the foregoing description of his behavior (discussed below). And the form *ισόθεια* is unparalleled in extant references to *ισόθιοι τιμαί*.

A more secure explanation of the peculiar *ισόθεια φρονεῖν* of 2 Macc 9:12 presents itself when a thorough investigation of all the possible ways in which Greek speakers could think about and speak of an equal relationship between mortals and the gods (or "God") is undertaken. These were more numerous than scholarship on 2 Macc 9:12 has thus far appreciated. By comparison with all available forms of divine-equality syntax, the *ισόθεια φρονεῖν* of our text is best judged one carefully chosen, and perhaps creatively crafted for the first time, to fit the context.

Besides the well-attested compound *ισόθεος*, ancient Greek speakers had at their disposal an uncompounded expression *ἴσος* (*τῷ*) *θεῷ/θείοισιν*, "equal with a god/God/the gods." As a variation on that, they could also employ an adverbial (neuter plural accusative) form of the adjective *ἴσος*: *ἴσα* (*τῷ*) *θεῷ/θεοῖς/θεοῖσιν*, "equally with God/the gods, in a manner equal to God/the gods."¹⁵ There were also available several verbal constructions (*ισόω* + divine name or title in dative, "make or deem equal with a god"; *ισοθεώω*, "make equal to God/the gods"; *ἐξισόω* + divine name, "make equal with a god"; and *ισάζω* + *θεῷ*, "make equal with God/a god"). A comprehensive survey of literary, epigraphic, and papyrological texts shows that

14. For a Jewish text that expresses an antipathy to pagan rulers' claims to a divine status using the language of divine equality, see Sib. Or. 5.33–34, cf. John 5:18.

15. The adverb *ἴσα* also appears in the expression *ἴσα καὶ* + *θεός*; Nicolaus of Damascus, *Vit. Caes.* 130 (ch. 26) 97; 130 (ch. 29) 117; cf. Euripides, *El.* 995.

such adjectival, adverbial, and verbal expressions were used in six discrete types of syntactical construction.¹⁶

The only type that appears in Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible is the one that uses a verbal form.¹⁷ However, Hellenistic texts employed the six syntactically discrete types of divine equality statement to speak in a variety of ways: of divine qualities, of an individual's divine status, their claiming for themselves or asserting their own divine identity, their behaving in ways comparable to that of the gods, or their being treated by other mortals in ways that were equal to the way the gods were treated.

Besides Homer's ἰσόθεος φῶς, the adjective ἰσόθεος could be used attributively to qualify a proper name (e.g., Aeschylus, *Pers.* 857: ἰσόθεος Δαρεΐος). Occasionally, after Sappho's "*Phainetai Moi*," adjectival expressions were used predicatively to say someone, for example, a lover, is god-like, or they were used substantively of people (for "the god-equal").¹⁸

Crucially for 2 Macc 9:12, there were two types of adverbial constructions with ἴσα. In one, a human community gives honors to powerful or virtuous individuals *in a manner equal to the manner* in which they honor the gods. Odysseus in the underworld explains to Achilles that, when he was alive, "we Argives honored you as we did the gods (ἐτίομεν ἴσα θεοῖσιν Ἀργεῖοι)" (*Od.* 11.484–485).¹⁹ Such texts, and especially the many later instances of ἰσόθεοι τιμαί, illustrate the fact that, after Alexander, "equality with the gods" was language associated above all with rulers and kings.²⁰

In the second adverbial syntactical construction, a human being behaves in a manner equal to the gods and is the subject of a verb modified by an

16. For a full inventory of over 140 instances of the divine equality statement, see Crispin Fletcher-Louis, "'The Being That Is in a Manner Equal with God' (Phil. 2:6c): A Self-Transforming, Incarnational, Divine Ontology," *JTS* 71 (2020): 581–627.

17. LXX Ps 88:7a (Heb 89:7): ὅτι τις ἐν νεφέλαις ἰσωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ τις ὁμοιωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ, "For who in the clouds will be made equal to the Lord, and who will be likened to the Lord among the sons of God."

18. Sappho, frag. 31, 1–2, φαίνεται μοι κῆνος ἴσος θεοῖσιν ἔμμεν ὦνῃρ, ὅττις ἐναντίος τοι ἰσθάνει, "That man seems to me to be equal to the gods, who is sitting opposite you." Cf. Isocrates, *Nic.* 5; *Bus.* 13; *Phil.* 145; *Antid.* 837–838; Plato, *Phaed.* 255a; Longinus, *Subl.* 35.2.

19. Cf. *Od.* 15.518–520; Menander, *Mon.* 270; Euripides, *El.* 987–995; Demosthenes, *Fals. leg.* 280.

20. The second century papyrus, P.Heid. inv. 1716 (*Phil* 80[1925]: 339–40), is often cited as a parade example of the connection: τί θεός; τὸ κρατοῦν. Τὶ βασιλεύς; ἰσόθεος, "What is a god? Exercising power; what is a king? One who is equal with a God" (verso, ll. 1–2).

adverbial “god-equally.” This too appears, twice, in Homer. It is used in two lines of Diomedes’s *aristeia* (*Il.* 5), where the Argive hero fights the gods themselves. At Athena’s direction, the Tydide successfully attacks Aeneas and strikes the goddess Aphrodite, the Trojan’s protector, wounding her hand (5.334–340), which famously bleeds ichor (5.339–340). Aphrodite flees the battlefield, and Apollo takes her place and warns a persistent Diomedes *not to think and act the way the gods do*:

Diomedes of the great war cry made for Aeneas. Though he saw how Apollo himself held his hands over him he did not shrink even from the great god, but forever forward drove, to kill Aeneas and strip his glorious armour. Three times, furious to cut him down, he drove forward, and three times Apollo battered aside the bright shield, but as a fourth time, like more than a man, he charged, Apollo who strikes from afar cried out to him in the voice of terror: “Take care, give back, son of Tydeus. You do not want to think the way the gods do [μηδὲ θεοῖσιν ἴσ’ ἔθελε φρονέειν], since never the same is the breed of gods, who are immortal, and men who walk groundling [ἐπεὶ οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ’ ἀνθρώπων].” (Homer, *Il.* 5.432–442)²¹

Although the syntax at 440–441 is used only rarely in the Hellenistic period, it was a readily available way of articulating the idea that *a mortal thinks, or determines to act, in a way—in a manner—that is equal to the gods’ manner of thinking and acting*.

The syntax recurs in *Il.* 21.315, where Achilles “rages in fury like the gods [ἴσα θεοῖσι]” in his struggle against the river god Scamander. The syntax appears in Pseudo-Perictione, *On the Harmony of Women*,²² in a fragmentary portion of Philodemus *On the Good King according to Homer* (*Hom.* 1507), which we shall consider shortly,²³ and perhaps also in Homeric Hymns 5 (*To Aphrodite*).²⁴

21. Richmond Lattimore, *The Iliad of Homer* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1951), 139–40.

22. Pseudo-Perictione, *On the Harmony of Women* 1: “honor and revere one’s parents, for they are and effect everything equally with the gods for their offspring (οὗτοι γὰρ ἴσα θεοῖσι πάντα πέλουσι καὶ πρήσσουσι τοῖς ἐγγόνιοις).”

23. The syntax is also present in Phil 2:6c where τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ must mean “the being (that is) in a manner equal to God.” See Fletcher-Louis, “Being.”

24. Homeric Hymns 5.214 (*To Aphrodite*): “the Guide, the slayer of Argus, told him all, and that his son would be immortal and unaging equally with the gods [ὥς

It makes best sense that Antiochus's confession in 2 Macc 9:12 is an example of this type of god-equal syntax. There are no extant instances of a substantive, but impersonal, ἰσόθεα ("god equal *things*") in near contemporary texts. On the other hand, ἰσόθεα can be parsed as an adverbial form of the common ἰσόθεος used, in this instance, not to describe honors given to Antiochus but to say that it is wrong for a mortal "to think *in a god equal manner*."²⁵ Our author sometimes uses neuter plural adjectives adverbially.²⁶ In this case, he creates an expression—ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν—that nicely echoes the criticism of people who exalt themselves and threaten the gods because they μέγα φρονεῖν ("think big, are proud, suffer hubris"), such that they are opposed and punished by a deity.²⁷

Although there is no known parallel to the adverbial compound ἰσόθεα, it is easily explained as a variant of the uncompounded, and well attested, ἴσα (τῷ) θεῷ/θεοῖς/θεοῖσι(ν).²⁸ It is not hard to see why the author would avoid the form of the adverbial construction as it appears in Homer (ἴσα θεοῖσι[ν]). If Antiochus had confessed that is not right ἴσα θεοῖσιν φρονεῖν, he would still sound like a pagan polytheist. With the adverbial compound ἰσόθεα, the author puts on Antiochus's lips a confession that is plausibly monotheistic ("it is not right ... to think the way God thinks"). If

ἔοι ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρω ἴσα θεοῖσιν]." Though it is possible that here the adverbial ἴσα θεοῖσιν modifies the whole of ἔοι ἀθάνατος and ἀγήρω, not the verb ἔοι on its own.

25. Our author is fond of compounds (Shaw, "Second Maccabees," 410; Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 70).

26. See πολλά in 9:19; 15:14; κάλλιστα, "most beautifully," in 3:1; χείριστα, "in a worse manner than," in 5:23; δίκαια, "justly," in 7:36 and 9:18. (For δίκαια used adverbially, cf. Callimachus, *Iamb.* 2:6).

27. Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.10.53: God cuts down those who exalt themselves since he "allows no other to think big [φρονέειν μέγα] besides himself"; cf. Euripides, *Hipp.* 6, 445–446; *Andr.* 1005–1007; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 2.19, Alexander the Great "thinking high thoughts about himself [μέγα ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ φρονῶν]" wrote to the Greeks that they should deify him, cf. Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.289a on Menekrates.

28. Homer, *Od.* 11:520: Eurymachos "whom now the people of Ithaka look at as a divinity [ἴσα θεῷ ... εἰσπορώσι]"; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 1.89.1 (quoting Hecataeus of Abdera) says in Egypt crocodiles are honored "equally with the gods [ἴσα θεοῖς]"; Dionysius of Byzantium, *Anap. Bosp.* 24 writes about "a man who has been honored like a god [ἀνὴρ ἴσα θεῷ τιτιμυμένος]." Further examples: Aeschines, *Tim.* 28; Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 10.9.9; Philodemus, *Piet.* (P.Herc. 1428) fr. 51.1473–1474; Dionysius of Byzantium, *Anap. Bosp.* 41; Pausanias, *Descr.* 2.2.7; Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.* 5.24; SEG 15.853.9–12; I Erythr 145.4–5.

the author of 2 Macc 9:12 was the first to use this form, it is another example of his creative Greek and his penchant for rare words and neologisms.²⁹

This linguistic analysis helps explain why a scribe would change the *ισόθρα* to *ὑπερήφανα*. The adverbial syntax is rare and would sound archaic, the morphology idiosyncratic. A text that has Antiochus say *Δίκαιον ... μὴ θνητὸν ὄντα ὑπερήφανα φρονεῖν* seems so much more straightforward. But does that wording for Antiochus's confession fit the context?

3. A Confession That Fits the Context

In the verses that precede the confession, the lurid account of God's punishment of Antiochus has many allusions to biblical texts and motifs.

3 While he [i.e., Antiochus] was in Ecbatana, news came to him of what had happened to Nicanor and the forces of Timothy. 4 Transported with rage, he conceived the idea of turning upon the Judeans the injury done by those who had put him to flight; so he instructed his charioteer to drive without stopping until he completed the journey. But the judgment of heaven rode with him! For in his arrogance (*ὑπερηφάνως*) he said, "When I get there I will make Hierosolyma a cemetery of Judeans."

5 But the all-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, *struck* him with an *incurable* and *invisible blow* [*ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἀνιάτῳ καὶ ἀοράτῳ πληγῇ*, cf. Isa 14:6]. As soon as he stopped speaking he was seized with a pain in his bowels for which there was no relief [*ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀλγηδών*, cf. *Il.* 5.394], and with sharp internal tortures—6 and that very justly, for he had tortured the bowels of others with many and strange inflictions. 7 Yet he did not in any way stop his insolence but was even more filled with arrogance [*τῆς ὑπερηφανίας*], breathing fire in his rage against the Judeans and giving orders to speed up the journey. And so it came about that *he fell* [*πεσεῖν αὐτόν*, cf. Isa 14:12 *ἐξέπεσεν*] out of his chariot as it was rushing along and that, through the grievous fall, all the limbs of the body were racked. 8 Thus he, who only a little while before had thought in his superhuman arrogance that he could command the waves of the sea [*δοκῶν τοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης κύμασιν ἐπιτάσσειν*] and had imagined that he could weigh the high mountains in a balance [*πλάστιγγι τὰ τῶν ὀρέων οἰόμενος ὑψηλὰ στήσειν*], was brought down *to earth* [*κατὰ γῆν γενόμενος*, cf. Isa 14:12 *εἰς τὴν γῆν*, 14:15 *εἰς τὰ θεμέλια τῆς γῆς*] and carried in a litter, *making the power of God manifest to all* [*φανερὰν τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶσιν τὴν δύναμιν ἐνδεικνύμενος*] [cf. Isa 14:16], 9 so

29. A phenomenon recently studied by Nikolaos Domazakis (*Neologisms*).

that *worms* [Isa 14:11, cf. Isa 66:24] broke out of the ungodly man's eyes, and while he was still living in anguish and pain, his flesh rotted away [Zech 14:12], and because of his stench [Joel 2:20] the whole army felt revulsion at the decay. 10 Because of the unbearable oppressiveness of the stench [Joel 2:20] no one was able to carry the man who a little while before had thought [δοκοῦντα] that *he could touch the stars of heaven* [τῶν οὐρανίων ἀστρῶν ἅπτεσθαι, cf. Isa 14:13 ἀναβήσομαι ἐπάνω τῶν ἀστρῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ].

11 Then it was that, broken in spirit, he began to lose much of his arrogance [τῆς ὑπερηφανίας] and to come to his senses under the divine scourge, for he was tortured with pain every moment. 12 And when he could not endure his own stench, he uttered these words, “*It is right to be subject to God and, being a mortal, not to think in a God-equal manner.*”³⁰

Antiochus's crimes are that in his “superhuman arrogance” he “*thought* [δοκῶν] he could command the waves and had imagined—he *supposed* [οἰόμενος]—that he could weigh the high mountains in a balance” (v. 8). Again, in verse 10, he “*thought*” (δοκοῦντα) that he could touch the stars of heaven.

The behavior of which he dreams himself possible echoes biblical descriptions of the one God in his transcendent uniqueness and Isaiah's prophecy against the king of Babylon in his blasphemous arrogance (Isa 14). Only the one God can command the waves. Verse 8 is particularly close to the Greek of Ps 107(106):23–32, where those who “went down to the sea in ships” (v. 23) are overwhelmed by a mighty storm and its threatening waves (v. 25: τὰ κύματα), from which the Lord rescues them when “he *commanded* [ἐπέταξεν] the storm” and “its waves [τὰ κύματα] were silent” (v. 29, cf. Pss 29:3–4; 65:7; 89:9; Prov 8:29; Amos 9:3; Job 38:11; Nah 1:4; Pr Man 3). Antiochus's aspiration to weigh the mountains recalls the rhetorical question about God's activity in Isa 40:12: “Who ... weighed the mountains in scales and the hills in a balance?”³¹ Only the one God Almighty can do such a thing. When 2 Macc 9:10 says he thought he could touch the stars, that too is Isaianic language that implies that he thinks he can be, or that he can act like, the Most High (LXX Isa 14:14: ἔσομαι ὅμοιος τῷ ὑψίστῳ).

In multiple ways, then, for the reader of 2 Macc 9:7–11 who is versed in Israel's scriptures, Antiochus is guilty of *thinking* and *planning* to act in

30. NETS translation (slightly modified).

31. 2 Macc 9:8 presumes the Hebrew or an alternative translation to the extant Greek of Isaiah that has τίς ἔστησεν τὰ ὄρη σταθμῶ καὶ τὰς νάπας ζυγῶ.

a manner equal to the one true God.³² There is no suggestion that Antiochus has demanded a divine status or received God-equal cultic honors. But the last words of his confession in verse 12—it is wrong “*to think in a God-equal manner* [ισόθεα φρονεῖν]”—are a fitting back-reference to the preceding crimes. He confesses that “it is not right, being mortal, *to think the way God thinks* (and acts)”: to think that one can command the waves and weigh the mountains in a balance. His crime is far more serious than simply claiming to be god-like or an *ισόθεος φῶς*.

These are *plausible* words on the lips of the Seleucid ruler, since the language of divine equality is pagan, not scriptural or Jewish, and was regularly used to ascribe to kings and rulers a divine identity, status, or conduct. While the comment about “being mortal” corresponds to the scriptural distinction between the Creator and the creature, it does so using language that is untypical of Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible.³³ On the other hand, an argument for, or against, a particular kind of behavior on the grounds that one is mortal (*θνητός*) has Greek parallels, including criticism of those whose hubris extended to the kinds of divine self-claims now made by Antiochus. In Aeschylus’s *Persians*, Darius laments the folly of his son, Xerxes, who attempted to build a road across the Hellespont:

Mortal though he was [*θνητὸς ὢν*], he thought in his folly that he would gain the mastery of all the gods, yes, even over Poseidon.³⁴

After his defeat by the Hellenes, Darius proclaims the fate of Xerxes’s army is a lesson that

mortal man should not vaunt himself excessively [*ὥς οὐχ ὑπέρφρευ θνητὸν ὄντα χρὴ φρονεῖν*].³⁵

32. Similar activity is recorded in 2 Macc 5:21, though without direct allusion to scriptural language: Antiochus plunders the Jerusalem temple, hurries off to Antioch “thinking [*οἰόμενος*] in his arrogance [*ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερηφανία*] that he could make the land navigable and the sea passable on foot, because his heart was elated.”

33. It is true that the word *θνητός* is used in Isa 51:12; Prov 3:13; 20:24; 30:23. But in none of these is there a logical thought sequence in which a type of action is warranted or precluded because someone is *θνητός*.

34. Aeschylus, *Pers.* 749–750 (LCL). For echoes of Aeschylus’s *Persians* in other parts of 2 Maccabees, see Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 263, 352, 355, 357, 359.

35. Aeschylus *Pers.* 819–820. See also Antiphanes, frag. 298, εἰ θνητὸς εἶ, βέλτιστε, θνητὰ καὶ φρόνει, “if you are a mortal, my good friend, then think mortal thoughts”

The comment about “being mortal” may also allude to Apollo’s rebuking of Diomedes.

4. An Allusion to Diomedes’s Theomachy in the *Iliad*?

Antiochus’s words have a rare syntax, though one which appears in *Il.* 5. Given the prominence that Homer and the early chapters of the *Iliad* played in the Greek education system, the *ισόθεα φρονεῖν* of 2 Maccabees counts as a good example of the author’s training in the Greek language.³⁶ Can we say more? It might be that *ισόθεα φρονεῖν* is Homeric only in the sense that it is the product of a mind well-versed in the language of the bard and that no allusion to the context in which that syntax is used in *Il.* 5 is intended. However, there are good reasons to consider the possibility that Antiochus’s confession is meant to be heard as an allusion to Diomedes’s fighting with the gods. Diomedes was the classic example of a mortal *theomachos* (a god-fighter).

Besides the shared syntax, there is shared language. Both passages have an adverbial “god-equally” modify the verb *φρονε(ε)ῖν*.³⁷ Second, the author has already given away, perhaps unconsciously, his debt to Homer’s memorable stories of Diomedes fighting the gods with his diction at 9:5. When he says that Antiochus, when struck by the Lord “was seized with a pain in his bowels for which there was no relief [*ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν ἀνήκεστος τῶν σπλάγχνων ἀλγηδῶν*],” he uses language that echoes *Il.* 5.394, a line (in the midst of stories of Diomedes’s assaults on the gods) from the goddess Dione’s recounting the story of Hercules’s assault on Hera: Hercules struck

(John M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy after Meineke, Bergk and Kock* [Brill: Leiden, 1957], 2:303); Aristotle, *Rhet.* 2.21.6, “Being a mortal [*θνητὸς ὢν*], do not nourish immortal wrath” and *θανατὰ χρεὶ τὸν θνατὸν, οὐκ ἀθάνατα τὸν θνατὸν φρονεῖν*, “A mortal should think mortal, not immortal thoughts” (LCL); Sophocles, *Trach.* 472–473, “you, a mortal, think mortal thoughts [*θνητὴν φρονοῦσαν θνητὰ*].” Cf. Sophocles *Ant.* 455.

36. For the prominence of the early chapters of the *Iliad* in the education system, see Teresa Morgan, *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 308 (table 11) and 320 (table 21).

37. That verb also appears in two other examples of this type of God-equal construction: in the Philodemus passage (see below) and, perhaps not uncoincidentally, in Phil 2:5–6 (*Τοῦτο φρονεῖτε ἐν ὑμῖν ὃ καὶ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ... οὐχ ἄρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*).

Hera τότε καί μιν ἀνήκεστον λάβεν ἄλγος.³⁸ Already at 9:5, the author of 2 Maccabees has in his mind *Il.* 5 and its stories of conflict between mortals and gods as he tells the story of Antiochus's conflict with the one true God, his suffering, and death.

Third, the thought-sequence "*being a mortal* you should not" has a parallel at *Il.* 5.441–442 where Apollo bases his warning to Diomedes on the grounds that there is a species distinction between the "immortals" and "humans who walk grounding."

One of the other witnesses to the adverbial syntax of which *ισόθεα φρονεῖν* is an example provides some support for the hypothesis that the wording of 2 Macc 9:12 would be recognized as a conscious allusion to *Il.* 5.440–441. The epicurean Philodemus of Gadara wrote a treatise *On the Good King according to Homer* in the mid-first century BCE.³⁹ The work gleans from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* exemplary conduct and advice for the virtuous and wise ruler and for the private and public conduct of those in positions of authority.⁴⁰

At several points *On the Good King* draws on Diomedes's *aristeia*, and Jeffrey Fish's scientific reconstruction of the text of the final columns has shown this is a prominent theme.⁴¹ In columns 27 and 41, Philodemus refers to the god Ares's whining complaint when wounded by Diomedes (*Il.* 5.588–891).⁴² In column 40, Philodemus finds an educative lesson in

38. The echo is spotted by Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 383, 403 n. 67.

39. For a precise date and setting between 57 and 55 BCE, see Jeffrey Fish, "The Closing Columns of Philodemus, *On the Good King according to Homer*, *PHerc.* 1507 Cols. 95–98 (= Cols. 40–43 Dorandi)," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 46 (2016): 56–58; Fish, "Some Critical Themes in Philodemus' *On the Good King According to Homer*," in *Homer and the Good Ruler in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. Jacqueline Klooster and Baukje van den Berg, *Mnemosyne Supplements* 413 (Brill: Leiden, 2018), 154–55.

40. Elizabeth Asmis, "Philodemus' Poetic Theory and *On the Good King according to Homer*," *Classical Antiquity* 10 (1991): 1–32; Marcello Gigante, *Philodemus in Italy: The Books from Herculaneum* (University of Michigan Press: Ann Arbor, 1995), 63–78.

41. Fish, "Closing Columns." Cf. Jeffrey Fish, "Philodemus' *On the Good King according to Homer*: Columns 21–31," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 32 (2002): 187–232.

42. Fish, "Columns 21–31," 198–99, 222–23; Fish, "Closing Columns," 60–62, 67–69. I adopt the column numbering of Tiziano Dorandi, *Il buon re secondo Omero*, *La Scuola di Epicuro* 3 (Napoli: Bibliopolis, 1982). In Fish's reconstruction Dorandi col. 41 is col. 96. Dorandi's text with notes and the standard English translation by Asmis ("Poetic Theory," 28–34) lack the reference to the scene at the end of the *Il.* 5 in *Hom.* 41.

Zeus's handling of Hera's ridiculing of Aphrodite after her wounding by Diomedes (*Il.* 5.418–425).⁴³

Between columns 27 and 41, the badly preserved columns 35–36 tackle the issue of strife, that between humans and that between humans and gods. For the latter topic, Philodemus quotes from a passage in the *Odyssey* where Odysseus refuses to compete with (ἐριζέμεν οὐκ ἐθέλησω) the heroes of previous generations (*Hom.* 35.25–26 cite *Od.* 8.223–224), such as Hercules and Eurytos of Oichalia who had fought with the gods with the bow (8.225: οἳ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων). These verses are a parallel in the *Odyssey* to those in *Il.* 5 that have mortals fighting and wounding gods.⁴⁴ Then, in the next column, there is an unmistakable echo of Diomedes's attack on the gods (36.9–11). Lines 9–13 say:

ἀλλ' οὐ[κ] ἴσα θε[οῖς] ἐφρόνε[ι] καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς | [ῥι]ζεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ πού
|[δοκῶν τῶ]ν κρειττόνων τις | [εἴ]γαί τε [...]

The subject of the verbs and the syntax of these lines is unclear, so it is unsurprising that they have received little scholarly comment. However, given all the other references to stories of mortal theomachy and to *Il.* 5, we can be confident that *Il.* 5.441–442 is the source of Philodemus's οὐκ ἴσα θεοῖς ἐφρόνει.⁴⁵

So, in this fragmentary text, Philodemus uses the language of *Il.* 5.441–442 when reflecting on the conduct of Homer's characters and the ways in which they are instructive for rulers in his own time. He does so in a way that suggests ἴσα θεοῖς φρονεῖν (preceded by the negative) was idiomatic and would immediately evoke Apollo's words to Diomedes.⁴⁶

43. Fish, "Closing Columns," 56, 60, 65–67 (= col. 40 Fish). There is also a quotation from *Il.* 5.5–6 (a description of Diomedes) at col. 38.8–11.

44. The Greek of *Od.* 8.225 echoes *Il.* 6.131 (ὅς ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐπουρανίοισιν ἔριζεν) at the end of Diomedes's *aristeia*.

45. Asmis appears to miss the language of *Il.* 5.440–441 and translates: "But he did not have wisdom equal to the gods and he quarrelled with the gods themselves" ("Poetic Theory," 32, cf. Fish, "Some Critical Themes," 151: "thought himself equal to gods").

46. Passages in Theocritus (*Id.* 1.119–120); Lycophron (*Alex.* 612–614); Horace (*Carm.* 1.6.13–16) and Ovid (*Am.* 1.7.31–34; *Ars* 1–6) show that Diomedes's fighting the gods and actually injuring Aphrodite (or Venus) was a well-known and contested portion of the *Iliad*, to which poets could appeal in a variety of creative ways. Spinning the portrayal of Diomedes for his Roman audience, Vergil even goes so far as to have

Returning to 2 Maccabees, a deliberate allusion to *Il.* 5, a memorable passage in the Greek literature, would accord with the Jewish author's style, especially in this chapter, where he mixes references to both Greek and Jewish literary canons. We have noted echoes of polemic against self-exalting Persians in *θνητὸν ὄντα* and the extensive debt to the prophet Isaiah in the preceding passage.⁴⁷ By the echoes of Isa 14, Antiochus is presented as a new, self-exalting, king of Babylon (which, of course, he was in the sense that his realm included historic Mesopotamian cities, and a Greek colony Seleucia-on-the Tigris, not far from the ancient city of Babylon, was a seat of Seleucid power).

The allusion to *Il.* 5 would also accord with the way in which the author expects his readers to be appreciative of his work's linguistic subtleties. Four times our passage puns on Antiochus's claim to be Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής (a name noted in 2 Macc 2:20; 4:7; 10:9, 13): he is certainly *not* "God *Manifest*," but it is true that the divine judgment of him makes the power of the living God "*manifest* [*φανερὰν*] to all" (v. 8).⁴⁸ In truth, his actions are evidence of arrogance (*ὑπερηφάνως/ὑπερηφάνια*—vv. 4, 7, 11, cf. 5:21 *ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπερηφάνιας*).⁴⁹

the Greek hero lament his attack on Venus as "that moment when I insanely assailed celestial limbs with the sword, and profaned the hand of Venus with a wound" (*Aen.* 11:276–277, cf. 243–295).

47. The worms that consume Antiochus (v. 9) is an allusion to Isa 14:11, but also has Greek parallels (Herodotus, *Hist.* 4.205; Pausanias, *Desc.* 9.7.2–3; Lucian, *Alex.* 59–60). The stench (vv. 9–10, 12) should also perhaps be treated as satirical subversion of the tradition that the deified ruler had a fragrant smell about their skin and body (for which see Plutarch, *Alex.* 4.2 on the living Alexander, and Ovid, *Metam.* 14.605–607 for the posthumous deification of Aeneas).

48. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 355, Daniel R. Schwartz, "Why Did Antiochus Have to Fall (II Maccabees 9:7)?," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism*, ed. Lynn R. Lidonnici and Andrea Lieber, JSJSup 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 262; Bradley C. Gregory, "Isaiah 14 (LXX) as Narrative Template for Antiochus IV in 2 Maccabees 9," *JSCS* 48 (2015): 89. Compare the pun on Antiochus's divine epithet in Polybius, *Hist.* 26:10 (according to Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 5.193d; 10.439a, cf. 5.196a): not "Epiphanes" but "Epimanes" ("madman"). The theme of true *manifest* divinity, power, and truth runs through the whole work (cf. 2 Macc 3:25, 30, 33; 5:2; 10:29; 11:8; 12:35, 41) and a word play on Antiochus's cult epithet is surely intended in 2:20–21.

49. The whole passage illustrates Prov 3:34, κύριος ὑπερηφάνους ἀντιτάσσεται; cf. Lev 26:19; Jdt 9:9; and fulfils 2 Macc 7:36, σὺ δὲ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει δίκαια τὰ πρόστιμα τῆς ὑπερηφανίας ἀπόιση.

In his recent monograph on *The Neologisms in 2 Maccabees*, Nikolaos Domazakis concludes the author strives for variation in style, wants to “give his language a poetic tint,” and intends to “generate intertextual references to both Septuagintal and secular Greek texts.”⁵⁰ Indeed, there are two other passages that suggest at 9:12 the author intends an allusion to Diomedes’s fighting the gods and that he wants readers to reflect on the theological significance of that allusion. In chapter 7, the sixth of the seven sons who are martyred on Antiochus’s orders tells the tyrant that he should not be deluded by the ease with which he puts the Jews to death:

Do not deceive yourself in vain. For we are suffering these things on our own account because of our sins against our own God. Therefore, astounding things have happened. 19 But do not think that you will go unpunished for having tried to fight against God [θεομαχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσας].

Antiochus is a *theomachos*—a god-fighter.

The problem of the legitimacy or impropriety of mortals fighting against gods was a well-established theme of poetry and tragedy, for which there were, above all, two paradigmatic narratives: the one about Diomedes fighting the gods and the story, preserved in Euripides’s *Bacchae*, in which the Theban king Pentheus attempts to suppress the new rites of the god Dionysus. The king is destroyed because, in his folly, he fights with a god (θεομαχέω, *Bacch.* 45, 325, 1255). In *Il.* 5.407, Diomedes is a man ὃς ἀθανάτοισι μάχεται (“who fights with the immortal gods”); having wounded Aphrodite, he takes on Apollo (unsuccessfully) and Ares (successfully) (5.855–859). According to later tradition, he was punished for his wounding of Aphrodite.⁵¹

In both the *Iliad* and the *Bacchae*, there is the issue of sight. The king Pentheus does not realize that his visitor is the god Dionysus, whose rites he suppresses, until it is too late. Diomedes, by contrast, is able to challenge the immortals because Athena has opened his eyes to see beyond the ordinary mortal forces of combat (*Il.* 5.127–128). Second Maccabees

50. Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 352. For Homeric language, see Domazakis, *Neologisms*, 131, 337, n. 119, 354, 357, 383.

51. Diomedes’s punishment for wounding Aphrodite: Lycophron, *Alex.* 612–614; cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 11.247–278. For the theomachy accusation of 2 Macc 7:19 reminiscent of Diomedes’s conduct in *Il.* 5.440–443, see Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 158. This is not a battle between gods, so comparison to the battle of the giants (*Il.* 20.1–74; 21.385–513, that Plato in *Resp.* 2:378d called a θεομαχία) is of no direct relevance.

7 reflects this theme when the sixth son and martyr insists that Antiochus should understand that, though he thinks his opponents are only mortals, in reality he fights the God who cares for them and who will raise them up, to new life, in an act of bodily resurrection (7:9, 10, 14, 23, 29). In reality, Antiochus fights “against the heavenly children [ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανίους παῖδας]” (7:34), who are servants of the God “who reveals the things that are hidden [τοῦ τὰ κεκρυμμένα φανερὰ ποιοῦντος]” (12:41). While Antiochus is guilty of an illegitimate theomachy, God himself fights with his people, as their cowarrior (συμμάχος—8:24; 10:16; 11:10, cf. 11:13) and champion (ὑπέρμαχος—8:36).

An allusion specifically to the *Bacchae* at 7:19 is possible. The persecution of the Jews included enforced worship of Dionysus (6:7, cf. 14:33). It may be that, for the author of 2 Maccabees, the discerning mind of the sixth son turns the tables on his persecutors. He says, in effect, that Antiochus is like Pentheus in his suppression of Dionysiac worship, by his foolish attempt to prevent the legitimate worship of the one God and creator. The God of the Judeans is the true God and creator who, like Dionysus, will punish the human ruler who opposes him and his rites (temple festivals, sabbath, circumcision—6:6, 10–11).

In any case, the sixth son's prophecy of Antiochus's punishment obviously looks forward to the ninth chapter that recounts the divinely instigated torture and death of the Seleucid ruler. Indeed, two more times in the account of the martyrdom of the seven sons there are predications that look forward to the judgment narrative in chapter 9 (7:17, 31–36). So, we should not be surprised if the author writes allusively of Antiochus's theomachy in 9:12, echoing the language of *Il.* 5.440–441, harking back to the explicit accusation in 7:19. In so many words, he confesses that “it is not right ... being a mortal, to fight against God.”

A third passage provides some further support for this Homeric reading. At 10:29–30, two heavenly men on horses appear and protect Judas Maccabee on the battlefield with their armor. The belief that heavenly warriors protected the righteous in war was common in antiquity. But the scene is especially reminiscent of Apollo and Aphrodite's protection of Aeneas in *Il.* 5.⁵² In this, and perhaps in its other scenes of heavenly assistance, 2 Maccabees should now be considered alongside the book of Tobit

52. See Doran, *2 Maccabees*, 210, who also notes other ways in which 10:29–31 is influenced by Greek epiphanies.

as evidence of Homeric influence on the Jewish understanding of angels and heavenly beings that flourished in the Hellenistic age.⁵³

Finally, Antiochus's confession would perhaps be recognized as an allusion to Diomedes's theomachy because it is possible that in historical fact and memory Seleucid and other Hellenistic rulers sometimes claimed that, in their great exploits, they emulated the son of Tydeus. Although later authors, especially in the Roman sphere—where Diomedes was the antihero of a Trojan saga that led to the founding of Rome—often took a dim view of Diomedes's wounding of Aphrodite, in the *Iliad* itself it is natural to read his worsting of the gods as a model worthy of emulation. Although Diomedes backs off from Apollo, he successfully attacked Aphrodite and later Ares. In those victories, he was acting at the direction, empowerment, and with the support of Athena (*Il.* 5.1–8, 121–132, 256, 260, 290–296, 405, 853–858, 881–883), so cannot easily be judged guilty of impiety.⁵⁴ He is beloved of Zeus and Athena (10.552–553) and, in other ways, an Achaean hero second only to Achilles (who has his own successful fight with the river god in *Il.* 21). So, when Theocritus, court poet to Ptolemy II Philadelphus, praises his patron by likening him to “blood-thirsty Diomedes” (*Id.* 17.48–52), we perhaps hear the fleeting memory of a Hellenistic piety that made Diomedes the model for the righteous warrior who would fight, even with the gods, in the manner of the gods.

An anecdote about Lysimachus, one of the Diadochoi (ca. 360–281 BCE), points in the same direction. According to a passage in Plutarch, Lysimachus, boasted to an embassy of the people of Byzantium that “I touch heaven with my spear [τῇ λόγχῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἅπτομαι].”⁵⁵ Lysimachus was the king of Thrace before he expanded his territory east of the

53. For Tobit's angelology influenced by Homer's epics, see Dennis R. MacDonald, “Tobit and the *Odyssey*,” in *Mimesis and Intertextuality in Antiquity and Christianity*, ed. Dennis R. MacDonald (Harrisburg: Trinity Press International, 2001), 11–40; Benjamin G. Wright, “Hellenization and Jewish Identity in the Deuterocanonical Literature,” in *Canonicity, Setting, Wisdom in the Deuterocanonals: Papers of the Jubilee Meeting of the International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books*, ed. Géza G. Xeravits, József Zsengellér, and Xavér Szabó, DCLS 22 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014), 37–39.

54. For a positive assessment of Diomedes's piety in his *aristeia*, see Zoe Stamatopoulou, “Wounding the Gods: The Mortal *Theomachos* in the *Iliad* and the Hesiodic *Aspis*,” *Mnemosyne* 70 (2017): 921–30.

55. Plutarch, *Alex. fort.* 1.5. Pasiades of Byzantium allegedly retorted “Let us be gone, lest he pierce heaven with the point of his lance [μὴ τῇ ἐπιδορατίδι τὸν οὐρανὸν

Hellespont. The Diomedes of the *Iliad* could easily be confused with Diomedes king of Thrace, whose human-flesh eating mares Hercules tamed.⁵⁶ So Lysimachus's boast might be heard as a playful comparison with the Achaean hero. It was probably also part of a serious attempt to persuade the Byzantines to submit to his benevolent rule in his newly won territory after the Battle of Ipsus (301 BCE).⁵⁷ So, Plutarch records a memory of a conversation that he presented as having taken place not far from Ilium (Troy), not long after Lysimachus (along with the allies Seleucus I and Cassander) had defeated Demetrius Poliorcetes (and his father Antigonos I), an entrepreneurial successor to Alexander whom the Athenians hymned as "son of Aphrodite [παῖς ... ἀφροδίτης]" (Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 6.63 [253e]).

In that context, Lysimachus's "striking heaven with a spear" sounds like a provocative claim to be heir to the powers of Diomedes, who had pierced the hand of Aphrodite as she protected Aeneas with his sharp spear (*Il.* 5.336: ὀξείῃ δουρί) at the siege of Troy. Diomedes attacked and wounded Aphrodite, protectress of Aeneas. Lysimachus had lately attacked and defeated Demetrius, beloved of Aphrodite. Perhaps, then, the narrator's comment that Antiochus IV had thought that he "could touch the stars of heaven [τῶν οὐρανίων ἄστρων ἅπτεσθαι]" (2 Macc 9:10) reflects the way warrior kings like Demetrius claimed to emulate Diomedes. In that case, Antiochus's touching, or striking, the stars would be a Diomedian updating of Isaiah's prophecy. Isaiah's king of Babylon boasted that he would *mount up above* the stars of heaven (ἀναβήσομαι ἐπάνω τῶν ἄστρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ—Isa 14:13); Antiochus's crime was far worse—he would strike them.⁵⁸

τρυπήσῃ]." Plutarch records Lysimachus's boast along with other examples of rulers claiming a more than human identity or status for themselves.

56. Diomedes the Thracian: Diodorus Siculus, *Bib. hist.* 4.15.3; Apollodorus, *Bib.* 2.5.8.

57. Helen S. Lund, *Lysimachus: A Study in Early Hellenistic Kingship* (London: Routledge, 1992), 173 is skeptical of the historical worth of the anecdote, but she is perhaps overly influenced by the context of its preservation in Plutarch (where it is one of a collection of arrogant, self-deifying, boasts of Hellenistic rulers). She does not consider a possible allusion to Diomedes's theomachies, which makes Lysimachus's words more political banter than simply naked self-deification.

58. For the combination of touching the stars and Diomedes's attacking Aphrodite, see Ovid, *Pont.* 2.2.9–14. "I never imagined that should Ossa uphold Pelion, my hand could touch the bright stars; I have not joined the mad camp of Enceladus and aroused war against the gods who rule the world; I have not, like the rash hand of Tydeus' son, aimed my spear against the gods" (LCL).

None of these observations is conclusive on its own. The evidence is cumulative: following the martyr's rebuking of Antiochus as a *theomachos* (7:19), his divine torture is told in language that echoes stories of the conflict between gods and mortals (9:5). His boast that he can strike the stars (9:11) suggests Diomedes's striking Venus and, perhaps, the conviction among Hellenistic rulers that, in their military endeavors, they could think (and act) the way the gods do (ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν), in emulation of the Thracian Tydide.

The Homeric allusions enrich the readers' experience. But they also contribute to the author's theological program. According to the plain sense of history, Antiochus attacked *people*; the Judeans in Jerusalem (2 Macc 9:4, 7). But, as a *theomachos*, in truth, the Seleucid had attempted an assault on God himself. This is good Maccabean theology, for it is a corollary of the insistence, made repeatedly in this book, that the Lord, to whom Jerusalem and its temple belong, is the Almighty (παντοκράτωρ—1:25; 3:30; 5:20, etc.), who is truly at work in and through the events of history (15:21).⁵⁹ He is the one who allows the Judeans to suffer (for their sins: 5:17; 6:14–16; 7:18, 32; 10:4, etc.), and it is he who is now at work, through the pious whom he leads (10:1), for the recovery of city and temple and the restoration of his people to their laws and constitution.

Sadly, the ways in which 9:12 contributes to these themes was lost on the later scribe(s) who, puzzled by the unusual Greek ἰσόθεα φρονεῖν, substituted ὑπερήφανα for ἰσόθεα.

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59. For allusions to Dionysiac theomachy, with a similar theological purpose, in 3 Maccabees, see J. R. C. Cousland, "Dionysus Theomachos? Echoes of the Bacchae in 3 Maccabees," *Bib* 82 (2001): 539–48.

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The Intention of the Translator and Theology in the Septuagint

W. Edward Glenny

Abstract: There is a broad range of opinion among Septuagint scholars on how the intention of the translator is related to the theology of the Septuagint. The purpose of this paper is to survey five of the most important descriptions of this relationship and then to share some concerns about the necessity of limiting the theology of the Septuagint to theological statements that can be shown to be intended by the translator to be theological.

1. Introduction

The focus of this paper is one aspect of the discussion of the theology of the Septuagint: the importance of the intention of the translator in determining if there is a distinctive theology or theological truth in a Septuagint text. Do interpreters need to limit theological truths in the Septuagint to distinctive theological statements and ideas that the translator intended to be theological, or could theology be communicated in statements written with other intentions or with no clear intention? There is a broad range of opinion on this issue among scholars who talk about the theology of, or in, the Septuagint. On one end of the spectrum are those for whom the theology of the Septuagint should be strictly limited to theological statements and portions of the Septuagint that can be shown to be intended to be theological by the translator. These portions involve differences from the Hebrew or Aramaic *Vorlage* that the translator intentionally adjusted to communicate theological truth. At the other end of the spectrum are those who feel the intentions of the translator are irrelevant for determining the

theology of the Septuagint. I will discuss five perspectives on this issue and then attempt to summarize the discussion and share my concerns.

2. Survey of Different Views

This section contains a survey of five different scholars' views on the theology of the Septuagint and, more specifically, on the relationship of the intention of the translator to theology in the Septuagint.¹

2.1. Albert Pietersma

A prominent example of one who argues that any new theological truth unique to the Septuagint should be limited to theological truth that can be attributed to the intentions of the translator is Albert Pietersma. Pietersma acknowledges that generally speaking all "translation involves interpretation," but he feels only some translation involves the kind of "exegesis" that is the basis of theology. This exegesis has "at least three characteristics: (1) deliberate-ness, (2) methodical-ness, and (3) target oriented-ness."² With these guidelines he clearly limits the translator's exegesis, or theological statements, to theological truth the translator intends to communicate. He is a representative of what he calls "minimalists," those who see a minimum of exegesis and theology in the Septuagint; an example of others who have been identified with this position are the scholars who comprise the Finnish school and the NETS translation team. At the opposite end of the spectrum are the "maximalists," whom he suggests are represented by scholars such as Joachim Schaper and Martin Rösel.³ Proponents of the first position (mini-

1. Other works important for the topic of this paper that are not surveyed are Johann Cook, "Towards a Formulation of a Theology of the Septuagint," in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. André Lemaire, VTSup 133 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 621–37; Staffan Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis: Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*, ConBOT 57 (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009); and Anneli Aejmelaus, "Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaus (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993), 65–76.

2. Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point)," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 35.

3. Pietersma, "Exegesis," 35–36.

malists) see the translator as a medium, creating the potential for exegesis, and representatives of the second position (maximalists) understand the translator to be more an author, who is doing exegesis on the source text.⁴ Pietersma's methodology is decidedly focused on the source text, and he emphasizes the translator's role in communicating what is in the *Vorlage*. When he speaks of the Septuagint he emphasizes that he is speaking of the Septuagint "as produced in distinction from the Septuagint as received."⁵ Based primarily on the "textual linguistic makeup" of the Septuagint text itself, Pietersma believes the translators of the Septuagint did not intend for it to be a stand-alone substitute for the Semitic source texts but rather to be "an ancillary tool in service to the original, one in which exegesis of any meaningful description is the exception rather than the rule."⁶ Foundational to Pietersma's approach to the LXX is Gideon Toury's theory that one read a translation in light of its function or purpose.⁷ Thus, based on the character of their work, for Pietersma the function and purpose of the LXX translators was to translate the Hebrew source text, not to rearticulate the source text in the translation for its role in the recipient culture.⁸ Also important is Pietersma's use of the interlinear model to understand the Septuagint. The translation is not meant to be read independently but is to a large degree an isomorphic rendering of its source text and it was meant to be a "crib for the study of the Hebrew."⁹ This understanding of the Septuagint leads naturally to an emphasis on the individual words, which were meant to convey the meanings of their Semitic counterparts. The intended meaning of the translator is more closely connected to the correspondence of terms in the source and target texts than to larger contexts.¹⁰

4. Pietersma, "Exegesis," 35–36.

5. Albert Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 2–3.

6. Pietersma, "Exegesis," 2.

7. See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995).

8. See Pietersma, "Exegesis," 37.

9. Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference; Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique "From Alpha to Byte"; University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000*, ed. Johann Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 360.

10. Pietersma, "Exegesis," 38–39. This emphasis on the meanings of the individual words in relation to their corresponding terms in their *Vorlage* is evident in Pietersma's

2.2. Emanuel Tov

Similar to Pietersma's perspective on the question of the importance of the translator's intention for determining theology, although coming from a different approach, is Emanuel Tov.¹¹ Tov does not work from Pietersma's interlinear model approach; rather, he explains the differences of opinion concerning the amount of theological exegesis in the Septuagint as a difference between theological and text-critical (or other) approaches to the Septuagint. He is open to finding unique theological readings in the Septuagint, but he feels they will be found predominantly in the books with the freer translations, like Job, Proverbs, and Isaiah, and he does not believe there is a theological system of the whole Septuagint, not even for blocks of books. Being a prominent text critic, he prefers a text-critical approach over a theological one, but he feels both approaches have validity and the "decision to ascribe a deviation to a theological or textual factor depends on a scholar's personal inclination."¹²

For Tov, "the fact that the LXX is a translation should guide every detail of our analysis of the theological elements found in it. We therefore should not include elements common to the Hebrew and Greek texts in the analysis of Septuagint theology, for these provide no indication of the intellectual and religious world of the translators."¹³ For him, theological exegesis is "any theological element added to the source text by the translator."¹⁴ Furthermore, for him "the theology of the LXX should deal with the theological intentions of the translators, or the intentions that presumably were in the minds of the translators," and he allows that translators were sometimes "influenced by other units in the LXX canon, but

critique of Rösel's understanding of εἰς τὸ τέλος in the LXX Psalms headings. Rösel argues for an eschatological understanding of the phrase, partly on the basis of the larger context of the Septuagint, and Pietersma argues against that understanding, based primarily on the meaning of τέλος ("Exegesis," 42–44).

11. See especially, Emanuel Tov, "The Interaction between Theological and Text-Critical Approaches," in *Toward a Theology of the Septuagint: Stellenbosch Congress on the Septuagint, 2018*, ed. Johann Cook and Martin Rösel, SCS 74 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2020), 23–46. All quotations in this section are from this article, unless otherwise noted.

12. Tov, "Interaction," 42.

13. Tov, "Interaction," 25.

14. Tov, "Interaction," 24.

the default position should be that they were not, since each book was rendered by a separate translator, while many of them were influenced by the translation of the Torah.”¹⁵ Tov is hesitant about attributing many differences between the Greek translation and its *Vorlage* to theological exegesis because the recognition of theological exegesis is not based on “absolute facts,” and the differences between the Greek and its *Vorlage* could reflect a Hebrew variant, a nontheological type of exegesis, like linguistic, contextual, or other translation technique, or they could reflect errors in the transmission of the Greek text.¹⁶

Tov illustrates what he means by a nontheological variant from Amos 7:1, contrasting his approach with the theological exegesis of Frederick F. Bruce.¹⁷ The MT of the last part of the verse reads “the latter growth after the king’s mowings” (לְקֶשׂ אַחֲרֵי גִזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ), and the LXX reading is “one locust larva, Gog the king” (βροῦχος εἰς Γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς). Based on the mention of “locusts” (גִּבִּי) earlier in this verse, Bruce contends the translator linked the locusts invasion in Joel 2:25 with the reference to Gog in Ezek 38–39, who leads an attack of many nations on Israel and was spoken of by prophets in previous days, according to 38:17–18.¹⁸ The resulting picture in Amos 7:1 is one of Gog, the king of the locusts, a rendering

15. Tov, “Interaction,” 25. Staffan Olofsson takes a position similar to Tov’s on this question. He writes, “A translation never emerges in a social, cultural, or religious vacuum. One can take for granted that the translator without being conscious of it was influenced by the religious situation of his time even for the philological analysis of his text. Especially when he comes across words and expressions where he only has an indistinct notion of the meaning, his interpretations may have been influenced by what was reasonable from a theological point of view. It is possible that he expects some form of theological consistency in the Scriptures” (*Translation Technique*, 26). But he goes on to clarify that he does not consider this type of “unconscious theological interpretation” to be an example of “theological exegesis”; for that, he restricts himself, as Tov, to “conscious theological influence in the choice of equivalents.”

16. Tov, “Interaction,” 30; see also 41.

17. Tov, “Interaction,” 34–35. What he means by the words “nontheological variant” is not clear. He apparently means what he calls elsewhere a “pseudo-variant,” a reading that existed in the mind of the translator but not in any text; however, in his essay, this is his first example that a “Textual Approach is Preferable.” He is apparently thinking of a textual approach in the sense that the translator is motivated by what is in the text, not by theological concerns.

18. Frederick F. Bruce, “Prophetic Interpretation in the Septuagint,” *BIOSCS* 12 (1979): 17–26.

that totally changes the text's meaning.¹⁹ Tov rejects Bruce's explanation, seeing it as one of several theological interpretations that Bruce makes where a textual argument is preferable. From Tov's textual perspective he asks what "Gog, the king" is doing in a verse describing the destruction of late crops by locust. He explains that the Hebrew context is quite difficult, with one *hapax legomenon* "latter growth" (לִקְשׁ) and another rare word "mowings" (גִּזִּי), which occurs four times in the MT and can also have the sense of "fleece, shearing." In an attempt to make sense of the difficult text, the translator apparently read "latter growth" (לִקְשׁ) as "locust grub" (לִלְק) and "mowings" (גִּזִּי) as "Gog" (גֹּג). Then, to make sense of the passage, the translator changed "after" (אַחֵר) to "one" (אֶחָד), or perhaps confused the *dalet* and *resh*. At any rate, instead of the Hebrew text's description of God creating a plague of locusts at the time the late crops were beginning to sprout after the king's mowings, in the LXX there is a locust plague, and one of the locusts is "Gog the king." For Tov, although the MT is "not easy," the LXX rendering does not make sense.

There are several things going on in this passage, and some of Tov's presuppositions are no doubt influential in his understanding of the LXX rendering. His default position is that translators were not "influenced by other units in the LXX canon," and thus he does not put much stock in the influence of Ezekiel and other books in the Twelve on the interpreter of Amos 7:1.²⁰ Furthermore, he does not see any meaningful content in the LXX rendering, and thus it is hard for him to see any theological motivation here. The motivation is textual or linguistic, and the translator was simply trying to make some sense of a text that did not make sense as written and perhaps was not understood at all. Tov does allow that the translations of the Pentateuch may have influenced the translators of later books, and there is a Septuagint reference to Gog in Num 24:7 that is not found in the Hebrew. However, Tov does not refer to that passage.²¹ One other

19. See W. Edward Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos*, VTSup 126 (Leiden Brill, 2009), 202–7, for a more detailed explanation of the passage.

20. Tov, "Interaction," 25. There are other references to locusts in the Twelve that could have influenced the translator of Amos 7:1. Although the Hebrew word for locusts that occurs in Amos 7:1 (גִּבִּי) does not occur elsewhere in the Twelve, the Greek words for locust in 7:1 occur in Joel 1:4 and 2:25 (ἀχρίς three times and βροῦχος three times). See Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 205–6.

21. For a summary of the references to Gog elsewhere in Scripture and the Gog tradition, see Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 204–5.

issue that will come up again is the exclusion of any theological meaning in linguistically motivated translations, like Amos 7:1. One wonders if it is not possible for a translator's theology to influence the rendering of a text that is motivated by linguistic factors? Are the two mutually exclusive, and would the translator function in a theological vacuum in such situations?

2.3. Jan Joosten

Jan Joosten takes a slightly different and more complex approach to the issue of the role of the intention of the translator in determining the unique theology of the Septuagint.²² Like Pietersma and Tov, he seeks the unique theology of the Septuagint in the places where it varies from its *Vorlage*. He argues that, if we were to include all the truths in the Greek text in a Septuagint theology, we would run the risk of producing a theology of the Old Testament, based on the Hebrew. He does say that he feels the number of theological variants in the Septuagint will be meager, and he develops a methodology to identify them. His methodology for determining the theology in the Septuagint is multi-faceted, involving a "substantial," or extensive, study of units, recurring themes (which can have the advantage of providing a cumulative argument), and lexical equivalents, as well as a formal analysis, examining the literalness of the translation and the harmonization of Scripture. The substantial approach involves studying carefully the relationship of the translation to its Semitic *Vorlage*, looking especially for divergences between them. The formal analysis is especially insightful concerning the translator's understanding of Scripture. Foundational to Joosten's methodology is the determination of the intention of the translator. He believes that when there is no forethought of the translator (apparently theological forethought), a variation in the LXX from the Hebrew does not involve theology; it is just a linguistic difference.²³ So, how does one determine the intention of the translator? He asks if the theology of the LXX is to stand on the statements of the text or does it stand from retracing beyond the text the ideas and the convictions of the translator?²⁴ He illustrates from Gen 2:4–5 and its statement that God created "all the verdure of the field before it came to be upon the earth and all

22. Jan Joosten, "Une Théologie de la Septante? Reflexions methodologiques sur l'interpretation de la version grecque," *RTP* 132 (2000): 31–46.

23. Joosten, "Théologie," 33–34.

24. Joosten, "Théologie," 34–35.

herbage of the field before it sprang up” (NETS) that the exegete cannot build theology on the textual readings of the Septuagint alone, because often, as in this erroneous rendering, the text does not reflect the intention of the translator.²⁵ He acknowledges the problems in trying to get into the mind of the translators in order to determine their intentions, and he opts for the use of the study of the translator’s translation technique to find the intention of the translator in the text. Translation technique is employed to make a distinction between what the translator wanted to add to the version, what he put their unconsciously, and what is insinuated in a random manner.²⁶ A key principle Joosten employs to apply the results of translation technique is that differences between the Hebrew *Vorlage* and the Greek translation that are consistent with the translator’s technique and can be explained by it are not theological in nature, but rather linguistic, or perhaps textual.²⁷ Translators were prone to develop such patterns, like perhaps confusion of Hebrew consonants or different vocalization of the Hebrew, and therefore such changes in the *Vorlage* would not involve theological intention on the part of the translator. In such cases, the translators, following their developed technique, were simply trying to translate well and not attempting to express theology.

An example of Joosten’s method is seen in his treatment of the interpretative crux in LXX Amos 9:11–12. In 9:12, the MT text reads “that they may possess the remnant of Edom” (למען יירשו את שארית אדום), and the corresponding words in the LXX have “that the remnant of mankind may seek [me]” (ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων). Since the translator apparently confused *dalet* and *resh* in the main Hebrew verb in 9:12, resulting in the rendering “seek” (apparently reading ידרשו) rather than “possess” (יירשו), and since he apparently revocalized the noun “Edom” (אדום) to read “Adam” (אדם), and since the translator employed these techniques elsewhere in the Twelve, the LXX rendering should not be understood to be theological. It reflects the normal, default method

25. In this illustration, the Greek translation is apparently based on the translator’s misunderstanding of the particle טרם (“before, not yet”), which the translator understands to introduce a subordinate rather than a main proposition. The LXX text indicates plants were created before they were placed on the earth.

26. Joosten, “Théologie,” 35. The distinction between the last two categories, unintentional and random, is not totally clear. Perhaps by random he is referring to what he later calls “unconscious inferences” (see below).

27. Joosten, “Théologie,” 36–37.

employed by the translator, who was trying to render the *Vorlage* well and stick closely to the words in the text. Furthermore, he says that because this rendering is the result of an accident (perhaps caused by things like an illegible *Vorlage*, a nonvocalized text, or the translator's mediocre knowledge of Hebrew) that indicates further that this reading does not reflect the translator's theology.²⁸ The translator was attempting to render the *Vorlage* well, sticking closely to the words in the text, and he was simply applying his normal technique to this text. In this case, the use of the translator's normal translation technique or methodology is thought to be evidence against theological exegesis.²⁹

28. Joosten, "Théologie," 36–37. The combination of an accident and the translator's normal translation technique is unusual in a translation unit that is normally translated literally and where the translator is trying to communicate the meaning of his *Vorlage*, as Joosten suggests. Also, the Hebrew words that are translated differently here are not difficult words.

29. The application of translation technique to the question of the translator's intention is difficult. In other situations, where, for instance, a potentially new theological truth in the Septuagint could be a mistake on the translator's part and thus not theological, some scholars require evidence of parallel technique from elsewhere in that translator's work in order to accept the new idea in the Septuagint as a theological truth introduced into the translation. An illustration of my point might be the rendering of the phrase *מה שחו* ("what is his thought") as *χριστὸν αὐτοῦ* in the Septuagint of Amos 4:13. Apparently the translator did not understand the *hapax legomenon* *שח* ("thought") in Amos 4:13, and it resulted in the phrase "announcing his anointed to humans" in the Septuagint. (See the argument in W. Edward Glenny, "Messianism in Septuagint Amos?," in *Envisioning God in the Humanities: Essays on Christianity, Judaism, and Ancient Religion in Honor of Melissa Harl Sellew*, ed. Courtney J. P. Friesen [Eugene: Cascade Books, 2018], 175–88.) I have argued that this rendering is best understood as a translation of a Hebrew text similar to the MT and is evidence of a "messianic perspective on the part of the translator" (see also Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2015], 338). One objection to this view is that the Septuagint rendering was simply a mistake on the part of the translator, and therefore it is not theological in nature, because the translator did not intend to be making a theological statement. According to this objection, it is argued on the basis of this apparently mistaken rendering and the variation of first and third person pronouns referring to the Lord in this verse that the translator was incompetent. (See the discussion of this issue and examples of this same kind of alternation of pronouns from elsewhere in the Minor Prophets in Glenny, "Messianism in Septuagint Amos?," 177–79. Examples of the translator's manipulation of Hebrew radicals is seen in the other two passages from Amos discussed in this paper [7:1 and 9:11–12]). In this case, examples of the same technique are required to prove that the translator was competent and knew what he was doing

Interestingly, what Joosten appears to be looking for are passages in the Septuagint that seem to be influenced by the theology of the translator.³⁰ This is different than passages that reflect the theology of the translator. He seems hesitant to attribute any theology in the Septuagint to the translator unless he can be certain on the basis of the translation technique or other methods that the differences from the Hebrew in the Septuagint text were caused by theologically motivated changes made by the translator. Thus, even if a variant from the Hebrew in the Septuagint contains theological truth, that is not enough for that passage to be counted as Septuagint theology. In order for it to count as theology in the Septuagint it must be influenced and caused by the theological intentions of the translator.

Joosten summarizes that the interpreter is able to have a certain access to the theology and ideology of the translators by means of “unconscious interference” concerning the meaning of the *Vorlage* found in the translation.³¹ Thus, he ends his article with the conclusion that most, or at least a good part, of the theology and ideology of the translators that is in the LXX is not found in intended theological changes, of which there are few, since the translators are trying to translate well. Their theology is found more in the theological truths unconsciously inferred in their translations.³²

2.4. Martin Rösel

The next perspective I would like to consider, one that is more open to theology in the Septuagint than Joosten, is that of Martin Rösel. Although he has written several related works, I will focus on his “A Theology of the

in his renderings in this verse. (See Glenny, “Messianism in Septuagint Amos?,” 183–86, for other proposals concerning the relationship between the source and receptor text in this verse.)

30. Joosten, “Théologie,” 38. He writes that in research on the book of Hosea his study group only found three passages that “seemed to be influenced by the theology of the translator.”

31. Joosten, “Théologie,” 46.

32. This aspect of Joosten’s methodology seems to conflict with his earlier emphasis that Septuagint theology is to be based on variations motivated by the forethought of the translator (pp. 33–34). Is Joosten saying that theology comes through unconscious inferences from the translator, or where we have evidence of the forethought of the translator (and his intentions)? He is not clear on how he reconciles these two ideas.

Septuagint? Clarifications and Definitions.”³³ As the preceding scholars, Rösel feels the place to start in studying the theology of the Septuagint is to compare the Hebrew and Greek texts of the individual books, but then he wants to move beyond that comparison to compare the Greek translations of the different books with each other in an attempt to systematize the data. Rösel writes, “Those holding to the minimalistic position are correct when they point out the fact that a number of decisions made throughout the translation process are not necessarily theologically motivated. Nevertheless, some parts of the Greek Bible do contain theologically motivated translations, a type of theology that could be understood under the label ‘implicit theology.’”³⁴ He differs from the proponents of the previous three perspectives in his belief that “texts of this nature can be found throughout most books of the LXX, albeit in varying number and importance.”³⁵ Another important characteristic of Rösel’s approach is that it is historical in nature, attempting to do theology in the historical context of the various translation units in the LXX and sensitive to the changing socio-political situations. This sensitivity suggests more interest than the previous approaches in the LXX as received (rather than as produced).

Rösel acknowledges that some Septuagint renderings that appear to communicate a distinct LXX theology may be a rendering of a different *Vorlage*, and it is possible to distinguish passages that do not include the translators’ theological intentions when there is clear evidence of a different *Vorlage* supporting the different theological reading in the Septuagint. Most would agree with Rösel on this. However, there is difference of opinion on how much evidence is necessary to prove sufficiently that a different *Vorlage* actually existed and that the different *Vorlage* was actually the source of the different reading in the LXX.

To illustrate, one disputed example is the Septuagint reading of Exod 15:3, κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους (“The Lord, who shatters wars”) for the MT’s יהוה איש מלחמה (“Yahweh is a man of war”). Rösel argues that since there is no Hebrew textual witness that supports this Septuagint reading,

33. Martin Rösel, “A Theology of the Septuagint? Clarifications and Definitions,” in *Tradition and Innovation: English and German Studies on the Septuagint*, ed. Martin Rösel, SCS 70 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 273–90. See also Rösel, “Towards a ‘Theology of the Septuagint,’” in *Tradition and Innovation: English and German Studies on the Septuagint*, ed. Martin Rösel, SCS 70 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 253–72.

34. Rösel, “Theology,” 278

35. Rösel, “Theology,” 278.

there is no reason not to interpret it as a theological statement on the part of the translator.³⁶ Furthermore, the LXX version of the verse is quoted in Jdt 9:7 and 16:2 where it is used to make a theological assertion.³⁷ In contrast, Alex Douglas argues that this LXX reading is most likely based on a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. He bases this decision on Scripture parallels in Hos 2:20 and Ps 76:4 that could support the assumption of a reconstructed Septuagint *Vorlage* (יהוה שבר מלחמה).³⁸ Tov agrees with Douglas and suggests the Samaritan Pentateuch text in Exod 15:3 (יהוה גיבור במלחמה גיבור) provides further support for a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* being the source of the Septuagint reading in this verse; he observes that this variant differs only in one consonant (compare שבר and גיבור) from the presumed reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX.³⁹ Therefore, since we are not certain the LXX reading is a result of the translator's creative thinking, the burden of proof in this case should not be on those who assume a Hebrew variant in this text, but rather on those who see here evidence of LXX theology.⁴⁰ Tov admits "this is not manuscript evidence, but [it] suffices to support the assumption of a variant."⁴¹ Before he will base theology on the LXX rendering, Tov wants certainty that the LXX rendering was a result of the translator's "creative thinking." There is a

36. Rösel, "Theology," 281.

37. See Larry Perkins, "'The Lord Is a Warrior'—'The Lord Who Shatters Wars': Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7; 16:2," *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 121–38. The similar rendering in Isa 42:13 is also important.

38. Alex Douglas, "Limitations to Writing a Theology of the Septuagint," *JSCS* 45 (2012): 104–17.

39. The reading in the Samaritan Pentateuch also has a ג prefix on the third word in the phrase, which is not found in the MT.

40. Tov, "Interaction," 27. This approach to the divergent reading in LXX Exod 15:3 seems to create tension with what Tov writes in *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 43–50: "When analyzing the LXX translation for text-critical purposes, one should first attempt to view deviations as the result of the inner-translational factors described here. Only after all possible translational explanations have been dismissed should one address the assumption that the translation represents a Hebrew reading different from MT" (44). On p. 48, he writes, "the more one knows about the nature of the translation, and the more thoroughly inner-translational deviations are analyzed, the less one is inclined to ascribe translational deviations to Hebrew variants." Apparently, in this case, he feels the evidence for a textual variant is so strong as to overrule any evidence for inner-translational deviation.

41. Tov, "Interaction," 27.

clear difference of opinion concerning the burden of proof in this verse, since Rösel requires more evidence for a different Hebrew *Vorlage* than Tov requires, and Tov wants more certainty of the translator's creative thinking to accept a theological statement.⁴²

Foundational to Rösel's approach is his attempt to define precisely what "theology of the Septuagint" means. He makes a distinction concerning the expression "theology of the Septuagint" between reading the word *Septuagint* as a subjective genitive and understanding it as an objective genitive. As a subjective genitive, it implies "that the focus of investigation is the implicit theology that emerges from the intentional decisions of the translators"; thus it is the theological truth implicit in the LXX, which becomes "the locus of theological inquiry."⁴³ As an objective genitive, theology of the LXX refers to theology that emerges from the LXX, that is, "theological systematization resulting from the translated text."⁴⁴ Some LXX books, like portions of Wisdom of Solomon, contain this type of "doctrinal exposition or apology."⁴⁵ Thus, when Rösel refers to the "theology of the Septuagint" he means an "implicit theology" that involves theologically motivated translations and theological statements intended by the translator, either consciously or unconsciously (i.e., subjective genitive—the Septuagint's theology); this kind of theology normally involves some sort of theological reflection on the part of the translators or their communities.

The implicit theology (subjective genitive) in the LXX can involve intellectual reflection, and this can be seen in the systematization of terms and ideas in the LXX, like the terms for the altar (or the names for God, i.e., LORD for Yahweh).⁴⁶ Important to this definition is the idea that this theology "emerges from the intentional decisions of the translators." Rösel mentions that this principle is an area of disagreement,⁴⁷ and in private correspondence he actually disagrees with it, using the description

42. Tov, "Interaction," 27. Tov explains the differences between his approach and that of Rösel as a difference in "a scholar's personal inclination." He emphasizes "the role of intuition" in such decision processes (Tov, "Interaction," 42).

43. Rösel, "Theology," 279.

44. Rösel, "Theology," 279.

45. Rösel, "Theology," 279.

46. Rösel, "Theology," 280. While the Hebrew Bible uses מזבח for pagan and legitimate Israelite altars, the LXX uses θυσιαστήριον for legitimate altars and βωμός for pagan ones.

47. Rösel, "Theology," 280.

of God in Hab 3:5 as an example of how hard it is to know if a different reading has arisen unintentionally or with theological intention.⁴⁸ Furthermore, several other aspects of Rösel's theological method suggest he does not always limit the theology of the Septuagint to the intentional decisions of the translator. For example, he wants to switch the focus away from the translator as the creative personality in the translation process to focus on the reflection and systematization that took place in the Hellenistic communities.⁴⁹ This would seem to allow the theological reflection to take place before the translation process and allow the theology or theological reading of the text already to be established in the mind of the translator before the act of translation. Rösel also allows that the creative reflection concerning a text and the changes in it could take place during the transmission of the Hebrew text before it was translated into Greek and still be important for Septuagint theology; he argues that what is decisive about readings in the Septuagint is that they "can be found in the Greek Bible."⁵⁰ Finally, he also feels it is not of primary importance whether a theological statement that arises in the examination of the Hebrew text is triggered by a linguistic or semantic problem of the source text which the translator had to solve; such statements can still reflect theology.⁵¹ Thus Rösel does allow for some theological truth in the LXX that is not consciously intended by the translator, and perhaps the key word here is "consciously," because one could still argue that the translator intended to put it in the text, whether consciously or unconsciously. There is a sense in which the translators intended to put everything they wrote in the translation.

48. Martin Rösel, private correspondence on August 30, 2019; this material is part of the introduction to his planned *Theology of the Septuagint*. In Hab 3:5, the translator apparently read דָּבָר ("plague") as "word," changing the context. As a consequence of that change, the translator adapted the second part of the verse, describing God. The Hebrew text's "a plague followed at his heels" becomes in the LXX, "he shall go out, his feet in sandals"; Rösel reasons the translator accepts the anthropomorphic description of God in order to avoid any connection of God with sickness or a foreign god. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 71–146, for other examples of the translator adapting to make sense of a passage after misreading or having to guess at a difficult word.

49. Rösel, "Theology," 281–82.

50. Rösel, "Theology," 281–82.

51. Martin Rösel, private correspondence on August 30, 2019; this material is part of the introduction to his planned *Theology of the Septuagint*.

2.5. Timothy McLay

An example of one who believes the “theology of/in the Septuagint is not limited to or controlled [in any way] by the intentions of the translator” is Timothy McLay; he explains his view in “Why Not a Theology of the Septuagint?”⁵² McLay’s intention in this essay is “to set forth the fundamental principles by which one might write a theology of the Septuagint.”⁵³ His three basic points are (1) “a theology of—or more accurately, a theology in—the Septuagint, is not limited to the Old Greek (OG) text; (2) it “is not limited to the differences one might isolate between the Greek texts and the presumed Semitic source text,” and (3) it may be described with the same legitimacy and using the same basic principles as a theology of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible or New Testament.”⁵⁴ He states clearly that such theology is not “limited to or controlled by the intentions of the translator,” nor is it “constrained by authorial intention.”⁵⁵ The main basis for this statement is that the collection of books is to be treated like the collections in the Old Testament and New Testament: all the portions (what agrees with the *Vorlage* and what does not) of every book are to be factored into this theology; he suggests also that various versions of the Septuagint should be used, and theologians should not limit themselves to a nonexistent Old Greek translation.⁵⁶ Thus, his approach is textual rather than historical.

Following Barr, and similar to Rösel, McLay defines theology as “reflective activity in which the content of religious expression is to some extent abstracted, contemplated, subjected to reflection and discussion, and deliberately formulated.”⁵⁷ The Greek Jewish Scriptures “are sources for theology rather than primarily theological documents.”⁵⁸

52. Timothy McLay, “Why Not a Theology of the Septuagint?,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Martin Karrer, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 252 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 607–20.

53. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 607.

54. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 608.

55. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 608.

56. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 610–16.

57. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 610, from James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology* (London: SCM, 1999), 249.

58. McLay, “Why Not a Theology,” 610.

One reason McLay is opposed to focusing on the intentions of the translator⁵⁹ when doing LXX theology is that the theological views of the translators were largely shaped within communities, and what they composed was intended for their community. Therefore, an author-centered approach is naive. The historical circumstances of the readers and communities were often the catalysts for differences and different literary editions and redactional layers, all of which are important.⁶⁰ McLay importantly reminds the reader of the different hermeneutical approaches of various groups, like the Qumran community and the Christians, which guided and controlled their reading of the biblical texts and their understanding of the Hebrew Bible.⁶¹

2.6. Summative Evaluation

There are many different ideas on how the intention of the translator is related to determining the theology in, or of, the Septuagint. Foundational to the issue is the question of the degree renderings in the Septuagint must be intentional in order for them to reflect the translator's theology. A further aspect of the discussion is the question of trying to distinguish between the translator's conscious and unconscious translational acts and how they are related to the translator's intentions.

Two of the scholars surveyed in this essay, Pietersma and Tov, require that, in order for LXX renderings to be counted as distinct theological statements, the translator must have intended them to be such. Joosten is generally sympathetic with this view, but he does allow that researchers can have a certain access to the theology and ideology of the translators by means of "unconscious interferences" concerning the meaning of the *Vorlage* that are found in the translation. Rösel and McLay do not require theological intent on the part of the translator as a prerequisite for identifying theological intent in renderings in the LXX that differ from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Rösel thinks it is important to consider the intent of the translator, and he acknowledges that sometimes the study of the translator's translation technique or the textual variants in the Semitic *Vorlage* may give evidence that there is no theological meaning in his rendering.

59. McLay, "Why Not a Theology," 608. On p. 617 he seems to connect the intentions of the translator with what was on his mind.

60. McLay, "Why Not a Theology," 611–13.

61. McLay, "Why Not a Theology," 611–13.

For McLay, everything in the LXX is to be taken into account when studying its theology, and theological intent on the part of the translator is not important. There is no general consensus of opinion on the issue.

3. Theo A. W. van der Louw

Theo van der Louw has recently challenged “the rule of translatorial intention in Septuagint studies.”⁶² He reasons that while we can speak of intentions of historical persons and adopt the presupposition that actions proceed from intentions, we must balance intentions with other possible explanations of the historical evidence. For that reason, Van der Louw espouses the theory of “weak intentionalism” when speaking of the intentions of the Septuagint translators, allowing for “the limiting influence of other factors”⁶³ outside the intention of the translator, “because not all textual meanings can be reduced to the prior purposes of an author [or translator].”⁶⁴ He reminds his readers that people “do not live in a continuous state of intentionality.”⁶⁵ He further clarifies that when he speaks of intention he means “prior intention,” that is, intention that involves the kind of situation where the person in question can say “with this particular action I realized my prior intention.”⁶⁶ He illustrates prior intention by the skill of driving, which requires prior intention when one is learning (starting the car, putting one’s foot on the brake, putting the car in gear, etc.) but becomes automated with experience. He goes on to explain that the accomplished driver may reenter the realm of prior intention in the driving experience when a major obstacle occurs, like

62. Theo A. W. van der Louw, “Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as It Is?” in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Wolfgang Kraus, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 449–50.

63. Van der Louw, “Septuagint Translators,” 451. He bases his argument on Mark Bevir, “How to Be an Intentionalist,” *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 209–17 (especially 210–12), which is a response to Vivienne Brown, “On Some Problems with Weak Intentionalism for Intellectual History,” *History and Theory* 41 (2002): 198–208.

64. Van der Louw, “Septuagint Translators,” 451.

65. Van der Louw, “Septuagint Translators,” 451.

66. Van der Louw, “Septuagint Translators,” 452. He is following Searle’s definition of intention; John R. Searle, “The Intentionality of Intention and Action,” *Cognitive Science* 4 (1980): 47–70. Van der Louw, following Searle, contrasts “prior intention” with “intention in action,” which is when “someone performs an action without first having formed a clear picture of the desired action.”

a felled tree, an accident, or a rainstorm. Furthermore, the greater the obstacle that a driver (or translator) meets the greater one can be certain that the resulting action (i.e., translation) is intentional.⁶⁷ In addition, Van der Louw notes that experience can also increase the translator's alertness and awareness and raise the level of intention, as when one is an experienced driver and is aware of dangerous conditions or hazards upcoming on the roadway.⁶⁸

Van der Louw's work is important for this study because he gives evidence that translators did not consciously intend every aspect and nuance of their translations. Furthermore, when one of their renderings is intentional, it could be intentional for various reasons, grammatical, stylistic, logical, theological, contextual, et cetera.⁶⁹ Most who concern themselves with the theology of the Septuagint would agree with these two assertions. But Van der Louw goes on to argue that a Septuagint rendering "can have an ideological background without being intentional."⁷⁰ In support of this last contention, he quotes Fernández Marcos, who also believes, "ideological variants ... may have been introduced unconsciously."⁷¹ Important

67. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 452.

68. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 452. He suggests also that whether the translators default method was literal or free (as in Job and Isaiah), when they encountered an obstacle and the default method produced an undesirable result, they would have to adapt, sometimes simply and without forethought and sometimes with more intention. Also, sometimes they had to make translational decisions between various options by trial and error, and sometimes they were not satisfied with their decisions. A second or third option would involve more intentionality than a non-problematized rendering (461–62). Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique," 68, proposes that the default method of the translators was literal, because it was an "easy technique." She does not think this technique was a conscious strategy, and as a result, some renderings came about without explicit intention, and, conversely, the intention of the translator does not always come through in the Greek translation (Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 449).

69. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 452–66. He also distinguishes levels at which the translator's intentions could function (cultural, social, personal, biological, and procedural) and proposes that at all of these levels "factors are operative that affect, determine, or limit the intention of the translator." He suggests, as a general rule, that "wherever the translator overcomes the limits that operate on a certain level, we can ascribe to him a degree of intentionality."

70. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 465.

71. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "The Antiochene Edition in the Text History of the Greek Bible," in *Der Antiochenische Text der Septuaginta in seiner Bezeugung und*

for Van der Louw's case is the strong possibility that unconscious renderings may communicate beliefs of the community, of which the translator is a part. He uses for examples the rendering of שדי as ἰαβός, תורה as νόμος, and perhaps some anti-anthropomorphic renderings. Employing Toury's terms, he describes such renderings as "subsidiary actions of the initiator's [i.e., translator's] intention to conform to the community's norm of adequacy and acceptability."⁷² He summarizes that "*intention is not a relevant concept for determining whether or not a rendering has an ideological background.*"⁷³

One important nuance in this discussion is that Van der Louw and Fernández Marcos apply it to the "translator's theology" and "ideological variants"; Van der Louw refers to LXX renderings that have an "ideological background."⁷⁴ These authors appear to be open to building LXX theology on theological content in the LXX that differs from the content of the *Vorlage*, irrespective of how intentionally it was placed in the translation, as long as it reflects the theology of the translator. On the other hand, Tov clearly limits theological and ideological statements in the LXX to "theological intentions of the translators, or the intentions that presumably were in the minds of the translators."⁷⁵ For him, the only unique Septuagint theological statements are those intended by the translator to be theological.

4. Other Factors

Another factor that needs to be considered in determining the intention of the translators is their ability. It is clear that often the translators did not understand their *Vorlage*.⁷⁶ Although at times they may have thought they

seiner Bedeutung, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Marcus Sigismund, DSI 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012), 71.

72. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 465.

73. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 465, emphasis original. Of the five scholars discussed above in this article, McLay and Rösel seem to be in agreement with Van der Louw's summary, and Joosten ("Théologie," 46) is in partial agreement, in the sense that he allows that the interpreter can gain access to the theology of the translator through his "unconscious inferences" in the translation.

74. Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 465–66; Fernández Marcos, "Antiochene Edition," 71.

75. Tov, "Interaction," 25.

76. See Emanuel Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*,

knew the text when they did not, no doubt there were other times when they consciously struggled to understand the meaning of the *Vorlage*. Such situations would cause them to improvise, and this is often where they would do things like transliterate (not translate), omit, employ exegetical techniques like manipulating consonants, use parallel statements or the context to make sense of the unknown part, use an Aramaic meaning for the consonants, or substitute a word similar or related to the unknown word. The choice of meaning in such difficult contexts would have been influenced by the translators' ideologies and the beliefs of their communities, sometimes without them consciously thinking about it, since their understanding of what the text should say would naturally be consistent with these ideologies and beliefs.⁷⁷

This leads to another factor that should be considered. In contexts where the translators struggled with the meaning of the *Vorlage* or misread it, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to divide linguistic or textual renderings from theological ones. This can be illustrated from some of the examples discussed above. In the example from Amos 7:1, it was suggested that the difficult Hebrew text was the motivation for the differences from the Hebrew in the LXX rendering, and that seems to be fairly certain. However, the translator's choice of words, especially the reference to the theologically charged word *Gog* is hard to imagine without some influence from the translator's ideology and beliefs and those of the translator's community. The translators were not robots, functioning without feelings or ideologies, and it is unlikely they would put anything in the text with which they did not agree. Furthermore, since the translator of Amos 7:1 apparently had linguistic problems with the *Vorlage*, it is unlikely he would add *Gog* to the text, or even misread the text as saying *Gog*, without any theological forethought or intention. In fact, it is likely that his theological/ideological beliefs would come into play and influence his rendering of difficult passages of every sort. The same could be said of Amos 9:12. This passage also apparently involves manipulation of Hebrew consonants to come up with the LXX rendering, but here the original reading is not difficult, and the translator does not have trouble elsewhere with ירש ("inherit,

ed. Emanuel Tov, VTSup 72 (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 203–18; Van der Louw, "Septuagint Translators," 450; and Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique," 65–76.

77. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 71–146, for examples of these kinds of renderings in Amos.

possess”), which is rendered as דרש (“seek”) in 9:12.⁷⁸ Thus, it is questionable whether the LXX rendering is a mistake; but even if it is, the content is theological and would hardly come from a translator who gave it no theological forethought or whose theology would not have influenced the way he read this text. One would expect the ideology of the translator would transfer to his work and influence and guide him, perhaps unconsciously, as he rendered passages.

I have argued elsewhere that normally when the translator of LXX Amos encounters problems or obscurity in the *Vorlage*, he takes advantage of visually ambiguous phenomena to resolve the problems.⁷⁹ This does not mean that the translator always understands that this is what he is doing and that he is intending to manipulate the ambiguity. Normally, he probably thinks he is unraveling the meaning of the Hebrew text. But, on the other hand, this does not mean that his resulting rendering does not reflect *Tendenz*; it does mean that most of the time the *Tendenz* is not the initial cause of the rendering. Instead, the wider understanding and beliefs of the translator find means of expression as he sorts through the ambiguity in the text, and, to say it conversely, his reading of the ambiguity naturally reflects his worldview.

The LXX translators were no doubt theologically aware, and they were members of communities with cultural, theological, and hermeneutical beliefs. They also believed the texts they were translating were sacred books, the Word of God, and they employed the hermeneutical methodologies of their different communities to understand those texts.⁸⁰ It would have been impossible for their cultural, theological and hermeneutical beliefs not to affect their translation, consciously and unconsciously, intentionally and semi-intentionally. Their renderings must have reflected their theological assumptions concerning what the sacred texts said and meant.⁸¹

78. The verb occurs nine times elsewhere in the Twelve, and the translator understands it in all of these occurrences.

79. Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 71–146.

80. E.g., Qumran, Christians.

81. Emanuel Tov reminds us that “almost any individual translation option [for the Hebrew Bible] is potentially a carrier of theologically motivated (henceforth: ‘theological’) exegesis, because of the central place of the Hebrew Bible in the religions based on it (‘Theologically Motivated Exegesis Embedded in the Septuagint,’ in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint*, ed. Emanuel Tov, VTSup 72 [Leiden: Brill, 1999], 257). He goes on to say, “It is, in fact, difficult to imagine a

5. Conclusion

One thing that we should learn from postmodern contributions to hermeneutics is that all interpreters, and thus all translators, are influenced and affected in their work, especially unconsciously and unintentionally, by their culture and belief system. We should expect no less to be true of the Septuagint translators, who, for the most part, were trying to communicate accurately in their translations what they understood to be the meaning of their *Vorlagen*. But they were not totally objective and neutral channels of information, nor did they always understand the texts they were translating. Therefore, I propose that when we are considering the potential theological truth in their translations, we be open to the possibility that theological truth could be found in any aspect of their translation that communicates theology that is not found in their *Vorlagen*, including the so-called unconscious theological renderings and the apparently more conscious ones.⁸²

Thus, when considering the theology of the Septuagint, I propose interpreters not be so much concerned about the theological intentions of the translators as about the contents of the text of the Septuagint. It is impossible to know with precision the mind of the translators; all we have to work with are the texts they have left behind. Where their renderings

biblical translation without theological exegesis.” He makes no distinction between conscious and unconscious, and he refers to the influence of the “conceptual world” and intellectual background” of the translators on exegetical elements in their texts. He does note that he prefers to ascribe “deviations of the LXX from the MT to factors other than theological *Tendenz*” (see 258–59).

82. There are many more issues related to the theology of the Septuagint that are not discussed in this paper. I do acknowledge that some elements in the LXX translations could be based on *Vorlagen* that differ from the Hebrew and Aramaic texts that are normally employed today. Where there is good evidence of a different *Vorlage*, the “textual variants” should be factored into any decisions concerning Septuagint theology. Furthermore, some elements of the LXX translation are mistakes of the translators, and such situations must be evaluated individually; it is possible that even in such cases the translators and their communities would have believed the content of the translation was correct. I am also not addressing the degree to which agreements between the Septuagint and its *Vorlagen* should be used in constructing a theology of the Septuagint (see McLay’s approach above); Rösel (“Theology,” 282–83) discusses this issue and explains how McLay’s approach differs from his more historically-oriented project.

differ from their *Vorlagen* and contain theological content, that content contributes to the unique theology of the Septuagint.

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Revisiting the Debated Reading in LXX Lamentations 3:47

Gideon R. Kotzé

Abstract: Text-critics and commentators on Lamentations have debated whether θυμός in LXX Lam 3:47 is an authentic translation equivalent of פֶּחַח in the Hebrew source text or an erroneous reading. In this contribution, I join in the discussion and, based on a text-critical examination of how the wordings of the Masoretic Text and Septuagint represent the subject matter of Lam 3:46–47, I argue that θυμός makes good sense as both a translation equivalent and a part of the Greek text's version of the subject matter of the passage. It is therefore unnecessary to conclude that θυμός is corrupt and to emend it into a reading that modern researchers find more appropriate.

Introduction

The textual criticism of Lamentations is an area of research that forms part of the larger cultural study of early Judaism. By textual criticism, I mean the analytical and interpretive examination of the available textual representatives of Lamentations, especially how their wordings present the subject matter of passages in the five poems and thereby embody, exhibit, and express ideas and convictions that circulated during the period of early Judaism.¹ This kind of research shares some of the hallmarks that characterize other scholarly endeavors to make sense of the poems as artefacts or cultural products of the time between the sixth century BCE and the first centuries CE. Like these other disciplines, such as historical criticism and historiography,

1. See further Gideon R. Kotzé, *Images and Ideas of Debated Readings in the Book of Lamentations*, ORA 38 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 7–8.

textual criticism of Lamentations studies sets of data in the available textual resources in order to explain and understand them. Of course, text-critics and other modern researchers are far removed in time and thought-world from their objects of study and their explanations and understandings of data therefore rely on linguistic, literary, and cultural information that is obtained from available resources through their interpretations by specialists. The explanations and understandings of data in the textual resources are necessarily preliminary, because they may have to be revised or discarded when resources with new evidence come to light or when convincing fresh interpretations of the existing resources are put forward. The explanations and understandings of data are also very much subjective, seeing as they depend on the interpretive decisions of text-critics, their knowledge and grasp of different types of evidence, as well as their evaluations of the often differing interpretations of resources by other modern researchers. Given that the textual criticism of Lamentations (as a branch of the cultural study of early Judaism) is data-driven and its results are both preliminary and subjective, it is small wonder that text-critics disagree over the explanation and understanding of many readings in the textual representatives of the five poems. The readings in question are not only variants, but also words, phrases, and sentences that modern researchers regard with suspicion, because they appear to be difficult or out of place in the passages where they occur. These difficult and dubious readings, whose corruption or meaningfulness text-critics and other modern researchers continue to debate, are not limited to the Hebrew textual representatives of Lamentations; they are found in the manuscripts of ancient translations, notably the Septuagint, as well.² One of the readings in the textual representatives of the Septuagint that has been much debated is θυμός (“anger”) in LXX Lam 3:47. Text-critics and commentators differ in opinion over the authenticity of this reading as a translation equivalent of the corresponding word in the Hebrew version, פַּחַח. In the text-critical discussion that follows, I revisit the debates surrounding θυμός and weigh in on the question whether it is a genuine reading or the result of a mistake in transmission. The goal of the discussion is to argue that θυμός makes sense both as a translation equivalent of פַּחַח and as a constitutive part of the LXX version of the passage’s subject matter, which is not exactly the same as the version represented by the Masoretic Text.

2. On debated readings in Lamentations and how scholars have endeavored to make sense of them, see Kotzé, *Images and Ideas*, 1–14.

“Anger” in LXX Lamentations 3:47

Lam 3:46–47³

פצו עלינו פיהם כל איבינו
 פחד ופחת היה לנו השאת והשבר

All our enemies opened their mouth against us.

Panic and pitfall have come upon us, devastation and destruction.

ἐθηκας ἡμᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λαῶν, διήνοιξαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν
 πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν. φόβος καὶ θυμὸς ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν, ἔπαρσις καὶ
 συντριβή·

You have put us in the midst of the nations, all our enemies opened
 their mouth against us. Fear and anger have come upon us, rising
 and crushing.

The theme of the two strophes in Lam 3:46–47 is the persecution of the poem's we-group by human enemies. In the Hebrew version of the passage preserved by the MT, verse 47 concludes a subsection of the poem that starts at verse 40.⁴ In verses 40–47, the first-person singular speaker in the poem talks on behalf of the group whom he represents; he first encourages them with indirect commands to turn in prayer to YHWH, the *Himmels-gott* (vv. 40–41), then proceeds to address the deity as their representative (vv. 42–45). The speaker recognizes that the we-group had been rebellious and that the deity was not in a forgiving mood (v. 42). He relates the resulting divine punishment with images of how YHWH persecuted the we-group. The deity is cast in the role of an implacable royal sovereign who quashed the rebellion with death and displacement

3. I reproduce the consonantal wording of the version of the MT edited by Rolf Schäfer, “Lamentations,” in *General Introduction and Megilloth*, ed. Adrian Schenker et al., BHQ 18 (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), 66. I quote the Greek text from the edition of Henry Barclay Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894), 3:372. The wording in the edition of Rahlfs/Hanhart is almost the same, but they allocate the sentence ἐθηκας ἡμᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λαῶν to the previous strophe in accordance with the MT. Alfred Rahlfs and Robert Hanhart, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 762. Regarding the edition of Joseph Ziegler, see below.

4. Verse 48 reverts the implied audience's attention to the first-person singular speaker.

(vv. 43–45). These images of divine punishment are followed by a picture of persecution of the we-group by human enemies in verses 46–47. The enemies are portrayed with open mouths and, therefore, as devourers who intend to consume the we-group. This is a common image in the ancient Near East and is reminiscent of the psalmist's description of strong and fearsome hostile forces in Ps 22:14: *פצו עלי פיהם אריה טרף ושאג* ("they have opened their mouths against me [like] a ravening and roaring lion"). It signifies the fear-inducing threat to the lives of the we-group presented by the enemies, as well as their power to make good on the threat. In Egyptian iconography and inscriptions, ideas about power and dominance are also expressed by images of subdued enemies being devoured, especially by lions.⁵ The image of a large lion attacking a fallen foe on the predynastic Battlefield Palette is a good example.⁶ It "symbolizes the king overwhelming his enemies."⁷ The motif of Egypt's enemies being eaten is also found in sculptures:

Although early depictions are dated to the reign of Amenophis III, during the Ramesside Period the image of the lion devouring the head of the enemy from behind, its gaping mouth enclosing its victim's skull, becomes all the rage. The lion (be it the king, a god, or the pet lion, it represents Egypt) sinks its teeth into its enemy, and the victim loses his head.⁸

The main text of the stela of Nastasen, the king of Kush (second half of the fourth century BCE), proclaims his power and dominance by describing him as "the bull who tramples those who rebel against him under (his) sandals" (*k3 ptpt t3y=f sblw hr tb[wy]*), and "the great devouring lion, who

5. Arlette David, "Devouring the Enemy: Ancient Egyptian Metaphors of Domination," *BACE* 22 (2011): 91–93.

6. Silvia Schroer, *Ikongraphie Palästinas / Israels und der Alte Orient: Ein Religionsgeschichte in Bildern*, 4 vols. (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2005–2018), no. 128.

7. Izak Cornelius, "The Lion in the Art of the Ancient Near East: A Study of Selected Motifs," *JNSL* 15 (1989): 55. Cf. also Brent A. Strawn, *What Is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East*, OBO 212 (Fribourg: Academic Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 174; Othmar Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen*, 3rd ed. (Zürich: Benziger Verlag; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1980), 93; Ursula Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx im alten Ägypten*, ÄF 15 (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1948), 19.

8. David, "Devouring the Enemy," 92.

establishes every land” ($p\bar{3} m\bar{3} \bar{3}$ in $iry \bar{c} m\bar{3} \bar{c} m\bar{3} t smn t\bar{3}\{wy\} nb$).⁹ Like their Egyptian and Kushite colleagues, the might and menace of Hittite and Mesopotamian kings are also conveyed by leonine imagery.¹⁰ Such imagery appears in the bodily representations of the Hittite king Hattušili I in the texts of the *Benedictions for Labarna* and a ritual for the foundation of a new palace:¹¹

His frame is new, his breast is new, his penis is new, his head is of tin, his teeth are those of a lion [ZÚ.ĦI.A-ŠU-wa ŠA UR.MAH], his eyes are (those) [of] an eagle and he sees like an eagle.

[The gods] made his frame of tin. They made his head of iron. They made his eyes those of an eagle. They made his teeth those of a lion [ZÚ.ĦI.A-ma-aš-ši UR.MAH-aš i-e-er].

The lion’s teeth of the king might point to the fearsomeness of his commands or his threatening power.¹² A metaphor that resembles the open mouth image in Lam 3:46 occurs in Šulgi Hymn A. In this poem, Šulgi, the successor of Ur-Namma, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, refers to himself as “the powerful king of Nanna” (lugal-kala-ga-^dnanna-a-me-en) and, in the parallel line, “the growling (lit. open-mouthed) lion of Utu” (pirig-ka-duḥ-a-^dutu-ù-me-en).¹³ Not only awe-inspiring rulers,

9. The translation and transliteration of the texts are from Tormod Eide et al., eds., *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD* (Bergen: John Grieg AS, 1996), 2:474.

10. Cf., e.g., Cornelius, “Lion,” 59; Billie Jean Collins, “Hattušili I, The Lion King,” *JCS* 50 (1998): 15–20; Collins, “Animals in Hittite Literature,” in *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, ed. Billie Jean Collins, HdO 1/64 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 240–41; Patrick F. Houlihan, “Animals in Egyptian Art and Hieroglyphs,” in Collins, *History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, 121; Emily Teeter, “Animals in Egyptian Literature,” in Collins, *History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East*, 267; Strawn, *What Is Stronger than a Lion?*, 174–81.

11. KUB 20.54 + KBo 13.122.r.6–9 and KUB 29.1.ii.50–54. The translations and transliterations are quoted from Collins, “Hattušili I,” 19. See also Alice Mouton, *Rites, mythes et prières hittites* (Paris: Cerf, 2016), 104, 105.

12. Volker Haas, *Geschichte der hethitischen Religion*, HdO 1/15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 727; Volker Haas and Heidemarie Koch, *Religionen des Alten Orients: Hethiter und Iran*, GAT 1.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 209.

13. Šulgi Hymn A.13–14. Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1981), 188, 189.

but adversaries and the wicked are also compared to devouring lions. Two instances from well-known Babylonian wisdom texts may be mentioned by way of illustration. In *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi*, the poem about the suffering and rehabilitation of Šubši-mešrê-Šakkan, the protagonist tells how the god Marduk vindicated him by punishing his opponents:¹⁴

[He who] struck me, Marduk, restored me. He struck the hand of my striker, Marduk made him throw down his weapon. On the mouth of the lion e[at]ing me, Marduk put a muzzle (*i-na pi-i gir-ri a-[ki]-li-ia / id-di nap-sa-ma*^dAMAR.UTU).

In the Babylonian Theodicy, the sufferer uses the metaphor of a fine dining lion to allude to the impious who do not bring offerings to the gods but enjoy the good life regardless:¹⁵

The savage lion who devoured the choicest flesh, Did it bring its flour offering to appease the goddess's anger? (*ag-gu la-bu šá i-tak-ka-lu du-muq ši-r[i] / [ak-k]i-mil-ti il-ti-i šup-ṭu-ri ú-bil mas-ḥat-s[u]*)

The friend replies that the lion in question will get his comeuppance for the crime he committed. Death awaits him in a pit.¹⁶ Another noteworthy example of open mouth (leonine) imagery comes from the Ugaritic Baal Cycle, where the irresistible force of deified death is described with the picture of the god Mot as a devourer with boundless appetite.¹⁷ Mot's maw is said to stretch from the underworld to the heavens ([špt . l a]rš . špt . l šmm), with his tongue to the stars (lšn . l kbkbm), and Baal will enter his

14. *Ludlul* 4.10–15. Amar Annus and Alan Lenzi, *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi: The Standard Babylonian Poem of the Righteous Sufferer*, SAACT 7 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 27, 42.

15. Babylonian Theodicy 50–51. Wilfred G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 74, 75.

16. Babylonian Theodicy 61–62. Cf. Takayoshi Oshima, *Babylonian Poems of Pious Sufferers: Ludlul Bēl Nēmeqi and the Babylonian Theodicy*, ORA 14 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 130–31.

17. Cf. Stefanie U. Gulde, “Der Tod als Figur im Alten Testament: Ein alttestamentlicher Motivkomplex und seine Wurzeln,” in *Tod und Jenseits im alten Israel und in seiner Umwelt*, ed. Angelika Berlejung and Bernd Janowski, FAT 64 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 79; Mark S. Smith and Wayne T. Pitard, *Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3–1.4*, vol. 2 of *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle*, VTSup 114 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 722.

innards ($y^{\prime}rb\ b^{\prime}l . b\ kbdh$) and descend into his mouth ($b\ ph\ yrd$).¹⁸ Like this picture of Mot devouring Baal, the image of the human enemies' open mouths in Lam 3:46 conveys the idea that they are powerful and pose an inescapable threat to the lives of the we-group. Verse 47a in the MT mentions another gaping hole that carries the connotation of inevitable death, פחת. This word refers to a pit that is used as a trap for hunting animals. Here, however, it might allude to the gullet of the open-mouthed enemies, while the word השבר in verse 47b hints at the breaking or crushing of bones when a predator devours its prey.¹⁹ The alliterating word-pairs פחד ופחת and השבר והשאת can therefore be taken to continue the image of the enemies as devourers from the previous verse. They indicate the consumption (that is, the destruction) of the panic-stricken we-group by their ravening enemies.

The wording of LXX Lam 3:46–47 does not simply replicate the subject matter of the verses as it is represented by the MT. The Greek text differs in a number of details from the available Hebrew version. First, in the LXX, the Greek equivalents of the words תשימנו בקרב העמים do not close verse 45, as in the MT, but belong to the beginning of this stanza. The apposition of the sentences ἔθνη καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν μέσῳ τῶν λαῶν and διηγοῖσαν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν πάντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ἡμῶν in the wording of LXX Lam 3:46 creates the impression that the human persecution suffered by the we-group is a consequence of the divine punishment. Second, the counterpart of השאת in the Greek text, ἔπαρσις (“rising, lifting up, elation, pride”), presupposes that the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* was related to the verb נשא and not שאה.²⁰ There is some disagreement over the interpretation of the Greek word in the context of the verse. This is reflected by the renderings of ἔπαρσις καὶ συντριβή in the daughter versions, as well as

18. KTU 1.5.ii.2–4.

19. Cf. KTU 1.4.viii.17–20; 1.5.i.4–8; 1.6.ii.21–23. Smith and Pitard, *Introduction*, 721.

20. Cf. LSJ, s.v. “ἔπαρσις,” 611; LEH, s.v. “ἔπαρσις,” 222; GELS, s.v. “ἔπαρσις,” 260; Wilhelm Rudolph, “Der Text der Klagelieder,” ZAW 56 (1938): 114; Bertil Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations with a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963), 159; Schäfer, “Lamentations,” 129*; Isabelle Assan-Dhôte and Jaqueline Moatti-Fine, *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie*, BdA 25.2 (Paris: Cerf 2005), 163, 253; Robin B. Salters, *Lamentations*, ICC (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 256; Christl M. Maier and Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, “Threnoi/Threni seu Lamentationes/Die Klagelieder,” in *Psalmen bis Daniel*, vol. 2 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 2837; Klaus Koenen, *Klagelieder (Threni)*, BKAT 20 (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2015), 197–98.

more recent translations into various languages: $\text{OY\text{C}WMT NEM OY\text{C}OM\text{B}EM}$ (Bohairic version); $\text{AYQT\text{N} AYW AYPA\text{Z}T\text{N}}$ (Sahidic version); “exaltation et désastre” (BdA); “lifting up and destruction” (NETS); “Erhebung und Zerschlagung” (LXX.D); “arrogancia y quebranto” (*La Biblia griega*).²¹ My own preferred understanding of $\text{\text{ἐπαρσις}}$ is presented below; it goes hand in hand with my interpretation of $\text{\text{θυμός}}$. This reading presents the third difference between the LXX and MT versions of the stanza. Its authenticity, however, has been debated by scholars, despite the fact that it is found in weighty textual representatives, such as Codex Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus, and it no doubt is the source text on which the readings $\text{OY\text{C}WMT}$ and $\text{OY\text{C}W\text{N}T}$ in the Bohairic and Sahidic Coptic translations are based. Already in the eighteenth century, Johann Friedrich Schleusner proposed that $\text{\text{θυμός}}$ should be replaced with $\text{\text{βόθυνος}}$ (“pit”), the customary Greek translation equivalent of $\text{\text{תהום}}$.²² Theodore Robinson cautiously identifies $\text{\text{θυμός}}$ as a possible error for $\text{\text{βόθυνος}}$, but Joseph Ziegler has no reservations about accepting Schleusner’s proposal for emendation.²³ He agrees with Peter Katz who maintains that LXX Lam 3:47 cites the wordings of LXX

21. Henry Tattam, *Prophetæ majores in dialecto linguæ Aegyptiacæ Memphitica seu Coptica* (Oxford: Typographeo academico, 1852), 1:560; Frank Feder, *Biblia Sahidica: Ieremias, Lamentationes (Threni), Epistula Ieremias et Baruch*, TUGAL 147 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2002), 210; Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Baruch*, 252; Peter J. Gentry, “Lamentations,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 939; Rainer Hirsch-Luipold and Christl M. Maier, “Threnoi/Die Klagelieder,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 1355; José Manuel Cañas Reillo, “Libro de Lamentaciones,” in *La Biblia griega, Septuaginta IV: Libros proféticos*, ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos and María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro (Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2015), 358. Origen explains $\text{\text{ἐπαρσις}}$ as pride ($\text{\text{ὑπερηφανία}}$). On this interpretation, the we-group had put on airs and were destroyed. According to Olympiodorus, $\text{\text{ἐπαρσις}}$ refers to the arrogance ($\text{\text{ἀλαζωνεία}}$) of the we-group, or to the enemies who were raised up against the we-group and destroyed them. Erich Klostermann ed., *Origenes Werke III: Jeremiahomilien, Klageliederkommentar, Erklärung der Samuel- und Königsbücher*, GCS 6 (Leipzig: Hinrich, 1901), 267; PG 93:748d; Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Baruch*, 253. I thank prof. dr. Martin Meiser who kindly provided me with the references to the passages in the two early Christian commentaries.

22. Johann Friedrich Schleusner, “Curæ criticae et exegeticae in Threnos Ieremias,” *Repertorium für Biblische und Morgenländische Litteratur* 12 (1783): 39.

23. Theodore H. Robinson, “Notes on the Text of Lamentations,” *ZAW* 51 (1933):

Isa 24:17 and LXX Jer 31:43 where פחת is rendered by βόθυμος.²⁴ Ziegler includes the corrected reading in the wording of the verse in his critical edition of LXX Lamentations, and it is accepted by the modern translations of the passage: “terreur et trou ont été pour nous” (BdA); “Fear and pit have come upon us” (NETS); “Grauen und Grube entstand unter uns” (LXX.D); “Miedo y hoyo hubo para nosotros” (*La Biblia griega*).²⁵ Bertil Albrektson argues that the parallels in the passages from Isaiah and Jeremiah and the literal character of the Greek translation of Lamentations provide strong support for the emendation of θυμός into βόθυμος.²⁶ Klaus Koenen, however, remains unconvinced by this line of argument:²⁷

Der alte Vorschlag, die LXX habe ursprünglich wie in Jes 24,17 und Jer 48,43 (LXX: 31,43) ganz wörtlich mit βόθυμος »Grube« übersetzt, überzeugt nicht, weil er sich auf keine Handschriften berufen kann und weil sich nicht erklären lässt, warum der Text geändert und die Übereinstimmung mit diesen beiden Stellen aufgegeben worden sein könnte.

Wilhelm Rudolph also doubts that θυμός in the LXX is a scribal error for βόθυμος.²⁸ He notes that none of the ancient translations rendered פחת correctly; with the exception of the Vulgate, all of them give synonyms of פחד.²⁹ In addition to θυμός, Rudolph mentions θάμβος (“astonishment”) in Codex Marchalianus and τρόμος (“trembling”) in the Lucianic version, which is similar to אַבְּוּי and (א)עִי, the readings in the Peshitta and the two recensions of the Targum.³⁰ Rolf Schäfer regards θυμός in Codex Vati-

258; Joseph Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958), 36.

24. Cf. Peter Katz, review of Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, TLZ 61 (1936): 269.

25. Joseph Ziegler, *Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae*, SVTG 15, 3rd ed. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 485; Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Baruch*, 252; Gentry, “Lamentations,” 939; Hirsch-Luipold and Maier, “Threnoi,” 1355; Cañas Reillo, “Lamentaciones,” 358.

26. Albrektson, *Studies*, 158–59.

27. Koenen, *Klagelieder*, 197.

28. Rudolph, “Text,” 114.

29. Rudolph, “Text,” 114: *formido et laqueus facta est nobis vaticinatio et contritio* (“prophecy has become to us fear, and a snare, and destruction”). Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 1252.

30. Rudolph, “Text,” 114. Bertil Albrektson et al., *Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epis-*

canus and Codex Alexandrinus as the representative of the Old Greek text as well, but he does not agree that it is a synonym for פחד.³¹ He suggests that it might be a free rendering or a guess at the meaning of פחת, possibly prompted by the root נפח (“to blow, breathe”).³²

Interestingly, Godfrey Rolles Driver identifies θάμβος as the Greek rendering of פחת, “after the Arab. تَفَحَّت *admiracione affectus est*,”³³ but this idea has failed to find favor with other scholars. Θάμβος and τρόμος rather appear to be readings that were created to be closer counterparts of φόβος than θυμός.

Regarding the latter, it is obviously not a close match for פית (“pit”). Θυμός has a rich semantic potential,³⁴ but it is difficult to see how this Greek concept reproduces the meaning of the Hebrew word, if it is assumed that this was indeed the reading in the source text of the LXX version. This does not automatically disqualify θυμός as a genuine translation equivalent, and it is not sufficient reason for conjecture. Broadly speaking, LXX Lamentations can be described as a literal translation, one that generally follows the formal features of its supposed Semitic source text.³⁵ This does not mean that the translation never goes its own way; in several instances, it presents unique versions of the subject matter of passages in the five poems, especially in Lam 3.³⁶ The wording of LXX Lam 3:47 might very well be another case in point. It is also true that a

tle of Jeremiah, Epistle of Baruch, Baruch, The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version 3.2 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 217; Étan Levine, *The Aramaic Version of Lamentations* (New York: Hermon Press, 1976), 48; Albert van der Heide, *The Yemenite Tradition of the Targum of Lamentations*, StPB 32 (Leiden: Brill, 1981), 27*.

31. Schäfer, “Lamentations,” 129*.

32. Cf. BDB, 656; HALOT, 708–9; Ges¹⁸, 829.

33. Godfrey Rolles Driver, “Notes on the Text of Lamentations,” ZAW 52 (1934): 308.

34. Cf., e.g., LSJ, 810; LEH, 280; Shirley Darcus Sullivan, “Person and θυμός in the Poetry of Hesiod,” *Emerita* 61.1 (1993): 15–40.

35. Cf., e.g., Maier and Hirsch-Luipold, “Threnoi,” 2829–30; Kevin J. Youngblood, “Lamentations,” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 501–2; Cañas Reillo, “Lamentaciones,” 345; Frank Ueberschaer, “Threnoi/Threni seu Lamentationes/Die Klagelieder,” in *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, LXX.H 1 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 603.

36. Cf. Cécile Dogniez, “Lamentations: Primary Translations (Septuagint),” in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1C (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 395; Antje Labahn, “Bitterkeit und Asche als Speise—Das Leiden Jeremias am Schick-

look at the translations of similar phrases in other writings can sometimes help to understand and explain readings in LXX Lamentations.³⁷ There is no guarantee, however, that the different scribes who were responsible for the Greek wordings of the writings in which the combination of פחד and פחת appear would necessarily have rendered the collocation of these words in the same way. The renderings of פחד ופחת in other translations and the generally literal character of LXX Lamentations therefore do not provide firm evidence to support modern readers' deductions of what the wording of LXX Lam 3:47 should have been, notwithstanding the data in the available manuscripts. To be sure, θυμός cannot be discounted as an authentic reading without further ado, because it makes good sense in the immediate literary context of the passage. Verse 46 observes that the divine punishment landed the we-group in the midst of the nations, and this left them vulnerable to the persecution by all their enemies. The image seems to be of the absorption of the we-group into the territories of foreign foes. The Lord feeds the we-group to the eagerly awaiting, open-mouthed enemies, who swallow or gobble them up. While verses 48–51 describe Jeremiah's own personal mournful response to the ruin of his people, in verse 47, he relates their reaction to the indomitable threat of destruction.³⁸ They reportedly experienced a gamut of emotions ranging from fear to anger. In connection with the second of these emotions, the reading θυμός, which is one of several ancient Greek words that denote anger,³⁹ may reflect an interpretation of the form פחת as an infinitive con-

sal Jerusalem: Metaphern und Metaphervariationen in Thr 3,1–21 LXX," in *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Pierre van Hecke, BETL 187 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 147–83.

37. Gideon R. Kotzé, "LXX Lamentations 4:7 and 4:14: Reflections on the Greek Renderings of the Difficult Hebrew Wordings of these Verses," *JSem* 20.1 (2011): 266.

38. On the character of Jeremiah as the speaking voice in LXX Lamentations 3, see Gideon R. Kotzé, "Human and Divine Persecution in the MT and LXX Lamentations 3:52–66," in *Passion, Persecution, and Epiphany in Early Jewish Literature*, ed. Nicholas Peter Legh Allen, Pierre Johan Jordaan, and József Zsengellér (London: Routledge, 2020), 99–100.

39. William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 52–55, 63; Harris, "The Rage of Women," in *Ancient Anger: Perspectives from Homer to Galen*, ed. Susanna Braund and Glenn W. Most, Yale Classical Studies 32 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 122–23; David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 62. In LXX Lamentations, θυμός features in the translation equivalents of more than one

struct of the verb נָפַח. This interpretation would hardly be a guess at the meaning of פָּחַת, as tentatively suggested by Schäfer; on the contrary, it entails an understanding of נָפַח, in the sense of blowing or breathing, as a metaphorical expression of anger.⁴⁰ The association of anger with blowing and hot breath is common in the thought-world that underlies the figurative language of early Jewish writings and other ancient Near Eastern literature.⁴¹ This association is part of the general metaphor of anger as heat, which also includes the image of anger “rising up” (for example, the rising of temperature, smoke, or liquids).⁴² In the light of this image, the “rising” expressed by ἔπαρσις in LXX Lam 3:47b may be taken as an allusion to anger as well. Θυμός and ἔπαρσις would then be complementary concepts in the context of the verse. Likewise, συντριβή can be considered to correspond to φόβος,⁴³ if “crushing” is interpreted as a shorthand

Hebrew word and phrase that have to do with anger: ביום חרון אפו—ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ (Lam 1:12); בעברתו—ἐν θυμῷ αὐτοῦ (Lam 2:2); בחרי אף—ἐν ὀργῇ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ (Lam 2:3); דֹּנִן חֲמָתוֹ—τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ (Lam 2:4); בשבט עברתו—ἐν ῥάβδῳ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ (Lam 3:1); באף—ἐν θυμῷ (Lam 3:43); את חמתו—θυμὸν αὐτοῦ (Lam 4:11); חרון אפו—θυμὸν ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ (Lam 4:11).

40. In this regard, the suggestions by some scholars that, in its original physical nature, θυμός “may have been the vaporous breath that arises from blood or the quickened breathing associated with emotion” are noteworthy. Θυμός has also been related to wind. Sullivan, “Person,” 18. Cairns notes that θυμός, as a physical entity, “is most probably to be regarded as the air in the lungs” and identifies its function as an emotional force as an example where emotion is conceptualized with the metaphor of a container. Douglas L. Cairns, “Ethics, Ethology, Terminology: Iliadic Anger and the Cross-cultural Study of Emotion,” in Braund and Most, *Ancient Anger*, 21 n. 35.

41. Paul A. Kruger, “A Cognitive Interpretation of the Emotion of Anger in the Hebrew Bible,” *JNSL* 26.1 (2000): 188; Mark S. Smith, “The Heart and Innards in Israelite Emotional Expressions: Notes from Anthropology and Psychobiology,” *JBL* 117.3 (1998): 432: “Biblical idioms to express anger involve a group of expressions centered on the image of the burning breath issuing from one’s nose (or nostrils) and mouth.” Cf., e.g., Ezek 21:36; 22:21.

42. Kruger, “Cognitive Interpretation,” 184 n. 6; Thomas Staubli and Silvia Schroer, *Menschenbilder der Bibel* (Ostfildern: Patmos Verlag, 2014), 166. Cf., e.g., Isa 30:27–28 and the references in Ludlul 1.5 and 7 to the anger of Marduk, which is like a storm (*ki-ma UD-mi me-ḥe-e*) and a flood (*a-bu-bu ru-ub-šú*). Annus and Lenzi, *Ludlul*, 15.

43. Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (New York: United Bible Societies, 1988), 1:316 define φόβος as “a state of severe distress, aroused by intense concern for impending pain, danger, evil, etc., or possibly by the illusion of such circumstances.”

reference to emotional distress. Such distress is indeed sometimes conceptualized as experiences of fragmentation in the cultural and intellectual environment of early Jewish writings.⁴⁴ On this interpretation of LXX Lam 3:47, ἔπαρσις and συντριβή, with the upwards and downwards orientations of their implied actions, form a merism that point to the same range of emotions as φόβος and θυμός. It is also possible then to recognize a chiasmic abcb'a' arrangement of the words in the LXX version of the verse: φόβος (a) καὶ θυμός (b) ἐγενήθη ἡμῖν (c) ἔπαρσις (b') καὶ συντριβή (a').

Looking at the textual data from this perspective, the debated reading θυμός makes sense as a translation equivalent that fits well in the context of the passage. It therefore does not have to be regarded as an erroneous reading, and text-critics do not have to emend it into something that they or other modern readers find more appropriate.

Closing Remarks

The Hebrew and Greek versions of Lamentations were not created in a vacuum and information about ideas and literary imagery that circulated as part of the intellectual and cultural environment of early Judaism can sometimes shed light on readings in manuscripts whose meaningfulness or corruption modern researchers continue to debate. Θυμός in LXX Lam 3:47 illustrates the promise of such information as a means for text-critics to understand and explain a debated reading. Text-critics of Lamentations, however, do not always have potentially relevant information at hand, because it is produced by specialists in other disciplines who interpret the available material, visual, and textual resources. Text-critics will therefore do well to enlist the help of colleagues in other disciplines, such as linguistics, literary studies, historiography, archaeology, and iconography, or to cooperate with them in an interdisciplinary effort to increasingly make sense of more and more debated readings in the textual representatives of Lamentations.

44. Philip D. King, *Surrounded by Bitterness: Image Schemes and Metaphors for Conceptualizing Distress in Classical Hebrew* (Eugene: Pickwick, 2012), 222–24.

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The Platonic Influence in the Passages on Soul in the Wisdom of Solomon

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Abstract: The essay addresses the old problem of Platonic influence in the theme of soul in the Wisdom of Solomon. It analyzes three passages on soul—Wis 8:19–20, 15:8–9, 11, 16, and 16:13–14—and shows that they have unity in the image and in the method running through them. The unity of the method consists in combining biblical and Platonic elements, which help to shape and refine the biblical material. The discussion of the image in Wis 15 helps to reconsider the image in Wis 16 and suggest a new, more nuanced, reading of this theologically important passage. The author’s treatment of the theme of souls is congruent with his general treatment of the theme of immortality, in which he draws on Platonic background and tries to liberate God from any bad intentions.

1. Introduction

This essay follows two other studies on the Wisdom of Solomon that I have recently written.¹ In this essay, I analyze how the theoretical principles, which, I think, are at work throughout the text of Wisdom, can be applied to a specific theme—the theme of soul in Wis 8:19–20, 15:8–9, 11, 16, and 16:13–14. It is important to discuss these passages as there is no unanimity in their interpretation, they are variously translated, and, in my opinion, sometimes incorrectly understood. I hope to offer a new,

1. Ekaterina Matusova, “The Making of the Theme of Immortality in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Reading, Writing and Bookish Circles in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jonathan D. H. Norton et al. (Bloomsberg: T&T Clark, 2022), 35–65; James K. Aitken and Ekaterina Matusova, “The Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Oxford Handbook of Wisdom and the Bible*, ed. Will Kynes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 599–615.

coherent understanding of them. However, in order to show how, from my point of view, they should be approached, I need to summarize the basic principles typical of Wisdom's writing strategy that I consider important for a reevaluation of this subject.

Wisdom depends on Jewish traditions, both biblical and extrabiblical. Wisdom not only borrows from these traditions but is engaged in a vivid, sometimes passionate, dialogue with them. When borrowing, the author can correct, or specify, the material he draws upon by dropping, adding, or replacing elements. This corrective approach is clear regarding his use of the book of Proverbs.² Sometimes he enters into sharp polemics with his sources, rejecting their statements, which does not prevent him from borrowing other elements from the same sources. One of the most obvious examples of such an attitude is his treatment of Ben Sira's Greek translation.³ For instance, Wisdom carefully studied all the passages in the Greek Ben Sira that have death as their theme (death is predestined for humans and the world) and polemically answers them. However, Wisdom borrows some other themes from Ben Sira without changes (for instance, the positive evaluation of childlessness). Wisdom conducts the same polemical dialogue with the traditions not reflected in the Bible. By way of example, its author confronts the bulk of ideas best represented in the Damascus Document (CD). One of the themes he sharply polemicizes against is God's bad emotions and intentions (creation with hatred; loathing sinners; his will to annihilate them). At the same time, many elements in CD were adopted by the author of Wisdom as natural elements in his thought. Generally, the author of Wisdom is strongly influenced by the traditions best represented in 4QInstruction (and emerging in 2 Maccabees and New Testament texts). These traditions galvanize his polemic against Ben Sira's view on death and CD's view on God.

One of the most important features of his approach is the merging of these divergent tendencies in Jewish thought with Platonism. He needs some theoretical basis, a framework, to organize his material, and he finds it in the theology of Plato's dialogues *Timaeus* and the *Republic*.⁴ Platonic theology is amalgamated with the themes in Judaism that the author wants to underpin and corroborate against other themes in Judaism. Many dis-

2. Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 601–3.

3. In detail, see Matusova, "Making," 45–54; summary in Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 606.

4. Matusova, "Making," 59–65; Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 608–9.

tinctive elements in Wisdom can be traced back to Plato's *Timaeus*, but, most importantly, he draws on the Platonic themes of the immortality of the world and the goodness of the Creator (goodness that excludes any bad feeling or intention in Him, in particular, the intention to destroy). He includes the subject of the immortality of humans into the Platonic theme of the immortality of the world (as his Jewish material demands it) and, vice versa, enriches his biblical and extrabiblical material with the pervasive allusions to the immortality of the cosmos. In my opinion, the author of Wisdom, unlike modern scholars, was never interested in the theological differences between the approaches to immortality in Platonism and Judaism. Rather, he was interested in a pioneering bringing together of the subject of immortality in both traditions, so that the theme of immortality, especially in application to humans, may triumph.

Last but not least, the author of Wisdom should not be taken as an exponent of or adept in Platonism in terms of a consistent representation of this philosophical system. Inconsistently enough, sometimes his borrowings show a detailed knowledge of Platonic texts, but sometimes he is ostensibly inaccurate with Platonic vocabulary and notions. He may spoil a Platonic image with a blatantly incorrect usage of one element or meld it with a Jewish presentation of the subject that overturns the Platonic idea.⁵ But he clearly draws on this philosophical background, and in this he is consistent, which allows us to speak of a certain method and strategy in his thinking, especially with regard to the subject of immortality.

With this in mind, I wish to draw attention to some passages on the human soul (ψυχή), which, as I mentioned, cause trouble for their interpretation and translation. I intend to clarify their meaning with the help of the premises listed above by highlighting elements that have escaped scholarly attention.

2. Wisdom 8:19–20

παῖς δὲ ἤμην εὐφυής
 ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ἀγαθὸς ὢν ἦλθον εἰς σῶμα ἀμίαντον.

5. Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 610.

I will not discuss in detail all the interpretations available. This has been done by Chrysostome Larcher for the earlier scholarship and recently by Greg Sterling.⁶ But I will exemplify the principal approaches by several translations and emphasize the points relevant for our discussion.

Winston (1979)⁷

- 19. I was, indeed, a child well-endowed, having had a noble soul
fall to my lot;
- 20. or rather, being noble I entered an undefiled body.

NETS (2009)

- 19. I was a naturally clever child, and I obtained a good soul as
my lot;
- 20. or rather, being good I entered an undefiled body.

Sterling (2017)⁸

- 19. As a child I was gifted, a good soul fell to my lot;
- 20. or rather, being noble I entered an undefiled body.

Larcher (1983–1985)⁹

- 19. j'étais, certes, un enfant d'une heureuse nature, et j'avais reçue
en partage une âme bonne;
- 20. ou plutôt, étant bon, j'étais venu dans un corps sans souillure.

Scarpat (1996)¹⁰

- 19. Ero un giovane naturalmente dotato, ebbi in sorte un'anima
buona

6. Chrysostome Larcher, *Études sur le livre de la sagesse* (Paris: Gabalda, 1969), 270–79; Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse ou la sagesse de Salomon* (Paris: Gabalda, 1984), 2:551–57; Gregory E. Sterling, “The Love of Wisdom: Middle Platonism and Stoicism in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *From Stoicism to Platonism: The Development of Philosophy, 100 BCE–100 CE*, ed. Troels Engberg-Pedersen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 202.

7. David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, AB 43 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1979), 197.

8. Sterling, “Love of Wisdom,” 202.

9. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:546.

10. Giuseppe Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, Biblica 1, 3, 6; 3 vols. (Brescia: Paideia, 1989–1999), 2:181.

20. anzi, essendo buono, venni in un corpo incontaminato.

LXX.D (2009–2010)

19. Ein wohlgestaltetes Kind war ich gewesen mit guter geistiger Anlage,
 20. oder vielmehr: gut veranlagt begann ich mein Leben in einem unverdorbenen Leib.

Nesselrath (2015)¹¹

19. Ein Kind aber war ich mit guter Anlage und hatte eine gute Seele erhalten,
 20. vielmehr aber: als guter war ich in einen unbefleckten Leib gekommen.

The interpretations of these verses imply a denial of Platonic influence and of the dichotomy between body and soul (Heinisch, Reese, Bückers, exemplified by LXX.D);¹² an acceptance of Platonic influence in both verses (Winston, Scarpata, seemingly NETS and Sterling too, exemplified by the Italian translation and by all cited English translations);¹³ the acceptance of Platonic influence in wording and thought of verse 20 and the distinct idea that the soul is prevailing over the body in this verse, yet with the intention to find a coherent meaning for verses 19 and 20 together (Larcher; exemplified by translations by Larcher and Nesselrath).¹⁴

First, those who are inclined to see a Platonic influence in both verses ascribe it to the verb *λαγχάνω* in verse 19 by translating it with “to obtain by lot.” Some refer to the myth of Er in *Resp.* 617e, where the verb *λαγχάνω*

11. Karl W. Niebuhr et al., *Sapientia Salomonis (Weisheit Salomons)*, SAPERE 27 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 67.

12. Paul Heinisch, *Septuaginta und Buch der Weisheit*, vol. 2 of *Griechische Philosophie und Altes Testament* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1914), 88–89; Hermann Bückers, *Die Unsterblichkeitslehre des Weisheitsbuches: Ihr Ursprung und ihre Bedeutung*, AA 13 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1938), 143–44; James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), 80–87.

13. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 198; Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2:173–77; Hans Hübner, *Die Weisheit Salomons = Liber Sapientiae Salomonis*, ATD Apokryphen 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 121–22; Sterling, “Love of Wisdom,” 202.

14. Larcher, *Études*, 270–78; Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:552–56.

is used in this meaning.¹⁵ However, it is important to stress that the verb *λαγχάνω* means “to obtain by lot” when it is used with the accusative case, with an infinitive, or in the absolute form (without a dependent word) (see LSJ s.v. “*λαγχάνω* I”). When it is used with the genitive, as in the line in question, it simply means “to get possession of a thing, to obtain, acquire (something)” (LSJ s.v. “*λαγχάνω* II”), and it is grammatically incorrect to ascribe the meaning “to obtain by lot” to this verb in such cases. Larcher explains this in detail in his commentary on Wisdom and exemplifies with a reference to a fourteenth century Byzantine commentator, Matthaios Kantakouzenos, who explicitly states that the expression *ψυχῆς τε ἔλαχον ἀγαθῆς* is used *ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἐκτησάμην αὐτήν*, that is, “simply instead of ‘I have got it,’” with *λαγχάνω* being a synonym of *κτάομαι*.¹⁶ This is a solid grammatical observation, and it is surprising that so many translators (mainly in the English tradition, as well as Scarpata) tend to ignore it. However, the parallel with Plato does not work in terms of the general idea either. In Plato, the idea of lot and the verb *λαγχάνω* do not refer to the link between soul and body. It refers only to the situation where the *order* is determined in which souls are allowed to approach the pile of available lives before reincarnation. All souls (even those who approach the pile last, as determined by lot) choose the form of their next reincarnation *deliberately* and *always* have a choice. Because of the deliberate and free character of this choice, Plato introduces his famous postulate: “The blame is his who chooses: God is blameless” (*Resp.* 617e5). Thus, reincarnation never happens by lot, and, from this perspective too, I cannot see how the reference to the use of the verb in the myth of Er can be of relevance to Wis 8:19.

Second, there is a tendency to undermine the corrective meaning of *μᾶλλον δέ* (as exemplified by the German translations and by the translation of Scarpata, although he explicitly states in his commentary that the expression “è correttivo,”¹⁷ “is corrective”). However, the expression *μᾶλλον δέ* is a standard Greek way to express clarification or correction of the preceding statement (as reflected in all the English translations and in the French).¹⁸ As Larcher puts it, the expression introduces “soit une précision

15. John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 185; Sterling, “Love of Wisdom,” 203.

16. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:552.

17. Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2:203.

18. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 198

plus rigoureuse, soit une manière de parler qui peut sembler préférable à tel ou tel point de vue, soit un procédé littéraire qui complète la pensée d'une façon originale, ou même hyperbolique."¹⁹ According to Larcher, in verse 20, the author offers "a different formula" for the thought introduced in verse 19. To put it in the words of Sterling: "the author began with a statement that assumes that a body receives a soul, but then corrected the perspective to suggest that a soul enters a body."²⁰ To refer to John Collins, "his self-correction in 8:20 must be taken as a favorable nod to the Platonic tradition."²¹ Attempts to eliminate the meaning of the correction are, in my opinion, a violation of normal Greek syntax and show a want of understanding of how to inscribe the corrective meaning into the passage.

Third, for those who tend to deny Platonic allusions altogether, the discussion of the presence of Platonic allusions in verse 20 has been recently resumed by Sterling. He has shown that clear allusions to the immortality of the soul are also present in other passages of Wisdom in clear references to the vocabulary of the *Phaedo* and *Phaedrus*, in particular, in Wis 9:15 in the words βαρύνω and βρίθω describing the tension between the body and the soul.²² I can add that the expression in Wis 15:11: "and infused him with an active soul [ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν] // and breathed into him a life-giving spirit [πνεῦμα ζωτικόν]"—the passage that we will address later—is also a clear cut reference to Platonic vocabulary. The handbook of Platonic philosophy written by Alcinous shows that it has become standard in Platonism to define the soul through the notion of action—ἐνέργεια, ἐνεργεῖν²³—and, in particular, in combination with the notion of life: "Plato says that the soul [τὴν ψυχὴν] is self-moving, because it has life [τὴν ζωὴν] as something innate in it, eternally active in itself [ἀεὶ ἐνεργοῦσαν καθ' αὐτὴν]."²⁴ These parallels show that we should not ignore the Platonic background in verse 20, as the author uses distinctive Platonic allusions when speaking about the soul elsewhere. As my thesis above states, the Platonic background is present throughout the book in the author's approach to the

19. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:553.

20. Sterling, "Love of Wisdom," 202.

21. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 185.

22. Sterling, "Love of Wisdom," 202.

23. Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* (= Albinus, *Epit.*) 2.2: "Ἔστι τοίνυν ἡ θεωρία ἐνέργεια τοῦ νοῦ νοοῦντος τὰ νοητά, ἡ δὲ πρᾶξις ψυχῆς λογικῆς ἐνέργεια διὰ σώματος γινομένη.

24. Alcinous, *Didaskalikos* 25.4. Translation by John Dillon in *Alcinous: The Handbook of Platonism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993), 34.

immortality theme not only when speaking about souls, and the *Timaeus* is particularly important for him. In the phrase in question (Wis 8:20), the use of the verb ἤλθον, as applied to “I” entering the body, is reminiscent of the wording in *Phaedr.* 249e5–250a1: ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ φύσει τεθέεται τὰ ὄντα, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ἤλθεν εἰς τόδε τὸ ζῶον. But as Larcher has suggested and Collins and Sterling rightly emphasize,²⁵ *Tim.* 87d is the text of reference for the author’s claim in verse 20. In *Tim.* 87d, the necessity of symmetry in qualities between the soul and the body is explained, which corresponds to Wisdom’s statement that Solomon had a “good” soul that matched a “perfect” body. According to Plato, the correct symmetry between the soul and the body is the prerequisite for reaching perfectness in virtues, happiness, and *immortality* (ἀθανασία), as much as it is possible for mortals, if a person endowed with such a prerequisite aspires for study and truth by worshiping the divine (*Tim.* 90b–c). Therefore, the author’s reference to his perfect match of the soul and the body put in between a eulogy of wisdom, leading to *immortality* (ἀθανασία—Wis 8:13, 17), perfection in virtues (Wis 8:7—four cardinal Platonic virtues are listed!), and happiness, on the one hand, and his aspirations to acquire wisdom by turning to God (Wis 8:21–9:18), on the other, is in a perfect and logical position from the perspective of the *Timaeus*.²⁶

It is thus clear that verse 20 fits into the Platonic paradigm on every level: it refers to the descending of the soul into the body and to their symmetrical parity, as in *Phaedr.* 249e5–250a1 and *Tim.* 87d; it resonates with other Platonic allusions to this subject in Wisdom; it has a special connection to the *Timaeus*, which accords with Wisdom’s strategy to have this dialogue in focus throughout the work; and its position in the context is readily explainable from the perspective of the *Timaeus*.

Generally speaking, it is clear that verses 19–20 address the problem of the combination of the soul and the body. Some commentators of Wisdom have suggested that a more Jewish perspective, in which “I” is primarily associated with the body, is corrected by the perspective where “I” is associated primarily with the soul, in conformity with the Greek, specifically

25. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:556; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 185; Sterling, “Love of Wisdom,” 203.

26. Hence Dieter Georgi’s suggestion that vv. 19–20 are a later interpolation by a scribe, because they do not fit into the context, whereas v. 18 “seamlessly” connects to v. 21 appears to be unwarranted. Dieter Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, JSRZ 3.4 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1980), 433.

Platonic, point of view.²⁷ However, a closer look at the Platonic passages relevant for the explanation of verse 20 also reveals a very remarkable picture. These two Platonic passages speak not about souls in themselves, souls' fate, or postmortem retribution in general terms or by way of a myth. They touch on the problem from a specific point of view—in the aspect of the presence and activity of the soul in a living being—a ζῶον, a personality, which is an integral combination of both. It gives the impression of a very clever use of Platonic heritage here, with a full realization of the problem to be clarified—what a human being in its living unity is.

Remarkably, from this point of view, which takes a human being as a personality consisting of the soul and the body, the problem is approached in a very interesting passage in Philo that forms a parallel to Wis 8:19–20. In *Cher.* 113–115, Philo says that everything we seem to be has been given to us on “loan” or “use” (χρῆσιν) by God. A particularly difficult question is the interrelationship between “I” and “my soul”:

Whence came the soul [πόθεν δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ψυχή], whither will it go, how long will it be our mate and comrade? Can we tell its essential nature? When did we get it [πότε δὲ καὶ ἐκτησάμεθα αὐτήν]? Before birth? But then there was no “ourselves.” What of it after death? But then we will not be [οὐκ ἐσόμεθα] joined to the body, creatures of composition and quality, but shall go forward [ὁρμήσομεν] to our rebirth [παλιγγενεσίαν] to be with the unbodied, without composition and with quality [ποιοί].

In the first part of this passage, Philo emphasizes the uncertainty about how we “have got, acquired”—ἐκτησάμεθα—our soul. In what sense can we use this term? When did it happen? Before birth we were not yet an integral personality so we cannot speak about “ourselves.” But when approaching the problem from the perspective of the postmortem situation, Philo switches to distinctively Platonic wording, associating the first person “we” with the soul (οὐκ ἐσόμεθα, ὁρμήσομεν), which left the body, *expressis verbis* addressing the distinctively Platonic-Pythagorean concept of reincarnation, παλιγγενεσία (which is not typical of him otherwise),²⁸ and speaking about the quality of disembodied souls

27. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:554–55. Cf. also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 84.

28. See David T. Runia, “Is Philo Committed to the Doctrine of Reincarnation?” *SPhiloA* 30 (2019): 107–25. But see Josephus (*B.J.* 3.375), who also explicitly addresses reincarnation, when speaking about souls' fate.

(which is also distinctively Platonic, as the quality of the soul achieved during the lifetime defines everyone's postmortem fate). Thus, Philo inscribes a clearly articulated problem in a distinctively Platonic perspective and the problem is very similar to that addressed in Wisdom. This highlights the pattern of thought against which we should consider the passage in Wisdom.²⁹

We see a very similar structure in Wis 8:19–20: the notion of an acquisition of the soul in the first verse in the verb *λαγχάνω*, used as a synonym for *κτάομαι*, and distinctively Platonic elements used for its clarification in the second part. In the second part, the author of Wisdom, like Philo, associates “I” with the soul (*ἀγαθὸς ὦν*, which matches the first-person plural verbs in Philo), ascribes quality to the disembodied soul (*ἀγαθὸς ὦν*, which is a specific case of Philo's *ποιός*, “having quality”); and uses the verb of “coming” into the body (*ἦλθον*, which corresponds to Philo's *πόθεν δὲ ἦλθεν ἡ ψυχὴ*). That which Philo explicitly marks as a recognized philosophical problem and a reflection upon it, conducted in strictly Platonic terms, is confined to the two compact verses in Wisdom. The first verse introduces the problem using the unspecified *λαγχάνω*, for which Philo's *κτάομαι* is a synonym, while the second clarifies this problematic notion in strictly Platonic terms using the corrective *μᾶλλον δέ*.

As mentioned above, the commentators suggest a more traditionally Jewish perspective on the personality in verse 19. If their suggestion is correct, are there any parallels to the problem addressed in Wisdom and Philo, namely, the acquisition of the soul, in other Jewish sources? To the best of my knowledge the only and closest parallel to this wording occurs in the Greek translation of Ben Sira (Sir 6:4):

ψυχὴ πονηρὰ ἀπολεῖ τὸν κτησάμενον αὐτήν
The bad soul will destroy the one who has got it.

The expression *κτησάμενον αὐτήν* translates the noun *בעל* in plural with the pronominal suffix:

כי נפש עזה תשחת בעליה (A II R)

29. I am inclined to think that Wisdom predates Philo. About their chronological sequence see Aitken and Matusova, “Wisdom,” 611–13.

A similar translation is found in Prov 16:22, where it is rendered by the perfect participle:

πηγὴ ζωῆς ἔννοια τοῖς κεκτημένοις

מקור חיים שכל בעליו

One more case of the rendering of this Hebrew root with this Greek verb is Isa 26:13 where, the verbal form בעליונִי was misinterpreted by the translator as the imperative of the second person singular: κτῆσαι.

Thus, when translating בעלִי with κτησάμενον αὐτήν, Ben Sira's grandson uses one of the existing translational equivalents for this root, but compared to the more neutral and semantically correct perfect participle κεκτημένοι, chosen by the translator of the Proverbs (לבעל—"the owner, one who has something in possession," normally rendered in this meaning by κύριος), he chooses the aorist participle. This stresses the aspect of action and focuses the reader's attention on the moment, or process, of the acquisition. The verb κτάομαι used two more times in this passage from Ben Sira in reference to an acquisition of a friend (εἰ κτᾶσαι φίλον, ἐν πειρασμῷ κτῆσαι αὐτόν—Sir 6:7) strengthens the impression that one acquires his soul similarly to how one acquires a friend.

Returning to the general context of the passage in question, Wis 8:9–20, it should be noted that borrowings from Sir 6:23–31 and 14:20–15:8 (where Wisdom is described in terms of a bride and wife) permeate Wis 8:2–21. Thus, Wis 8:2 (ἐζήτησα νύμφην ἀγαγέσθαι) corresponds to Sir 6:27 (ζήτησον) and 15:2, 8 (γυνή παρθενίας; οὐ μὴ μνησθήσονται); Wis 8:10–12 corresponds to Sir 15:15 (the theme of speaking in public and being glorious); Wis 8:13 (μνήμην αἰώνιον) corresponds to Sir 15:6 (ὄνομα αἰώνος); Wis 8:16 (προσαναπαύσομαι αὐτῇ) corresponds to Sir 6:28 (τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτῆς) and Sir 14:25–27; Wis 8:18 (εὐκλεία) corresponds to Sir 6:31 (δόξης); 8:18 (περιῆεν ζητῶν ὅπως λάβω αὐτήν εἰς ἑμαυτόν) corresponds to Sir 6:27 (ἐξίχνευσον καὶ ζήτησον) and 14:22 (ἔξελθε ὀπίσω αὐτῆς ὡς ἰχνευτής). The influence of Ben Sira clearly manifests itself in the notion of ἐγκρατής introduced immediately after our passage, in Wis 8:21: "Knowing, that I will not become ἐγκρατής, except God gives (it)."³⁰ The theme of ἐγκρατής appears in both contexts in Ben Sira to which Wis 8 alludes, in Sir 15:1 and

30. Noted by Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 199; Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:558; Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 433.

Sir 6:27. In Sir 15:1, Ben Sira speaks about “mastering the law,” ἐγκρατής τοῦ νόμου, which is the prerequisite for obtaining wisdom, and uses the adjective with the genitive case. In Sir 6:27, he uses it without an explicit object in the genitive: “taking hold (sc. of wisdom),” ἐγκρατής γενόμενος (in Greek this expression has sexual connotations). The author of Wisdom uses ἐγκρατής without an object in the genitive, emulating Sir 6:27. Apparently, he refers to mastering wisdom. But the sense he achieves (also by replacing γίγνομαι with εἶναι describing a permanent state or condition) is equivocal, because it evokes an important Greek philosophical and ethical term, ἐγκρατής, “continent”—an ethical condition necessary for intellectual progress leading to wisdom.³¹ It is reasonable to assume that this ambiguous and twofold use, referring both to the Jewish and Greek sense, is intentional here, given that all the allusions to Ben Sira in chapter 8 are extended and mixed with Platonic themes and allusions (see above).

Thus, the surrounding context of Wis 8:19–20 is permeated with allusions to Ben Sira, to chapters 14–15 and to chapter 6, which not only contains the description of wisdom as a wife, but also refers to the acquisition of the soul using the verb κτάομαι (6:4). Given that the author of Wisdom systematically completes Ben Sira’s image of wisdom with Platonic additions in chapter 8 and given my general observations that he polemically and critically corrects Ben Sira’s theme of death (also drawing on Sir 14, among other contexts) by drawing on Platonic philosophy,³² his procedure in Wis 8:19–20 can be seen analogically. It is very likely that he reflects on Ben Sira’s wording and corrects it from the Platonic perspective, this time clearly marking his corrective approach. His replacement of the verb κτάομαι, used in his source, with the synonymous λαγχάνω is also very typical of his strategy of sometimes rephrasing Ben Sira’s expressions, as the list of the parallels between Wis 8 and Sir 6, 14–15 shows.

3. The Soul as a Loan: A Catachresis of a Platonic Metaphor

Let me turn now to Wis 15, where the terminology of borrowing and lending is applied to the soul. The author rebukes those who produce statues of pagan gods by contrasting the lifelessness of their statues to the people

31. See Scarpato, *Libro della Sapienza*, 2:167–72; Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:557. The expression was taken to mean “continent” in this verse by many ancient and some modern commentators and readers starting with Paul and Augustine.

32. Matusova, “Making,” 59–65.

who made them. The craftsmen cannot provide the statues even with the life they themselves have (not to mention divine life), although their life is fragile and short. The notion of soul runs through the chapter:

Wis 15:8–9

And, toiling perversely, he molds a futile god out of the same clay,
he who a little before came into being out of the earth,
and after a short while returns whence he was taken,
when the soul which was lent him is demanded back [τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος]. (NETS)

Wis 15:11–12

Because he did not know the one who molded him
And infused him with an active soul [καὶ τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ
ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν]
And breathed into him a life-giving spirit [καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα
πνεῦμα ζωτικόν].
But he considered our life to be a game. (NETS)

Wis 15:16

For a human being made them,
And one whose spirit is borrowed molded them [καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα
δεδανεισμένος ἐπλασεν αὐτούς]. (NETS)

The image he develops here is clearly composed of biblical and nonbiblical elements. Speaking about the nature and origin of man, the author alludes to Gen 3:19 (ἕως τοῦ ἀποστρέψαι σε εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἐξ ἧς ἐλήμφθης· ὅτι γῆ εἶ καὶ εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσῃ) in Wis 15:8 (ὃς πρὸ μικροῦ ἐκ γῆς γενηθείς // μετ’ ὀλίγον πορεύεται ἐξ ἧς ἐλήμφθη) and to Gen 2:7 (ἐνεφύσησεν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ πνοὴν ζωῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν) in Wis 15:11 (καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν). The non-biblical elements include the expression “the acting soul” (ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν), as explained above in section 2, and the words of borrowing applied to human life: χρέος (Wis 15:9) and δεδανεισμένος (Wis 15:16). As David Winston has stressed, the image of borrowing life goes back to Plato’s *Timaeus*.³³ In this dialogue, the younger gods imitating their own Maker took a por-

33. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 286.

tion of the immortal soul (created by God) and “*borrowed* [δανειζόμενοι] from the Cosmos portions of fire and earth and water and air, as if meaning to *pay them back*, and the portions so taken they cemented together,” but not with indissoluble bonds (*Tim.* 42e–43a). When humans die, the elements of their bodies return to nature. This image is also used in the Pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* (367b): “Nature is like a small moneylender; if we do not repay the debt [ὡς χρέος ἀποδιδῶ] of life [τὸ ζῆν] promptly, she comes down on us and takes sight or hearing, or often both, as pledges for a settlement.” Thus, we see that both words—δανείζομαι and χρέος—feature in *Wisdom*. Although the image of borrowing life from nature has become popular in Hellenistic and Roman philosophy and rhetoric (which has always been stressed by the commentators explaining this verse),³⁴ there is no need to undermine the Platonic influence: the distinctively Platonic expression “the acting soul,” the general attention of the author to the *Timaeus* (as well as his use of other Platonic dialogues) and the very striking coincidence of the image in *Genesis* and in the *Timaeus* speak in favor of a direct combination. Indeed, *Gen* 2–3 says that the human body was taken from earth to which it will return, while God breathed spirit (πνοὴ ζωῆς) and soul (ψυχὴν ζωσαν) into it, whereas the *Timaeus* says that the soul was formed by God and is eternal, while the elements of the living body are borrowed from nature and return to nature. The amalgamation of *Genesis* with the *Timaeus* based on the similarity of the accounts is a symptomatic trend in several texts from the period. First, it is clearly discernable in other passages in *Wisdom* itself, as I explain elsewhere in detail.³⁵ Second, this tendency is pivotal in Philo’s *De opificio mundi*.³⁶ Third, this tendency is present in non-Jewish texts of Pythagorean origin. The creation of man in *Genesis* is amalgamated with the corresponding passages in the *Timaeus* in the Pseudo-Pythagorean treatises: Ekphantos’s *On Kingship* and Euriphamos’s *On Life*.³⁷ There is one

34. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 286–87; Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:865; Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3:160–61.

35. Matusova, “Making,” 59–65.

36. David T. Runia, *Philo of Alexandria and the Timaeus of Plato*, PhA 44 (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Runia, *Philo of Alexandria: On the Creation of the Cosmos according to Moses; Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, PACS 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

37. Ekphantos, *Peri Basileias/De Regno* (Stob. 4.6.22 p. 244 He. [Holger Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1965), 79–80]); Euriphamos, *Peri Biou, De Vita* (Stob. 4.39.27 p. 914 He. [Thesleff, *Pythagorean Texts*, 85–87; Bruno Centrone, *Pseudopythagorica ethica: I trattati morali di Archita*,

specific detail in Ekphantos's account that runs through the Jewish texts as well: to express "inbreathing" (the idea borrowed from Genesis), he uses the word *empnoiēsis* (ἐμπνοίσεις), not used in the LXX, instead of the verb (or a correspondent noun) ἐνεφύσησεν used in LXX Gen 2:7. The verb ἐμπνεύω—cognate with the ἐμπνοίσεις—features in Philo's *Opif.* 139 and in Wis 15:11 (here, along with the LXX's ἐνεφύσησεν): καὶ τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν // καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν, while these two Jewish texts betray the influence of these Pseudo-Pythagorean treatises.³⁸ The influence of Ekphantos is especially clear in Wis 12:20.³⁹ Thus, the Platonic background to the Genesis elements in Wisdom's passages on creation appear to be part of a wider pattern, which ultimately goes back to the Pythagorean strategies of conflating Platonic and biblical material and which should be taken seriously.

However, on closer look, there is a significant difference between the Platonic image and Wisdom's. In Plato (and in the wider pagan tradition influenced by him), the metaphor of borrowing refers to the elements constituting the biological life of a human body. The specification in the *Axiochus* perfectly illustrates this: we pay the debt of life (τὸ ζῆν), not the soul. Before Wisdom we do not find any text in which this metaphor would be transferred to the soul. Apparently, Winston was not unaware of this difference. Therefore, following KJV and some other precedents, he translated τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπαιτηθεὶς χρέος in Wis 15:8 using the notion of life, rather than that of soul.⁴⁰ This is a very problematic interpretation, however, given that ψυχή has already been introduced in the terminological meaning of what remains after death to undergo retribution in Wis 3:13, has been brought together with the Platonic notion of soul in Wis 8:19–20, 9:15 (see above), and is strongly Platonized several lines later in Wis 15:11 (see above). Moreover, several lines later this metaphor is repeated using the notion of πνεῦμα (Wis 15:16), which is not possible to render as "life."

Metopo, Teage, Eurifamo (Naples: Bibliopolis, 1990), 103–10]. See in detail Ekaterina Matusova, "Genesis 1–2 in *De opificio mundi* and Its Exegetical Context," *SPhiloA* 31 (2019): 83–88.

38. For Philo, see Matusova, "Genesis 1–2," 88–92. On the Greek nonbiblical provenance of the verb ἐμπνεύω, see Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3:164.

39. Ekphantos, *Peri Basileias/De Regno* 80.25 [Thesleff] and Wis 12:20; see also Ekphantos, *Peri Basileias/De Regno* 82.1–3; 83.18–20 [Thesleff]; see Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 608.

40. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 285: "when the life that was lent him is demanded back." See also Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:866.

Larcher and Scarpata insist that ψυχή means “soul” in Wis 15:8 (“l’âme, la siege propre de la responsabilité morale,” “qui ἡ ψυχὴ ἐ «l’anima» piuttosto che «la vita»”) and that this is *at odds* with how the notion of borrowing is used in Greek and Latin sources, where it refers to the life faculties in a physical body.⁴¹

Larcher wisely refers to Qoh 3:20 and 12:7 as a text of reference that is close to the idea expressed in Wisdom 15.⁴² However, if Qoh 3:20 has numerous parallels in the Bible—passages that bespeak the ephemeral character of human life and humans returning to earth, dust, clay, and so forth, Qoh. 12:7 is *unique* because it speaks about the bipartite structure of a human being—body *and* spirit—each returning to where it belongs:

the dust will return to the earth as it was, and the spirit [הרוח;
πνεῦμα] will return to God who gave it [נתנה; ἔδωκεν αὐτήν]. (Qoh
12:7 NASB)

וישב העפר על הארץ כשהיה והרוח תשוב אל האלהים אשר נתנה

Similarly bipartite is the phrase in Wis 15:8–9, in which the idea of lending/borrowing the soul is introduced, while τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς χρέος is rephrased using the notion of πνεῦμα in 15:16 (τὸ πνεῦμα δεδανεισμένος). This is noteworthy given that it is only in Wis 15 that the word πνεῦμα is used as a synonym of ψυχή: the word has different meanings in *all* other passages in Wisdom. However, πνεῦμα in the LXX is a standard equivalent for רוּחַ, used in Qoheleth, and the author’s orientation to this text would explain the presence of this synonym here. Similarly, δίδωμι would be an obvious choice for נתנה (which also features in the existing Greek translation of Qoheleth). But in Greek, δίδωμι is entirely appropriate in the situations of loans being a technical term for lending.⁴³ Although the existing translation of Qoheleth is dated to the first century CE at the earliest,⁴⁴ it is reasonable to suggest that the author of Wisdom was familiar with the

41. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:865; Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3:160–61. Knibb in NETS; Georgi, *Weisheit Salomos*, 456; and Nesselrath in Niebuhr et al., *Sapientia Salomonis*, 91 also keep to the notion of soul.

42. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:864.

43. Cf. Demosthenes, *1 Steph.* 29; Philo, *Her.* 104; *Spec.* 4.30–31; *Virt.* 86; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Lys.* 25.14; *Ant. rom.* 9.2.3; Dio Chrysostom, *Fid.* 3.5.

44. James K. Aitken, “Ecclesiastes,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 358.

book either via other renderings, or directly. Thus, for instance, the influence of Qoh 9:5–10 manifests itself in Wis 2:1–11, where the argument of the sinners also involves the ephemeral character of human life. There are about six parallel elements in these relatively short passages⁴⁵ including the sequence of thoughts and the use of specific words (e.g., Qoheleth twice uses the word קָלִיπ traditionally rendered in the LXX with *μερίς* or *κληῖρος*, and both words feature in Wis 2:9). Wisdom 15 clearly resonates with Wis 2 not only in the general idea of the ephemeral character of life, but also in the sinners' thought that their whole life is a joke (Wis 15:12—Wis 2:6–9). It is plausible that in chapter 15, the author of Wisdom had in mind the same text of reference when addressing the same theme.

Thus both Plato and Qoheleth speak about a bipartite structure of human nature. To stress the ephemeral character of *bodily* life, Plato uses the metaphor of borrowing/lending. Qoheleth speaks about the ephemeral character of life in general, composed of body and soul, while Qoheleth's wording squares well with the metaphor of borrowing. This may have prompted the author of Wisdom to include spirit/soul (πνεῦμα/ψυχή) among borrowed things, using the Platonic metaphor, but at the same time perverting Plato's thought, which is typical of him elsewhere.⁴⁶ Thus, the adaptation of the Platonic image of borrowing is cleverly done and supports the idea influenced by Qoheleth and developed in Wis 15. It is instrumental in the lowering of the significance of human life, even though it consists of a body and an eternal soul which comes from God.

Thus, if the author of Wisdom was responsible for this change, his innovation, we must admit, was successful. A similar wording is found in the later Jewish and Judeo-Christian tradition.⁴⁷ Thus, Luke 12:20 says: "You fool! This *very* night your soul is required of you," that is, as something which does not belong to you properly (Ἀφρων, ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τὴν ψυχὴν σου ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ, cf. Wis 15:8: τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς

45. Especially, Qoh 12:1 ("remember God who created him," "before the difficult days come, and the years draw near, when you will say 'I have no pleasure in them,' and before you die") and Wis 15:9, 11 (the idol's maker did not think that "his health is likely to fail or that his life is brief" [15:9], nor did he know "the one who molded him" [15:11]).

46. Aitken and Matusova, "Wisdom," 609–10.

47. Noticed by Scarpat, who stresses that the image of the borrowed soul is not typical of the Greek sources but appears in the biblical world only. Scarpat, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3:160–61.

ἀπαιτηθείς χρέος). Josephus in *B.J.* 3.371–375 uses the image of the borrowed soul (χρέος), which humans have to return, when “He who lent is pleased to reclaim it” (ἔταν ὁ δούς κομίσασθαι θέλη). Philo in the passage quoted above, which reflects on Wisdom (or both reflect on a common wider discussion), also starts by referring to the soul as lent by God for use: “For indeed we have ourselves and all that go to make these selves for *use* [or “loan”—χρῆσιν]. I am formed of soul and body, I seem to have mind, reason, sense, yet I find that none of them is really mine” (*Cher.* 113). Philo’s profoundly Platonic worldview does not allow him to consistently carry on the discussion in these terms.⁴⁸ He tends to emancipate the soul from the rank of borrowed things and make it the mistress and user of the body and its faculties instead of something being *in use* (*Cher.* 115). But it is noteworthy that he is under the influence of this image in the passage that resonates with Wisdom’s discussion on the soul so well.⁴⁹

4. What Does Wisdom 16:13–14 Mean?

With that in mind, I wish to move to the next passage addressing the theme of soul, Wis 16:13–14. Continuing the contrast between divine grandeur and human weakness and vanity, the author says:

σὺ γὰρ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις
καὶ κατὰγεις εἰς πύλας ᾗδου καὶ ἀνάγεις·
ἄνθρωπος δὲ ἀποκτεννεί μὲν τῇ κακίᾳ αὐτοῦ,
ἐξελθὼν δὲ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἀναστρέφει
οὐδὲ ἀναλύει ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν.

- (1) For you have authority over life and death,
- (2) And you lead down to the gates of Hades
and you bring up again.
- (3) A person kills in his wickedness,

48. Philo also keeps to the traditional Platonic image in *Abr.* 257–259; *Post.* 5, *Her.* 282–283, *Decal.* 31.

49. An echo of the same image is in *Her.* 104–107 (see below in the text). Noteworthy, Vettius Valens (*Anth.* 330–331) refers to the soul as a “loan” when describing death, but he belongs to a later period and it is difficult to judge where this influence in his text comes from: ὅποτε δ’ εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ἀναδράμη τὸ χρέος, πρόκειται τὸ σῶμα νεκρόν.

- (4) but cannot bring back the departed spirit,
 (5) or set free soul that *has been taken*. (NETS)

The first two lines use a biblical wording and refer to the biblical thought that God has unconditional power over life and death.⁵⁰ The third line says that man can kill in his wickedness. The fourth line states that he, unlike God, cannot return the spirit (πνεῦμα) that has left the body. The fifth line presents a problem.

Literarily it says: he cannot set free (ἀναλύει—the verb used in a pointedly different meaning than in Wis 2:1, where it is intransitive and means “to return”)⁵¹ a soul that has been taken (not “taken away,” but in the meaning of “received”). From the earliest interpretations, this wording has been sensed as insufficient and completed with the extensions *by God, or in the netherworld*.⁵² Line 5 has been taken as a repetition or a paraphrase of line 4, with the idea that man cannot set free a soul which has left the body (and is received elsewhere), and indeed, on this understanding, the indication of an agent with παραλημφθεῖσαν feels necessary. In support of their interpretation, some indicate the similar wording in an undated funerary inscription from Rome: a wife says that her husband has “paid the debt of life” (ἀποδοὺς τὸ δάνειον τῆς ζωῆς) and is received by the subterranean gods in the eternal home (παραλημφθε[ις] ὑπὸ θεῶν καταχθονίων).⁵³ But this very inscription demonstrates that with this meaning of the participle “received” an indication of a recipient, expressed using the genitive of the agent, is indispensable. The absence of the recipient in Wis 16:14 creates an equivocal and uncertain sense—by whom was the soul received? By God? Why then does it have to be liberated from him (remember that Wis 3:1–9 says that those killed by the sinners are “in the hand of God,” “in peace,” and will be “immortal”)? By some unspecified recipients in hell? But the author of Wisdom does not admit the existence of pagan gods who can receive the soul. However, if one is inclined to argue that the author intentionally avoided mentioning the subterranean gods (for example, by

50. 1 Kgdms 2:6 = Ode 3:6: κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ // κατὰγει εἰς ᾄδου καὶ ἀνάγει; See also Tob 13:2.

51. The closest parallel to the use in Wis 2:1 is Luke 12:36. On the author’s tendency to play on the multiple meanings of the one and the same word, see Aitken and Matusova, “Wisdom,” 610–11.

52. Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:913–14; Scarpata, *Libro della Sapienza*, 3:202.

53. IG 14.1702 = IGUR 626.

partially adopting the current formula, although we cannot judge its currency by one inscription from an uncertain period), what would be the idea of this repetition? As mentioned above, all modern commentators and translators think that line 5 conveys the same idea as line 4, with some minor stylistic changes.⁵⁴ Only Michael Knibb in NETS leaves the sense as ambiguous as it is in Greek.

Aside from the formal problem of the recipient, the question should be asked whether a reduplication of the same thought is in order for the author of Wisdom's style. We have seen reduplications in both passages on the soul discussed above in this article: Wis 9:20 repeats Wis 9:19, while Wis 15:11 contains two verses with similar content (καὶ τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτῷ ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν // καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα πνεῦμα ζωτικόν). However, I have demonstrated that in neither of these cases is the reduplication a mere stylistic device. In each case, we see the same thought presented in biblical terms and then in more Platonic terms, while the Platonic wording philosophically shapes the Jewish material. Thus, Wis 9:20 shapes the scriptural wording of Wis 9:19 and offers a philosophic solution to an anthropological problem. In Wis 15:11, the first line contains Platonic and Pythagorean terms (ἐμπνεύω and ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν) to express the content formulated using the LXX vocabulary in the second line (ἐμφυσέω and πνεῦμα). The Platonic interpretation helps the author to change the entire image by including the soul among the borrowed things. This observation also suggests that a deeper inquiry into the logic behind the repetition in Wis 16:14 is in order.

I suggest a different reading for this line that connects its image with the notions introduced in chapter 15 and gives a better sense for the entire passage. The formal problem of the recipient can be solved, if the recipient of the soul is identical to the subject of the sentence, that is, if it is man, rather than God. First, the advantage of this interpretation is that it resumes the image of the soul as a deposit or loan elaborated in chapter 15. Indeed, λαμβάνω is a standard verb for accepting something, for instance, a deposit.⁵⁵ In Philo and Josephus, the verb is used specifically in terms of the metaphor in question, that is, of the loan, or deposit of *soul* received

54. See, for example, the comment of Larcher: "C'est à la fois pour varier le style et pour marquer une certaine progression." Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:913.

55. See also Hecataeus, *FGH* 264, 3a; Epicharmus frag. 2,16DK; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 6.26.1; 16.15.1; Acta Alexandrinorum 7a.2.7; Josephus, *A.J.* 14.370.5.

from God. Thus, Philo summons in his other passage where he includes the soul among things borrowed from God to *take* (λαμβάνειν) that which *is given* (τὸ δοθέν) as a *loan* or *trust* (δάνειον ἢ παρακαταθήκην):

But you, my friend, try with all your strength, not merely to keep unharmed and unalloyed *what you have taken* [φυλάττειν ἃ ἔλαβες], but also deem it worthy of all carefulness, that *He who entrusted it to you* [ὁ παρακαταθέμενος] may find nothing to blame in your guardianship of it. Now the Maker of all that lives *has given into your trust* [παρακατέθετο] soul [ψυχὴν], speech, and sense, which the sacred scripture calls in its parable heifer, ram, and goat. (Philo, *Her.* 105)

Josephus, who also refers to the soul (ψυχὴ) as a deposit or trust (παρακαταθήκη, χρέος), says that humans *received* (εἰλήφαμεν, ληφθέν) it from God (παρ' ἐκείνου, παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ) (Josephus, *B.J.* 3.372–373). In particular, he says:

Know you not that they who depart this life in accordance with the law of nature and *repay the loan which they received from God* [καὶ τὸ ληφθέν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος ἐκτινύντων], when He who lent *is pleased to reclaim it*, win eternal renown. (Josephus, *B.J.* 3.374)

The author of 4 Maccabees uses ἀπολαμβάνω in a similar context: ψυχὰς ἀγνὰς καὶ ἀθανάτους ἀπειληφότες παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ (4 Macc 18:24).

On this interpretation, ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν in Wis 16:14 would mean “the soul received” (as a loan or deposit) by a person from God.⁵⁶ Παραλαμβάνω used instead of λαμβάνω only stresses the sense of accepting *from* someone (παρὰ τινος), clearly from God, who is explicitly referred to as

56. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Thuc.* 36,67. The choice of the compound verb—παραλαμβάνω—does not need a special justification in this context, but one can suggest a stylistic analogy to the idea of deposit and loan commonly expressed using words with the prefix παρα-: παρακαταθήκη, παρακατατίθεμαι (as illustrated by Philo and Josephus in the main text). Alternatively, one could admit an allusion to the funerary formula of the inscription IGUR 626 quoted above (if one is inclined to think that the author knew this formula), whose elements were *reused* in conformity with the author's ideas. Note that in this funeral inscription the idea of *borrowing life* is also part of the image (“paid the debt of life”).

the one who lends the soul in Wis 15:11, 16. The image of the borrowed soul introduced in Wis 15 continues in 16:14 also in the equivalence between the terms *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα*. As explained above, this synonymy is specific of the image in chapter 15 and does not occur in Wisdom elsewhere.

Second, this interpretation removes the necessity to see a mere stylistic repetition of the same thought in Wis 16:14. The opposition between the verbs *ἀποκτείνω* and *ἀναλύω* as well as the addition *τῇ κακίᾳ αὐτοῦ* suddenly appear meaningful and highlight the difference between God and man not only in their ability/inability to revive, but also in their way of causing death. *Λύσις*, “dissociation,” and cognate words, *ἀναλύω* among them,⁵⁷ are traditionally used to designate *natural* death in the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition which considers death as the separation of the soul from the body, as for instance in Plato’s *Phaed.* 67d: “Well, then, this is what we call death [θάνατος], is it not, a release [λύσις] and separation from the body?” In tune with this vocabulary, *ἀναλύει*, “releases, sets free,” in Wisdom’s phrase describes a process of a natural, nonviolent separation of the soul from the body, which is unavailable to human beings and available to God exclusively. Note also, that the peculiar combination of the motifs of the soul received as a loan from God (τὸ ληφθέν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χρέος) and the Platonic imperative to wait for *natural* death is distinctive in Josephus’s philosophical reasoning with those who wanted to kill him or to make him to commit a suicide (the passage quoted above, Josephus, *B.J.* 3.374, and its wider context *B.J.* 3.362–382).

In the Platonic-Pythagorean tradition, a natural separation of the soul from the body at death is an absolutely good and desirable event and is considered to be a *liberation* of the soul that was bound to the body and enclosed in it as in a *prison* or even *sepulcher* (φρουρά, σῆμα).⁵⁸ In terms of the image of the liberation from imprisonment, the same words, *λύω*, *λύσις* (“to set free,” “liberation”), and their cognates are used.⁵⁹ In a famous Pythagorean poem, “The Golden Verses,” popular in Hellenism, another Pythagorean poem *Λύσις ψυχῆς*, “Deliverance of the Soul,” is mentioned and the idea it conveys is expressed in the verse: “Then if you leave the body behind and go to the free aether, you will be immortal, an undying

57. Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 524b—διάλυσις; Philo, *Cher.* 115—διαλύσεται; *Conf.* 167—διάλυσις; *Mut.* 229—ἀπόλυσις; *Fug.* 91; *Mut.* 33—ἀναλύω.

58. Plato, *Phaed.* 62b, *Gorg.* 493a.

59. Plato, *Phaed.* 62b: ὡς ἐν τινι φρουρᾷ ἔσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ οὐ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν οὐδ’ ἀποδιδράσκειν.

god, no longer mortal” (ἦν δ’ ἀπολείψας σῶμα ἐς αἰθέρ’ ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς // ἔσσει αἰθέρατος θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός).⁶⁰ The second person of the verb (ἔλθῃς, ἔσσει) refers to the soul. Similarly, in Wis 16:14, the spirit, πνεῦμα, called ψυχὴ in the next line, is also described as ἐξελθόν, “having departed.” In this connection, it is useful to remember that the passive participle παραλημφθεῖς used without an agent can also be used for *prisoners*.⁶¹ The imprisonment alluded to in this verse would then refer to the human body (rather than Hades, as inferred by some,)⁶² in accord with the famous Platonic metaphor and with the effect that the line οὐδὲ ἀναλύει ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν also evokes the famous Platonic-Pythagorean idea of death as the liberation from the body.

The presence of the Platonic theme of death as the separation of the body and the soul, with the allusion to freedom restored to the soul at this separation, is very likely, given that all passages on soul discussed so far draw on Platonic philosophy to some extent, while Wis 15 highlights an affinity with the late Pythagorean sources. But Philo too is indicative of the ideas important for Wisdom, because, as we have seen, he reflects either on Wisdom’s text directly, or on the discussions shared by many at that time and emerging in Wisdom. Therefore, his testimony in *Who Is the Heir of Divine Things*, one of his two treatises mentioning Wisdom’s idea that the soul is given by God as a loan or trust, is valuable:

God will accomplish the work which is *proper* to Himself [ὁ θεὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐργάσεται] in proclaiming redemption and liberty to the souls which are His suppliants, and not only will He provide *release from bonds* [οὐ μόνον λύσιν δεσμῶν] and an *issue from the closely-guarded prison* [καὶ ἔξοδον ἐκ τῆς περιπεφρουρημένης εἰρκτῆς], but give us also the viaticum which he here calls “stock.” (Her. 273)

The death metaphor is at work here. Not only is the liberation of the soul from the body described using the notions of “release,” λύσις (corresponds to ἀναλύει in Wisdom), “bonds” and “prison,” δεσμοί and ἡ περιπεφρουρημένη εἰρκτή (matches παραλημφθεῖσαν in Wisdom), “issue,” ἔξοδος (corresponds to ἐξελθόν in Wisdom), but also this liberation is referred to as a *proper*, *spe-*

60. *Golden Verses* 70 (Thesleff, *Pythagorean Texts*, 162).

61. Polybius, *Hist.* 3.69.2.

62. See Larcher, *Le livre de la sagesse*, 2:914.

cific act of God: τὸ οἰκεῖον. This is exactly what I think Wisdom's verse says: that this way of ending human life (οὐδὲ ἀναλύει ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν) is proper of God only and is not available to humans.

Last but not least, the addition "in his wickedness" (τῇ κακίᾳ αὐτοῦ) in the line "a person kills *in his wickedness*" stands out as meaningful, because it emphasizes the difference in the original intentions of man/human being and God when ending someone's life. As mentioned in the introduction to this article, in the rest of Wisdom, the author is very systematic in liberating God from the assumption that God introduced death into the world or that he has bad intentions (hatred, detestation) in causing death. All his actions are caused only by his goodness (ἀγαθότης—Wis 7:26; 12:22) and mercifulness (φιλάνθρωπος—Wis 7:23; 12:19). This argument is strongly influenced by Platonic philosophy.⁶³ On the proposed interpretation, this passage accords with the author's general treatment of the theme of death in that he liberates God from bad intentions when He exercises His power to cause death. In Wis 16:13–14, the author has to deal with the biblical verse that refers to God as causing death (cf. Wis 16:13: "For you have authority over life *and death* // And you lead down to the gates of Hades). But when elaborating on this thought, the author resorts to Platonic philosophy again and emphasizes that God, unlike humans who do so out of their wickedness, does so out of his goodness, with the intention to liberate.

5. Conclusion

My interpretation enables us to see consistency in the image and in the method running through all three passages on the soul. In terms of the image, the notion of the soul which "enters" (ἔλθον) the body in Wis 8:20 matches the notion of the soul which "departs" (ἐξελθὼν πνεῦμα) from the body in Wis 16:14; the notion of the soul "borrowed" by humans for a while (τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς χρέος, πνεῦμα δανειζόμενον) in Wis 15:9, 16 matches the notion of the (temporarily) "received" soul (ψυχὴν παραλημφθεῖσαν) in Wis 16:14, while the equivalence between ψυχή and πνεῦμα is another feature which unites these two passages. In terms of the method, all passages contain elements of Platonic philosophy which interact and intersect with the material from Scripture. The biblical source for Wis

63. Matusova, "Making," 59–65.

16:13 is known (1 Kgdms 2:6 = Ode 3:6); I have developed Larcher's suggestion of the importance of Qoh 12:7 for chapter 15 and argued that Ben Sira is in the background of Wis 8:19. In Wis 8:19–20 and Wis 16:13–14, Platonic philosophy is used to interpret and shape the biblical thought and wording by imparting a special philosophic sense to it. In conformity with my considerations formulated elsewhere, the *Timaeus* stands out again as a very important text of reference, but the Platonic influence is not limited to it. It implies the knowledge of other Platonic texts and of the traditions building upon Platonism and the Bible, like the late Pythagoreanism. Especially in Wis 16:14, an understanding of the Platonic sense of the sentence enables us to read the entire passage in a deeper and more nuanced way and propose an interpretation which connects the image with the previous passage on soul and matches similar ideas in Josephus and Philo, who often reflects on Wisdom or on ideas relevant for Wisdom. My interpretation of Wis 16:13–14, where the author addresses again the theme of death, which is so important for him throughout the text, conforms to my interpretation of other relevant passages: as elsewhere, Platonic philosophy is used to convey a very distinctive notion of God as devoid of any destructive or wicked impulses. Wisdom's theology depicts God as aiming at humans' immortality, an idea which is cleverly introduced here to interpret the biblical notion of God as the master of death (as well as life).

In Wis 15:9, 16, the Platonic influence is also distinctive, but its combination with the thought of the vanity of human existence, inspired by Qoheleth, leads to the not entirely correct use of the original Platonic thought. Instead, this amalgamation creates a very memorable image of the borrowed soul which has multiple echoes in the Judeo-Christian tradition. This is also typical of the author's treatment of Platonism. As said above, he can in no way be considered as a true exponent of Platonic philosophy, but he should be considered as a clever user of it. Even in passages where a Platonic image is changed, whereas a biblical image prevails, we see that the amalgamation is done cleverly, with a good knowledge of Platonic texts and a sharp attention to possible parallels between Plato and the Bible. It confirms again that for our author, Platonism is a mighty tool for shaping his biblical material which highlights the intellectual milieu in which Philo's systematic application of Platonism to the Bible developed.

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The Names of the Pillars of the First Temple and Their Meaning in the MT and Greek Textual Tradition (1 Kgs 7:21 // 3 Kgdms 7:7)

Daniel Prokop

Abstract: Despite numerous attempts to explain the meaning of the names of the First Temple pillars, they are still a riddle. A comparison of the MT with the LXX reveals a plurality of textual variants. On the authority of Holmes and Parsons as well as the so-called *Cambridge Septuagint*, I have identified nineteen different forms for the name of the second pillar in Greek manuscripts. The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the forms of the names and explain their meaning in the MT and Greek textual traditions. Text-critical analysis has shown that we are dealing at least with two different traditions regarding the names of the columns. The form preserved in the OG *Vorlage* was “he [YHWH] will establish in strength.” The verb כָּן in the book of Kings and in many other biblical passages is linked to the establishment of the Davidic kingdom. Thus, the meaning of the names would be that YHWH establishes the ruling dynasty. The same message is conveyed by the form of the names from the MT: Boaz was David’s forefather while Jachin was a Simeonite and a priest. In this way the link between religious and governmental activities was highlighted. The names conveyed the fundamental message that God is inextricably connected with the dynastic power, providing support to the political realm.

1. Introduction

The columns referred to as Jachin and Boaz are certainly among the most controversial features of the First Temple of Jerusalem. No other component of the temple has stimulated as many attempts at reconstruction or been the object of such repeated imitation and profound interpretation. The

twin pillars flanking the entrance to the temple captured the imagination of artists in later periods and found expression in artistic representations. Over time, numerous reconstructions of the twin pillars emerged. However, the only evidence of their existence, the biblical descriptions, remained unchanged. These texts are surely among the most complicated in the Hebrew Bible since they are full of textual problems and use a specific architectural terminology.¹

With regard to the names of the pillars, several questions emerge: How can the different renderings of the names of the pillars in the MT and the LXX be explained? Which reading is closer to the original? What was the meaning of the names of the pillars?

2. Names of the Pillars in the MT and Greek Textual Tradition

In the Hebrew Bible, the names of the pillars are preserved as יָכִין and בֹּעַז (1 Kgs 7:21; 2 Chr 3:17). There are no significant differences in the manuscripts. In 1 Kgs 7:21, the name יָכִין is lacking in two of Kennicott's manuscripts (50, 174), while the name בֹּעַז is written *plene* (בּוֹעֵז) in four of Kennicott's manuscripts (129, 150, 174, 187).² In 2 Chr 3:17, it is written *plene* in seven of Kennicott's manuscripts (30, 80, 150, 166, 188, 227, 270).³ The Peshitta and Targum have a word-for-word translation of the MT. It is noteworthy that Tg 2 Chr 3:17, after the names, adds "he gave the name Jachin, because the kingdom of the house of David had established it"⁴ and "the name Boaz, because of Boaz, the leader of the clan of the house of

1. See more in Daniel Prokop, *The Pillars of the First Temple (1 Kgs 7,15–22): A Study from Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, Archaeological, and Iconographic Perspectives*, FAT 3/116 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020); Adrian Schenker, "Die Kapitelle der Säulen Jachin und Boaz: Gestalt und Funktion; Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung von 1 Kön 7:16–22 und 3 Kgt 7:4–9," in *Tempel, Lehrhaus, Synagoge: Orte jüdischen Gottesdienstes, Lernens und Lebens; Festschrift für Wolfgang Kraus*, ed. Christian Eberhart et al. (Paderborn: Schöningh, 2020), 193–204.

2. Benjamin Kennicott, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum Variis Lectionibus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1780), 1:615. In De Rossi's collection, there is no reference to the names of the pillars.

3. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum*, 2:687.

4. V (Vatican manuscript of Tg Chronicles) has the Aphel of *tqn*, while C (Cambridge manuscript of Tg Chronicles), has its Ithpaal: "the kingdom of the house of David had been established" (James S. McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles: Translated, with Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes*, ArBib 19 [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994],

Judah, from whom have come forth all the kings of the house of Judah.”⁵ By this addition, the Targum explains the names of the pillars in connection with the Davidic family.

Comparison of the MT with the LXX is complex, since we must deal with the plurality of textual variants regarding the spelling of the proper names. I present them in the table below.⁶

3 Kgdms 7:7	
LXX ^{B,L}	Ἰαχούμ
LXX ^A x (247) (158)	Ἰαχούν
N, d (107), e (52), h (55), i (56), j (243), l (370), m (92), p (106), q (120), r (700), s (130), t (134), u (372), v (245), w (314), y (121), z (554), (44), (64), (71), (123), (144), (242), (244), (246), Aeth	Ἰακούμ
n (119)	Ἰακούβ
2 Par 3:17	
LXX	Κατόρθωσις
d (107)	Κατόρθωσιν
M (92) (uid)	Κατόρθωματος
i (56), y (121), e ₂ (93) (txt)	Ἰαχίν
e ₂ (93) (marg. and ed.)	Ἰαχεῖν

148). V has an accurate translation of the Hiphil form יָחַד. The passive form in C is an adaptation to the targumic explanation of the name.

5. McIvor, *Targum of Chronicles*, 148.

6. Variants are collected from Alan E. Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. J. Thackeray, ed., *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*, vol. 2.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); Robert Holmes and James Parsons, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1818). Numbers in brackets refer to the manuscript typology of Rahlfs's edition of the LXX. Numbers in brackets without a preceding letter indicate a manuscript which is given on the authority of Holmes and Parsons.

3 Kgdms 7:7	
LXX ^B , i (56), a ₂ (501), Aeth	βαλαζ
LXX ^L	Βααζ
c ₂ (127)	βαλζ
o (82)	βιαζ
b (108), b' (19), e ₂ (93)	βααζ
LXX ^A	βοός
d (107), p (106)	Βαλοαζ
(64)	βολοζ
(123)	βοαζ
h (55)	βοολαζ
(44)	βολοαζ
q (120)	βαολοοζ
v (245)	βοολοαζ
g (158)	βοαολοαζ
n (119)	βαθλοαζ
x (247)	βωωζ
Arm	βοιος
Arm ^{ed}	βοοζ
M, N, c (376), e (52), f (489), j (243), l (370), m (92), r (700), s (130), t (134), u (372), w (314), y (121), z (554), b ₂ (29), (74), (144), (236), (242), (244)	βαολοαζ
2 Par 3:17	
LXX ^{B,L}	Ἰσχύς
LXX ^A	Ἰχύς
d (107)	Ἰσχύν
i (56), y (121), e ₂ (93) (txt)	βοοζ

With regard to the first name, it is important to note that Jachin in all occurrences is written with י and transcribed with χ (cf. Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15, Num 26:12; 1 Chr 9:10; 24:17; Neh 11:10). It seems that the verb יָכַן (in *qal*) lies behind the text of the LXX or a verbal substantive

having the form of a *yiqtol* in *qal*, that is, יָבֹן or יְבֹן. The reading Ἰαχοῦμ (with κ), present in Ethiopic version (a daughter version of the LXX) and other manuscripts, seems to be a corruption of Ἰαχοῦμ. On this testimony, it seems that the original reading of the LXX was Ἰαχοῦμ (LXX^{B,L}) or Ἰαχούν [LXX^A, x (247), (158)]. The decision between this and the Masoretic reading tips the scales in favor of the LXX. W. Emery Barnes thinks that the Masoretes changed the obscure Hebrew יָבֹן or יְבֹן into the common *hiphil* form יָבִין (110 occurrences in 270 passages where the verb appears).⁷ However, the Chronicler had already read יָבִין. Therefore, it is hardly likely that the Masoretes (who came much later) changed anything. The simplest explanation is the harmonization which had been made between 1 Kgs 7:21 and 2 Chr 3:17 // 2 Par 3:17 into יָבִין. It is striking that 2 Par 3:17 translates this name by Κατόρθωσις (“a successful accomplishment/setting up”). Only i (56), γ (121), and e₂ (93) (txt) have Ἰαχίν. This means that, here, the LXX translator did not transliterate the Hebrew term but rather wanted to clarify its meaning. The same applies to the second name, translated here as Ἰσχύς (“strength”). Only i (56), γ (121), and e₂ (93) (txt) have Βοόζ.

The reading of LXX^A 3 Kgdms 7:7 (βοός) and the translation given in 2 Par 3:17 (Ἰσχύς) suggest that the pointing should be יָעַז or יְעַז (Otto Thenius, Ernst Sellin).⁸ But, in these cases, we have to change the Masoretic vocalization. Thus, it is tempting to read Boaz as בּוֹז יָעַז, especially because this name is written *plene* in some of Kennicott's manuscripts, as I noted above. Nevertheless יָעַז is an adjective rather than a substantive.⁹ The solution would be to consider יָעַז as a by-form of יָעַז.¹⁰ Robert B. Y. Scott points out that the Psalms of the Lord's enthronement and sovereignty make frequent use of the word יָעַז with reference to Lord's victorious strength (Pss 93:1; 96:6–7, 10; 99:1, 4; 132:8). He notes further the frequent association of the verb בָּוֶן and the noun יָעַז (or words from the same roots) in royal psalms (Pss 89:14–15; 93:1–2; 99:4). Thus, the name on the second pillar could be the first word of a sentence “in the strength of YHWH shall the

7. W. Emery Barnes, “Jachin and Boaz,” *JTS* 5.19 (1904): 449.

8. Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1873), 104; Ernst Sellin, *Geschichte des Israelitisch-jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1924), 1:192.

9. Rudolf Kittel and Wilhelm Nowack, *Die Bücher der Könige*, HAT 1.5 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 63.

10. *HALOT*, s.v. “יָעַז,” 804.

king rejoice.”¹¹ Following the Lucianic reading βααζ we may regard בעז as an intentional disguise of בעל.¹² After LXX^B βαλαζ and h (55) βολαζ, we are tempted to emend בעז into בעל עז (“Baal is strong”).¹³ It could also be that the last letter ʔ is a fragment of a word זבל (cf. זבל בית זבל in 1 Kgs 8:13). It is not impossible, therefore, that the full name of the pillar on the left side could be Baal-Zebul (“Lord of the high house”).¹⁴ In later times, it is probable that the name of the second pillar was deliberately mutilated, because of the new and inauspicious associations which had gathered round it. Subsequent to this pious emendation of the name, one of the supposed ancestors of David was furnished with the name Boaz (only found late), to indicate that he was a pillar of the Davidic family (cf. Tg 2 Chr 3:17).¹⁵

Systematizing the reading of the LXX, it seems that there are two groups. In the first, only the vowels are affected: βoός (LXX^A), βααζ (LXX^L), βιαζ [o (82)], βοαζ (123), βοωζ (x [247]), βοιος (Arm), βοοζ (Arm^{ed} and i [56], γ [121], e₂ [93] [txt] of 2 Chr 3:17). The remaining variants of the LXX are those which introduce λ as a consonant of the name. It appears as a middle consonant (βαλαζ [LXX^B, i (56), a₂ (501), Ethiopic Version]; βολοζ [64]) or in an elaborated form that suggests a disturbance of the vowels of the word.

The form containing the elements β-λ-ζ, which is supported by the united authority of LXX^B and the Ethiopic version, could indicate that the original reading here was בעל. The ʔ could warn the reader that the offensive word Baal must be softened into Baaz (the reading found in LXX^L: βααζ) and then into βoός (the reading found in LXX^A). The editors or translators of LXX^B, hesitating to suppress any letter of Scripture or misunderstanding the purpose of the suspended letter, simply added ʔ and so

11. Robert B. Y. Scott, “The Pillars of Jachin and Boaz,” *JBL* 58.2 (1939): 148–49.

12. Barnes, “Jachin and Boaz,” 451; Elmer A. Leslie, *Old Testament Religion: In the Light of Its Canaanite Background* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1936), 130; Hugo Gressmann, *Die Lade Jahves und Allerheiligste des Salomonischen Tempels* (Berlin: Kohlhammer, 1920), 62–63.

13. James A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), 170; Montgomery, “Some Hebrew Etymologies,” *JQR* 25.3 (1935): 265. See also Ugaritic acclamation b'l'z (Cyrus H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indices*, AnOr 38 [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965], text 49: vi: 17–20).

14. Thomas K. Cheyne, “Jachin and Boaz,” *EncBib* 2:2301.

15. Cheyne, “Jachin and Boaz,” 2304.

gave us βαλαζ.¹⁶ This hypothesis of Barnes, although very interesting, can hardly be accepted.

Since *lambda* and *alpha* in majuscule letters are very similar, *lambda* could be easily confused with *alpha*, especially as Greek scribes did not understand these names. On the other hand, *lambda* seems to be more original because it is further away from the MT. If this is the case, *lambda* is missing in LXX^{A,L} because of approximation to the MT, which does not have *lamed*. At the level of Greek witnesses β-λ-ζ or β-ζ (assuming an error of confusing *lambda* with *alpha*) is probably the most original form. If we accept the first solution, the important question arises: are we dealing here with the god Baal? In the LXX, Baal referring to the deity is almost exclusively transliterated with double *alpha* or *epsilon*:¹⁷

בַּעַל/בַּעַל־בַּעַל	βααλ ¹⁸	Num 22:41; Judg 2:13; 6:25, 28, 30-32; 3 Kgdms 16:31-32; 18:21-22, 26; 18:19, 25, 40; ¹⁹ 19:18; 4 Kgdms 3:2; 10:18-23, 25-28; 11:18; 17:16; 21:3; 23:4-5; 2 Par 23:17; Jer 2:8; 7:9; 11:13, 17; 12:16; 19:5; 23:13, 27; 32:29, 35; Hos 2:8 (Hos 2:10); 13:1; Zeph 1:4
בַּעַל	βααλιμ	3 Kgdms 22:54
בַּעַל־בַּעַל־בַּעַל	βααλιμ	Judg 2:11; 3:7; 8:33; 10:6, 10; 1 Kgdms 7:4; 12:10; 3 Kgdms 18:18; 2 Par 24:7; 33:3; 34:4; Hos 2:13, 17; 11:2
בַּעַל־בַּעַל	βααλ	Jer 2:23
בַּעַל־בַּעַל	Ιεθεβααλ ²⁰	3 Kgdms 16:31
בַּעַל־בַּעַל	βααλ μυϊαν	4 Kgdms 1:2-3, 6, 16
בַּעַל־בַּעַל	βααλιμ	Hos 2:16 [Hos 2:18]

16. Barnes, "Jachin and Boaz," 450.

17. Only in *b*, *u*, Arm^{ed}, Sa^t of Judg 6:32 we do have *omicron* and *alpha* between *beta* and *lambda* (Ιεροβααλ).

18. With single *alpha* in Num 22:41 (ub2); 4 Kgdms 10:27-28 (g*); 4 Kgdms 11:18 (o); Hos 13:1 (62).

19. 3 Kgdms 18:19 in LXX^A, α', Arm, Syh, defmp-twz<44>j(mg)i; 3 Kgdms 18:25 in *i* (the rest of the witnesses instead of the prophets of Baal have τοὺς προφῆτας τῆς αἰσχύνης).

20. With single *alpha* in Z2, c2, Arm.

בַּעַל פְּעֹר	βεελφεγωρ ²¹	Num 25:3, 5
בַּעַל בְּרִית	βααλ(...)/ βεελ(...) ²²	Judg 8:33; 9:4
בַּעַל פְּעֹר	βεελφεγωρ ²³	Deut 4:3 Ps 106(105):28

Since there is no single case in which LXX^B transcribes the name of the god Baal with single *alpha* as in 3 Kgdms 7:7, it is reasonable to assume that the deity is not in view here. With single *alpha* or *epsilon* between *beta* and *lambda* we are dealing in nearly all cases with personal names.²⁴

בָּרַע	βαλλα	Gen 14:2
בָּלְהָה	βαλλαν/βαλλα/ βαλλας/βαλαα	Gen 29:29; 30:3-5, 7; 35:22, 25; 37:2; 46:25 1 Par 7:13
בָּלְהִן	βαλλαν/βαλααν	Gen 36:27; 1 Par 1:42; 7:10
בָּלַע/בָּלַעַ	βαλακ/βαλα	Gen 14:2, 8; 36:32-33; 46:21; 1 Par 1:43-44
בַּעַל הַנָּה	βαλαεννων/ βαλαεννων/ βαλανας	Gen 36:38-39; 1 Par 1:49-50; 27:28
בָּלַק	βαλακ	Num 22:2, 4, 7, 10, 13-16, 18, 35-37; 23:1-3, 5, 7, 13, 15-17, 25-30; 24:10, 12-13, 25; Josh 24:9; Judg 11:25; Job 42:17 (only Greek); Mic 6:5
בָּלַעַם	βαλααμ	Num 22:5, 7-10, 12-14, 16, 18, 20-21, 25, 27-31, 34-37; 23:1-5, 11, 16, 25-30; 24:1-3, 10, 12, 15, 25; 31:8, 16; Josh 13:22; 24:9; Neh 13:2; Mic 6:5
בָּלַדָּן	Βαλαδαν	4 Kgdms 20:12
בָּלַסָּן	βαλασαν	Ezra 2:2

21. With single *epsilon* in Num 25:3 (y, Arm^{ed}, Bo).

22. With single *alpha* in Judg 9:4 (jsze).

23. With single *epsilon* in Deut 4:3 (Arm, Bo^{wv}).

24. As for the names of the cities and mountains, the situation is different as we have many cases with both single and double vowel between *beta* and *lambda* (Exod 14:2, 9; Num 32:38; 33:7; Deut 4:3; Jos 11:17; 12:7; 13:5; 15:9-11, 29; 19:8, 44; Judg 3:3; 20:33; 2 Kgdms 13:23; 3 Kgdms 2:35i; 4 Kgdms 4:42; 1 Par 5:8, 23; 14:11; 2 Par 8:6; Song 8:11; Hos 9:10).

בִּלְגָּה	βαλγα	Neh 12:18
אִיזְבֵּל / אִיזְבֵּל	Ιεζαβελ	3 Kgdms 16:31; 18:4, 13, 19; 19:1-2; 21:5, 7, 11, 14-15, 23, 25; 4 Kgdms 9:7, 10, 22, 30, 36-37
בְּעִלִּים	βελ(...)/βιλ(...) ²⁵	Jer 40(47):14
בַּעַל	Ιωηλ ²⁶	1 Par 5:5
	βααλ(...)/ βαελ(...) ²⁷ / βαλ(...)/ αβαλ(...) ²⁸	1 Par 8:30
	βααλ/βαελ	1 Par 9:36

To judge from the data above, it is quite probable that the translator understood β-λ-ζ as a personal name, not as the name of a deity. However, we do not find this name in the LXX or in the MT. Moreover, combined with the first name it has no reasonable sense. Therefore, I am inclined to suggest that the form β-ζ is the most ancient reading.

The numerous forms that show disturbance of vowel sounds appear in many cursive manuscripts. They can show that the fear of omitting something prevailed or perhaps they are corruptions which arose in the course of the transcription of the Greek. The LXX, however, points quite clearly to the true reading and gives a hint of the path by which scribes or editors arrived at our present text. As a result, based on available data, I have identified the most probable forms of the two names in the *Vorlage* of 3 Kgdms 7:7. The first name would be יִבְנֶה meaning “he will establish.” Since that is the line in which the Chronicler (cf. 2 Par 3:17) interprets the first name (Κατόρθωσις, i.e., “a successful accomplishment/setting up”), it is reasonable to follow his understanding of the second name (Ἰσχὺς, i.e., “strength”). Thus, *lambda* in form β-λ-ζ could be an error, and the most ancient form of the second name would be בַּעַל/בִּזְאֵל meaning “in strength.”

25. With double *alpha* between *beta* and *lambda* only in O-Q^{mg} Arm (vid).

26. βααλ only in LXX^A, N, aceghin, Arm.

27. In LXX^{A,B}, fdjptqzbye2, N rel.

28. In c2a, Arm.

3. Symbolic Meaning of the Names

In the biblical texts, naming has a profound significance, so it should be also in the case of the names of the twin pillars. My analysis has shown that we are dealing with at least two different traditions of the names of the columns. The first and apparently most ancient form is represented by the OG *Vorlage*. The second one is preserved in the MT. In this part, I will present possible explanations of the names in each textual tradition.

3.1. Names in the OG *Vorlage*

The most ancient form of the twin pillars' names in the Greek textual tradition would be יָכֹן (meaning "he will establish") and בָּעֶז/בָּאֵז ("in strength"). The personal subject of the first name is most probably God. The message transmitted in the names would be: "he [YHWH] will establish in strength." The unspoken object could be several things, such as the temple, the Davidic house, or the world, or it may be deliberately left unspecified in order to include a wide range. However, if we assume the root כָּן, then the object of establishing indicates the Davidic dynasty. In the first book of Kings, the verb כָּן is linked to the establishing of the throne of David, the reign of Solomon (1 Kgs 2:12, 24, 45-46), or the preparation activities in the building of the temple (1 Kgs 5:32; 6:19; cf. David's preparation of the place for the ark of the Lord in 1 Chr 15:1, 3, 12). Similarly, in many other passages כָּן refers to the establishing of the Davidic dynasty (1 Sam 13:13; 20:31; 2 Sam 5:12; 7:12-13, 16, 26; 1 Chr 14:2; 17:11-12, 14, 24; 22:10; 28:7; Ps 89[88]:5; Isa 9:6).²⁹ The single word context makes it unclear whether the words are to be read together or separately as the opening words of some longer expressions. Thus, Scott suggests that the names could be the initial words of a dynastic inscription. The first pillar might have borne an inscription like: "he [YHWH] will establish the throne of David, and his kingdom to his seed forever." The second inscription may also have had dynastic significance: "In the strength of YHWH shall the king rejoice."³⁰ There is, however, no evidence that the names were inscribed on the pillars, so one cannot assume that they were engraved.³¹ Furthermore, in

29. Cf. also 2 Chr 17:5; Ps 102(101):29; Isa 16:5; Prov 16:12; 25:5; 29:14.

30. Scott, "Pillars," 148-49.

31. Roland de Vaux, *Les Institutions de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Cerf, 1960), 2:150-51.

both textual traditions, there is not the slightest sign that anything is lacking or that the names could represent the first words of a longer sentence. Nevertheless, dynastic continuity and the enduring throne established in the strength of YHWH appear to be the message conveyed in the names of the twin pillars as preserved in the OG *Vorlage*.³²

3.2. Names in the MT

In contrast to the reading of the OG's *Vorlage*, the most reasonable way to understand the names in the MT is to read them as personal names. It is difficult to interpret them as the opening words of a longer prayer or blessing, especially if we take into account texts with similar phrasing to 1 Kgs 7:21, such as 1 Sam 14:4 and 2 Sam 18:18. The first passage refers to names given to geographical features. Between the passes, by which Jonathan sought to go over to the Philistines' garrison, there were two rocky crags on each side with proper names (ושם האחד בוצץ ושם האחד סנה). In 2 Sam 18:18, the childless Absalom sets up his own standing stone in readiness for his death and names it after his own name (ויקרא לה יד אבשלם).³³ Therefore, it is not surprising that scholars have seen the names of the pillars as the names of architects, donators, or even of the sons of Solomon. However, they could also be interpreted in the context of where the names Jachin and Boaz appear in the biblical texts. Jachin was a son of Simeon (Gen 46:10; Exod 6:15; Num 26:12; in 1 Chr 4:24 called Jarib); this is also the name of a priest, who returned from the exile to Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:10; Neh 11:10); finally, it is the name of a priest, who was the head of one of the priestly divisions (1 Chr 24:17). Boaz was the great-grandfather of David (1 Chr 2:11–12; Ruth 4:18–22). The link between the names of the pillars and the Davidic dynasty was already noticed in the Targum to Chronicles. According to Tg 2 Chr 3:17, the names allude to the establishment of the

32. Notably, Martin J. Mulder (explaining the names in the context of the Ugaritic texts) arrived at a similar conclusion: "Bei der einen Säule könnte er [König] ein Gebet verrichtet haben für die Dynastie und Nachkommenschaft, bei der anderen ein Gebet für die göttliche Beschaffenheit seiner Regierung." Martin J. Mulder, "Die Bedeutung von Jachin und Boaz in 1 Kön. 7:21 (2 Chr 3,17)," in *Tradition and Re-interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram*, ed. Jan W. van Henten et al., StPB 36 (Leiden: Brill, 1986), 25.

33. The names given to the altars in Gen 33:20 (אל אלהי ישראל) and Exod 17:15 (יהוה נסי) are also composed of only two or three words.

house of David by making reference of its origins, that is, the great-grandfather of king David.

Could the names of the pillars also have been a reference to the history of Judah, and if so, what meaning would they have had? While the second name calls to mind only the ancestor of the king David, the first name could have been differently understood. Jachin may possibly evoke one of the sons of Simeon. The tribe of Simeon was intermixed with the sons of Judah and its territory was inside the boundaries of the latter. If this is the case, the names serve to highlight the origins of the kingdom of Judah and thus strengthen the sense of a national identity. Jachin could be also understood as a name of a priest, a head of one of the priestly divisions, which according to 1 Chr 24 were originally formed during the reign of King David. In this case the names of the pillars would serve as reminders of the connection between religion and politics, between priestly activities in the temple (Jachin) and the approved ruling power of the Davidic dynasty (Boaz).³⁴ This being the case, the names of the pillars would serve to point to the continuity of the Davidic line and thus the legitimacy of the Judean kings.

4. Concluding Statement

The meaning of the names of the columns is still a challenge. They could be taken either as a combination of the two words or as two sentences. The issue is even more complicated by the fact that they are preserved differently in Hebrew and Greek textual traditions. The most ancient form of the twin pillars' names in the LXX would be: "he will establish in strength." By contrast, the names of the pillars in the Hebrew Bible are best understood as personal names. In each case it seems that they conveyed the message of establishing the earthly dwelling of YHWH, the ruling dynasty, or both.

34. The fact that the First Temple was a part of a palace-temple complex also reflects an attempt to strengthen the power of the dynasty. This seems to be the purpose of the major transformations at Megiddo in the first half of the ninth century BCE—eliminating the central cult building and replacing it with a shrine in an administrative structure in order to weaken the political and economic power of local shrines (and local aristocracies) and strengthen the power of the dynasty. Assaf Kleiman et al., "Cult Activity at Megiddo in the Iron Age: New Evidence and a Long-Term Perspective," *ZDPV* 133.1 (2017): 24–52.

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Status and Function of the Levites in Ezekiel 44:9–15 according to the Different Textual Traditions of the Book of Ezekiel

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to explore the divergent roles, functions, and assessments of the Levites, as found in the different textual traditions of Ezek 44:9–15. It is demonstrated that, on the one hand, the LXX is influenced by the Pentateuch and, on the other hand, reflects an earlier stage in the textual history of this unit than the MT does. The latter reveals a Zadokite revision of the section, which intensifies the accusation against the Levites and parallels their past misdeeds with the idol worship of the Israelites.

This paper aims to compare the divergent assessments of the Levites in Ezek 44:9–15 as attested in the MT and in the LXX tradition (based on Codex Vaticanus). Following a comparative analysis of the MT and LXX, I will discern, in a second step, to what extent variants of the LXX reflect tendencies of translation or whether they originate in a Hebrew *Vorlage*, which diverges from the MT. In a final step, I will determine the shape of the reconstructed *Vorlage* for Ezek 44:9–15 (LXX) and discuss the place of this text form within the literary history of the book as a whole.

Ezekiel 44:9–15 is part of a speech that begins in verse 5 where God addresses the prophet directly and introduces him “to all the statutes and ordinances” of the envisioned temple (לכל חקות בית יהוה ולכל תורתיו).¹ The text moves from stipulations for the functions of the different groups

1. The *ketiv* of the form תורתו reflects a singular plus suffix corresponding to the first occurrence of the expression in Ezek 43:11. The Septuagint renders in both cases a form in the plural (τὰ προστάγματα/τὰ νόμματα).

in the temple service toward regulations that refer exclusively to the Zadokite priests (vv. 17–31). In verse 6, the speech opens with an accusation against the Israelites. They are accused of having admitted uncircumcised strangers (בני נכר)² to the temple service and therefore are guilty of breaking God's covenant. Verse 9 refers to these foreigners, who allegedly were employed in the temple service and legitimizes their future exclusion from the temenos by the introduction of a prophetic messenger speech (כה אמר יהוה).

Ezekiel 44:9–15 according to MT

9 כה־אמר אדני יהוה כל־בן־נכר ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבוא אל־מקדשי לכל־בן־נכר אשר בתוך בני ישראל: 10 כי אס־הלויים אשר רחקו מעלי בתעות ישראל אשר תעו מעלי אחרי גלוליהם ונשאו עונם: 11 והיו במקדשי משרתים פקדות אל־שערי הבית ומשרתים את־הבית המה ישחטו את־העלה ואת־הזבח לעם והמה יעמדו לפניהם לשרתם:

9 This has the Lord God proclaimed: No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary, any stranger who is among the Israelites. 10 Instead the Levites, who went far from me, when Israel went astray, who went astray away from me after *their*³ idols, so *they had to bear their guilt*. 11 They shall be in my sanctuary performing guard duty at the gates of the temple and serving in the temple; these shall slaughter the burnt offering and the well-being offering *for the people*, and they shall stand before them to officiate for them.

2. Benjamin Kilchör identifies the “foreigners” (בני נכר) in Ezek 44:7 with the “men coming from afar” (אנשים באים ממרחק) mentioned in Ezek 23:40. Kilchör interprets the lexical correspondence of the expressions לחללי ... and מקדשי in Ezek 23:38–39 with Ezek 44:7 as marker for an intratextual reference. However, the profanation of the sanctuary declared in Ezek 23:38 stems from the bloodshed and the idolatry of the two sisters described in v. 38. Only v. 39b could be read as an introduction to a further reason for the profanation of the temple (ביתי), i.e., the harlotting of the sisters with “men coming from afar” described in the following vv. 40–44. Yet, there is no Greek equivalent attested for the term ביתי in Ezek 44:7 (LXX^{967.B}) and its presumed *Vorlage*. The identification of the בני נכר in Ezek 44:7 with the אנשים באים ממרחק in Ezek 23:40 is therefore probably to be viewed as the result of a reworking of the Hebrew text attested by the MT; cf. Benjamin Kilchör, “The Meaning of Ezekiel 44,6–14 in Light of Ezekiel 1–39,” *Bib* 98 (2017): 201.

3. The words in italics are commented on in what follows.

According to Nathan McDonald and Thilo Rudnig, the alleged elliptic introduction of the Levites in verse 10 and their assessment and punishment up to verse 14 were interpolated. From their point of view, the accusations against the Israelites have nothing in common with the condemnation of idolatry committed by the Levites and the question of their status in the cultic hierarchy.⁴

Both scholars add genre-critical arguments against a synchronic reading of the text: Rudnig argues that cultic instructions are in general incongruous with the form-critical characteristics of a judgment speech and therefore secondary.⁵ According to McDonald, a prophetic announcement of punishment would not refer to the past (like vv. 10 and 12 do) but solely to the future.⁶ The alleged incoherencies caused both scholars to develop diachronic explanations that assign either verses 9 to 14 (Rudnig) or 10 to 14 (McDonald)⁷ to a secondary layer of literary expansion. However, also the shorter and earlier text layer of the temple vision, which both scholars presuppose, combines the genre of a temple tour with a prophecy of restoration entailing fierce accusations against the Israelites in verses 6–8. On these grounds, I do not see any formal reason why this creative compilation of different forms and genres should not also include a prophetic announcement of punishment as well as ritual law.⁸

Michael Konkel adopts a synchronic reading, which traces a coherent continuation from verses 6–8 to 9–14.⁹ In his view, the beginning of verse

4. See Thilo Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan: Redaktionskritische Studien zu Ez 40–48*, BZAW 289 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 205–6; Nathan McDonald, *Priestly Rule: Polemic and Biblical Interpretation in Ezekiel 44*, BZAW 476 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 21–23.

5. See Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 206–7.

6. See McDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 22.

7. According to McDonald, the “lack of correspondence between accusation] against Israel[and punishment] of the Levites[does not arise in v. 9, which echoes the description of the foreigner in v. 7 and insists that every foreigner must be excluded (לֹא יָבוֹא) from the sanctuary” (*Priestly Rule*, 40).

8. A good example for a similar creative genre compilation, which also entails ritual law, are the so called oracular novellas in the Pentateuch (Lev 24:10–23; Num 9:1–14; 15:32–36; 27:1–11); the genre was established in Simeon Chavel, *Oracular Law and Priestly Historiography in the Torah*, FAT 2/72 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014).

9. See Michael Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen: Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels (Ez 40–48)*, BBB 129 (Berlin: Philo, 2001), 104; Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 205–6.

10 contains not an ellipsis but a *casus pendens*, which is dissolved with the consecutive verbal forms וּנְשָׂא at the end of verse 10 and the following והיו at the beginning of verse 11. Interpreting the Levites as a pending subject, Benjamin Kilchör interprets the relation of the two verses in the following way:¹⁰

9 ... כל־בן־נכר ערל לב וערל בשר לא יבוא אל־מקדשי... 10 כי אם־
 הלויים ... 11 והיו במקדשי משרתים פקדות אל־שערי הבית ...
 9 ... No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and flesh, shall enter
 into my sanctuary, 10 instead the Levites ... 11 they shall perform
 guard duty at the gates of the temple [i.e., to prevent the encroach-
 ment of foreigners]

Nevertheless, the Hebrew text raises several exegetical problems. I will discuss four of them that will prove to be relevant for the comparative analysis of the different textual traditions:¹¹

(1) The root רחק in verse 11, here translated as “to depart,” generally bears a strict geographical meaning in the book of Ezekiel.¹² Accordingly, the Levites are accused of having left the temple in Jerusalem. But this has no parallel whatsoever in the book of Ezekiel itself nor in any of the biblical or preserved extra biblical sources.

10. The synchronic reading proposed by Konkel was also adopted and elaborated by Benjamin Kilchör; see Kilchör, “Meaning,” 201–3.

11. Within the scope of this paper, the fundamental question of the literary relationship between the Pentateuch and Ezekiel will only be addressed in the context of isolated cases. By means of a historical linguistic analysis, Avi Hurvitz demonstrates that Ezekiel can be dated later than the texts of the Pentateuch; see Avi Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel*, CahRB 20 (Paris: Gabalda, 1982), 138–41. Michael Fishbane recognizes that Ezek 44:9–16 interprets the cultic diction of Num 18:1–7 and 22–23 in drastically new ways (e.g., נשא עון, עבדה, משמרת). See Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 138–41. Considering the fact that the cultic laws of the second temple vision abolish the office of the high priesthood and introduce a divergent calendar, it becomes clear that the second temple vision does not refer to the Pentateuch as an authoritative text. The latter observation leaves room for the possibility that the cultic laws of Ezekiel also take up other priestly traditions than those found in the Pentateuch or that the Pentateuchal statutes were available to the scribe in a different form. The latter can be assumed with regard to the statute on the priestly contact with corpses in Ezek 44:25–27; see McDonald, *Priestly Rule*, 81–84.

12. See Ezek 8:6; 11:15–16; 43:9.

(2) Beginning with the expression תָּעוּ, “they went astray,” every verbal form in the third-person masculine plural can be assigned either to the Levites or the Israelites. Verse 11, clearly describing the future guard duty of the Levites, does not introduce a new subject. Therefore, the two last verbal forms in verse 10, וּנְשְׂאוּ and תָּעוּ, can be analogously interpreted as referring to the Levites as subjects. However, ambiguity recurs concerning the third-person plural masculine suffix of the form גָּלוּלֵיהֶם, but it has been shown that the cotext refers solely to the Levites. Furthermore, verse 13 characterizes the misdeeds of the Levites by using the term תּוֹעֵבָה, which, in the book of Ezekiel, refers primarily to idol worship.

(3) The coined phrase נִשְׂא עוֹן in verse 10 and again in verse 12 simply means “to bear guilt” and does not necessarily imply the consequences of an action in the sense of a responsibility or a punishment.¹³

In its current syntactical cotext in the MT, the expression וּנְשְׂאוּ עוֹנָם could either be read as a consecutive form bound to the imperfect יְבוֹא in verse 9, or it could be read in sequence of the perfect תָּעוּ in verse 10. However, the phrase reappears in verse 12, where the syntax allows only a reading of the verbal form in the past. God is said to have sworn an oath¹⁴ against the Levites, so the Levites had to bear their guilt.

(4) Concerning the future duties of the Levites in the temple as envisioned by the text, the slaughtering of the burnt offerings and the well-being offering for the Israelites are particularly noteworthy. The phrase וְאֵת הָעֹלָה וְאֵת הַזֶּבֶחַ לַעַם seems to demonstrate that the text refers to the voluntary sacrifices offered by individuals of the cult community as they are specified in Lev 1 for the burnt offering and in Lev 3 for the well-being offering. Unlike the priestly texts in the Pentateuch (and

13. See Baruch Schwartz, “The Bearing of Sin in the Priestly Literature,” in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, ed. Jacob Milgrom et al. (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 14–15.

14. According to Rodney Duke, the preposition used in the Hebrew phrase does fit the common rule to signify an oath, which would necessitate the preposition לְ (cf. Exod 6:8; Num 14:30; Deut 32:40; Ezek 20:5–6, 15, 23, 28, 42; 47:14). As has been noted many times, the usage of prepositions in the book of Ezekiel is quite free if not arbitrary. The occurrence of the phrase in Ezek 36:7, which Duke interprets in the sense of an oath, does not at all attest the usage of a preposition. As an oath or as a threat, the consequence of the action refers definitely to a bearing of guilt in the past; cf. Rodney K. Duke, *Punishment or Restoration? Another Look at the Levites of Ezekiel 44.6–16*, JSOTSup 40 (London: Sheffield, 1988), 69.

also unlike the descriptions found in Josephus and in the Mishnah),¹⁵ the Israelites are forbidden to slaughter their sacrifices by themselves in the Ezekelian temple. In summary, the Levites are not just obliged to exclude the foreigners from the temenos, but also were to take over the part of the ritual the Israelites previously performed themselves. Nevertheless, the text determines clear restrictions to their duties, as noted in verse 12 onwards.

12 יען אשר ישרתו אותם לפני גלוליהם והיו לבית־ישראל למכשול עון על־
 כן נשאתי ידי עליהם נאם אדני יהוה ונשאו עונם: 13 ולא־יגשו אלי לכהן
 לי ולגשת על־כל־קדשי אל־קדשי הקדשים ונשאו כלמתם ותועבותם אשר
 עשו: 14 ונתתי אותם שמרי משמרת הבית לכל עבדתו ולכל אשר יעשה
 בו:

12 Hence they used to minister to them before *their* idols so they became a *stumbling block of guilt* for the house of Israel, therefore I have sworn concerning them—declaration of the Lord GOD—and *they had to bear their guilt*. 13 So they shall not come near me to serve me as priest, nor come near any of my sacred offerings, the things that are most sacred; but they shall bear their shame, and their abominations, which they have committed. 14 Yet I will appoint them as keepers of the charge of the temple, to do all its chores, all that is to be done in it.

In verse 12, the morpho-syntactical question reappears, whether the suffix of the form גלוליהם, “their idols,” should be interpreted as the idols of the Levites or the idols of the Israelites. According to verse 10, however, the text focuses on the transgressions of the Levites.

Compared to verse 10, verse 12 intensifies the accusations against the Levites. They did not only worship idols themselves but even misled the Israelites to participate in their own misguided cult. This climax leads to the conclusion found in verse 13, prohibiting the Levites to fulfil priestly duties. Consequently, the Levites have no access to the priestly portion, referred to by the term קדשי הקדשים. It means “the most sacred offerings,” which can be understood as an explicative apposition to קדשי, “my

15. Cf. Lev 1:5, 11; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:4, 15, 24, 29, 33; 17:3–4; Josephus, A.J. 227; m. Zevah. 3:1; m. Kelim 1:8 (see Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 106, n. 313); 4QMMT seems to exclude a specified group from the generally authorized slaughter of the sacrifices in the temple (4Q396 1–2 I, 1).

sancta.”¹⁶ The term קדשי הקדשים comprises, according to Ezek 44:29 as well as to Num 18:9, מנחה, חטאת, and אשם offerings, that is, the fundamental parts of the priestly portion.

As for the conclusion of this passage, verses 13–14 in the MT stipulate that the Levites must fulfill their duty in the temple service in a constant state of shame, indicating the same fate both for the Levites and for the rest of Israel. After a פרשה פתוחה, a new topic is introduced in verse 15, turning to the Zadokite priests as the highest rank in the future temple hierarchy:

15 והכהנים הלויים בני צדוק אשר שמרו את־משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני־
ישראל מעלי המה יקרבו אלי לשרתני ועמדו לפני להקריב לי חלב ודם נאם
אדני יהוה:

15 But the Levitical priests, the descendants of Zadok, who kept the charge of my sanctuary when the Israelites went astray from me, they shall come near to me to minister to me; and they shall serve me by offering for me fat and blood—declaration of the Lord God.

Further on, the text stipulates that only the Zadokite priests are allowed to enter the inner and higher courtyard. Conversely, the Levites are excluded from the inner courtyard, but authorized for a wide range of tasks, including the slaughtering of the sacrifices mentioned in chapter 46, the cooking of the well-being offering, and, of course, their guard duties at the temple gates. Moreover, there is no mention of a direct subordination of the Levites to a Zadokite administration. The clear separation of the realm of the Levites from the Zadokites seems to imply a certain form of independence.

On the basis of the accusations raised against the Levites, this seems to be quite a surprise if not an incoherency within the line of thought in Ezek 44:6–14. The blamelessness of the Zadokites will be rewarded with the task of serving in the inner courtyard, while the malpractices of the Israelites will result in their general exclusion from the performance of the cult. According to this scheme, the offenses of the Levites whereby they

16. The Pentateuchal differentiation of קדש and קדשים in Num 18 is not reflected in the MT version of the cultic law in Ezekiel, which develops only the latter category.

misled the Israelites into their own idol worship seem irreconcilable with their status in the future temple.¹⁷

The worried question raised by Jacob Milgrom as to whether the MT lets “the fox guard the chicken coop” by instating the Levites to their position must be answered in the affirmative.¹⁸

Ezekiel 44:9–15 according to LXX^B

In the following, I will analyze the LXX version of the verses as represented by codex B. In contrast to other parts of the book, the two pre-Hexaplaric Greek witnesses, P.967 and codex B, present a rather uniform textual tradition.¹⁹ The text of the Vetus Latina (i.e., MSS Constantiensis and Wirceburgensis) is not preserved for the respective verses. In general, the Greek text strictly follows the Hebrew word order as found in the MT, and it contains an equivalent for almost every morpheme of the Hebrew text.²⁰ Perfect consecutive and imperfect forms are translated as future actions, while the past is rendered in the aorist.

The first notable difference between the LXX and the MT is attested in the very beginning of verse 9.

9 διὰ τοῦτο τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς πᾶς υἱὸς ἀλλογενῆς ἀπερίτμητος καρδίᾳ καὶ ἀπερίτμητος σαρκὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσεται εἰς τὰ ἁγία μου ἐν πᾶσιν υἱοῖς ἀλλογενῶν τῶν ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ οἴκου Ἰσραὴλ, 10 ἀλλ' ἢ οἱ Λευῖται, οἵτινες²¹ ἀφήλυντο ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῷ πλανᾶσθαι τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἀπ'

17. Rudnig therefore identifies even a further layer of textual expansion consisting of vv. 11 and 12; cf. Rudnig, *Heilig und Profan*, 287.

18. See Jacob Milgrom and Daniel I. Block, *Ezekiel's Hope: A Commentary on Ezekiel 38–48* (Eugene, OR: Cascade, 2012), 151.

19. Major differences of P.967 are commented on in the footnotes.

20. O'Hare described the technique as a “philologic translation,” which is characterized by “etymological analysis, adherence to Hebrew word-order and quantitative representation”; see Daniel O'Hare, *Have You Seen, Son of Man? A Study in the Translation and Vorlage of LXX Ezekiel 40–48*, SCS 57 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 70.

21. In his commentary on codex B, John W. Olley argues that the Greek text avoids an accusation of all Levites by employing the indefinite relative οἵτινες (see also the related case in v. 15). Cf. John W. Olley, *Ezekiel: A Commentary Based on Iezekiël in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 526. However, as already stated in the grammars of Henry St. J. Thackeray and of Frederick

ἐμοῦ κατόπισθεν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων αὐτῶν, καὶ λήμψονται ἀδικίαν αὐτῶν 11 καὶ ἔσονται ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις μου λειτουργοῦντες θυρωροὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν τοῦ οἴκου καὶ λειτουργοῦντες τῷ οἴκῳ· οὗτοι σφάξουσιν τὰ ὀλοκαυτώματα καὶ τὰς θυσίας τῷ λαῷ, καὶ οὗτοι στήσονται ἐναντίον τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ λειτουργεῖν αὐτοῖς.²²

9 *Therefore* this is what the Lord God says: No alien son, uncircumcised in heart, nor uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my holies, among all the sons of strangers, that are in the midst of the house of Israel. 10 Instead the Levites who jumped away from me, when Israel went astray away from me after *their* notions and *they* will receive *their* injustice. 11 And they shall be in my holies ministering as doorkeepers at the gates of the house and ministering to the house: They shall slaughter the whole-burnt- offerings and the sacrifices for the people, and they will stand before the people to minister to them.

Introducing verse 9 with a causal conjunction, the LXX version follows strictly the form-critical conventions of a prophetic announcement of punishment. The conjunction transforms the accusations formulated in verses 6–8 into a reason for the punishment explicated in verses 9–14.²³

Verse 10 provides a strikingly different assessment of the Levites as well as the Israelites. In contrast to the MT, the Greek version of verse 10 attests

Conybeare and St. George Stock, the definite and the indefinite relative are no longer clearly distinguished in early Koine Greek and in any case restricted to the nominative. Accordingly, Ezek 44:25b (LXX) attests a definite relative, though the syntax suggests an indefinite relative pronoun; cf. Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), §14,4; Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare and St. George William Joseph Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1995), §71.

22. In v. 11, P.967 offers two exceptional variants, ἐν τοῦ οἴκου μου and ἐνωπίον τοῦ λαοῦ μου. Both readings attest possessive pronouns, which probably stem from a harmonization with the phrase ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις μου at the beginning of the verse.

23. The Greek text exhibits no equivalent for the preposition concluding v. 8 in the MT (וְתִשְׁמֹן לְשֹׁמְרֵי מִשְׁמֶרֶתִּי בְּמִקְדָּשִׁי לָכֵן). Whether the Greek translator read the lemma לָכֵן erroneously as the causal conjunction לֵכֵן or whether he had before him a different consonantal source text is hard to determine. In any case, the Greek rendering reflects the well-attested form of a prophecy of punishment validating the MT reading as *lectio difficilior*. For the characteristics of a prophecy of punishment, see Ronald M. Hals, *Ezekiel*, FOTL 19 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 352.

only one relative clause related to the Levites. The infinitive phrase ἐν τῷ πλανᾶσθαι, “when Israel went astray,” shows a striking syntactical broadening by the following phrase ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ κατόπισθεν τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων αὐτῶν, which is dependent on the foregoing infinitive. Therefore, it is Israel (and not the Levites!) that went astray after their own notions. Greek ἐνθύμημα does not refer to a material idol but to a fallacious idea and serves as the standard equivalent for Hebrew חִלָּה in the book of Ezekiel.

The outcome of the verse described by καὶ λήμψονται ἀδικίαν αὐτῶν in the last main clause of verse 10 applies to the future, defining the regulation in verse 11 as the execution of a condemnation. According to the Greek text, this condemnation is only based on the fact that the Levites “jumped away” (ἀφῆλαντο). As already noted, the repetition of this phrase as found in verse 12 in the MT is lacking in the Greek version.

12 ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐλειτούργουν αὐτοῖς πρὸ προσώπου τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐγένετο τῷ οἴκῳ Ἰσραὴλ εἰς κόλασιν ἀδικίας, ἕνεκα τούτου ἦρα τὴν χεῖρά μου ἐπ’ αὐτούς, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός,²⁴ 13 καὶ οὐκ ἐγγιούσι πρὸς με τοῦ ἱερατεύειν μοι²⁵ οὐδὲ τοῦ προσάγειν πρὸς τὰ ἅγια υἱῶν τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων μου καὶ λήμψονται ἀτιμίαν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πλάνῃσει, ἣ ἐπλάνηθησαν.

12 Hence they used to minister to them in front of *their* idols, and it became to the house of Israel as a punishment of injustice; therefore I raised my hand against them—says Lord the God—13 And they will not come near me to act as a priest for me, nor will they get close to *the holies of the sons of Israel* nor to the holies of holies of mine. And they shall receive their dishonor *on account of the error, that they erred*.

24. In vv. 12 and 15, P.967 attests the shorter reading κύριος; for the difficult assessment of the rendering of the *nomina sacra* in Ezekiel (LXX), see Katrin Hauspie, “Ezekiel,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and Timothy Michael Law (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 285–86.

25. In v. 13a, P.967 deviates significantly from codex B. The papyrus neither attests the personal pronoun μοι, nor the second occurrence of the preposition προς, and it does not read a possessive pronoun μου at the end of the verse. P.967 provides the adjective παντα two times, and, instead of the two lexemes υἱων του, it displays the obviously corrupted form of a possessive pronoun αυτων: και ουκ εγγιουσι προς με του ιερατευειν ουδε του προσαγειν προς παντα τα αγια αυτω Ισραηλ ουδε προς παντα αγια των αγιων.

Due to the different Greek version of verse 10, the possessive pronoun of the phrase τῶν εἰδώλων αὐτῶν²⁶ refers solely to the Israelites. In consequence, the Levites served the idols of the house of Israel and not their own, as the MT has it.

The term τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων μου (v. 13) is linked to the phrase τὰ ἅγια υἱῶν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ by the conjunction οὐδέ. In contrast to the MT, the Greek version of the cultic law in the temple vision deals with two distinct categories of offerings. Both are defined in Num 18: The Pentateuchal term τὰ ἅγια υἱῶν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ refers to a whole class of the first-fruits of agricultural goods like oil, wine and corn (Num 18:12), which the Israelites had to contribute exclusively to the priests. The “most sacred offerings,” on the other hand, refer to the חֲבִיבִּים, the תְּבִשִּׁי, and the שְׂמִנִּים offerings (θυσία, ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτία, and ὑπὲρ ἀγνοία respectively).

In accordance with the absence of the accusations of idolatry against the Levites in verse 10, the Greek version of verse 13 contains no obligation for the Levites to bear their abominations. Instead, the Levites have to be ashamed for having gone astray. In the Greek text, this allegation can only be identified with their collaboration in the idol worship of the house of Israel.

14 καὶ κατατάξουσιν αὐτοὺς²⁷ φυλάσσειν φυλακὰς τοῦ οἴκου εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιήσωσιν 15 οἱ ἱερεῖς οἱ Λευῖται οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Σαδδουκ, οἵτινες ἐφυλάξαντο τὰς φυλακὰς τῶν ἁγίων μου ἐν τῷ πλανᾶσθαι οἶκον Ἰσραηλ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, οὗτοι προσάξουσιν πρὸς με τοῦ λειτουργεῖν μοι καὶ στήσονται πρὸ προσώπου μου τοῦ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν,²⁸ στέαρ καὶ αἶμα, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός.

14 And they [i.e., the Zadokite priests] shall designate them to keep the guard of the temple, for all its chores, and in everything for whatever 15 *the priests the Levites do*, the sons of Sadouk, who

26. The choice of a different equivalent for Hebrew term חֲבִיבִּים probably stems from the incompatibility of the standard rendering ἐνθύμημα (“sentiment”) in the context of a ritual service for an idol.

27. In the Greek text tradition, not God himself but probably the Zadokite priests will initiate the Levites to their duty. The LXX conveys several ritual acts to the Zadokite priests (e.g., LXX Ezek 43:20–23). According to the exceptional reading εαυτούς in P.967, the Levites initiate themselves to their service; cf. Olley, *Commentary*, 527.

28. P.967 lacks the lexemes μοι and θυσίαν probably due to homoioteleuton in the Greek.

kept guard over my holies, when the house of Israel went astray from me. They will advance towards me to minister to me, and they will stand in front of me to offer me sacrifice fat and blood—says Lord the God.

In respect to the end of verse 14, Daniel O'Hare suggests that the translator did not feel the need to represent the pleonastic pronoun **ו** in the Greek target language.²⁹ However, considering further differences, this suggestion may seem too simple: in comparison with the MT, the Greek version exhibits a different grammatical number for an indicative active verbal form (third-person plural active conjunctive next to a third-person singular *niphal* in the Hebrew), and no equivalent for the conjunctive **ו** at the beginning of verse 15. Therefore, it is probably more correct to see these differences as the result of a different paragraphing, which introduces the Zadokites as the obvious subject of the masculine plural verbal form *ποιήσωσιν*. Accordingly, neither codex B nor P967 show any sign of paragraphing between the text of verses 14 and 15. In the LXX, therefore, the Levites shall accompany the work of the Zadokite priests, and they are immediately subordinated to them. Consequently, the Levites must also be permitted to the inner courtyard.

The LXX version of the two verses strikingly resembles the regulations, which can be found in the Pentateuch, for instance in Num 3:6:

6 Λαβέ τὴν φυλὴν Λευι καὶ στήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον Ααρων τοῦ
ἱερέως, καὶ λειτουργήσουσιν αὐτῷ

In the Greek tradition, not God himself but probably the Zadokite priests will initiate the Levites to their duty. The initiation of the Levites by the priest fits the description in Num 8.

In the book of Numbers, these regulations of course refer to the Levitical service for the Aaronite priesthood. In this respect, the LXX of the book of Ezekiel reflects the synchronized genealogy of Aaron and Zadok, as developed in the book of Chronicles (1 Chr 5:34).

The admittance of the Levites to the inner courtyard parallels their service in the inner yard of the tent of meeting, where the Levites are only prohibited to serve at the altar. The direct transfer of these Pentateuchal

29. O'Hare, *Have You Seen*, 49.

regulations for the tent of meeting to an imagined temple building corresponds to the legal hermeneutics of the Temple Scroll.³⁰

The Tendency of LXX

We have seen, on the one hand, that LXX Ezekiel allows the Levites to enter the inner courtyard as part of their service in the temple. On the other hand, the Greek version prohibits their access to all the sacred offerings and not only to the most holy sacrifices. In the Greek text, the Levites are designated by the Zadokites and subdued under their authority. In respect to these three differences from the MT, LXX Ezekiel assimilates the regulations found in Ezekiel to those of the Pentateuch, creating an explicit intertext. The tendency of this intertext, most likely to be attributed to the translator, can neither be discerned as pro- nor anti-Levite. Rather, it can be determined as nomistic.

Other differences of the LXX in comparison with the MT do not follow the same tendency. The shorter readings in verses 10 and 12 as well as the deviating reading in verse 13 imply that the Levites are not directly arraigned to have committed idolatry. The text only charges them with an assisting role in the idol worship of the Israelites. The prophetic announcement of punishment refers, accordingly, to the Israelites, who are excluded from the performance of the cult and the uncircumcised foreigners, who are to be expelled from the temenos altogether. As a result, the relation between past perpetrations of the Levites and their future status in the temple is much more coherent in the LXX version than in the MT. This holds especially true in comparison with the envisioned past and future of the Israelites, who are to be excluded from the temple cult.

As for the MT's intensified indictments against the Levites, these are best explained as the result of a Zadokite reworking of the Hebrew text of Ezekiel. The theory of such a Zadokite reworking as an explanation for the shape of the MT has already been put forward by Michael Konkel.³¹

30. Cf. the third column of the Temple Scroll (11Q19 III, 10–27), according to which, the facilities of the tent of meeting are transferred to an envisioned temple building.

31. Konkel's theory of a Zadokite reworking is based on his analysis of the Masoretic sequence of chapters 36–39. Cf. Michael Konkel, "Das Ezechielbuch zwischen Hasmonäern und Zadokiden," in *Juda und Jerusalem in der Seleukidenzeit, Herrschaft—Widerstand—Identität: Festschrift für Heinz-Josef Fabry*, ed. Ulrich

On this basis, I argue that the shorter readings in verses 10 and 12 as well as the deviating reading in verse 13 do not only reflect a Hebrew source text that is different from the MT. These features can also be assigned to an earlier stage in the literary history of the book, in line with the textual minus of the verses in Ezek 12:26–28, Ezek 32:24–26, the shorter version of chapter 36, and the chapter order 36–38–39–37 as attested by P.967 and the Vetus Latina (i.e., codex Wirceburgensis).³²

The Vorlage of LXX

In such a presumed Hebrew source text, the shorter readings in verses 10 and 12 lead to a different interpretation of the only remaining occurrence of the expression וְנִשְׂאוּ עֹנִים in verse 10. Without the unambiguous attestation in verse 12, where the verbal form וְנִשְׂאוּ could only be understood as past sense, verse 10 alone leaves room for a consecutive reading. Congruent with its already described Greek rendering, the reconstructed version of verse 10 entails no direct accusation of idolatry against the Levites. The following verse gives a strictly positive prescription of the future duties of the Levites, which implies a punishment of the Israelites but not the Levites. In this regard, I follow Rodney Duke who states that verse 10 is best interpreted in correspondence with Num 18:23.³³ The Levites have to

Dahmen and Johannes Schnocks, BBB 159 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Bonn: University Press, 2010), 70–75.

32. See Johan Lust, “Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the MT and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker, SCS 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 83–92. Lust’s literary-historical thesis that P.967 and the Vetus Latina reflect an earlier account of Ezekiel than MT does, is challenged by Ingrid Lilly, *Two Books of Ezekiel: Papyrus 967 and the Masoretic Text as Variant Literary Editions*, VTSup 150 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 301–4. María V. Spottorno and Michaël N. van der Meer argue that the textual minus of Ezek 36:23bβ–38 is best explained by the loss of a folio. See María V. Spottorno, “La omisión de Ez. 36, 23b–38 y la transposición de capítulos en el papiro 967,” *Emérita* 50 (1982): 93–98; Michaël N. van der Meer, “A New Spirit in an Old Corpus? Text-Critical, Literary- Critical and Linguistic Observations Regarding Ezekiel 36:16–38,” in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophets; Festschrift for Henk Leene*, ed. Ferenc Postma, Klaas Spronk, and Eep Talstra, ACEBTSup 3 (Maastricht: Shaker, 2002), 147–58. For a comprehensive portrayal of the different positions, see Hauspie, “Ezekiel,” 275–84.

33. With regard to the attestation of the phrase וְנִשְׂאוּ עֹנִים in v. 12 (MT), Duke refers explicitly to the Hebrew source text of the LXX version, which in his opinion did not contain the phrase; cf. Duke, *Punishment or Restoration*, 70.

bear the guilt for every encroachment by foreigners or the Israelites, since they are appointed to guard the temple gates. According to Milgrom, the responsibility, which the Levites must assume for their services, can therefore be viewed as a sort of punishment.³⁴

As noted, my theory further implies, apart from these shorter readings, the reconstruction of the Hebrew source text of the Greek phrase that completes verse 13:

MT	LXX ^B	LXX [*]
ונשא	καὶ λήψονται	ונשא
כלמתם	τὴν ἀτιμίαν αὐτῶν	כלמתם
ותועבותם	ἐν τῇ πλανήσει	בתעות
אשר	ἥ	אשר
עשו:	ἐπλανήθησαν	תעו

In Ezek 48:11, every Greek lexeme of the phrase is attested with its Hebrew equivalent:

11 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις υἱοῖς Σαδδουκ τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰς
 φυλακὰς τοῦ οἴκου, οἵτινες οὐκ ἐπλανήθησαν ἐν τῇ πλανήσει υἱῶν
 Ἰσραὴλ ὃν τρόπον ἐπλανήθησαν οἱ Λευῖται,
 11 לכהנים המקדש מבני צדוק אשר שמרו משמרתי אשר לא־תעו בתעות
 בני ישראל כאשר תעו הלוים:

The translation of infinitive phrases such as בתעות is usually quite consistent throughout Ezek 40–48.³⁵ Infinitives with the initial preposition ב are rendered as determined infinitives introduced by the enclitic ἐν in the Greek.³⁶ Contrary to this standard, the LXX version of Ezek 48:11 translates the infinitive construct בתעות with a nominal form, which according

34. Milgrom relates this interpretation to the MT version of Ezek 44:10, although he explicitly states how impractical it is, from the viewpoint of syntax, to read the phrase ונשא עון as a consecutive form according to this version (as demonstrated above); cf. Milgrom and Block, *Ezekiel's Hope*, 150–52.

35. Cf. O'Hare, *Have You Seen*, 44–48.

36. Following this rule, the Hebrew infinitive form בתעות in v. 10 is translated as ἐν τῇ πλανᾷσθαι.

to O'Hare's analysis is only documented five times out of sixty-nine attested occurrences in chapters 40–48.³⁷

Though not attested in Biblical Hebrew, a nominal reading of the consonantal framework תעוֹת is, in fact, well preserved in the scrolls from Qumran. Among other scrolls, the noun is frequently used in the Peshar Habakkuk, the Thanksgiving Scroll, and the scrolls of the book of Jubilees. In the following centuries, it is maintained in the Jewish Piyyutim of late antiquity.³⁸

On the one hand, the fact that the Greek rendering reflects a reading tradition of the Hebrew text, which shares features with Qumran Hebrew, supports the assumption that the translator was a competent speaker of the Hebrew of his time. The Masoretic reading of the consonantal framework תעוֹת as an infinitive, on the other hand, can undoubtedly be identified as the earlier reading tradition. In Biblical Hebrew, the only attested nominal form derived from the root תעה is the nominalized feminine participle תועה (Isa 32:6; Neh 4:2). If the Hebrew source text of the Greek tradition in Ezek 44:13b is indeed to be viewed as an earlier form of the text than the MT version, the reading tradition of the expression most likely followed the older Masoretic classification. At this earlier stage of the Hebrew source text, the consonantal framework is accordingly to be determined in accordance with the Masoretic form in 48:11 as an infinitive construct (בתעוֹת).

Corresponding to Ezek 16:52bβ (MT) the affixed preposition ב of the expression בתעוֹת can be understood in a causal sense formulating the reason for the shame:

52bβ ושאי כלמתך בצדקתך אחיותך

52bβ So bear your shame (Judah), for you have justified your sister (Samaria).

The reconstruction of Ezek 44:13b (LXX*) can be translated accordingly:

13b ונשאו כלמתם בתעוֹת אשר תעו

13b And they shall bear their shame for the straying away, according to which they went astray.

37. The other four instances listed by O'Hare can be explained by the translator's avoidance of the sequence of two infinitives in one sentence in the target language or the lack of a finite verb (Ezek 43:18, 23; 47:3, 7); see O'Hare, *Have You Seen*, 44–45.

38. 1QS III, 21; 1QH^a X, 16; XII, 13, 17, 21; 4Q171 1–2 II, 9; 4Q381 LXXIX, 5; 4Q430 I, 4.

Like the LXX version, the aberration of the Levites consists only in departing from the temple and in assisting service in the idol worship of the Israelites. The Hebrew source text as a whole can be categorized as a modified prophetic announcement of punishment, which concerns first and foremost the foreigners and the Israelites for breaking God's covenant. Only in the second place do the Levites come into view. Their future duties as well as the prohibitions relating to them, correspond to their offenses in preexilic times. In light of the past transgressions, the acceptance of God's judgment in an eternal state of shame is the only restoration, which the prophet is able to provide for the house of Israel (cf. 43:11) as well as the Levites (cf. 44:13).³⁹

Conclusion

In conclusion, the comparison of the MT and the Greek version of Ezek 44:9–15 leads to two main insights:

(1) The work of the Greek translator follows a protocanonical perspective, subordinating the cultic laws in Ezekiel's temple vision to the Mosaic legislation. Remarkably, this tendency is not universal but appears only in specific regulations of the cultic law. Apart from the adjustment of the relation between Levites and priests and the reference to the first fruits offerings, I have found further evidence for it in the translator's rendering of the treatment of the impurity caused by dead bodies. The modification of the temple taxes according to the Pentateuchal tithe in Ezek 45:14–15 (LXX^{B.967}) has long been noted. Presumably, all four topics prove to be decisive in the cultural and religious context of the translator. The subject of dealing with dead bodies and the delivery of the tithe and the first fruits may also fit the context of the Egyptian diaspora.⁴⁰ However, the importance of the hierarchical relation of Levites and priests rather point to a Judean provenance for the translation. In this regard, these findings are

39. In a comprehensive analysis, Baruch Schwartz has elaborated in detail what he calls "Ezekiel's dim view of Israel's restoration." His conclusions are mainly based on Ezek 16, but he draws also on the respective portions in the temple vision (i.e., Ezek 43:10; 44:9–13). See Baruch Schwartz, "Ezekiel's Dim View of Israel's Restoration," in *The Book of Ezekiel: Theological and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Margaret S. Odell and John T. Strong, SymS 9 (Atlanta: Society Biblical Literature, 2000), 62–64.

40. Cf. Philo's description of the collection of the ransom for tithes and first fruits in Egyptian cities in *Spec.* 1.76–78. See Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria*, TSAJ 84 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 209–13.

compatible with Arie van der Kooij's thesis that the LXX version of the book of Ezekiel is a pro-Hasmonean project, which stems from the late second century BCE.⁴¹

(2) My analysis supports the theory of a Zadokite reworking of the Hebrew book of Ezekiel, which resulted in the text types preserved by the Peshitta and the MT. This reworking, which has its center in the expansion of chapter 36 and the rearrangement of the chapters 38 and 39, intensifies the allegations against the Levites in order to disavow them as legitimate cult personnel. The comparative analysis therefore gives an insight into the literary history of the book of Ezekiel alternative to literary critic approaches that are not based on text witnesses.

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41. See Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Ezekiel and Hasmonean Leadership," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne, BETL 192 (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 437–46.

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Part 5
Commentary

Challenges in Translating the Psalms of Solomon for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint

Kenneth Atkinson

Abstract: The Psalms of Solomon is one the smallest books included in modern editions of the Septuagint. Yet, it is among the more complicated works in the corpus. This is because it presents the commentator with some unique challenges in adhering to the principles upon which the SBLCS is based. To introduce readers to the many unique problems in translating and understanding this short text, this study highlights some of the SBLCS's major goals with specific examples from the Psalms of Solomon.

This paper discusses my current work writing a commentary on the Psalms of Solomon for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS). Although it is among the smallest books included in modern editions of the Septuagint, the Psalms of Solomon is among the more complicated works in the corpus. This is because it presents the commentator with some unique challenges in adhering to the principles upon which the SBLCS is based. To introduce readers to the many unique problems in translating and understanding this short text, this study highlights some of the SBLCS's major goals with specific examples from the Psalms of Solomon.

1. Basic Goal of the Series

The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) has prepared detailed guidelines for contributors to the SBLCS that distinguishes it from other parallel projects, such as the Septuaginta Deutsch,

La Bible d'Alexandrie, and Brill's Septuagint Commentary Series.¹ This document states that the purpose of the commentary is "to elucidate the meaning of *the text-as-produced* in distinction from *the text-as-received*."² Unlike other Septuagint commentary projects, the SBLCS seeks to elucidate the meaning of the entire Septuagint corpus at its point of inception rather than at some point during the course of its reception history. Although contributors may make use of reception history to ascertain what the Greek text meant at its point of inception, the IOSCS wants commentators to focus on the original meaning of the text.³ Writing on the Psalms of Solomon poses some problems in adhering to the series' guidelines, namely, in uncovering, translating, and commenting upon its original text without devoting too much attention to its reception history.

The major problem in writing the SBLCS on the Psalms of Solomon is one that I encountered when I prepared the translation of this text for the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS).⁴ The difficulty in translating the work is that there is no Semitic parent text. Consequently, this made it impossible to fulfill this translation's goal of creating a tool for synoptic use with the NRSV for the study of the Greek and Hebrew Bible.⁵ For those writings like the Psalms of Solomon without a Semitic parent text, such as 2 Maccabees and Judith, the translators had no choice but to treat the Greek text as an original composition even if a Semitic parent text once existed. This means that the resulting translations of such books will not mirror a dependency of the Greek on the Hebrew.⁶ Consequently, the resulting NETS translation of such texts,

1. See, "Preamble to the Guidelines for the Contributors to the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint," in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 257–59. See also, "A Prospectus for a Commentary on the Septuagint," <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/prospectus.html>.

2. See, "Preamble to the Guidelines," 257.

3. "Prospectus for a Commentary," principle 2.

4. Kenneth Atkinson, "Psalms of Salomon," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 763–76.

5. See Albert Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998*, ed. Bernard A. Taylor, SCS 51 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 217.

6. For the importance of this observation, see further Joachim Schaper, "Translating 2 Maccabees for NETS," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for*

since they are based upon the best available Greek text, to some extent competes with the NRSV and other major previously published English translations. This is not only the problem facing the translator of the Psalms of Solomon. Rather, the issue of what is being translated is much more complex than it appears. Let me begin with the manuscript history, which presents some rather unique problems.

2. The Manuscripts

The Psalms of Solomon is extant in whole or in part in eleven Greek manuscripts dating from the tenth to the sixteenth centuries CE.⁷ In 1895, Oscar von Gebhardt published the most thorough edition of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text.⁸ The *editio minor* of Rahlfs is essentially a reprint of Gebhardt's Greek text with a few conjectural emendations proposed by Henry Barclay Swete.⁹ In 1982, Robert Hann published a comprehensive study of the manuscript history of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text in the Society of Biblical Literature's Septuagint and Cognate Studies series.¹⁰ Hann's study included three manuscripts discovered after Gebhardt's publication. He confirmed the results of earlier researchers regarding these

Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden, 2004, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters, SCS 54 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004), 225–32, especially 226–77.

7. See Felix Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, SVTG 12.3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 13–28; Kenneth Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Greek," in *The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, ed. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze, THB 2C (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 332–41; Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, für das Septuaginta-Unternehmen aufgestellt*, MSU 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 20, 91, 145, 240–41, 213, 234, 249, 318; Robert B. Wright, *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, JCTCRS 1 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 14–24.

8. Oscar von Gebhardt, *ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ: Die Psalmen Salomo's zum ersten Male mit Benutzung der Athoshandschriften und des Codex Casanatensis*, TUGAL 13.2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1895).

9. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935), 2:471–89; Henry Barclay Swete, "The Psalms of Solomon," in *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1894), 3:765–87; Swete, *The Psalms of Solomon with the Greek Fragments of the Book of Enoch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899).

10. Robert R. Hann, *The Manuscript History of the Psalms of Solomon*, SCS 13 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1982).

manuscripts, namely, that Greek MS 253 preserved the best and earliest form of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text. Robert B. Wright published a critical Greek text in 2007 that was largely based on his new photographs of the manuscripts.¹¹ This edition has been criticized for numerous errors in its Greek text.¹² In 2018, Felix Albrecht published the critical Greek text of the Psalms of Solomon for the Göttingen edition. Albrecht's edition includes a substantially revised stemma that takes into consideration the changes made to the Greek majuscule exemplar when scribes converted it to the miniscule script of our extant manuscripts.¹³ Albrecht's volume supersedes all previous critical texts and, to fulfill the goals of the SBLCS, will provide the basis for my forthcoming commentary.¹⁴

Five Syriac manuscripts containing most of the Psalms of Solomon are extant.¹⁵ One of these is a brief marginal note from Pss Sol 3 in a manuscript of the Hymns of Severus. Because Sebastian Brock recently determined that Jacob of Edessa wrote this Syriac passage from memory based on a Greek text, this manuscript should not be considered part of the Psalms of Solomon's textual history.¹⁶ This leaves us with two Syriac manuscripts that

11. Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, see especially viii.

12. See Felix Albrecht, "Zur Notwendigkeit einer Neuedition der Psalmen Salomos," in *Die Septuaginta—Text, Wirkung, Rezeption*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Siegfried Kreuzer, WUNT 325 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 112–20; Rodney A. Werline, review of *The Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text*, by Robert B. Wright, RBL 2009: <https://tinyurl.com/SBL0476a>.

13. Albrecht places the lost archetype (ω) of the collection to the reign of Agrippa I (41–44 CE) and postulates that the Syriac tradition emanated from an archetype (β) dating to the second half of the third century CE, while the Greek manuscripts descend from a nearly separate archetype (γ). See Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, especially 178–82. His stemma also includes the Syriac witnesses discussed below.

14. See "Prospectus for a Commentary," principle 1.

15. Eight verses are missing from the Syriac manuscripts (17.38b, 41a, 42b, 44b, 47a; 18.6a, 7b, 8a). See, Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 135–37; Kenneth Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Syriac," in Feder and Henze, *Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, 341–50; Willem Baars, *Canticles or Odes; Prayer of Manasseh; Apocryphal Psalms; Psalms of Solomon; Tobit; 1 (3) Esdras*, The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version 4.6 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), ii; Albert-Marie Denis, *Introduction aux pseudépigraphes grecs d'Ancien Testament*, SVTP 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 515; J. Rendel Harris and Alphonse Mingana, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Manchester: John Rylands University Press, 1916), i:ix–x.

16. Sebastian P. Brock, correspondence provided to the author by Robert B. Wright, dated January 8, 2002 and mentioned in Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 12, n. 43.

contain most of the text. In 1972, Brill published Willem Baars's critical edition of the Syriac as part of its Peshittā Institute's project.¹⁷ In 1985, Joseph Trafton published a detailed linguistic commentary of the Syriac text in the Society of Biblical Literature's Septuagint and Cognate Studies series.¹⁸

Most scholars believe that the Syriac version was translated from the Greek.¹⁹ Not only are the two texts largely identical, but the frequent use of language and allusions to the Septuagint in both versions makes it more probable that the Syriac is a direct translation from the Greek and not from a Hebrew text. Nevertheless, the Syriac is of some relevance to the SBLCS as a witness to the Greek text. Joachim Begrich has demonstrated that there is a close connection between the Syriac translation and Greek MS 253, which contains the best and earliest form of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text.²⁰ He proposed that both came from a common Greek *Vorlage*. But was this Greek *Vorlage* based on a Semitic text? And, should we consider this *Vorlage* the original text?

3. The Question of the Original Text

The longstanding scholarly consensus is that the Psalms of Solomon was written in Hebrew then translated into Greek, likely in Egypt, between

This passage is found in Syriac manuscript ADD. MS 17134 (London, British Library, seventh century CE) in a marginal note to the *Hymns of Severus* (at hymn 277, fol. 62b) that was written by Jacob of Edessa, who misattributed the passage to the Wisdom of Solomon. See Ernest Walter Brooks, "The Hymns of Severus and Others in the Syriac Version of Paul of Edessa as Revised by James of Edessa," *PO* 7 (1911): 805 (attribution at 726). In the errata on p. 805, Brooks correctly identifies it as passage from the Psalms of Solomon and also corrected a few errors in his transcription.

17. Baars, *Old Testament in Syriac*, ii–vi, 1–27.

18. Joseph L. Trafton, *The Syriac Version of the Psalms of Solomon: A Critical Evaluation*, SCS 11 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985).

19. See, for example, Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Syriac," 342–43; Baars, *Old Testament in Syriac*, iii; Mathias Delcor, "Psaumes de Salomon," in *Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot and André Robert (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1979), 214–45; Patrick Pouchelle, "Critique textuelle et traduction du treizième Psaume de Salome," *JSJ* 42 (2011): 522. For the character of the Syriac version, see further Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 142–61.

20. Joachim Begrich, "Der Text der Psalmen Salomon," *ZNW* 38 (1939): 154. For some minor refinements to Begrich's stemma concerning the relationship of the Syriac witnesses to the hypothetical archetype from which the Greek descended, see Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 175–80.

the late first century BCE to the mid first century CE.²¹ Assuming this is true, how close can we get to this Greek edition? The SBLCS's prospectus requires commentators to use the best available critical edition and when possible to improve upon it.²² Albrecht's new Göttingen edition contains some significant differences from the commonly used text of Rahlfs and the critical edition of Gebhardt. His text raises some significant issues for any translator of the Psalms of Solomon concerning how close we can come to uncovering its *Vorlage*. A few examples will suffice to illustrate some of the problems in understanding the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text.

When I did the translation of the Psalms of Solomon for the NETS, I found the beginning of the first psalm troubling in Rahlfs's edition. It is the only psalm that lacks a title and the end of the first verse appears quite odd. I believe this passage provides a good illustration of some of the problems in understanding the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text. A comparison of how the editions of Rahlfs and Albrecht render the first verse of the first poem in the composition provides an example, I believe, where conjectural emendation is necessary. Here is the text as printed in Rahlfs's edition:

- (1) Ἐβόησα πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαι με εἰς τέλος,
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιθέσθαι ἁμαρτωλούς.
(1) I cried to the Lord when I was completely distressed,
to God when sinners attacked. (NETS)

The first verse shows the influence of the LXX. The translator appears to have deliberately chosen the verb *βοάω* to open the collection. It is used in LXX with the preposition *πρός* + accusative to describe an appeal to God.²³ By using the aorist indicative, the author describes an event that occurred prior to the moment of speaking, namely, the attack of sinner (v. 1b).²⁴ The

21. See further, Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Greek," 332–33; Denis, *Introduction*, 63; Joseph Viteau, *Les Psaumes de Salomon: Introduction, texte grec et traduction, avec les principales variantes de la version syriaque par François Martin*, Documents pour l'étude de la Bible (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1911), 125–49.

22. "Prospectus for a Commentary," no. 1.

23. For example, Gen 4:10; Num 12:13; Hos 7:14; Joel 1:19; Jonah 2:3; Hab 1:2; 1 Chr 21:26; 2 Chr 13:14; Jdt 7:29.

24. See further, SSG, 268.

author's choice of the verb is somewhat onomatopoetic since the noun form, especially in the classical tradition, can refer to a loud shout or war-cry to depict battle.²⁵ This makes the verb particularly appropriate since the psalmist in verse 1 describes Jerusalem's cry to the Lord when attacked by sinners. Verse 1 is similar to other passages in the Psalms of Solomon where the terminology is reminiscent of the LXX's vocabulary of lamentation (Pss. Sol. 5.5; 15.1).²⁶

The translator repeats the sound of the war cry in the following verse. This line strengthens the theme of suffering and distress in the first line by using the verb θλίβω, which in classical and later Greek writings is frequently used to describe affliction and distress or even as a metaphor for battle.²⁷ The infinitive construction in this line (ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί) is common throughout the Psalms of Solomon and is nearly always used in a temporal sense.²⁸ Temporal conjunctions rarely occur (ὅταν 3.11; 15.5, 12) as the translator preferred to use alternative expressions, particularly ἐν τῷ with the infinitive. As common in LXX Greek, the infinitive is prefixed with a preposition and, like Classical Greek, takes the article.²⁹ This passage may reflect a Hebraism since the construction is not commonly found in Classical Greek, whereas Hebrew often uses כִּי with the infinitive.³⁰

The Psalms of Solomon's first verse is an example where the text's Semitic background suggest that our present Greek edition is in need of emendation. Its preposition with the accusative, εἰς τέλος, is somewhat problematic (cf. 2.5). In the Septuagint, εἰς τὸ τέλος commonly represents a translation of לְמַנְצָח ("to the chief musician"; e.g., Pss 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 8:1; 9:1;

25. For example, Homer, *Il.* 2.2:408; Theocritus, *Id.* 16.97. Cf. Jgs^B 4:10.

26. See also Eberhard Bons, "Philosophical Vocabulary in the Psalms of Solomon: The Case of Ps. Sol. 9:4," in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle, EJL 40 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 49

27. See, e.g., 2 Macc 11:5; Plutarch, *Ages.* 34.7; Diodorus, *Bib. hist.* 12.66.1; Polybius, *Hist.* 18.24.3; Josephus, *B.J.* 3.330; *A.J.* 20.111.

28. Pss. Sol. 1.3; 2.1; 4.9; 5.3, 5, 11, 14; 6.2; 7.5; 9.1 (2x); 15.1; 16.1, 3, 11, 12, 14, 15; 17.9.

29. See further, SSG, 333–34.

30. Attic Greek generally does not use ἐν τῷ in this manner, but Hebrew uses כִּי with the infinitive. See BDF §404; GKC §114.2; Takamitsu Muraoka, "The Infinitive in the Septuagint," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. by Leonard Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich, SCS 41 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 265–67; SSG, 333–35.

11:[10]:1).³¹ It has been suggested that the phrase represents some intensive such as לְכֹלָה (2 Chr 12:12) or עַד-לְכֹלָה (2 Chr 31:1), both of which the Septuagint translates as εἰς τέλος.³² The Syriac, which is largely a faithful translation of the Greek, contains the first common singular suffix, showing that the Greek here was likely understood as a noun.

The noun τέλος is often used adverbially in conjunction with a preposition to express completeness or intensification. Like the Septuagint superscription to Ps 38:1 and Pss. Sol. 2.5, it is used in the opening Psalm of Solomon with the idea of intensification. The similar Septuagint translation of the Hebrew cognate construction in Amos 9:8, “except that I will not utterly destroy the house of Jacob” (NRSV; כִּי לֹא הַשְׁמִיד אֶשְׁמִיד אֶת-יִבְרִית (יעקב) as “except that I will not utterly remove the house of Iakob” (NETS; πλὴν ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἐξαρῶ τὸν οἶκον Ιακωβ) shows a similar intensification.³³ It is possible that the Psalms of Solomon’s translator was inspired by the Septuagint of Hab 1:2 where the prophet cries out to the Lord concerning violence and unrighteous acts. Largely based on these examples and because translators of NETS had to use Rahlfs’s text in the absence of a Göttingen edition, I rendered εἰς τέλος with the idea of intensification since it clearly carries this meaning in a similar passage in Pss. Sol. 2.5. Yet, I was always troubled by this opening verse of the corpus since

31. There is no evidence the Psalms of Solomon uses εἰς τέλος with an eschatological meaning. For this understanding, see Martin Rösel, “Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalter,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 32 (Freiburg, Herder, 2011), 125–48. Although τέλος is commonly read as an eschatological term in the reception history, it is doubtful it was originally understood in this manner in the LXX Psalter or the Psalms of Solomon. See further Albert Pietersma, “Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller, VTSup 99 (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 443–75; Staffan Olofsson, “Does the Septuagint Translator Speak about the End of Times? A Study of εἰς τὸ τέλος, σύνεσις and συνήμι,” in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin De Troyer, Timothy Michael Law, and Marketta Lilieström, CBET 72 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 173–93.

32. See further Franz Delitzsch, “Rückübersetzung der Psalmen Salomos ins Hebräische” (unpublished manuscript, University of Leipzig, ca. 1860 [MS 01503]); Herbert E. Ryle and Montague R. James, *ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΣΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟΣ: Psalms of the Pharisees, Commonly Called the Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891), 3.

33. See also the entries for τέλος in GELS, 676; LSJ, 1773; BDAG, 998.

it appears to make better sense without εἰς τέλος. However, all Greek and Syriac manuscripts contain this reading.

I am not the first person to have concerns with the extant text of this verse. In 1902, Felix Perles proposed that εἰς τέλος at the end of verse one belonged to the title. He suggested that it was misplaced to its present position during the composition's transmission history.³⁴ Albrecht in his new Göttingen edition of the Psalms of Solomon adopts the suggestion of Perles. He adds a title to the psalm with εἰς τέλος to read as follows:

Ψαλμός τῷ Σαλωμών εἰς τέλος
(1) Ἐβόησα πρὸς κύριον ἐν τῷ θλίβεσθαί με,
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἐν τῷ ἐπιθέσθαι ἁμαρτωλούς.

Although Albrecht's restoration of the title and his change to verse 1 lacks manuscript support, there are several factors in its favor.³⁵ The famed text critics Bruce Westcott and Fenton Hort said, "All trustworthy restoration of corrupted texts is founded on the study of their history."³⁶ In the case of the Psalms of Solomon, our oldest extant manuscript postdate the text's composition by nearly a millennium. The Greek *Vorlage* that formed the basis for MS 253, which preserves the best and oldest version of the text, is unknown. Many of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek manuscripts, moreover, often differ from the MS 253 group, which preserves the most reliable Greek text. They contain many passages that reflect scribal attempts to improve the readings (e.g., MS 655: 15.8d and 17.11; MS 659: 9.8h; 11.6; MSS 655 and 659: 4.12b; 8.19c, 8.20a; 9.1b). In some instances, lesser witnesses appear to preserve original readings (e.g., MSS 149, 260, 471, 606 at 8.34b and 15.12d). In a few places (2.23g in MS 336 and 769), datives are replaced with accusatives, which became common by the tenth century CE and likely reflect later revisions of the Greek text.³⁷ The replacement of the sigmatic -σαν ending with -εν for the third person plural aorist optative in the MS 253 group and MS 336 at 4.8a is characteristic of Koine

34. Felix Perles, *Zur Erklärung der Psalmen Salomos: Sonderabzug aus der Orientalischen Literaturzeitung* (Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1902), 11–12, 273–74.

35. See further Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 54.

36. Brooke Foss Westcott and Fenton John Anthony Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek: Introduction, Appendix* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1882), 40.

37. Robert Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London: Hutchinson, 1969), 42–43.

Greek, while the changes to this passage in the MSS 260 and 629 groups likely reflect Atticizing corrections by later copyists.³⁸ There is occasionally a difference between Greek manuscripts concerning the length of vowels, changes in wording or grammar, and substitutions that reflect a considerable period of scribal activity and changes to the text. Several of the lexical impossibilities preserved in Wright's edition should be considered itacisms and likely attributed to Byzantine scribes.³⁹ The punctuation varies in the manuscripts and was likely added by Byzantine scribes.⁴⁰ There are many other differences between the manuscripts, including length of vowels, wording, and grammar.⁴¹ This all shows there was a considerable period of scribal activity and changes to the text of which we know little. For these and other reasons, I believe that conjectural restorations are both justifiable and necessary for the SBLCS of the Psalms of Solomon.

I agree with Albrecht's reconstruction as it best explains a problematic text with an uncertain transmission history. The title emphasizes "related to the end" and appropriately summarizes the theme of the first two psalms, namely, a threatened destruction of Jerusalem. If we look at εἰς τέλος in the Septuagint psalter where it frequently occurs, it seems to be a stereotype equivalent of לְנֶצַח. It appears that the Septuagint translator understood לְמִנְצָח ("to the chief musician") based on an aspect of the root נָצַח ("lastingness," "completeness," "forever") and not in connection with the common derivation found in most commentaries, namely, the participle of נָצַח in the *piel* meaning "be a leader, be a supervisor."⁴² It is easy to explain how a scribe could have mistakenly omitted the title to the first Psalm of Solomon since it is basically identical to the title of the collection.

Albrecht offers the best Greek reading that explains the manuscript history and parallel passages in the Septuagint where εἰς τέλος occurs. It also assists in uncovering more about the composition's transmission

38. See further, Archibald T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, 3rd ed. (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919), 335–36; Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 214–15, no. 84. On Attic influence in the Psalms of Solomon, see further Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 80.

39 Wright, *Psalms of Solomon*, 44–46. The following are examples of impossible readings included in Wright's critical text: ἐλογήσωμαι (15:5); διηρπάζωσαν (8:11); κληρονομίσαισαν (12:6).

40. See further, Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 241–55.

41. See further Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 85–86, see also 193–96.

42. See further, Olofsson, "Septuagint Translator," 175–76.

history. Another example of where the Semitic background explains our present Greek text can be found in 1.9. The editions of Rahlfs and Albrecht are identical and read as follows:

(8) αἱ ἀνομίαι αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὰ πρὸ αὐτῶν ἔθνη,
ἐβεβήλωσαν τὰ ἅγια κυρίου ἐν βεβηλώσει.

(8) Their lawlessness surpassed those of the nations before them;
they profaned with profanity the sanctuary of the Lord. (NETS)

The phrase τὰ ἅγια κυρίου in the Septuagint refers to “the holy things of the Lord,” the temple itself, or the sacrifices (Isa 43:28; Ezek 5:11; 23:38; 25:3; 45:18; Mal 2:11; Lev 19:8; Num 3:38; Zeph 3:4; 1 Macc 3:43, 59; Jdt 4:12; 16:20). LXX Numbers 15:25 provides a parallel for understanding verse 8 as a reference to cultic sacrifices brought before the Lord (καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤνεγκαν τὸ δῶρον αὐτῶν κάρπωμα κυρίῳ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἔναντι κυρίου περὶ τῶν ἀκουσίῳ αὐτῶν; “And they themselves have brought their gift as an offering to the Lord for their sin before the Lord, for their unintentional sins” [NETS]). The key to understanding verse 6 is found in Pss. Sol. 2.3, where the writer condemns Jerusalem’s children, “the sons of Jerusalem,” for defiling the temple with their profane offerings. God is not pleased with them and says “cast them far from me.” The psalmist uses the neuter plural pronoun in the phrase “cast them [ἀπορρίψατε αὐτά] far from me” in Pss. Sol. 2.4 to refer back to τὰ ἅγια κυρίου and τὰ δῶρα τοῦ θεοῦ of verse 3.⁴³ Here, as in Pss. Sol. 1.6, the translator condemns Jerusalem’s children for their arrogance that led them to profane the sacrificial system by not bringing the appropriate offerings. In the first Psalm of Solomon, the author declares that the priests are unclean; a theme expanded upon in Pss. Sol. 2 and 8.

Devorah Dimant’s exhaustive study of this phrase has revealed that τὰ ἅγια in the Septuagint refers to the holy area of the tabernacle and the temple and the sacred objects, which include the offerings and the property consecrated in the temple treasury. She proposes that the combination of these two meanings into one term in the Septuagint does not originate from the Greek but reflects the Hebrew halakhic term “the Temple and its sanctified objects” (מקדש וקדשיו).⁴⁴ Although the Psalms

43. See further Kenneth Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon’s Historical Background and Social Setting*, JSJSup 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 20.

44. Devorah Dimant, “A Cultic Term in the Psalms of Solomon in the Light of the

of Solomon (1.7; 2.3; 8.11) and the Dead Sea scrolls condemn the priests, only the Psalms of Solomon uses this particular Greek halakhic term to castigate the temple priests. According to the author, the halakhic crimes committed by the temple priests led him and his community to abandon the temple cult.

The close parallels with the Hebrew Dead Sea scrolls and the use of τὰ ἅγια κυρίου elsewhere in the Septuagint suggest an underlying Semitic *Vorlage* for this passage. This is also supported by the composition's theological and historical contents. Halakhic concerns and denunciations of the temple priests dominate several Psalms of Solomon, most notably 1, 2, and 8. An additional example of a likely exegetical tradition that was translated from the Hebrew *Vorlage* is found in the condemnation of the temple priests in Ps. Sol. 8.10–12. Here, the author lists three vices the priests have committed: the accumulation of wealth, the defilement of the sanctuary, and fornication. The identical list in the same order is found in the Damascus Document (IV, 15–18), which suggests the psalmist has incorporated a Hebrew exegetical tradition critical of the temple priests. In Ps. Sol. 17.33, moreover, the Greek text contains an allusion to Deut 17:16 that contains the additional phrase εἰς πόλεμον that is not found in the Masoretic text. This same addition is found in the Temple Scroll (LVI, 15). These similarities may either attest to the use of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differed from the Masoretic text or the incorporation of an exegetical tradition by the writers of the Psalms of Solomon and the Temple Scroll.⁴⁵ If I am correct to understand that the first Psalm of Solomon was translated from a Hebrew *Vorlage*, it is possible that the verb with a noun from the same root in verse 8 (ἐβεβήλωσαν ... ἐν βεβηλώσει) could represent an underlying Hebrew intensive use of the infinitive absolute with the finite verb (cf. Pss. Sol. 9.10).

If we look at the linguistic makeup of the Greek Psalms of Solomon, we find that it displays many features common to other books of the Sep-

Septuagint" [Hebrew], *Textus* 9 (1981): 28–51. Dimant cites the following Qumran texts in support of her interpretation: CD IV, 17–18; V, 6–7; VI, 14–17; XX, 23; 1QpHab IX, 4–5; XII, 7–11. For additional corroboration of this meaning of the Greek neuter plural, see Herbert Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), nos. 1003, 123–24, 1026. This use of this term in Pss. Sol. 8 is a calque, which occurs in communities with a high level of bilingual competence.

45. See further Debra Rosen and Alison Salvesen, "A Note on the Qumran Temple Scroll 56:15–18 and Psalm of Solomon 17:33," *JJS* 38 (1987): 99–101.

tuagint that were translated from a Semitic parent text. These include the frequent use of paratactical construction, clauses connected by *καί*, and the infrequent use of the particles *μέν* (absent) and *δέ* (seldom used). The genitive absolute is used sparingly (e.g., 8.11) while subordinate clauses are frequent. Successive nouns often govern a single genitive (e.g., 9.4; 14.5; 15.1) and the *figura etymologica* often appears to render a Hebraic construction that contains the infinitive absolute and a finite verb.⁴⁶ The presence of these features in the Psalms of Solomon suggest that the Greek translator has preserved features of the Semitic original.⁴⁷

The Greek Psalms of Solomon contains a relatively limited vocabulary. The translator appears to have departed rarely from a fixed list of Hebrew-Greek equivalents. The same Greek word, such as *ῥσος* and *ἔλεος*, is often used to represent the same Hebrew word even when another Greek word would have been suitable. This lexical stereotyping results in a rather stilted Greek translation that in many instances likely preserves the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Common examples include the apparent consistent use of *ψυχή* for *נפח*, which at times fails to represent the full semantic range of the underlying Hebrew.

In some instances, the translator appears to have included duplicate renderings of the same word or inserted explanatory glosses (*ὁράσεως πονηρῶν ἐνιπνίων* [6.3]; *ἐν ἐξομολογήσει, ἐν ἐξαγορίαις* [9.6]; *πρωτότοκον μονογενῆ* [18.4]). In Pss. Sol. 8.11, *κληρονόμου λυτρουμένου* does not appear to reflect an underlying Hebrew. Rather, it likely reflects the single word *לנו* that the translator incorrectly rendered as *κληρονόμος*. The translator, upon encountering the same Hebrew word in 8.30 where it is translated as *λυτρουμένου*, apparently added the gloss to 8.11.⁴⁸ These examples suggest that the translator attempted to remain faithful to the meaning of the Hebrew text even if it resulted in awkward Greek.

In some passages, the Greek translation is obscure, suggesting that the Psalms of Solomon's Greek translator at times struggled over how to render the Hebrew. At times, the result is awkward in Greek (e.g., *καὶ οὐκ*

46. For some of these and other grammatical features, see further Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 123–32.

47. See further, Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Greek," 337–38.

48. Wilhelm Frankenberg, *Die Datierung der Psalmen Salomos: Ein Beitrag zur jüdischen Geschichte*, BZAW 1 (Gießen: J. Ricker, 1896), 22; Mikael Winninge, *Sinners and the Righteous: A Comparative Study of the Psalms of Solomon and Paul's Letters*, ConBOT 26 (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1995), 64–65.

ἤνεγκαν [1.6]; ἐν σφραγίδι ... ἔθνεσιν [2.6]; ἡ μαρτυρία ... ἐπισκοπῇ [10.4]). Evidence for an underlying Hebrew is evident in Pss. Sol. 4.12, where the Greek ἐν ταύτῃ is feminine and presupposes a specific antecedent. The *Vorlage* was likely בְּזֶה, a marker of general reference (“in this manner”), which the translator rendered as a feminine and not by a corresponding Greek neuter pronoun. The result is a Greek text with no clear antecedent. In several places the translator appears to have added genitives to define or explain the substantive they qualify without adding to the meaning (e.g., 3.9b; 4.18; 5.16; 16.4; 17.7a). The exegetical use of the infinitive appears in several passages (e.g., 2.24b, 36; 4.9b, 12c; 10.1c; 15.5b; 17.17, 25, 31, 36). The Greek text frequently changes tenses without any clear change implied in the action of the verbs (e.g., 2.9b–10; 3.7–8a; 4.12–13; 6.5b–6; 13.5–8; 17.6b–9), which in some instances likely reflect the translator’s inability to render the Hebrew imperfect. The future indicative is frequently employed by the translator to represent a present or continuous state and may reflect an underlying Hebrew imperfect (e.g., 2.18; 3.4; 9.3). The dependence of one verb upon another by putting the second verb in the infinitive reflects Hebrew idiom and at times makes for unpleasant Greek (e.g., 2.22b; 5.4b; 7.5). The use of the verb with a noun from the same root sometimes appears to reflect an underlying Hebrew infinitive absolute (e.g., 1.8; 9.10). Verbs are occasionally followed by a second verb in the infinitive (e.g., 2.22; 5.4; 7.5). These examples are all best explained by assuming a Hebrew *Vorlage* that was not always rendered well into Greek. In keeping with the principles of the SBLCS, such passages should be rendered in an English style that either reflects an underlying Hebrew the translator tried to preserve or should be translated to reflect the awkward Greek of the composition. But, despite this evidence for a Semitic *Vorlage*, the Psalms of Solomon is basically written in good Koine Greek. In many passages, Greek seems to be the original language.

Jan Joosten recently proposed that the Hebraisms of the Psalms of Solomon are “Septuagintisms.” He wrote a study highlighting a few verses he believes were likely composed in Greek.⁴⁹ Eberhard Bons likewise proposed that the Psalms of Solomon may be a genuine Greek text that merely seeks to imitate the translation language of the Septuagint.⁵⁰ In support of

49. See Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the Original Language of the Psalms of Solomon,” in *The Psalms of Solomon: Language, History, Theology*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Patrick Pouchelle, EJL 40 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 31–47.

50. Bons, “Philosophical Vocabulary,” 49–58.

his argument, Bons called attention to the use of ἐκλογή in 9.4. This passage is the same in editions of Rahlfs and Albrecht and reads:

τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν⁵¹ τοῦ ποιῆσαι
δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀδικίαν ἐν ἔργοις χειρῶν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ
σου ἐπισκέπτῃ υἱοὺς ἀνθρώπων.

Our works are in the choosing and power of our soul, to do righteousness or injustice in the works of our hands, and in your righteousness you visit human beings. (NETS)

One guiding principle of the SBLCS is linguistic parsimony, namely, that no words or constructions of translation Greek shall be considered normal Greek unless it is attested in nontranslation writings.⁵² This principle recognizes the historical nature of the text as a product of a specific culture. It means that words or constructions unattested in nontranslation literature will be understood to be the result of interference from the source text.⁵³ In the case of Pss. Sol. 9.4, the passage's language and theology does not fit a Semitic culture or appear to reflect translation Greek. Rather, ἐκλογή, and its underlying verb ἐκλέγω, "to single out, to choose," is a key term in Stoic ethics.⁵⁴ Because the closest parallel to Pss. Sol. 9.4 comes from Hellenistic philosophical literature, it is doubtful that this verse goes back to a Semitic text. But what about the rest of the Psalms of Solomon? Here I believe the question is more complicated than it appears.

Joosten calls the Psalms of Solomon's frequent Hebraistic diction "Septuagintal" diction. Among his arguments for a Greek original is his observation regarding the use of successive nouns to govern a single genitive. He notes this rarely appears in the LXX translation but that it occurs several times in the Psalms of Solomon. Among the examples he cites are the following:

51. For the minor variants in the manuscript tradition for this verse, see Hann, *Manuscript History*, 29, 83.

52. "Prospectus for a Commentary on the Septuagint," preamble, no. 5.

53. Concerning this goal, see further Robert J. V. Hiebert, "The Rationale for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint," *HeBAI* 3–4 (2014): 489–90.

54. See further Bons, "Philosophical Vocabulary," 53–54. See, for example, Arrian, *Epict. diss.* 1.1.5; Diogenes Laertius, *Vit.* 7.105; Chrysippus, frag. 118 *apud* Stobaeus, *Ecl.* 2.7.7. See also, Josephus, *B.J.*, 2.164–165.

Pss. Sol. 9.4 Τὰ ἔργα ἡμῶν ἐν ἐκλογῇ καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν
Our works are in the choosing and power of our soul. (NETS)

Pss. Sol. 14.5 ἡ μερὶς καὶ κληρονομία τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν Ἰσραὴλ
For the portion and the inheritance of God is Israel. (NETS)

Pss. Sol. 15.1 ἐλπίς καὶ καταφυγὴ τῶν πτωχῶν σύ
You are the hope and the refuge of the poor. (NETS)

Joosten notes that the various attempts to translate these phrases into Hebrew results in an ungrammatical translation.⁵⁵ The syntax is entirely uncommon in the Septuagint version of the translated books. It is, however, unproblematic in compositional Greek.

Eberhard Bons points to the Greek text of Ps 33(34):13b as another example that suggests the Psalms of Solomon is a Greek composition:

τίς ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθὰς
What man is there that desires life, loving to see good days? [Literally: “days to see good”])

Bons comments that the discontinuous word order, the breaking up the noun phrase ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς, “good days,” is unremarkable in Greek. However, it is rare in the Septuagint Psalter and the other translated books.⁵⁶ In the Psalms of Solomon, this type of syntax is found repeatedly:

Pss. Sol. 13.3 θηρία ἐπεδράμοσαν αὐτοῖς πονηρά
Evil wild animals rushed upon them. (NETS)

Pss. Sol. 17.19 πηγαὶ συνεσχέθησαν αἰώνιοι.
Eternal spring were held back. (NETS)

55. For the passages cited above, see Joosten, “Reflections,” 39.

56. Eberhard Bons, “Rhetorical Devices in the Septuagint Psalter,” in *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Thomas J. Kraus, FRLANT 241 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 69–79. Pevarello takes a more cautious approach to the composition and writes: “Even though it is likely that the *Psalms* were originally written in Hebrew, the evidence for the existence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* of the book remains inadequate.” See Daniele Pevarello, “Psalms of Solomon,” in *The T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 432.

Pss. Sol. 17.43 διακρινεῖ λαοῦ φυλὰς ἡγιασμένου
 He will judge the tribes of a sanctified people. (NETS)

Another unusual feature of the Psalms of Solomon is the number of words it contains that are rare in the Septuagint (ἐκλογή [18.5]; ὑποκρίνομαι [4.22]; καταφορά [16.1; cf. Aquila's translation of Gen 2:21]; μήνις [2.23]; ἀναπτέρωσις [4.12]; αὐτάρκεια [5.16]; ἀνάξις [18.5]).⁵⁷ Some of the Psalms of Solomon's rare vocabulary is found in rather late Septuagint books such as Tobit, Daniel, and 2 Maccabees, as well as the New Testament. Albrecht suggests this language provides a *terminus a quo* of 124 BCE for their use in the Greek Psalms of Solomon.⁵⁸

The Psalms of Solomon's unusual vocabulary may also have some important ramifications for Septuagint scholars. Joosten has noted that some of the Psalms of Solomon's unique words appear in the version attributed to Theodotion. With regard to the date of the Kaige group, Joosten suggests the testimony of the Psalms of Solomon clearly favors the first century BCE, against the first century CE as argued by Barthélemy.⁵⁹ Although this important argument is beyond the limitations of this paper, it does suggest that something rather interesting, if not unusual, is going on in the Psalms of Solomon's Greek text. These is, fortunately, another Greek text that may shed some light on how to translate the composition.

I believe the book of Judith provides a good parallel for understanding the problems in determining the Psalms of Solomon's *Vorlage*. Several prominent scholars argue for a Semitic original while equally distinguished experts believe Judith was written in Greek. Among the arguments for a Semitic original are the numerous calques of Hebrew expressions in Judith's Greek text. Others argue that these calques are possible in an original Greek composition.⁶⁰ In his recent investigation into

57. For the text's vocabulary see further the comments of Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 108–23.

58. Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 122.

59. Jan Joosten, "New Light on the Proto-Theodotion: The Psalms of Solomon and the Milieu of the Kaige Recension," in *Die Septuaginta—Geschichte, Wirkung, Relevanz*, ed. Martin Meiser et al., WUNT 405 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 304–15.

60. For a succinct discussion of this debate with arguments favoring a Greek original, see Jan Joosten, "The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2008): 159–76. For a similar argument that notes possible parallels with Herodotus, see Jeremy Corley, "Judith," in Aitken, *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, 227–29.

this problem, Satoshi Toda observes something in Judith that is similar to the Psalms of Solomon. He points to the presence of what he calls “variegated words,” words that appear normal in Judith but which are relatively rare in the Septuagint.⁶¹ However, he aptly notes that Sirach, which we know was translated from Hebrew, contains similar rare words. Although Judith may not help us determine the Psalms of Solomon’s *Vorlage*, it does provide additional evidence for a late date for the text Psalms of Solomon’s Greek text proposed by Albrecht.

There is one other method we can possibly use to help us resolve the controversy over the Psalms of Solomon’s *Vorlage*, namely, theological and historical considerations. The scholarly consensus maintains that the Psalms of Solomon refers to the Roman general Pompey the Great’s conquest of Jerusalem: an event reflected in similar language in many Dead Sea scrolls. Psalm of Solomon 8 implores God to punish Pompey for his sins. The last portion of this psalm clearly describes Pompey’s assassination in Egypt in 48 BCE using intertextual allusions to the Septuagint, particularly Isaiah and Ezekiel.⁶² It appears to be an addition to the text to show that God had answered the author’s prayer and punished Pompey for destroying Jerusalem. If this is an original Greek addition to an earlier psalm, it was either made to the Greek translation after this date or, if one assumes a Greek original, to the original Greek text after this date.

The Psalms of Solomon’s reception history may provide some additional information to help us understand the composition’s original language. This information suggests it was frequently updated. The Greek text contains many rubrics suggesting it was written for recitation. All the known references to the Psalms of Solomon come from the Christian tradition. The same is true of all its manuscripts. Greek references to the composition often connect it with the Odes of Solomon.⁶³ Papyrus Bodmer 11 and the early testimonies and citations to the Odes of Solomon indicate that the Greek version of Odes of Solomon was in circulation no later than

61. Satoshi Toda, “Rethinking the Original Language of the Book of Judith,” in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Stellenbosch, 2016*, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, SCS 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 161–70.

62. Atkinson, *I Cried to the Lord*, 36.

63. For the transmission and reception history of the composition, see further, Atkinson, “Psalms of Solomon: Greek,” 342–43; Atkinson, “Psalms of Solomon: Syriac,” 342–43; Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 238–59.

the end of the second to the beginning of the third century CE. Because the Syriac Psalms of Solomon in two Syriac manuscripts is appended to the Syriac text of the Odes of Solomon and numbered as part of the Odes, it is possible that the two compositions once circulated together in Greek.⁶⁴ Michael Lattke notes that if Ephrem's *Madṛāšā de Paradiso* (7.21) alludes to Ode of Solomon 11.23a, this indicates that the Syriac version of this Ode, and possibly a complete collection of Odes and Psalms of Solomon, existed before 373 CE.⁶⁵ Because all the surviving manuscripts of the Greek and Syriac Psalms of Solomon are relatively late, the date and place of its translation into Syriac remains uncertain as well as the history of its relationship with the Odes of Solomon. The transmission history of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek manuscripts also raises some additional problems for understanding its Greek text.

Six of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek manuscripts contain the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach.⁶⁶ In MS 253, which contains the earliest form of the Psalms of Solomon Greek text, the texts of the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach preserves the hexaplaric recension.⁶⁷ However, it is unlikely that the Psalms of Solomon was part of the Hexapla. Manuscript 260 containing the Psalms of Solomon, Wisdom, and Sirach are related to the Lucianic recension.⁶⁸ This does not mean that the MS 253 group text of the Psalms of Solomon should be identified as hexaplaric or the MS 260 group as Lucianic. Manuscripts 471, 606, and 3004 are unreliable witnesses to the Greek text of the Psalms of Solomon since they are derived from MS 149 and 260 while the MSS 629 and 769 descend from a mixture

64. For this evidence, see Atkinson, "Psalms of Solomon: Syriac," 341; Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 251–55.

65. Michael Lattke, *Odes of Solomon: A Commentary*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2009), 2. See further Lattke, "Die Psalmen Salomos: Orte und Intentionen," in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser, and Marcus Sigismund, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2016), 80.

66. MSS 149, 253, 260, 336, 471, and 606.

67. The texts of Wisdom and Sirach in MS 253 are hexaplaric, with close connections to the Syrohexapla. Joseph Ziegler, "Die hexaplarische Bearbeitung des griechischen Sirach," *BZ* 4 (1960): 174–85; Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, SVTG 12.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), 50–53; Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, SVTG 12.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), 57–63. See also Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 134–62, 210–11; Albrecht, "Zur Notwendigkeit," 121–22.

68. Ziegler, *Sapientia Salomonis*, 48, 61; Ziegler, *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach*, 56, 70. See also, Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 210–11; Hann, *Manuscript*, 113.

of the 253 and 336 text groups.⁶⁹ Many of the Psalms of Solomon's Greek manuscripts, therefore, reflect a mixed textual tradition. Manuscripts 253 and 336 are the two best witnesses to the original Greek text. Yet, their late dates and their descent from uncial manuscripts make them far removed from the original.⁷⁰ In the absence of the Semitic *Vorlage* or earlier Greek manuscripts, especially in uncial script, many questions about the text-critical value of Greek Psalms of Solomon must remain conjectural since it is sometimes uncertain to what extent the Greek accurately reflects the Hebrew *Vorlage*, assuming that a Hebrew *Vorlage* existed.

If the Psalms of Solomon was translated into Greek shortly after its 63 BCE composition, it is plausible that it was updated following Pompey's 48 BCE assassination. It is also possible that some sections were updated to reflect the reign of Herod the Great before the work was appended to the Odes of Solomon. The absence of the Psalms of Solomon in the Jewish tradition suggests it was taken over by the Christian community. As evident by its incorporation into the Christian hymnbook known as the Odes of Solomon, it appears to have been part of the liturgy of some Syriac speaking communities. Its Greek and Syriac translations continued to be used while its Semitic original disappeared.

4. Conclusion

The Psalms of Solomon presents many difficulties for any translator seeking to understand its present Greek text. This is because in the Greek tradition, the Psalms of Solomon was a living text that appears to have been frequently updated and reworked to such an extent that in much of the composition scarcely a trace remains of the Semitic original, while in other sections it clearly exhibits features of a Hebrew *Vorlage*. Some manuscript readings provide evidence that scribes altered the Greek text to conform to known Septuagint readings. This means that we cannot hope to reconstruct the *Vorlage* since it is lost forever. Rather, what we have is a sort of hybrid text that appears both Semitic and Greek. I believe that this is why in the case of the Psalms of Solomon great scholars remain divided regarding its original language. In the absence of a definitive answer to

69. For the most recent assessment of the relationship of the manuscripts, see Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 163–80.

70. See further the extensive discussion of this evidence in Albrecht, *Psalmi Salomonis*, 163–80.

the question of the Psalms of Solomon's original text, all the commentator can do is to follow the SBLCS's guidelines and translate the received text, highlighting, when relevant, its apparent Semitic features and in other passages its similarity to the Septuagint and other writings composed in Koine Greek.

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Dictionary versus Encyclopedia: Framing the Petition for a Lawgiver at LXX Psalm 9:21

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Abstract: This paper contrasts two models of philological investigation, each motivated, at least in part, by a distinct understanding of lexical semantics. While one conceptualizes word-meaning with primary reference to language-internal relations, the other looks to the larger cultural context of codified knowledge and intertextuality. The tension between these two models is explored with reference to the aims of Septuagint philology, with the Old Greek version of Ps 9:21 serving as an example.

What do you read, my Lord? Words, words, words.¹ Thus Hamlet, and thus the study of the Septuagint, where the interpretation of a passage frequently pivots on the construal of a single word. Until the digital revolution, the basic tools of the trade comprised a manual concordance and a bilingual lexicon; for English-speaking scholarship, Hatch and Redpath and Liddell and Scott, respectively.² The physical layout and composition of these sources, in turn, has long served as a kind of philological model. On the one hand, an index of Hebrew-Greek matches for determining translation technique; on the other, an index of Greek-English glosses. Under what I shall call the dictionary model, words are primarily related to words, and the task of scholarship is to track their shifting and sometimes unexpected

1. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* 1.88–89. What Hamlet sees on the page are merely empty signifiers. This conversation with Polonius rehearses some of the main themes of the play. See Dymphna Callaghan, *Hamlet: Language and Writing* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 73.

2. Edwin Hatch and Henry A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1897); Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1843).

relations and draw conclusions, where possible, touching the meaning of the Greek text. The primary orientation here is language-internal.³

The parsimony of this model is impressive. If the question one puts to the text is that of translation technique, that is, what has the translator done, it offers a clean, transparent methodology. There is, however, another way of thinking about lexical semantics that merits attention—the so-called encyclopedic model. This is to view word choice with reference to cultural knowledge. It is by no means a new idea, but one that has been given fresh impetus by recent work in semiotics and cognitive linguistics. The assumption is that words are primarily vehicles of interpretation. Words do not encode so much as they evoke, and what they evoke are (at least on a semiotic level) other texts. In the crisp formulation of Umberto Eco: “a sememe is in itself an inchoative text whereas a text is an expanded sememe.”⁴ In this way, the sense relations traced by lexicography, while symptomatic of word meaning, do not constitute it.⁵ The real action is intertextual.

And so, at the risk of trading on a schematic opposition, we have two models, the dictionary and the encyclopedia, and two approaches to the text.⁶ That the latter is particularly congenial to the purposes of biblical interpretation may seem obvious. Yet, under the influence of structural semantics, there has been a tendency to eschew it. In this regard, the intervention of James Barr was deeply influential.⁷ Barr’s primary target was the confusion of the structure of language with the structure of thought; he rightly challenged the prevailing use of linguistic facts to establish

3. For a critique of language-internal (Structuralist) lexical semantics, see John R. Taylor, “Lexical Semantics,” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Cognitive Linguistics*, ed. Barbara Dancygier; Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 246–61; and John R. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, Oxford Textbooks in Linguistics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 186–95.

4. Umberto Eco, *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (London: Hutchinson, 1981), 18.

5. Taylor, *Cognitive Grammar*, 192.

6. There is an extensive literature on this opposition both in semiotics and cognitive linguistics. John Haiman, “Dictionary Vs. Encyclopedia,” *Lingua* 50 (1980): 329–57, is often cited as a seminal study. The departure point for the present discussion is Umberto Eco, “Metaphor, Dictionary and Encyclopedia,” *New Literary History* 15.2 (1984): 255–71.

7. James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

supposed differences in Greek and Hebrew ways of thinking.⁸ Nevertheless, his tacit assumption that linguistic meaning should be expressed in purely linguistic terms has since been seriously questioned, and recent years have seen a marked interest in the encyclopedic model amongst biblical scholars conversant with developments in cognitive linguistics.⁹ Within Septuagint studies, Ross Wagner, adopting the vantage point of Eco's semiotics, makes a persuasive case for encyclopedic engagement with Greek Isaiah.¹⁰ So also the methodology of the *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* marks a decided shift from the dictionary to the encyclopedia.¹¹

Of course, the two approaches are by no means mutually exclusive, and one might well argue that they are complementary, though there is undoubtedly a certain tension between them. In the present study, I would like to explore this tension by looking at a specific text. The Old Greek version of Ps 9:21 is notable for its intriguing use of the agent-noun νομοθέτης, a Septuagint *hapax*. The word is a deverbative from νομοθετέω (LSJ, s.v. "νομοθετέω": I. *frame laws*; II. c. acc., *ordain by law*; c. infin., *enact*). There is no doubt much to be gained philologically by establishing its characteristic relations of affinity and contrast with other Greek words through corpus analysis.¹² Looking beyond strictly linguistic phenomena, however,

8. See Anthony C. Thiselton, *Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 203; Pierre van Hecke, *From Linguistics to Hermeneutics: A Functional and Cognitive Approach to Job 12–14* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 289.

9. Van Hecke, *Linguistics to Hermeneutics*, 293; Kurtis Peters, *Hebrew Lexical Semantics and Daily Life in Ancient Israel: What's Cooking in Biblical Hebrew?*, BibInt 146 (Leiden: Brill, 2016); Stephen Shead, *Radical Frame Semantics and Biblical Hebrew: Exploring Lexical Semantics*, BibInt 108 (Leiden: Brill, 2011); Ellen van Wolde, *Reframing Biblical Studies: When Language and Text Meet Culture, Cognition, and Context* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009).

10. J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics*, FAT 88 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013).

11. See Jan Joosten, "The Vocabulary of the Septuagint and its Historical Context," in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, SCS 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 3: "Greek culture and mentality are polymorphous and hard to define, but no one will doubt that they are intimately linked to Greek language and literature. The Jews who undertook to translate the Hebrew scriptures into Greek stood in contact with this culture and mentality, were part of it, even if not entirely."

12 Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Peeters: Leuven, 2009), xi, discusses the special significance of collocation in establishing the semantics

affords yet further insights. One finds that in Hellenistic ethnography the use of νομοθέτης regularly evokes a cluster of literary topoi conventionally associated with a legendary or idealized figure, the lawgiver.¹³ Following Eco, I shall call such a cluster of topoi an intertextual frame.¹⁴ From an encyclopedic point of view the frame associated with νομοθέτης is part and parcel of its lexical semantics, such that, for a reader with the requisite cultural knowledge, it acts as a constraint on his or her interpretation of the text. The question I want to ask is: Does such a decidedly semiotic conception of linguistic meaning have a place in philological commentary—when the text in question is a Hebrew-Greek translation such as Ps 9.

A few words on the business of Septuagint philology may be in order at this point. Textual philology has been aptly described as a project at once comparative, historical, and genealogical: it is animated by the desire to establish precise contexts for understanding texts.¹⁵ The goal is thus fundamentally interpretative. As Max Margolis long ago observed, “back of the word it would divine the thought.”¹⁶ But that is to paint in very broad strokes. To focus the discussion, I shall use a recent iteration of the philological project as a point of reference: the “Preamble to the Guidelines for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS).”¹⁷ This document delineates the objectives of historical-critical commentary in fairly conventional terms and may thus

of a word. In his entry for νομοθετέω, he registers its conjunction with διδάσκω. Looking beyond the translational corpus, one finds a degree of affinity between the two Greek verbs and their cognates which might well have played a role in Greco-Jewish usage.

13. See the seminal work of Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, “Legends of the Greek Lawgivers,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 19 (1978): 199–209.

14. Eco, *Role of the Reader*, 21. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Esther’s Great Adventure: Reading the LXX Version of the Book of Esther in Light of Its Assimilation to the Conventions of the Greek Romantic Novel,” *BIOSCS* 30 (1997): 95–96, defines intertextual frame as “a specific narrative scheme affording interpretative purchase on the text.” See also Leroy Andrew Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 56–57.

15. James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 164.

16. See Max L. Margolis, “The Scope and Methodology of Biblical Philology,” *JQR* 1.1 (1910): 7.

17. See “Preamble to the Guidelines for the Contributors to the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 257–59.

serve as an exemplar for present purposes. Drawing from the preamble, let me anticipate four concrete objections to the encyclopedic model.

First, the question arises as to whether one is straying into reception history. To the extent that the model is reader-oriented, it would seem to be at odds with a core philological tenet: the opposition between production and reception.¹⁸ Second, it might be objected that one risks reading the text (in this instance a Greek psalm) as if it were an original Greco-Jewish work and not a translation. If the model presupposes the sort of generative strategies proper to literary composition, this would run counter to another principle: the opposition between translation and composition.¹⁹ Third, it might be the case that, despite the undoubted merits of this approach, the Greek Psalter is simply not a candidate due to its textual linguistic makeup, specifically its seeming tolerance for interference from the source. It may, after all, be the wrong sort of text.²⁰ Finally, there is the matter with which I began, that of lexical semantics. Whereas philology privileges the idea of intended meaning (insofar as this can be inferred), the encyclopedic model looks to literary convention and discursive practice. In so doing, it could well be charged with losing sight of the translator's purposes and methods.²¹ These four objections are not merely rhetorical, and, as I see it, the burden of the argument is on the one who advocates for an encyclopedic commentary. I shall thus begin with a dictionary based approach to the translator's use of νομοθέτης at Ps 9:21 and hence from the perspective of translation technique, which,

18. See "Preamble to the Guidelines," §1: "The objective of the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS) is to elucidate the meaning of the text-as-produced in distinction from the text-as-received." See also Albert Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," in Büchner, *SBL Commentary on the Septuagint*, 1.

19. See "Preamble to the Guidelines," §1.1.1: "The text-as-produced is conceptualized as a dependent entity, derived from its source text. That is to say, it is perceived to be *compositionally* dependent on its source, though not *semantically* dependent."

20. See "Preamble to the Guidelines," §1.3.3: "Since unintelligibility is one of the inherent characteristics of the text-as-produced, it should not always be assumed to make sense." See also Pietersma, "Basic Principles," 7.

21. Compare "Preamble to the Guidelines," §1.4.2: "The commentator's task thus includes the following: (a) to search out the intention of the translator insofar as this may be inferred from the transformation of the source text and the verbal make-up of the target text; (b) to describe the possibilities deliberately marked out by the language of the text."

most would agree, is methodologically primary, before proceeding (with due caution) to the encyclopedia.²²

1. Dictionary

It is the judgement of critical scholarship that Hebrew Pss 9 and 10 represent a single acrostic composition. Although the acrostic device is lost in translation, the manuscript tradition of the Septuagint version treats it as a unit, so when one speaks of Ps 9 one is referring to the entire poem, all thirty-nine verses. Under a modern analysis, the Hebrew source is highly artificial, combining a song of individual thanksgiving with a range of disparate forms and motifs, including lamentation and pleading, as well as didactic exposition. Despite the generic fractures, Hans-Joachim Kraus discerns an artful structure organized around two primary themes, one doxological, the other soteriological: the Lord who dwells on Zion is both sovereign and judge of the world; that same Lord is the helper of the oppressed individual.²³

The psalmist speaks as one of the helpless poor whose appeal is to the Lord (v. 19). It would not be entirely anachronistic to speak of class conflict as the ostensible impetus. Those who persecute the psalmist—described alternately as “the sinners” and “the nations”—are confident that God will not intervene. The psalmist knows better, for the Lord is the one who “judges the world with righteousness” and “avenges blood” (v. 13). Despite this, God remains silent: “Why do you hide yourself in times of trouble?” (NRSV) (v. 22 = MT 10:1), the psalmist asks, and in his anguish, he cries out for a definitive act of judgement. The poem may be located within what Michel Foucault refers to as a *discours de souveraineté*. Foucault notes that in such a discourse power is focused exclusively in a monarchic figure, such that, “le roi c’est le pouvoir, c’est tout le pouvoir: il n’y a de pouvoir que pour lui.”²⁴

22. See the astute methodological discussion of Staffan Olofsson, “Law and Law-breaking in the LXX Psalms,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter—Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 32 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 291–98.

23. Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary*, CC (Augsburg: Fortress, 1988), 190–99.

24. Michel Foucault, *Leçons sur la Volonté de Savoir: Cours au Collège de France 1970–1971* (Paris: Gallimard, 2011), 158.

Thus a contemporary reading of the Hebrew text, intended merely as a point of reference for my discussion of the Greek. The latter has many interesting features, and there is much that could be said. I shall focus on the motif of lawgiving. I draw your attention to verses 20–21.²⁵

Ps 9:20–21

קומה יהוה אל יעז אנוש ישפטו גוים על פניך
שיתה יהוה מורה להם ידעו גוים אנוש המה

Rise up, O LORD! Do not let mortals prevail; | let the nations be judged before you. | 21. Put them in fear, O LORD; | let the nations know that they are only human. (NRSV)

ἀνάστηθι, κύριε, μὴ κραταιούσθω ἄνθρωπος, | κριθήτωσαν ἔθνη ἐνώπιόν σου. | 21. κατάστησον, κύριε, νομοθέτην ἐπ’ αὐτούς, | γινώσκωσαν ἔθνη ὅτι ἄνθρωποι εἰσιν. (Rahlfs)

Rise up, O Lord! Do not let man prevail; | let nations be judged before you. | 21. Set a lawgiver over them, O Lord; | let nations know that they are human beings. (NETS)

The Greek psalmist calls upon the Lord “to appoint” (κατάστησον) a “law-giver” (νομοθέτης). My initial question is, what is one to make of this? What was the translator up to? Hatch and Redpath indicate that νομοθέτης is used just this once in the Septuagint. It corresponds to the hapax מורה in the Masoretic text, where the consonants are evidently construed as a biform of מורא (HALOT, s.v. “מורא”: 2. “terror,” which YHWH arouses), that is, with a ה rather than an א.²⁶ The match is unexpected, yet an explanation is forthcoming, and it is easy enough to see what the translator has done. Unlike the Masoretes, he has evidently read the Hebrew form with reference to the verb ירה (HALOT, s.v. “ירה III”: *hiphil*. 1. “to instruct, teach”; 2. “to teach someone something”).²⁷ Further consultation of HRCS—or

25. All quotations from the Masoretic Text (MT) are derived from BHS. The text and critical apparatus of the Greek Psalter is that of Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, SVTG 10.1 (repr. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). Verse references follow Rahlfs. Where this differs from the MT, the latter reference is bracketed.

26. The form undoubtedly presents a problem. Rashi, Ibn Ezra, and Kimhi interpret it with reference to both מרות (“lordship”) and עול (“yoke”). See Mayer I. Gruber, *Rashi’s Commentary on Psalms* (Philadelphia: JPS, 2007), 208.

27. Compare the form מורה (HALOT, s.v. “מורה III”: ירה *hiphil* participle as sub-

one of its electronic successors—indicates that in the Greek Psalter this verb is frequently matched by νομοθετέω.²⁸ In fact, with but one exception, νομοθετέω does not occur as a match for any other Hebrew word. Hence, only where the Hebrew parallel reads ירה (III) does νομοθετέω appear in the Greek.

These findings point to a robust translation technique. There is a sense in which the occurrence of the Greek word is under the control of its Hebrew counterpart. The exception confirms this. Psalm 83:7 (84:7), καὶ γὰρ εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν, “Indeed, the lawgiver will give blessings” (NETS). Here, the verb occurs as an arthrous participle. The corresponding word in the Masoretic text is the noun מורה (HALOT, s.v. “מורה II”: ירה *hiphil* participle as substantive, “rain”). We note, however, that the consonantal form is identical to Ps 9:21 (מורה). One hypothesizes, therefore, that, in both instances, the translator understood the form with reference to the verb ירה (III), construed it as a substantive, and represented it in accordance with an established lexical equivalency. A tidy explanation of his use of νομοθέτης is thus obtained. He consulted his mental lexicon and filled in the blank.

Yet there does remain the question of why. Why this equivalency? Here too, an answer readily presents itself. Quite simply, the translator is following the precedent of the Greek Pentateuch, where it first occurs at Exod 24:12.²⁹ It is generally acknowledged that the Greek Psalter frequently draws upon the Pentateuch for its repertoire of Hebrew-Greek matches,

stantive, “master teacher”) attested four times in the MT. It is variously rendered: παιδεύω (participial as substantive) at Prov 5:13; πλαναάω (participial as substantive) at Isa 30:20 (2x); and δυνάστης at Job 36:22.

28. See Ps 24:8 (25:8), 12 (25:12); 26:11 (27:11); 83:7 (84:7); 118:33 (119:33), 102 (119:102). The two apparent exceptions, Ps 9:21 and 83:7 (84:7), prove the rule. Note that the third stich of Ps 118:104 (119:104), ὅτι σὺ ἐνομοθέτησάς μοι, lacks a parallel in the MT. It repeats *verbatim* the final stich of v. 102, however, and is likely secondary to the Old Greek.

29. See also Deut 17:10, καὶ ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὃ ἐὰν ἀναγγείλωσίν σοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου, οὗ ἂν ἐκλέγῃται κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐπικληθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, καὶ φυλάξῃ σφόδρα ποιῆσαι κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν νομοθετηθῇ σοι, “And you shall do according to the word whatever they report to you from the place that the Lord your God may choose for his name to be called there, and you shall guard very much to do according to all things whatever is legislated for you” (NETS). The Greek text is that of John W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, SVTG 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977).

which it then deploys with a high degree of consistency.³⁰ Depending upon one's purposes, such an account might be entirely adequate. One could press the matter further, of course, and ask why the translator of Exodus rendered Hebrew ירה (III) by νομοθετέω. One suggestion is that the match was motivated by lexical analogy with the noun תורה construed as νόμος.³¹ This sort of interpretative strategy is widely attested. A neat piece of translation, then, and a precedent for the Greek Psalter, where, as we have seen, the equivalency is twice extended to substantive forms.

2. Text and Intertext

At this point, it seems that we have taken into account all the relevant facts. Is there anything further to say? According to Martin Rösel, there is indeed; much more, as it happens. In an influential *apologia* for theological exegesis, Rösel introduces Ps 9:21 as his star witness and bids us look beyond mere lexical equivalence.³² The Greek translation, on his interpretation, attests to what he calls “the phenomenon of intertextuality.”³³ At first blush, this might strike one as gratuitous. After all, the translation arises from a demonstrable linguistic strategy. Nevertheless, I think there is a case to be made for Rösel's interpretation.

As we have seen, the equivalency of ירה (III) and νομοθετέω was ready to hand for the translator of the Psalter. Yet, he does not always render

30. See Emanuel Tov, “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books,” in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy*, ed. Pierre Casetti, Othmar Keel, and Adrian Schenker, OBO 38 (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 577–92.

31. “A lexical analogy is a pair of word-pairs that share a similar semantic relation.” Andy Chiu, Pascal Poupart and Chrysanne DiMarco, “Generating Lexical Analogies Using Dependency Relations,” *Proceedings of the 2007 Joint Conference on Empirical Methods in Natural Language Processing* (Prague: Association for Computational Linguistics, 2007), 561–70.

32. Martin Rösel, “Translators as Interpreters: Scriptural Interpretation in the Septuagint,” in *Tradition and Innovation—English and German Studies on the Septuagint*, SCS 70 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 57–86.

33. Rösel, “Translators as Interpreters,” 61. For a succinct treatment of intertextuality in the Septuagint, see Myrto Theocharous, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos and Micah* (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 1–8.

the Hebrew verb thus. The match is found only five out of eight times.³⁴ So, if there is a convention in play, there is also an element of play in the convention. The equivalency is by no means a stereotype. Nor is it merely a matter of adherence to a norm. Looking to the Greek Pentateuch, we find that the match represents the exception, *not the rule*, occurring only twice for a total of twelve occurrences of the Hebrew verb.³⁵ Casting our nets further, the results are quite robust. While ירה (III) appears frequently in the remainder of the Hebrew canon, no other Greek translator adopts νομοθετέω as a match.³⁶ So the argument from convention gains no real traction. The Psalter stands alone.

If the translator is deliberately taking his cue from the Pentateuch, which is likely, the latter is not functioning as a mere glossary. The equivalency of νομοθετέω and ירה (III) at Exod 24:12 turns on the construal of a specific narrative, the Mosaic covenant, as an act of lawgiving.³⁷ While prompted by the form of the source text, it presupposes some degree of engagement with the narrative topic. John William Wevers suggests that,

34. In the three instances where other renderings occur, one is in little doubt that the translator read ירה (III). It is rendered by συμβιβάζω at Ps 31:8 (32:8). This Greek verb only occurs once in the Psalter, but the match is found thrice in the Pentateuch, and so there was a strong precedent (see Exod 4:12, 15; Lev 10:11; cf. προβιβάζω at Exod 35:34). It is rendered by ὁδηγέω at Ps 44:5 (45:5) and Ps 85:11 (86:11). There is no precedent for the equivalency, but the Greek word is a preferred match for the translator (twenty-eight times) and occurs with a wide range of Hebrew counterparts: נחה (*qal*) at Ps 5:9; 22:3 (23:3); 26:11 (27:11); 59:11 (60:11); 76:21 (77:21); 107:11 (108:11); 138:24 (139:24); נחה (*hiphil*) at Ps 30:4 (31:4); 42:3 (43:3); 60:4 (61:3); 66:5 (67:5); 72:24 (73:24); 77:14 (78:14); 77:53 (78:53); 77:72 (78:72); 106:30 (107:30); 138:10 (139:10); 142:10 (143:10); דרך (*hiphil*) at Ps 24:5 (25:5), 9 (25:9); 106:7 (107:7); 118:35 (119:35); נהג (*qal*) Ps 79:2 (80:2); הלך (*hiphil*) Ps 105:9 (106:9); הדר Ps 89:16 (90:16).

35. It is matched as follows: ἀναγγέλλω Deut 24:8; δείκνυμι Exod 15:25; δηλώω Deut 33:10; εἶπον Deut 17:11; ἐξηγέομαι Lev 14:57; νομοθετέω Exod 24:12; Deut 17:10; προβιβάζω Exod 35:34; συμβιβάζω Exod 4:12; Exod 4:15; Lev 10:11; συναντάω Gen 46:28.

36. Cf. ἀναγγέλλω Isa 2:3; 28:9; Job 27:11; ἀποκρίνομαι Mic 3:11; δείκνυμι 1 Sam 12:23; Mic 4:2; Job (Theodotion) 34:32; διδάσκω Isa 9:14 (διδάσκοντα); Ezek 44:23; Job 6:24; 8:10; Prov 4:4, 11; 6:13; δηλώω 1 Kgs 8:36; 2 Chron 6:27; εἶπον Job 12:7; ὑποδείκνυμι 2 Chron 15:3; φαντασία Hab 2:18; 2:19; φράζω Job 12:8; φωτίζω Judg 13:8; 2 Kgs 12:3; 17:27, 28; there is no match Isa 28:26.

37. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 38. Compare Alain Le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevor, *L'Exode*, BdA 2 (Paris: Cerf, 1989), 247–48. See also the general discussion of Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Deutéronome*, BdA 5 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 43–45.

in the translator's view, the Ten Words are not really for instruction, "but give a moral framework for the law."³⁸

Exod 24:12

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה עֲלֵה אֵלַי הַהָרָה וְהָיָה שָׁם

וְאֶתְנָה לְךָ אֶת לַחַת הָאֲבֵן וְהַתּוֹרָה וְהַמִּצְוָה אֲשֶׁר כָּתַבְתִּי לְהוֹרֹתָם

The LORD said to Moses, "Come up to me on the mountain, and wait there; and I will give you the tablets of stone, with the law and the commandment, which I have written for their instruction. (NRSV)

καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρὸς Μωυσῆν Ἀνάβηθι πρὸς με εἰς τὸ ὄρος καὶ ἴσθι ἐκεῖ· καὶ δώσω σοι τὰ πυξία τὰ λίθινα, τὸν νόμον καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς ἔγραψα νομοθετῆσαι αὐτοῖς. (Wevers)

And the Lord said to Moyses, "Come up to me into the mountain, and be there. And I will give you the stone tablets, the law and the commandments that I wrote to legislate for them. (NETS)

The translator of the Psalter has taken up and deployed a very precise interpretative strategy.³⁹ As Frank Austermann (*apropos* Ps 118, MT 119) observes, he has thereby oriented himself to the Pentateuchal translation.⁴⁰ His use of νομοθέτης at Ps 9:21 is thus remarkably innovative. Adopting the terminology of Eco, we would refer to this as an instance of overcoding.⁴¹ It introduces an entirely new frame of reference into the Psalm. To quote Rösel, it points to "a wider horizon of thoughts and concepts than the original."⁴²

38. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, 38. The Greek text is that of John W. Wevers, *Exodus*, SVTG 2.1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

39. An intertextual relationship between the Greek Psalter and the Greek Pentateuch was documented by Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," ZAW 32 (1912): 183–89.

40. Frank Austermann, "Von der Tora im hebraischen Psalm 119 zum Nomos im griechischen Psalm 118," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter—Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 32 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 341. "Bei dieser Wiedergabe orientiert er sich am (vermeintlich bestehenden) etymologischen Zusammenhang von ירה hi. und תורה und an der Übersetzungsweise im Pentateuch."

41. See Eco, *Role of the Reader*, 19–22. Inference by reference to an intertextual frame represents a special case of overcoding.

42. Rösel, "Translators as Interpreters," 61.

3. Encyclopedia

A wider horizon likewise opens before the commentator: one now dotted with thoughts and concepts.⁴³ The word νομοθέτης, as I mentioned at the outset, was, at the time of translation, conventionally associated with a specific cluster of topoi. Under an encyclopedic model, reference to this intertextual frame would contribute to an informed understanding of what the translator has done. For the time being, I will prescind from the question of whether such a discussion belongs in a philological commentary and simply survey the discursive landscape.

By the time of Herodotus, Ionian ethnography had evidently developed the schematic form of presentation and fixed topoi which are visible in his excurses.⁴⁴ The basic scheme includes four components (usually in the following order): (1) an account of the nation's origins; (2) its geography; (3) its laws and customs; and finally (4) the notable achievements of its rulers.⁴⁵ Hellenistic ethnographers, in turn, adopted this schema but elaborated upon it significantly. Notable is an idealizing tendency, coupled with an acute interest in political institutions and their relationship to individual lawgivers.⁴⁶ Another achievement of the Hellenistic period was the introduction of causal links into the scheme, especially with regard to customs and laws.⁴⁷

Within Hellenistic ethnography, an ideal figure crystalizes, one whose legislative foresight is constitutive of a nation.⁴⁸ We see this trend in the work of Hecataeus of Abdera, court historian to Ptolemy I (305–282 BCE), insofar as it is utilized as a source by Diodorus Siculus. Unlike Herodotus, Hecataeus accounts for the distinctive customs of nations by reference

43. This rendering *opens up* the psalm, as Rösel suggests, but, significantly, in so doing it also places *constraints* on its interpretive possibilities. For Eco, *Role of the Reader*, 7, an open text reduces indeterminacy, whereas a closed text is randomly open to every pragmatic accident.

44. John G. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, SBLMS 16 (Nashville: Abingdon, 1972), 38.

45. Bezalel Bar-Kochva, *The Image of the Jews in Greek Literature: The Hellenistic Period*, Hellenistic Culture and Society 51 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 96.

46. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 37.

47. Bar-Kochva, *Image of the Jews*, 97.

48. See Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 37–38; and Bar-Kochva, *Image of the Jews*, 96–97.

to the purposes of individual lawgivers, what we might call “founding fathers,” and in this he is followed by his successors. To the extent that each nation is distinguished by its fundamental law, or νόμος, this derives from the figure of the νομοθέτης, his character and aims, as much as it does the content of the law.⁴⁹ In this regard, Victor Parker emphasizes the sharp distinction in Greek thought between a decree and a law.⁵⁰ Whereas the former is enacted by an assembly and may be revoked, the latter (at least in theory) is received from an individual with the theoretically unlimited power to establish binding and permanent rules for a state.

The νομοθέτης had long been an important construct in Greek juridico-political discourse; not only deployed in ethnography, but also in forensic oratory and political philosophy. The individuals so identified are admittedly a mixed lot.⁵¹ Nevertheless a narratological pattern is apparent.⁵² It traces a movement from a state of social disorder, often characterized by class conflict, to one of enduring order and stability, in which the intervention of the lawgiver is pivotal. This would become the basic pattern for lawgiving. Thus, Solon of Athens, who typifies the νομοθέτης, is quoted by Demosthenes as expressing the hope that he will create the conditions of εὐνομία.⁵³ Likely derived from νέμω, “to distribute,” or some cognate, εὐνομία denotes a condition of social health in which a fair and equitable

49. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 37.

50. Victor Parker, “Lawgivers and Tyrants,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*, ed. H. Alan Shapiro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 13–39. A connection between lawgiving and tyranny was thus well-established.

51. For an extensive list of lawgivers with characteristic laws see Aristotle, *Politics*, 12.74a.

52. See Szegedy-Maszak, “Legends of the Greek Lawgivers,” 208. Szegedy-Maszak describes a three-stage development. “I. Initial stage—crisis in the state; rise of one man, uniquely suited for the task of legislation because of his virtue, education and experience. II. Medial stage: the crisis suspended; the man is selected to be a lawgiver; promulgates the code, and triumphs over a challenge to it. III. Final stage—the crisis is resolved; the code is firmly established, with some provision for its permanence, and the lawgiver departs.” The stories of Lycurgus, Solon, Zaleucus and Charondas are typical.

53. Ryan K. Balot, *Greed and Injustice in Classical Athens* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 94: ταῦτα διδάξαι θυμὸς Ἀθηναίους με κελεύει, | ὥς κακὰ πλείσται πόλει δυσνομία παρέχει, | εὐνομία δ’ εὖκοσμα καὶ ἄρτια πάντ’ ἀποφαίνει (frag. 4:30–32), “My heart orders me to teach the Athenians this, that bad government brings many troubles to the city, but good government makes everything orderly and sound” (LCL).

distribution of power is maintained.⁵⁴ Solon contrasts this with *δυσνομία*; as noted by Foucault, “Les pauvres sont envoyés en esclavage à cause de leurs dettes; ils sont chassés de la part qu’ils possèdent. Quant aux *possédants*, au contraire, ils sont pourchassés par la violence.”⁵⁵

Not to put too fine a point on it, then, the *νομοθέτης* is a type of soteriological figure.⁵⁶ A key topos is his moral and intellectual virtue, which is then conveyed to the nation through his *νόμος*. The conviction that such wisdom must somehow be rooted in the divine sphere was conventional.⁵⁷ The prototype in this respect was King Minos of Crete, who, according to tradition, was instructed by Zeus, the father of the gods.⁵⁸ This motif was developed along metaphysical lines, particularly within the Academy.⁵⁹ In the dialogue *Minos* (which, though it appears in the Thrasyllan canon, is likely an early Hellenistic work), Socrates argues that true law is an expression of true kingship, defined as the art of promoting the welfare of the human soul.⁶⁰ As such, it is eternal. That men, not gods, make laws is axiomatic for later Greek thought, but, figuratively speaking, Zeus, not Minos,

54. Balot, *Greed and Injustice*, 94.

55. Foucault, *Volonté de Savoir*, 150.

56. See Foucault, *Volonté de Savoir*, 182–83, “Une certaine place se définit qui est celle du fondateur du pouvoir politique (plutôt que de son possesseur), du connaisseur de l’ordre du monde (plutôt que du détenteur des règles traditionnelles), de l’homme aux mains pures (plutôt que de celui qui relève indéfiniment le défi des vengeance).”

57. For the following, see the discussion of Rémi Brague, *The Law of God—The Philosophical History of an Idea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 19–29.

58. Homer, *Od.* 19.178–179: τῇσι δ’ ἐνὶ Κνωσός, μεγάλη πόλις, ἔνθα τε Μίνως ἐννέωρος βασιλεὺς Διὸς μεγάλου ὀριστής, “Among their cities is the great city Cnosus, where Minos reigned when nine years old, he that held converse with great Zeus” (LCL). For the interpretative tradition that Minos conversed with Zeus every ninth year, see Plato, *Leg.*, 1.624b; Ps.-Plato, *Min.*, 319c; and Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.4.8.

59. It is telling that the first word of Plato’s *Leg.* 1.624a is θεός: θεός ἢ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὃ ξένοι, εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως; θεός, ὃ ξένη, θεός, ὥς γε τὸ δικαιοτάτον εἰπεῖν, “To whom do you ascribe the authorship of your legal arrangements, Strangers? To a god or to some man? To a god, Stranger, most rightfully to a god” (LCL).

60. Roderick T. Long, “Hellenistic Philosophers of Law,” in *A History of the Philosophy of Law from the Ancient Greeks to the Scholastics*, vol. 6 of *A Treatise of Legal Philosophy and General Jurisprudence*, ed. Fred D. Miller Jr. and Carrie-Ann Biondi (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 116. For the authorship question, see Claire McCusker, “Between Natural Law and Legal Positivism: Plato’s Minos and the Nature of Law,” *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 22 (2010): 83–85.

is the *true νομοθέτης*. As is so often the case with Platonic allegory, there is a cultic tradition in the background. Zeus was traditionally invoked as a law-giver, a practice that was later allegorized by the Stoics.⁶¹ The epithet also became firmly attached to Isis at some point during the Hellenistic period.⁶²

Consequently, the ideal human lawgiver is one who embodies the divine law, an idea that was taken up within Hellenistic ideologies of kingship.⁶³ For notwithstanding its cultic associations and metaphysical deployments, lawgiving was primarily a juridico-political role, and one that remained ideologically viable within the Successor kingdoms. Thus, Demetrius of Phalerum was appointed by Cassander in 317 BCE to govern Athens on his behalf as a νομοθέτης. It seems that Demetrius engaged in “the kind of moral reform process” associated with the legendary lawgivers, “whose legislation sought to shape the personal conduct of the citizens of their states.”⁶⁴ Returning to Alexandrian ethnography, it is significant that Hecataeus identifies Moses as a νομοθέτης: the founder of a colony and its primordial legislator, responsible in effect for all of its major institutions.⁶⁵ Diodorus, who quotes Hecataeus, reiterates this idea, as does Strabo. If it did not originate amongst Greek speaking Jews, it was certainly deployed by them. Aristobulus and Cleodemus Malchus (fl. 200 BCE), as far as we know, both characterized Moses thus.⁶⁶ Pseudo-Aristeas explicitly represents him as the author of a system of laws, as do Philo and Josephus, such

61. Cleanthes, *Hymn. Iov.* 24–25. Cf. Callimachus, *Hymn. Iov.* 3.

62. *I.Kyme* 41.4: ἐγὼ νόμους ἀνθρώποις ἐθέμην, καὶ ἐνομοθέτησα ἃ οὐθεὶς δύναται μεταθεῖναι. See Gail Corrington Streete, “An Isis Aretalogy from Kyme in Asia Minor, First Century BCE,” in *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*, ed. Richard Valantasis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 369–86, who *inter alia* discusses the prominence of the epithet in the so-called aretalogy of Kyme-Memphis, a “stereotyped litany for worshippers” dating to about the second century BCE. The title is prominent in hymns and aretalogies (Andros 20, 159–60; Maroneia 29; P.Oxy. 1380:119–21; Isidorus 4.4; Kore Kosmou 8).

63. In one strand of thought, the king is regarded as the “living law” (νόμος ἔμψυχος). See Philip Alexander and Loveday Alexander, “The Oriental Monarch in 3 Maccabees,” in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers*, ed. Tessa Rajak et al., *Hellenistic Culture* 50 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 107.

64. Lara O’Sullivan, *The Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum in Athens, 317–307 BCE: A Philosopher in Politics* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 47.

65. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 31.

66. Louis H. Feldman, *Philo’s Portrayal of Moses in the Context of Ancient Judaism*, Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 15 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 265.

that, alongside their acknowledgement of divine inspiration, the dominant emphasis is on his legislative capacity.⁶⁷ He, in fact, *exemplifies* the νομοθέτης and must possess all the virtues associated with the legendary lawgivers.⁶⁸

It would appear that a tradition to this effect was well-established in Alexandria as early as the third century CE (so much is evident from Hecataeus)⁶⁹ and would thus have been known to the Greek translator of Ps 9. To say the least, the word νομοθέτης was intertextually freighted. Note also that the theme of lawgiving, which is rare in the Hebrew Psalter,⁷⁰ is altogether absent in the source for Ps 9. The Hebrew psalmist cries out to the Lord of Zion to exercise his sovereign power as universal ruler and judge. In the Greek version, however, a *nomistic discourse* suddenly opens up.⁷¹ An ideal type comes into sight—a figure like Moses; or rather, Moses under the aspect of Solon or Minos—and with this figuration comes an abrupt shift in the frame of reference. The appointment of a νομοθέτης over the nations is a soteriological act. It marks the advent of εὐνομία, not a judgement as such, or an act of vengeance, but an entirely new social and political order, divinely ordained, one that truly addresses the cry of the helpless for justice, ὅτι οὐκ εἰς τέλος ἐπιλησθήσεται ὁ πτωχός (Ps 9.19), “Because the poor shall not be completely forgotten” (NETS).

4. Objections

Here, then, is a rough outline of the intertextual frame of lawgiving with a view to its discursive implications for Ps 9. At this point, I shall revisit

67. Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 269–70.

68. According to Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 268, Philo identifies Moses as a legislator more than any other title, and Josephus uses the word νομοθέτης with reference to Moses no less than sixteen times in books 1–4 of the *Antiquitates judaicae* (often without a personal name). That this usage was contested by some Greek speaking Jews is evident in a remark made by Philo, *Mos.* 1.1: Μωυσέως τοῦ κατὰ μὲν τινὰς νομοθέτου τῶν Ἰουδαίων, κατὰ δὲ τινὰς ἐρμηνέως νόμων ἱερῶν, “Moses, whom some describe as the legislator of the Jews, others as the interpreter of the Holy Laws” (LCL).

69. Feldman, *Philo's Portrayal of Moses*, 259.

70. See Kraus, *Psalms 1–59*, 75.

71. Foucault, *Volonté de Savoir*, 156, writes *apropos* Solon's idea of εὐνομία: “On voit s’esquisser la nécessité d’un discours qui chanterait non le souverain, mais le νόμος lui-même, le principe de distribution, sa valeur et sa sagesse, l’origine sur laquelle il se fonde, l’ordre qu’il fait régner non seulement sur les hommes mais sur les astres, les mers, les animaux et le plantes.”

the four objections to this way of proceeding registered at the outset. I should stress that I envisage an ongoing conversation. To paraphrase the distinguished American jurist Ronald Dworkin, in interpretation there is no fact of the matter; it is interpretive all the way down.⁷²

First, the question arises as to whether one has strayed into reception history. I am well reminded that philological commentary is genetic; the object of enquiry is not reader response (as such). I would observe, however, that to understand the production of a text involves one in tracing *both* the generative processes that underlie it *and* the inferential moves that it licenses (and that are requisite to interpretation). Insofar as the latter presuppose some degree of encyclopedic facility, such competence may be treated as an aspect of the text-as-produced. On this understanding, the plea of the Greek psalmist for a νομοθέτης in Ps 9 implies the *topoi* conventionally associated with lawgiving and invites a reference to the Pentateuchal narrative. Assuming that the text is appropriately characterized as an instance of overcoding, the relevance of the intertextual frame is independent of any empirical reading of the text.

This, however, raises a second issue: whether one is thereby approaching the text as if it were an original literary composition, rather than a translation. There is certainly a risk of what Albert Pietersma has aptly called schizophrenic commentary.⁷³ I suppose that whether this is so hangs on the purposes of the Greek translator insofar as they are evident in his work. What did he mean by rendering the Hebrew text as he did? If we want to answer this question with a story about intertextuality, we obviously need to frame that story in such a way that it is consistent with the generative strategies of the translation. This is where the study of translation technique enters the picture. In the present instance, there were indications that the translator had a range of options; that the construal of מורה as νομοθέτης was thus deliberate, not reflexive; and that its alignment with the Pentateuchal narrative was of thematic import. All else being equal, the text-as-produced would seem to have initiated a certain line of interpretation through overcoding.

Perhaps, however, all else is not equal. It might be argued that the Psalter is a special case. This is the third objection. There is a line of scholarship that maintains that the translator's primary aim was not always commu-

72. Ronald Dworkin, *Justice for Hedgehogs* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016), 162.

73. Pietersma, "Basic Principles," 3.

nication or at least not straightforwardly.⁷⁴ Rather, he set out to produce something akin to a Greek metaphor on the Hebrew Psalter.⁷⁵ This analogy does, I believe, provide a helpful way of conceptualizing the degree and kind of linguistic interference that we observe in the Greek text.⁷⁶ We should, however, be clear about our terms. Either Ps 9 is a text or it is not. Ultimately, it is a question of which picture best fits the translation, and to my mind there is no compelling reason to regard it as a paratext.⁷⁷ So, to characterize the translator's use of νομοθέτης with reference to a textual strategy, that is, as an instance of overcoding, cannot be ruled out a priori.⁷⁸

To be persuasive, mind you, the hypothesis would have to fit with the larger picture captured by a descriptive analysis. As Pietersma has stressed, the translator's thematic engagement with the source text is typically expressed through his lexical matches.⁷⁹ His *habitus*, as it were, was apparently shaped by a literate culture in which the practice of word-based construal was in some sense normative.⁸⁰ In this regard, however, it

74. Olofsson, "Law and Lawbreaking," 294.

75. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18.5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 75. "The term metaphrastic captures the isomorphic verbal relationship between the translation and its *Vorlage*."

76. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 219–66.

77. So Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation: Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators," in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus, rev. ed., CBET 50 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 300. There is (at least to modern eyes) an astonishing tolerance for negative interference. But from this it does not follow that the translator merely produced a running glossary. It would seem, rather, that the translation is for the most part a grammatically acceptable work (if not a conventionally *literary* one), that is, something that would have been acknowledged as a Greek text by contemporary readers.

78. Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Society Biblical Literature, 2006), 38: "Just because the Greek Psalter is predominantly a word-based, formal-correspondence type of translation, that scarcely precludes the existence of both genuine exegesis and perfectly good, normal, intelligible Greek."

79. Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint," 38.

80. The term *habitus* comes from Pierre Bourdieu. See Cristina Costa and Mark Murphy, *Bourdieu, Habitus and Social Research: The Art of Application* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1–2: "With habitus, Bourdieu tried to access the internalised behaviours, perceptions, and beliefs that individuals carry with them and which, in part, are translated into the practices to and from the social spaces in which they interact."

is well-known that the Greek text is characterized by its *nomistic* language. In a seminal investigation, Martin Flashar interpreted this phenomenon with reference to the Mosaic law.⁸¹ Staffan Olofsson speaks more cautiously of “the tendency towards a specific preference for words related to the law.”⁸² The possibility that some form of torah piety is operative in the lexicon is certainly worthy of consideration.⁸³ I would suggest that under the encyclopedic model one is better able to delineate this shift and locate it within the intellectual history of Second Temple Judaism.⁸⁴

Finally, there is the matter with which we began, not that of translation technique, but of semantics. At this point, one may well be asking, what about Barr? Certainly a name to conjure with. It is generally assumed that

Compare the tendency of Hellenistic grammatical analysis to focus on the word as the central unit of language. See Casper C. de Jonge, *Between Grammar and Rhetoric: Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Language* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 91. Siobhán McElidu, *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies (New York: Routledge, 2013), 140, remarks that such a system could well have produced translators with a strong inclination towards word-for-word translation, a “lexicon driven approach,” for which there is some evidence in Greco-Roman Egypt. See also Henry J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print* (Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1945), 10, who observes, *apropos* the medieval scribe, “each word was for him a separate entity and at times a problem which he whispered to himself when he had found the solution.”

81. Flashar, “Exegetische Studien,” 169–74. Yet, compare Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter*, MSU 27 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 209: “PsLXXs Übersetzung spiegelt nicht etwa einen angeblichen Nomismus oder nomisierende Umdeutungsabsichten, sondern beruht auf einer konservativen und bewahrenden Interpretation der torabezogenen Texte in den hebraischen Psalmen.”

82. Olofsson, “Law and Lawbreaking,” 317.

83. See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “The Semantics of Biblical Language Redux,” in *Translation Is Required: The Septuagint in Retrospect and Prospect*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, SCS 56 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 41–57, *apropos* the translator’s use of ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζω.

84. There is, as it happens, a precise parallel. As I have suggested elsewhere, the rendering of קָלַח (*qal*) by μελετάω, “to practice” (LSJ, s.v. “μελετάω”), at Ps 1:2 almost certainly involves a reference to Josh 1:8 in the Greek version (the command to Joshua to study torah), and with it a reference to the intertextual frame of ethico-religious formation. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Shifting Frames: A Frame-Based Analysis of Lexical Meaning,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Denver, 19 November 2018. See now Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Meditatio Septuaginta: Torah Recitation as a Spiritual Discipline,” *HTS Theologiese Studies/Theological Studies* 77.1 (2021): art. 6668, doi: 10.4102/hts.v77i1.6668.

methodologically speaking, Barr put paid to the encyclopedia. Yet, I am not entirely convinced that this is so. Barr identified two common fallacies in lexical analysis: (1) illegitimate identity transfer (assuming that words with the same referent have the same semantic value) and (2) illegitimate totality transfer (assuming that the total series of relations into which a word enters may be read into a particular instance).⁸⁵ The encyclopedic model trades on neither fallacy, or at least it need not. To paraphrase Eco, the encyclopedic valence of a word expands or contracts in accordance with its discursive context.⁸⁶

Let us take the example of τέλος. While the expansion of this sememe into a narrative regarding the last days is conceivable,⁸⁷ it is by no means obvious that it is warranted in the case of a text such as Ps 9, where the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος stands at the head of the poem without further elaboration, syntactically isolated, as a rather cryptic metatext. Here (at least with respect to the text's *production*) we appear to be dealing with mere convention.⁸⁸ Little else may be inferred regarding the purposes of the translator or the meaning of his text.⁸⁹ On the other hand, as John Gager notes, the word νομοθέτης was typically reserved for ideal figures.⁹⁰ It is not a technical term, but it does have a strong encyclopedic valence. Moreover, in Ps 9, it occurs within a coherent verbal expression, a petition to the Lord to appoint such a figure. Here, the translator has involved both himself and the reader in a larger net of meaning. The encyclopedic approach endeavors to trace the relevant links, and, in so doing, it construes the translation as a fact of its cultural context.⁹¹

85. Barr, *Semantics*, 217–18.

86. Eco, *Role of the Reader*, 23.

87. Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuagintapsalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter—Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte*, ed. Erich Zenger, HBS 32 (Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 137–39.

88. Pietersma, "Exegesis in the Septuagint," 42–44.

89. See the remarks of Jannes Smith, "God, Judges, Snakes, and Sinners: A Commentary on the Old Greek Text of Psalm 57 (MT 58)," in Büchner, *SBL Commentary on the Septuagint*, 243.

90. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism*, 25.

91. Compare "Preamble to the Guidelines," §1.3.1: "The translation is to be viewed as a fact of the culture that produced it inasmuch as it is a specimen of discourse within that culture." See also §1.3.2: "The verbal make-up of the translation should be understood in relation to the cultural system in which it was produced, that is to say, the sort of text it is as a Greek document."

On this score, the dictionary model may in fact court confusion. Let us consider the translator's contrastive rendering of ירה (III) in Pss 85 and 118.

Ps 85:11 (86:11) ὁδήγησόν με, κύριε, τῇ ὁδῷ σου, | καὶ πορεύσομαι ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου· | εὐφρανθήτω ἡ καρδιά μου τοῦ φοβεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομά σου. (Rahlfs)

Guide me, O Lord, by your way, | and I shall walk in your truth; | let my heart be glad to revere your name. (NETS)

Ps 118:33–34 (119:33–34) νομοθέτησόν με, κύριε, τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν δικαιοματίων σου, | καὶ ἐκζητήσω αὐτὴν διὰ παντός. | 34 συνέτισόν με, καὶ ἐξερευνήσω τὸν νόμον σου | καὶ φυλάξω αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου. (Rahlfs)

Make the way of your statutes, O Lord, my law, | and I will seek it continually. | 34 Make me understand, and I will search out your law | and observe it with my whole heart. (NETS)

The second text is, on the face of it, quite strange. Literally, it reads something like, “legislate me.” From a language-internal stance, there are basically two ways of accounting for this phenomenon. Either the translator has simply plugged in a default match, in which case the text semantics are irrelevant, or else the verb carries some special meaning in this context, such as “instruct in moral matters.”⁹² Neither account convinces. The first commits us to the idea that the translation was purely mechanical, the outcome of a process akin to that of John Searle’s Chinese room.⁹³ But as we can see, each rendering is contextually motivated: where the metaphor of “walking” is the dominant motif, he uses ὁδηγέω, “guide”; where torah is thematic, he chooses νομοθετέω. What of the second proposal? It commits us to the principle that words must mean (antecedently) whatever their context implies. Yet, if that were the case, we would have to create an ad

92. So GELS. Compare John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 284.

93. John Searle, “The Chinese Room,” in *The MIT Encyclopedia of the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. Robert A. Wilson and Frank Keil (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999). Searle imagines himself alone in a room following a set of algorithms for responding to Chinese characters. Searle has no understanding of Chinese, yet by following the program, he produces appropriate strings of characters. People outside the room wrongly assume that he understands Chinese.

hoc dictionary entry for almost every use of νομοθετέω.⁹⁴ “The question is, said Alice, whether you can make words mean so many different things.”⁹⁵

On the encyclopedic model, we escape the horns of this dilemma. The translator did not *say* “legislate” but *mean* “instruct.”⁹⁶ Rather, the verb νομοθετέω was taken up as a lexical gloss because of its intertextual valence.⁹⁷ The reference is to lawgiving. As Erich Zenger notes, the use of νομοθετέω underscores the function of torah as a strengthening and help for the petitioner.⁹⁸ The syntax is decidedly odd, but the meaning is relatively clear and is nicely captured by NETS: “Make the way of your statutes, O Lord, my law.” The psalmist seeks to internalize God’s νόμος through the spiritual discipline of torah study. The underlying idea seems to be that the fundamental aim of the divine lawgiver and his law is moral transformation. Such an idea is not without classical and Hellenistic parallels⁹⁹ and is arguably a leading theme of the translator’s Hebrew source, Ps 119. So here, at least, the encyclopedic model proves illuminating. To what degree it is directly applicable elsewhere in the Psalter, or, for that matter,

94. See Eco, “Metaphor, Dictionary and Encyclopedia,” *passim*.

95. Lewis Carroll, *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* (London: Macmillan, 1872), 124. Alice is replying to Humpty Dumpty. Their conversation is commonly understood as a *reductio ad absurdum* of semantic theories that take the intentions of speakers as primitive. Yet, see Michael Hancher, “Humpty Dumpty and Verbal Meaning,” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 40 (1981): 49–58.

96. Choosing a word has normative implications; it commits one in certain respects. As Wittgenstein famously quipped, “Say ‘it’s cold here’ and mean ‘it’s hot here.’” See the classic discussion of John Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 42–50. Viewed with respect to pragmatics, we might say that the translator has in effect endorsed a particular construal of the source text by selecting a gloss. The idea that normativity is an *inherent* feature of intentionality has been developed by Robert Brandom, *Reason in Philosophy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 27–51.

97. On the other hand, in using the word as he does, the translator (intentionally or not) opens up new possibilities of meaning, which in turn become available to others. His rendering puts one on a new *footing*, as it were. For a constitutive theory of language use, see Charles Taylor, *The Language Animal: The Full Shape of the Human Linguistic Capacity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

98. Frank Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Psalms 3: A Commentary on Psalms 101–150*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2011), 285. Zenger notes further that the primary concern of the Greek version of the Psalm is the relationship of the petitioner to torah.

99. O’Sullivan, *Regime of Demetrius of Phalerum*, 47.

in other books of the Septuagint, is for each commentator to judge. But I have a sense that there is plenty of scope.

In conclusion, I would submit that the encyclopedic model of lexical semantics is not only consistent with a methodology focused on the text-as-produced but that it opens up historically significant avenues of interpretation. Of course, language-internal considerations remain crucial to the philological endeavor. The critical study of lexical phenomena in the Septuagint rightly begins with a descriptive analysis that (inter alia) takes into account the system of contrasts and relations observed in the lexicon of the target language. At the same time, it can be argued that every content word requires for its understanding an appeal to background information, such that to understand a word is to recognize the relevance of this information.¹⁰⁰ Hence, the commentator will want to frame inferences—to the extent possible, given the limitations of the evidence—regarding such things as the practices, institutional facts, and inter-textual relations that motivated the word choice of the Greek translator.¹⁰¹ The result will be a commentary that does increased justice to the semantic richness of the text.

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100. Charles J. Fillmore and Collin Baker, "A Frames Approach to Semantic Analysis," in *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*, ed. Bernd Heine and Heiko Narrog (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 318.

101. See Charles J. Fillmore, "Some Thoughts on the Boundaries and Components of Linguistics," in *Talking Minds: The Study of Language in the Cognitive Sciences*, ed. Thomas G. Bever, John M. Carroll, and Lance A. Miller (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), 89–90. Obviously, some encyclopedic entries will involve considerably more background information than others. We may distinguish between "thick" and "thin" entries, with a word like νομοθέτης exemplifying the former.

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How the Translator of Old Greek Job Understood Job's Suffering

Claude Cox

Abstract: The book of Job is a treasure of world literature, treating as it does the issue of human suffering and the justice of God. Having worked through the text in detail for the SBLCS volume on Job (Iob), it is now possible to bring together the translator's thoughts about Iob and his dilemma. This paper explores the ways in which the translator has interpreted the figure of Job and the experience of his suffering. It unfolds in the following sections: the translator's (= G's) enhancement of the general and religious portrait of Iob; the Lord's ways in the world in a larger sense; G's portrayal of the friends' role: Iob's antagonists—their insistence that Iob is blameworthy and Elious's unique contribution; G's presentation of Iob's suffering and Iob's response to it; the Lord's concern for Iob in his suffering; summative conclusion, which includes the claim by the Lord that the Lord was with Iob all along.

The translator of Old Greek Job (i.e., G) preserves the unfolding story of the disasters that befell Iob and his response to them. Here too there is a description of Iob and his religious life, the challenge issued in heaven by the slanderer, the calamitous losses, first of Iob's wealth and family, then of his health. Three friends (Eliphaz, Baldad, Sophar) come to his side to be with him (chs. 1–2). Iob speaks first, uttering a dark complaint that sees him wish he had not been born. This is the first speech in three cycles of speeches, as first one, then another of the friends, enters into argument with Iob. Iob responds to each of their speeches in turn (chs. 3–28). The

This paper recognizes my teacher in biblical theology, Thomas “Tom” H. Olbricht, mentor and friend. Research was funded in part by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

third cycle is followed by a long speech of Iob wherein he compares his present circumstances with the good life he had (chs. 29–31). A fourth, younger individual (Elious) enters the discussion, dissatisfied with the performance of the other old guys and, at length, advances the debate (chs. 32–37). Finally, the Lord speaks to Iob out of a whirlwind *and cloud*, pummeling Iob with rhetorical questions that he cannot answer (chs. 38–39). Iob responds briefly (40:3–5), and the Lord challenges him again, this time with questions about two beasts (40:6–41:26). He cannot answer these either. Iob responds again and the divine–human dialogue comes to a conclusion with Iob’s admission that, in the light of the theophany he has experienced, he regards himself as a mere mortal, with all its inherent limitations (42:1–6). The book ends with an epilogue where, as in the original, the Lord vindicates Iob. G identifies the friends as sinners who must now have Iob act as priest for them. Then Iob’s wealth and family are restored to him. This time three daughters are identified by name. Iob dies at a great age.

The dominant theme of the book in Greek concerns the testing of a blameless person by suffering, played out against the background of retributive justice, a theological construct to which Iob and his three friends and Elious all subscribe. The primary participants of the story are the Lord and Iob or, perhaps better, Iob and the Lord, since Iob is trying to come to grips—at length—with what he knows the Lord has done to him. The accuser figure is a facilitator, someone who sticks the broom-handle in the bicycle spokes, so to speak. Both Iob’s wife, in her brief appearance, and the friends, are foils for Iob’s relationship with the Lord. The friends work from the same epistemological bases as those in the source text. Eliphaz, Baldad, and Sophar know Iob is suffering because he deserves it: they have witnessed this correlation to be true (15:17); earlier generations affirm it to be so (8:8–10; 15:18); Eliphaz appeals to a nocturnal audition, a revelation, whose spoken content is that human beings cannot be righteous, or pure, before the Lord (4:17). Elious makes a unique claim when he cites as an authority “the spirit” within mortals, given by God (32:8; see also 36:3). The friends—probably Iob too in an earlier day—defend the Lord as a God who is just and whose justice cannot be questioned (34:17; 35:2; 36:23); the Lord, Elious explains, uses affliction to turn the impious to the right way, so affliction is a sign of impiety (36:12); finally, God’s ways are beyond human understanding—they are “extraordinary,” and one must strive to see “the light (of illumination)” (36:26).

All of this sounds familiar, save that G reverses the order of the terminology in 4:17 so that “purity” comes before “being in the right.” This is a clue for the audience that ritual purity (i.e., Leviticus) plays a larger role in OG Job than in the source text. Notably the reversal takes place in an audition Eliphaz experiences rather than in a theophany (4:16cd). The cycles of speeches unfold as in the Hebrew, each introduced by the formulaic introductory remarks, except that chapter 28, suitably edited, is folded into the third cycle, into Job’s speech in chapter 27. The exchanges among Job and the friends are reminiscent of Platonic dialogues and, like them, are heavily academic,¹ as well as pastoral. Both Job’s and the friends’ speeches share the attempt to portray the disastrous fate of the impious in equally long, detailed elaborations. It seems that each tries to outdo the other, the friends in order to castigate Job, Job to demonstrate that, yes, he knows all about retributive justice and subscribes to it. Throughout, as in the original, Job insists on his innocence. To that issue we now turn.

This analysis of the Greek translator’s treatment of Job’s suffering unfolds under the following headings: (1) G’s enhancement of the general and religious portrait of Job; (2) the Lord’s ways in the world in a general sense; (3) the friends as antagonists: their insistence that Job is blameworthy; (4) how Job understands his suffering and how he responds to it; finally, (5) the Lord was on Job’s side all along.

1. G’s Enhancement of the General and Religious Portrait of Job

G supplements the personal information about Job with a wealth of data. The audience for the Greek learns that Job is seventy-eight years old, middle-aged, at the time of the catastrophes that befell him. See 42:16ab; 11:17b: metaphorically, he is in his “midday.” The time frame for Job’s losses and the debate with the three friends is a month (29:2). G has the Lord describe Job as an “attendant” (θέραπων < עֶבֶד; cf. παῖς) (2:3b), a term used in the LXX especially often for Pharaoh’s ministers (23x), but also of Moses (6x: see Num 12:7). Job is a city-dweller—an urbanite—who lives in a house (5:24a) and who, in his youth, climbed about on the city’s walls (6:10b). He has neighbors, presuming a neighborhood (19:15a), and in

1. In what is a subtle but major shift in terminology, the translation sees wickedness (רשע) become “impiety” (ἀσέβεια), iniquity (עוֹל) become “injustice” (ἀδικία), and sin (עוֹן) and transgression (פשע) become “lawlessness” (ἀνομία), a troika of wrongdoing in Hellenistic Judaism.

the early mornings goes out into the city's squares (29:7a). Women who weave and embroider at home are part of his experience (38:36a), as is the blacksmith's shop (32:19b). The daughters in his renewed family have Greek names (42:14).² The abundance of personal detail has the effect of involving the intended audience more fully in Iob's situation: it (and we) can now identify with Iob to a greater degree.

G's treatment of Iob includes an enhancement of his religious life beyond what is provided about it in the source text. This begins with the very first sentence of the story. Three lists of adjectives characterize Iob's ethical and religious life. The first is supplied by the narrator (1:1) and the accuracy of its content is confirmed *cum variatio* by the Lord twice (1:8; 2:3). G adds δίκαιος, "righteous," to the first list because it belongs there in a story that has so much forensic language. Why was it not part of the source text? Surely an oversight! The question of whether a mortal can be in the right is answered at the very beginning: yes, here is a man who lives in the right. Not in the sense that the Lord is righteous (4:17), whose heavenly retinue is held to account (4:18), but righteous none the less. G's addition anticipates 32:1, where the three friends, after the cycles of speeches, have to accept that Iob was righteous before them, as he himself maintained (32:2).

Throughout the argumentation, Iob insists that he is blameless; he is innocent. "Blameless" (ἄμεμπτος < תם) occurs in all three lists, and, in the third, G adds at the head of the list its synonym ἄκακος, so that this particular characteristic of Iob's moral and religious life is emphasized (2:3c). The Lord continues his words to the accuser after Iob's first test by pointing out that Iob maintains his innocence (ἀκακία < תמה, "integrity"). Iob states this for himself at the beginning of the second cycle of speeches: he is δίκαιος and ἄμεμπτος (< תמים, "blameless") (12:4). G introduces the adjective θεοσεβής, "pious, religious," as a translation for ירא אלהים, "fearer of God"—likely on the basis of Exod 18:21—in the three lists of Iob's attributes (1:1b, 8b; 2:3d). G uses the cognate noun θεοσέβεια once, to render ירא אלהים in 28:28a.³ As a result חכמה > σοφία, "wisdom," is defined now as "piety, religion." This is a significant shift because, in the world of the audi-

2. In detail, see Claude Cox, "Biography of a Translator: Personal Details That the Translator Reveals in the Course of Producing the Old Greek Translation of Job" (forthcoming). A provisional copy is available online at Academia.edu.

3. Θεοσέβεια occurs elsewhere in the LXX once in the books of Moses (Gen 20:11 [for ירא אלהים]) and six times in later translations and compositions (Bar 5:4; Sir 1:24;

ence, θεοσέβεια means “respect for the gods,” without identifying the deity. It puts Job in the world of Euripides, Herodotus, Plato, and so on. Since wisdom is piety, it is tempting to reverse the equation and conclude that Job is also wise. In the first exchange between the Lord and the slanderer, G employs the cognate verb, *σεβέομαι*, “worship,” to render ירא אלהים, “he fears God” (1:9b). Job’s attribute is acted out in the practice of worship. G has already offered an example of Job’s religious devotion. Job, the narrator explains, was so religious that he was concerned for his children’s very thoughts, lest their minds harbor anything bad related to God. In the first intertextual addition in OG Job, G draws on Leviticus for the precise sacrifices that Job offered on behalf of his children: καὶ μόσχον ἓνα περὶ ἁμαρτίας περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν, “one bull calf for a sin offering for their souls” (see Lev 4:1–12, especially 3–4; 9:7, 8, et al.; 17:11). This is only the first of numerous intertextual accommodations to the book of Leviticus that enhance the role of ritual purity in the book (e.g., καθαρός χεῖρας [17:9b]; τὰ δῶρα, “votive gifts” [20:6a; Lev 1:2, 3, 10, 14, et al.]). Job may live in the region of Ausitis, but he practices the law of Moses in Greek.

There is at least one more aspect of Job’s religious life that G enhances: he is a sinner. In what way? The two lines that constitute 19:4cd are G’s addition. More specifically they are an intratextual response-citation of 15:3ab, where Eliphaz accuses Job of addressing the friends with “windy insight,” understanding without substance (v. 2a):

ἐλέγχων ἐν ῥήμασιν, οἷς οὐ δεῖ,
ἐν λόγοις, οἷς οὐδὲν ὄφελος;

arguing with statements that are beside the point,
with words that are of no benefit?

At the beginning of his speech in chapter 19, responding immediately to Sophar (ch. 18), Job says that he has spoken as he did because of how the Lord has treated him and because of the shameless way the friends have pressed upon him. He says in verse 4:

ואף אמנם שגיתי || אתי תלין משוגתי

4 Macc 7:6, 22; 15:28; 17:15). For G, יראת אלהים > θεοσέβεια and then ירא אלהים > θεοσεβής were earlier, existing equivalences.

- a ναὶ δὴ ἐπ' ἀληθείας ἐγὼ ἐπλανήθην,
- b παρ' ἐμοὶ δὲ αὐλίζεται πλάνος
- c λαλῆσαι ῥῆμα ὃ οὐκ ἔδει,
- d τὰ δὲ ῥήματά μου πλανᾶται καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ καιροῦ.

- a Yes indeed, I have truly erred,
- b and error lodges with me—
- c to have spoken a word that was not called for,
- d and my words stray and are inappropriate.

G inserted verse 4c–d to explain how Iob erred. The verb *πλανάω* (v. 4a) “wander, stray” preserves the inadvertent nuance of *גָּשׁ* in the source text. The aorist tense indicates some action in the past. What this “error” (*πλάνος*) was (v. 4b) G now identifies. One might add the word “namely” at the end of verse 4b, since verse 4c stands in apposition to *πλάνος*. G takes it that 19:4 responds to 15:3. With its citation G has Iob acknowledge the validity of Eliphaz’s claim. Iob’s is an admission of guilt. In fact, it is a three-fold admission (vv. 19ca; 19da; 19dβ), not two, as in Eliphaz’s accusation. In argumentation where words count, Iob says that he was wrong in what he said: he spoke in a way that was uncalled for; his words stray from the subject and are inappropriate because they are untimely (*οὐκ ἐπὶ καιροῦ*). Since Eliphaz spoke as he did in response to Iob’s speech in chapters 12–14, it is there that we should look for his error. This might include his intemperate accusation about the Lord’s ruthlessness (e.g., 12:13–25), even his characterization of the friends (13:4). Iob makes another admission of wrong in 31:31, towards the end of a long speech where he looks back to the good old days and compares them with his present distress. In that verse, he intimates that his female attendants on occasion—*but not often!*—wished that they could exact a pound of flesh from him. The cause of their dissatisfaction might have been any one of a number of things, such as harsh treatment (Lev 25:43) or a failure to permit laborers to undertake rites of religious devotion such as attendance at festivals (Deut 16:9–17).

There are two other key texts that relate to Iob as a sinner. The first is again from the speech in chapters 29–31. In 31:33, a self-curse text that hangs because it has no apodosis, Iob says, *εἰ δὲ καὶ ἁμαρτῶν ἀκουσίως ἔκρυψα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν μου*, “and if too, ‘sinning haplessly,’ I hid my sin—.” “Hapless sins” can be forgiven, according to the law (Lev 4:20, 26, 31, et al.). These sins include all kinds of wrongs that human beings commit without intention. Iob’s claim, between the lines, is that, when he sinned

in this way, he did not try to hide his wrong. In another passage that resonates with this one, Iob says, with introspection, that he is not conscious of having done anything amiss (*ἄτοπα*). These are the words of the honest person who recognizes that they may have made mistakes here and there, but they are not conscious of doing so. As such, G presents a Iob that the intended audience can identify with as a neighbor or friend in their religious community. He is humanized, takes on flesh and bones to a greater degree than the Job of the original story.

2. The Lord's Ways in the World, in a Larger Sense

In Iob, the varied terminology used for the deity in the source text, namely, אֱלֹהִים, אֱלֹה, and אֵל, “God,” יהוה, “YHWH,” and שְׁדַי, “Shaddai,” are reduced almost entirely to one equivalent, (ὁ) κύριος, “(the) Lord.” There are some exceptions: for example, אֱלֹהִים > θεός (5x in the prologue [1:5, 6, 22; 2:1, 10]; 28:23) and, more notably, שְׁדַי > παντοκράτωρ, “Almighty” (16x, out of 27x; > κύριος 9x). These were existing equivalences, apart from the last one: G Iob is unique in using παντοκράτωρ to represent שְׁדַי. Contrast שְׁדַי > ἰκανός, “Sufficient One,” (Theodotion) (Iob 21:15; 31:2; 40:2) or Σαδδαι (Ezek 10:5). The word παντοκράτωρ is not uncommon in the LXX—ca. 150x—but it is employed almost exclusively to render צְבָאוֹת, “*ḥabā’ôt*,” that is, “armies” (?), “a reference to Yhwh’s comprehensive power.”⁴ G’s understanding of שְׁדַי as παντοκράτωρ places it firmly in the context of the Greek world, where it does not occur so commonly of the gods and, more importantly, in the worldview of the LXX as a whole. It is also suitably in tune with the portrayal of the Lord, who is presented by means of several doxologies as an almighty power (5:8–13 [Eliphaz]; 9:5–10 [Iob]; 11:7–12 [Sophar]; 12:13–25 [Iob]; 25:2–6 [Baldad]; 26:5–14 [Iob]; and 36:26–37:13 [Elious]).⁵ G abbreviates the last two drastically but preserves the theme of the Lord’s overwhelming power (e.g., 13:15a). Two observations (at least) are especially relevant to G’s take on Iob’s suffering. The first concerns the

4. See Hans-Jürgen Zobel, “צְבָאוֹת,” *TDOT* 12:221. *HALOT* cites the translation κύριος παντοκράτωρ in support of understanding צְבָאוֹת as an intensive plural, whereby יהוה צְבָאוֹת means “YHWH the almighty (one)” (s.v. “צְבָא” B.4.f–g).

5. See Claude Cox, “Old Greek Job: The Translation of Thematic Blocks of Text That Have as Their Subjects 1. The Lord; 2. Mere Mortals; 3. The Impious; and 4. The Just and Restored,” unpublished paper, <https://tinyurl.com/SBLPress0476b2>.

word *ἐξάίσιος*; the second, the purpose of the Lord's demonstrations of power, according to Elious.

G uses the word *ἐξάίσιος* nine times (4:12; 5:9 // 9:10; 9:23; 18:12; 20:5; 22:10; 34:24b [< 5:9b]; and 37:16). It is unique to G Iob in the LXX. The key passages are doxological, 5:9 // 9:10 // 34:24. Since G replaces 34:24b with 5:9b, 5:9 // 9:10 is primary. In 5:9, Eliphaz takes up a hymn that praises the Lord:

τὸν ποιοῦντα μεγάλα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα,
ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαίσια, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς·

who does great and inscrutable things,
things both glorious and extraordinary, without number.

A list of the Lord's actions follows—sending rain onto the earth, reversing the lot of the lowly (*ταπεινούς* [v. 11a]) and of those who think they are wise. The words *ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαίσια* are a doublet that renders the single word *נִפְלְאוֹת*, “marvelous things” (NRSV), a word that first occurs in Exod 3:20, where it is rendered *θαυμασία*, “wonders.” It and *τὰ θαυμαστά*, neuter plurals, become its established equivalents in the LXX. G knows this equivalence (42:3d) but prefers another. The source of both *ἐνδοξά* and *ἐξαίσια* is Exod 34:10, where *נִפְלְאוֹת* > *ἐνδοξά* and where, later in the same verse, *גִּדְּלוֹ*, “awesome” > *θαυμαστά*. The Greek verb involved is *ποιήσω*, “I (i.e., the Lord) shall do glorious things ... awesome (things).” G Iob uses the word *ἐξαίσια* rather than *θαυμαστά*. The doublet *ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαίσια* has a symmetry of sound and appearance and, as such, lends itself to a hymnic context. The word *ἐξάίσιος*, “extraordinary” (LSJ) *almost* means “miraculous.” G uses it first in 4:12, where Eliphaz says that he heard *ἐξαίσια* (< *שִׁשְׁרָה*, “whisper”) from the Lord. Later, G employs it with respect to the *πτῶμα ἐξάίσιον*, “extraordinary fall,” prepared for the impious (18:12a), a line repeated at 20:5a in an intratextual accommodation. Iob himself says that the truthful were seized with *θαῦμα* (cf. MT) at what happened to him. In 22:10, Eliphaz employs *ἐξάίσιος* of the extraordinary conflict that has arisen within Iob. In all the passages where *ἐξάίσιος* occurs, the miraculous, inexplicable, wondrous activity of the Lord is called to mind. The friends think that what has happened to Iob is somehow of that dimension.

Second, in a tour de force, no pun intended, the brilliant Elious explains to Iob that the overwhelming power of the Lord has as its objective to show every person, that is, all humankind, their weakness. G omits 37:2a–5a, 6b–7a, but edits together the following translation in 37:5b–7b:

- 5b ἐποίησεν γὰρ μεγάλα, ἃ οὐκ ᾔδειμεν,
 6a συντάσσω χιόνι Γίνου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.
 7b ἵνα γινῶ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀσθένειαν.

- 5b For he did great things that we did not know,
 6a instructing the snow, 'Come upon the earth!'
 7b so that every human being may know his own *weakness*.⁶

In G's edited text, the great works of the Lord (μεγάλα ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἔργα [36:24a]) are reduced to the numbering of the raindrops and the cloud-covering of mortals (36:27a, 28a) and the internal clock of cattle (36:28bc), that is, aspects of the natural and animal world. Elious says to Iob, "Be amazed!" (36:28d–e) In 36:6a another phenomenon of the natural world is added, the falling of snow: it is the Lord who instructs this unusual substance to come. These great works contrast with humanity's lack of power, the weakness that is an attribute of every person. This is the only time G uses the word ἀσθένεια, and it occurs rarely elsewhere in the LXX, only six times (2 Macc 9:21, 22; Ps 15:4; Eccl 12:4; Jer 6:21; 18:23). It is just possible that an intertextual connection exists with the two verses in Jeremiah. Human weakness stands in contrast with the Lord's power (δύναμις), which admonishes (37:14a) and is unique, "like the strength (ἰσχὺς) of no other" (37:23a). Elious's is the final, summative word about the Lord's power before the theophany chapters 38–39.

3. G's Portrayal of the Friends' Role:

Iob's Antagonists—Their Insistence That Iob Is Blameworthy

In the source text, three friends hear of Iob's troubles. They are identified by name and gentilic as Eliphaz the Temanite, Bildad the Shuhite, and Zophar the Naamathite (2:11). G adds their political and social status:

6. The NRSV renders these three lines with the words, "he [i.e., God] does great things that we cannot comprehend. [v. 6] For to the snow he says, 'Fall on the earth'; [v. 6b] ... [v. 7a] ... [v. 7b] so that all whom he has made may know it." A marginal note adds, "Meaning of Heb of verse 7 uncertain." The NRSV adds the word "it": cf. לְדַעַת כָּל אֲנָשִׁי מַעֲשָׂהוּ, "for the knowing of all the people of his making" > "that all the people of his making might know it." G also provides an object, ἀσθένειαν. In the context, it appears that people come to identify the Lord as the powerful force behind phenomena that amaze them.

Eliphaz is a “king” (βασιλεύς), as is Sophar; Baldad is a “tyrant” (τύραννος). This elevation of their status at the same time represents an elevation of Job’s status. Job has powerful friends. When they heard of all the troubles that had come upon Job, according to the source text, “each of them set out from his place” (יֵבֹאוּ אִישׁ מִמָּקוֹמוֹ) (2:11). Following the provision of their names and gentilics, the text continues, “(they) met together to go and console and comfort him” (NRSV) (יִיעָדוּ יַחְדָּו לְבוֹא לְנוֹד לוֹ וּלְנַחֲמוֹ). G’s transmission of this information has several notable aspects. The OG is: *παρεγένοντο ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας χώρας πρὸς αὐτόν ... παρεγένοντο πρὸς αὐτόν ὁμοθυμαδὸν τοῦ παρακαλέσαι καὶ ἐπισκέψασθαι αὐτόν*, “they drew near, each from his own country, to him ... they drew near to him of one accord, to encourage and to watch over him” (NETS). There is much to say about this rendering but, for our purposes, one particular observation draws attention. It is this. Twice G represents the common verb בּוֹא, “come,” with *παραγίνομαι*, “draw near” (2:11b, f). G employs *παραγίνομαι* as an equivalent for בּוֹא (52x in Job) only three times—twice in 2:11 (i.e., vv. 11b, 11f) and in 1:7, where the Lord says to the slanderer, *Πόθεν παραγένονας*, “Whence have you drawn near?” (מֵאֵין תְּבֹא). This seems too deliberate to be coincidental. The approach of the friends is like that of the slanderer. G’s choice of equivalent alerts the reader to the fact that there is an ominous dimension to their arrival. If the friends are, in fact, antagonists, this should not come as a shock.

The friends become Job’s accusers in the source text. The accusation that he has done something wrong to deserve his troubles is presented in a variety of permutations. Eliphaz asks, in a rhetorical question, when did “the innocent” ever perish? (4:7) On a different note, Bildad inquires, “Does God pervert justice?” (8:3). Your children sinned, he adds (8:4). Zophar informs Job that God has even forgotten some of his sins, they are so many (11:6). Eliphaz asserts that God does not need Job to be righteous, does not really care if he is or is not (22:3)—reiterated by Elihu (35:6). Elihu says that God sends distress on people to get their attention—so they will realize that change is necessary (33:29–30). A governor simply cannot be unjust, he adds (34:17). Finally, God’s silence is an indication of Job’s guilt (35:12).

G makes changes in three of these passages (see 33:29–30; 34:17; 35:12). In all of the friends’ argumentation, there is a presumption of guilt that is carried over into the OG. G shifts the issue of guilt in the direction of ritual impurity, that is, toward Leviticus and Psalms: for example, see the translation of 4:7a (נָקִי, “innocent” > *καθαρός*); at 4:17, the audition, G

transposes vv. 17a and 17b, so the order is יטהר > καθαρὸς ἔσται (a), then יצדק > ἄμεμπτος (ἔσται) (b); and אם אתה הכינות לבך, “If you direct your heart rightly” > εἰ (γὰρ) σὺ καθαρὰν ἔθου τὴν καρδίαν σου, “(For) if you have made your heart pure” (11:13a). This accusation of impurity calls into question Job's role of acting in a priestly fashion (1:5c–c1), but it is consistent with the shift in terminology from the source text to the OG, whereby רשע, “wickedness” = ἀσέβεια, “impiety.”⁷

The friends accuse Job of pride. Eliphaz, in one of the passages about Job's path to restoration, says to Job, אם תשוב עד שדי תבנה, “if you return to the Almighty, you will be restored” (NRSV). G understands this to mean, ἐὰν (δὲ) ἐπιστραφῇς καὶ ταπεινώσῃς σεαυτὸν ἔναντι κυρίου, “(and) if you turn and humble yourself before the Lord” (22:23a). Later Elious will claim that the Lord has set him apart from the insolence (ὑβρις < גאון) of the wicked (35:12b). The language in each case is stereotypical, but humility emerges as an attribute called upon in Job's suffering.

At the conclusion of the cycles of speeches, the three friends—according to the OG—are forced to acknowledge that Job is in the right. They cease to contradict him any longer, ἦν γὰρ Ἰὼβ δίκαιος ἐναντίον αὐτῶν, “for Job was righteous before them,” that is, so far as they were concerned, in their opinion (32:1b). Contrast the source text: בי הוא צדיק בעיניו, “because he was righteous *in his own eyes*” (NRSV), “for he considered himself right” (NJPS).⁸ Their opinion affirms the deity's earlier assessment that Job is blameless (2:3c). The narrator continues. Elious is angry with the friends because, while holding Job to be impious (ἀσεβῆ), they could not respond to his claim with convincing counter-arguments (32:3). On the other hand, the antagonistic friends themselves are caught out. Job had warned them against being less than honest (19:29a). So it is that, without proving otherwise, they held him to be impious: they were duplicitous (13:7; 32:3). Elious also says that his older colleagues were arrogant, since they claimed to be wise when they “joined themselves” to the Lord (32:13), an intertextual citation of Deut 13:4. With that citation they claim to be wedded to the law and possess its authority. It all comes out in the wash, as they say. In the epilogue, it is the three friends that the Lord holds blameworthy.

7. It is to be noted that the equation רשע > ἀσεβής (or its cognates) first occurs in Gen 18:23, 25, a text that we will have cause to take up later in this study.

8. The text tradition of the Hebrew source text is divided. The majority text attests בעיניו, “in *his eyes*,” that is, in Job's own eyes. Tg Job supports the MT; at least one Hebrew manuscript (Kennicott 248), Symmachus, and the Peshitta support the OG.

The Lord says to Eliphaz, *ἤμαρτες σὺ καὶ οἱ δύο φίλοι σου*, “*You yourself sinned*, as well as your two friends” (42:7b). The word *ἤμαρτες* explains why, in the Hebrew, God was angry with the three friends of Job. It permits a contrast between Iob, who did not sin (1:22; 2:10)—and claimed he had not (34:8)—and the friends who argued that he had (11:6; 15:11). In the source text, the friends incurred the Lord’s anger in speaking falsely *about the Lord*, but in the OG they have spoken “nothing true” (*ἀληθές οὐδέν*) before him—that is, in the arena of the friends and Iob—as had Iob (42:7cd). The dramatic assertion in the Hebrew is restated in the following verse where, according to G, their wrong is a matter of speaking falsehood (*οὐ ἐλάλησατε ἀληθές*) against Iob rather than a question of what they said about the Lord (42:8g). The falsehood is that Iob was blameworthy and he deserved what befell him. The condemnation of the three friends is the vindication of Iob.

3.1. Elious Advances a Unique Qualification

As in the source text, the oh-so-smart Elious appears on the stage suddenly and engages Iob in one long speech, chapters 32–37, broken up at 34:1; 35:1; and 36:1. G adds an additional stereotypical, formulaic heading at 32:17, *Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ Ἐλιοῦς λέγει*, “But Elious says in reply.” In the introduction to the person of Elious, G adds a detail that affects how the reader views him in relation to Iob. G reproduces from the source text Elious’s parentage (son of Barachiel) and gentilic (Bouzite), then says that Elious was of the kinfolk of Ram, *in the region of Ausitis* (*τῆς Αὐσίτιδος χώρας*). Iob is from this same region, so Elious is a younger contemporary from the same place whom Iob may in fact know! A bit precocious and full of himself, Elious makes a unique contribution to the understanding of the sufferer’s relationship with the deity. In the third section of the speech (Job 35), Elious calls into question Iob’s claim that he is righteous (vv. 2–7a), holds over Iob the Lord’s perspicacious involvement in the natural order of things and a favoritism toward Elious himself (vv. 10b–14a), and then, in a brief conclusion, challenges Iob to accept the Lord’s judgment in a conditional sentence that begins with its apodosis (v. 14bα) and ends with a theologically striking protasis (v. 14bβ):

וְדִן לַפְּנֵי וְתוֹחֶלֶל לוֹ ||

κρίθητι δὲ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ, εἰ δύνασαι αἰνέσαι αὐτόν, ὥς ἔστιν.

But submit to judgement before him, if you can praise him as he is.

NRSV (14a) How much less [13: does God regard it] when you say
that you do not see him,
(14b) that the case is before him, and you are waiting for him!

In verse 14a, G adds the conjunction $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, “but,” which sets up a contrast between Elious’s confident claim—“the Lord will save *me*” (OG v. 14aβ)—and his advice to Iob, “but *you* submit” (v. 14bα). G’s $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ understands יִד as a *qal* imperative, second sg. active, so “plead your cause” (HALOT, s.v. “ יִד *qal* 1”) > “be brought to trial” (LSJ, s.v. “ $\kappa\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ ”) (cf. NRSV: “the case”). G construes verse 14b as a conditional sentence, made clear by the presence of $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ at the head of 14bβ. G treats תַּחֲוֹלֵל as a form of the verb הָלַל , “praise,” adds the verb $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$, indicating desire or capability, and then contributes the qualifying clause $\acute{\omega}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota\nu$, “as he [i.e., the Lord] is.” G’s use of $\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ introduces the theme of praise in general, but more specifically in worship, a form of regarding with favor. That clause “as he is” draws the reader’s attention and interest. The introduction of $\delta\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ already turns the clause toward diplomacy—“if you are able (after all you have been through)” —but “as he is” asks Iob to accept the Lord and the Lord’s way of doing things (see 35:5, 10b–11, 12b–14). This is really G speaking, through Elious. This is G’s pastoral advice and, as such, provides an insight into an aspect of G’s understanding of theodicy.

4. G’s Presentation of Iob’s Suffering and of His Response to It

4.1. Iob’s Suffering

In the source text, Job’s suffering is severe enough, but in G’s presentation it is even worse in several ways. G adds to the picture of Job with his potsherd the fact that, with it, Iob was scraping away *the pus* ($\tau\acute{o}\nu \iota\chi\tilde{\omega}\rho\alpha$) from his skin (2:8a). What a pitiful sight! In the source text, Job sits among the ashes (אֲפֵר , “loose soil, crumbling into dust”: the waste heaps in front of the village [HALOT, s.v. “ אֲפֵר 1”]). G enhances this in two ways. First, G renders אֲפֵר בַּתֹּךְ with $\epsilon\acute{\pi}\iota \tau\eta\varsigma \kappa\omicron\sigma\pi\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$, “on the dung-heap” (BDAG: “manure pile” [Luke 14:35]), that is, the dung of mules and cattle (see *Od.* 17.297). Not ashes. Second, G adds the words $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\omega \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\acute{o}\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$, the place of the ritually defiled (Lev 13:45–46; 14:40–45) and of exclusion from the community.

If there is a word that G favors for Iob's situation, it is *ὀδύνη*, "pain of body; pain of mind, grief, distress" (LSJ)—apart from 3:7 always an abstract plural. In the LXX generally, *ὀδύνη* occurs sixty-seven times, as a translation for some twenty-five different Hebrew words (HRCS). G inherited this legacy. G uses *ὀδύνη* seventeen times. Notably HRCS mark one of these as without equivalent in the Hebrew (7:19) and a further four with a dagger (†), indicating there is no clear equivalent in the source text (3:7a [but < גלמוד, "barren"]; 20:23; 30:14, 22). This means that, in four or five cases, its use goes beyond the standard equivalents. In the remaining twelve instances, G employs *ὀδύνη* to represent some eight different Hebrew words (see HRCS). The result is that G subsumes nine different words—adding 3:7a—in the source text under *ὀδύνη* and employs it in an additional five passages. G accents Iob's pain as that is expressed with the word *ὀδύνη-ὀδύναι*.

In three passages, G offers information about the extent of Iob's suffering that is not present in the Hebrew text. In his state of weakness, Iob once asks his friends, "lift me up," so that he can speak (21:3a). That is, he is unable to raise himself from the ground. Second, G says that Iob's rejection by his family extended to the children of his secondary wives (19:17b). Third, according to the OG, Iob's suffering was so great that he wanted either to commit suicide or to have someone else help him take his own life (30:24). He was desperate.

4.2. How Iob Understands His Suffering and Responds to It

The Iob of the Old Greek text is a person in translation. That being the case, we should expect that the presentation of the character of Iob and his suffering and response to it would be that of the source text. And this is the case. The genre of complaint figures largely in G's translation, as in the original. Iob goes on numerous times at length and in detail about how the Lord is mistreating him. To forget this in an analysis of G's take on Iob's understanding of Iob's suffering and his response to it would skew the overall exploration of what is there about these themes. What follows recognizes that risk. At the same time, G's translation carries unique aspects whereby Iob's experience is enhanced and shaped by G for the community of that time and place.

4.2.1. Iob's Understanding of Suffering

For Iob, all of human life is a trial. Iob sets forth this general assessment in his first response speech, in 7:1a:

הלא צבא לאנוש על ארץ

πότερον οὐχὶ πειρατήριόν ἐστιν ὁ βίος ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς

NETS Is not the life of a human being a trial?

NRSV Do not human beings have a hard service on earth?

These words begin a section of the speech (vv. 1–6) where Iob appears to be pleading with the friends for understanding. The rhetorical question includes three similes: a person's life is like that of a day laborer, a faithful attendant (θεράπων) who finds temporary respite (shadow), or a wage-earner who waits and waits for wages (7:1b–2). The word צבא occurs often in the Hebrew Bible (486x [so Accordance]), usually with respect to military service. *HALOT* suggests for 7:1 the meaning “compulsory labor” (s.v. “צבא A.7,” citing Karl Elliger). Compare “hard service” (NEB NRSV TNIV); “term of service” (NJPS); “nothing more than pressed service” (JB). G interprets צבא as πειρατήριον, “trial.” The equivalence is unique to G, who employs it again at 10:17 (“you [i.e., the Lord] brought trials on me [Iob]”). This exhausts its use in the LXX. The words “on earth” establish the boundaries of this trial which Iob later compares with the testing that gold undergoes (23:10), like in the source text.

4.2.2. How Iob Responds to His Suffering

4.2.2.1. Life is a “trial” (πειρατήριον) and suffering is to be endured. In an immediate response to his losses, Iob asks his wife, “If we received the good things from the Lord's hand, shall we not *bear* the bad (τὰ κακὰ οὐχ ὑποίσομεν [< נקבל ‘receive’]).” (2:10c)

4.2.2.2. Iob retains his confidence in the Lord's power to change his situation, amidst all his complaints. In his third speech, he recounts how the Lord carefully made him, then struck him down. Nonetheless, he says that the Lord can do anything; nothing is impossible. Compare the source text with G's translation at 10:13:

ואלה צפנת בלבבך || ידעתי כי זאת עמד

ταῦτα ἔχων ἐν σεαυτῷ

οἶδα ὅτι πάντα δύνασαι, ἀδυνατεῖ δέ σοι οὐθέν.

NETS Since you have these things in you,
I know that you can do anything, and nothing is impossible for
you.

NRSV Yet these things you (i.e., the Lord) hid in your heart;
I know that this was your purpose.

The translation of verse 13b draws intratextually on 42:2. The catchwords are ידעתי כִּי, “I know that.” G replaces verse 13b with 42:2 and with this exegetical move anticipates Iob’s response to the Lord. What is 42:2a draws with it 42:2b, namely, ἀδυνατεῖ δέ σοι οὐθέν. G’s intratextual borrowing is a commentary on how G understood עִמָּךְ, “this (is) with you,” as a reference to the Lord’s power. Verse 13 becomes a bold statement of confidence whereby, on the basis of his own formation, Iob asserts that the Lord’s powers are limitless. Iob’s statement of confidence in 10:13b // 42:2 necessarily leads us into a third response of Iob to his distress. In this instance, the response might be subsumed under the second.

4.2.2.3. In his distress, Iob draws on the early stories and traditions of the Lord’s people. Dominique Mangin says that one cannot understand OG Iob 38:1–42:6 without referring to Gen 18,⁹ where the announcement is made to Abraam and Sarra that they will have a child (18:1–15) and where Abraam bargains with the Lord concerning the fate of Sodoma and Gomorra (chs. 16–33). This observation about the intertextual connection between the passage in Iob and Gen 18 is one of vital exegetical importance. In the case at hand, Iob 42:2 (> 10:13b) represents a citation of LXX Gen 18:14 where, in response to Sarra’s doubt about bearing a child, the Lord asks Abraam, μή ἀδυνατεῖ παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ῥῆμα, “Can it be that a matter is impossible with God? (NETS), or, colloquially, “Is anything impossible with God [i.e., me].” Iob takes heart from the Abraam and Sarra story, where the Lord’s announcement was fulfilled, against all odds. Iob’s citation functions to jog the Lord’s memory: surely the Lord can do for him, a righteous person (δίκαιος), what he did for Abraam, whom the Lord con-

9. Dominique Mangin, *Le texte court de la version grecque du livre de Job et la double interprétation du personnage jusqu’au IIe siècle* (PhD diss., Université d’Aix-Marseille-1 [Université de Provence], 2005), 141.

sidered righteous (Gen 15:6). Early in the discussion with his “friends,” Job recalled for them Abraam’s negotiations with the Lord in the words ὅταν ἄρξωμαι λαλεῖν, “whenever I begin to speak” (6:4c) (< νῦν ἡρξάμην λαλῆσαι [Gen 18:27]).¹⁰ Job makes many intertextual references and allusions to the law, the prophets, and Psalms, even the occasional quotation, as in 3:16, where he cites Num 12:12a, ὥσπερ ἔκτρωμα ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ μήτρας μητρός, “like a miscarriage coming out of a mother’s womb” (NETS). In this instance, in his agony, he is describing what he wishes had been the circumstances of his birth. Job quotes the Scriptures, so to speak. He draws on Gen 3:19 with reference to what he expects to happen to him, namely, εἰς γῆν ἀπελεύσομαι (1:21c; 7:21c [< לעפר אשכב]; 10:9b; 34:15). He quotes Deut 1:16c to the Lord as part of his wish that there should be an arbiter, an investigator, and “one hearing the case (between us)” (διακούων ἀνὰ μέσον) (9:33). Job quotes the law to the Lord in this description of how the Lord has treated him, ἐπέστησας αὐτῷ τὸ πρόσωπον, “you [i.e., the Lord] set your face against him [Job]” (14:20b; see Lev 17:10). Finally, no phrase is more common in OG Job than those formed with ἔναντι (ἐναντίον, ἐνώπιον) “before” (i.e., the Lord), such a frequently used phrase in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. There are too many examples of Job’s use of authoritative scripture texts to mention here. In his distress, Job appeals to texts elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, almost invariably in the form of the LXX.

4.2.2.4. Job challenges the Lord. G reproduces Job’s complaints from the source text, wherein he makes accusations against YHWH. However, G’s treatment of 42:1–4—well, including verses 5–6, to which we turn in a moment—is remarkable because G has Job “turn the tables” on the Lord. Following the theophany, but before the endless rhetorical questions, that is, at the outset, YHWH challenges Job (38:3):

אָזר נא כגבר חלצִיךְ || וּשְׂאֵלֶךְ וְהוֹדִיעֲנִי

ζῶσαι ὥσπερ ἀνὴρ τὴν ὀσφύν σου,
ἐρωτήσω δέ σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι.

Gird up your loins like a man,

10. See Mangin, *Le texte court*, 145.

and I will question you; and you, answer me!

NRSV Gird up your loins like a man,
I will question you, and you shall declare to me.

In 40:3–6, Job responds to the theophany and stinging rhetorical questions (chs. 38–39) with the admission that he is of no account. Then YHWH speaks again and challenges Job with the very same words as in 38:3 (40:6). (The OG is also identical, except G adds *Μή, ἀλλά* at its head and replaces *ἀποκρίθητι* with its equal, *ἀπόκριναι*, for the sake of variation.) In the source text, this scene is returned to in Iob's mind following YHWH's questions to Job about "the Beasts" (40:15–41:26). Job says in response that YHWH can do anything and that YHWH's plans cannot be thwarted by anyone (40:2). Then Job quotes what YHWH had said at the outset of the questioning (42:3a = 38:2), with his response; next Job quotes the challenge that YHWH had twice issued to him (42:4 = 38:3 // 40:7), and responds (42:5–6). G's treatment of 42:2–6 is astonishing. G replaces verse 2 of the Hebrew with a citation of OG Gen 18:14, which Iob has already quoted (10:13), to produce an intratextual reference. He then cites the question from 38:2 (> 42:3), as in the source text, but Iob's response is now not a confession of ignorance but another question in which he asks the Lord who is going to tell him about the "great and marvelous things" (*μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά* [a doublet translation] < *נפלאות*) that he did not understand (42:3cd). Next Iob *turns the quotation* of YHWH's demand that Job listen to YHWH's questions and answer them *into a demand* that the Lord listen to *his* questions and teach *him*!

ἄκουσον δέ μου, κύριε, ἵνα καὶ γὰρ λαλήσω.
ἐρωτήσω δέ σε, σὺ δέ με διδάξον.

Now hear me, Lord, that I too may speak,
and I will question you; and you, teach me!

Here Iob has not lost his combativeness. G retains the two imperative verbs of the source text and makes changes to 38:2 (= 40:7) for the sake of the context. "Gird up your loins like a man"—obviously unsuitable—becomes "Hear me, Lord, so I can speak!" Now Iob will question the Lord and the Lord will teach Iob, presumably the things he did not understand

(v. 3cd). The challenge to the Lord is, “Listen! I’ll question *you* (this time). You teach me!”

4.2.2.5. Job defers to the Lord in his distress. He does not sin—that is part of the source text (1:22b), but G makes it emphatic, οὐδὲν ἥμαρτεν Ἰώβ, “Job did not sin *at all*.” G stresses Job’s likelihood to do so with the translation that sees **בְּכָל זֶה**, “in all this,” become ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις τοῖς συμβεβηκόσιν αὐτῷ, “in all these things that happened to him” (1:22a), repeated in an intratextual loan at 2:10d. Nor does he charge the Lord with foolishness (1:22c). Rather, Job says: ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ κύριος ἐφείλατο (< **וַיְהוֹה נָתַן לְקַח**), but then adds, ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν, οὕτως ἐγένετο, “as it seemed (best) to the Lord, so it turned out.” (1:21c1) This line is intended to soften the blunt statement just made, where the Lord’s actions could be understood to be without sentiment. G’s comment issues from pastoral concern and, occurring early in the book, sets a tone. There is a proportionality in the comparison: Job acknowledges to his wife that the disasters that have befallen him are in line with the Lord’s beneficence. Throughout the book, Job maintains this deference, which can be understood as humility. In this connection, there is no more striking passage than 12:13–25. In this remarkable text, Job relates the Lord’s great acts of power in nature (vv. 13–16); then how he has seated kings on thrones, sent priests away captive, driven earthly judges mad, even confounded the words of the trustworthy and listened in on the understanding of elders (vv. 17–20). In contrast with all this, in one short line, G has Job say, ταπεινοὺς δὲ ἰάσατο, “but he healed the humble.” Job is such a person. The word ταπεινός and its cognates are an important word group in respect to piety (see Pss 9:39; 17:28; 33:19; 81:3; 101:18; 112:6; 137:6). This passage is reminiscent of the hymn in 5:8–13 where, among great acts in the natural world and the upsetting of the crafty and wise, the Lord “sets on high those that are lowly” (ταπεινοὺς) (5:11a). The same Eliphaz who lauded the Lord in these terms later asks Job if the Lord did not bring down (ἐταπείνωσεν) the proud (22:12b). That is followed by an admonition that Job “turn and humble himself” (ἐὰν ... ταπεινώσῃς σεαυτόν). Eliphaz is treating Job as one of the proud.

The key verse—or what has become a key verse—at the end of the book continues the theme of deference in the face of theophany (42:5–6). In the source text, after Job responds to YHWH—a response that includes direct quotations of YHWH’s words to Job, Job says that he had heard of YHWH by ear but has now seen the deity with his eyes (v. 5). Job continues

with the word “therefore,” so that what follows is based on the experience of sight, presumably the theophany. Job concludes his response to YHWH with the following words (v. 6).

על כן אמאס ונחמתי || על עפר ואפר

NRSV therefore I despise myself,
and repent in dust and ashes.

NJPS Therefore, I recant and relent,
Being but dust and ashes.

G’s translation of verse 6 is:

διὸ ἐφαύλισα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ἐτάκην,
ἡγημαι δὲ ἐμαυτὸν γῆν καὶ σποδόν.

NETS therefore I disparaged myself and wasted away,
and I regard myself dust and ashes.

LXX.D Deshalb verachte ich mich selbst und zerfließe
und halte mich selbst für Erde und Asche.

G reproduces the content of verse 5 but highlights the “then–now” sequence of the two lines with μέν ... δέ and the addition of τὸ πρότερον in verse 5a. The translation and interpretation of verse 6 has elicited much discussion that cannot be pursued here, where the interest is solely on G’s understanding of the source text. The MT places the *ātnāh* beneath ונחמתי, so that verse 6a has two finite verbs and verse 6b has none. In contrast, Aquila and the majority of English translations join ונחמתי to verse 6b (so NRSV). However, since G usually follows the word order of the source text and usually tries to represent each word in translation, על כן אמאס ונחמתי > διὸ ἐφαύλισα ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ἐτάκην as verse 6a: two finite verbs are represented by two finite verbs. (G’s translation whereby ונחמתי > ἐτάκην treats the Hebrew verb as a form of חמם *niphal*, “inflare oneself” [BDB and DCH, both s.v. “חמם”].) G renders both verbs of verse 6a with aorists, indicating something happened and is over with. This refers to Job’s immediate response to what he has experienced with “his eyes,” that is, the theophany. Verse 6b requires a verb, and G supplies ἡγέομαι,

"I regard, consider," which G employed three times in the near context (41:19a, 20b, 23b). More importantly its use resonates intratextually with 30:19: ἡγησάι δέ με ἴσα πηλῶ, ἐν γῇ καὶ σποδῶ μου ἡ μερίς, "And you [i.e., the Lord] have regarded me [Job] as clay; // my lot is in dust and ashes." Since G has drawn on Gen 18 before, it is possible that, in verse 6b, G is drawing on that text again, where, in verse 27, Abraam undertakes to speak to the Lord עַפְרָא וְאַנְכִי עָפָר וָאֵשׁ > ἐγὼ δὲ εἰμι γῇ καὶ σποδός, "though I am earth and ashes" (NETS).¹¹ The fact that G does not represent the preposition עַל in 42:6 (עַל עָפָר וָאֵשׁ) suggests intra-/intertextual borrowing.¹² A reference to the Abraam tradition has exegetical consequences: Job, like Abraam, speaks out of mortality. G repeats the reflexive pronoun ἐμαυτὸν from verse 6a, so that the resolution that takes place in verse 6 is intensely personal. The use of the present tense indicates where Job is at the moment. Dust indicates mortality, creature as opposed to creator (Gen 3:19); ashes are associated with the inconsequential, what is left over after a fire. Ashes find a place in mourning rituals (e.g., 2 Kgdms 13:19). In the OG, "dust and ashes" are not a sign of grief or "repentance" (cf. NRSV). G structures verse 6 like verse 5: *then* (aorist)—*now* (present). Job comes to accept his mortality with all its limitations. G anticipated Job's response in the treatment of 37:7b.

5. The Lord's Concern for Job in His Suffering

The degree to which the Lord extends care to the suffering Job in G's translation comes as a surprise and, in my case, only after a close analysis of the entire work and some years of reflection. In the source text, the bargain that YHWH enters into with the accuser does not put the deity in a good light. How could YHWH do that to a worshiper like Job? Yes, we know that it is just a story—"There once was a man ..."—but, even so, the prologue to the

11. See Mangin, *Le texte courte*, 141.

12. The translation strategy of the targumist of 11QtgJob is the same as G's: עַל עָפָר וָאֵשׁ (MT) > וְאִהְיֶה לְעָפָר וְקָשָׁם, "and I will become dust and ash"—whose sense may be something like, "I will resolve to be simply a human being." Here the preposition עַל, "whither" (Aramaic), solicits לִי הָיָה, "become." G and the Targum together represent an exegetical tradition. See Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg and Adam S. van der Woude, eds., with the collaboration of Bastiaan Jongeling, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI*, Bar-Ilan Studies in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1974), ad loc.

great discussion is shocking with respect to the intrigue of the deal struck between YHWH and the accuser. G enhances the deity's involvement in Iob's suffering in several ways: the Lord affirms Iob's blamelessness at the outset; agrees to a second test administered by the slanderer but demands that the slanderer "take care of Iob"; takes an interest in Iob's inner life and sees to it that Iob appears in a good light; and finally, the Lord absolves the friends for Iob's sake.

5.1. The Lord Affirms That Iob Is Blameless

The Lord affirms Iob's blamelessness in G's account of the deity's second encounter with the slanderer. Iob is an "attendant" (θεράπων), in the Lord's words. In the source text, the adjective "blameless" (תם) is used of Iob and G renders the adjective with its equivalent, ἄμεμπτος, but for emphasis adds its synonym ἄκακος "innocent" at the head of the third list of attributes (2:3d). YHWH continues, עדנו מחזיק בתמתו, "he still persists in his integrity" (NRSV). G connects תם with תם and represents it with ἀκακία in the translation, ἔτι (δὲ) ἔχεται ἀκακίας, "(and) he still clings to his innocence." The deity confirms the earlier description of Iob as ἄμεμπτος, "blameless" (1:1b, 8d), and makes it clear that Iob is both "innocent" (ἄκακος) and claims innocence (ἀκακία).

5.2. The Lord Shows Concern for Iob in the Terms Set for the Trials

G has the Lord place clear limits on the trials the slanderer imposes upon Iob and, more than that, in the second case, insists that the slanderer "take care of Iob." In the first test, G has the Lord limit clearly the slanderer's proposed testing of Iob: רק אליו אל תשלח ירך, "only do not stretch out your hand against him" > ἀλλὰ αὐτοῦ μὴ ἅψη, "but do not touch him!"¹³ (1:12c)

13. G's translation of 1:12c interprets "extend the hand" in the light of v.11aβ (גע וו בבל אשר לו [MT] > ἅψαι πάντων, ὧν ἔχει). The OG retains the ambiguity of the verb גע in the equivalent ἅπτομαι. Both mean "touch," as well as "strike" (with violence). See 1:11aβ, 12d, 19 (object, the house, with Iob's children), 2:5aβ. In leading up to the second trial, the accuser (slanderer) challenges the deity with גע > ἅπτομαι with respect to Iob's "bones and flesh" (2:5aβ). However, when the accuser (slanderer) acts against Iob it is with the verb נכה *hiphil*, "strike, smite" (HALOT), rendered with its equivalent, παίω (2:7b). The reader wonders whether the accuser (slanderer), given license to "touch" Iob, "struck" him instead.

In the second encounter, G has the Lord refer back to that specific limitation and with that reference clarifies the scope of the first trial specifically: תסיתני בו לבלעו חנם, “you incited me against him, to destroy him for no reason” (NRSV) > σὺ δὲ εἶπας τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ διὰ κενῆς ἀπολέσαι, “but it was you that said to destroy *his possessions* for no reason” (NETS). In the second trial, it is clear that the Lord is challenged to act against Job’s very body, his “bones and flesh.” The Lord responds, הנו בידך, “Very well, he is in your power” > Ἴδού παραδίδωμί σοι αὐτόν, “Look, I am handing him over to you,” a translation that presents the Lord as actor: “he is in your power” becomes “I am handing him over.” The deity places a condition upon this trial too. YHWH says אַךְ אֵת נַפְשׁוֹ שָׁמֵר, usually rendered “only spare his life” (NRSV, NJPS; similarly, JB, TNIV). G translates the qualification with μόνον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ διαφύλαξον, “only take care of his life.” The common verb שָׁמֵר has a range of meanings. In the *qal*, HALOT begins the list of several related meanings with “keep, watch over,” then “take care of, preserve, protect; take care of, save, retain; keep > watch, observe” (s.v. “שָׁמֵר *qal* 1.–4.”). In the LXX, the default equivalent for שָׁמֵר is φυλάσσω. The Greek verb also has a range of meanings, including “watch, guard; watch for; preserve, maintain, cherish” (LSJ, s.v. “φυλάσσω B [trans.] 1.–3”). שָׁמֵר occurs ten times in Job, and in all instances except 2:6b and 14:16b (> οὐ παρέρχομαι, “not pass by”) G renders it with φυλάσσω. It comes as a surprise that at 2:6b שָׁמֵר > διαφυλάσσω, whose prefixed preposition διὰ appears to lend the nuance of special care, attentiveness, protection, and conservation (see GE, s.v. “διαφυλάσσω”).¹⁴ G’s unique use of διαφυλάσσω by the Lord is intended to make it clear that the slanderer’s treatment of Job is to involve protection and care, a relief for the reader. The Lord says to the slanderer, “You take good care of him!”

5.3. The Lord Takes a Pastoral Interest in Job’s Inner Life

G has the Lord take an interest in Job’s inner life. It is not surprising that the audience learns the most about YHWH’s disposition toward Job in the prologue, the theophany and its attendant exchanges, and the epilogue, because the Lord does not appear as a speaker in chapters 3–37. We have already seen that G has shaped the Lord’s disposition toward Job in the

14. Διαφυλάσσω occurs only here in Job. It is used to render שָׁמֵר 12x in earlier translations in the LXX, across various genres and writings (e.g., Gen 28:15, 20; Deut 7:12; see HRCS).

prologue. That shaping continues at the end of the book and begins with the first words the Lord addresses to Iob, in 38:2. The source text and OG are as follows.

מי זה מחשיך עצה || במלין בלי דעת

Τίς οὐτος ὁ κρύπτων με βουλὴν,
συνέχων δὲ ῥήματα ἐν καρδίᾳ, ἐμὲ δὲ οἶεται κρύπτειν;

Who is this that hides counsel from me
but confines words in his heart and thinks to hide them from me?

NRSV Who is this that darkens counsel
by words without knowledge?

In this verse, the same thought is expressed in triplicate. The first step in G's interpretation of verse 2 is to understand עצה, "counsel," as Job's, rather than counsel in general or the Lord's counsel. G translates מחשיך twice, first as the *hiphil* participle of חשך, "make dark" > ὁ κρύπτων (v. 2a) and, second, as the *hiphil* participle of חשך, "keep back" > (ὁ) συνέχων (v. 2bα) (Choon-Leong Seow, by email). Likewise, בלי is represented twice, first as בלבו > ἐν καρδίᾳ, "in his heart" and then as בלי דעת, "without my [i.e., the Lord's] knowledge," that is, "without informing me," expressed conversely as "hides [them, i.e., the words] from me." G's reading of the verse makes a significant contribution to understanding the deity's attitude toward the suffering Iob. The nature of the rebuke is different than that in the source text: in the OG the Lord expresses interest in the sufferer's inner life and thought. The Lord complains that Iob kept his deliberation, reflection, will from him (see GE, s.v. "βουλὴ"): Iob has not taken counsel with the Lord. Thoughts are expressed in words, and Iob has bottled them up. G repeats the verb κρύπτω and the notion of intentionality with the addition of the verb οἶμαι "think." The intimation is that the Lord can delve into Iob's innermost thoughts, if the Lord so wishes, but the Lord is keen to hear them verbalized.

5.4. The Lord Ensures Iob Is Shown to Be in the Right

The Lord ensures that Iob is shown to be in the right. In his second address to Iob in the OG, again out of a mass of cloud, the Lord says that, unbeknownst

to Iob, the Lord has been acting on his behalf. Consider the Hebrew and Greek texts at 40:8. The Lord is the speaker.

האף תפר משפטי || תרשיעני למען תצדק

μη ἀποποιοῦ μου τὸ κρίμα.

οἶεῖ δέ με ἄλλως σοι κεχρηματικέναι ἢ ἵνα ἀναφανῇς δίκαιος;

Do not reject my judgment.

But, do you think I have dealt with you in any other way
than that you might be shown to be righteous?

NRSV Will you even put me in the wrong?

Will you condemn me that you may be justified?

The translation is much longer than the Hebrew, the greater length devoted to an interpretation of verse 8b that sees the Lord declare to Iob that he has been on Iob's side in Iob's insistence that he is in the right (i.e., righteous). It is a striking development. The admonition in verse 8a presumes that Iob has been rejecting the Lord's way of seeing things, and verse 8b stands somehow in contrast. G's use of the verb οἶεῖ, "do you think," is a rhetorical device that solicits the audience's attention and opinion. The verb χρηματίζω occurs only here in the LXX with the meaning "deal with, treat." It belongs to the language of G, who likes to use an educated vocabulary. The words ἵνα ἀναφανῇς δίκαιος constitute an intratextual citation of 13:18b, where Iob asserts that his court date is near and that οἶδα ἐγὼ ὅτι δίκαιος ἀναφανοῦμαι, "I know that I will be shown to be in the right." The Lord says that, contrary to appearances, he has treated Iob in such a way that his rightness has become apparent. There is a subtle, important difference between "that you might be right" and "that you might be *shown to be* right." G changes the source text dramatically so that, far from Job condemning God—as in the source text—the Lord says to Iob by way of a rhetorical question that he has bent over backwards so that the case may turn out as Iob wishes. The Lord has been looking after Iob's interests, after all. If one asks how this is so, a person can make various suggestions. One is that the Lord intervened later rather than earlier—otherwise the three friends could not have confirmed that Iob was in the right (32:1).

5.5. In the Epilogue, the Friends Are Spared for Iob's Sake

In G's treatment of the epilogue of the story, the Lord absolves the friends of their sin *for Iob's sake*. This enhances the role and status of Iob as an intermediary and as a priestly functionary. The text in question is 42:7–9. The subject heading for these verses in one edition of the NRSV reads, "Job's Friends Are Humiliated." A parallel subject heading for the OG might be "Job is vindicated at the expense of the friends."

In these verses, the Lord again speaks of Iob as his "attendant" (θέραπων μου [< עבדִי]) (42:7d, 8d, 8g), so his elevated status is undiminished from that established by the Lord in the prologue (2:3b). G changes "My wrath is kindled against you [i.e., Eliphaz] and your two friends" in order to introduce *the cause* of the Lord's anger, namely, "You sinned, and your two friends [ἡμαρτες σὺ καὶ οἱ δύο φίλοι σου], for you did not speak anything true [ἀληθές < נכונה, "what is right" (NRSV)] before me" (v. 7). G introduces into the account the common verb ἁμαρτάνω. In contrast with the friends, Iob did not sin at all when tried by the slanderer (1:22; 2:10: οὐδὲν ἡμαρτεν < טאָט לֹא). At 1:5, in the prologue, G added an intertextual reference to Lev 4 and 9, texts that deal with sin offerings (τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας [Lev 9:7, 8]). There Iob acted as a priest and made sin offerings for his children (περὶ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν) (1:5c1). Now, in 42:7, G's translation has the Lord directing the friends to prepare sacrificial offerings, but they are not to be made by them, as in the Hebrew, but rather, by Iob for them (καὶ ποιήσει καρπώσεις περὶ ὑμῶν) (v. 8c). Iob again takes up the role of officiant, offering sacrifices for others. As in the source text, Iob is to pray for the three friends (v. 8d). G then presents an interpretation whereby "I [i.e., the Lord] will accept his prayer not to deal with you according to your folly" is represented with "for, if not for him, I would have destroyed you" (εἰ μὴ γὰρ δι' αὐτόν, ἀπώλεσα ἂν ὑμᾶς).¹⁵ The friends' folly in the source text is that they are said not to have spoken what is right (נכונה) *about the deity*—as in verse 7c, but in the OG the friends' offence (sin) is that what they said *against the Lord's attendant Iob* was not true (ἀληθές).¹⁶ The friends do just

15. G's use of ἀπόλλυμι involves an intertextual reference to Gen 18:22–33, where Abraam tries to negotiate the deliverance of Sodoma. The city is to be forgiven and saved from destruction for the sake of a few righteous people if such are to be found there. G Genesis uses ἀπόλλυμι in vv. 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32; and συναπόλλυμι in 18:23.

16. G read עבדִי אִיּוֹב, "as my servant Job" as בעבדִי אִיּוֹב, "against my servant Job." BHS^{app} notes that many manuscripts attest בִּי, "against," rather than אִי, "as." For G,

as YHWH directs them to do and then the source text says, “and YHWH accepted Job’s prayer [for them].” G represents this with an interpretation of what this effected, namely, καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἰώβ, “and he [i.e., the Lord] absolved them of their sin on Iob’s account” (v. 9c). This appears to be another intertextual reference to Gen 18, namely, Abraam’s challenge to the Lord with respect to Sodoma, οὐκ ἀνήσεις πάντα τὸν τόπον ἔνεκεν τῶν πεντήκοντα δικαίων, “will you not *forgive* the entire place on account of the fifty righteous?” (18:24).¹⁷ G replaces the somewhat ambiguous verb ἀνίημι with a synonym, λύω, “loose; cancel, expiate,” which is used in the LXX a few times with respect to sin (2 Macc 12:45 [ἀπολύω]; Sir 3:15 [ἀναλύω]; 28:2; Isa 40:2). Abraam was unsuccessful—not even ten righteous were found and the city was destroyed. In the case of the three friends, the Lord absolved them of their sin—presumably false accusations—on account of one righteous (δίκαιος) person. G’s treatment of Iob in the epilogue finds him vindicated and emphasizes his return to priestly, intercessory functions, in a reversal of fate whereby he is elevated and the two kings and a tyrant are brought low.

Summary Conclusion

G’s presentation of the story of Iob’s suffering enhances it in all its dimensions. The information about Iob in the source text is fleshed out, his religious life portrayed as more specifically pious, and the word “righteous” (δίκαιος) added at the very start (1:1). His suffering is spoken of in all the more unbearable terms—for example, he scrapes *pus* from his

κατὰ τοῦ παιδός μου Ἰώβ (1:8) may have influenced G’s reading of 42:8g. The friends’ actions are again described with language used of the slanderer: see παραγίνομαι (1:7a; 2:11b), noted above.

17. The Hebrew attests וְשָׁחַת אֱלֹהִים, “will you not forgive” (NRSV). See HALOT, s.v. “שָׁחַת qal 18.b”: “take away someone’s guilt” > לְשָׁחַת, “take away the guilt, forgive,” citing Gen 18:24, 26 et al. G Genesis renders לְשָׁחַת with ἀνίημι + accusative, perhaps “let go, neglect,” that is, “spare” (Brenton). LSJ cite “let go unpunished” as a meaning for the passive in Xenophon, *Hell.* 2.3.51 (s.v. ἀνίημι II.1), and GE cites the same meaning for Gen 18:24, which it renders “will you not forgive this place?” (s.v. “ἀνίημι 1.B.”) Cf. “let the whole place go free” (v. 24) and “forgive” (v. 26) (NETS); “freisprechen” (LXX.D). The Armenian translator (ca. 400) renders ἀνίημι as “pardon” in v. 24 (> ներքեմ) and in v. 26 (> թողաւսմ, a synonym). In Job 42:9c, the translator reproduces ἔλυσεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν with a close equivalent, էլիոյ զսեղս նոցա, “he loosed [i.e., absolved] their sin.”

skin with the potsherd (2:8). Though Iob insists that he is blameless—and this is confirmed by the Lord, he nevertheless admits that he is a sinner (19:4cd). G reproduces a major theme of the source text, the overwhelming power and strength of the deity which, however, Elious says, is intended to reveal the weakness (*ἀσθένεια*) (37:7b) of human beings. Through Elious, G is anticipating the interpretation laid down in 42:6. In response to the theophany, where Iob sees the Lord, Iob accepts mortality (42:6), with its weakness, but not before he has challenged the Lord using the Lord's own words (42:4).

For Iob life itself is a trial (7:1). The bad is to be accepted along with the good and endured (2:10c). Iob trusts that whatever has happened, it was what the Lord thought to be for the best (1:21c1). In his suffering, Iob defers to the Lord (1:21c), does not sin (1:22b), and retains his humility, because the Lord heals the humble (12:21). Notably, Iob draws on the traditions of the story of the Lord's people, for example, Abraam (Gen 18), *in Greek*. Iob's story as a whole draws intertextually upon the books of Moses, and, because Iob draws on them, his own story is given a literary and theological place. In the end, Iob is vindicated. Fortunes are reversed. The three friends are humbled. It is they who have sinned, the Lord says (42:7), and they must have Iob intercede for them by making offerings, as well as praying for them (42:8). The friends arrived initially to care for Iob but soon became antagonists. G suggests their ill-will from the start by using the same word for their arrival as that used of the slanderer's arrival at the deity's court of deliberation (*παραγίνομαι* [see 1:7 and 2:11b, f]). However, the friends are eventually forced to confirm that Iob has been in the right (32:1 [*δίκαιος*]).

Nothing is more remarkable about G's retelling of the story of Iob's suffering than the enhancement of the Lord's concern for the sufferer. The Lord recognizes Iob's innocence with the same terminology that the narrator used at the outset (1:1, 8) and that Iob apparently uses of himself (see 2:3d, f). Moreover, when the Lord hands over Iob to the slanderer, it is with the stipulation that he is to take good care of Iob (*διαφυλάσσω* [2:6b]). The Lord enters into the mind of Iob, wants to hear from his inner self (38:2), and, in an exchange following the set of rhetorical questions issuing from the theophany, tells Iob that he has been on Iob's side all along (40:8). This introduces an unexpected dimension to the story of Iob's suffering. The Lord's ways in the world really are "glorious and miraculous" (*ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἐξαισία* 5:9 // 9:10 // 34:24).

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Durative Forms in Narrative in Paraleipomenon: Semantically Constrained or Target Language Sensitivity in Discourse?

Roger Good

Abstract: In past narrative, the translator of Paraleipomenon mostly translated the *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms with aorist forms. Sometimes the translator also used Greek durative forms such as the imperfect and very rarely the historic present. What motivated the use of these durative forms in translation? The imperfect forms of some Greek verbs are semantically constrained (e.g., there are no aorist forms of the verb εἶμι, “to be,” and the imperfect form of the verb ἔχω, “to have,” is preferred to the aorist). Also, the context may constrain or strongly suggest to the translator that an imperfect form is the most appropriate form to use (e.g., adverbs such as *day by day* indicating habit). However, there are also some cases where it seems the translator had some literary sensitivity from the perspective of the discourse. He uses the imperfect to contrast simultaneous actions by different subjects or to indicate the background of a narrative sequence. This indicates that the translator was not just being mechanical in his task but that he even had some sensitivity to the larger context of the passage he was translating. It also seems better to attribute these kind of irregularities in translation equivalents to the translator’s discourse sensitivity rather than to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.

1. Introduction

In past narrative, the Greek imperfect tense, the standard imperfective or durative verb form, is used in contrast to the aorist, the standard perfective or punctual form. The Hebrew equivalents of the Greek imperfect in past narrative are the *yiqtol*, *weqatal*, and *qotel* participle forms; in con-

trast to the *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms, the standard perfective or punctual forms in Hebrew.¹ The *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms were mostly translated with aorist forms by the translator of Paraleipomenon. However, sometimes the translator also used Greek durative forms such as the imperfect and very rarely the historic present to translate these forms. What motivated the use of these durative forms in translation? The imperfect forms of some Greek verbs are semantically constrained (e.g., there are no aorist forms of the verb εἶμι, “to be,” and the imperfect form of ἔχω, “to have,” is preferred to the aorist). Also, the context may constrain or strongly suggest to the translator that an imperfect form is the most appropriate form (e.g., adverbs such as *day by day* indicating habit). However, there are also cases where the translator exhibits some degree of sensitivity to the nuances of the target language from the perspective of the discourse. He uses the imperfect to contrast simultaneous actions by different subjects or to indicate the background, peak, or summary of a narrative sequence. This indicates that the translator was not just being mechanical in his task but tried to balance the adequacy of his translation with its acceptability in the target language, and he even had some sensitivity to the larger context of the passage he was translating.² It also seems better to attribute these kinds of irregularities in translation equivalents to the translator’s

1. Many Hebrew grammars distinguish Hebrew verb forms by the pattern of consonants and vowels that occurs when a triconsonantal verbal root *q-t-l* (“to kill”) interdigitates with vowels and the consonants of the verbal patterns. The simplest form is adopted (e.g., for the indicative third person masculine singular form) as a label for the entire paradigm. In this study, the four indicative forms are mostly referred to as *qatal*, *yiqtol*, *wayyiqtol*, and *weqatal* using this convention. In the expressions X-*qatal* and X-*yiqtol*, X- refers to an element other than *waw* preceding the verbal form.

2. The Guidelines for the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint are helpful in an approach to this kind of study. We can “characterize the translation with respect to the formal features of the source text (its so-called adequacy), and ... characterize the translation with respect to the conventions of the target language (its so-called acceptability).” The translator follows translational norms or general principles in his handling of the source text. “For example, a norm of isomorphism or formal equivalence is typical.” However, the translator may also try to “approximate non-translation literature of the target culture.” See §4.2 of “Preamble to the Guidelines for the Contributors to the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 257–59. I would like to thank Cameron Boyd-Taylor and Robert Hiebert for their reading of an earlier version of this paper and especially Cameron for his helpful comments.

discourse sensitivity rather than to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.³ This paper is part of my work on the SBLCS of Paraleipomenon and explores the textual-linguistic makeup of the Greek to consider what the translator's intent might have been.⁴

2. The Meaning of the Greek Imperfect Tense

The Greek imperfect tense occurs mostly in the past narrative and has imperfective or durative viewpoint aspect.⁵ It is mostly used in contrast to the aorist, which has perfective or punctual viewpoint aspect.⁶ In terms

3. See John A. Beck, *Translators as Storytellers: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique* (New York: Lang, 2000), who tries to account for the fact that “translations may mimic or alter the literary dimensions of the parent text,” especially at the level of discourse (2). In his survey of various texts, Beck concludes that Greek Job was the least literal and 1 Chronicles the most literal. Translators inclined to isomorphism mimic the source text's literary features by default, but occasionally the conventions of the target language override the tendency toward isomorphism.

4. It is difficult to ascertain the translator's intent (and the distinction between production and reception), especially with reference to verbal aspect. “We must be careful to distinguish (to the extent possible) between intended and unintended text semantics. Thus, the translator might employ an imperfect verbal form for *reason* R, and then, having been used thus and so, the form fortuitously evokes meaning M in its context (according to the conventions of the target language). In such cases, it is possible that the translator did not ‘intend’ M as such. It is rather the outcome of a translation technique otherwise motivated (by R, that is). On the other hand, assuming that he had a range of options, the translator might be said to have endorsed M. In other words, translation technique and text semantics (target acceptability) may happily coincide in some instances” (Cameron Boyd-Taylor, personal communication).

5. In analyzing the Hebrew and Greek verb systems and understanding how they function, it is helpful to distinguish between two kinds of aspect: viewpoint aspect (how the writer or speaker views an action) and situation aspect (*Aktionsart* or the semantics or meaning of the verb, also known as lexical aspect, in its context). Viewpoint aspect is defined by Cook as “the temporal relationship between the reference frame (RF) and the event frame (EF)—the event frame referring to the temporal span of some portion (usually the nucleus) of the event model.” John A. Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb: The Expression of Tense, Aspect, and Modality in Biblical Hebrew* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2012), 65.

6. Viewpoint aspect distinguishes between viewing an action or state as an unanalyzable whole (perfective/punctual), as having some kind of internal composition (imperfective/durative). Besides perfective and imperfective viewpoint aspects there is a third category of viewpoint aspect in Greek, perfect or stative aspect, which can also be considered a combination of both perfective and imperfective aspects—the

of situation aspect, certain verb types may force or strongly suggest to the writer or speaker to use a durative form like the imperfect. Buist Fanning, following Zeno Vendler's classification of verbs,⁷ identifies three durative verb types,

STATES, ACTIVITIES, and ACCOMPLISHMENTS (with the emphasis on the continuing process).... The durative sense comes from the lexical character [*Aktionsart*—lexical aspect] of the verb or from other contextual features [situation aspect], and not directly from the imperfect itself.⁸

The imperfect is also used to indicate the internal complexity of an action to focus on the different stages of an action, its inception, its continuation, or its conclusion (also known as phasal aspect).⁹ The imperfect also func-

combination of a completed action with a resultant state—a “perfective-imperfective aspect.” Roger Good, *The Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, VTSup 136 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 63. See n. 11 below for a discussion on the different labels for Greek viewpoint aspects by various scholars. Seven Greek tense forms exhibit three viewpoint aspects. Three forms most frequently occur in the past time (aorist, imperfect, and pluperfect—expressing the three aspects, punctual, durative, and stative respectively), two forms most commonly occur in the present time (present and perfect) and two forms in the future (future and future perfect).

7. Zeno Vendler, “Verbs and Times,” *The Philosophical Review* 66 (1957): 143–60.

8. Buist M. Fanning, *Verbal Aspect in New Testament Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 242. The meaning of the verb (*Aktionsart* or lexical aspect) and contextual features are subsumed under the notion situation aspect.

9. In addition to viewpoint aspect and situation aspect, some also consider phasal aspect (“an activity subevent” formed from “one of three phases (onset [its beginning], nucleus [its middle], or coda [its end])”) as another type of aspect. Phasal aspect refers to the lexical-semantic dimension. As such, it could be considered as a subset of situation aspect. Phasal aspect could also be considered a subset of imperfective viewpoint aspect which looks at the internal composition of an action (in stages or phases). The concepts of onset, nucleus, and coda (from the Latin *cauda* meaning “tail”) are borrowed from syllable structure in phonology. “The most common types of onset-applying phasal aspects are inchoative [for the alteration of the onset of a state] and inceptive [for the alteration of the onset of a dynamic event].” In Biblical Hebrew, “onset phasal aspects are expressed lexically by the verb חָלַל (‘to begin’) with a complementary infinitive.” The coda phasal aspects are also marked lexically with חָדַל and שָׁבַת (‘to cease’) and כָּלָה (‘to finish’) with a complementary infinitive (Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 191). The translators of the Septuagint usually translated these Hebrew verbs lexically into Greek, using equivalent Greek verbs. “Phasal aspects that apply to the nucleus of the event structure affect the progress of the situation,

tions in narrative discourse to indicate background, simultaneous actions, peak or climax, and summary statements. The main event line of Greek past narrative is indicated by the aorist indicative.

The example below from Thucydides's *P.W.* 5.83.4–5.84.1¹⁰ is an illustration from compositional Greek of the use of the imperfect to indicate background (double underlined, indicating both temporal setting information and background information in subordinate clauses) and the aorist verbs to indicate foreground (single underlined, denoting events that are sequential and on the time-line). There is also a present circumstantial participle indicating simultaneous action (ἐπιγιγνομένου, as a genitive absolute), which is a typical way of indicating simultaneous action in compositional Greek, but it is rare in the translation Greek of Paraleipomenon, especially if the underlying Hebrew lacks a participle.

καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ πέμπτον καὶ δέκατον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους Ἀλκιβιάδης τε πλεύσας ἐς Ἄργος ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν Ἀργείων τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἔτι ὑπόπτους εἶναι καὶ τὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φρονεῖν ἔλαβε τριακοσίους ἄνδρας, καὶ κατέθεντο αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὰς ἐγγὺς νήσους ὧν ἤρχον· καὶ ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν.

And that winter ended, and the fifteenth year in the war ended. In the next summer Alcibiades sailed to Argos with 20 ships, and he seized those of the Argives who were still suspected of having pro-Spartan sympathies, 300 in all, and the Athenians put them into the nearby islands that were under their control. The Athenians made also an expedition against the island of Melos.

The first two imperfect verbs function as a summary to the preceding section, as well as a background to the following section, and they give the temporal setting (the end of the winter and the fifteenth year of the war) for what follows. The third imperfect occurs in a relative clause (that were

through either repetition (iterative and habitual) or extension with or without a pause" (Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 192).

10. The Greek compositional texts, along with English translations, can be found online at <https://tinyurl.com/SBLPress0476b3>. The English translation of this passage is taken from Egbert J. Bakker, "Verbal Aspect and Mimetic Description in Thucydides," in *Grammar as Interpretation: Greek Literature in its Linguistic Contexts*, ed. Egbert J. Bakker, Mnemosyne Supplements 171 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 31.

under their control) giving background information about the islands that the Athenians placed the pro-Spartan Argives on.

3. Hebrew Equivalents of the Greek Imperfect Tense

The Hebrew equivalent to the Greek imperfect tense with its imperfective or durative aspect in the past is indicated by the secondary use of three verb forms: *yiqtol* forms, *qotel* participles, and *weqatal* (consecutive) forms.¹¹ The *weqatal* (consecutive) forms may indicate durative aspect in sequence, especially when following another durative form.

In past narrative main clauses, the *wayyiqtol* “*waw* consecutive” form is the main narrative coordinated unmarked tense form used for the event line of narrative.¹² A *qatal* form often indicates a break in the sequence of events in out-of-line past narrative and is more common in reported speech. *Qatal* forms have perfective aspect, although with stative verbs

11. The primary function of these three forms is a present future modal for *yiqtol*, a present verbal adjective for *qotel*, and a consecutive future modal for *weqatal* respectively.

12. Text linguists distinguish between the event line of narrative (also known as foreground, moving the story line forward) and out-of-line actions or states (also known as background). For example, linguists such as Hopper and Longacre use *foreground* to describe the main or event line (e.g., of narrative, expressed by unmarked verb forms), and the term *background* to refer to the out-of-line or off-line events and states (expressed by marked forms). Foreground and background may also be considered as equivalent to temporal succession and temporal discontinuity. Regrettably, the terms *foreground* and *background* have been used in diametrically opposite ways by other scholars, such as Heimerdinger and Rosenbaum (for Hebrew), and Porter and Bakker (for Greek). See Jean-Marc Heimerdinger, *Topic, Focus, and Foreground in Ancient Hebrew Narratives*, JSOTSup 295 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 221–60; Michael Rosenbaum, *Word-Order Variation in Isaiah 40–55: A Functional Perspective*, SSN 36 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1997), 149–228; Stanley E. Porter, *Verbal Aspect in the Greek of the New Testament, with Reference to Tense and Mood*, SBG 1 (New York: Lang, 1993), 91–93; and Egbert J. Bakker, “Foregrounding and Indirect Discourse: Temporal Subclauses in a Herodotean Short Story,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 16 (1991): 225–47. The term *foreground* (Porter also uses an additional term *front ground*) is used to indicate marked structures that highlight what the writer or speaker considers significant or worthy of attention (e.g., to indicate a change of subject). Stanley E. Porter, *Idioms of the Greek New Testament*, Biblical Languages: Greek 2 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999), 23. Conversely, *background* is used for everything that is familiar and not much can be said about. It is expressed by unmarked structures. It is unfortunate that there is this confusion among scholars in terms of the terminology used to indicate this feature of discourse prominence.

qatal forms can also have an imperfective or durative sense; thus situation aspect may have some bearing on the verb choice in the translation of these forms.¹³

Word order variation, such as the fronting of a constituent to indicate topic shift or focus, action discontinuity (simultaneous or previous action to indicate background information or unit boundaries), and dramatic pause (peak), may bring about a change in the Hebrew verb forms.¹⁴

The difference between two equivalents for the Greek imperfect, the *qotel* and *yiqtol* forms in past narrative, is fine and debated. Samuel Rolles Driver states, “*Mere continuance in the sense of duration without progress is never expressed by the imp[erfect]—i.e., yiqtol form].... The participle is the form which indicates continued action.... Thus while the imp[erfect] multiplies an action, the participle prolongs it.*”¹⁵ Joosten also considers the *yiqtol* imperfect form in the past as mostly an “iterative” form.¹⁶

Second Chronicles 9:21, an explanatory comment on the wealth of Solomon, contains both out-of-line *qotel* and *yiqtol* forms and seems to confirm this observation. In this verse, the *qotel* form may indicate the duration of the journey from Israel to Tarshish, whereas the *yiqtol* form indicates iterative or habitual notion as indicated by the adverbial “once every three years.” The translator translated both of them with imperfects, the Greek durative out-of-line form.¹⁷

13. Biblical Hebrew distinguishes between dynamic and stative verbs by a dynamic-stative *a-i/u* theme vowel distinction for *qal* forms. Stative verbs generally lack an active participle form (except for certain transitive verbs), and they “show a distinct pattern of interaction with *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* conjugations: conjugated in *qatal*, stative verbs default to a present stative meaning, whereas conjugated in *wayyiqtol*, they always express past states” (Cook, *Time and the Biblical Hebrew Verb*, 195).

14. See Christo H. J. van der Merwe, “Discourse Linguistics and Biblical Hebrew Grammar,” in *Biblical Hebrew and Discourse Linguistics*, ed. Robert D. Bergen (Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1994), 33.

15. Samuel R. Driver, *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1892), 35–36, quoted in Bruce K. Waltke and Michael O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 613.

16. Jan Joosten, *The Verbal System of Biblical Hebrew: A New Synthesis Elaborated on the Basis of Classical Prose*, JBS 10 (Jerusalem: Simor, 2012), 285.

17. In contrast to Driver and Joosten, Cook sees the difference between the *qotel* and the *yiqtol* forms as diachronic, with the *yiqtol* form the older, imperfective form in Biblical Hebrew, while the participle is the newer progressive form. John A. Cook, “The Finite Verbal Forms in Biblical Hebrew Do Express Aspect,” *JANES* 30 (2006): 34. The parallel passage to 2 Chr 9:21, 1 Kgs 10:22, also has both *yiqtol* and *qotel*

2 Chr 9:21¹⁸

כי אניות למלך הלכות תרשיש עם עבדי חורם אחת לשלוש שנים תבואנה
אניות תרשיש נשאות זהב וכסף שנהבים וקופים ותוכיים פ

For the king's ships went to Tarshish with the servants of Hiram;
once every three years the ships of Tarshish used to come bringing
gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks. (NRSV)

ὅτι ναὺς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπορεύετο εἰς Θαρσις μετὰ τῶν παίδων Χιραμ,
ἅπαξ διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἤρχετο πλοῖα ἐκ Θαρσις τῷ βασιλεῖ γέμοντα
χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου καὶ ὀδόντων ἐλεφαντίνων καὶ πιθήκων.

because a ship for the king traveled to Tharsis with Chiram's serv-
ants. Once every three years the boats would come from Tharsis
to the king full of gold and silver and ivory teeth and apes. (NETS)

4. Translation of the Hebrew Verb Forms in Chronicles

In the translation of Hebrew verb forms, the translator tended toward internal consistency, using standard equivalents for each verb form to adequately represent the verbal forms of the Hebrew source. In the translation of Chronicles, almost 92 percent, or 1330 out of 1449, *wayyiqtol* (*waw* consecutive) forms were translated with an aorist indicative (mostly preceded by *καί*). Over 72 percent, or 840 out of 1163, *qatal* (perfect) forms were

forms, although the *qotel* form is for a different verb. The *yiqtol* form “used to come” with the adverbial phrase “once every three years” emphasizes iteration; the *qotel* participle “bearing gold, silver, etc.” emphasizes duration rather than iteration. Two possible contradictions to this understanding of the distinction between the use of *yiqtol* and *qotel* forms occur in 2 Chr 30:21 and 9:24. In the first example, “the people of Israel ... kept (*wayyiqtol* > aorist) the festival of unleavened bread seven days ... and the Levites and the priests praised (*qotel* > present participle) the Lord day by day” (2 Chr 30:21 NRSV), the *qotel* form “praised” is modified by the adverbial “day by day.” But perhaps an iterative understanding does not work well with the verb of praise. Second Chronicles 9:24 has a *qotel* form “every one of them brought” at the beginning of the verse and an iterative adverbial “year by year” at the end of the verse. Perhaps the distance between the *qotel* form and the iterative form makes an iterative interpretation of the *qotel* form less likely. The translator used an imperfect to translate the *qotel* form.

18. In the text examples given, the imperfect forms and the forms they translate are indicated by a double underline. Sometimes aorist forms (as they are contrasted with imperfects) and the forms they translate are single underlined. Some adverbial expressions, when significant to the use of the imperfect, are marked by a dashed line.

also translated by an aorist. So the same standard equivalent, the aorist, was typically used to render the two most common Hebrew verb forms in narrative, the *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms.

Most of the past durative Hebrew verb forms, the secondary use of *yiqtol* and *weqatal* forms and *qotel* forms in past durative contexts, were translated by imperfects. However, this only accounted for 43 out of 247, or about 17 percent, of the Greek imperfect forms. The majority of imperfect verb forms translated *wayyiqtol* forms (76 out of 247, or about 31 percent), *qatal* forms (81 out of 247, or about 33 percent), or nonverbal forms (49 out of 247, or about 20 percent, such as יָה thirteen times or in noun sentences as pluses about thirty times, both of which are translated by the imperfect of the verb $\epsilon\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$, “to be”).¹⁹

In comparison to compositional Greek, the ratio of imperfects to aorists is very low in translation Greek (about 1:10).²⁰ In compositional Greek, the ratio of imperfects to aorists is much higher. Trevor Evans gives statistics from compositional Greek showing that, in classical Greek writers such as Thucydides and Xenophon, there is even a higher percentage of imperfect forms than aorists, 52.29 percent imperfects to 47.71 percent aorists in Thucydides and 62.02 percent imperfects to 37.98 percent aorists in Xenophon, *Anab.* 1–4.²¹ However, Evans indicates that “the imperfect declines in frequency relative to the aorist indicative during the post-Classical period.”²² The very high ratio of the aorist to the imperfect in Paraleipomenon is not seen elsewhere in Greek literature apart from some Ptolemaic papyri and Matthew’s Gospel in the New Testament, which have similar ratios to

19. Good, *Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 210–12.

20. See Good, *Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 211. See also Trevor V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 210–13.

21. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 203–5. In addition, the historic present, which can be seen as an alternative past durative form in Greek, is very rare in Paraleipomenon and used to translate *wayyiqtol* forms only two times (1 Chr 19:9, 17). In Paraleipomenon, the historical present was avoided in contrast to the Reigns’ translator’s use of them in parallel passages. Eighteen historical presents in 1 Samuel (1 Reigns) 31 and seventeen other historical presents in Reigns are all rendered as aorists in the parallel passages in *Paraleipomenon*. See Good, *Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 222, n. 27.

22. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 202.

the translation Greek of the LXX. Interestingly, the ratios of imperfect to aorist (around 40 percent to 60 percent, respectively) in the non-translation Greek of Maccabees is closer to other compositional Greek writings.²³

While the translator exhibited a preference for matching these *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms with the aorist (due to a translational norm), at the same time, he showed a preference for suspending this match under certain conditions (due to an interaction of his reading of the source and the conventions of the target language). The latter might be linguistic or literary in motivation (most likely the former).

He used the imperfect to translate about 5 percent (or 76 out of 1449) of the *wayyiqtol* forms and about 7 percent (81 out of 1163) of the *qatal* forms. The use of the imperfect to translate these forms might be semantically constrained by the *Aktionsart* or lexical aspect of the verb, for example, about 60 percent, or 40 of the 76, *wayyiqtol* forms were a translation of the verb היה by the imperfect of the verb εἶμι, “to be,” which has no aorist form, and about 75 percent of *qatal* forms were translations of the verb היה by the imperfect of εἶμι or other stative verbs that have durative *Aktionsart*.²⁴ In addition to *Aktionsart*, sometimes the context (e.g., the presence of adverbials in a clause) also demanded the use of a different verb tense. Sometimes the translator also demonstrated some sensitivity to the nuances of the target language from the perspective of the discourse, for example, to contrast simultaneous actions by different subjects or to indicate the background or the climax of a narrative sequence.

The examples below look mostly at the translator’s use of the imperfect to translate these nonstandard Hebrew forms and consider how the translator negotiated the temporal structure and its linguistic expression. From them we can see that he displayed a sophisticated idea of what Hebrew-Greek translation required, with surprisingly close attention both to the semantics of the source narrative and to the relevant Greek linguistic conventions.

23. Evans, *Verbal Syntax*, 211.

24. See Good, *Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 77–88 (for the translation of *wayyiqtol* forms) and 96–104 (for the translation of *qatal* forms).

4.1. The Translation of Hebrew Verb Forms in Paraleipomenon by the Imperfect Tense

Either the semantic constraint of situation aspect or discourse considerations (or both) influenced the translator to choose an imperfect to translate a Hebrew verb form.

4.1.1. Situation Aspect (*Aktionsart*—Lexical Aspect and Context)

As was mentioned above, semantic constraints such as the lexical meaning (*Aktionsart*) of the verb or the context (e.g., the presence of adverbials) may strongly suggest the use of a durative form.

4.1.1.1. *Aktionsart*—Lexical Aspect

Some Greek verbs such as the verb εἰμί, “to be” (accounting for 123 out of 247 imperfects in Paraleipomenon), and other stative verbs such as βούλομαι, “to want,” and ὑπάρχω, “to exist,” are naturally or inherently durative. Other stative verbs such as ἔχω, “to have” (2 out of 3 total past indicative forms in Paraleipomenon are imperfect), and δύναμαι, “to be able” (6 out of 8 total past indicative forms are imperfect in Paraleipomenon—the remaining two are aorist passives), more commonly occur in the imperfect.²⁵

In 2 Chr 29:34, two naturally durative forms, εἰμί and δύναμαι, occur. The verb εἰμί only occurs in the imperfect, and δύναμαι prefers the imperfect form over other forms of the verb. As a result the translator was constrained by the verbal semantics of the target language to use imperfects in Greek.²⁶

2 Chr 29:34

רק הכהנים היו למעט ולא יכלו להפשיט את כל העלות ויחזקום אחיהם
הלויים עד כלות המלאכה ועד יתקדשו הכהנים כי הלויים ישרי לבב להתקדש
מהכהנים

25. Good, *Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 212–13.

26. The verb היה can have two senses in Hebrew, an inchoative sense of change of state, i.e., “become” or as the stative verb “to be.” With the first meaning it is frequently translated by γίνομαι (“become”) in the aorist tense in past contexts (cf. 2 Chr 13:9, which has an imperfect of γίνομαι); with the second meaning it is frequently translated by εἰμί (“be”), which only has an imperfect past form. See Good, *Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 84–86. The stative sense of היה in 2 Chr 29:34 led the translator to the obvious choice of εἰμί.

But the priests were too few and could not skin all the burnt offerings, so, until other priests had sanctified themselves, their kindred, the Levites, helped them until the work was finished—for the Levites were more conscientious than the priests in sanctifying themselves. (NRSV)

ἀλλ' ἡ οἱ ἱερεῖς ὀλίγοι ᾔσαν καὶ οὐκ ἐδύναντο δεῖραι τὴν ὅλοκαύτωσιν, καὶ ἀντελάβοντο αὐτῶν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτῶν οἱ Λευῖται, ἕως οὗ συνετελέσθη τὸ ἔργον, καὶ ἕως οὗ ἡγνίσθησαν οἱ ἱερεῖς, ὅτι οἱ Λευῖται προθύμως ἡγνίσθησαν παρὰ τοὺς ἱερεῖς.

But the priests were few and were unable to skin the whole burnt offering, and their brothers the Levites assisted them until the task was finished and until the priests were purified, because the Levites had been purified more eagerly than the priests. (NETS)

One verb of motion, οἶχμαι, “to go, depart [on a journey]” (occurring three times in Paraleipomenon: 2 Chr 8:17 [translating *זָרָה qatal*], 18 [*wayyiqtol*]; 21:9 [*wayyiqtol*]) only has imperfect past forms.²⁷ However, other verbs of motion that have aorist forms could have been used by the translator (e.g., ἔρχομαι, “come, go,” and πορεύομαι, “go, proceed”), if he had so desired.

In 2 Chr 8:17–18, οἶχμαι occurs twice. In the first case, there is a contrast in subjects between Solomon went (imperfect) and Hiram sent (aorist). In the second case, the verb οἶχμαι sets in motion the following actions, they went, and then (as a result of their going) they imported gold and brought it to Solomon.

2 Chr 8:17–18

אז הלך שלמה לעציון-גבר ואל-אילות על-שפת הים בארץ אדום: וישלח-לו חורם ביד-עבדיו (אוניות) [אניות] ועבדים יודעי ים ויבאו עם-עבדי שלמה אופירה ויקחו משם ארבע-מאות וחמשים ככר זהב ויביאו אליהמלך שלמה: פ

27. Most of the time, in both compositional Greek and translation Greek, this verb οἶχμαι has the meaning of “depart,” as a telic accomplishment verb in its lexical aspect. For example, Job 14:10 ἀνὴρ δὲ τελευτήσας ὥχεται (גבר ימות ויחלש), “But a man, once dead, is gone” (NETS), i.e., “departed from this life.” Verbs of motion can be considered activities (unbounded) or accomplishments (where they are bounded with an end point indicating source or destination).

Then Solomon went to Ezion-geber and Eloth on the shore of the sea, in the land of Edom. Hiram sent him, in the care of his servants, ships and servants familiar with the sea. They went to Ophir, together with the servants of Solomon, and imported from there four hundred fifty talents of gold and brought it to King Solomon. (NRSV)

τότε ὤχετο Σαλωμων εἰς Γασιωνγαβερ καὶ εἰς τὴν Αἰλαθ τὴν παραθαλασσίαν ἐν γῇ Ἰδουμαία. 18 καὶ ἀπέστειλεν Χιραμ ἐν χειρὶ παίδων αὐτοῦ πλοῖα καὶ παῖδας εἰδότας θάλασσαν, καὶ ὥγοντο μετὰ τῶν παίδων Σαλωμων εἰς Σωφίρα καὶ ἔλαβον ἐκεῖθεν τετρακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Σαλωμων. Then Salomon went [departed] to Gasiongaber and Ailath, the maritime city in the land of Idumea. And Chiram sent ships by the hand of his servants and servants familiar with the sea, and they went [departed] to Sophira with Salomon's servants and brought from there four hundred and fifty talents of gold, and they came to King Salomon. (NETS)

4.1.1.2. Inceptive or Ingressive (Conative) Imperfects

There are not really examples of inceptive or ingressive imperfects in the translation Greek of Paraleipomenon. The notion of ingressiveness is indicated lexically using a verb such as “begin” (e.g., 1 Chr 27:24; 2 Chr 29:17), as was indicated above (in n. 8). However, there is, as a subset of the ingressive imperfect, the conative imperfect, which usually indicates an unsuccessful attempt to carry out an action.²⁸ The conative imperfect may also be used to refer to events that were likely or about to happen but, as it happened, did not.

There may be one or two instances of a conative imperfect in Paraleipomenon (2 Chr 36:15; 18:2). In the example below, God sends His prophetic messengers in an attempt to spare His sanctuary and His people from destruction and captivity. Here a *qatal* form is translated by

28. For example, from Attic Greek, Νέων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀριστάρχου ἄλλο ἐπειθὸν ἀποτρέπεσθαι· οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουον. “Neon, indeed, and messengers from Aristarchus tried to persuade them to turn back, but they would not listen to them” (Xenophon, *Anab.* 7.3.7 [Brownson, LCL]).

a periphrastic form in Greek with the imperfect of the verb “to be” and a present participle.²⁹

2 Chr 36:15

וישלח יהוה אלהי אבותיהם עליהם ביד מלאכיו השכם ושלוח כי־חמל
על־עמו ועל־מעונו:

The LORD, the God of their ancestors, sent persistently to them by his messengers, because he had compassion on his people and on his dwelling place. (NRSV)

καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἐν χειρὶ προφητῶν ὀρθρίζων καὶ ἀποστέλλων τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ἦν φειδόμενος τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγιάσματος αὐτοῦ.

And the Lord, God of their fathers, sent out by the hand of prophets, sending his messengers early on, because he was trying to spare his people and his holy precinct. (NETS)

4.1.1.3. Habitual or Iterative Imperfects

Contextual factors such as time adverbials indicating repetition or plural arguments may also suggest to the writer or the translator that an imperfect form is appropriate. At least five Hebrew verbs with temporal expressions (indicated) are translated with imperfect forms (1 Chr 12:22 <23> *yiqtol* with “from day to day”; 12:40<41> *qotel* with “for three days”; 2 Chr 24:11 *qatal* with “day after day”; 27:5 *qatal* with “first, second, and third years”; 34:33 *qatal* with “all his days”).³⁰ But there are also numerous cases where a Hebrew verb with a temporal phrase is not translated with an imperfect, for example, “Israel ... kept [*wayyiqtol* > aorist] the festival of unleavened bread seven days” (2 Chr 30:21).

29. The so-called analytic or periphrastic tenses usually consist of a form of the verb εἶμι, “to be” (which grammaticalizes mood, tense, person, and number) and a participle (which grammaticalizes aspect and voice). Periphrastic tenses are an alternate way of indicating actions or states in Greek especially with imperfective or stative aspects. When periphrastic forms occur with present participles (the most frequent), they indicate imperfective or durative aspect and when they occur with perfect participles, they indicate perfective-imperfective or stative aspect.

30. In citing the verses in which verse numbering differs, the standard English (and Septuagint) verse references are given first with the Hebrew verse where it differs in angle brackets < >.

There are at least twenty-five examples of iterative or habitual imperfects in Paraleipomenon (some with temporal adverbials and some with plural arguments). However, less than half have a Hebrew durative form—there are six *yiqtol* forms (1 Chr 12:22 <23>; 2 Chr 1:16 [2]; 9:4; 25:14 [2]), a *qotel* form (1 Chr 12:40<41>), and three *weqatal* forms (2 Chr 33:6 [3]). There are a greater number of examples where the Hebrew form is a *qatal* or a *wayyiqtol* form, and the translator used an imperfect form to translate them. This shows he was considering the context in choosing the Greek verb forms and was not just influenced by the standard equivalent for the Hebrew verb form. Second Chronicles 27:5 contains both a *wayyiqtol* form and a *qatal* form, which are both translated by imperfect forms. There are two temporal adverbial phrases in the Hebrew MT “that year” and “in the second and third years.” Paraleipomenon translated them “annually” (lit. “according to the year”) and “annually in the first year and the second and the third” in close juncture with these verb forms strongly intimating that a Greek imperfect is an appropriate form to use.³¹

2 Chr 27:5

והוא נלחם עס־מלך בני־עמון ויחזק עליהם ויתנ־לו בני־עמון בשנה ההיא מאה בכר־כסף ועשרת אלפים כרים חטים ושעורים עשרת אלפים זאת השיבו לו בני עמון ס ובשנה השנית והשלשית:

He fought with the king of the Ammonites and prevailed against them. The Ammonites gave him that year one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand cors of wheat and ten thousand of barley. The Ammonites paid him the same amount in the second and the third years. (NRSV)

αὐτὸς ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς βασιλέα υἱῶν Αμμων καὶ κατίσχυσεν ἐπ’ αὐτόν· καὶ ἐδίδουν αὐτῷ οἱ υἱοὶ Αμμων κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ δέκα χιλιάδας κόρων πυροῦ καὶ κριθῶν δέκα χιλιάδας· ταῦτα ἔφερεν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Αμμων κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἔτει καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ.

31. The translation of ההיא, “that year,” by κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν, “annually,” certainly encouraged the translator to translate the *wayyiqtol* form associated with it with a Greek imperfect with a habitual or iterative reading. In addition, the translator could have interpreted the *wayyiqtol* form as a coordinated durative *weyiqtol* form in the unpointed *Vorlage*.

He fought with the king of the sons of Ammon and prevailed over him. And the sons of Ammon would give him one hundred talents of silver annually and ten thousand kors of wheat and ten thousand of barley. These the king of Ammon would bring him annually in the first year and the second and the third. (NETS)

Habitual action may also be indicated by the presence of plural arguments in the context, and this may also encourage the translator to consider a durative past form, even when the Hebrew text has a nondurative form. It is logical that an action with multiple subjects or objects would take some duration to perform the action; that is, multiple objects may imply repeated (or habitual) action, for example, “it was his habit to do such and such.” This may be marked by an imperfect form. For example, 2 Chr 28:3–4 has a *qatal* form followed by two *wayyiqtol* forms with plural objects or plural objects of prepositions translated by imperfects, “Ahaz made his sons pass through the fire” and “he offered incense on the high places, on the hills, and under every green tree.”

2 Chr 28:3–4

וְהוּא הִקְטִיר בְּגִיאֲבֹן־הַנֶּחֱם וַיַּבְעֵר אֶת־בָּנָיו בָּאֵשׁ כְּתַעֲבוֹת הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר הָרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: וַיִּזְבַּח וַיִּקְטֹר בַּבְּמוֹת וְעַל־הַגִּבְעוֹת וּתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רֶעֶן:
And he made offerings in the valley of the son of Hinnom, and made his sons pass through fire, according to the abominable practices of the nations whom the Lord drove out before the people of Israel. 4 He sacrificed and made offerings on the high places, on the hills, and under every green tree. (NRSV)

καὶ ἔθυσεν ἐν Γαιβενενομ καὶ διῆγεν³² τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ διὰ πυρὸς κατὰ τὰ βδελύγματα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐξωλέθρευσεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ. 4 καὶ ἐθυμία ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου ἀλσώδους.

And he would sacrifice in Gaibenenom, and he led his children through fire according to the abominations of the nations whom the Lord utterly destroyed from before the sons of Israel. 4 And he

32. Hanhart prefers to read the aorist διῆγεν for the imperfect in Brooke and Rahlfs. Robert Hanhart, ed., *Paralipomenon Liber II*, SVTG 7.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 329. However, reading three consecutive imperfects seems to fit the context better.

would offer incense on the high places and on the roofs and under every woodland tree. (NETS)

There are other examples of imperfects with plural subjects. However, not all of the verbs with plural subjects in the same context are translated by imperfects (some are also translated by aorists). This suggests that something in addition to marking for durativity involving plural subjects is involved in the use of imperfect forms. For example, 2 Chr 25:12 has a plural *qatal* form translated by an aorist followed by two *wayyiqtol* forms and a *qatal* form with plural subjects translated by imperfects perhaps to indicate a discourse peak (see section 4.1.2.3 below). Also, 2 Chr 29:22 which has seven *wayyiqtol* forms with plural subjects, four are translated by aorists and three by imperfects (perhaps to indicate different subjects carrying out different actions; see §4.1.2.2 below). Perhaps in these verses, 2 Chr 25:12 and 29:22, the imperfects are being employed on the level of discourse, alternating aorists and imperfects to contrast actions (simultaneous or atemporal) or to indicate background, peak, or summary.

4.1.2. Discourse Pragmatic Constraint

The area where we see a significant use of the imperfect by the translator is in the realm of discourse.

4.1.2.1. Background

While the *wayyiqtol* form is mainly used for the event line in Hebrew, a variety of other forms, but most typically *qatal* forms, are used to break the sequence of narrative *wayyiqtol* forms to indicate background or out-of-line information. Frequently background or out-of-line information is indicated in comment subordinate clauses, for example, reason or cause clauses (1 Chr 22:3–4, below). Also “moreover the servants of Hiram and the servants of Solomon who brought gold from Ophir brought [*qatal* > imperfect] algum wood and precious stones” (2 Chr 9:10 NRSV),³³ and “Rehoboam loved Maacah daughter of Absalom more than all his other wives and concubines (he took [*qatal* > imperfect] eighteen wives and

33. The Hebrew text has two *qatal* forms, הֵבִיאוּ, “they brought,” and the Greek text only uses one imperfect, ἔφερον, to translate them.

sixty concubines)” (2 Chr 11:21 NRSV). Twenty-eight *qatal* forms in subordinate clauses are translated by imperfects.³⁴

In the first example, as a background comment to Rehoboam going to Shechem (translated by an aorist), is an explanatory *כי* clause with a *qatal* form (translated by an imperfect). A possible reason for the imperfect is to contrast the two subjects Rehoboam and all Israel.

2 Chr 10:1

וַיֵּלֶךְ רַחֲבֵעַם שִׁכְמָה כִּי שָׁם בָּאָן כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ:

Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had come to Shechem to make him king. (NRSV)

καὶ ἦλθεν Ροβοαμ εἰς Συχεμ, ὅτι εἰς Συχεμ ἤρχετο πᾶς Ἰσραηλ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν.

And Roboam went to Sychem, because all Israel was coming to Sychem to make him king. (NETS)

The translation of the verb “come” indicates, either that all Israel had already arrived at Shechem prior to the arrival of Rehoboam (background), indicated by the NRSV translation “had come,” or that Israel was still in the process of arriving at Shechem when Rehoboam came there (simultaneous), indicated by the NETS translation “was coming.”

In the second example, as a background comment to David preparing iron and bronze and cedar logs, there is an explanatory clause stating that the Sidonians and Tyrians brought great quantities of cedar logs to David, which is translated by an imperfect.³⁵

1 Chr 22:3–4

וּבְרֹזֶל לָרֹב לְמַסְמְרִים לְדִלְתוֹת הַשְּׁעָרִים וּלְמַחְבְּרוֹת הַכֵּן דּוֹיֵד וְנַחֲשֶׁת לָרֹב
אֵין מִשְׁקָל: וְעֵצֵי אֲרָזִים לְאֵין מִסְפָּר כִּי הֵבִיאוּ הַצִּידִינִים וְהָעֲרִים עֵצֵי אֲרָזִים
לָרֹב לְדוֹיֵד: פ

34. Good, *Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 99.

35. The verb ἐφέροσαν in 2 Chr 22:4 is an irregular imperfect form of the standard form ἔφερον, and this is the only occurrence of ἐφέροσαν in the LXX. The imperfect ending -οσαν also occurs once in Psalms of Solomon (8:11), three times in the Gospel of John (15:22, 24 εἴχουσιν; 19:3 ἐδίδουσιν), and once in Acts (16:4 παρεδίδουσιν). Interestingly, there are ten examples of the imperfect of φέρω in Paraleipomenon, and a few of them translate *qatal* forms (1 Chr 22:4; 2 Chr 9:10; 27:5) or *wayyiqtol* forms (25:12).

David also provided great stores of iron for nails for the doors of the gates and for clamps, as well as bronze in quantities beyond weighing, and cedar logs without number—for the Sidonians and Tyrians brought great quantities of cedar to David. (NRSV)

καὶ σίδηρον πολὺν εἰς τοὺς ἥλους τῶν θυρωμάτων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ τοὺς στροφεῖς ἡτοίμασεν Δαυιδ, καὶ χαλκὸν εἰς πλῆθος οὐκ ἦν σταθμός, καὶ ξύλα κέδρινα οὐκ ἦν ἀριθμός, ὅτι ἐφέροσαν οἱ Σιδῶνιοι καὶ οἱ Τύριοι ξύλα κέδρινα εἰς πλῆθος τῷ Δαυιδ.

And Dauid prepared a lot of iron for the nails of the doorways and of the gates, and the clamps and bronze in abundance beyond weighing, and cedar logs without number, for the Sidonians and Tyrians were bringing cedar logs to Dauid in abundance. (NETS)

4.1.2.2. Contrast Actions: Simultaneous or Atemporal

Another environment where an imperfect might occur is to contrast simultaneous actions in relation to another verb form (either in the main clause or in a temporal clause, as seen in the two examples below). In the first example, a temporal clause containing a *wayhi* form followed by an infinitive construct “whenever the king went into the house of the Lord” (translated by an aorist and an aorist infinitive) is contrasted with a main clause *qatal* form “the guard would come along,” translated by an imperfect to indicate the two actions going on simultaneously (2 Chr 12:11). More commonly in Greek simultaneous actions would be indicated by a circumstantial present participle.³⁶ However, the translator was reluctant to use circumstantial participles without the presence of an equivalent circumstantial participle in Hebrew.³⁷

36. In this example of the normative dimension of the translation, we can see the interaction of two distinct sets of weighted preference rules, translational and compositional. On the one hand, a strong preference for the indicative form owing to a translational convention; on the other, a (weak) antecedent preference for the circumstantial (durative) participle in this context owing to a Greek compositional convention. Hence, the translator compromises, breaking with the expected Greek usage and opting for the imperfect, which still allows for a nod to the relevant target convention (indicative + durative) for this context (Cameron Boyd Taylor, personal correspondence).

37. Some examples of imperfects indicating simultaneous action translating *qotel* forms occur in 1 Chr 13:7, 2 Chr 18:9, and 20:21. The *qotel* participle is the standard Hebrew form used for simultaneous action. See Good, *Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 227–34. and 69 n. 53.

2 Chr 12:11

ויהי מדי־בוא המלך בית יהוה באו הרצים ונשאום והשבום אל־תא הרצים:
Whenever the king went into the house of the LORD, the guard
would come along bearing them, and would then bring them back
to the guardroom. (NRSV)

καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα εἰς οἶκον κυρίου, εἰσεπορεύοντο
οἱ φυλάσσοντες καὶ οἱ παρατρέχοντες καὶ οἱ ἐπιστρέφοντες εἰς
ἀπάντησιν τῶν παρατρέχόντων.

And it happened that, when the king entered the Lord's house, the
guards would go in, and the runners and those returning to meet
the runners. (NETS)

In the second example, an infinitive construct temporal clause “as he was dying” (translated by an imperfect) is contrasted with a main clause *qatal* form “he said” (translated by an aorist) to indicate the two actions going on simultaneously (24:22).

2 Chr 24:22

ולא־זכר יואש המלך החסד אשר עשה יהוידע אביו עמו ויהרג את־בנו
וכמותו אמר ירא יהוה וידרש: פ

King Joash did not remember the kindness that Jehoiada, Zechariah's father, had shown him, but killed his son. As he was dying,
he said, “May the LORD see and avenge!” (NRSV)

καὶ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη Ἰωας τοῦ ἐλέους, οὗ ἐποίησεν μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἰωδαε ὁ
πατήρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ὡς ἀπέθνησκεν,
εἶπεν ἱδοὶ κύριος καὶ κρινάτω.

And Ioas did not remember the mercy that Iodae his father had
done with him, and he put his son to death. And as he was dying,
he said, “May the Lord see, and let him judge.” (NETS)

Another example of a *qatal* form translated by an imperfect occurs in 2 Chr 17:10, “The fear of the Lord fell on all the kingdoms of the lands around Judah, and they did not make war [*qatal* > imperfect] against Jehoshaphat” (NRSV).

Sometimes the translator may have wanted to contrast verbs that had a different temporal sequence (and different subjects). In 2 Chr 29:22 seven *wayyiqtol* forms are translated by both aorists and imperfects. The three

occurrences of the verbs of sacrificing and the priests receiving of the blood are translated by aorists, but three verbs indicating pouring out the blood are all translated by imperfects. The subjects of the verbs are also different. Those who offer are those who sacrifice, whereas the priests who receive the blood pour out the blood on and around the altar (cf. Lev 1:5). Perhaps the translator wanted to distinguish between the different subjects of the verbs of slaughtering (translated by aorists) and the subjects of the verbs of pouring out (all translated by imperfects). He may have also wanted to emphasize the duration of the process of pouring out (collecting the blood in basins then sprinkling it on and around the altar) following the punctual act of slaughtering. To distinguish between the subjects of slaughtering the animals and dashing the blood the NRSV translates the last two occurrences of dashing the blood ויזרקו as a passive “their blood was dashed.” The translation of a third person form as an impersonal pseudo-passive is quite common.³⁸

2 Chr 29:22

וישחטו הבקר ויקבלו הכהנים את־הדם ויזרקו המזבחה וישחטו האילים
ויזרקו הדם המזבחה וישחטו הכבשים ויזרקו הדם המזבחה:

So they slaughtered the bulls, and the priests received the blood and dashed it against the altar; they slaughtered the rams and their blood was dashed against the altar; they also slaughtered the lambs and their blood was dashed against the altar. (NRSV)

καὶ ἔθυσαν τοὺς μόσχους, καὶ ἐδέξαντο οἱ ἱερεῖς τὸ αἷμα καὶ προσέχεον
ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον· καὶ ἔθυσαν τοὺς κριοὺς, καὶ προσέχεον τὸ αἷμα
ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον· καὶ ἔθυσαν τοὺς ἄμνους, καὶ περιέχεον τὸ αἷμα
τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ.³⁹

38. IBHS, 376–77.

39. In some manuscripts (N, a, c, n), twice the aorist προσέχεαν instead of the imperfect προσέχεον, “pour out,” occurs. Alan England Brooke et al., eds., *I and II Chronicles*, part 3 of *The Later Historical Books*, vol. 2 of *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 536. Hanhart prefers to read the aorist for all three verbs of pouring out rather than the imperfects read in Brooke and Rahlfs. Hanhart, *Paralipomenon II*, 347.

And they sacrificed the calves, and the priests received the blood and poured it on the altar. And they sacrificed the rams and poured the blood on the altar. And they sacrificed the lambs and poured the blood for the altar. (NETS)

4.1.2.3. Peak or Climax

From a discourse perspective, Greek imperfect verbs may be used to highlight certain actions as a climax or peak.⁴⁰ The imperfect tense functioning to indicate peak or climax may be considered a heightened foreground (or front ground) rather than a background form. For example, in 2 Chr 25:11–12, the Hebrew text intersperses *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* forms to contrast event line verbs with background or out-of-line actions. It has a slightly different emphasis from a discourse perspective than the Greek translation. Amaziah strengthened himself (*qatal*—background) and as a result he took his people (*wayyiqtol*—event line) went to the valley of Salt (*wayyiqtol*—event line) and struck ten thousand of the men of Seir (*wayyiqtol*—event line). The people of Judah also captured ten thousand (*qatal*—background/out-of-line—at the same time as striking the ten thousand), then they took them to the top of Sela (*wayyiqtol*—event line), and threw them down (*wayyiqtol*—event line), so that all of them were dashed to pieces (*qatal*—result). In comparison, the Greek translation uses aorist verbs for the first five verbs and then uses imperfects for the last three verbs, as is seen in 2 Chr 25:12, perhaps to highlight or emphasize the zeal or brutality of the sons of Judah, especially after Amaziah sent away, after the man of God’s word of rebuke and correction, the force from Ephraim that he had hired (vv. 7–10). It seems there is a reversal of background and foreground function of the imperfect and aorist verbs here, with the aorist used as a background “Judah captured” and the imperfect as foreground

40. Fanning points out two diverse functions of the imperfect in narrative. The first, “adding offline, supporting information, setting the scene, explaining broader circumstances that lie behind the main event line ... [constituting] the *background* element in narrative.” However, “other uses of the imperfect clearly fit on the main event line ... providing more vivid, up-close portrayal of the events they recount.” Buist M. Fanning, “Greek Presents, Imperfects, and Aorists in the Synoptic Gospels: Their Contribution to Narrative Structuring,” in *Discourse Studies and Biblical Interpretation: Festschrift in Honor of Stephen Levinsohn*, ed. Steven E. Runge (Bellingham: Logos Bible Software, 2011), 179. Bakker also notes two uses of the imperfect and that sometimes “imperfect verbs, and not aorists ... express events that ‘happen’ in the story, and so constitute the time-line or foreground.” Bakker, “Verbal Aspect,” 15.

or front ground “they took them, threw them down, and they were dashed to pieces.” This reversal may be a strategy to mark the peak of an episode and may also be observed in compositional Greek (see below).

2 Chr 25:11–12

ואמציִהוּ הַתְּחֹזֶק וַיִּנְהֹג אֶת־עַמּוֹ וַיִּלְךְ גִּיאֵה־מֶלֶח וַיַּךְ אֶת־בְּנֵי־שַׁעִיר עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים: וְעֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים חַיִּים שָׁבוּ בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּבְיֹאוּם לְרֹאשׁ הַסֶּלַע וַיִּשְׁלִיכוּם מִרֹאשׁ־הַסֶּלַע וְכֻלָּם נִבְקְעוּ: ס

Amaziah took courage, and led out his people; he went to the Valley of Salt, and struck down ten thousand men of Seir. The people of Judah captured another ten thousand alive, took them to the top of Sela, and threw them down from the top of Sela, so that all of them were dashed to pieces. (NRSV)

καὶ Ἀμασίας κατίσχυσεν καὶ παρέλαβεν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν ἁλῶν καὶ ἐπάταξεν ἐκεῖ τοὺς υἱοὺς Σηὶρ δέκα χιλιάδας· καὶ δέκα χιλιάδας ἐζώγησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰουδα καὶ ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ κρημνοῦ καὶ κατεκρήμνιζον αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ κρημνοῦ, καὶ πάντες διερρήγγυντο.

And Amasias became strong and brought his people along with him and advanced into the Valley of Salt and there struck ten thousand sons of Seir. And the sons of Ioudas took captive ten thousand and brought them to the cliff edge and tossed them over the cliff edge, and they were all rent asunder. (NETS)

An example of imperfects functioning to indicate peak may also be seen in the compositional Greek of Thucydides, *P.W.* 7.74.2. The imperfect verbs indicate a peak or climax in the strategy leading to the Syracusans's defeat of the Athenians, to cut off the Athenians's means of escape. It is interesting that the aorist tense forms are used in contrast to the imperfects and actually give background information (single underlined in brackets).⁴¹

41. Bakker identifies passages “where aorist and imperfect seem to have been used according to the principle of foreground-background, [but] there are also passages where this relation is reversed” (“Verbal Aspect,” 16). He attempts to account for these diverse uses of imperfects and aorists from the point of *diegetic* (the narrator's voice—the knower) and *mimetic* (the remote observer's or character's voice) *modes of discourse* rather than to indicate foreground and background (28–29).

ταῖς δὲ ναυσὶ προσπλεύσαντες τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀφείλκον (ἐνέπρησαν δέ τινας ὀλίγας, ὥσπερ διενοήθησαν, αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι), τὰς δ' ἄλλας καθ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδενὸς καλύοντος ὡς ἐκάστην ποι ἐκπεπτωκυῖαν ἀναδησάμενοι ἐκόμιζον ἐς τὴν πόλιν. And with their ships they [the Syracusans] sailed up to the Athenian ships and dragged them from the beach. The Athenians themselves had burned some of them, as they had planned; as for the others, the Syracusans towed them away as they liked, just as each one was driven ashore, and brought them, with no opposition from anyone, to their city.⁴²

4.1.2.4 Summary Statement

Finally, from a discourse perspective, imperfects may be used to summarize or conclude a series of actions. For example, a summary to David's battles (1 Chr 18:6 and 13—three imperfects each), a summary of Jehoshaphat's reign (2 Chr 20:32–33—two imperfects), and comment on the Queen of Sheba's visit and a summary of Solomon's reign (chapter 9—fifteen imperfects). In 1 Chr 18:6 and 13 the translator uses two imperfects, one to translate a *wayyiqtol* form and one a *qatal* form. Perhaps the imperfects are used to contrast a final summary comment from the body of the narrative preceding. Other possible ways to interpret the final imperfect is as an iterative imperfect following the adverbial *בכל אשר*, “in all which [i.e., wherever] he went,” translated *ἐν παντί*, and this context also influenced the translator to use an imperfect to translate the preceding form. Also preceding these imperfects, the *wayyiqtol* form *ויהי*, which is translated by a naturally durative imperfect verb *ἦσαν*, introducing a stative context as the result of the preceding actions (rather than the change of state “became” in the NETS translation, which would be better as a translation of *ἐγένετο*). The Greek imperfect *ἦσαν* transitions from the event line and may have prompted the translator to consider a durative context leading to his choice of imperfects *ἔσφξεν* and *ἐπορεύετο* as a summary of David's military campaigns against the Philistines, Moab, Zobah, and the Syrians (vv. 1–12).

1 Chr 18:6

וַיֵּשֶׁם דָּוִד בְּאַרְמֹדֶרֶשֶׁק וַיְהִי אָרֶם לְדָוִד עֲבָדִים נִשְׂאִי מִנְחָה וַיּוֹשַׁע יְהוָה
לְדָוִד בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ:

42. Bakker, “Verbal Aspect,” 15.

Then David put garrisons in Aram of Damascus; and the Arameans became subject to David, and brought tribute. The Lord gave victory to David wherever he went. (NRSV)

καὶ ἔθετο Δαυιδ φρουρὰν ἐν Συρίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Δαμασκόν, καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς παῖδας φέροντας δῶρα. καὶ ἔσωζεν κύριος τὸν Δαυιδ ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐπορεύετο.

And David put a garrison in Syria opposite Damascus, and they became David's servants, bearing gifts. And the Lord kept saving David in all he went through. (NETS)

1 Chr 18:13

וַיִּשֶׁם בְּאֶדוֹם נֹצִיבִים וַיְהִי כָּל-אֲדוֹם עֲבָדִים לְדָוִיד וַיֹּשֶׁעַ יְהוָה אֶת-דָּוִיד בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר הָלַךְ:

He put garrisons in Edom; and all the Edomites became subject to David. And the Lord gave victory to David wherever he went. (NRSV)

καὶ ἔθετο ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι φρουράς, καὶ ἦσαν πάντες οἱ Ἰδουμαῖοι παῖδες Δαυιδ. καὶ ἔσωζεν κύριος τὸν Δαυιδ ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐπορεύετο.

And he put garrisons in the valley, and all the Idumeans became David's servants. And the Lord kept saving David in all he went through. (NETS)⁴³

Some of the examples mentioned above could also be considered examples of background or summary comment clauses where *qatal* forms and some *wayyiqtol* forms following them are translated by imperfect forms, for example, summary comment with simultaneous and habitual action “whenever the king entered the Lord’s house, the guards would go in” (2 Chr 12:11, see section 4.1.2.2 above), summary comment with habitual action “this is how they acted day after day” (24:11, see section 4.1.3 below), summary comment with habitual or iterative sense “the sons of Ammonites would give him ... the king of Ammon would bring” (27:5 describing the tribute given by the Ammonites to Jotham, see section 4.1.1.3 above), and background with habitual sense “he made offerings ... made his sons

43. An aorist ἔσωσε occurs in some manuscripts (S, h, j, p, q, t, z) in 18:6 and in (A) in 18:13. Brooke et al., *Old Testament in Greek*, 447.

pass through fire ... he sacrificed and offered incense on the high places” (28:3–4 describing Ahaz’s abominations resulting in God delivering him into the hand of the king of Syria, see section 4.1.1.3 above).⁴⁴

4.1.3 Additional Factors

There are some additional factors that may have influenced the translator to use an imperfect form.⁴⁵ Imperfect forms tend to occur in clusters. About 139 out of the 237 imperfect forms in Paraleipomenon, or 58.65 percent, occur in the same or adjacent verses.⁴⁶ For example, 2 Chr 24:10–13 contains six imperfects and 2 Chr 9 contains fifteen.

Because of the clustering of imperfects and other contextual factors, it seems the translator, looking at his unpointed *Vorlage*, also interpreted *wayyiqtol* forms as *weyiqtol* forms, especially in the context of other *yiqtol* or durative forms. For example, in 2 Chr 1:16–17, two forms וַיַּעֲלֶה וַיּוֹצִיאוּ (vocalized in the MT as *wayyiqtol* forms), preceded and followed by *yiqtol* forms in past context with past durative meaning are translated as imperfect forms, resulting in a cluster of four imperfect forms. The two verses describe the trading involved so that Solomon could gather fourteen hundred chariots and twelve thousand horses in chariot cities and in Jerusalem (v. 14) and how the king’s traders could facilitate trade between the Egyptians and the Hittites and Syrians.

2 Chr 1:16–17

וּמוֹצֵא הַסּוֹסִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמָה מִמִּצְרַיִם וּמִקּוּא סַחְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ מִקּוּא יִקְחוּ
בְּמַחִיר: וַיַּעֲלֶה וַיּוֹצִיאוּ מִמִּצְרַיִם מֵרֶכֶב בֶּשֶׁשׁ מֵאוֹת כֶּסֶף וְסוֹס בַּחֲמִשִּׁים
וּמֵאָה וּכְן לְכָל-מֶלֶךְ הַחֲתִים וּמִלְכֵי אֶרֶם בְּיָדָם יוֹצִיאוּ:

Solomon’s horses were imported from Egypt and Kue; the king’s traders received them from Kue at the prevailing price. They

44. Verbs in summary statements concerning the reigns of Amon (ἐπλήθυνεν 2 Chr 33:23) and Josiah (ἐξέλειπεν 34:2; 34:33) have been interpreted as alternately as imperfect (Gramcord/Accordance) or aorist (BibleWorks).

45. As far as text-critical issues are concerned, the main variants between imperfects and aorists occur in 1 Chr 18:13 (see n. 42) and in 2 Chr 29:22 (see n. 38) above. In addition to these examples, there are a number of ambiguous verb forms that can be interpreted as either an aorist or an imperfect such as ἐπήγειρεν (“to awaken, arouse, stir up”) (1 Chr 5:26; 2 Chr 21:16) and those verbs mentioned in the previous note.

46. Good, *Septuagint’s Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 213–14.

imported from Egypt, and then exported, a chariot for six hundred shekels of silver, and a horse for one hundred fifty; so through them these were exported to all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Aram (NRSV).

καὶ ἡ ἔξοδος τῶν ἵππων τῶν Σαλωμων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἡ τιμὴ τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐμπορεύεσθαι ἡγόραζον καὶ ἀνέβαινον καὶ ἐξήγον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἄρμα ἐν ἐξακοσίῳ ἀργυρίου καὶ ἵππον ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα· καὶ οὕτως πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν τῶν Χετταίων καὶ βασιλεῦσιν Συρίας ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν ἔφερον.

And the export of Salomon's horses was from Egypt, and the price of the king's merchants; they would buy to trade. And they would go up and bring back from Egypt one chariot for six hundred shekels of silver and a horse for one hundred and fifty. And thus they would bring for all the kings of the Chettites and kings of Syria by their hands. (NETS)

Conversely, clustering and context may influence the translator to interpret *weyiqtol* forms (as vocalized in the MT) as *wayyiqtol* forms and translate them as aorists. The verbal forms in 2 Chr 24:11–12 used to portray the situation whereby the funds for the repairing of the temple were raised are different in the Hebrew MT and in the Greek translation producing a slightly different story in the Greek translation. Second Chronicles 24:11–12 begins a new episode with a *wayhi* form followed by a durative *yiqtol* form in past context with a habitual sense as background, “and it happened whenever they brought the chest,” which are translated by καὶ ἐγένετο and an imperfect, with a similar habitual sense. Then an infinitive construct “and whenever the king's officers saw” is translated by an aorist in fairly standard manner.⁴⁷ However, in what follows, the Greek diverges from the MT with a different discourse linguistic sense in translation. The Hebrew MT has a *weqatal* form “the king's secretary and the officer of the chief priest would come” followed by three *weyiqtol* forms וישבהו וישארו ויערו את הארון, “and empty the chest and take it and return it to its place” continuing the habitual sense of the durative *yiqtol* form. However, the Greek translation translated these forms by

47. In Paraleipomenon, 41 out of 612 (or 6.7 percent) infinitive constructs are translated by aorist indicatives. Good, *Septuagint's Translation of the Hebrew Verbal System in Chronicles*, 175–76.

aorists, itemizing the actions without indicating any duration. It seems the translator interpreted the unpointed *Vorlage* as a coordinated past *weqatal* form followed by three *wayyiqtol* forms. The Hebrew text then continues with a summary comment containing a *qatal* form with a temporal adverbial lending itself to a habitual sense “so they did day after day.” The *qatal* form is translated by an imperfect with habitual sense. This is followed by two *wayyiqtol* forms “and they collected money in abundance and the king and Jehoiada gave it to those who had charge of the work of the house of the Lord.” These are both translated by the standard equivalent aorist forms. Then a periphrastic Hebrew form, “and they hired masons and carpenters,” is translated by an imperfect, both having a durative sense. Then the Hebrew MT finishes the section with four *wayyiqtol* forms. However, the first *wayyiqtol* form, “those who were engaged in the work labored,” is translated by an imperfect, “those doing the work kept on working” (perhaps interpreting the MT’s *wayyiqtol* as a coordinated durative past *weyiqtol* form). The Greek translation emphasizes the ongoing labor on the house, continuing the durative sense for one more verb, before translating the rest of the *wayyiqtol* forms with aorists, returning to the event line: the work expanded, they raised up the house and strengthened it.

2 Chr 24:11–13

ויהי בעת יביא את־הארון אל־פקדת המלך ביד הלויים וכראותם כִּי־רַב הכסף ובא סופר המלך ופקיד כהן הראש ויערו את־הארון וישאוהו וישביהו אל־מקמו כה עשו ליום ביום ויאספו־כסף לרב: ויתנהו המלך ויהידע אל־עושה מלאכת עבודת בית־יהוה ויהיו שכרים חצבים וחרשים לחדש בית יהוה וגם לחרשי ברזל ונחשת לחזק את־בית יהוה: ויעשו עשי המלאכה ותעל ארוכה למלאכה בידם ויעמידו את־בית האלהים על־מתכנתו ויאמצהו:

Whenever the chest was brought to the king’s officers by the Levites, when they saw that there was a large amount of money in it, the king’s secretary and the officer of the chief priest would come and empty the chest and take it and return it to its place. So they did day after day, and collected money in abundance. The king and Jehoiada gave it to those who had charge of the work of the house of the LORD, and they hired masons and carpenters to restore the house of the LORD, and also workers in iron and bronze to repair the house of the LORD. So those who were engaged in the work labored, and the repairing went forward at their hands, and they

restored the house of God to its proper condition and strengthened it. (NRSV)

καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἰσέφερον τὸ γλωσσόκομον πρὸς τοὺς προστάτας τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ χειρὸς τῶν Λευιτῶν καὶ ὡς εἶδον ὅτι ἐπλεόνασεν τὸ ἀργύριον, καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ὁ προστάτης τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἐξεκένωσαν τὸ γλωσσόκομον καὶ κατέστησαν εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ· οὕτως ἐποίουν ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας καὶ συνήγαγον ἀργύριον πολὺ. καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ Ἰωδαε ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῖς ποιοῦσιν τὰ ἔργα εἰς τὴν ἐργασίαν οἴκου κυρίου, καὶ ἐμισθοῦντο λατόμους καὶ τέκτονας ἐπισκευάσαι τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ χαλκεῖς σιδήρου καὶ χαλκοῦ ἐπισκευάσαι τὸν οἶκον κυρίου. καὶ ἐποίουν οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰ ἔργα, καὶ ἀνέβη μῆκος τῶν ἔργων ἐν χερσὶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀνέστησαν τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐπὶ τὴν στάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνίσχυσαν.

And it happened, as they would bring the chest to the king's officials by means of the Levites and as they saw that the money had increased, the king's scribe and the official of the great priest also came and emptied the chest and set it back in its place. This is how they acted day after day, and they collected much money. And the king and Iodae the priest gave it to those doing the work for the work of the Lord's house. And they hired masons and carpenters to restore the Lord's house and smiths of iron and copper to restore the Lord's house. And those doing the work kept on working, and the extent of their work expanded by their hands, and they raised up the Lord's house in its position and strengthened it. (NETS)

Sometimes there may be an overlap between semantics and discourse and the choice of verbal form is determined by multiple factors. The imperfect may be chosen by the translator both for semantic reasons and to indicate or highlight certain actions in the boundaries of the discourse. For example, the logical durative repetition of plural subjects coinciding with the peak or climax of the discourse (2 Chr 25:12, see section 4.1.2.3 above) or repeated or iterative actions coinciding with a summary of the Lord's care for David (18:13, see section 4.1.2.4 above).

5. Conclusion

The translator's use of the imperfect, especially to translate nondurative *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* forms, indicates he had some sensitivity to the use

and function of the imperfect and to the discourse context. There may have been a number of reasons that prompted the translator to employ an imperfect form in his translation: he may have been influenced both by semantics (situation aspect, the verb's lexical meaning and context) and the discourse pragmatics (a climax or summary statement, clustering). The use of the imperfect in translation especially as a nonstandard equivalent for Hebrew forms indicates the translator of Paraleipomenon intended to produce a Greek text that adequately represented the Hebrew *Vorlage*. On the one hand, he preferred some degree of formal equivalence (using conventional morphosyntactical pairs) coupled with consistent matching (i.e., his tendency to default to the aorist), yet he is not insensitive to the temporal structure of the Hebrew narrative (another dimension of "adequacy"). On the other hand, he also considers the norms of the target language ("acceptability") and tries to capture some of the finer nuances of the Greek verbal system. The interaction of these (weighted) preferences gives rise to the sort of phenomena documented in this paper.

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Iakob at the Iabok: Exegetical Observations concerning a Pericope in Septuagint Genesis 32

Robert J. V. Hiebert

Abstract: The goal of the forthcoming SBL Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS) project is to explain the meaning of a text at its point of production. One of the foundational principles for the project states that the commentator is “to search out the intention of the translator insofar as this may be inferred from the transformation of the source text and the verbal make-up of the target text” and “to describe the possibilities deliberately marked out by the language of the text.” The present paper highlights some features of the Greek translator’s work in interpreting a section of Hebrew Genesis.

1. Introduction

The overarching theme of the 2019 IOSCS conference in Aberdeen was “The Septuagint in Its Hellenistic Jewish Setting.” As is evident to one who studies this anthology of texts—most of them translations of a Semitic source text (Hebrew or Aramaic)—they bear the marks of the Hellenistic Jewish culture in which they were fashioned. This is the case not only because the language into which they were rendered is Greek but also because the ways in which that recasting process was executed reflect this linguistic and cultural milieu.

As is by now well known, the goal of the twin NETS and Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint projects is to elucidate the meaning of these texts at their point of production—namely, the meaning that was encoded/evoked by means of the linguistic choices of those who rendered their Semitic *Vorlage* into Greek—as distinct from

the meanings that came to be attributed to them by subsequent readers in different eras who usually were not bilingual and who were therefore not equipped to discern the source-to-target-text dynamics that were in play when the original translators did their work. Since none of those translators are still with us, we can only base our conclusions about their communicative intentions on how their presumed source text was transformed and took shape in the target text against the backdrop of the linguistic possibilities of that target text.

For the present paper, in reflecting on these linguistic dynamics as part of an exegetical investigation, I have chosen to focus on the story in Gen 32 of the patriarch יַעֲקֹב, called Ἰακώβ in Greek, on his return from exile in פָּדֶן אַרָם, called Μεσσοποταμία (Συρίας) in Greek (Gen 28:5; 33:18), and in particular on his encounter with אֱלֹהִים/אל (Gen 32:29–31 [28–30]), called θεός in Greek, in the vicinity of the נָחַל, “stream,” called יַבֵּק, or in Greek the χεῖμαρρος, “wadi,” called Ἰαβόκ (Gen 32:24[23]).¹

2. Iakob the Iabok Wrestler

Readers of the Hebrew text of Genesis cannot fail to notice that the author of Genesis exhibits a fondness for paronomasia, not infrequently when names are involved. The author employs that device in this passage when fashioning word plays on the name Jacob. This is certainly evident in Gen 32:23–26 (22–25), where the text says that יַעֲקֹב (v. 25[24]) crossed the ford of the יַבֵּק with his family and entire entourage, then apparently returned alone to the northern side of the wadi (vv. 23–25[22–24]), וַיִּאֲבֹק אִישׁ עִמּוֹ, “and a man wrestled with him” until the break of dawn (v. 25[24]). After some time in this struggle, the man touched/struck the socket of Jacob’s hip, וַתִּקַּע כֶּף יֶרֶךְ יַעֲקֹב בְּהִאֲבָקוֹ עִמּוֹ, “and Jacob’s hip was put out of joint as he wrestled with him” (v. 26[25]).² In quick succession, then, the reader encounters the words יַעֲקֹב, יַבֵּק, אֲבֹק, and יָקַע. The Greek translator can approximate the phonemes of the first two, which are proper nouns/names, quite readily as Ἰακώβ and Ἰαβόκ, as noted above. In the case of

1. Unless otherwise indicated, English translations of the Hebrew text (MT) come from the NRSV and those of the Old Greek text from NETS.

2. Gordon Wenham remarks: “The verb ‘he struggled’ (וַיִּאֲבֹק) occurs only here and in v. 26 and is clearly a play on the name Yabbok (יַבֵּק), and probably Jacob too (יַעֲקֹב). So we could paraphrase it ‘he Yabboked him’ or ‘he Jacobed him!’” Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, WBC 2 (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 295.

אִבֶּק, which occurs in the Hebrew Bible only twice—in verses 25(24) and 26(25) of Gen 32 (both times in the *niphal* stem)—the translator renders it in accordance with what could be expected as παλαίω, “wrestle.”³ As for יָקַע, “be dislocated,” the choice of ναρκάω, “grow stiff or numb,” as the counterpart would seem to indicate either that the translator understood what the Hebrew verb means and chose to render it this way in view of the fact that it caused Iakob to limp—perhaps because he regarded it to be more feasible to walk having a numbed hip than a dislocated one (Gen 32:31[32])—or he was uncertain of its meaning and made an educated guess.⁴ One might be inclined to opt for the latter possibility in view of the fact that nowhere else in the Septuagint is ναρκάω the counterpart to יָקַע.⁵

This is not the only time that Jacob is portrayed as physically taking hold of someone and of that action being linked to his name. The story of the twins, Esau and Jacob, begins with them struggling with one another (רָצַץ *hithpoal*)/being unruly or cavorting (σκιρτάω) in the womb of their poor mother, which leads her in her desperation to inquire of Yahweh (Gen 25:22).⁶ The oracle she receives informs her about the rivalry that will characterize the relationship of these two and their descendants and the fact that רַב יַעֲבֹד צַעִיר “the elder shall serve the younger”/ὁ μείζων δουλεύσει τῷ ἐλάσσονι, “the greater shall be subject to the lesser” (Gen 25:23). The narrator then describes Jacob exiting Rebekah’s womb immediately after Esau does, gripping his barely-older brother’s עֲקֵב-πτέρνη/πτέρνα, “heel” (Gen 25:26). This, of course, sets the stage for the episodes that follow, leading to the fracturing of the brothers’ relationship. The events that occasion Esau’s antipathy towards Jacob have to do with Jacob taking advantage of Esau’s vulnerability to extract from him the בכְּרָה, “birthright”⁷/τὰ πρωτοτόκια, “rights of primogeniture” (Gen 25:31, 32, 34) and then later

3. LSJ, s.v. “παλαίω”; DCH, s.v. “אִבֶּק.”

4. DCH, s.v. “יָקַע”; LSJ, s.v. “ναρκάω.”

5. In Jer 6:8, Ezek 23:17, 18, the Greek translators render יָקַע (*qal*), “turn away in disgust” (*HALOT*) (with נָפַשׁ as its subject), as ἀφιστήμι, “stand aloof, recoil” (LSJ). In Num 25:4, the counterpart to יָקַע (*hiphil*), “impale” (NRSV)/“display with broken legs and arms” (*HALOT*), is translated as παραδειγματίζω, “make an example of” (LSJ), whereas in 2 Sam/Kgdms 21:6, 9, and 13, יָקַע (*hiphil*) is rendered as ἐξηλιάζω, “hang in the sun” (LSJ).

6. DCH, s.v. “רָצַץ I”; LSJ, s.v. “σκιρτάω”; John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, SCS 35 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 390–91.

7. DCH, s.v. “בְּכֵרָה”: “firstborn’s privilege”; *HALOT*, s.v. “בְּכֵרָה”: “right of the first-born”; BDB, s.v. “בְּכֵרָה”: “right of first-born.”

exploiting Isaac's vulnerability in purloining the ברכה-εὐλογία, "blessing," that rightfully belongs to the one who is in possession of the בכרה (Gen 27:1–41, especially vv. 35–38). Here again we see Hebrew author's artful use of paronomasia, not only with respect to the word play involving בכרה and ברכה but also to the one that pertains to the circumstances of their birth and the naming of Jacob. In fact, Esau mentions them both in an anguished outburst upon his discovery of what Jacob has done in connection with the blessing:

Gen 27:36

וַיֹּאמֶר הַכִּי קָרָא שְׁמוֹ יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי זֶה פַעַמִּים אֶת בְּכֵרְתִּי לָקַח וְהִנֵּה עַתָּה לָקַח בְּרַכְתִּי

Esau said, "Is he not rightly named Jacob? For he has supplanted me these two times. He took away my birthright; and look, now he has taken away my blessing." (NRSV)

καὶ εἶπεν Δικαίως ἐκλήθη τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ· ἐπτέρνικεν γάρ με ἥδη δεύτερον τοῦτο· τὰ τε πρωτοτόκιά μου εἴληφεν, καὶ νῦν εἴληφεν τὴν εὐλογίαν μου.

And he said, "His name was rightly called Iakob, for he has supplanted me now this second time. He has both taken away my rights of primogeniture, and now he has taken away my blessing." (NETS)

Esau's riff on Jacob's name—יַעֲקֹב וַיַּעֲקֹבֵנִי—involves the verb עֲקַב in an allusion to the בכרה episode (Gen 25:29–34), where the verb does not appear, but presumably also to Jacob clutching Esau's עֲקַב-πτέρνη/πτέρνα at birth (Gen 25:26). There is an ongoing discussion amongst translators, lexicographers, and commentators as to the meaning of the denominative verb עֲקַב.⁸ In *DCH*, the denotations suggested for the context in Gen 27:36 are "supplant" or "cheat," whereas in *HALOT*, the options for this passage and several others are "to seize someone by the heel, go behind someone...., to **betray**," and in *BDB*, after the phrase "follow at the heel" at the beginning of the entry, which signals its connection with the noun עֲקַב, the definition

8. In *BDB* (s.v. "עֲקַב"), the comment is that the meaning of this root is dubious, and reference is made to the fact that Wilhelm Gesenius "assumes *be protuberant*, whence both עֲקַב *heel*, and II. עֲקַב *hilly*" (*Thesaurus philologicus criticus linguae Hebraeae et Chaldaeae Veteris Testamenti*, s.v. "עֲקַב"); Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 211.

“overreach” appears.⁹ George B. Caird states that the meaning of the verb in the contexts in which it occurs “seems rather to be of taking a person in the rear, catching him off his guard, doing something behind his back.”¹⁰ He then asserts that “what Esau says in Gen 27:36 is that Jacob is rightly called Heel, ‘because he has now twice gone behind my back.’”¹¹

Caird maintains as well that these observations with regard to the Hebrew term should shed some light on what to make of the Greek equivalent for the verb עקב in this verse, namely, πτερνίζω. This is the first attested appearance of πτερνίζω in Greek literature, and it is obviously a denominative of πτέρνη/πτέρνα. In BdA, Marguerite Harl has rendered the phrase in which it is found “car c’est à présent la deuxième fois qu’il m’a donné un coup de talon.”¹² In LXX.D, it is “denn damit erwischt er mich schon zum zweiten Mal an der Ferse.”¹³ In NETS, it is “for he has supplanted me now this second time.” Caird argues that “we must dispose of the confusion introduced by the rendering ‘supplant,’” which derives from the Vulgate’s *supplantare*, and that because “the only meaning of ‘supplant’ in modern English is ‘to dispossess or take the place of another, usually by deceitful or treacherous means,’” a “meaning undoubtedly developed under the influence of the story of Jacob and Esau ... we may not therefore read back this semantic change of an English word into the Latin, let alone into the Greek.”¹⁴ His line of argumentation bears consideration as a new edition of NETS is in the works. Nonetheless, for the

9. DCH, s.v. “עקב I and II”; HALOT, s.v. “עקב I” (bolding original); BDB, s.v. “עֲקַבְ”

10. George B. Caird, “Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint. II,” in *Septuagintal Lexicography*, ed. Robert A. Kraft, SCS 1 (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1972), 144.

11. Caird, “Towards a Lexicon,” 144.

12. Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse*, BdA 1, 2nd ed. (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 218. In Muraoka’s GELS (s.v. “πτερνίζω”), one reads “1. to kick (with) the heel with a view to throwing the opponent ... 2. based on the reading of Ge 27 in the LXX version, to cheat, defraud by withholding or robbing what is due to sbd else.” In LSJ (s.v. “πτερνίζω”), the entry states “strike with the heel, Hippiatr.40, Suid.” but then in connection with Gen 27:36 and Philo 1.125 specifically the denotation is “trip up, supplant.” In the Supplement entry for this word, however, this is the emended statement: “I 1, after ‘strike with the heel’ insert ‘of a rider urging on his horse’ 2, for this section read ‘trip up from behind, PVindob. Salomons 15.10 (v/vi AD); fig., as metaphor fr. wrestling, circumvent, outwit, Lxx Ge. 27.36, Ho. 12.4, Ma. 3.8, Ph. 1.125.”

13. Peter Prestel and Stefan Schorch, “Genesis: Das erste Buch Mose,” in *Septuaginta Deutsch: Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 29.

14. Caird, “Towards a Lexicon,” 143.

time being, however one decides to translate עקב and πτερνίζω, what can be said is that in Gen 27:36 the Septuagint Genesis translator appears to have coined a verb based on the cognate noun πτέρνη/πτέρνα in order to remind the Greek reader of the story of the birth of the twins and thereby to alert said reader to the fact that Jacob's name is to be associated with his action of gripping Esau's heel, even though the עקב/יעקב pun cannot be replicated in Greek. The same עקב-πτερνίζω equivalence occurs in Jer 9:3(4) and Hos 12:4(3) where these events are alluded to as well.¹⁵

3. The Significance of Face

Gen 32:31–32(30–31)

וַיִּקְרָא יַעֲקֹב שֵׁם הַמָּקוֹם פְּנִיאל כִּי רָאִיתִי אֱלֹהִים פָּנִים אֶל פָּנִים וַתִּנָּצַל נַפְשִׁי
וַיִּזְרַח לִּי הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ כַּאֲשֶׁר עָבַר אֶת פְּנוּאֵל וְהוּא צֹלַע עַל יָרֵךְ

So Jacob called the place Peniel, saying, "For I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved." The sun rose upon him as he passed Penuel, limping because of his hip. (NRSV)

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Ἰακώβ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ τόπου ἐκεῖνου Εἶδος θεοῦ· εἶδον γὰρ
θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, καὶ ἐσώθη μου ἡ ψυχή. ἀνέτειλεν δὲ
αὐτῷ ὁ ἥλιος, ἡνίκα παρήλθεν τὸ Εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπέσκαζεν
τῷ μηρῷ αὐτοῦ.

And Iakob called the name of that place Divine-form, "For I have seen a god face to face, and my life has been preserved." And the sun rose upon him when he passed by Form-of-God; now he was limping upon his thigh. (NETS)

The etymological wordplay on the proper nouns פְּנִיאל (v. 31[30]) and פְּנוּאֵל (v. 32[31]) and the terminology of "face" פָּנִים-πρόσωπον is part of a trope that figures prominently in the events leading up to and including

15. In Mal 3:8–9, where Jacob is also on the prophet's mind (v. 6), πτερνίζω occurs four times, though in these cases the MT counterpart is the rare verb קבע, "rob," occurring elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible only in Prov 22:23. In this verse, in which Yahweh is the subject in the MT, קבע את קבעיהם נפש "and despoils of life those who despoil them" is rendered in the Septuagint as καὶ ῥύσῃ σὴν ἄσυλον ψυχὴν "and you shall rescue your life inviolate," with an unspecified subject. Although lexicographers and commentators express uncertainty as to the meaning of קבע, the wordplay on the name Jacob is obvious in Mal 3.

Jacob's return to, and reconciliation with, his twin brother and bitter rival, Esau. This is evident in both the Hebrew source text and the Greek target text. In the verses cited above that refer to the theophany experienced by Jacob, however, the translator makes lexical choices that open up a range of exegetical possibilities that are distinctive to the Greek text.

In the first place, the translator's rendering of the terminology of deity is noteworthy. The term *θεός* appears in Genesis 280 times, 230 of which involve some form of *אלהים* or *אל* in the MT. In 153 of those contexts, anarthrous *אלהים* is rendered by *ὁ θεός*, whereas in only eighteen cases is anarthrous *θεός* the counterpart, including Gen 32:31(30). This latter move would appear to be a deliberate one, implying in the present passage perhaps some ambiguity as to the identity of Iakob's opponent—*θεός*, a god—rather than in the many other contexts in Genesis where there is no question that *ὁ θεός*—*the* god, that is, God—is intended.¹⁶ That ambiguity exists as well in the rendering of the theophoric element of the name that Jacob assigns to the place of the theophany, *פניאל*, with the anarthrous form for the term for deity—*Εἶδος θεοῦ* “Divine-form” (or perhaps Divine-likeness/-representation).¹⁷ When, however, translating the theophoric element of the actual name of the place associated here with this event, *פנואל*,¹⁸ the translator includes the article—*Εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ*, Form-of-God

16. Robert J. V. Hiebert, “In the Beginning: A Commentary on the Old Greek Text of Genesis 1.1–2.3,” in *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, ed. Dirk Büchner (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 20, 24.

17. The only other place where the MT attests *פניאל* is as a *kethib* reading in 1 Chr 8:25 (וּפְנִיאל). The LXX counterpart there, according to the editions of Rahlfs-Hanhart and Swete, is *Φελιήλ* (attested by B), though the reading attested by A and the majority of other witnesses is *φανουήλ*, which reflects the MT *qere*, *פניאל*. In a private communication, Cameron Boyd-Taylor has observed that, where these two terms collocate, “it would be most readily understood as ‘likeness of the deity’ (a representation, in the way a painting or sculpture is a likeness).” He cites, by way of example, Plutarch, whose use of the phrase *εἶδος θεοῦ*, “likeness of Deity,” is modified by the adjectives *γραπτόν*, “painted,” and *πλαστόν*, “graven” (*Num.* 7.7–8 [Perrin, LCL]). Boyd-Taylor refers also to Philostratus, “who deals with the depiction of mythic themes in painting” (*Vit. Apoll.* 6.19.2–62; 8.7.291–298), going on to say that “the metaphor seems to rest on the idea of visual representation” in the sense of looking or appearing like, and concluding that “a Platonic reading (*‘the form’*) is ruled out on contextual grounds, as is a reference to genre (*‘class’*).” Cf. the discussion on *εἶδος* and *ἰδέα* in Plato, *Resp.* 596a–598d.

18. In all other places where *פנואל* occurs in the MT, it is transcribed in the LXX as *Φανουήλ*.

(or Likeness-/Representation-of-God)—possibly indicating that, whatever entity it was that Jacob encountered, this place is to be associated ever afterward with *ὁ θεός*.

As for the first part of the place name, the nominal root פנה occurs ten times in various guises in Gen 32 and a further five times in Gen 33 in the narrative concerning the reunion of these brothers. Some of these occurrences feature the prepositional construction לַפְּנֵי, which the translator renders with appropriate prepositional counterparts involving ἐμπροσθεν (32:4[3], 17[16]; 33:3, 14[1°]) or ἐναντίον (33:14[2°]), and the prepositional phrase עַל פְּנֵי, which he translates with a standard Greek expression, κατὰ πρόσωπον¹⁹ (32:22[21]). Except in the case of the names mentioned above, where the Hebrew source text does not have a prepositional construction, the Greek equivalent is, as would be expected, πρόσωπον (32:21[20][3x], 31[30][2x]; 33:10[2x]). All of this then brings us back to what the translator has done, first of all in electing to translate the meaning of the name rather than to transcribe it, as is often the case, and then in choosing εἶδος as the counterpart to the פְּנֵי-/פָּנֹה components rather than πρόσωπον. The strategy of translation is, of course, adopted in a good number of places:

- ♦ אַבֶּל מִצְרַיִם Abel-mizraim (“Meadow of Egypt”)²⁰ / Πένθος Αἰγύπτου “Mourning-of-Egypt” (Gen 50:11)
- ♦ אֵלֹן בְּכוֹת Allon-bacuth (“Oak of weeping”)²¹ / Βάλανος πένθους “Acorn-tree-of-mourning” (Gen 35:8)
- ♦ בְּעַר שֶׁבַע Beer-sheba (“Well of oath/seven”)²² / Φρέαρ ὀρκισμοῦ “Well-of-adjuduration” (Gen 21:31)
- ♦ בְּעַר שֶׁבַע Beer-sheba (“Well of oath/seven”) / ὁ φρέαρ τοῦ ὀρκισμοῦ “the well of the adjuduration” (Gen 21:32)
- ♦ בְּעַר שֶׁבַע Beer-sheba (“Well of oath/seven”) / ὁ φρέαρ τοῦ ὀρκου “the well of the oath” (Gen 21:33)
- ♦ בְּעַר שֶׁבַע Beer-sheba (“Well of oath/seven”) / Φρέαρ ὀρκου “Well-of-oath” (Gen 26:33)
- ♦ בָּבֶל Babel (Akkadian Bāb-ilu, “gate of the god”)²³ / Σύγχυσις “Confusion” (Gen 11:9)

19. See, for example, Thucydides, *P.W.* 1.106; Xenophon, *Cyr.* 1.6.43.

20. BDB, s.v. “אַבֶּל II.6”; cf. אָבֵל, “mourning.”

21. *DCH*, s.v. “אֵלֹן I.”

22. BDB, s.v. “בְּעַר שֶׁבַע.”

23. *HALOT*, s.v. “בָּבֶל.”

- ◆ בֵּית אֵל Bethel (“House of God”) / Οἶκος θεοῦ “Divine-house” (Gen 28:19)
- ◆ בֶּן אֹנִי Ben-oni (“Son of my distress”)²⁴ / Υἱὸς ὀδύνης μου “Son-of-my-pain” (Gen 35:18)
- ◆ גֹּלֶעֶד Galeed (“Cairn of witness”)²⁵ / Βουνὸς μάρτυς “Mound-witness” (Gen 31:47)
- ◆ גֹּלֶעֶד Galeed (“Cairn of witness”) / Βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ “Mound-bears-witness” (Gen 31:48)
- ◆ מִצְפָּה Mizpah (“Outlook-point/-height”)²⁶ / Ἡ ὄρασις “The-act-of-seeing” (Gen 31:49)
- ◆ חַוָּה Eve (“Life”)²⁷ / Ζωή “Life” (Gen 3:20)
- ◆ יֵגַר שהדוּתָא Jegar-sahadutha (“Mound of testimony”)²⁸ / Βουνὸς τῆς μαρτυρίας “Mound-of-the-witness” (Gen 31:47)
- ◆ יְהוָה יהוה The LORD will provide²⁹ / Κύριος εἶδεν “The-Lord-saw” (Gen 22:14)
- ◆ מַחֲנֵיִם Mahanaim (“Double camp”)³⁰ / Παρεμβολαί “Camps” (Gen 32:2[3])
- ◆ סֻכּוֹת Succoth (“Booths”)³¹ / Σαχנάζ “Tents” (Gen 33:17)
- ◆ עֵשֶׂק Esek (“Contention”)³² / Ἀδικία “Injustice” (Gen 26:20)
- ◆ רְחוֹבוֹת Rehoboth (“Broad places”)³³ / Εὐρυχωρία “Open-space” (Gen 26:22)
- ◆ רְחוֹבוֹת עִיר Rehoboth-ir (“Broad places city”) / Ρωβῶθ πόλιν “Rooboth-city” (Gen 10:11)
- ◆ שִׁטְנָה Sitnah (“Accusation”)³⁴ / Ἐχθρία “Enmity” (Gen 26:21)
- ◆ שִׁבְעָה Shibah (“abundance, overflow; oath”)³⁵ / Ὅρκος “Oath” (Gen 26:33)

24. DCH, s.v. “אֹנִי.”

25. DCH, s.v. “גֹּלֶעֶד.”

26. BDB, s.v. “מִצְפָּה.”

27. Cf. BDB, s.v. “חַוָּה I.”

28. DCH, s.v. “שֶׁהֲדוּתָא.”

29. DCH, s.v. “יְהוָה I, *qal* 5a.”

30. HALOT, s.v. “מַחֲנֵיִם.”

31. Cf. BDB, s.v. “סֻכּוֹת.”

32. DCH, s.v. “עֵשֶׂק.”

33. Cf. DCH, s.v. “רְחוֹב I”: “broad place.”

34. Cf. DCH, s.v. “שִׁטְנָה I.”

35. HALOT, s.v. “שִׁבְעָה.”

Elsewhere in Genesis, εἶδος is the equivalent for תֹּאֵר, “form” (Gen 29:17; 39:6; 41:18, 19) or מְרֹאֶה, “appearance” (Gen 41:2, 3, 4), referring to the beauty of Rachel, the handsomeness of Joseph, and the healthy or scrawny condition of the two groups of cows in Pharaoh’s dream. Nowhere else in the Septuagint is there mention of εἶδος θεοῦ—indeed the earliest case of the collocation of these terms appears to have been in Gen 32:31–32(30–31)³⁶—and nowhere else is εἶδος the counterpart to פָּנָה.

Some other passages dealing with theophanies also include the term εἶδος, though not in combination with θεός.

Exod 24:10

ויראו את אלהי ישראל ותחת רגליו כמעשה לבנת הספיר וכעצם השמים לטהר

And they saw the God of Israel. Under his feet there was something like a pavement of sapphire stone, like the very heaven for clearness. (NRSV)

καὶ εἶδον τὸν τόπον, οὗ εἰστήκει ἐκεῖ ὁ θεὸς τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ ὥσει ἔργον πλίνθου σαπφείρου, καὶ ὥσπερ εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ καθαριότητι.

And they saw the place, there where the God of Israel stood, and that which was beneath his feet, like something made from lapis lazuli brick and like the appearance of the firmament of heaven in purity. (NETS)

It should be noted to begin with that, whereas in the MT one reads that Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and seventy elders (v. 9) saw the God of Israel, in the LXX what they saw was the place where he stood. Note also verse 11, where וַיַּחֲזוּ אֶת הָאֱלֹהִים “also they beheld God” is rendered καὶ ὠφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ “And they appeared in the place of God,” and where, as is the case in Gen 32:31(30), it is observed that no loss of life occurred despite the evident vulnerability of the observers given their proximity to the deity: וְאֵל אֲצִילִי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא שָׁלַח יָדוֹ “God did not lay his hand on the chief men of the people of Israel”/καὶ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων

36. In Posidonius (second–first century BCE), *Frag.* 370.22 one reads πᾶν τὸ μουσικὸν εἶδος θεῶν ἔργον ὑπολαμβάνοντες, “they [Pythagoreans] suppose every form of music to be the work of the gods” (my translation). In this case, it appears that the terms happen to be juxtaposed and not collocated.

τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ οὐ διεφώνησεν οὐδὲ εἷς “And not even one of the chosen of Israel perished.”³⁷ The wording regarding the place where one stands is reminiscent of that found in an earlier theophany described in Exod 3:5, where Moses is enjoined by אלהים-κύριος at the burning bush not to draw near and to remove his footwear because המקום אשר אתה עומד עליו אדמת המקום הוא קדש/ὁ ... τόπος, ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας, γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν “the place on which you are standing is holy ground.” In Exod 24:10, the term εἶδος occurs in the description of what was beneath the God of Israel’s feet, which in the LXX was ὥσπερ εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ καθαρειότητι “like the appearance of the firmament of heaven in purity.” The MT says that it was כעצם השמים לטהר “like the very heaven for clearness.” The term εἶδος occurs again a few verses later in Exod 24:17 as the counterpart to מראה in the statement: ומראה כבוד יהוה כאש אכלת “Now the appearance of the glory of the LORD was like a devouring fire”/τὸ δὲ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου ὥσει πῦρ φλέγον “Now the appearance of the Lord’s glory was like a flaming fire.”

In Exod 24:10–11, then, both by focusing on the place where the deity stands rather than on the deity himself and by rendering כעצם השמים “like the very heaven” as ὥσπερ εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ “like the appearance of the firmament of heaven,” the LXX puts more distance between the human observer of the theophany and the deity than is the case in the MT. One wonders if the Genesis translator’s decision to render פניאל as Εἶδος θεοῦ in Gen 32:31(30) was motivated by similar concerns in view of Jacob’s declaration about his “face to face” פנים אל פנים/πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον encounter with his opponent at the Jabbok. That kind of proximity to deity is expressed in a remarkable passage in Numbers where Moses’s intimacy with יהוה-κύριος is contrasted with that of all other prophets to whom the deity appears במראה “in visions”/ἐν ὁράματι “in a vision” or בחלום “in dreams”/ἐν ὕπνῳ “in sleep” (Num 12:6):

Num 12:8

פה אל פה אדבר בו ומראה ולא בחידת ותמנת יהוה יביט

With him I speak face to face—

clearly, not in riddles;

and he beholds the form of the LORD. (NRSV)

37. NETS footnote: “Or *went missing*.”

στόμα κατὰ στόμα λαλήσω αὐτῷ, ἐν εἵδει καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, καὶ
τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν·

Mouth to mouth I will speak to him,

in visible form and not through riddles.

And he has seen the glory of the Lord. (NETS)

The interpretive rendering of פה אל פה “face to face” in the NRSV obscures the fact that source and target texts are in agreement in characterizing the intimacy as “mouth to mouth,” which NETS reflects in its rendering of στόμα κατὰ στόμα. This is followed by the מראה–εἶδος equivalence that is attested elsewhere, including in Gen 41:2, 3, 4 and Exod 24:17 as noted above. An interesting wordplay between Num 12:6 and 12:8 is created in the Hebrew—מְרֹאָה “visions”/מְרֹאָה “clearly”—whereas in the Greek there is a noteworthy distinction—ὄραμα “vision”/εἶδος “visible form.” The translator’s rendering of the phrase יהוה יביט “and he beholds the form of the Lord” as καὶ τὴν δόξαν κυρίου εἶδεν “And he has seen the glory of the Lord” again seems to indicate an inclination to pull back somewhat from depicting such an encounter with that degree of proximity.

What, then, is the Genesis translator communicating by departing from usual defaults and employing εἶδος as the counterpart to פנה and by opting initially for anarthrous θεός as the rendering for אלהים in Gen 32? One suspects that it is a way of qualifying the description of Jacob’s/Iakob’s face-to-face confrontation at the Jabbok/Iabok, both by implying ambiguity as to the precise identity of the opponent (a divine entity of some sort or another) and by indicating that what Iakob saw was not in fact a πρόσωπον “face” but an εἶδος, namely, “that which is seen: form, shape ... figure ... appearance”³⁸—that is, something or other that was visible, or some type of θεός.

The פנה–πρόσωπον trope is significant in other ways in the narrative. This is the case, first of all, in the description of the steps that Jacob takes to placate a brother whom he fears could still be enraged at him—a possibility that the narrator brilliantly sets up by maintaining silence regarding Esau’s demeanor in the report by Jacob’s מלאכים–ἄγγελοι that Esau is coming לתקראת/εἰς συνάντησιν, “to meet” him (Gen 32:7[6]), a piece of ominous sounding news if there ever was one. Jacob sends hundreds of animals in

38. LSJ, s.v. “εἶδος.”

three groupings on ahead of him as a מנחה “a present”/δῶρα “presents,” for Esau (Gen 32:14–20[13–19]). This is the rationale:

Gen 32:21(20)

אכפרה פניו במנחה ההלכת לפני ואחרי כן אראה פניו אולי ישא פני

I may appease him with the present that goes ahead of me, and afterwards I shall see his face; perhaps he will accept me. (NRSV)

Ἐξιλάσομαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς δώροις τοῖς προπορευομένοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὄψομαι τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· ἴσως γὰρ προσδέξεται τὸ πρόσωπόν μου.

I shall propitiate his face with the presents that go on before him, and afterwards I shall see his face, for perhaps he will accept my face. (NETS)

In this declaration, the face figures in three different types of expressions involving different kinds of personal encounter. The first and the last of these are rendered as Hebraisms: ἐξιλάσσομαι does have to do with propitiation or appeasement and προσδέχομαι with acceptance,³⁹ but the earliest cases of them being paired with πρόσωπον are found in the Septuagint. These are instances of what Gideon Toury would call negative transfer or interference from the Hebrew source text.⁴⁰ Of course, ὁράω + πρόσωπον is common enough in Greek compositional literature and is thus an acceptable rendering of the source text in accordance with the norms of the target culture.⁴¹

Emphasizing yet again the face trope, the next verse begins:

Gen 32:22(21)

ותעבר המנחה על פניו

So the present passed on ahead of him (NRSV)

καὶ παρεπορεύοντο τὰ δῶρα κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ

39. LSJ, s.v. “ἐξιλάσσομαι”; “προσδέχομαι.”

40. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Benjamins Translation Library 4 (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), 275.

41. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 56. E.g., ὥς δὲ εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβάλλον αἴσχει, “and when they saw that his countenance was exceedingly ugly” (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 2.2.29.2–3 [Miller, LCL]).

And the presents passed by in front of him (NETS)

The translation of על פניו as κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ also accords with conventional Greek parlance,⁴² and so the Greek translator has produced an acceptable rendering.

Secondly, the narrator further develops the idea of a פנים אל פנים/ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον face-to-face encounter in the description of the reconciliation of Jacob and Esau:

Gen 33:10

כי על כן ראיתי פניך כראת פני אלהים

for truly to see your face is like seeing the face of God (NRSV)

ἔνεκεν τούτου εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, ὡς ἂν τις ἴδοι πρόσωπον θεοῦ
with regard to this I saw your face, as someone might see a divine
face (NETS)

This statement brings together the various elements of the encounter at the Jabbok in regard to seeing the face of אלהים “God”/θεός “a divine being,” but now these are linked to the meeting with Esau, and in Esau’s face Jacob says it is as though one might see a divine face. This declaration opens up all sorts of possibilities for the exegete with respect to how the wrestling match at the Jabbok is to be understood. For example, how might that struggle and Jacob’s meeting with Esau be connected? Who might Jacob’s imagined or actual opponent, either at the Jabbok or indeed throughout his lifetime, actually be (Esau, God, himself)? How fitting is it that God’s presence with Jacob at this watershed moment in his life should in fact be actualized in the face of his formerly estranged brother? As for the Greek translator’s rendering of this statement in Gen 33:10, it should be noted that this is the only place in the LXX where the particle כ + an infinitive construct is rendered by a potential optative + ἂν, which has the effect of diminishing somewhat the likelihood that a person would actually see πρόσωπον θεοῦ, in comparison to the assertion in the Hebrew that seeing Esau’s face is like seeing the face of אלהים. Once again, θεός is anarthrous,

42. E.g., εἰ δ’ ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ πρόσμιν αὐτοῖς καὶ μαθήσονται χωρὶς γενόμενοι οἱ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡμῖν ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἐναντιοῦσθαι, “But if we go against them in an open plain and they learn to meet us in separate detachments, some in front of us (as even now), some on either flank” (Xenophon, Cyr. 4.1.18.3–6 [Miller, LCL]).

suggesting the possibility that the face could be that of a being who is other than ὁ θεός.⁴³

4. Iakob's Offer to Esau

If Jacob's encounter with the mysterious opponent at the Jabbok is about anything, it is, as noted above, about receiving a blessing. In fact, Jacob's whole life has been about receiving blessing, sometimes by hook or by crook. We have already discussed how Jacob gains the ברכה and the ברכה that should, by convention, have gone to Esau. We might add that the oracle that Rebekah receives prior to the birth of her twins might well be the first instance in which Jacob receives a blessing in the form of a declaration that he and his descendants will have preeminence over Esau and his descendants, despite the fact that the terms ברכה and εὐλογία do not occur. But there are other places where the text speaks of the blessing that Jacob receives or that he mediates to others by virtue of his presence among them (Gen 28:3–4, 6, 14; 30:27, 30). The gaining of blessing theme culminates in Jacob's struggle at the Jabbok where he comes to grips, not with his twin brother, but with someone else in a marathon wrestling match, the ultimate goal of which he acknowledges is to receive a blessing (ברך/εὐλογέω) and which, in fact, does happen (Gen 32:27[26], 30[29]).

The matter of blessing also plays a role in the reconciliation between Jacob and Esau, though modern translations often obscure that fact. It has been noted above that Jacob seeks to appease Esau by sending ahead a מנחה “a present”/δῶρα “presents” tendered in three groupings. When the brothers in fact meet, Jacob adds something to the offer:

43. The collocation πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ does not occur frequently in Greek literature prior to the Septuagint. Ion, in the play of the same name by Euripides (fifth century BCE), asks: τίς οἴκων θυοδόκων ὑπερτελὴς ἀντήλιον πρόσωπον ἐκφαίνει θεῶν; “What god is revealing a countenance as bright as the sun, above the house that breathes incense?” (*Ion* 1549–1550; Robert Potter, trans., *The Complete Greek Drama*, ed. Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill Jr., vol. 1. [New York: Random House, 1938]). In *Pax*, a play by Aristophanes (fifth–fourth century BCE), Trygaeus exclaims: οἶον δ' ἔχεις τὸ πρόσωπον, ὦ φίλη θεός, “What a (beautiful) face you have, O beloved goddess!” (*Pax* 524 [author's translation]). Andrisus (fourth–third century BCE) says: πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλινον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλικίου σύκινον (*Frag.* 3.4–6) “the face of God with the Naxians is, on the one hand, the vine of Bacchus, called Dionysus, and, on the other, the fig tree of Meilichios” (author's translation).

Gen 33:11

קח נא את ברכתי אשר הבאת לך כי חנני אלהים וכי יש לי כל ויפצר בו ויקח

“Please accept my gift that is brought to you, because God has dealt graciously with me, and because I have everything I want.”
So he urged him, and he took it. (NRSV)

λάβε τὰς εὐλογίας μου, ἃς ἤνεγκά σοι, ὅτι ἡλέησέν με ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἔστιν μοι πάντα. καὶ ἐβιάσατο αὐτόν, καὶ ἔλαβεν.

“Receive my blessings that I have brought to you, because God has shown mercy to me and I have everything.” And he urged him, and he received them. (NETS)

Jacob urges Esau: קח נא את ברכתי “Please take my blessing”/λάβε τὰς εὐλογίας μου “Receive my blessings.” The NRSV, like some other English versions, does not here translate ברכה in accordance with its default rendering “blessing.”⁴⁴ But it is hard to avoid the sense that more is going on here than Jacob simply opting for an alternative to מנחה (v. 10). The Septuagint translator’s choice of the plural form of εὐλογία⁴⁵ could perhaps be accounted for by the three parts of Jacob’s מנחה or by the construal of בְּרִכְתִּי, “my blessing,” as בְּרִכְתֵּי, “my blessings,” but one wonders if the plural rendering is not the translator’s way of indicating that Jacob/Iakob is extending to Esau a plurality of blessings, including the one he gained from Isaak at Esau’s expense and the one he received at the Jabbok/Iabok.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to illustrate the application of the principles and methodology of the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint to a passage in the book of Genesis, in particular “to search out the intention of the translator insofar as this may be inferred from the transformation of the source text and the verbal make-up of the target text” and “to describe the possibilities deliberately marked out by the language of the text.”

44. The KJV and ESV are exceptions.

45. BdA renders the plural Greek term “bénédictions”; LXX.D interprets it as “Segenswünsche.”

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Singing with Moses in Greek: An Examination of LXX Deuteronomy 32 from the Perspective of Its Production

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Abstract: The rare vocabulary, particular syntax, and general style of Deut 32 presented unique challenges to its Greek translator. Describing the resulting translation is also difficult since it does not present itself as a typical Greek song or poem. This paper delineates how various aspects of the translation process and the resulting product can be studied to produce a characterization of this unit. A few verses are examined in detail to identify the translational norms and preferences that provided the impetus for this type of translation. These are then synthesized with a description of the text produced. Also discussed are the implications of such a description for issues of textual criticism of the Hebrew text and for the theological interpretation of the Greek text at its point of inception.

1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to highlight some of the features of the Greek translation of Deut 32 with the goal of laying the groundwork for the characterization of this chapter both as a translation and as a text.¹ To this end,

1. These are, in other words, two interrelated aspects of the study of any translation: the study of the text *qua* translation and the study of the translation *qua* text. See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 432. Toury further defines these two aspects in reverse order as (1) “the production of a text in a particular culture/language which is designed to occupy a certain position, or fill a certain slot, in the host culture”; and (2) “constituting a representation in that language/culture of a text already existing in some other language, belonging to a different culture and occupying a definable

I will offer some comments on the first four verses of the chapter within the framework provided by Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS).² The first task is to provide a descriptive analysis of the equivalences, the strategies deployed to produce these renderings. The next step is to identify the most significant translational norms guiding the translation process, insofar as these can be inferred from the texts at our disposal. These will serve as our guide in understanding the translator's preferences and how he negotiates such parameters in the production of his work.³ I will then offer a preliminary characterization of the translation in relation to both its adequacy vis-à-vis its source text and its acceptability relative to the conventions of the target language and culture. I will also discuss how the translator dealt with issues specific to this genre, such as the rendering of metaphors, and how this may contribute to our appreciation of this translation as text.⁴ Such an inquiry places us in a better position to ascertain

position within it." See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, rev. ed. (Philadelphia: Benjamins, 2012), 69.

2. The methodology of this paper follows in the main the guidelines of the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS) series. The preamble to the guidelines and a basic introduction as well as sample chapters can be found in Dirk Büchner, ed., *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017). I interact with this general framework in more detail in my monograph, *Characterizing Old Greek Deuteronomy as an Ancient Translation*, JSJSup 203 (Leiden: Brill, 2022). The textual analyses found in this paper are reproduced in large part from this study.

3. The stress on preference values is underscored by Boyd-Taylor, who reflects on later developments in Toury's work and a move away from a conception of norms as "inert constraints on behaviour" (a kind of social determinism) towards a more dynamic notion where preferences are negotiated. See Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 65. Therefore, the analysis of translational norms does not deny that a human agent was at work, and we will indeed often refer to "the translator" (or G) throughout.

4. *Acceptability* and *adequacy* are categories that refer to the two aspects of every translation mentioned above. Within the framework of DTS, these have been labeled "adequacy in relation to the source text" and "acceptability in relation to the target language and culture." It should be noted that these terms are meant to be nonprescriptive descriptors of a translation's relationship to both its source text and target conventions. The description of a translation, as will be evident, is to be done on multiple levels of analysis and is not constrained to a single axis (e.g., literal vs. free). Looking at the text from the aspect of adequacy, one focuses essentially on issues of translation strategies (translation technique) and their regulative norms. From the perspective of acceptability, one is concerned with analyzing the translation in light of the linguistic and textual conventions of the target culture, those that typically govern non-translational

what can be inferred from the translation in terms of stylistic features and historical exegesis.

2. Verse 1

Verse 1 is as good a place as any to establish a baseline in terms of the operative norms (or principles) guiding the translation. I will therefore spend a bit more time highlighting features in this verse and the next and then move on more rapidly.

הַאֲזִינוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶדְבָּרָה וְתִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ אִמְרֵי פִי
 Πρόσεχε, οὐρανέ, καὶ λαλήσω, καὶ ἀκουέτω ἡ γῆ ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός
 μου.
 Give heed, O sky, and I will speak, and let the earth hear words
 from my mouth.⁵

We may observe more generally that a prominent operating norm is the representation of each element of the Hebrew source: It is a one-for-one type of equivalency, the word acting as the unit of replacement. To be sure, there are a few exceptions, and these will be discussed. Another characteristic is the reproduction of the source text's word order, which is carefully replicated throughout this passage.⁶

Πρόσεχε. The translator (or G for short) renders the meaning of the *hiphil* הִאֲזִין by recourse to προσέχω, as he does in 1:45, the other instance of this Hebrew verb in Deuteronomy.⁷ G is the only translator of the Pen-

literature. I am indebted to Boyd-Taylor for the three-tiered analytical schema (linguistic/textual-linguistic/literary-cultural) that will be employed later in this paper. A more extensive discussion is available in Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation," in *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, ed. Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2016), 139–60.

5. The Hebrew text cited at the beginning of each section is taken from BHQ. The Greek text is from Wevers's critical edition in John W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, SVTG 3.2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977). The English translation is from NETS.

6. Only in very limited instances is the word order of the source text not meticulously followed in this chapter, such as in v. 6.

7. In 1:45, YHWH recounts that he did not pay attention to the Israelites' cries after their defeat at Kadesh-Barnea. In the vast majority of instances (11 out of 14), the Greek verb translates שמר in the *niphal* imperative: "watch yourself."

tateuch to favor this rendering of הַאֲזִין. The three other instances of this verb—Gen 4:23, Exod 15:26, and Num 23:18—each translate the same Hebrew term using ἐνωτίζομαι. Each translator knows of προσέχω and uses it with a variety of Hebrew terms, but הַאֲזִין seems to call for a strategy relying on analogy. Although ἐνωτίζομαι was popular in the translations that followed the Pentateuch and with the Three, G has no issue with what John W. Wevers identifies as an idiomatic rendering.⁸ This is not surprising and in keeping with his frequent divergences from the other Pentateuchal translators on matters of lexical matches and specific Greek idioms.

οὐρανέ ... ἦ γῆ. Another interesting feature is the Hebrew vocative השמים (here preceded as is often the case by an article), which is translated using an anarthrous Greek vocative.⁹ The Hebrew vocative is sometimes translated using an arthrous nominative form, however, and the Pentateuch translators are not consistent in this respect.¹⁰ That being said, οὐρανέ is the only instance in the Pentateuch of a Greek vocative translating a Hebrew vocative which is preceded by the article. In Deuteronomy, the vocative is usually employed for proper names—κύριε being most common—so that there is little to compare to. But given the fact that the use of the Greek vocative is not a given in such contexts, one might categorize this rendering as a small concession towards Greek idiom.¹¹

8. As Wevers notes, Theodotion and Aquila here resorted to an imperative form of ἐνωτίζομαι, showing that they also favor the analogical approach. See John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, SCS 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 509. The same occurs in Isa 1:2, a text very similar to Deut 32:1, which also translates הַאֲזִין with ἐνωτίζου. The verb ἐνωτίζομαι is not attested before the Septuagint and is most likely formed from the preposition ἐν plus the root of the nominative οὖς. See Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse*, BdA 1 (Paris: Cerf, 1986), 118. The derivative ἐνώτισον (“earring”) is commonly found in contemporary papyri, so that the coining of the verb may be following a familiar process. See MM, s.v. “ἐνωτίζομαι.” On the process of derivation, see the discussion in BDF §123.2.

9. See Joüon §137g; SSG, §22ya.

10. For example, in Num 20:10, the Hebrew vocative is preceded by the definite article (הַמְּרִים, “rebellious ones/rebels”) and translated as an arthrous nominative (οἱ ἀπειθεῖς). Exod 10:11 avoids translating the Hebrew vocative by making the noun the subject of a third person imperative. See the discussion in SSG, §3d.

11. This is also highlighted by the fact that the closing verse of the song (v. 43), which according to the OG and 4QDeut^q begins with הַרְגֵנוּ שְׂמִים, is translated εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί. The Hebrew vocative שְׂמִים is not preceded by the article, but it is difficult to extrapolate anything from it for our analysis of v. 1. The Greek is rendered

In contrast, the article in the האָר of the next stich is rendered. Although האָר is sometimes construed as a second vocative (“hear, earth”), it is here understood and translated as the subject of a Hebrew jussive form: $\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omega\ \eta\ \gamma\eta$ (“let the earth hear”).¹² The use of the article is therefore expected, although there is strong pressure in the Greek text’s history to remove it, as Rahlfs’s edition attests. This is probably due to the influence of a similar text, Isa 1:2, which has both nouns in the vocative. But B and 848 both have the articulated noun, and Wevers takes this reading as the OG.¹³

Καὶ λαλήσω translates the Hebrew conjunction and cohortative וְאָדַבְרָה . The form of λαλήσω is ambiguous since the future indicative and aorist subjunctive of this verb are identical. Wevers argues on the basis of the Hebrew source that the subjunctive must be intended here and that it is hortatory in nature.¹⁴ How we interpret this equivalence also depends on the verb’s relationship to the preceding imperative. The Hebrew volitive, when following another in a volitive chain, can often be understood as introducing the notion of purpose or consecution.¹⁵ This is frequent in the case of a cohortative following a jussive or imperative, as we find here.¹⁶ The Hebrew phrase might be understood as: “Pay attention, heavens, so that I may speak” or “then I will speak.” There is one instance in OG Deuteronomy where G clearly understands the sequence in this way. We find in 31:28 a subordinated י + cohortative rendered as ἵνα λαλήσω .¹⁷

using a plural form, $\sigma\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\iota$, unlike v. 1 and all other occurrences of שָׁמַיִם in Deuteronomy.

12. For the interpretation that sees the second stich as mirroring the imperative of the first, see Paul Sanders, *The Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, OTS 37 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 137–38. However, Sanders argues that the form תִּשְׁמַעַת can only be a jussive in this context, and not a defective form of the feminine imperative תִּשְׁמַעִי .

13. John W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy*, MSU 13 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 84.

14. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 509.

15. See Joüon §115c; §116a, where such volitives are labeled “indirect volitives.” GKC describes this use of the cohortative as the introduction of an intended consequence. See GKC §108d.

16. See Joüon §116b.

17. This is an interesting parallel to our text. Note, however, that in 31:28, λαλήσω is followed by a second subjunctive (καὶ διαμαρτύρωμαι), on the next line. It is clearly part of a final clause.

But in the majority of such situations, G does not resort to such a strategy.¹⁸ Normally, the parataxis is preserved, although *καί* allows for some leeway in terms of how the verbs are coordinated. Takamitsu Muraoka argues that such ambiguous (future or aorist subjunctive) first person singular forms should be interpreted as hortative subjunctives when they are preceded by an imperative and joined with *καί*.¹⁹ The resulting translation would read: “Pay attention, heavens, I would like to speak” or “Pay attention, heavens, and let me speak,” as Wevers suggests.²⁰

It is also possible to analyze *λαλήσω* as a future form, but it is interesting to note that in the five other instances of such volitive chains in Deuteronomy, G resorts to several strategies, none of which involving an unambiguous future form.²¹ The hortative subjunctive would be another example highlighting G’s understanding of the nuances of both the source and target language, implemented within the parameters of the translational norms observed at the outset.

ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου. The absence of the article before *στόματός* is highly unusual, since it is followed by a genitive pronoun denoting possession. In similar circumstances, G usually provides the definite article. The presence of the preposition *ἐκ* is also noteworthy as it has no direct warrant in the source text and varies from the usual way of translating this construction.

Though the phrase *פִּי אֲמַרִי* occurs only once in Deuteronomy, it is found in a few places in the Psalms where it is always translated *τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου*.²² In the very next verse, 32:2, the feminine

18. Similar phrases where a volitive is followed by a cohortative all render the paratactic *ἵ* as *καί*. See 1:13, 4:10 (despite the difference in number and person), 5:31, and 31:14. Deuteronomy 5:31 is particularly similar in syntax and *λαλήσω* could also be interpreted as a hortative subjunctive. Deuteronomy 9:14 transforms the paratactic construction into a finite verb plus infinitive due to the semantics of the construction. This represents another way of reaching for a higher register, but it is not available in the context of 32:1.

19. SSG, §29ba(i).

20. Gen 23:4 and 27:21 are perhaps the clearest parallel out of all of Muraoka’s examples, which otherwise usually involve the particle *δεῦρο* not found in Deut 32:1. See the NJPS translation: “Give ear, O heavens, let me speak.”

21. In 1:13, the cohortative is translated by a present indicative; In 4:10, it becomes a third person plural imperative; in 5:31 and 31:14, we find the verb *λαλήσω*; 31:28 is the other instance.

22. Ps 53:4, 77:1. See also Prov 8:8 for a similar phrase.

אִמְרָתִי (here followed by a pronominal suffix) is translated τὰ ῥήματά μου.²³ Elsewhere in the Pentateuch, these nominal forms of אִמְרָ are translated by λόγος, which again shows that G does not hesitate to go his own way.

Two issues deserve brief mention: The first deals with the ambiguity of this construction. Normally the prepositional phrase would be preceded by an article to disambiguate whether it attaches to the verb ἀκούω or the noun ῥήματα. But the noun and prepositional phrase are both anarthrous, so that the ambiguity remains.²⁴ Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen has shown, however, that besides the genitive, prepositions are occasionally employed in the Greek Pentateuch to link constituents of the Hebrew construct state.²⁵ Presumably, such prepositions clarify the relationship between both terms although in this case, some ambiguity remains.

The second issue is the definiteness of the construction. The Hebrew construction is definite; the Greek one is not. As can be expected, the preposition ἐκ in this context is perfectly conventional Greek: ἀκούω is usually accompanied by the accusative to describe what is heard and by a prepositional phrase governed by ἐκ to designate who from.²⁶ The rendering of the phrase found here—ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου—is not very different semantically speaking from the more usual genitive, varying only in matter of nuance: The earth must hear “from my mouth words,” or perhaps, “words (which are) from my mouth.”²⁷ And this instead of the Hebrew “the words of my mouth.”

Why this rendering was employed here instead of a definite genitive construction is hard to say. The preposition ἐκ is technically not a plus if we consider that it stands in the slot where a definite article is normally found. One possibility is that G is aiming for variation. Or perhaps, this

23. Elsewhere in Deuteronomy, ῥήματα always translates דָּבָר (2x) or דְּבָרִים (15x).

24. SSG, §44a.

25. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, AASF 239 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987), 69–70.

26. See the similar syntax in Homer, *Od.* 15.374–375: ἐκ δ' ἄρα δεσποίνης οὐ μείλιχον ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι οὐτ' ἔπος οὔτε τι ἔργον (“But from my mistress I may hear naught pleasant, whether word or deed” [LCL Murray Wyatt]) and also Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.62.2: Καμβύσης δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ κήρυκος (“When Cambyes heard what the herald said” [LCL Godley]).

27. For the latter, see SSG, §44aa and §44b. This interpretation is more common to constructions in which the article is found. In such cases, it acts as a relativizer.

reflects the value he places on the reproduction of the terseness of the underlying Hebrew poetry.²⁸

A great deal of space has been allocated so far on minute details and much of the results will not surprise those familiar with the Greek Pentateuch. Nevertheless, attention to such details is necessary when attempting to characterize the translator's work. We have here a fairly representative selection of what we might call G's default operating mode involving no significant shifts from the putative *Vorlage*.

3. Verse 2

יערף כמטר לקחי תזל כטל אמרתי בשעירים עלי דשא וכרביבים עלי עשב
προσδοκάσθω ὡς ὑετὸς τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα μου, καὶ καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος
τὰ ῥήματά μου, ὥσει ὄμβρος ἐπ' ἄγρωσιν καὶ ὥσει νιφετὸς ἐπὶ
χόρτον.

Let my utterance be awaited like rain, And let my words come
down like dew, Like a rainstorm on dog's tooth grass, And like a
snowstorm on grass.

Verse 2 exhibits many of the same features just described. The only quantitative difference between the source and target text is the addition of articles before nouns that are followed by a genitive pronoun denoting possession. This can be conceived as another small concession to syntactical-wellformedness, which is nowhere transgressed here.

Προσδοκάσθω ... καὶ καταβήτω.²⁹ In her analysis of this passage, Marguerite Harl rightly notes that the verb *προσδοκάω* ("to expect" or "await"), only found in a few instances in the Septuagint, renders the Hebrew *ערף* which is typically employed with the more concrete meaning of "to trickle"

28. This would accord with what we find in the following verses, where the (vocalized) text of the MT has articles before nouns designating the first two types of precipitations. These, however, are translated as anarthrous nouns.

29. The second stich begins with *καί* in the Greek text, but there is no corresponding 1 in the MT. Several witnesses including the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) do have a conjunction in this position, so that it may safely be attributed to G's *Vorlage*. For another discussion of v. 2 as well as a few aspects of v. 4 in the context of the analysis of potential theological exegesis in the Septuagint, see Jean Maurais, "Synchronie et diachronie dans l'étude de la Septante: Quelques observations méthodologiques en lien avec le livre de Deutéronome," *Théologie Évangélique* 20.1 (2021): 46–68.

or “drip.”³⁰ Harl argues that the translator is thereby introducing the theme of expectancy and, in her words, “enrichit la tonalité religieuse du texte.”³¹

For his part, Cornelis G. Den Hertog explains this rendering by appealing to the occasional confusion between labials. The פ would have been understood as a ב, as in 1:15 where שבטיכם was perhaps mistaken for שפטיכם.³² In our case, ערף (“to trickle” or “drip”) would have been read as ערב (“to be pleasing”).³³ But the seven instances of ערב in the Hebrew Bible are usually translated by the Greek ἡδύνω (“to make pleasant” or “delight”) or a derivative.³⁴ Furthermore, προσδοκάω is never matched to ערב and has little semantic overlap with its meaning.

A few other points deserve mention:

- ♦ Our analysis should also take into account the verb נזל (“to trickle” or “flow”) on the second line. There are only ten instances of this verb in the Hebrew Bible, and four of these instances are appropriately translated by the verb ῥέω (“to flow”). The translation found here is a case of semantic generalization.³⁵ The Greek καταβαίνω (“to come down”) is more general than “to trickle”

30. There are only three occurrences of the Greek verb in the Septuagint’s translational corpus. Marguerite Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse en Deutéronome 32: Quelques traits originaux de la version grecque des Septante,” in *La langue de Japhet: Quinze études sur la Septante et le grec des chrétiens* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 185.

31. Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse,” 185.

32. For this example, see Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 3rd ed. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 153.

33. Cornelis G. Den Hertog, Michael Labahn, and Thomas Pola, “Deuteronomion,” in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 593. Targum Neofiti translates: “Let my teaching be pleasing as rain ... the word of my mouth be welcomed as dew.” One might argue that Neofiti’s interpretation may stem from the labial confusion suggested here. The translations of the targumim are taken from Harl, “Le grand cantique de Moïse,” 185, n. 6.

34. See Ps 103:34, Prov 3:24, 13:19, Jer 6:20, and 38:26. In Mal 3:4, it is translated by ἀρέσκω (“to please” or “satisfy”) while ἐπιμειγνυμι (“to mix/have sexual intercourse”) is the rendering in Ezek 16:37.

35. See Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 67–68.

or “flow” but semantically related. Such a translation strategy is common for this particular verb.³⁶

- ♦ It should come as no surprise, then, that a similar strategy might be employed for the verb עָרַךְ. By resorting to προσδοκάω, the simile involving rain is explicated as the Greek term translates the underlying concept, that of the vital importance of Mosaic teaching, which must be awaited like rain in a dry place.³⁷
- ♦ Another important factor should also be considered: when examining the other occurrence of this verb, Deut 33:28, we find that the translator also proceeded there in an approximate manner:

אֶף שָׁמַיִם יַעֲרֹךְ טֶלֶל

His heavens also drop down dew. (NASB)

καὶ ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτῷ συννεφής δρόσῳ

And the sky is cloudy with dew for him. (NETS)

In this line concluding verse 28, the Hebrew verb is translated by the substantive συννεφής, here in the sense of “cloudy” or “covered/darkened (with clouds).”³⁸ It is important to note that the cognate Hebrew noun עָרַךְ is found a few times in Deuteronomy with the probable meaning of “thick darkness.” Assuming that G was here influenced by the meaning of the noun, this rendering in 33:28 would represent a type of translation by analogy. However, this explanation does not fit in 32:2 since the verb προσδοκάω communicates the idea of an expectation and not darkness. Taken together, these two occurrences rather suggest that the translator was not familiar with the meaning of the verb עָרַךְ in this context.

- ♦ He does not appear to be the only one. Aquila’s revision apparently translates עָרַךְ using γνοφώω (“to darken”), a term whose cognate noun is matched elsewhere to the same Hebrew עָרַךְ.³⁹ Targum Jonathan provides the following rendering: “Let my teaching

36. One can compare the rendering by ἐξέρχομαι in Num 24:7 or ἐξάγω in Isa 48:21.

37. For a brief but helpful discussion on the transformation of metaphors in translation, see van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 85–86.

38. This is the only instance of this term in the Septuagint corpus, yet the change of word class is unusual. On this topic, see van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 144. In Gen 9:14, the verb of the same root translates the Hebrew עָנָן. Given the graphical similarity between עָנָן and עָרַךְ, one may wonder whether the *Vorlage* contained the former or that it was read as such by G.

39. See Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 509.

strike rebels as rain.” The Hebrew verb is here interpreted according to the meaning of its homonym, that of “breaking the neck,” “striking,” a meaning that is found in a few legislative texts within the Pentateuch.⁴⁰

Assuming, then, that G was not acquainted with the meaning of the Hebrew verb, it would be quite natural to translate contextually and in the process make the metaphor explicit. Moreover, it is not clear how the use of *προσδοκάω* would underscore the religious nature of this text. The concept of expectation or hope is already present in the rain imagery found in its Hebrew source. One might posit, however, that its selection was nevertheless not haphazard. It could also have been motivated by the similarity with the first word of the previous verse: *Πρόσεχε ... προσδοκάσθω*.⁴¹ These explanations—unknown Hebrew meaning, contextual rendering, and stylistic concerns—are not mutually exclusive insofar as it can be shown that they each represent a concern of the translator in this text.⁴²

ὥς ὑετός ... ὥς δρόσος ... ὥσει ὄμβρος ... ὥσει νιφετός. The four terms employed to describe various sorts of precipitations all end in *-ος*. One could argue that this is simply the outcome of the translation process, these Greek terms being the standard equivalents for the underlying Hebrew ones. But while the first two (*ὑετός*, *δρόσος*) are common equivalents to the underlying Hebrew, the last two, *ὄμβρος* and *νιφετός*, are found only here in the Septuagint.⁴³ Other candidates such as *ψεκάς* or *βροχή* were perhaps available, which at least opens up the possibility that this feature is deliber-

40. ערף is the neck itself. It is also synonymous with the root רעף (“to flow” or “trickle”), which happens to be very similar to our verb by way of metathesis. See also Goldman, who suggests that ערף in Deut 32 has the meaning of “to come or bring down.” Maurice D. Goldman, “Lexicographical Notes on Exegesis (2),” *ABR* 1 (1951): 141–42.

41. I owe this observation to Marieke Dhont.

42. This is another reason why Harl’s suggestion appears less plausible. It is difficult to demonstrate that enhancing the religious nature of this text and introducing the concept of expectation are concerns of the translator here.

43. מטר is frequent (> thirty-six instances) and always translated using *ὑετός*. There are also approximately thirty instances of טל, always translated by *δρόσος*. The term *ὄμβρος* is found in Egyptian papyri contemporary to the translation, while *νιφετός* is employed by the historian Polybius. They translate שעירם (a *hapax*) and רביבים (perhaps rain showers).

ate.⁴⁴ Both terms are found paired in Homer (*Il.* 10.7; *Od.* 4.566), leading some to argue that this is an important clue to the translator's level of education.⁴⁵ However, one of these (ὄμβρος) is also found in the contemporary papyri, in geographical surveys and lists of tasks to perform on plots of land.⁴⁶ Their poetic nature is therefore perhaps not so obvious, despite the stylistic feature introduced by the use of these words.⁴⁷

The variation between ὥς and ὥσεί represents a better example of an attempt to introduce a stylistic device.⁴⁸ The corresponding Hebrew preposition is the same in all four instances, making the *variatio* all the more obvious. These stylistic devices point to another translational norm not encountered so far, one dictating that a text such as Deut 32 is to be translated in a higher linguistic register.

τὸ ἀπόφθεγμα μου. קלל (teaching, instruction) is only found in four instances outside of the book of Proverbs.⁴⁹ In the three instances outside of Deut 32:2, it is either left untranslated or paraphrased. The term ἀπόφθεγμα is found in classical Greek with the meaning of “short, instructive saying,” which this song is not. It is found in later Greek sources with

44. Although βροχή is often found in Egyptian papyri denoting the irrigation brought about by the Nile, the word's usage seems to have evolved from “inundation” to “rain” early in the Hellenistic period. The cognate verb is already found with the sense of “to rain” in the early third century BCE. See John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico: Society of Biblical Literature, 1983), 122–24.

45. For example, James K. Aitken, “The Significance of Rhetoric in the Greek Pentateuch,” in *On Stone and Scroll: Essays in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies*, ed. James K. Aitken et al. (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 513; John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 87.

46. For ὄμβρος, see P.Cair.Zen. 3.59383 = TM 1026, which is contemporaneous with Deuteronomy's translation. The letter describes a list of tasks to perform on a particular plot of land. The context and register are far removed from that of classical poetry. The term is also found in documents from the following century, for example within geographical surveys. See P.Tebt. 3.826 = TM 5402. For νιφετός, see Polybius, *Hist.* 36.17.2.

47. The challenge in positing various stylistic interpretations from this verse is also compounded by the fact that lists of synonymous words are notoriously difficult in translation.

48. As described in Aitken, “Significance of Rhetoric,” 513.

49. In Proverbs, קלל is translated by a different Greek term in each of its occurrences.

the probable meaning of “oracle” or “revelatory statement.”⁵⁰ Interestingly, LXX Ezek 13:19 employs *μάταια ἀποφθέγματα* (“vain utterances”) to translate the Hebrew כִּזָּב (“a lie”), there referring to prophetic oracles. This would suggest that *ἀπόφθεγμα* (with the meaning of “prophetic proclamation” or “oracle”) is an interesting choice given its specificity, but nevertheless contextually appropriate since the song is presented as a revelation from Moses, the chief prophet.⁵¹

4. Verse 3

כִּי שֵׁם יְהוָה אִקְרָא הָבוּ גִדְל לְאֱלֹהֵינוּ
 ὅτι ὄνομα κυρίου ἐκάλεσα· δότε μεγαλῶσύνην τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν.
 For I have called out the name of the Lord; ascribe greatness to
 our God!

ἐκάλεσα. Verse 3 closes the first section of the song, commonly labeled the *exordium* or call to attention.⁵² The *yiqtol* of the Hebrew source is here rendered as an aorist. In context, the speaker has just commanded heaven and earth to attention, underscoring the importance of his words. The phrase is linked to what precedes by כִּי, highlighting again, it would seem, the speaker’s intention to make something known. Therefore, one might translate the Hebrew שֵׁם אִקְרָא as “Listen ... for I will invoke the name” or “I will proclaim the name,” both perfectly compatible with the semantic range of *καλέω*.⁵³ It also introduces the praise of YHWH that follows in verse 4. But the choice of the aorist indicative form is puzzling. As is well known, this chapter includes several Hebrew preterite forms that are morphologically identical to the *yiqtol*. These are found in verses 8–18 and

50. See, for example, Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 62.13.3.

51. See BDAG, s.v. “ἀπόφθεγμα,” where one can trace through time the evolution away from “pithy saying” to “oracle” or “revelatory statement.”

52. See the introduction in Jeffrey Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 299. For a different division of the sections of the song, which sees vv. 3 and 4 grouped together as the introduction to the song’s theme, see Sanders, *Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 264–65. The SP contains two variants in this verse that are most likely not present in the translation’s *Vorlage*: (1) Instead of שֵׁם, we find בִּשְׁם. (2) The second stich begins with a conjunction.

53. Sanders argues that the latter is to be preferred. See his discussion in Sanders, *Provenance of Deuteronomy* 32, 140–41.

usually translated as aorist indicatives. As Wevers discusses, perhaps G understood the verse as stating that the past invocation of YHWH's name is the basis for the imperative that follows, that of ascribing majesty to him: "I have invoked/proclaimed the name of the Lord ... (therefore) ascribe majesty to our God."⁵⁴ Alternatively, G might interpret verse 3 in light of what follows, the description of the history of YHWH's dealings with Israel (vv. 4–18). Except for a comparative optative in verse 11, all *yiqtol* verbs in this section are translated as aorist indicatives.⁵⁵ This would perhaps point to a different understanding of the sense division of the song, verse 3 already belonging to that historical account, with the praise of verse 4 representing a proclamation made to Israel in the past.

μεγαλωσύνην. As has been noted by Cécile Dogniez and Harl, μεγαλωσύνη is a *hapax* in the Greek Pentateuch built from the verb μεγαλύνω ("to magnify"), frequently found in the Septuagint.⁵⁶ The Hebrew **גָּדַל** is found five times in Deuteronomy and translated by a variety of terms: *ἰσχύς* (3:24), *μέγας* (9:26), *μεγαλεῖος* (11:2), et cetera.⁵⁷ Although we might not want to argue that G coined this neologism, we may observe how he reaches for various equivalents when needed. Of course, the nature of the source, with its varied and sometimes obscure vocabulary, forces him to deploy a variety of strategies. But as elsewhere in this song, he does not hesitate to forge his own way and create renderings that are unique. Lexical consistency is not a primary or even a secondary norm.

54. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 510.

55. Verses 6–7 represent another exception, with *yiqtol*s and *weyiqtol*s being imbedded inside questions and commands.

56. Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, BdA 5 (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 322. It is also found in Let. Aris. 192 and a few other later sources such as Sir 39:15 and Tob 12:6.

57. In 9:26, the MT has only **גָּדַל** while the Greek text has *ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ*. It is not clear whether the Greek expressions should be understood as rendering the Hebrew we find in the MT (and the SP, Vulgate, and Peshitta), or whether the longer Greek text is due to assimilation to v. 29 or to an additional element in G's *Vorlage*. In 3:24, *ἰσχύς* translates **גָּדַל**, so that *μέγας* might be the plus. On the other hand, 9:29 contains **בַּכֹּחַ הַגָּדֹל**, which is translated as *ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι σου τῇ μεγάλῃ*. On the whole, the most probable scenario is that the Greek text in 9:26 reflects a *Vorlage* that contained **בַּכֹּחַ הַגָּדֹל**. It is omitted from the Greek text in 5:24, possibly because of a *homoioteleuton*.

5. Verse 4

הצור תמים פעלו כי כל דרכיו משפט אל אמונה ואין עול צדיק וישר הוא
 θεός, ἀληθινὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ὁδοὶ αὐτοῦ κρίσις· θεὸς
 πιστός, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀδικία· δίκαιος καὶ ὁσιος κύριος.
 God—his works are genuine, and all his ways are justice. A faith-
 ful god, and there is no injustice, a righteous and holy Lord.

More could be said of this verse, but I will briefly highlight two of its most salient features.

Θεός. YHWH is not described as the rock (הצור) but simply as θεός. This is not the only instance where this match is found. There are six occurrences of the word צור describing YHWH in this chapter. In each of these, θεός is found, completely eliminating the metaphor. I have argued elsewhere that this shift is to be attributed to the translator.⁵⁸ Of note is the fact that the rendering is achieved within the constraints of the overarching translational norms observed so far. Yet, this small but significant modification manages to avoid what we can assume is an undesirable interpretation of the text. Not much is known of the reasons motivating this change. Staffan Olofsson suggests as possible factors the avoidance of embodied portrayals of YHWH—perhaps a violation of the first com-

58. Jean Maurais, “The Quest for LXX Deuteronomy’s Translator: On the Use of Translation Technique in Ascertaining the Translator’s *Vorlage*,” in *Die Septuaginta—Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*, ed. Martin Meiser, Marcus Sigismund, and Michaela Geiger, WUNT 444 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020). Olofsson’s study of this passage is helpful. But other than describing how the theme of God as rock is at home in this song, it does not address why this shift has to take place at the level of translation and not in the Hebrew textual tradition as argued by Peters. See Staffan Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint*, CBOT 31 (Stockholm: Alqvist, 1990), 38–41. Cf. Melvin K. H. Peters, “Revisiting the Rock: Tsur as a Translation of Elohim in Deuteronomy and Beyond,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp, VTSup 157 (Leiden: Brill, 2012). Such an inquiry requires taking additional translation technical data into account. As Rösel states, such problems should not be examined in isolation but in the broader context of the book and potential patterns of deviations from expected lexical matches. See Martin Rösel, “Vorlage oder Interpretation? Zur Übersetzung von Gottesaussagen in der Septuaginta des Deuteronomiums,” in *Ein Freund des Wortes: Festschrift Udo Rüterswörden*, ed. Sebastian Gratz, Axel Graupner, and Jörg Lanckau (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2019), 254–60.

mandment and a disparaging of his majesty—or because of some cultural or religious association that should be circumvented.⁵⁹ It is intriguing in this context to consider the ruler cults of this period. Demetrius I (Poliorcetes), who claimed the title of king, sailed into Athens in 291 BCE to be greeted by the population with religious songs and dance. Their song stated: “How the greatest and dearest of the gods are present in our city!... For other gods are either far away, or they do not have ears, or they do not exist, or do not take any notice of us, but you we can see present here, not made of wood or stone, but real.”⁶⁰ To be sure, the idea of a visible God is quite foreign to the Greek Pentateuch and Jewish interpretation in general.⁶¹ But the impetus to avoid portraying God as a stone may be related to a possible association with the concept of a nonexistent or remote deity. We can infer more generally the existence of another subordinate norm, that of avoiding inadequate portrayals of God or, stated otherwise, norms of the target culture governing discourse about divine beings.

δικαιος καὶ ὁσιος κύριος. The pronoun **אוי** is translated by designating its referent, here κύριος. Harl wonders whether this was done in order to

59. Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 140. A religious taboo is cited as a motivation in Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2015), 101. Seeligmann also suggested that the rendering represented an effort to avoid “the semblance of approval of the worshipping of stone images.” See Isaac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 100. Olofsson eventually ties the avoidance of the metaphor to the setting of the Jewish synagogue. This would explain its consistent renderings throughout the Septuagint corpus. See Olofsson, *God Is My Rock*, 145–46.

60. The translation is taken from Angelos Chaniotis, “The Ithyphallic Hymn for Demetrios Poliorketes and Hellenistic Religious Mentality,” in *More than Men, Less than Gods: Studies on Royal Cult and Imperial Worship*, ed. Panagiotis. P. Iossif, Andrzej S. Chankowski, and Catharine C. Lorber, *Studia Hellenistica* 51 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 160. The Greek text (Douris, *FGH* 76 F 13 = Athenaeus, *Deipn.* 7.253d–f), reads: “ὡς οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν θεῶν καὶ φίλτατοι τῇ πόλει πάρεσιν ... Ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοί, ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὄψα, ἢ οὐκ εἰσίν, ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἓν, σὲ δὲ παρόνθ’ ὁρώμεν, οὐ ξύλινον οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ’ ἀληθινόν.” See the critical edition in Antje Kolde, *Politique et religion chez Isyllos d’Épidaure* (Basel: Schwabe, 2003), 380–81.

61. See the recent study of this phenomenon in the Septuagint in Michaël N. van der Meer, “Visio Dei in the Septuagint,” in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Stellenbosch, 2016*, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, *SCS* 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 171–206.

create a chiasmic structure with the beginning of the verse θεός ... κύριος⁶² or perhaps as part of a larger pattern of divine names initiated with κύριος in the preceding verse (ABBB). There is at least one other example of such a device in this song. In the Greek text of verse 9, each stich ends with a name for the people: Ἰακώβ, Ἰσραήλ. This is in contrast to the MT which does not have the final יִשְׂרָאֵל. This plus creates two balanced lines that follow the same pattern. However, this variant is also found in the SP, which strongly suggests that the parallelism in verse 9 should rather be attributed to the translation's *Vorlage*. The situation is slightly different in verse 4 in that κύριος does not represent a plus. But, if this explanation is favored, one should be open to the possibility that the explicit mention of the divine name in verse 4, and the *inclusio* that it forms with the other divine name(s), was already in G's *Vorlage*.⁶³

6. Adequacy and Acceptability

While the sampling of texts examined so far is small, we can nevertheless identify some tendencies in terms of the characteristics of the translation. These are categorized under two aspects: (1) acceptability in relation to the conventions of the target language and culture and (2) adequacy in relation to the reproduction of the source text's formal and semantic features.

At the linguistic and grammatical level, I have noted some renderings that would indicate instances where features of the source text are assimilated to target conventions: Πρόσσεχε οὐρανέ departs from strict isomorphism (both lexically and quantitatively) in favor of Greek idiom. Also representative of a preference for more conventional linguistic usage is the omission of prepositions in favor of oblique cases. Grammatical-wellformedness remains a foundational norm, which entails some shifts such as the addition of articles. The rendering ῥήματα ἐκ στόματός μου

62. See Harl, "Le grand cantique de Moïse," 187. Cf. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 322–23.

63. Assuming the *Vorlage* contained צוֹר, it may explain why Hebrew scribes sought to explicitly define the identity of this being (our god) by changing the pronoun for the Tetragrammaton. Alternatively, As Soisalon-Soininen suggests, the similarity between הוּא and יהוה is close enough to imagine the possibility of confusion in reading the Hebrew text, whether this was done by a Hebrew scribe or the translator. See Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, 81. The name (or pronoun) is entirely omitted by the Vulgate and Peshitta.

could arguably be counted on both sides. It represents conventional Greek, yet introduces syntactical ambiguities not present in the source text. This speaks to the level of interference from the source that is tolerated, even though this rendering might be construed to provide variation from the usual genitive, as found in the next verse.⁶⁴

At the level of text linguistics, the strict reproduction of the Hebrew parataxis points to the strong preference for reproducing the source text's formal features and away from the hyperbaton that might be expected in Greek poetry or the subordination typical of compositional literature more generally. In verse 4, parataxis is not avoided but introduced via the translation of כִּי with καί. We have also noted that καὶ λαλήσω in verse 1 is ambiguous and most likely stems from the desire to reproduce the source's paratactic construction (though G is not tied to this rendering).

Analyzing the text at the literary and cultural level, we found one significant effort towards cultural (or ideological) acceptability in the rendering of צוֹר by θῆς. However, the implementation of translational norms that favor the representation of every element of the source text and the adherence to the order of its constituents results in a problematic relationship between the translation's style and the conventions that characterize the literary genre of songs and poetic texts. G is not producing a text that meets the conventions of poetry or rhetorical discourse in the target language. For example, we do not find here the meter of iambic poetry. In this sense, singing with Moses in Greek proves to be a challenge and the title of this essay should perhaps have been formulated as a question. Some metaphors are explicitized or eliminated, and Hebrew poetic devices lost.⁶⁵ What we find instead is Hebrew-styled prose that is nevertheless distinctive in relation to the rest of the book. G seems to be adapting to the underlying genre by resorting to stylistic devices—including lexical variation, and distinctive vocabulary—while preserving and sometimes even accentuating its terse, paratactic style. The evaluation by Dogniez and Harl that the translation preserves in great part the poetic nature of the source (its syntax, vocabulary, imagery) should be understood in this context.⁶⁶

64. On the matter of ambiguity, Boyd-Taylor comments along the same lines in his study of Deut 19:16–21 in Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," *BIOSCS* 36 (2006): 37–38.

65. For example, the fact that the Hebrew contained regular lines with three feet.

66. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 320.

Despite punctual efforts at elevating the level of language, its style remains very much calqued on its source.

7. Conclusion

Having already mentioned the most significant translational norms at work throughout this commentary, we may conclude, on the one hand, that G negotiates these differently than the translator of Psalms, for example. In the case of Deuteronomy, quantitative representation and lexical consistency are not preferred with as much regularity. On the other hand, a cursory glance at the Song of the Sea in Exod 15 shows that the Deuteronomy translator values more highly the representation of all elements from the source text. The Exodus song avoids paratactic constructions more frequently, which, broadly speaking, suggests that a greater value is placed on acceptability at the textual level. From a text-critical perspective, we may conclude that since the norm of one-to-one correspondence is typically adhered to, pluses or minuses found in the Greek text may in many cases be attributed to G's *Vorlage*.⁶⁷ But because consistency in lexical matches is not highly valued, variation in vocabulary should not be interpreted as signaling a variant *Vorlage* unless there is strong warrant to do so in a particular context.

The interplay between these norms, as negotiated by the translator can also serve as a hermeneutical framework by which we may better understand various features of the translation, particularly those that are obscure when examined in isolation.⁶⁸ In this context, patterns are significant.⁶⁹ In

67. See the comments to this effect in Maurais, "Quest for LXX Deuteronomy's Translator." See also the complementary evaluation made in light of Deuteronomy's broader textual history in Sidnie White Crawford, "Deuteronomy as a Test Case for an Eclectic Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible," in *The Text of the Hebrew Bible and Its Editions*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo Torijano Morales, THBSup 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 326.

68. Though there are frequent mentions of the translator, all that we have at our disposal are the traces of his work. Yet, DTS provides a principled way of validating the interpretation of particular renderings in light of the whole. For a more extensive discussion on this point, see J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013), 43–45.

69. See the similar comments by Boyd-Taylor regarding LXX Genesis in Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 269.

light of these observations, one's expectations should be modulated to generally anticipate no more than subtle variations from this translator in terms of exegetical renderings or stylistic features. Despite their generally helpful remarks, Dogniez and Harl's interpretation of the Greek text could benefit on occasion from a closer analysis of translational strategies and norms. From that vantage point, it becomes more difficult to ascribe interpretative shifts to features that are potentially the outcome of common translational phenomena such as that of generalization, or that might be attributed to the *Vorlage*.

However, adopting norms as a hermeneutical principle also has its limits in terms of predictive potential: it would be difficult to predict the type of semantic shift found in צור for θεός based on the other norms described here, except to say that such shifts are usually to be found at the word-level. Nevertheless, the study of the interplay between translation norms remains useful in that it highlights how these are operating in many directions and at multiple levels, thus accounting for many of the complexities of the translation process.

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The Task of the Translator: The Study of the Old Greek Translation of the Book of Joshua in Light of Contemporary Translations

Michaël N. van der Meer

Abstract: The present paper explores the prolegomena of a commentary on the Old Greek version of the book of Joshua within the parameters set by the SBLCS series. It does so by examining the theoretical framework of translation studies behind this commentary series (Gideon Toury's descriptive translation studies) compared to the approaches adopted by other translators and commentators on the Old Greek version of Joshua (La Bible d'Alexandrie, the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series and Septuaginta Deutsch) and their theoretical frameworks (e.g., Walter Benjamin's approach to "The Task of the Translator"). A model that allows for more nuance than the basic opposition of source text versus target audience directed translations is offered by Theo van der Louw's taxonomy of types of transformations. The usefulness of this model is applied to some samples from Josh 1:5–6, where the choice of ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου as rendering for חזק ואמץ reflects a reversal in the Greek text of the meaning of the Hebrew verbs chosen because of the rhyme in translation; the unusual rendering of נחל by Greek ἀποδιαστέλλω reflects an anaphoric transformation preparing the reader for the story found in Josh 18–19; ἀνθίστημι for Hebrew יצב *hithpael* reflects specification and the rendering of ולא ארפך ולא אעזובך by οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαι σε can be understood both in terms of reversal of meaning and specification. Study of the Greek words in the light of contemporary Greek documentary papyri prove to be indispensable for assessing the elevated register of the passage (divine speech) and the intentions, perhaps even theology, of the Greek translator.

It is my pleasant duty to thank Theo van der Louw and the participants of the SBLCS group for their constructive criticism of my paper.

1. Introduction

How to describe a translation when both the source text and the target text are lost? How to distinguish between formal equivalent and functional equivalent translations when we know so little about the source and target languages? How to determine the *skopos* and function of a translation when we know so little about the recipient cultures for which the ancient translations were made? How to distinguish between a text-as-produced from the text-as-received when the whole biblical process is one of constant renewal, reinterpretation, and revision? How to weigh a translation as naturalizing or alienating, acceptable or adequate, when we know so little about comparable large-scale translations of religious literature in antiquity? How appropriate is it anyway to apply insights from modern translation studies,¹ useful and illuminating as they may be, to the study of the first known major translation project in antiquity?

These are some of the questions that face the commentator of the ancient Greek translation of the book of Joshua. As is well known, the Hebrew text from which the Old Greek was made was not in all details identical to the received Masoretic Text. As is also well known, the original Greek text of the translation is lost and can only be approximated by a careful examination of manuscripts and daughter translations that date from almost half a millennium later than the original translation was made.² What can be reconstructed with confidence for the original Greek text and its putative *Vorlage* eludes easy classification in terms of translation technique. The task of the commentator of the Old Greek version of Joshua is therefore probably not much easier than that of the original Greek translator himself. Nevertheless, questions about translation techniques and strategies are of prime importance when one aims to contribute to a commentary on the Old Greek of Joshua, for example, in the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLSC) series.³ Furthermore, the contribution transla-

1. Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, 4th ed. (London: Routledge, 2016).

2. See, e.g., Michaël N. van der Meer, "Joshua," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 86–101; Van der Meer, "Textual History of Joshua," and "Joshua: The Septuagint," in *The Hebrew Bible*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, THB 1B (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 251–56, 269–76.

3. See ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/; Albert Pietersma, "A Prospectus for a Commentary on the Septuagint," *BIOCS* 31 (1998): 43–48; Dirk Büchner,

tion studies has to offer to the study of the first major translation project that survived from antiquity is still not fully appreciated. Hence, a study of the principles by which to examine the Old Greek translation of the book of Joshua is in order.

The SBLCS has adopted a precise focus on the text-as-produced as opposed to the text-as-received, inspired by an interlinear model for studying the Septuagint, which in turn finds its inspiration in the model of descriptive translation studies developed by Gideon Toury.⁴ The present exploration of the interaction between translation studies and the study of and commentary on the Old Greek of Joshua takes a critical analysis of the general guidelines for the SBLCS series as point of departure. In what follows, principles underlying other commentaries on the Old Greek of Joshua will be examined. After that, a proposal is made to broaden the scope of the interaction between translation and Septuagint studies on the basis of the pioneering work done by Van der Louw.⁵

2. SBLCS Guidelines

The SBLCS series follows a number of guiding principles:

1. "The Commentary is genetic," which implies that the stress is on how and why the purportedly oldest version of the Old Greek text came into being as derivation from a Semitic original. The Greek text is seen as first and foremost dependent on its source text, that is, "compositionally, though not semantically dependent." As the prospectus formulates it even more markedly: "the parent text [functions] as arbiter of meaning, which

ed., *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017).

4. See, e.g., Albert Pietersma, "The Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint: Basic Principles," in Büchne,r *SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, 1–16; Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI Conference; Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique*, "From Alpha to Byte," University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July, 2000, ed. Johann Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies*, BTS 8 (Leuven: Peeters, 2011); Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, Benjamins Translation Library 100, rev. ed. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012).

5. Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies*, CBET 47 (Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

is understood to mean that though as much as possible the translated text is read like an original composition in Greek, the commentator will need to have recourse to the parent text for linguistic information essential to the proper understanding of the Greek.”

In earlier studies, I stressed the importance of studying the Greek version of Joshua in its own right before confronting it with the Hebrew text, particularly when it comes to determining the connotations of equivalents used by the Greek translator.⁶ Before one can turn to the assumed parent text as arbiter of meaning of the translated text, one has to have a clear idea of the structure of that translated text. Furthermore, the issue of “the purportedly oldest version of the Old Greek text” is far from settled in the case of the Old Greek of Joshua. There is no Göttingen edition for this book and all extant other editions of the Septuagint of Joshua (Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean, Max L. Margolis, Alfred Rahlfs) are hindered by considerable deficiencies.⁷

6. See Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses*, VTSup 102 (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Van der Meer, “Sound the Trumpet! Redaction and Reception of Joshua 6:2–25,” in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort*, ed. Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos, VTSup 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 19–43; Van der Meer, “Clustering Cluttered Areas: Textual and Literary Criticism in Josh 18:1–10,” in *The Book of Joshua*, ed. Ed Noort, BETL 250 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 87–106; Van der Meer, “The Use and Non-Use of the Particle οὐν in the Septuagint,” in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin de Troyer, Timothy Michael Law, and Marketta Liljeström, CBET 72 (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 151–71; Van der Meer, “Literary and Textual History of Joshua 2,” in *XV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Munich, 2013*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus, Michaël N. van der Meer, and Martin Meiser, SCS 64 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016), 565–91; Van der Meer, “The Greek and Aramaic Versions of Joshua 3–4,” in *Septuagint, Targum and Beyond: Comparing Aramaic and Greek Versions from Jewish Antiquity*, ed. David J. Shepherd, Jan Joosten, and Michaël N. van der Meer, JSJSup 193 (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 58–100.

7. Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean, *The Octateuch: Joshua, Judges and Ruth*, vol. 1.4 of *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1917); Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935); Max L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek according to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions and of the Individual Witnesses*, Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation (repr. Philadel-

2. “The primary focus of the commentary is the verbal make-up of the translation.” The prospectus (par. 5) is very outspoken: “as a general rule, no words or constructions of translation-Greek shall be considered normal Greek, unless attested in non-translation writings.” As a methodological point of departure, this rule helps to avoid the commentator from reading into the Greek translation concepts that were, in all likelihood, alien to the translator and his first audience. Yet, it is also clear from studies by Adolf Deissmann, John A. L. Lee, and others that the Greek of the Septuagint was not a sociolect, a semi-autonomous vernacular.⁸

3. “The text-as-produced represents an historical event, and should be described with reference to the relevant features of its historical context.” At first sight, this guideline seems to point into the opposite direction, that is, away from the source text in the direction of the historical and cultural setting of the translation in the recipient context. Nevertheless, here, too, the guidelines stress that the Greek text should not be understood as completely suited for its target culture: “Since unintelligibility is one of the inherent characteristics of the text-as-produced, it should not always be assumed to make sense.” Particularly the geographical sections sometimes seem to defy any intelligent Greek interpretation, although even here unintelligibility should never be taken as point of departure for understanding the Old Greek version of Joshua.⁹

phia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1992). See further my *Formation and Reformulation*, 21–32.

8. Adolf Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten: Das Neue Testament und die neuentdeckten Texte der hellenistisch-römischen Welt*, 4th ed. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1923); John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint of the Pentateuch*, SCS 14 (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983); Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten, ed., *Die Sprache der Septuaginta/The Language of the Septuagint*, LXX.H 3 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlag, 2018); John A. L. Lee, *The Greek of the Pentateuch: Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint, 2011–2012* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

9. See my studies of the geographical sections in LXX Josh 19:10–39 and 17:1–2, 7–13: Michaël N. van der Meer, “Galilee in the Septuagint: Topography and Textual Criticism of Joshua 19:10–39,” in *Die Septuaginta—Orte und Intentionen*, ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Martin Meiser, WUNT 361 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), 186–214; and Van der Meer, “Manasseh in Maps and Manuscripts: Historical Geography of West-Manasseh and Textual Criticism of LXX-Josh 17:1–2, 7–13,” in *Die Septuaginta—Themen, Manuskripte, Wirkungen*, ed. Eberhard Bons et al., WUNT 444 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020), 515–43. The unintelligible reference in Josh 5:12, for instance, to the region of Jericho as *χωρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων*, “country of the Phoenicians,” is

4. “The text-as-produced is the act of an historical agent—the translator—and should be described with reference to the translator’s intentions, to the extent that these are evident.” Here too, the prospectus offers a very outspoken perspective: “any linguistic information not already seen to be embedded in the Greek text, even though perhaps recognized as such, on the practical level, only by recourse to the parent text, shall be deemed inadmissible.” To me, it seems that this statement is directed towards those scholars who tend to maximize agreements with Greek philosophy, particularly Platonism, and run the risk of importing Christian or Platonic concepts into the meaning of Greek expressions. As I argued elsewhere, I think that is a prudent position.¹⁰ For the Old Greek of Joshua, however, we hardly have such situations where we have to liberate the original intention of the Greek translator from later concepts.¹¹

It is not difficult to start an abstract discussion about these principles,¹² but personally I prefer to focus on the details and let the outcome speak for itself. Whereas the principles behind NETS met skepticism when first

better understood as *χωρὰ τῶν φοινίκων*, “region of the palm-trees.” See my *Formation and Reformulation*, 399–407.

10. See Michaël N. van der Meer, “Anthropology in the Ancient Greek Versions of Genesis 2,” in *Dust of the Ground and Breath of Life (Gen 2:7): The Problem of a Dualistic Anthropology in Early Judaism and Christianity*, ed. George H. van Kooten and Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten, TBN 20 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 36–57; and Van der Meer, “The Greek Translators of the Pentateuch and the Epicureans,” in *Torah and Tradition: Papers Read at the Sixteenth Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oudtestamentisch Werkgezelschap, Edinburgh, 2015*, ed. Hans Barstad and Klaas Spronk, OTS 70 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 176–200.

11. Discussions about eschatology, mythology and messianism as detected by some scholars in the Greek Psalter are irrelevant for the interpretation of the Greek version of a historical book such as Joshua, see Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, WUNT 2/76 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995); Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters*, BBB 134 (Berlin: Philo, 2002); Cornelis G. den Hertog, “Eschatologisierung in der griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua,” in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophets. Festschrift for Henk Leene*, ed. Ferenc Postma, Klaas Spronk, and Eep Talstra, ACEBTSup 3 (Maastricht: Shaker, 2002), 107–17.

12. See, e.g., the criticisms by Takamitsu Muraoka, “Recent Discussions on Septuagint Lexicography with Special Reference to the So-Called Interlinear Model,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Martin Karrer, Wolfgang Kraus, and Martin Meiser, WUNT 219 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 221–35; and Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the ‘Interlinear Paradigm’ in Septuagintal Studies,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour*

presented, I found little reason to criticize the work for the principles that at first sight seemed counterintuitive.¹³ Rather, for the present purpose, I would like to take a look at the existing commentaries on the Old Greek of Joshua and try to see how the guidelines for the SBLCS help to differentiate yet another commentary from what already has been done in the field, as well as to find out what principles and theories from translation studies these works follow and see how that guided them in their enterprise. After that, I want to formulate what I consider to be suitable terminology for describing the translation and transformations in the Greek text of Joshua and apply that to the first unit of the book, Josh 1:1–9.

3. Existing Commentaries on the Greek Text of Joshua

When Jacqueline Moatti-Fine published the first of three commentaries now available on the Old Greek text of Joshua, she drew inspiration from the famous essay about “The Task of the Translator” of the Jewish German philosopher and free-lance translator of French novels, Walter Benjamin (1872–1940).¹⁴ Within translation studies, Benjamin’s essay is seen as one of the more philosophical approaches,¹⁵ remembered particularly for its

of Raija Sollamo, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 163–78.

13. See my “Featured Review of Albert Pietersma, Benjamin G. Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007),” *BIOSCS* 41 (2008): 114–21.

14. Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué)*, BdA 6 (Paris: Cerf, 1996). I use the German original of Walter Benjamin’s “Die Aufgabe des Übersetzens,” originally published as preface to his German translation of Charles Baudelaire, *Tableaux parisiens* (Heidelberg: Richard Weißbach, 1923), repr. in *Das Problem des Übersetzens*, ed. Hans Joachim Störig, Wege der Forschung 8 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1963), 182–95. Moatti-Fine refers to the French version, “La tâche du traducteur,” translated by Maurice de Gandillac in *Mythe et violence* (Paris: Denoël, 1971). English translation: “The Task of the Translator,” in 1913–1926, vol. 1 of *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, trans. Harry Zohn, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 253–63.

15. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 260–62. Munday refers to Benjamin’s close contacts with Gershom Scholem, a well-known modern scholar of Medieval Jewish mysticism and Kabbalah, and finds Jewish mystical ideas behind Benjamin’s ideas. See further Brian Britt, *Walter Benjamin and the Bible* (New York: Continuum, 1996).

close adherence to the source text, which is best served by means of a transparent and interlinear translation: a good translation contributes to the afterlife of the original by representing the ideas expressed in the original as lucid as possible and thereby transcending the limitations of both source and target languages:

In ihr wächst das Original in einen gleichsam höheren und reineren Luftkreis der Sprache hinauf, in welchem es freilich nicht auf die Dauer zu leben vermag, wie es ihn auch bei weitem nicht in allen Teilen seiner Gestalt erreicht, auf den es aber dennoch in einer wunderbar eindringlichen Weise wenigstens hindeutet als auf den vorbestimmten, versagten Versöhnungs- und Erfüllungsbereich der Sprachen.¹⁶

In translation the original rises into a higher and purer linguistic air, as it were. It cannot live there permanently, to be sure; neither can it reach that level in every aspect of the work. Yet in a singularly impressive manner, it at least points the way to this region: the predestined, hitherto inaccessible realm of reconciliation and fulfillment of languages. The original cannot enter there in its entirety, but what does appear in this region is that element in a translation which goes beyond transmittal of subject matter.¹⁷

As a result, the ideal or prototype translation is that of an interlinear version of the Bible:

Wo der Text unmittelbar, ohne vermittelnden Sinn, in seiner Wörtlichkeit der wahren Sprache, der Wahrheit oder der Lehre angehört, ist er übersetzbar schlechthin. Nicht mehr freilich um seines-, sondern allein um der Sprachen willen. Ihn gegenüber ist so grenzenloses Vertrauen von der Übersetzung gefordert, daß spannungslos wie in jenem Sprache und Offenbarung so in dieser Wörtlichkeit und Freiheit in Gestalt der Interlinearversion sich vereinigen müssen. Denn in irgendeinem Grade enthalten alle großen Schriften, im höchsten die heiligen, zwischen den Zeilen ihre virtuelle Übersetzung. Die Interlinearversion des heiligen Textes ist das Urbild oder Ideal aller Übersetzung.¹⁸

Where the literal quality of the text takes part directly, without any mediating sense, in true language, in the Truth, or in doctrine, this text is unconditionally translatable. To be sure, such translation no longer

16. Benjamin, "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzens," 188.

17. Benjamin, "Task of the Translator," 257.

18. Benjamin, "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzens," 195.

serves the cause of the text, but rather works in the interest of languages. This case demands boundless confidence in the translation, so that just as language and revelation are joined without tension in the original, the translation must write literalness with freedom in the shape of an interlinear version. For to some degree, all great texts contain their potential translation between the lines; this is true above all of sacred writings. The interlinear version of the Scriptures is the prototype or ideal of all translation.¹⁹

Interestingly though, Moatti-Fine does not invoke this almost mystical transcendence from translation to higher meaning via an interlinear reading between the lines. For her, the task of the translator consisted of the two elements “lisibilité et littéralité”: legibility and literalness, basically the two poles of adherence to either target or source text that underlies all theorizing of translation studies.

Interesting, too, is the fact that she refers to this theoretical framework only after a fairly exhaustive examination of all the translation initiatives introduced by the Greek translator of Joshua or adopted by him from his predecessors, the Greek translators of the Pentateuch. In order to clarify the task of the translator of Joshua, as perceived by Moatti-Fine, she points to a number of striking translations in the Old Greek of Joshua.²⁰ Well known is the alteration between the genuine Greek word for altar, βωμός, and the Jewish neologism θυσιαστήριον, for the same Hebrew מִזְבֵּחַ, depending upon the context of either a pagan or legitimate Israelite altar. The Greek translators of the Pentateuch and Joshua thus clarified for their audience an aspect of the Jewish cult that is not apparent directly in the original. Something similar applies to the much discussed rendering of the Hebrew word חֶרֶם, “complete extermination,” with the Greek word ἀνάθεμα, “gift” or “present for the Deity.” Whereas many Septuagint scholars hold that here we have a case of a Greek word with a Hebrew meaning, Moatti-Fine points out that for the Greek Joshua (at least in Josh 6:17, 18; 7:1, 11, 12, 13; 22:20), the Greek word can still be understood in its genuine Greek religious sense of bringing up (ἀνα-τίθημι) something for the Deity. Likewise, the idea of

19. Benjamin, “Task of the Translator,” 262–63.

20. Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, “La ‘tâche du traducteur’ de Josué/Jésus,” in *Κατὰ τοὺς οἷ: “Selon les Septante” Hommage à Marguerite Harl*, ed. Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich (Paris: Cerf, 1995), 321–30.

blood revenge and its containment by cities of refuge has been clarified by the Greek translators of the Hexateuch by means of the unusual renderings of Hebrew מִקְלָח, “refuge,” and לֹאֵלֶּה דָּם, “blood revenger,” with the neologism φυγαδευτήριον and the expression “next of kin, inheritor,” ὁ ἀγχιστεύων τὸ αἷμα.

I fully subscribe to Maotti-Fine’s conclusions. They show that even in a case where the Greek translators coined a stereotyped rendering, they did so out of consideration of the recipient culture. Yet as I see it, Moatti-Fine’s examples illustrate rather the fidelity of the Greek translator of Joshua to the choices of his predecessors as well as their concern for acceptability of the target text within the target culture than a fidelity to the source text per se as propagated by the ideal of an interlinear translation. Furthermore, in line with the general scope of the La Bible d’Alexandrie series, Moatti-Fine’s commentary pays much attention to the reception of Septuagint of Joshua in early Jewish (Philo, Josephus) and early Christian sources (New Testament, Origen, Theodoret). Where the Hebrew and Greek text differ on a quantitative level (usually where the Greek text is shorter than MT), she does not venture into explanations about the origin of these omissions, but just notes the differences.

The other commentators of the Greek text of Joshua did not appeal to insights from translation studies. The Brill Septuagint Commentary Series seems to dismiss two centuries of intense text-critical labor on the textual history of the Septuagint and simply takes a single Greek manuscript as basis for interpretation. In the case of Joshua, Graeme Auld made the logical choice to comment upon the text of codex Vaticanus. The text of this witness in general remains the best witness of the original Old Greek of Joshua but is still half a millennium younger than the original Greek translation. Instead of offering only a codicological description of the Joshua leaves of this codex, Auld comments upon the Greek text of the codex as if it were the original Greek translation. His study of the Greek translation technique is rather impressionistic:

My impression is in fact of bear-virtuosic translation. The co-existence throughout of idiomatic and pedantically literal rendering demonstrates that each was quite as well possible for the translator. [my emphasis]²¹

21. A. Graeme Auld, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauē in Codex Vaticanus*, Septuagint Commentary Series (Leiden: Brill, 2005), xix.

The commentary basically interacts with three studies on the Septuagint of Joshua, the aforementioned commentary by Moatti-Fine and the dissertations by Seppo Sipilä and Cees den Hertog, leaving aside the work of many other scholars.²²

Finally, mention should be made of the *Erläuterungen* to the German translation of the Septuagint of Joshua in *Septuaginta Deutsch*, provided by Cees den Hertog.²³ Within the format of the relatively small annotations to the German translation of the Greek text, den Hertog brings together a lot of important observations as well as comments made by a large number of scholars. Den Hertog does not refer to general theories from the field of translation technique but brings in the work of the Finnish school of Septuagint syntax (Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, Anneli Aejmelaus, Seppo Sipilä), to which much of his own work belongs.²⁴

Reviewing these three commentaries on the Greek text of Joshua, it seems to me that there is still ample room for another commentary, particularly one that pays due attention not only to the reception history of the Septuagint in the Christian era, either by the church fathers or Hellenistic Jewish authors (thus the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series) or the main Septuagint codices (thus Auld), but particularly also to the text-as-produced within its purportedly original setting. Although much has been written already with respect to the translation technique of the Old Greek of Joshua as both literal and free,²⁵ comparatively little attention has been

22. Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by ׀ and ׀*, Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75 (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999); Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua" (PhD diss., Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen, 1996). For a survey of the scholarship until the turn of the century, see Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 32–91.

23. Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Jesus. Josue/Das Buch Josua," in *Genesis bis Makkabäer*, vol. 1 of *Septuaginta Deutsch: Erläuterungen und Kommentare zum griechischen Alten Testament*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011), 605–56.

24. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax*, AASF 237 (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987); Anneli Aejmelaus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators*, CBET (Kampen: Kok, 1993); den Hertog, "Studien," 160–83.

25. Still fundamental is the work by Johannes Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua und ihr textkritischer Werth*, Wissenschaftliche Beilage zu dem Oster-Programm des Gymnasiums zu Moers (Moers: Edner, 1876); see further the works mentioned above.

given to the interaction between Septuagint studies and modern translation studies, an area to which I will turn now.

4. Translation Studies

Although reflections upon the theory and principles behind translation can be found already in Roman sources, for example, Cicero and Jerome, the scientific discipline of translation studies is relatively young. It tries to uncover general, perhaps even universal characteristics common to all translations. Until the last decades, most of the studies in this field were aimed to aid modern translators in their work and often bear a *prescriptive* nature. Since Septuagint studies are concerned with understanding how and why the Greek translator came to his rendering of his Hebrew parent text, the *descriptive* method as propagated by Toury is welcomed as the theoretical basis for scientific research into the ancient translation strategies of the Greek translators. Toury gives many examples from his own work as a translator of European languages into Modern Hebrew, which forms a fascinating mirror for those who study the reverse phenomenon, that is, translation of an ancient Hebrew Semitic text into an Indo-European language. Helpful is also his distinction of syntactic levels of translation in his discussion of coupled pairs of replacing and replaced segments,²⁶ which helps to understand the phenomenon in the Septuagint where on the level of morphemes the Greek translation of the Hebrew is correct, but on the higher level (usually that beyond individual clauses), the Greek translation is best understood with the help of the source text. Particularly important is also his law of interference of the source text in the target text.²⁷ If there is something peculiar about the Greek of the Septuagint, it is the high amount of interference of the source text in the target text.

Nevertheless, Toury's work is exclusively confined to the modern period in which texts and translations circulate among broad layers of society and are produced for mass communication and entertainment. Although Toury attended the IOSCS congress of 2004 and refers to that meeting in his book, his descriptions of translations and his search for underlying conventions and norms presuppose a thorough knowledge

26. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 115–41.

27. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 310–15.

of the cultural context of both the source and target texts.²⁸ A study of translation in antiquity shows how much translation was tied to shifting power balances and served the interests of a small elite seeking to enforce edicts upon subjugated people, forming a native literature that can compete with older literary traditions or extracting profitable knowledge from exotic cultures.²⁹

It seems necessary to me, therefore, to broaden the theoretical framework for interpreting the Septuagint beyond the modern dichotomies of “literal translations” versus “free translations,” “litteralité” versus “lisibilité,” “pedantically literal” versus “idiomatic,” and look for a differentiation beyond these polar structures. Perhaps even more important is the search for a taxonomy of categories that can be applied to contemporary translations of authoritative writings in antiquity, since all models discussed thus far have been developed on the basis of modern translations.

This is where the work of Van der Louw comes into play. To my mind, the most in-depth balancing of translation studies and Septuagint studies is provided by his widely cited book *Transformations in the Septuagint*.³⁰ With his experience as Bible translator for several organizations (Dutch Bible Society, SIL) and his experiments in reenacting translation procedures, Van der Louw is an acknowledged expert in this specific area. Like James Barr and many Septuagint scholars before him, he considers literal translations from Hebrew into Greek the standard or default translation, since literal translation is by far the easiest way of translating.³¹ Where the

28. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 24, n. 5. See, esp., 22: “no translation should ever be studied outside of the context in which it came into being”

29. See, for instance, the bilingual and trilingual edicts of Lethos (Lycian-Aramaic-Greek), Kandahar (Aramaic-Greek), Rosetta, Canopus, Memphis (Demotic-Greek), the Greek translation of Roman decrees of the Senate, the Latin translation by Cicero of Plato’s *Timaeus*, and Latin emulations of Greek epic. For the Semitic-Greek bilingual inscriptions, see Herbert Donner and Wolfgang Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962) (KAI). For a discussion of the Roman translations, see Astrid Seele, *Römische Übersetzer: Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten. Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995).

30. Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*.

31. James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, MSU 15; NAWG 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). For critical remarks, see Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “The Classification of Literalism in Ancient Hebrew-Greek Translation,” in Bons and Joosten, *Die Sprache der Septuaginta*, 139–60.

Septuagint deviates from this principle, it must be for a specific reason and it is the task of the researcher to detect the rationale behind this “transformation,” as Van der Louw calls these nonobligatory nonliteral translations. According to Van der Louw, “behind each transformation stands a literal rendering that has been rejected.”³² He offers an inventory of types of transformations derived from translation studies by Vilen Komissarov, L. Barchudarov, and Albert Langeveld and places them in hierarchical order:³³

- ♦ Graphological translation, for example, the mimicking of the Hebrew divine name יהוה as ΠΙΠΙ in Greek biblical manuscripts.³⁴
- ♦ Phonological translation, for example, the second column of Origen’s Hexapla.³⁵

32. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 57. See also his “Linguistic or Ideological Shifts? The Problem-Oriented Study of Transformations as a Methodological Filter,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, JSJSup 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 107–26.

33. Vilen N. Komissarov, *Slovo o perevoda* (Moscow: Meždunarodnye otnošenija, 1973); Leonid Barchudarov, *Sprache und Übersetzung: Probleme der allgemeinen und speziellen Übersetzungstheorie* (Moscow: Verlag Progress, 1979); Albert Langeveld, *Vertalen wat er staat* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 1994); Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 60–92. The examples provided below are predominantly, but not exclusively based on (a selection from) the list Van der Louw offers. I selected only examples from ancient translations with a preference for extrabiblical and uncontested examples of transformations.

34. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 62. The example is my own. For the occurrence of this phenomenon in Symmachus’s version of Joshua, see Michaël N. van der Meer, “Symmachus’s Version of Joshua,” in *Found in Translation: Essays on Translating Jewish Biblical Texts in Honor of Leonard J. Greenspoon*, ed. James Barker, Joel Lohr, and Anthony Le Donne (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2018), 53–94.

35. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 62. This example is again my own. Transliteration of non-Greek texts and scripts into Greek was not uncommon in antiquity, see, e.g., the Latin, Hebrew, Punic texts (KAI 174–180) in Greek script discussed by James N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 40–67, or the collection of Lydian, Scythian, Persian and Babylonian terms transliterated and explained in P.Oxy. 15.1802 and P.Oxy. 71.4812. See Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (P.Oxy.1802+4812)*, Sozomena 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009).

39. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 66, 231. Van der Louw's use of the term "converse translation" differs somewhat from that of Michael L. Klein, "Converse Translation: A Targumic Technique," *Bib* 57 (1976): 515–37, who employed the term for passages where the Targum actually states the opposite of what the Hebrew text expresses, e.g., Deut 5:24: וחי ידבר אלהים את האדם וחי, "We have seen God speak with man and man still live," Targum Neofiti note in the margin: לית יחי, "It is impossible from before God to speak with man and he should live." For comparable transformations in the Septuagint and Samaritan Pentateuch related to this question how it is possible for (some) men to stay alive, see Michaël N. van der Meer, "Visio Dei in the Septuagint," in *XVI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Stellenbosch, 2016, ed. Gideon R. Kotzé, Wolfgang Kraus, and Michaël N. van der Meer, SCS 71 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2019), 171–205.

Phoenician מִזְבַּח ת[א] יקדש [ס]מִי בן [ס]לְשִׁלְם, “B’lšlm son of [S]smj dedicated the altar” (effect).⁴⁰ The last two words in the Greek text offer interesting background parallels for Moatti-Fine’s discussion of explicating transformations in the Greek Pentateuch with regard to altar (מִזְבַּח—βωμός) and sacrifice (חֶרֶם—ἀνα-τιθήμι).

- ◆ Specification, for example, the transformation of Plato, *Phaedr.* 245d, τοὔτο δὲ οὐτ’ ἀπόλλυσθαι οὔτε γίνεσθαι δυνατόν, “but that cannot perish nor come into being,” into Cicero’s Latin translation *id autem nec nasci potest nec mori*, “but that cannot be born nor die.”⁴¹
- ◆ Generalization, for example, the transformation of Latin *virgines vestales*, “vestal virgins,” into the more general Greek designation ἱέρειαι, “priestesses.”⁴²
- ◆ Modification, for example, Cicero’s Latin translation of Plato’s *Tim.* 40d, ἀδύνατον οὐν θεῶν παισὶν ἀπιστεῖν, “it is impossible to mistrust the children of gods,” into *ac difficile factu est a deis ortis fidem non habere*, “and it is *difficult* not to believe in gods that have been born.”⁴³
- ◆ Cultural counterpart, for example, the idiomatic rendering of Prov 6:1, בְּנִי אִם עֲרַבְתָּ לְרֵעֶךָ תִּקְעַת לִזְרוֹר כַּפֶּיךָ, “My son, if you stand surety for your neighbor, (if you) *have struck your hands* with a stranger,” into Greek Υἱέ, ἐὰν ἐγγυση σὸν φίλον, παραδώσεις σὴν χεῖρα ἐχθρῷ, “Son, if you stand surety for a friend of yours, *you will deliver your hand* to an enemy.”⁴⁴
- ◆ Addition, for example, Greek παγὶς γὰρ ἰσχυρὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἴδια χεῖλη, “*for to a man his own lips are a strong snare*,” for Hebrew נֹקְשֵׁת פִּיךָ בְּאִמְרֵי פִיךָ, “if you are trapped by the words of your mouth.”⁴⁵

40. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 66.

41. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 61; Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 67.

42. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 67.

43. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 68–69.

44. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 69, 258–59; Van der Louw, “Linguistic or Ideological Shifts,” 121–22.

45. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 74–75, 261–62. For a comprehensive examination of all the additions and omissions in the Septuagint of Isaiah, see Mirjam van der Vorm-Croughs, *The Old Greek of Isaiah: An Analysis of Its Pluses and Minuses*, SCS 61 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014).

- ♦ Omission, for example, the shortening of Gen 2:10 ונהר יצא מעדן להשקות את הגן ומשם יפרד והיה לארבעה ראשים, “A river went out from Eden, *and* from there it is separated *and becomes* four heads,” in the Greek translation Ποταμός δὲ ἐκπορεύεται ἐξ Ἐδεμ ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον· --- ἐκεῖθεν ἀφορίζεται --- --- εἰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, “A river goes out from Edem to water the park; --- from there it is separated --- --- into four beginnings.”⁴⁶
- ♦ Redistribution of semantic features, for example, the Greek version of a bilingual Aramaic-Greek inscription (KAI 276) found near Tblisi, dating from 100 to 150 CE, ἥτις τὸ κάλλος ἀμείητον εἶχε, “she possessed a matchless beauty,” corresponding to Aramaic טבות יהוה מן טבות דמה אינש זי בר אינש יהוה היך זי טב ושפיר יהוה היך זי טב, “she [i.e., the deceased princess] was so excellent and beautiful that nobody could compare with her in excellence.”⁴⁷
- ♦ Situational translation, that is, similar formulations of the same situation without close semantic resemblance between source text and target text, for example, “Sorry, wrong number”—“Tut mir leid, falsch verbunden,” or Plato, *Phaedr.* 245d, ἀρχῆς γὰρ δὴ ἀπολομένης οὔτε αὐτὴ ποτε ἔκ του οὔτε ἄλλο ἐξ ἐκείνης γενήσεται, “from when beginning ends, it does not originate from something nor does something else originate from it,” into Cicero’s Latin translation (*Somnium Scipionis* 6.27, and, in a later, revised

46. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 75–77, 116–18. Much discussion in Septuagint research has been devoted to the question whether omissions are in fact the result of deliberate shortening of the source text by the Greek translator or rather reflect a faithful Greek rendering of a shorter Hebrew original, see, e.g., Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 283–326. This discussion is also highly relevant for the study of the Old Greek version of Joshua, see my studies mentioned above. In the case of Gen 2:10, however, I am not aware of any scholar doubting that the shorter Greek version is the result of deliberate shortening by the Greek translator, see, e.g., Ronald S. Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1–11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), who usually views the Greek version of Genesis as “a literalistic translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that varied in many details from M (or, more precisely, proto-M)” (17), but passes over these omissions (124–25).

47. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 77–79. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, 292, points out that bilingual or trilingual inscriptions should not be seen in terms of translations of a source text, but rather as a combination of versions that “are complementary and/or idiomatic or formulaic in the manner appropriate to the separate languages.”

version *Tusc.* 1.53 [xxii]) *nam principium exstinctum nec ipsum ab alio renascetur nec ex se aluid creabit*, “for once extinguished beginning is not born anew from something else nor will it create something out of itself.”⁴⁸

- ♦ Idiomatic translation, for example, the Phoenician and Greek versions of a Cypriote trilingual (*KAI* 39), dating from 389 BCE, where the Phoenician text [...] *סמל אש יתן ויטנא אדנן בעלר [ם]* [...], “This is the statue that our Lord B’lrm, son of ‘Bdmlk erected for his god Rašaf-Mlk, because he had heard his voice. *May he bless him*,” is paralleled (rather than translated) by the Greek *τό(ν)δε κατέστασε ὁ φάναξ [Βααλροῦ] ὁ Ἀβδιμίλκ[ον τῷ Ἀπόλ(λ)ῶνι Ἀμύλῳ ἀφ’ οἷ φοι τᾶς εὐχολᾶς ἐπέτυχεν ἰ(ν) τύχαι ἀγαθαῖ,* “[Ba’alrom] (son of) ‘Abdimilk has erected this statue for Apollo of Amyklai, after he had attained what he had longed for. *In good fortune*.” The transformation from the Semitic deity Reshef to Greek Apollo also shows the transformation in which a cultural counterpart of the source culture has been translated by a cultural element from the target culture.⁴⁹
- ♦ Explication, for example, Demotic Tefnut legend (*P.Leid.Dem.* 1.384.xv.24), where the Demotic statement, *rh-s dd t3 ˁmi.t tn=t dd t3j*, “I know that a cat is your name,” was explicated in the Greek version *ἐπίσταμαι ὅτι ἀθάνατον ὄνομα σου*, “I know that your name is immortal.”⁵⁰
- ♦ Implication, for example, the transformation of the phrase *נאשה*, “who commits adultery with a woman” (*Prov* 6:32) into Greek *Ὁ δὲ μοιχός*, “the adulterer.”⁵¹
- ♦ Anaphoric translation or intertextual translation which introduces into the translation an element taken from a passage from the same literary context as the expression found in the source

48. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 79–80; Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 60–62.

49. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 80.

50. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 81. The Demotic text of the legend of Tefnut was published by Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge nach dem Leidner demotischen Papyrus I 384* (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1994), 40–41. The Greek version was published by Richard Reitzenstein, *Die griechische Tefnutlegende*, SHAW Philosophisch-historische Klasse 2 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1923), 18.

51. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 81–82, 334–36.

text, for example, Josh 24:9, where the phrase, *וילחם בִּישְׂרָאֵל*, “and Balak fought with Israel,” has been transformed into Greek *καὶ παρετάξατο τῷ Ἰσραηλ*, “and he set himself against Israel,” based on the report in Num 22–24, where it is told that Balak only *wanted* to fight with Israel but eventually abstained from it.⁵²

- ♦ Stylistic translation and compensation, for example, the introduction of a chiasm by Cicero in his translation of Plato, *Phaedr.* 245c *παῦλαν ἔχον κινήσεως, παῦλαν ἔχει ζωῆς* into Latin *quando finem habeat motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est* in order to compensate for the loss of the stylistic features in the Greek source text.⁵³

It is not my intention to present Van der Louw’s model as a rival to the interlinear model or any other model of studying the Septuagint, for example, the scribal model developed by Arie van der Kooij, nor do I agree in every detail with Van der Louw’s attribution of specific variants to one of these categories.⁵⁴ However, I do think Van der Louw’s model is a helpful complement to the discussion about the theoretical framework for studying the Septuagint in relation with translation studies. It offers a wide range of types of transformations and offers many examples from antiquity. His model does justice to both the literalness and the large amount of interference of the source text in the Septuagint, on the hand, as well as the free renderings, or “transformations” in his vocabulary, on the other hand. The two are often found in the same corpus, regularly side by side as for instance in the case of Proverbs where, like the Greek Joshua, literal and free renderings alternate. The refined list of possible transformations may help us overcome the impasse of viewing the transformations in the Septuagint as either linguistic or ideological, even though Van der Louw seems to rule out an ideological motive behind a transformation in the

52. Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der alexandrinische Übersetzung*, 11.

53. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 60–64; Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 84–85. He finds ten examples in the Greek version of Proverbs; see 249–356.

54. See, e.g., Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision*, VTSup 71 (Leiden: Brill, 1998). See the differences between Van der Louw’s and my analyses of the same text in LXX Josh 2: Theo A. W. van der Louw, “Translator’s Competence and Intention in LXX-Joshua 2,” in *The Land of Israel in Bible, History and Theology: Studies in Honour of Ed Noort*, ed. Jacques T. A. G. M. van Ruiten and J. Cornelis de Vos, VTSup 124 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 3–18; Van der Meer, “Literary and Textual History of Joshua 2.”

Septuagint as soon as a linguistic one can be adduced.⁵⁵ I wonder whether linguistic and ideological explanations for transformations are really mutually exclusive.

The principle of examining possible alternative translations (i.e., the apparently rejected literal renderings) forces the researcher to examine the lexical choices made by the translator within the semantic field of the target language. Although our knowledge of the Hellenistic culture is still somewhat restricted, we still have enough information to examine the transformations within their lexical and even cultural context. Particularly important in this respect are the documentary papyri from Hellenistic Egypt, which provide ample evidence of the ordinary and official language used in daily life and which remain an invaluable source for assessing the adequacy, appropriateness but also the alienating effects the Greek translation of Hebrew Scriptures must have had on listeners and readers in that specific target culture.

5. Application to the Greek Joshua

Let me now turn to a few examples from the first part of the first chapter of the Old Greek of Joshua, for which I have drafted a commentary. Much has already been written about the verses with the significant pluses in MT, that is, verses 1, 4, and 7. For this paper, I would like to focus on verses 5 and 6, where we find a few subtle transformations that can be enlightened with the help of Van der Louw's model as well as the contemporary Greek papyri:

ἰσχυε καὶ ἀνδρίζου. The Hebrew (יָחַזק וְיָחַזק) and Greek verbs (ἰσχύω καὶ ἀνδρίζομαι) reflect the notion of encouragement and perseverance. The pairs of Hebrew and Greek verbs occur four times in this opening chapter of the book (Josh 1:6, 7, 9, 18). They also occur in the corresponding Hebrew and Greek versions of Deut 31:6–8, 23, but here Greek ἀνδρίζομαι matches Hebrew יָחַזק and ἰσχύω Hebrew יָחַזק. These equations also appear in Josh 10:25 and 1 Suppl 22:13,⁵⁶ whereas the combinations found here

55. Van der Louw, "Linguistic or Ideological Shifts?" In another contribution, he challenges the notion of intentionality of the (Greek) translator, see Theo A. W. van der Louw, "Did the Septuagint Translators Really Intend the Greek Text as It Is?," in Kreuzer and Wolfgang Kraus, *Die Septuaginta*, 449–66.

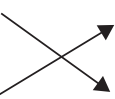
56. 1–2 Supplements is the SBLCS convention for 1–2 Paraleipomena, the Greek version of 1–2 Chronicles.

in Josh 1:6, 7, 9, 18 are also attested in 2 Suppl 28:20; 32:7. Seen within the context of Greek translations of Hebrew Scriptures the verbs would seem to be synonymous and interchangeable.⁵⁷

However, seen within the context of contemporary Greek expressions for encouragement and perseverance, the use of ἀνδρίζομαι can be clarified with the help of documentary papyri;⁵⁸ see, for example, the admonition to an elephant-hunter (Chr. Wilck. 452 = P. Petri. 2.40a + P. Petri. 3.53g + P. Lond. 3; 30 Nov. 224 BCE), lines 12–15: μὴ οὖν ὀλιγοψυχήσητε, ἀλλ’ ἀνδρίζεσθε, ὀλίγος γὰρ χρόνος ὑμῖν ἐστίν, ἐτοιμάζεται γὰρ ἡ διαδοχή, “Do not be faint-hearted, but remain steadfast, because it takes but a little time, succession has been prepared.”

By contrast, the use of ἰσχύω in the sense of “remain steadfast and determined” is highly unusual in nonbiblical Greek. Here the verb may have the connotations of “prevail,” or simply “be able to,” for example, in a petition (P. Enteux. 74; 221 BCE) by someone who declares of himself: οὐκ ἰσχύω δίκην αὐτῷ λέγειν, “I am not able to start a procedure myself.” Rather, the idea of an exhortation (to remain steadfast, particularly in the light of an ensuing battle), as is the case in Josh 1:1–9, is expressed by such Greek verbs as θαρσέω, παραινέω, παρακαλέω, and παρακελεύω.⁵⁹ The use of ἰσχύω is therefore atypical both in this context of an admonition before battle and as rendering for Hebrew קָיָו. Perhaps the Greek translator of Joshua wanted to mimic the sounds of *chazaq* and *amats* by *ischuo* and *andrizomai*.

One might conclude that the translation reflects a reversal of the meaning of the Hebrew verbs in the Greek text, producing the following chiasmic structure:

קָיָו, “be strong”		ἰσχύω, “be able, prevail”
אָמַץ, “be persistent”		ἀνδρίζομαι, “be manly; remain steadfast”

57. Thus Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué)*, 95.

58. As demonstrated by Anna Passoni dell’Acqua, “Richerche sulla versione dei LXX e i papiri. III. Andrizesthai,” *Aegyptus* 62 (1982): 178–94.

59. See Michaël N. van der Meer, “Perseverance in the Septuagint: The Semantic Fields of ἰσχύω and ἀνδρίζομαι in the Greek Bible and Contemporary Documents,” paper presented at the “Papyri, Septuagint, Biblical Greek” international congress, 29–30 September 2017.

Interference from the source text is visible first of all in the unidiomatic use of the verb ἰσχύω as rendering of Hebrew קָיָו, but also in the change in equivalents intended, I suggest, in order to rhyme, so to speak, with the Hebrew original. If ἀνδρίζομαι is the more common idiomatic expression for keeping up a good spirit, the Greek translator apparently adopted ἰσχύω to use the more Hebraizing expression first and the more idiomatic Greek one as clarification.

ἀποδιαστελεῖς. Rahlfs adopted the reading ἀποδιαστελεῖς from mainly Hexaplaric witnesses (majuscles A, F, M, V, and W and the majority of the minuscles), whereas Margolis adopted the reading of the uncorrected text of codex Vaticanus (B*) and related manuscripts (72, 129, 376): διελεῖς, which is also the reading of Theodotion according to 85 and 344.⁶⁰ A third reading ἀποδιελείς is attested in the first and second corrections of Vaticanus and MSS 19, 56, and 58, whereas the latter manuscript (58) has the reading διαμερισεῖς in the margin. None of the three verbs (ἀποδιαιρέω, ἀποδιαστέλλω, or διαιρέω) reflect the meaning of the corresponding Hebrew verb הָנַח *hiphil*, “to give as an inheritance” (HALOT, s.v. “הָנַח”), but all bear the meaning “to divide” (GELS, s.v. “ἀποδιαστέλλω,” 72b–73a; “διαιρέω,” 151a–b) or “to deal out” (GELS, s.v. “διαμερίζω”). All three verbs can be construed both with an object and an indirect object (e.g., Josh 18:5 καὶ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς ἐπτὰ μερίδας, Ps 21[22]:19 διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια μου ἑαυτοῖς), which rules out the option that any of these verbs fits the syntactical context better.⁶¹ The reading adopted by Margolis is supported by the oldest textual witnesses and finds corroboration in Josh 18:4 (καθὰ δεῖσθαι διελεῖν αὐτήν as free rendering for Hebrew לָפִי הָנַחְתִּים). Yet, the verb ἀποδιαστέλλω is very rare in the Septuagint corpus (and occurs only in 2 Macc 6:5 in the sense of “to distinguish”), which makes it the *lectio difficilior*.⁶² The fact that Theodotion employed διελεῖς can be understood either as a correction of an older Greek text or an example of Theodotion’s adherence to the Old Greek.⁶³

The use ἀποδιαστέλλω in the sense of “to apportion land”⁶⁴ is well attested in the documentary papyri from the Ptolemaic period; see

60. Margolis, *Book of Joshua*, 5.

61. I thank Theo van der Louw for bringing this question to my attention.

62. Den Hertog, *Studien*, 33; Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 165–66.

63. Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*, HSM 28 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 38.

64. Emil Kießling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluß*

P.Merton 1.5.14 (149–37 BCE) in a complaint about the distribution of land: [ὁ δὲ προσέταξεν Τύ-]χωνι ἀποδιαστεῖλαί μοι τὴν γῆν, “He instructed Tychon to assign to me my share of the land”; P.Tebt. 3.1.740.30 (113 BCE), a report concerning the sale of land and its apportioned shares; UPZ 2.196.22 (116 BCE), a complaint of Petenophotes to the *epistates* Herakleides referring to mutually apportioned villages (ἀμφοτέροι δὲ προσομολογοῦμεν μὴ θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλήλων ἀποδιασταλμένων [κω]μῶν) (UPZ 2.196.48, 58, 75) and P.Ryl. 2.65.4 (67 or 96 BCE), a dispute about previously agreed division of shares (περὶ ἀποδιαστολῆς [τ]ῶν [ὑπ’ αὐτ]ῶν σ[υμ]φωνηθέντων μερισμῶν). The use of this specific verb ἀποδιαστέλλω seems to be restricted to these few texts from Ptolemaic Egypt, which makes it difficult to see why a reviser from the later Roman periods would have wanted to employ this rather obsolete word as correction of the far more common Greek verb διαιρέω.

One might argue that we are dealing here with an anaphoric transformation. The Greek translator obviously did not adopt the common Greek root κληρονομ- for Hebrew לָקַח. Instead, he chose a word well known from contemporary Greek sources but almost unique in the Septuagint corpus. Although perhaps not literally matched by means of the use of the verb διαιρέω, the Greek translator does seem to anticipate the story of Joshua’s dividing the remaining seven lots as reported in Josh 18 and 19.

Let us turn to verse 5:

οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται. Although Greek ἀνθίστημι occurs already regularly in the Greek Pentateuch as rendering for Hebrew הִצִּי *hitpa’el* (see, e.g., Deut 7:24 οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται οὐδείς κατὰ πρόσωπον σου and 11:25 οὐκ ἀντιστήσεται οὐδείς κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν; cf. 9:2) and frequently in other Greek translations of Hebrew Scripture (see HRCS 95c–96a), the meaning of the Hebrew and Greek words do not fully overlap. Whereas Hebrew הִצִּי *hitpa’el* means “to take one’s stand” (HALOT, s.v. “הִצִּי”), Greek ἀνθίστημι carries a slightly more martial meaning “to set against (in battle),” “to stand against,” or “to rise in opposition” (see “ἀνθίστημι” in LSJ, 140a; DGE II 304a; Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, 124; LEH 49b; GELS 51b). In P.Petrie Kleon 88.(107–)111 (242–241 BCE), the verb is used in the context of holding back water: Καλῶς οὖν ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας ἡμῖν ἀνοῦχι ὅτι πλεῖστον. Οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι ἀνθ[ι]στάνειν ἕως ἂν ὀχυ[ρωθῇ][η], “Please send us as much

anouchi as possible, I cannot *hold* on until it has been reinforced.” A literalistic rendering of the Hebrew phrase is offered by Aquila (according to MS 344): οὐ στηλωθήσεται ἀνὴρ εἰς πρόσωπον σου. Elsewhere in the Septuagint other compound such as παρ-ίστημι (e.g., Exod 19:47), ἀν-ίστημι (Num 22:22); καθ-ίστημι (1 Rgns 3:10), συμ-παρ-ίστημι (Ps 93[94]:16), ἐφ-ίστημι (Jer 26[46]:14) or simple ἴστημι (e.g., Exod 8:16; 9:13; 14:13; Num 11:16; Deut 31:14, 14; Josh 24:1) have been used to render Hebrew יִצַּח *hitpael*.

In terms of transformations, we thus see a case of specification. The Greek translator borrowed this rendering from the Greek translator of Deuteronomy. Simple ἴστημι without compound for יִצַּח *hitpael* as in Josh 24:1 would probably have been even more literal and straightforward, but also somewhat strange in the context of Koine Greek, where compounds were increasingly regarded as indispensable for the proper communication.


οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαί σε. The order in MT of the verbs רָפָה (*hiphil*), “to fail, to let one down,” and עָזַב, “leave, forsake,” appear in chiastically inverted order in G: “I will not forsake you or overlook you,” since Greek (ἐγ-κατα-)λείπω is the default rendering of עָזַב (HRCS 365a–366a, see Josh 8:17; 22:3; 24:16, 20). Only in Deut 4:31 do we find the same unusual equation רָפָה(ה)–ἐγκαταλείπω. It should be noted, however, that G’s use of ὑπεροράω, “to take no notice of” (*GELS* 699b), “to disregard” (*LEH* 631b), is unusual as well. Parallel passages (e.g., Deut 31:6, 8) have the Greek verb ἀνίημι, “to let loose, uncared for” (*GELS*, s.v. “ἀνίημι,” 53a–b; HRCS 102b–c). By contrast, the verb ὑπεροράω occurs only ten or eleven times in the whole Septuagint corpus (HRCS 1410c; depending on the reconstruction of G Deut 22:4) as rendering for Hebrew עָלַם, “hide” (Ps 9.22[10.1]; Nah 3:11; Isa 58:7) or without Hebrew counterpart (Lev 26:37; Ezek 7:19; Sir 14.8; 2 Macc 7:11, 23).

As Ceslas Spicq has demonstrated,⁶⁵ the verb is well at home in contemporary Greek petitions to the king, the so-called ἐντεύξεις; see, for example, P.Enteux. 29.12–13 (218 BCE, Magdola): Δέομαι οὖν σου, βασιλεῦ, πὶ μὴ ὑπερ-[ιδεῖν με ἀδικούμενον], “I ask you, o king, not to overlook me, who has been wronged” (see also P.Enteux. 43 [221 BCE], *UPZ* 1.2.24 [163 BCE]; 5.46–47 [163 BCE]; 6.32 [163 BCE]; 15.33–34 [156 BCE]; 16.22 [156 BCE]; 20.42 [162 BCE]; 45.14 [161 BCE]; P.Tebt. 3.1.776.28; 777.10; P.Tebt. 3.2.963.6; and other documents from the second century BCE). G thus took up terminology that belongs to the communication with the

65. Ceslas Spicq, “ὑπεροράω,” *TLNT* 3:396–97.

highest authority of the Ptolemaic Empire and applied it to human-divine communication. Given the fact that the Hebrew expression **לֹא הִרְפָּה וְלֹא עָזַב** occurs in this fixed order in the parallel passages (Deut 31:6, 8), it seems likely that the change of order “forsake-overlook” reflects an initiative of the Greek translator (of Deuteronomy, adopted by Joshua), rather than a different Hebrew *Vorlage*.

As was the case in verse 6 and following, we are dealing here with a case of specification of Hebrew **אֲרַפֵּךְ** by Greek *ὑπερόψομαι*. Again, we also find the sequence of a more straightforward rendering of the Hebrew followed by a more specific, idiomatic Greek expression. We might—again—also speak of a reversal of Hebrew meanings in the Greek text:

אֲרַפֵּה(ה) , “to fail, let down”		<i>ἐγκαταλείπω</i> , “to leave, forsake”
עָזַב , “leave, forsake”		<i>ὑπεροράω</i> , “to disregard”

Since the Greek translator puts formulaic language characteristic of civilian-royal correspondence into the mouth of the Hebrew deity, one might—with due caution—speak of theology in the Septuagint. Something similar also applies to the language of not complying to the highest authority, the use of the verb *ἀπειθέω*, which we find in royal decrees but also in specific cases in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Isaiah where disobedience to divine commandments is connected to the death of a whole generation Israelites.⁶⁶

6. Some Conclusions

So where do these observations lead us? How do they help to describe the task the Greek translator of Joshua set out to fulfill? How do they assist the modern scholar in writing yet another commentary on the Old Greek version of Joshua according to the SBLCS guidelines primarily as text-as-produced taking the putative parent text as arbiter of meaning?

When we return to the principles of the SBLCS series presented at the beginning of this paper, we see that—in spite of the critique on the NETS

66. See Michaël N. van der Meer, “Problems and Perspectives in Septuagint Lexicography: The Case of Non-Compliance (*ἀπειθέω*),” in *Septuagint Vocabulary: Pre-History, Usage, Reception*, ed. Jan Joosten and Eberhard Bons, SCS 58 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 65–86.

principles—they can be applied to the description of the work of the Greek translator of Joshua:

1. The genetic character of the Greek translation is obvious throughout the whole Old Greek version of Joshua. Even in cases where a Hebrew source text is not attested by MT codex Leningradensis (e.g., Josh 15:69a; 21:36–37; 6:26a; 16:10; 19:47a, 48a; 21:42a–b; 24:33a–b), the Hebrew background is always visible. Yet, this observation should not hinder, but rather encourage the commentator to explore the initiatives made by the Greek translator. The examples presented above demonstrate that the Greek translator was able to strike a good balance between faithfulness to the source text and target language, between “literalité et lisibilité” (Moatti-Fine), to alternate between “idiomatic and pedantically literalistic renderings” (Auld). In the case of near synonymous word-pairs such as *חֶזֶק וְאִמָּץ* and *לֹא אֶרְפֹּךְ וְלֹא אֶעֱזֹבֶךְ*, the Greek translator first employed the more literal rendering (*ἰσχυρε, οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε*), followed by the more idiomatic rendering (*ἀνδρίζου, οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαί σε*). The Greek translator may perhaps not have intended to give his source text the almost metaphysical and immortal status Walter Benjamin envisioned, but the use of high-register expressions, such as *ἀπειθέω*, *ὑπεροράω*, and *ἀποδιαστέλλω*, which reflect high-register language attested by royal decrees and formal correspondence. As a result, attention to this technique employed by the translator should caution the modern scholar to distill a deviant, editorially older Hebrew *Vorlage* behind this thoughtful translation.

2. The verbal makeup of the translation as primary focus of the commentary is important. In the case of the Old Greek version of Joshua, still a lot of text-critical research is indispensable in order to establish the oldest attainable version of that verbal make-up, as is evident from the discussion in Josh 1:6 where the editions of Rahlfs (*ἀποδιαστελείς*) and Margolis (*διελεῖς*) differ in their reconstruction of the Old Greek rendering for Hebrew *תִּנְחִיל*. Hence, a commentary on the Greek Joshua will probably require more attention to textual criticism of the Septuagint than a Septuagint commentary for books for which a Göttingen edition is available.

3. The historical context of the text-as-produced is an aspect of great importance for a new commentary on the Greek version of Joshua. The importance of contemporary documentary papyri and inscriptions can hardly be overestimated in the study of the Greek Joshua. The examples described above have shown, I hope, how a study of the Greek language in the Hellenistic period, more precisely Ptolemaic Egypt, is vital in assessing the translation equivalents employed by the Greek translator within their

semantic fields. The task of the translator of the Greek version of Joshua is therefore to explain these connotations to an audience unfamiliar with these cultural and historical contexts. Here the SBLCS series can really make a distinctive contribution to the field already provided by the other Septuagint commentary series (La Bible d'Alexandrie, the Brill Septuagint Commentary series and the *Erläuterungen to Septuaginta Deutsch*).

In this way it is possible to describe the intentions of the Greek translator of Joshua and to move beyond the basic opposition between “linguistic or ideological shifts,” “literal *versus* free,” “translation *versus* theology,” et cetera. The broad scale of transformations presented by Van der Louw can assist the Septuagint commentator to describe the translation with much more refinement than hitherto practiced in the field of Septuagint studies. When the Greek translator of Joshua departed from a straightforward default rendering and opted for an exceptional equivalent in order to give the translation a more formal character, we might be able to see something of the translator's intentions and theology.

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A Commentary to the Septuagint of 2 Samuel 1:1–10

Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto

Abstract: This paper presents samples of commentary on the Septuagint of 2 Sam 1:1–10 following the guidelines for the SBLCS. It focuses on the challenges posed by the Greek text of 2 Sam 1 in the light of the principles adopted for that series. Great attention is given to the translation technique used by the Greek translator of 2 Sam 1:1–10, to the relationship between the LXX and the Hebrew of the MT and of 4QSam^a, and to the particularities of the Greek text of Samuel, such as the relevance of the Lucianic text. Each verse herein analyzed is treated as a test case for the application of the SBLCS guidelines to the Septuagint of the nonkaige sections of 1–4 Kingdoms in order to determine how the principles developed in those guidelines can be applied fruitfully and whether adaptations are necessary. The paper also highlights the choices the commentator is asked or forced to make in the framework of such a complex work.

1. Introduction

In 2018, I commenced writing a commentary to the LXX of 2 Sam 1 (2 Kgdms 1) following the guidelines for the SBL Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS), in agreement with the chief editors of that series. This work would also take inspiration from the samples of commentary on various biblical books presented in a volume edited by Dirk Büchner.¹ The objective of that exercise was to test the principles of the series in a book (1–2 Samuel) with a highly complex textual situation. At that juncture, none of the sections of 1–4 Kingdoms had been assigned to commenta-

1. Dirk Büchner, ed., *The SBL Commentary on the Septuagint: An Introduction*, SCS 67 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017).

tors. The SBLCS editors and I felt that the study of at least a few verses could prove fruitful and offer insights for future decisions regarding the commentary on the books of Samuel.

The decision to start with 2 Samuel 1 was taken for practical reasons. For one thing, the chapter belongs to the $\beta\beta$ section,² which is not a kaige section, where the problems regarding the definition of the OG increase substantially. Furthermore, should the exercise continue to the whole section, the $\beta\beta$ section would prove preferable, as it is shorter than the α section (which is the other nonkaige section of 1–2 Samuel) and thus more suitable for a test of the principles.

The goal of this paper is to demonstrate the articulation of some of the principles of SBLCS when applied to the textual situation of the Septuagint of Samuel. First, I will present a few cases from 2 Sam 1:1–10 to highlight my understanding of those principles and my application of them in the decision-making process. Therefore, the discussion will focus on the principles, with the possibilities and difficulties they imply, rather than on the cases themselves. Not all the principles in the guidelines will be mentioned or discussed but those most fundamental for the composition of the commentary. Two questions guided my attempt to provide a commentary to 2 Samuel 1 based on the guidelines: Is it doable? If so, how?

This paper also provides an opportunity to recount some of the difficulties encountered in composing the commentary and to propose solutions. In this way, I hope to enter into dialogue with other commentators and colleagues and acquire useful feedback from them.

2. Translation Technique of the $\beta\beta$ Section

One of the first questions that emerged in the work regarded the textual basis for finding the OG translation technique in the $\beta\beta$ section of Samuel. This problem has two aspects. One concerns the delimitation of the $\beta\beta$ section, whereas the other concerns the number of translators working on 1–4 Kingdoms.

Because the majority text of the LXX of Samuel suffered a revision in the $\beta\gamma$ section, the kaige section of the books of Samuel,³ the translation technique found in that section cannot be used as a safe guide for

2. For the division of the text of 1–4 Kingdoms in sections, see Henry St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings,” *JTS* 8 (1907): 263–79.

3. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

the OG translation technique of 1–2 Samuel. Therefore, for our purposes, one must consider the $\beta\beta$ and the $\beta\gamma$ sections separately. However, the boundaries of the kaige section of 2 Samuel remain a matter of dispute. Some still accept the Thackeray-Barthélemy division, with the $\beta\gamma$ section starting in 2 Sam 11:2, whereas others agree with James Donald Shenkel's proposal that the $\beta\gamma$ section begins in 2 Sam 10.⁴ I have presented elsewhere the arguments in favor of Shenkel's position and my belief that the kaige section of 2 Samuel includes the whole of chapter 10.⁵ In any case, for this paper, I took the position of considering the $\beta\beta$ section as comprising 2 Sam 1–9, save for the verses attributed by Richard William Nysse to kaige in chapter 1 (2 Sam 1:18–27).⁶

As for the second aspect of the problem, should the other nonkaige sections of 1–4 Kingdoms be included for comparison in our search for the OG translation technique? For example, although 1 Samuel, the α section, does not belong to the kaige section, there are diverging views concerning the question of whether 1 and 2 Samuel were translated by the same person. The editors of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* for 1 Samuel maintained that the translator for that book was different from the one who worked on 2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings, basing their argument mostly on the variance in lexical choices.⁷ The same problem applies to the relationship of the translation of Samuel to the translation of the books of Kings. However, Raimund Wirth, in his doctoral thesis, studied many syntactical phenomena in the LXX of Samuel–Kings and maintained that the same translator worked on 1–4 Kingdoms.⁸ Because of this lack of consensus, I applied the same principle I used in my doctoral dissertation.⁹ Namely, I confine the

4. James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings*, HSM 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

5. Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto, "The Beginning of the KAIGE Section of 2 Samuel," *Bib* 100 (2019): 14–33.

6. Richard William Nysse, "A Study of Relationships between Greek and Hebrew Witnesses to the Text of 2 Samuel 1–9" (PhD diss., Harvard Divinity School, 1984), 39–80.

7. Bernard Grillet and Michel Lestienne, eds., *Premier livre des Règles*, BdA 9.1 (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 44–50.

8. Raimund Wirth, *Die Septuaginta der Samuelbücher: Untersucht unter Einbeziehung ihrer Rezensionen*, DSI 7 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2016), 225–27.

9. Leonardo Pessoa da Silva Pinto, *Different Literary Editions in 2 Samuel 10–12: A Comparative Study of the Hebrew and Greek Textual Traditions*, TECC 81 (Madrid: CSIC, 2019).

comparison of the occurrences of a certain word or expression to the $\beta\beta$ section whenever a sample large enough can be found in those chapters, and I cite the occurrences in 1 Samuel only when there are only few or no occurrences in 2 Sam 1–9.

The following example from 2 Sam 1:4 shows how the delimitation of the text used for the study of translation technique works in the commentary. Here, we can also see how Nysse's hypotheses may have implications for the discussion. After the presentation of the running texts and the English translation of the LXX (NETS) the commentary on chosen Greek words or expressions follows:

ויאמר אליו דוד מה־היה הדבר הגד־נא לי ויאמר אשר־נס העם מן־המלחמה וגם־הרבה נפל מן־העם וימתו וגם שאול ויהונתן בנו מתו:
καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Δαυὶδ τίς ὁ λόγος οὗτος ἀπάγγειλόν μοι καὶ εἶπεν ὅτι
ἔφυγεν ὁ λαὸς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πεπτώκασιν πολλοὶ ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ
ἀπέθανον καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀπέθανεν.
(Rahlf's)

And David said to him, "What is this word? Tell me!" And he said, "The people fled from the battle, and many of the people have fallen and died, and Saoul died, and his son Jonathan died." (NETS)

The provisory commentary on the word ἀπάγγειλόν runs as follows:

ἀπάγγειλόν. The verb ἀπαγγέλλω is the standard translation of the Hebrew verb נגד in 2 Sam 1–9¹⁰ and is also found in 1:5, 1:6, 1:13, 2:4, 3:23, 4:10, 6:12 and 7:11, whereas ἀναγγέλλω is used exceptionally in 1:20. It must be said though that 1:20 is considered by Nysse to have been reworked by kaige,¹¹ and it is likely that ἀναγγέλλω is a secondary reading also in that verse. G does not translate the Hebrew particle נג.

The discussion is clear concerning how the OG translation technique for the $\beta\beta$ section is found. It notes that the only exception in the OG transla-

10. Brock has noticed that the verb ἀπαγγέλλω is the favorite one in 1 Samuel too; Sebastian P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of I Samuel*, Quaderni de Henoch 9 (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1996), 260.

11. Nysse, "Study," 77–80.

tion technique of 2 Sam 1–9 in rendering the Hebrew verb נגד might not be an exception at all but the result of secondary reworking of a kaige type.

3. The *Vorlage* of the OG

Another point that is relevant to the commentary concerns the Hebrew text behind the Greek translation of Samuel. The analysis of some cases has shown that it might be prudent in the study of the LXX of 1–2 Samuel to keep in mind that the *Vorlage* diverged from the MT. It is generally recognized, and has recently been reiterated by Jason K. Driesbach, that the Hebrew base text for the OG translation of the books of Samuel is genetically closer to 4QSam^a than to the MT tradition.¹² This has interesting implications for the commentary, as the Hebrew running text for comparison with the LXX is the MT.

In the commentary to 2 Sam 1:2, a possible case of a different *Vorlage* is contemplated:

ויהי ביום השלישי והנה איש בא מן־המחנה מעם שאול ובגדיו קרעים
ואדמה על־ראשו ויהי בבאו אל־דוד ויפל ארצה וישתחו:

καὶ ἐγενήθη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ ἰδοὺ ἀνὴρ ἦλθεν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς
ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ Σαουλ καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ διερρηγότα καὶ γῆ ἐπὶ τῆς
κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Δαυὶδ καὶ
ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ. (Rahlfs)

And it happened on the third day, and behold, a man came from
the camp of Saoul's people, and his clothes were torn, and earth
was on his head. And it happened, when he came in to Dauid, that
he fell to the ground and did obeisance to him. (NETS)

The provisory commentary prepared for the word παρεμβολῆς in the verse runs as follows:

παρεμβολῆς. The rendering of מחנה with παρεμβολή in G of 2 Sam 1–9 can also be found in 1:3, whereas in 5:24 it is translated with πόλεμος. The noun παρεμβολή is a very standard rendering of מחנה in G of 1 Samuel as well, but in 1 Sam 28:1 we find one case of the

12. Jason K. Driesbach, *4QSamuel^a and the Text of Samuel*, VTSup 171 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 101, 180, 281.

rendering πόλεμος. The text of 4QSam^a is extant for 1 Sam 28:1 and it attests to מלחמה, and this evidence makes it probable that G had a *Vorlage* that differed from MT in that point. This makes it plausible that G in 2 Sam 5:24 translated a different *Vorlage* as well, although the verse is not preserved in 4QSam^a.

Since the number of occurrences of מחנה in 2 Sam 1–9 is very small, the occurrences in 1 Samuel were also taken into consideration, as explained above. However, the question I would like to emphasize here regards the assessment of the unexpected rendering πόλεμος in 2 Sam 5:24 while the MT reads מחנה in that verse. There does not seem to be any reason for a change from παρεμβολή to πόλεμος based on the context, as the change does not improve upon the text. Given that the OG translation technique of 1–2 Samuel is of a literalistic kind and given the reasons presented in the sample of commentary provided, it is possible to hypothesize with a good degree of plausibility that the OG *Vorlage* read מלחמה in 2 Sam 5:24, even if certainty cannot be obtained in cases like this.

The principles for the SBLCS contemplate this kind of situation when a different *Vorlage* is detected. We read in §4.9 of the guidelines:

Parent Text Differs from MT. The commentator will discuss significant departures in OG from its source text. When OG reflects a source text that differs from MT, it cannot be said to depart from its source text. A comment to that effect is, however, warranted in such cases.

So the guidelines do allow some commentary in cases where the OG *Vorlage* is distinct from the MT, but the above-cited passage suggests that this would happen in exceptional cases. The point I would like to make is that for LXX of Samuel, which has a *Vorlage* that is genetically closer to 4QSam^a than to the MT as explained above, this will not be a rare, exceptional phenomenon. Therefore, the commentator finds himself in a curious situation where the running Hebrew text for comparison with the Greek is a few steps away from the *Vorlage*, leaving much to discuss in the commentary on the Greek renderings.

There are of course cases where the LXX translation may have departed from the putative Hebrew *Vorlage*, as foreseen in §4.9 of the guidelines. In 2 Sam 1:9, for example, we read:

וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלַי עֶמְדָּנָא עָלַי וּמִתַּתִּנִּי כִּי אֲחֻזִּי הַשֶּׁבֶץ כִּי־כָל־עוֹד נַפְשִׁי בִּי:

καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς με στῆθι δὴ ἐπάνω μου καὶ θανάτωσόν με ὅτι κατέσχευ
με σκότος δεινόν ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν ἐμοί. (Rahlfs)

And he said to me, “Do stand over me, and put me to death, for a terrible darkness has laid hold of me, for all my life is in me.” (NETS)

The awkward Greek rendering σκότος δεινόν is commented on in this way:

σκότος δεινόν. The Hebrew שָׁבַע has been rendered in G as σκότος δεινόν, a “terrible darkness.” The Hebrew word is a *hapax legomenon* that has been rendered in various ways by the versions, and this variety bears witness to the difficulty of the expression. Compare, for example, the reading *angustiae* in the Vulgate to the renderings רַתִּיבָה, “trembling,” in the Targum Jonathan and to רִיבָה, “dizziness,” in the Peshitta. The meaning of the Hebrew is uncertain but may be related to “trembling” or “weakness” (HALOT, s.v. “שָׁבַע”). The Greek σκότος is a common translation for חָשֶׁךְ instead; the translator may not have understood the *Vorlage* and consequently have appealed to the context for the meaning. An alternative explanation for the Greek reading is that it represents a corruption of σκοτόδινος,¹³ “dizziness, vertigo” (LSJ, “σκοτόδινος”), which would make good sense in the verse and agree with the Syriac.¹⁴

The commentary presents two different explanations for the Greek rendering. In one case, the translator would have appealed to the context in order to translate a difficult Hebrew word in his *Vorlage*, which was identical to the MT in this case, a word that he might not have understood, and in doing so the Greek translator departed from the *Vorlage*. The second possibility is that the original translator did not depart from the *Vorlage* and managed to render the meaning of the Hebrew relatively well, but, in this case, the OG would have suffered a corruption that entered the manuscript tradition early, and the original reading would be recoverable only through a conjecture.

13. Paul Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, EBib (Paris: Lecoffre, 1910), 266.

14. Henry P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, ICC (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899), 257.

4. The *niqud*

As for the vocalization of the Hebrew text, the reader must have asked himself why the Hebrew running text of the verses cited above are referred to *BHS* despite the absence of the *niqud*. In fact, in §4.5 of the guidelines, we read:

Running Texts. For each segment of text, the running texts in stated order shall be: M(asoretic)T(ext) (unpointed).

Although the running text must be presented without the pointing, during the preparation of the commentary the use of the *niqud* for the text-critical discussion seemed to me to be highly useful. It is often simpler to show the vocalization of the Hebrew words and expressions; it favors the economy and the clarity of the explanation. My question was whether the principle for the running text, unpointed, should apply to the commentary, and I realized that the samples of commentary in Büchner's volume mentioned above very seldom used the *niqud*.

One example of how the reference to the Hebrew vocalization improves the commentary can be seen already in 2 Sam 1:2 cited above. Here is the provisory commentary to the phrase ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ:

ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ. G reflects a different vocalization of the Hebrew עַמּוּ,¹⁵ and instead of reading עִמּוּ, “from with Saul,” it translates עַמּוּ, “from the people of Saul.” The Lucianic text has a conflated reading that preserves the OG and the correction according to the Hebrew vocalization found in MT, τοῦ λαοῦ τοῦ μετὰ Σαουλ.¹⁶

The reasons for the presence of the Lucianic text in the commentary will be explained below, but the point here is that the absence of the *niqud* in the discussion of this case would only make it less clear for the reader, and there is no good reason not to include it. If the guidelines do not rule out the use of the *niqud* in the commentary, apparently limiting its use in the running text only, it is fair to suppose that the commentator can include them in the commentary whenever it represents an improvement

15. Arnold A. Anderson, *2 Samuel*, WBC 11 (Nashville: Nelson, 2000), 4.

16. Peter Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel*, AB 9 (Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 56.

in clarity. Another example of improvement of the discussion through the use of the *niqud* can be seen in the commentary to the word *וָדַע* in 2 Sam 1:10:

ואעמד עליו ואמתתהו כי ידעתי כי לא יחיה אחרי נפלו ואקח הנזר אשר
על-ראשו ואצעדה אשר על-זרעו ואביאם אל-אדני הנזר
καὶ ἐπέστην ἐπ’ αὐτόν καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν ὅτι ᾔδειν ὅτι οὐ ζήσεται
μετὰ τὸ πεσεῖν αὐτόν καὶ ἔλαβον τὸ βασίλειον τὸ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν
αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν χλιδῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνήνοχα αὐτὰ
τῷ κυρίῳ μου ὧδε. (Rahlfs)

And I stood over him and put him to death, for I knew that he could not live after he had fallen, and I took the crown that was on his head and the armlet that was on his arm, and I have brought them here to my lord.” (NETS)

וָדַע. The adverb *וָדַע* is a correct rendering of the Hebrew *וָדַע* in G of 2 Sam 1–9, also found in 5:6 (2x). In 4:6 G translates with *ידού*, but the translator might have vocalized *וָדַע* instead of MT *וָדַע*.¹⁷

The situation of *ידού*, mentioned incidentally in the commentary of *וָדַע*, had been clarified for the reader in the discussion of 2 Sam 1:2, and a cross-reference to its treatment in that verse will be included:

ידού. This is the standard rendering of the Hebrew *וָדַע* in G of 2 Sam 1–9, 1:6 (2x), 1:7, 1:18, 3:12, 3:22, 3:24, 4:8, 5:1, 9:4, 9:6. The exception is 4:10 when it is omitted in G.

As it can be seen, the situation of 2 Sam 4:6 mentioned in the commentary is clarified immediately by giving the Hebrew vocalization, and the *niqud* can play an important role in the explanation. Furthermore, it is very likely that in some cases even the *teamim* might prove useful for the discussion, though I have not encountered any example of this kind thus far. To sum-up: in many cases the use of the pointed text at least in the commentary would be recommendable.

17. Hans Joachim Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis*, KAT 8.2 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1994), 146.

5. The Lucianic Text and the OG

Another relevant point is to decide the space the commentary can dedicate to the Lucianic text of 1–2 Samuel.¹⁸ This textual tradition, a revision in its final form, is nevertheless important for finding the OG in those books.

In §4.11 of the guidelines we read:

Secondary Texts. Since SBLCS is a commentary on the Old Greek text, all texts known to be secondary (e.g., the Theodotonic text of Iob, Soursanna, Daniel, Bel and the Dragon) shall not be commented upon unless they are of direct relevance to OG.

Therefore, according to the guidelines, the Lucianic text, a text with secondary features, can be treated at least for its significance for finding the OG. In the case of 1–2 Samuel, the Göttingen edition is still in preparation, and the Lucianic text has great importance for the task of identifying the OG, especially in the kaige section. Although it is undeniable that the Lucianic text in its final form is an edited or revised text, the text is nonetheless one of the main streams of textual tradition that must be evaluated in the work of finding the OG.

The problem of the Lucianic text relates to the question of how much space for textual criticism of the LXX is allowed in the SBLCS, especially in cases where the Göttingen edition is missing. Apparently, in those cases, the commentator will have to engage in longer text-critical discussions.

In the guidelines, §1.1, it is stated:

The commentary is *genetic*, in the sense that it seeks to trace the translation *process* that results in the *product*, i.e., the so-called original text of the Old Greek.

Because we do not have the Göttingen edition yet, Rahlfs is taken as the default or running text for 1–2 Samuel.¹⁹ However, Rahlfs, having a predilection for the B text, often underestimated other textual traditions, and

18. For an evaluation of the relevance of the Lucianic text, see the introduction of the Spanish critical edition of the Antiochene text. Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramon Busto Saiz, eds., *1–2 Samuel*, vol. 1 of *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, TECC 50 (Madrid: CSIC, 1989).

19. Robert J. V. Hiebert, “The Rationale for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint,” *HeBAI* 3 (2014): 481.

there are numerous instances where his text does not represent the OG. Whereas such instances may be expected for the kaige section, where the B text also represents an extensive revision or recension, there are many such instances in the nonkaige sections as well. Consequently, if the commentator worked only with the Greek running text of the commentary, he would ultimately disrespect one of the principles of the series, namely, that the commentary should focus on the OG.

In fact, the only way to respect the principle in §1.1 of the guidelines is to comment on other readings in variance with the running text, some of which will be attested in the Lucianic text or the Hexaplaric text, for example. The commentator of 1–2 Samuel for SBLCS not only can but must consciously depart from the running text.

In fact, it is stated in the prospectus:

the principle of original text, which is understood to mean that though for any given book the best available critical edition will form the basis of interpretation, commentators shall improve upon that text where deemed necessary, and thus assist in the ongoing quest for the pristine Greek text.

The departure from the running text in the commentary is therefore contemplated in the principles for the SBLCS. However, once again, something that looks like an exceptional circumstance in the principles for the series might become the bread and butter in the work of the commentator of 1–2 Samuel for the SBLCS. Based on these principles, and my understanding of them so far, I gave much space to the Lucianic text in my commentary on 2 Sam 1:1–10; the Lucianic text is undoubtedly revised or edited in its final form but undeniably preserves many original readings, as explained above.

One example is the commentary on the word ἔφυνεν in 2 Sam 1:4:

ἔφυνεν. Although the B-text adopted by Rahlfs translates the Hebrew verb פָּנָה with an aorist, the majority of the Greek witnesses, including the Lucianic text, has the perfect πέφυνεν, most likely original given the tendency of later scribes to substitute other past tenses with the aorist. According to Aejmelaeus the perfect tense often recurs in the books of Samuel in subordinate clauses and in direct discourse. It is used in the Greek translation to express the point of view of a character rather than the narra-

tor. The perfect and the present tenses are often used to describe what a character knows, sees or hears as present for them.²⁰ This is an example that the Greek verbal system was manipulated by the translator to serve certain narrative goals, in this case to mark a change in perspective. At least in this regard the translator of Samuel displays some creativity and attention to nuances and does not simply translate mechanically. The Lucianic text has the plus ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς after ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου, and reads “they fled from the battle, from the camp.” It seems to be a clarification that also connects the speech to the previous verses, though it could also represent a conflate reading.

In this case, the Lucianic reading πέφευγεν is probably original, whereas the B text chosen by Rahlfs is likely secondary. Since the commentary should focus on the OG, this kind of discussion is unavoidable. The curious result is that the commentary will frequently depart from both the Greek and the Hebrew (see above) running texts, since, in 1–2 Samuel, the text of Rahlfs and the MT do not represent the OG and its *Vorlage* respectively.

In connection with the above discussion, the question of the sigla used in the commentary also becomes relevant because, in the end, our G (Rahlfs) cannot be identified with the OG. There is a risk that the use of the siglum G for 2 Sam 1–9 mislead some readers. Although this risk merits concern, it cannot easily be avoided.

In this first exercise with the text of 2 Sam 1:1–10, I gave much space to the Lucianic text and used the opportunity to comment on the differences or characteristic features of this textual tradition in contrast to LXX *rel.* In any case, the situation of the Lucianic text in Samuel–Kings is not the same as that which is described in the texts cited in §4.11 of the guidelines, such as the Theodotionic text of Job and so on. The Lucianic text of 1–2 Samuel deserves more than sporadic mentions in the commentary.

Sometimes, adding information about the Lucianic text even when the Lucianic reading is secondary helps to underscore the OG translation technique in contrast to the revision, though the mention is not strictly necessary. For example, in 2 Sam 1:1, the sequences of καί ... καί in the Greek text are discussed:

20. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich, SCS 41 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 120–22.

ויהי אחרי מות שאול ודוד שב מהכות את־העמלק וישב דוד בצקלג ימים
שנים:

καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν Σαουλ καὶ Δαυιδ ἀνέστρεψεν τύπτων
τὸν Αμαληκ καὶ ἐκάθισεν Δαυιδ ἐν Σεκελακ ἡμέρας δύο. (Rahlfs)
And it happened, after Saoul died, that Dauid returned from smit-
ing Amalek, and Dauid settled two days in Sekelak. (NETS)

καὶ Δαυιδ. G of Samuel tends to translate the Hebrew *ו* very mechan-
ically with *καί*, avoiding the wide range of Greek conjunctions and
asyndetic periods, uncharacteristic of authentic Greek style. This
is not uncommon in the Septuagint, but according to Wirth the
adherence of G of Samuel to this rendering is very strict even in
comparison to other Septuagint translations,²¹ accounting for 95
percent of the occurrences. Occasionally the Lucianic text breaks
with the monotony of sequence of *καί* ... *καί* of the OG and sub-
stitutes it for a postpositive *δέ*, which should mostly be recognized
as secondary and due to stylistic reworking of the OG of Samuel.²²

Therefore, the commentary includes references to the features of the
Lucianic text at least when (1) these features contrast markedly with the
OG translation technique of the books of Samuel and (2) these features,
precisely because of such contrasts, highlight the characteristics of the
original translation.

Still, the question regarding the amount of textual criticism of the LXX
that should be included in the commentary remains. For example, the
commentary on the word *ἀπέθανεν* in 2 Sam 1:4 cited above runs as follows:

ἀπέθανεν. G uses the singular *ἀπέθανεν* twice to describe the
deaths of Saul and Jonathan, whereas the Hebrew of MT has the
plural once. It must be said though that despite being the reading
of Codex Vaticanus and Codex Alexandrinus adopted by Rahlfs,
the first occurrence of the verb is omitted in most Greek wit-
nesses that attest instead the aorist plural *ἀπέθανον* for the second
occurrence, or the perfect plural *τεθνήκασιν* in the Lucianic text.²³

21. Wirth, *Die Septuaginta*, 65–66.

22. Brock, *Recensions*, 244.

23. Smith thinks that the first occurrence is secondary, inserted by the B text;
Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 257.

Furthermore, unlike the B-text, the Lucianic text and the Origenian recension (MSS Acx) omit the previous verb describing that many of the people “died” (MT), also omitted in the Peshitta and possibly absent from the original translation. A dittography in any phase may have originated the reading *καὶ ἀπέθανον καὶ ἀπέθανεν* in MSS Ba2. Furthermore, the interchange between singular and plural forms might be due to either contextual adjustments by the translator or confusion with the *vav* initiating subsequent clauses. A text-critical decision is difficult here but, possibly, the OG read only the two singulars, like in Codex Alexandrinus, and in order to approximate the Greek text to MT, a plural saying that many of the people “died” was added to the B-Text, in case a mechanical error is excluded. The Lucianic text might have turned the two singulars into one plural for stylistic reasons or in order to approximate the Greek text to MT. It may have felt redundant to the reviser to insist that the people that had fallen “died,” which is the reason why he did not add the verb according to MT. The B-text somehow reproduces the emphasis of Hebrew *וַיָּמָוּ* with the repetition of *καὶ* in *καὶ ἀπέθανεν καὶ Σαουλ*.

Masoretic text: and many of the people fell and **died**. And Saul and his son Jonathan **died**. (pl)

Codex Alexandrinus: and many of the people fell. And Saul **died** (sg) and his son Jonathan **died**. (sg)

Codex Vaticanus: and many of the people fell and **died**. And Saul **died** (sg) and his son Jonathan **died**. (sg)

Lucianic text: and many of the people fell. And Saul and his son Jonathan **died**. (pl)

In cases like this, it is difficult to avoid a detailed discussion of text-critical problems of the Septuagint, even if that is not the main goal of the commentary.

A few general impressions after this exercise: It is fair to say that G follows the structure of the Hebrew *Vorlage* in the first verses of 2 Samuel, when David learns about Saul’s death on the battlefield and receives the crown and armlet of his opponent. The study of G of 2 Sam 1:1–10 confirms the assessment of Septuagint scholars that the Greek translation of Samuel is among the more literalistic ones, resulting in a relatively unidiomatic Greek. Most features of the Hebrew narrative have been reproduced in the

translation, although G also uses the change in verbal tenses to mark the discourse in direct speech, as discussed above.

6. Conclusion

The exercise of producing a commentary to 2 Sam 1:1–10 proved fruitful for a reflection on the principles behind SBLCS. The first conclusion is that writing a commentary on 2 Samuel, the nonkaige section at least, following the guidelines for that series is possible.

Although not all the principles for the series were discussed, those that have been treated above permit a second conclusion: The commentary on 2 Samuel will demand adaptations of the principles in the guidelines to the peculiar situation of that book. More specifically, cases regarded as exceptions in the guidelines may become the rule at least in some passages or sections. The main aspect requiring adaptation concerns the Greek and Hebrew running texts of the commentary, which are a step away from the OG and its *Vorlage* respectively. This textual situation will demand many references to 4QSam^a and the Lucianic text in the commentary. This implies a longer treatment of text-critical problems in the commentary, even though the SBLCS is not primarily focused on textual criticism. It is likely that an extensive treatment of text-critical problems will become an even more stringent requirement in the kaige sections of 1–4 Kingdoms.

In any case, it can be foreseen that the commentary on the LXX of Samuel–Kings will highlight many interesting aspects of the translation's make-up, and the goal set by the SBLCS is worth pursuing.

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Ancient Sources Index

Septuagint (Hebrew Bible)		18:27	651, 655
		20:11	638
Genesis		21:31	704
1:1–4:2	70	21:32	704
2:4–5	479–80	21:33	704
2:7	529, 531	22:14	287, 289, 705
2:10	755	23:4	720
2:21	597	25:22	699
2:24	306	25:23	699
3:19	529, 651, 655	25:26	699–700
3:20	705	25:29–34	700
4:10	586	25:31	699
4:23	718	25:32	699
10:11	705	25:34	699
11:9	704	26:2	287
11:26–12:9	353	26:20	705
12:1	354	26:21	705
12:7	286	26:22	705
12:7–8	353	26:24	287
13:4	353	26:29	368
13:8	353	26:33	704–5
15:5	325	27:1–41	700–701
15:6	307, 337, 341, 353, 355, 651	27:21	720
16:33	287	27:35–38	700
17:1	287, 294, 296	27:36	700–702
18	650–51, 655, 662	27:46	366
18:1	287	28:3–4	711
18:1–15	650	28:5	698
18:14	650, 652	28:6	711
18:16–33	650	28:10–22	355
18:22–33	660	28:14	711
18:23	355, 645	28:15	657
18:24	661	28:19	705
18:25	645	28:20	657
18:26	661	29:3	332

<i>Genesis (cont.)</i>		42:20	341
29:17	706	43:32	365, 367–68
30:27	711	45:26	341
30:30	711	46:28	616
31	244	46:34	365, 367
31:1	243	48:3	287
31:13	287–88, 292	50:11	704
31:14–16	243		
31:47	705	Exodus	
31:48	705	1:12	368
31:49	705	3:2	287, 290
32	13, 679–713	3:6	287
32:4(3)	704	3:7	406
32:7(6)	708	3:12	381
32:14–20(13–19)	709	3:13	293
32:17(16)	704	3:20	642
32:21(20)	293, 704, 709	4:1	341, 354
32:22(21)	704, 709–10	4:5	341
32:23–26(22–25)	698–99	4:8	341, 354
32:24(23)	698	4:9	341, 354
32:27(26)	711	4:12	616
32:29–31(28–30)	698–99	4:15	616
32:30(29)	711	4:31	341
32:31(30)	704, 706–7	5:21	368
32:31–32(30–31)	702–7	6:3	287
33	704	6:8	563
33:3	704	8:16	762
33:10	704, 710, 712	8:22	367, 371
33:11	712	9:13	762
33:14	704	10:11	718
33:17	705	14:13	762
33:18	698	14:14	208
34:12	239, 242	14:31	341, 346
35:1	287–88	15	733
35:8	704	15:1–19	202, 207
35:9	287	15:3	7, 199–228, 483–84
35:18	705	15:7	220
37:28	321	15:25	616
37:35	332	15:25–26	356
39:6	706	15:26	718
41:18	706	16:5–10	353
41:19	706	16:10	290
42:2	706, 708	17:12	339
42:3	706, 708	18:21	638
42:4	706, 708	19:9	345

19:17	318–19	34:36	402
19:47	762	35–40	403–4
20:4	291	35:12	398, 400, 404
21:22	6	35:34	616
21:23–25	6, 173	37:3 (36:35)	398, 400
22:15–16	7, 239, 245–50	37:5 (36:27)	395, 398, 400
24:10–11	13, 706–7	37:10–24	414
24:12	614, 616–17	37:16	398, 400
24:17	707–8	37:25–29	420
24:17–18	405	38:18 (36:34)	398, 400
25	397	39:4 (38:27)	395, 400
25–31	403–4	39:17	414
25:1–30:10	397	39:19 (39:40)	395, 401
25:8	289, 292	39:40	395
25:8–9	402	40:1–16	397
25:20	405	40:3	398, 401, 404, 406
25:22–29 (25:23–30)	406	40:5	398, 401
25:23–40	414	40:19	405
25:30	414	40:21	398, 401, 404–6
25:31–40 (25:30–39)	411	40:22	398, 401
25:40	414	40:26	398, 401
26	397	40:34–38	404
26:31	398, 400		
26:31–35	397, 403–6	Leviticus	
26:33	396–98, 400, 404, 415–16	1–7	397
26:34	398, 400, 404	1:2	639
26:35	398, 400, 404–6, 414	1:3	639
26:36	398–400	1:5	564, 685
26:37	398, 400	1:10	639
27:7–19	399	1:11	564
27:9–19	200	1:14	639
27:16	399	3:2	564
27:20–21	406	3:8	564
27:21	398, 400, 411	3:13	564
28:32	103	4	410, 424, 660
28:43	321, 326	4:1–12	639
30	420	4:1–5:13	407
30:6	398, 400, 411, 420	4:2	422
30:6–7	420	4:2–3	407
30:7	420	4:3	408
30:10	420	4:4	564
30:11–31:17	397	4:4–5	408
33:12	318	4:6	398, 401, 406–10, 422
33:15	327	4:7	408
34:10	642	4:15	564

<i>Leviticus (cont.)</i>		16:19	409
4:17	398, 406–10, 422	16:20	402
4:20	640	17:3–4	564
4:24	564	17:9	639
4:26	640	17:10	651
4:29	564	17:11	421, 639
4:31	640	18:22	361
4:33	564	18:23	372
7:2	103	18:25	366
7:14	324	18:26–30	361
7:18	371	18:28	366
8	408	18:30	365, 367
8:11	408	19:8	591
8:15	103	19:27	205–6
8:30	408	20:6	639
9	660	21:1–22:23	411
9:4	290	21:23	398, 401, 406–11
9:6	290	22:22	319
9:7	660	24:1–9	411
9:8	660	24:2	411
9:23	290	24:3	398, 401, 406–11
10:1–2	407	24:10–23	561
10:10	411	24:19–20	6, 173
10:11	616	25:33	402
10:18	324	25:43	640
11:10–12	361	26:15	366
11:13–19	361	26:19	465
11:20	361	26:37	762
11:23	361	26:43	366
11:41–43	361		
13:45–46	647	Numbers	
14:2	323	1:50	103
14:40–45	647	1:53	103
14:57	616	3:6	570
16	406, 410	3:10	398, 400–401
16–17	397	3:26	398, 401
16:1	407	3:38	591
16:2	398, 401, 406–10, 416, 422	4:4–15	405
16:12	396, 398, 401–2, 406–11, 416	4:5	398, 401, 405
16:13	420	4:32	398, 401
16:14	407	8	570
16:14–15	408–9, 422	9:1–14	561
16:15	396, 398, 401, 406–10, 416	11:16	762
16:16	410	12:6	707–8
16:18	103, 402	12:7	347, 637

Ancient Sources Index

795

12:8	13, 291, 707–8	4:10	720
12:12	651	4:12	291
12:13	586	4:15	291
14:10	290	4:19	381
14:11	337, 341, 346	4:29	291
14:30	563	4:31	762
15:25	591	4:34	33–34
15:32–36	561	5:15	327
16:5	325	5:16–21	116
16:10	326	5:24	728, 753
16:19	290	5:31	720
17:7	290	6:5	33
18	565	6:13	378–79
18:1–7	562	7:9	341
18:7	398, 401	7:12	657
18:9	565	7:22	122
18:22–23	562	7:24	761
18:23	572	7:26	365
19:4	409	8:7	122
20:6	290	8:9	122
20:10	718	8:10	122
20:12	341	9:2	761
22–24	757	9:14	720
22:22	762	9:23	341
22:31	296	9:26	204, 728
23:3	294	9:28	728
23:4	294	9:29	728
23:18	718	10:6	121
23:22	272	11:2	728
24:7	478, 724	11:25	761
24:8	272	11:28	122
25:4	699	12:19	117
27	243	13:4	645
27:1–11	243, 561	13:18	118
36	243	13:18–14:3	116
		14	118
Deuteronomy		14:1	118
1–34	113–29	14:3	361
1:9	121	14:4	118
1:13	720	14:19–22	119
1:15	723	16:9–17	640
1:16	651	17	118
1:32	341	17:10	614, 616
1:45	717	17:11	616
3:24	728	19:16–21	732

<i>Deuteronomy (cont.)</i>		32:22	266
20:5–8	117	32:37	382
20:20	118	32:40	563
21	118	32:43	718
21:2	118	33:2	295
21:3	118	33:10	616
22:2	117	33:16	289
22:4	762	33:17	272
22:4–13	119	33:28	724
22:5	362	34:11	118
22:29	249		
23:8	365, 368	Joshua	
23:16–26	119	1:1–9	759
23:18	362	1:5–6	14, 739, 758–65
24:1	6, 180, 183	1:6	758–59
24:8	616	1:7	758–59
24:18	117	1:8	625
25:3	117	1:9	758–59
25:7	121	1:18	758–59
25:16	362	2	757
27:15–26	119	3:9	329
27:16–26	117	4:24	9, 388
28:1	121	5:12	743–44
28:3–6	117, 119	6:17	747
28:20	122	6:18	747
28:59	340	6:26a	764
28:66	341	7:1	747
29:15	362	7:11	747
31:6	758, 762–63	7:12	747
31:8	758, 762–63	7:13	747
31:13	117	8:17	762
31:14	720, 762	10:25	758
31:23	758	15:59a	764
31:28	719–20	16:10	764
32	121	17:1–2	743
32–33	122	17:7–13	743
32:1	717–22	18–19	739
32:1–4	715–37	18:4	760
32:2	720–27	18:5	760
32:3	727–28	19:10–39	743
32:4	341, 722, 727, 729–31	19:47a	764
32:6	717	19:48a	764
32:9	731	21:36–37	764
32:11	728	21:42a–b	764
32:20	340	22:3	762

22:20	747	1:21	51, 432, 434, 437, 444
22:25	9, 387	1:22	52, 438–39, 442
24	9	2:1	445
24:1	762	2:2	52
24:9	757	2:3	51
24:14	381, 388	2:6	52, 432, 434, 437, 442
24:16	762	2:8	50, 445
24:17	327	2:10	445
24:20	762	2:11	51
24:33	380	2:12	445
24:33a–b	764	2:13	50
		2:16	54, 55
Judges		2:19	445
1:7	320	2:21	52, 445
2:14	103	2:22	52
4:10	587	2:23	51, 445
6:12	287	3:3	51
6:26	288	3:7	51
7:20	103	3:9	445
11:20	341	3:11	445
13:3	287, 296	3:13	51
13:8	616	3:16	52
13:16	293	3:18	51, 52
13:21	293	4:1	52, 445
13:22	287	4:3	52, 438–39, 443
		4:7	51
Ruth		4:10	55, 445
1–4	49–56, 429–49	4:11	442, 445
1:3	51	4:13	433
1:5	445	4:14	445
1:6	51, 434–35, 444	4:15	437–39, 443–44
1:7	438, 440	4:16	52, 445
1:8	432, 434–36, 441	4:17	51, 433
1:10	438, 441	4:21–22	433
1:11	438		
1:11–12	432, 436	1 Kingdoms/1 Samuel	
1:12	54–55, 432, 438, 441	2:6	535, 541
1:14	431–32, 438–39, 441, 445	2:35	344
1:15	432–33, 436–39, 441, 442	3:10	762
1:16	51, 52, 434–36, 442	3:20	344
1:16–17	437	3:20–21	347
1:17	51, 441	3:21	342
1:18	51	5:8	323
1:19	52, 437, 442	6:7	271
1:20	52, 435	6:10	271

1 Kingdoms/1 Samuel (cont.)

		5:24	14, 777–78
6:12	271	6:12	776
12:23	616	7:11	776
13:20	296	7:14	306
14:4	11, 555	7:16	343
14:11	109	7:25	340, 343
15:28	344	9:4	781
16:9	333	9:6	781
16:11–12	325	13:19	655
18:25	243	14:17	454
21:3	343	18:18	11, 555
22:14	344	19:27	454
25:31	365	20:18	344
26:13	343	20:19	344
27:11	324	21:6	699
27:12	341	21:9	699
28:1	14, 777–78	21:13	699
28:8	333	23:1	344, 347
29:6	341		

3 Kingdoms/1 Kings

<i>2 Kingdoms/2 Samuel</i>		1:36	340
1:1	784	3:5	289
1:1–10	14, 773–88	6:5	103
1:2	777–78, 780	6:19	325
1:3	777	6:36	398, 400–401
1:4	776–77, 783–86	7:7 (7:21)	11, 545–58
1:5	776	8:36	616
1:6	781	9:2	289
1:9	778–79	10:7	341
1:10	781	10:22	671–72
1:13	776	11:5	367
1:18	781	11:18	344
1:18–27	775	11:25	108
1:20	776	11:33	367
2:4	776		
3:12	781		
3:22	781		
3:23	776		
3:24	781		
4:6	14, 781		
4:8	781		
4:10	776		
5:1	781		
5:6	781		
5:9	103		

4 Kingdoms/2 Kings

4:24	330
5:3	335
11:15	327
12:3	616
12:16	343
17:14 (Antiochene Text)	342
17:27	616
17:28	616
21:6	326

22:7	343	9:21	671-72
		9:24	672
1 Chronicles		10:1	682
5:26	690	11:21	682
5:34	570	12:11	683-84, 689
7:14	343	12:12	588
7:23	343	13:14	586
7:24	343	14:7	103
8:25	703	15:3	616
9:26	343	17:10	103, 684
9:27	103	18:2	677
9:31	343	18:9	683
12:22(23)	678-79	20:20	342
12:40(41)	678-79	20:21	683
13:7	683	21:9	676
17:13	306	21:16	690
17:14	340	24	555-56
17:23	340	24:5	341
18:1-2	688	24:10-13	690-93
18:6	688-89	24:11	678, 689
18:13	688-90	24:11-12	691-93
19:7	330	24:22	684
21:26	586	25:7-10	686
22:3-4	681-83	25:11-12	686-87
22:4	682	25:12	681-82, 693
22:13	758	25:14	679
27:24	677	27:5	678-80, 682, 689
28:20	759	28:3-4	680, 690
32:7	759	28:5	322
		29:17	677
2 Chronicles		29:22	681, 684-86, 690
1:9	343	29:34	675-76
1:16	679	30:21	672, 678
1:16-17	690-91	31:1	588
3:1	289	31:18	343
3:14	398-99, 401	32:12	343
3:17	11, 546-56	32:15	342
6:27	616	32:18	343
8:17	676	33:23	690
8:17-18	676-77	34:2	690
8:18	676	34:12	343
9	690	34:33	678, 690
9:4	679	36:3	319
9:6	341	36:15	677-78
9:10	681-82		

1 Esdras		C:15	24
4:28	341	C:16	25
		C:23	32
2 Esdras 1–10 (Ezra)		C:25	33
3:1	331	E1	22–23
8:15	326	E4	22
10:1	330	F:1	23
		F:2	34
2 Esdras 11–23 (Nehemiah)		F:6	24, 34
12(2):13	267		
14(4):2	564	Judith	
		1–16	89–112, 187–97, 597–98
Esther and Additions A–F		2:12	104–5
3:7	29	2:16–17	102, 104–5
3:13c	343	2:18(9–10)	107–8
4:17u–w	364	3:1	105
5:3	33	4	190
8:3	25	4:4–5(3)	95
8:6	25	4:12	591
8:11	27	4:16	103
8:12	23	5:3–4	190
8:14–15	23	5:6–19	191
9–10	27–28	5:11–19	104–5
9:6	28	6:2	103
9:14–15	28	6:3	105
9:16	28	6:19	194
9:17	335	7:4	100
9:24	29	7:6–7	102, 104
9:26	30	7:11	103
9:29	30–31	7:29	586
9:30–31	35	8:5	98–99
10:3	23	8:7	94
14:15–16	364	8:10	103
14:15u	369	8:11–27	191
A:1	25, 34	8:12	191
A:4	34	8:13	191
A:6	34	8:16–17(16–17)	100
B:3	21, 343	8:18	192
B:5	21	8:21	192
C	24, 31	8:22–23	192
C:5	24	8:24–27	192
C:7	32	8:32–33(30–32)	101, 191
C:8	21–22, 24–25	9:7	202, 208, 484
C:11	33	9:9	465
C:14	32	10:4	98

10:13	103	4:51	398, 401, 414
12:1–2	192	6:43	336
12:5	324–25	7:7	342
13:16	192	7:8	344
13:20	104–5	7:16	341
14:2	3	8:16	342
14:8–10	194	10:27	343
14:10	342	10:37	343
14:13(12)	107–8	10:46	341
15	190	12:46	341
15:2	103	13:20	335
15:6	104–5	13:39	422
15:7	103	14:35	343
15:11(10)	99	14:41	344
15:16(20)	106		
15:18	103	2 Maccabees	
16:2	193, 202, 208, 484	1:25	470
16:3	105	1:27	364
16:12	193	1:28	453
16:17	193	2:20	465
16:18	193	3:1	458
16:20	591	3:12	342
16:22(26)	97–98, 103	3:22	342
16:31	105–6	3:25	465
		3:30	465, 470
Tobit		3:33	465
2:14	341	4:7	465
3:3	422	5:2	465
5:2 (G II)	341	5:17	470
5:8	344	5:18	331
7:15	322	5:20	470
10:8 (G II)	341	5:21	453, 461, 465
12:6	728	5:23	458
12:22	287	6:5	760
14:4 (G II)	342	6:6	467
14:13–15	71	6:7	467
		6:10–11	467
1 Maccabees		6:14–16	470
1:21	398, 401	7	466
1:30	341	7:9	467
2:52	307, 344	7:10	467
2:59	342, 350	7:11	762
3:13	344	7:14	467
3:43	591	7:17	467
3:59	591	7:18	470

<i>2 Maccabees (cont.)</i>		15:25	329
7:19	451, 466–67, 470	15:26	32, 329
7:23	467, 762		
7:24	342–43	3 Maccabees	
7:29	467	2:11	344
7:31–36	467	2:33	369
7:32	470	3:10	343
7:34	467	3:16	331
7:36	453, 458, 465	3:17	26–27
8:1	333	3:19	27
8:13	342	3:21	342
8:24	467	3:23	369
9:3–12	459–60	4:14	30
9:4	453, 465, 470	4:19	343
9:4–11	451	6:9	296, 369
9:4–12	451	6:16	329
9:5	463, 470		
9:7	453, 465, 470	4 Maccabees	
9:7–11	460–61	4:7	342
9:8	460, 465	5:3	372
9:10	460, 469	5:8	369
9:11	465, 470	5:19	372
9:12	10, 451–72	5:25	342, 372
9:18	458	5:27	372
9:19	458	6:19	372
9:21	643	7:6	372, 639
9:22	643	7:15	344
10:4	470	7:19	340, 343
10:9	465	7:21	343
10:13	342, 465	7:22	639
10:16	467	8:2	372
10:29	465	8:7	341
10:29–30	467	8:12	341
11:5	587	8:23	327
11:8	465	8:29	372
11:10	467	11:16	372
11:13	467	11:25	372
12:25	343	12:3	343
12:35	465	13:2	372
12:41	465	15:28	639
12:45	661	16:22	344
14:33	467	17:2	344
15:11	344	17:15	639
15:14	458	18:24	537
15:21	470		

Psalms		39(40):13	310
1:2	625	42(43):3	616
1:5	2	44(45):5	616
2:12	382	46(47):10	331
4:1	587	53:4 (54:2)	720
5:1	587	58(59):14	2
5:9	616	59(60):11	616
6:1	587	60(61):3	616
8:1	587	62(63):3	292
9:1	587	64:8(65:7)	460
9:13	612	66(67):5	616
9:19	612	67(68):13	2
9:20–21	613–15	72(73):24	616
9:21	12, 607–34	75(76):2	31
9:22 (10:1)	612, 762	75(76):4	484
9:39 (10:18)	653	76(77):21	616
10(11):1	588	77(78):1	720
15(16):4	643	77(78):8	346
16(17):12	265–66	77(78):14	616
16(17):15	291–92	77(78):22	346
17(18):28	653	77(78):32	346
18(19):8	349	77(78):37	346
21(22):14	502	77(78):53	616
21(22):19	760	77(78):72	616
21(22):22	272	79(80):2	616
22(23):3	616	81(82):3	653
24(25):5	616	83(84):7	614
24(25):8	614	85(86):11	616, 627
24(25):9	616	88(89):7	456
24(25):12	614	88(89):25	454
26(27):2	31	88(89):29	349, 460
26(27):11	614	89(90):16	616
26(27):13	345	90(91):13	266
28(29):3–4	460	91(92):11	272
28(29):6	2, 272	92(93):5	346
30(31):4	616	93(94):16	762
30(31):17	295	94(95):10	366
31(32):8	616	100(101):6	348
32(33):4	347	101(102):18	653
32(33):18	379	103(104):34	723
33(34):13	596	105(106):9	616
33(34):19	653	105(106):12	346
34(35):15	331	105(106):24	346
35(36):5	366	105(106):31	307
38(39):1	588	106(107):7	616

<i>Psalms (cont.)</i>		12:22	347, 350, 367
106(107):23–32	460	13:17	348
106(107):30	616	13:19	723
107(108):11	616	14:5	348
110(111):7	349	14:15	345
112(113):6	653	14:22	346–47
115(116):10	345	14:25	348
117(118):22–23	306	15:8	367
118(119)	617, 628	15:9	367
118(119):33	614	15:26	367
118(119):33–34	627	15:27a	347
118(119):35	616	16:22	527
118(119):66	345	17:6	348
118(119):102	614	17:7	348
137(138):6	653	17:15	364
138(139):10	616	20:6	348
138(139):24	616	20:23	367
142(143):10	616	20:24	461
144(145):13	349	21:27	367
		22:23	237, 702
<i>Odes</i>		24:69–77 (31:1–9)	7, 229–38
1:17	333–34	25:1	229
3:6	322, 535, 541	25:13	348
		26:25	339
<i>Proverbs</i>		27:6	348
2:5	382	28:20	348
2:12	348	28:25	348
3:3	346	30:1	345
3:13	461	30:23	461
3:24	723		
3:34	465	<i>Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth)</i>	
4:4	616	3:20	532
4:11	616	9:5–10	533
5:13	614	12:1	533
6:1	754	12:4	643
6:8	332	12:7	532
6:13	616		
6:32	756	<i>Song of Songs</i>	
7:27	324	4:8	346
8:7	365	4:14–5:10	75
8:8	720		
11:13	348	<i>Job</i>	
11:20	367	1–2	635
11:21	348	1:1	638, 656, 661–62
12:17	347	1:3	260

1:5	641, 660	6:21	380
1:6	641	6:24	616
1:7	644, 661–62	7:1	648–49, 662
1:8	638, 656, 661–62	7:1–6	649
1:9	380, 639	7:1b–2	649
1:11	656	7:5	261, 274
1:12	656	7:12	261, 265, 267
1:14	260	7:19	648
1:16	260	7:21	651
1:17	260	7:22	277
1:19	656	8:3	644
1:21	651, 662	8:4	644
1:22	641, 646, 653, 660, 662	8:8–10	636
2:1	641	8:10	616
2:3	637–38, 645, 656, 660, 662	8:14	261
2:5	656	9:5–10	641
2:6	657, 662	9:10	642, 662
2:7	656	9:12	305
2:8	647, 662	9:16	345
2:10	641, 646, 649, 653, 660, 662	9:19	305
2:11	643–44, 661–62	9:23	642
3–37	657	9:33	651
3–28	635	9:35	380
3:7	648	10:9	651
3:8	260	10:13	649–50, 652
3:16	651	10:16	261, 268–69, 278
4:3	173	10:27	649
4:7	644	11:6	644, 646
4:10	260, 265, 268–70, 278	11:7–12	641
4:11	261, 266, 269–70, 276, 278	11:12	261
4:12	642	11:13	645
4:16	637	11:15	380
4:17	636–38, 644–45	11:17	637
4:18	345, 638	12–14	640
4:19	261	12:4	638
5:8–13	641, 653	12:7	261, 616
5:9	642, 662	12:8	261, 273, 616
5:11	642, 653	12:13–16	653
5:19	277	12:13–25	640–41, 653
5:21	380	12:17–20	653
5:22	380	12:20	348
5:24	637	12:21	662
6:4	651	13	2
6:5	261, 274, 277	13:4	640
6:10	637	13:7	645

<i>Job (cont.)</i>		23:10	649
13:15	641	23:15	173
13:18	659	23:32	278
13:28	261	24:3	262, 277–78
14:4	277	24:5	262
14:10	676	24:18–20	274
14:16	657	24:20	262, 273–74
14:20	651	24:22	345
15:3	639–40	24:22–25	274
15:11	646	25:2–6	641
15:15	345	25:6	262, 273–74
15:17	636	26:2	277
15:18	636	26:3	277–78
15:22	345	26:5–14	641
15:31	345	26:11	278
17:8	348	26:12	262
17:9	348	26:13	262, 265, 267, 274, 278
17:14	261, 274	26:17	278
18	639	27	637
18:12	642	27:8	277
19	639	27:11	616
19:4	639–40, 662	27:26	278
19:12	277	28	637
19:15	637	28:1	277
19:17b	648	28:7	262, 273
19:19	640	28:8	262, 269, 273
19:29	64	28:21	262, 273
20:2	277	28:23	641
20:5	642	29–31	636, 640
20:14	261, 266, 273	29:2	637
20:16	261, 265–67	29:7	638
20:23	648	29:18	263
21:3	648	30:1	173, 263, 278
21:10	261–62, 271, 277	30:14	648
21:11	262	30:17	277–78
21:15	641	30:19	277, 655
21:22	178	30:19–25	275
21:26	262, 274	30:22	648
21:31	277	30:24	648
22:3	644	30:27	278
22:10	642	30:29	263, 271–72
22:12	653	30:30	278
22:17	325	30:31	272
22:23a	645	31:2	641
23:5	277	31:20	263, 278

31:31	640	37:7	642–43, 655, 662
31:33	640	37:14	173, 643
32–37	636, 646	37:16	642
32:1	638, 645, 659, 662	37:23	643
32:2	638	37:24	380
32:3	645	38–39	636, 652
32:6	380	38:1–42:6	650
32:8	636	38:2	652, 658, 662
32:13	645	38:3	651–52
32:19	638	38:11	460
33:29–30	644	38:18	173
34:1	646	38:36	638
34:5	651	38:39	263, 265, 268–69, 277
34:16	173	38:41	263, 278
34:17	636, 644	39:1	263, 273, 277–78
34:24	642, 662	39:5	263, 273–74, 276
34:32 (Theod)	616	39:9	263, 272–73
35	646	39:12	273, 345
35:1	646	39:13	263
35:2	636	39:18	263, 273
35:2–7a	646	39:19	263, 277
35:5	647	39:19–25	276
35:6	644	39:20	263, 273–79
35:10b–11	647	39:24	345
35:10b–14a	646	39:26	263
35:11	263	39:27	263, 277
35:12	644–45	40:2	641, 652
35:12b–14	647	40:3–5	636
35:14	646–47	40:3–6	652
36:1	646	40:4	173
36:3	636	40:6	652
36:6a	643	40:6–41:26	636
36:12	173, 636	40:8	659, 662
36:15	237	40:15	264
36:22	614	40:15–41:26	652
36:23	636	40:25	264–65, 267
36:24	643	41:5	264, 277
36:26	636	41:19	655
36:26–37:13	641	41:20	655
36:27a	643	41:23	655
36:28a	643	42:1–4	651
36:28d–e	643	42:1–6	636
37:2a–5a	642	42:2	650
37:5b–6a	642–43	42:2–6	652
37:6b–7a	542	42:3	642, 652

<i>Job (cont.)</i>		8:28	347
42:4	652, 662	9:6	307
42:5–6	651–55	9:15	523, 531
42:6	654–55, 662	9:19	536
42:7	646, 660, 662	9:20	536
42:7–9	660	10:7	346
42:8	264, 646, 660–62	10:8	308
42:9	661	10:17	306
42:12	264	12:2	346
42:14	638	12:12	305
42:16	637	12:17	346
		12:19	540
Wisdom of Solomon		12:20	531
1:2	345–46	12:22	540
2:1	535	12:23	367
2:1–11	533	14:5	345
2:6–9	533	14:11	306
2:9	533	14:21	306
2:12	305	14:25	347
2:14	306	14:29	382
2:16	307	15:6	381
3:1–9	535	15:8	531–34
3:9	349, 382	15:8–9	517, 529, 532
3:13	531	15:9	533, 540–41
3:14	347	15:10	305
3:17	307	15:11–12	529
4:19	306	15:11	517, 523, 529, 531, 533, 536,
7:15	303–5	538	
7:23	540	15:12	533
7:26	540	15:15	347
8:2	527	15:16	517, 529, 531–32, 538, 540–41
8:2–21	527	15:18	382
8:7	524	16:13	322, 541
8:9	334	16:13–14	517, 534–41
8:9–20	527	16:14	535–41
8:10–12	527	16:24	382
8:13	524, 527	16:26	345
8:16	527	16:28	345
8:17	524	18:2	308
8:18	527	18:6	346
8:19	541	18:13	346
8:19–20	517–28, 531	19:2	309–11
8:20	540		
8:21	527	Jesus Sirach	
8:21–9:18	524	1:14	348

1:24	638	27:13	366
1:25	367	27:16	346
1:26	346	27:17	346
1:27	346–47	27:30	367
2:4	322	28:2	661
2:6	345	29:3	346
2:8	345	30:17	339
2:10	344–45	31(34):8	348
2:13	344–45	31(34):23	348
3:15	661	32(35):3	339
4:16–17	344	32(35):21	345
6:4	526, 528	32(35):23	345
6:7	344, 527	32(35):24	345
6:14–16	348	33(36):3	345, 348
6:17	348	33:23	336
6:23–31	527	33(36):27	345
6:27	527–28	36:22	336
6:28	527	37:13	348
6:31	527	37:23	348
7:25	344	37:26	346
10:13	367	38:31	344
11:21	345	39:15	728
12:10	345	40:12	346
12:13	329	40:17	346–47
13:11	345	44–49	346
13:20	367	44:11	339
14:8	762	44:20	349
14:20–15:8	527	45:4	346–47
14:22	527	46:15	347, 349
14:25–27	527	48:22	349
15:1	527–28	49:10	347
15:2	527	50:5	398, 401
15:6	527	50:24	345
15:8	527		
15:13	367	Psalms of Solomon	
15:15	346, 527	1	592
16:3	344–45	1:1	586–90
17:13	291	1:3	587
17:26	329	1:6	591, 594
19:4	344	1:7	592
19:23	367	1:8	594
19:25	345	1:8–9	591–92
20:27	333	2	591–92
22:23	346	2:1	587
26:28	318	2:3	591–92

Psalms of Solomon (cont.)

		15:1	587, 593, 596
2:4	591	15:5	587, 590, 594
2:5	587–88	15:12	587
2:6	594	16:1	587, 597
2:9–10	594	16:3	587
2:18	594	16:4	594
2:22	594	16:11	587
2:23	597	16:12	587
2:24	594	16:14	587
2:36	594	16:15	587
3	584	17:6–9	594
3:4	594	17:7	594
3:7–8	594	17:9	587
3:9	594	17:10	349
3:11	587	17:17	594
4:9	587, 594	17:19	596
4:12	594, 597	17:25	594
4:12–13	594	17:31	594
4:18	594	17:33	592
5:3	587	17:36	594
5:4	594	17:40	347
5:5	587	17:43	597
5:11	587	18:4	593
5:14	587	18:5	597
5:16	594, 597		
6:2	587	Hosea	
6:3	593	2:20	202, 484
6:5–6	594	2:22	350
7:5	587, 594	5:9	351
8	591–92, 598	12:4(3)	701
8:10–12	592	13:15	318–19
8:11	590, 592–93, 682		
8:30	593	Joel	
9:1	587	1:4	478
9:3	594	1:19	586
9:4	587, 593, 595–96	2:11	295
9:6	593	2:20	460
9:10	592, 594	2:25	477–78
10:1	594		
10:4	594	Amos	
12:6	590	4:13	481
13:3	596	7:1	477–79, 481, 492
13:5–8	594	9:3	460
14:1	349	9:8	588
14:5	593, 596	9:11–12	480–81

9:12	492–93	Isaiah	
9:13	267	1:2	718–19
		1:21	351
Jonah		1:26	351
1:5	385	1:30	753
1:6	386	2:3	616
1:9	385, 387	2:8	367
1:10	385	2:20	367, 753
1:16	385	3:2	208
2:3	586	3:10	305
3:5	349	5:29	265
		7:9	349
Micah		8:2	351
1:8	271	9:5	454
3:11	616	9:14	616
4:2	616	11:7	271
		13:21	271
Nahum		14	460–65
1:4	460	14:6	459
3:6	365	14:11	460, 465
3:11	762	14:12	459
		14:13	460, 469
Habakkuk		14:14	460
1:2	586	14:15	459
1:5	349	14:16	459
1:7	295	17:8	367
2:4	350	17:10	351
2:18	616	22:23	351
2:19	616	22:25	351
3:5	486	24:17	507
		28:9	616
Zephaniah		28:16	349
2:11	295	28:26	616
3:4	591	29:13	379
3:11	295	30:20	614
		31:4	265
Zechariah		32:6	564
14:12	460	33:16	351
		34:13	271
Malachi		40:2	661
2:11	591	40:3–5	306
3:4	723	40:5	292
3:8	701	40:12	460
3:8–9	701–2	40:17	307
		41:5	380

<i>Isaiah (cont.)</i>		39(32):34	371
42:13	202	39(32):41	350
43:6	327	40(33):6	350
43:20	271	47(40):14	350
43:28	591	49(42):5	351
44:20	305		
48:21	724	Baruch	
49:7	351	4:9	321
50:10	380	5:4	638
51:12	461		
53:1	349	Lamentations	
53:3	351	1:13	321
57:11	380	3:23	350
58:7	762	3:40	501
59:19	380	3:40–41	501
60:2	294	3:42–45	501
63:17	380	3:43–45	502
65:14	204	3:45	506
66:14	10, 388	3:47	11, 499–16
66:24	460	3:48–51	509
		4:2	307
Jeremiah		4:12	350
5:1	350		
5:3	350	Ezekiel	
6:8	699	1:7	152
6:20	723	1:28	103
6:21	643	5:11	591
7:28	350	7:19	762
9:3	350	8:6	562
11:6	318	10:5	641
11:15	367	11:15–16	562
12:6	349	12:26–28	572
15:18	350	13:19	727
18:23	643	16	575
19:1	333	16:37	723
25:8	349	16:52	574
25:9	350	17:6	295
26(46):14	762	20:5–6	563
27(50):29	103	20:15	563
27(50):39	271	20:23	563
31(48):13	507	20:28	563
36(29):14	295	20:43	563
38(31):3	289, 292	23:17	699
38(31):26	723	23:18	699
38(31):31–34	306	23:38	591

23:38–39	560	1:5	153
23:40	560	1:14	153
23:40–44	560	1:20	153
25:3	591	2:10	147
27:16	108	2:11	144–45
28:16	320	2:12	142–43
30:18	335	2:26	154–55
32:2	266	2:27	147
32:24–26	572	2:31	140, 154–55
33:31	371	2:32	154
36:7	563	2:34	154–55
36:23b–38	572	2:35	145, 154
36:31	366	2:41	154–55
38–39	477	2:43	154–55
38:17–18	477	2:45	351
39:28	295	2:47	147
43:9	562	3:1	154
43:10	575	3:2	146, 154
43:11	559, 575	3:3	154
43:18	574	3:4	155–56
43:20–23	569	3:5	154
43:23	574	3:7	154
44:5	559	3:10	154
44:6–8	561	3:12	151, 154
44:6–14	565	3:14	151, 154
44:7	560	3:15	154
44:9–13	575	3:17	147
44:9–15	12, 559–78	3:18	151, 154
44:10	573	3:19	154–55
44:13	574–75	3:20	155–56
44:15	565	3:92(25)	154–55
44:17–31	560	3:93(26)	146–47
44:23	616	3:94(27)	154–55
44:25	567	3:95(28)	151
44:29	565	4:5(2)	154–55
45:14–15	575	4:14(11)	155–56
45:18	591	4:13(10)	154–55
46	565	4:18(15)	147
47:3	574	4:23(20)	154–55
47:7	574	4:35(32)	155–56
48:11	573–74	4:37(34)	147, 150
		5:5	158
Daniel and Additions		5:7	155–56
1–12	131–63	5:16	147
1:3	324	5:20	104

Daniel and Additions (cont.)

5:23	158	10:7	148
6:4(5)	147	10:9	153
6:5 (Theod)	351	10:11	153
6:16(17)	151	10:12	153
6:20(21)	147, 151	10:15	148–49, 153, 159
6:23 (Theod)	342, 350	10:16	149–50
7	159	10:18	149
7:1	154–55	12:4	142, 153
7:2	154–55	12:9	142, 153
7:3	152	Bel 3	382
7:4	154–55	Bel 4	382, 386
7:6–7	154–55	Bel 4–5	385–86
7:7	152	Bel 5	387
7:9	154	Bel 23	382
7:10	150–51, 158	Bel 27	382
7:11	154–55	Sus 14	350
7:13	146, 154–55	Sus 53	350
7:14	151	Ancient Near Eastern Texts	
7:19	152	Benedictions for Labarna	503
7:20	141	Hymn to Isis 1	217
7:21	147, 154–55	Hymn to Isis 2	217
7:22	150	Hymn to Isis 3, 16–18	215–16
7:23	152–53	Hymn to Osiris	210–11
7:24	152–53	<i>KAI</i> 42	753–54
7:25	152	<i>KAI</i> 174–180	752
7:26	150, 158	<i>KAI</i> 276	755
7:28	152	<i>KRI</i> 1.60.8–9	204
8:9	156	<i>KTU</i> 1.4.viii.17–20	505
8:10	143–44	<i>KTU</i> 1.5.i.4–8	505
8:11	139	<i>KTU</i> 1.5.ii.2–4	504–5
8:13	137	<i>KTU</i> 1.6.ii.21–23	505
8:15	150, 158	Ludlul bēl nēmeqi 4.10–15	504
8:16	149, 158–59	Stele of Nastasen	502–3
8:17	149	Šulgi Hymn A.13–14	503–4
8:25	138, 139–40	Tefnut legend 1.384.xv.24	756
9:2	153	Inscriptions and Documentary Papyri	
9:11	136	<i>BGU</i> 8.1820	182
9:12	153	<i>BGU</i> 8.1827	182
9:23	153	<i>BGU</i> 8.1847	173–74
9:24	141	<i>BGU</i> 8.1848	181
9:25	153	<i>BGU</i> 14.2375.26–27	172
9:27	136–37		
10:1	153		
10:6	151–52, 153		

<i>Chr.Mitt.</i> 5	174	P.Heid. dem. 735 v.x+4	216
<i>Chr.Wilck.</i> 452	759	P.Heid. inv.1716,verso,1-2	456
<i>CIJ</i> 2.1440	213	P.IFAO inv. 104	369
<i>CPJ</i> 1.3	202	P.Krall 1.4	211
<i>CPJ</i> 1.19	200, 202	P.Krall 5.2, 5	205-6
<i>CPJ</i> 1.21	202	P.Krall 9.5-6	205-6
<i>CPJ</i> 1.128	6, 167, 178-84	P.Krall 23.30	214
<i>CPJ</i> 1.133	6, 167, 175-78	P.Leid.dem. 1.384.xv.24	756
<i>CPJ</i> 1.141	9, 369	P.Lille 76	200
<i>CPJ</i> 1.238	181	P.Lond. 2.177.15-16	246
<i>CPJ</i> 3.1444	202	P.Lond. 2.191.10	55
<i>CPR</i> 18.9, 11	175	P.Lond. 3.30	759
<i>CPR</i> 18.11	183	P.Lond. 7.2046.4	211
Gr.Assuan 13.3-5	220	P.Merton 1.5.14	761
<i>I.Erythr.</i> 145.4-5	458	P.Mich. 1.87.5	172
<i>IG</i> 12.14	213	P.Mich. 15.688	177
<i>IG</i> 14.1702	535	P.Mich. inv. 4394	304
<i>IGUR</i> 626	535, 537	P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309	200
<i>I.Kyme</i> 41	213, 621	P.Oxy. 2.294	304
JIGRE 22	201	P.Oxy. 11.1380, 119-121	621
MET stela 20.2.23	206	P.Oxy. 11.1380, 239-142	214
OGIS 1.62	212	P.Oxy. 15.1802	752
OGIS 64	213	P.Oxy. 71.4812	752
OGIS 1.90 dem. 12	214	P.Petr. 2.19 fr. 1 A.1-2	172
OGIS 1.90, 19	209	P.Petr. 2.40a	759
OGIS 1.96	202	P.Petr. 3.53g	759
NSaq Pap 56.R.1.2.4	212	P.Petrie Kleon 88.107-111	761-62
P.Brem. 61.31-32	173	P.Polit. Iud. 2	6, 167, 169-74
P.Cair.Zen. 2.59168	212	P.Polit. Iud. 4.23-24	6, 167
P.Cair.Zen. 3.59383	726	P.Ryl. 2.65.4	761
P.Cair.Zen. 3.59495.7	171	P.Ryl. 2.68	177
P.Cair.Zen. 4.59639.14-15	173	P.Ryl. 9	209-12
P.Dime 3.39-40	247	PSI 3.167	177
P.Enteux. 9.8	245	PSI 4.416.7	171
P.Enteux. 23	6, 167, 178-84	PSI 13.1334.18	173
P.Enteux. 24	182	P.Sorb. 3.109	182
P.Enteux. 29.11-12	762	P.Tebt. 2.386	247
P.Enteux. 43	762	P.Tebt. 3.1.740.30	761
P.Enteux. 74	759	P.Tebt. 3.1.776	181, 246
P.Enteux. 81	174	P.Tebt. 3.1.776.28	762
P.Ford. inv. 5	181	P.Tebt. 3.1.777.10	762
P.Fouad 25, r.2.18	173	P.Tebt. 3.1.777.11	171
P.Grenf. 2.93.3	173	P.Tebt. 3.1.800	6, 167, 175-78
P.Gurob 2	202	P.Tebt. 3.1.815	239, 247
P.Gurob 8	202	P.Tebt. 3.2.826	726

P.Tebt. 3.2.963.3	762	11:7	384
P.Vindob.D 627+6329+10101	215	13:11	384
P.Vindob.Salomons 15.10	701	21:13	384
Raphia decree 32	209	24:1	383
<i>RICIS</i> 302/0204	213		
<i>SB</i> 3.6263.26–27	173	Josephus, <i>Bellum judaicum</i>	
<i>SB</i> 5.7600	304	3.125–127	398
<i>SB</i> 8.9564	9	3.330	587
<i>SB</i> 16.12468	171	3.362–382	538
<i>SB</i> 16.12687	181	3.371–375	534
<i>SB</i> 18.12838	182	3.372–373	537
<i>SB</i> 20.14592	182	3.374	538
<i>SB</i> 22.15324	304	5.212	398
<i>SB</i> 24.16285.28–29	171	5.219	398
<i>SEG</i> 15.853.9–12	458	5.232	398
<i>TAD</i> B2.6	244	5.390	209
<i>TAD</i> B3.8	244	6.172	371
<i>UPZ</i> 1.2.15	246	6.209–217	372
<i>UPZ</i> 1.2.24	762	6.389	398
<i>UPZ</i> 1.5.46–47	762	6.390	398
<i>UPZ</i> 1.6.32	762	7.162	398
<i>UPZ</i> 1.15.33–34	762		
<i>UPZ</i> 1.16.22	762	Josephus, <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>	
<i>UPZ</i> 1.20.42	762	1.191	294
<i>UPZ</i> 1.45.14	762	3.226	564
<i>UPZ</i> 2.196.22	761	4.110	296
		5.277	296
Second Temple Literature		7.92	296
		8.75	398
Aristobulus	621	8.90	398
		8.196	296
Artapanus		8.240	296
fr. 3.6	454	8.268	296
		9.20	296
Cleodemus Malchus	621	10.177	296
		12.250	398
Demetrius the Chronographer	201	14.45	371
		14.107	398
Joseph and Aseneth		14.370.5	536
2:3	383	20.111	587
7:1	368		
7:2	383	Letter of Aristeas	
9:2	384	1–322	199–200
10:1	383	16	204, 389
10:4	399	57–58	370

87	370	178	352
96–98	370		
130–131	370	Philo, <i>De decalogo</i>	
134	390	15	355–56
139	370, 390	31	534
140	390	59	352
142	370	172	352
152	370		
153–155	370	Philo, <i>Quod deterius potiori insidari soleat</i>	
158–160	370	9	353
192	728		
		Philo, <i>Quod Deus sit immutabilis</i>	
Odes of Solomon		4	354
1–42	598–99	87	356
11:23	599	101	352
Philo, <i>De Abrahamo</i>		Philo, <i>De ebrietate</i>	
39	352	40–42	354
62–88	353	93	352
141	352	175	352
226	352	188	352
247	352	198	353
257–259	534	213	337, 355–56
263	354		
268	337, 354–56	Philo, <i>De fuga et inventione</i>	
268–269	353	91	538
269	353–54	136	352
270	355	150	352
		152	352
Philo, <i>De agricultura</i>		154	352
50	353	178	352
Philo, <i>De cherubim</i>		Philo, <i>De gigantibus</i>	
85	355	1.53	398
113–115	525, 534		
115	538	Philo, <i>Quis rerum divinarum heres sit</i>	
		19	354
Philo, <i>De confusione linguarum</i>		90–93	354
31	355	91	355
156	352	94	355
167	538	104	532
198	352	104–107	534
		105	537
Philo, <i>De congressu eruditionis gratia</i>		108	352
78	352	129	352

<i>Philo, Quis rerum divinarum (cont.)</i>		1.274	352
163	371	1.280	352
206	352	1.298	352
251	352	2.12	352
273	539	2.80	398
282–283	534	2.86	398
287	354	2.87	398
		2.95	398
<i>Philo, De Iosepho</i>		2.101	398
51	352	2.142	352
52	352	2.177	352
100	352	2.259	353
107	352	2.261	353
127	352	2.288	352
149	354		
158	352	<i>Philo, De mutatione nominum</i>	
168	353	1	294
185	353	6	296
188	352	15	296
202	368	33	538
242	352	106	352
258	352	135	352
		155	352
<i>Philo, Legum allegoriae</i>		182	355
1.252	356	186	353
2.89	353	192	398
3.204	337, 355	201	353
3.229	353	229	538
<i>Philo, De migratione Abrahami</i>		<i>Philo, De opificio mundi</i>	
18	354	45	353
43	354	57	352
44	354	84	352
63	371	93	352
132	355	109	352
171	352	116	352
		139	530–31
<i>Philo, De vita Mosis</i>		147	352
1.1	622		
1.34	352	<i>Philo, De plantatione</i>	
1.63	352	62	354
1.90	354	70	355
1.225	353	82	355
1.247	352	101	352
1.261	352	150	352

Philo, <i>De posteritate Caini</i>		1QH ^a X, 21	474
5	534	1QS III, 21	574
173	355	4Q171 1–2 II, 9	574
		4Q381 LXXIX, 5	574
Philo, <i>De praemiis et poenis</i>		4Q396(MMT ^c) 1–2 I, 1	564
27	354–55	4Q430 I, 4	574
27–51	355	4QInstruction	518
28	353	11QtgJob	655
49	354	11QTemple III, 10–27	571
		11QTemple LVI, 15	592
Philo, <i>De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini</i>		11QTemple LXVI, 8–11	249
51	371	Damascus Document (CD)	518
70	356	CD IV, 15–18	592
		CD IV, 17–18	592
Philo, <i>De somniis</i>		CD V, 6–7	592
1.68	354	CD VI, 14–17	592
1.228	296	CD XX, 23	592
1.232	296		
2.24	353	Sibylline Oracles	
2.220	352	3.652–656	207–8
		3.724	357
Philo, <i>De specialibus legibus</i>		5.33–34	455
1.76–78	575	5.138	454
1.171	398	5.426	357
1.231	398		
1.274	398	Testament of Benjamin	
1.296	398	3:3	387
3.70	249		
4.30–31	532	Testament of Issachar	
		2.1	294
Philo, <i>De virtutibus</i>			
68	355	Testament of Joseph	
86	532	4.6	386–87
106	371		
216	354–55	Testament of Levi	
217	337, 353	13.1	387
Prayer of Manasseh		Testament of Zebulon	
3	460	10:5	387
Qumran and Judean Desert Texts		<i>Vitae Prophetarum</i>	
1QpHab IX, 4–5	592	2.4	357
1QpHab XII, 7–11	592		
1QH ^a X, 13	574		
1QH ^a X, 17	574		

New Testament			
		20:21	356
		24:24	356
Matthew		26:18	356
12:18–27	343	27:1	310
13:3	310		
19:5	306	Romans	
21:32	356	2:26	307
21:42	306	3:3	356
24:23	356	4:3	307
24:26	356	9:8	307
27:42	356	15:6	307
27:51	402		
		1 Corinthians	
Mark		1:9	357
5:34	356	15:5–8	297
13:22	356		
15:32	356	2 Corinthians	
15:38	402	1:18	357
		6:15	357
Luke		6:18	306
1:11	297		
3:5	306	Ephesians	
9:51–56	311	1:1	357
12:20	533	5:31	306
12:36	535	6:21	357
13:19	306		
14:35	647	Philippians	
23:45	402	2:5–6	462
		2:6	456
John			
5:18	455	Colossians	
6:51–58	418	4:7	357
15:22	682	4:9	357
15:24	682		
16:20	306–7	1 Thessalonians	
17:3	32	5:24	357
19:3	682		
		2 Thessalonians	
Acts		3:3	357
5:36	306		
10:45	357	1 Timothy	
13:31	297	1:15	357
16:1	357	3:1	357
16:4	682	4:9	357
19:27	307	4:10	357

4:12	357	9:6-7	421
6:15	32	9:6-10	406, 413, 421-23
		9:7	397, 418, 421
Titus		9:7-8	415
1:9	357	9:8	414-15
3:8	357	9:8-9	422
		9:9	422
2 Timothy		9:10	422-23
2:11	357	9:11	414, 417
		9:11-12	421-23
Hebrews		9:11-14	397, 423
1:5	306	9:11-15	418
2:14	417, 419	9:11-28	406
3:4	414	9:12	413-16, 423
4:16	416	9:13-14	423
5:7	413	9:14	418
5:8	419	9:18	419
6:19-20	416	9:21	415
6:19	396, 400, 402, 415-17	9:23-10:18	412
6:20	415, 418	9:24	414-16
7-10	412	9:25	414-15
7:1-28	412	10:10-14	418
7:5	417	10:19	415-19
7:25	412, 416	10:19-20	418-19
7:26-28	415	10:19-21	416
7:27	413	10:20	396, 402, 406, 415, 417-18
8:1-2	412-13	10:22	418
8:1-13	412	10:23	357
8:1-10:18	412-13, 416	11:16	417
8:2	414-15	12:22	416
8:5	414-15	12:24	416
8:6	414	13:10	415
8:7	413	13:15	417
8:10	306		
8:13	414, 423	1 John	
9	10, 413, 416	1:9	357
9:1	415		
9:1-5	395-428	Revelation	
9:1-10	397, 413	1:1	145
9:1-22	412	1:5	357
9:2-5	414	2:13	356
9:3	396-97, 402, 412-24	3:14	357
9:4	395, 397, 419-20	8:11	306
9:5	421	14:12	356
9:6	421	16:19	306

<i>Revelation (cont.)</i>		123.9	97
19:11	357		
21:5	357	Severus of Antioch, <i>Hymns</i>	
22:6	357	277 (fol. 62b)	584–85
22:20	304		
		Tertullian, <i>De cultu feminarum</i>	
Rabbinic Writings		1.1	99
Mekhilta de Rabbi Ishmael		Greco-Roman Authors	
Massekta de-Nezikin 17	239–40	<i>Acta Alexandrinorum</i>	
		7a.2.7	536
Mishnah			
Kelim 1:8	564	Aelian, <i>Varia historia</i>	
Ketubbot 3:4	249	2.19	458
Yoma 5:1	399		
Zevah. 1:8	564	Aeschines, <i>In Timarchum</i>	
		28	458
Tosefta			
Ketubbot 12:1	240	Aeschylus, <i>Persae</i>	
		497–498	338
Talmud Bavli		749–750	10, 461
Ketubbot 10a	241	819–820	461
Ketubbot 82b	240	857	456
Talmud Yerushalmi		Agathargides, <i>De mari Erythreo</i>	
Ketubbot 8:32b-c	240	69	270
Ancient Christian Texts		Alcinous, <i>Didaskalikos</i>	
		2.2	523
Ephrem, <i>Madraša de Paradiso</i>		25.4	523
7:21	599		
		Andriscus	
Eusebius, <i>Praeparatio evangelica</i>		fr. 3.4–6	711
9.27.6	454		
		Antiphanes	
Jerome, <i>Commentariorum in Amos</i>		fr. 298	461
2:5	103		
		Apollodorus, <i>Bibliotheca</i>	
Jerome, <i>Epistulae</i>		2.5.8	469
22	99		
22.9	100	Aristophanes, <i>Nubes</i>	
49	99	819	338
54	98		
79	98		

Aristophanes, <i>Pax</i> 524	711	Demosthenes, <i>De corona</i> 298	236
Aristophanes, <i>Thesmophoriazusae</i> 270–274	230	Demosthenes, <i>De falsa legatione</i> 280	456
Aristotle, <i>Historia animalium</i> 499b19 632b	272 271	Demosthenes, <i>In Stephanum</i> 1.29	532
Aristotle, <i>Poetica</i> 12	190	Dio Chrysostom, <i>De fide</i> 3.5	532
Aristotle, <i>Rhetorica</i> 2.21.6	462	Diodorus Siculus, <i>Bibliotheca historica</i> 1.27 1.89.1 4.15.3 10.9.9 12.66.1	214 458 469 458 587
Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i> 5.193d 5.196a 6.63 (253e) 7.253d–f 7.289a 10.439a	465 465 469 730 458 465	Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vitae philosophorum</i> 7.119.124	339
Callimachus, <i>Hymnus in Iovem</i> 1 3 4	217 621 217	Dionysius of Byzantium, <i>Anaplous Bosporou</i> 24 41	458 458
Callimachus, <i>Iambae</i> 2.6	458	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates romanae</i> 6.26.1 9.2.3 16.15.1	536 532 536
Cassius Dio, <i>Historia romana</i> 6 (Zonaras 7.21) 62.13.3	366 727	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>De Lysia</i> 25.14	532
Cicero, <i>Somnium Scipionis</i> 6.27	755	Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>De Thucydide</i> 36,67	537
Cicero, <i>Tusculanae disputationes</i> 1.53	756	D(o)uris of Samos fr. 13	730
Cleanthes, <i>Hymnus in Iovem</i> 24–25 537	621 338–39	Ekphantos, <i>De Regno</i> 80.25 82.1–3	530–31 531

<i>Ekphantos, De Regno (cont.)</i>		Hesychius, <i>Lexicon</i>	
83.18–20	531	340	271
Epicharmus		Hippocrates, <i>De morbis</i>	
fr. 2,16DK	536	2.40	363
Euriphamos, <i>De vita</i>	530–31	Homer, <i>Ilias</i>	
		1.197–200	293
Euripides, <i>Andromache</i>		2.408	
1005–1007	458	2.565	454
		3.310	454
Euripides, <i>Bacchae</i>		4.212	454
45	466	5	451–72
325	466	5.1–8	468
1255	466	5.121–132	468
		5.127–128	466–67
Euripides, <i>Electra</i>		5.256	468
987–995	456	5.260	468
995	455	5.290–296	468
		5.334–340	457
Euripides, <i>Hippolytus</i>		5.336	469
6.445–446	458	5.339–340	457
629	246	5.394	459, 462
		5.405	468
Euripides, <i>Ion</i>		5.407	466
557	338	5.418–425	464
1549–1550	711	5.432–442	10, 457
		5.440–441	463–64, 467
Euripides, <i>Medea</i>		5.440–443	466
223–234	247	5.588–891	463
956–958	246	5.853–858	468
		5.855–859	466
Galen, <i>De simplicium medicamentorum</i>		5.881–883	468
<i>temperamentis et facultatibus</i>		6.131	464
10.1	363	10.7	726
		10.552–553	468
Hecataeus of Abdera	458, 618–19	20.1–74	466
3a	536	21	468
		21.315	457
Herodotus, <i>Historiae</i>		21.385–513	466
1.93.4	246		
3.62.2	721	Homer, <i>Odyssea</i>	
4.205	465	1.324	454
7.10.53	458	4.566	726
		8.223–224	464

8.225	464	Nicolaus of Damascus, <i>Vita Caesaris</i>	
11.484–485	456	130 (ch. 26) 97	455
11.520	458	130 (ch 29) 117	455
15.374–375	721		
15.518–520	456	Ovid, <i>Amores</i>	
16.161	293	1.7.31–34	464
16.162	293		
17.297	647	Ovid, <i>Ars amatoria</i>	
19.178–179	620	1–6	464
<i>Homeric Hymns, To Aphrodite</i>		Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>	
5.214	457–58	14.605–607	465
Horace, <i>Carmina</i>		Ovid, <i>Epistulae ex Ponto</i>	
1.6.13–16	464	2.2.9–14	469
Iamblichus, <i>De mysteriis</i>		Pausanias, <i>Graecae descriptio</i>	
3.18	452	2.2.7	458
		9.7.2–3	465
Isocrates, <i>Antidosis</i>		Philodemus, <i>De bono rege secundum</i>	
837–838	456	<i>Homerum</i> (P.Herc. 1507)	457
Isocrates, <i>Busiris</i>		27	463
13	456	35.25–26	464
		36.9–13	464
Isocrates, <i>Nicocles</i>		41	463
5	453, 456		
		Philodemus, <i>De pietate</i>	
Isocrates, <i>Philippus</i>		fr. 51.1473–1474	458
145	456		
		Philostratus, <i>Epistulae</i>	
Longinus, <i>De sublimitate</i>		44:1	453
35.2	456		
		Philostratus, <i>Vita Apollonii</i>	
Lucian, <i>Alexander</i>		5.24	458
59–60	465	6.19.2–62	703
		8.7.291–298	703
Lycophron, <i>Alexandra</i>		Plato, <i>Cratylus</i>	
612–614	464, 466	414b	231
Menander, <i>Monostichoi</i>		Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>	
270	456	3b	338
Nicander, <i>Theriaca</i>			
463	266		

Plato, <i>Gorgias</i>		Plato, <i>Timaeus</i>	
454e	338	40d	754
493a	538	40e	338
524b	538	42e–43a	530
		87d	524
Plato, <i>Hippias major</i>		90b–c	524
296b	231–32		
Plato, <i>Leges</i>		Plutarch, <i>Alexander</i>	
1.624a	620	4.2	465
1.624b	620	Plutarch, <i>Agessilaus</i>	
1.684b–c	232	34.7	587
12.966d	338		
Plato, <i>Phaedo</i>		Plutarch, <i>De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute</i>	
62b	538	1.5	468
67d	538		
Plato, <i>Phaedrus</i>		Plutarch, <i>Numa</i>	
245c	757	7.7–8	703
245d	754–55	Plutarch, <i>Quaestionum convivialum libri</i>	
249e–250a	524	4.5 (670d)	369
255a	456		
258c	453	Polybius, <i>Historiae</i>	
270c	230	3.69.2	539
		6.56.12	339
Plato, <i>Politicus (Statesman)</i>		18.24.3	587
293a–c	231	26.10	465
		36.17.2	726
Plato, <i>Protagoras</i>			
311b	230	Posidonius	
356b	232	fr. 370.22	706
Plato, <i>Respublica</i>		Pseudo-Perictione, <i>On the Harmony of Women</i>	
338d	363	1	457
378d	466		
404e–405a	232	Pseudo-Plato, <i>Axiochus</i>	
408d–409b	232	367b	530–31
409a	236		
444c–e	232	Pseudo-Plato, <i>Minos</i>	
596a–598d	703	319c	620
605e	363		
617e	521–22	Pythagorean hymn Golden Verses	
		70	538–39

Sappho		Vettius Valens, <i>Anthologiae</i>	
fr. 31, 1–2	456	9.1	452
		330–331	534
Satyrus of Callatis		Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>	
fr. 39, 12.21–22	366	1–4	673
fr. 39, 15.22–23	366	7.3.7	677
Solon of Athens, <i>Leges</i>		Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>	
fr. 4:30–32	619	1.6.43	704
Sophocles, <i>Trachiniae</i>		2.2.29.2–3	709
472–473	462	3.1.33	307
		4.1.18.3–6	710
Sophocles, <i>Oedipus tyrannus</i>		Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>	
646	338	2.3.51	661
1445	338		
Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i>		Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>	
374	338	4.4.19	377
Strabo, <i>Geographica</i>		Xenophon of Ephesus, <i>Ephesiaca</i>	
10.4.8	620	1.2.7,40	293
12.2.8	309–10		
Theocritus, <i>Idyllae</i>			
1.119–120	464		
16.97	587		
17.48–52	468		
Theognis, <i>Sententiae elegiacae</i>			
1.162	306		
Thucydides, <i>Historiae</i>			
1.106	704		
5.83.4–5.84.1	669–70		
7.74.2	687		
24	217–18		
24.99–100	217–18		
Vergil, <i>Aeneis</i>			
11.243–295	465		
11.247–278	466		
11.276–277	465		

Modern Authors Index

Abel, Félix-Marie	453	Backhaus, Knut	415
Ačaryan, Hrač'ey	25	Baer, David A.	389
Adams, James N.	752, 755	Bagnall, Roger S.	305, 369
Aejmelaesus, Anneli	43, 54, 403, 474, 490, 492, 624, 749, 783–84	Baillet, Maurice	259
Aitken, James K.	43–44, 270, 302–3, 312, 517–19, 526, 531–33, 535, 726	Bailly, Anatole	431, 433
Albertz, Rainer	399, 420	Baker, Collin	629
Albrecht, Felix	583–86, 589–91, 593, 595, 597–600	Bakker, Egbert J.	669–70, 686–88
Albrektson, Bertil	505, 507	Balot, Ryan K.	619–20
Alek'sanyan, Armen	22	Barchudarov, Leonid	752
Alexander, Loveday	621	Bar-Kochva, Bezalel	618
Alexander, Philip	621	Barnes, W. Emery	549–51
Allen, James P.	219	Barr, James	487, 608, 625–26, 751
Amara, Dalia	131, 133, 137, 144	Barth, Gerhard	338
Anderson, Arnold A.	780	Barthélemy, Dominique	41–47, 56, 125, 597, 774–75
Angelini, Anna	257, 268–69, 271–72	Bauer, Hans	141
Annus, Amar	504, 510	Bauschatz, John	170–72
Ashley, Timothy R.	133	Beck, John A.	667
Asmis, Elizabeth	463–64	Beeckman, Bryan	256, 265, 274, 276–79
Assan-Dhôte, Isabelle	45–46, 50, 435, 441–42, 505–7	Begrich, Joachim	585
Atkins, Peter J.	271	Behlmer, Heike	80–82
Atkinson, Kenneth	582–86, 591, 593, 598–99	Benjamin, Walter	745–47, 764
Attridge, Harold W.	396, 398, 414, 417–418, 420, 422–23	Bergmann, Marianne	212
Aubin, Paul	440	Bernand, Étienne	215
Auld, A. Graeme	430, 748–49, 764	Berthelot, Katell	370
Ausloos, Hans	256, 433	Bertram, Georg	431
Austermann, Frank	617, 625	Bertrand-Degenbach, Cécile	170
Auwers, Jean-Marie	44–45	Bevir, Mark	489
Baars, Willem	584–85	Bickerman, Elias J.	239–41
Backe-Dahmen, Annika	205	Blankovsky, Yuval	248
		Block, Daniel I.	566, 573
		Bogaert, Pierre-Maurice	200
		Böhlig, Alexander	75
		Böhm, Martina	352–55
		Bollók, János	215

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Bons, Eberhard | 3, 90, 207–8, 291,
430, 433, 436, 441, 444–45, 587, 594–
96, 743 | Cheyne, Thomas K. | 550 |
| Bosson, Nathalie | 77 | Childs, Brevard S. | 403, 406 |
| Boud'hors, Anne | 68, 70 | Chirilă, Adina | 270 |
| Boyd-Taylor, Cameron | 125, 610, 624–
25, 715–17, 732–33, 741, 751 | Chiu, Andy | 615 |
| Bozza, Francesca | 178 | Cioffi, Robert L. | 286, 293 |
| Braasch, Birte | 133 | Clarysse, Willy | 174 |
| Brague, Rémi | 620 | Clines, David J. A. | 21, 33 |
| Brandom, Robert | 628 | Cockerill, Gareth Lee | 413–16, 419–20 |
| Bremmer, Jan N. | 188 | Cohen, Shaye J. D. | 195 |
| Bresciani, Edda | 220 | Collins, Billie Jean | 503 |
| Briffard, Colette | 287 | Collins, John J. | 26, 139, 522–24 |
| Britt, Brian | 745 | Colson, F. H. | 249 |
| Brock, Sebastian P. | 776, 785 | Comins, Ryan | 303, 305 |
| Brooke, Alan E. | 547, 685, 689, 742 | Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis | 310,
364, 567 |
| Brooks, Ernest Walter | 585 | Cook, Johann | 258, 346, 474 |
| Brown, Vivienne | 489 | Cook, John A. | 667–69, 671 |
| Browning, Robert | 589 | Corley, Jeremy | 90, 188, 597 |
| Bruce, Frederick F. | 477–78 | Cornelius, Izak | 502–3 |
| Büchner, Dirk | 716, 740, 773, 780 | Cortez, Felix H. | 413, 421–22 |
| Bückers, Hermann | 521 | Costa, Christina | 624 |
| Budge, Ernest A. Wallis | 210 | Court, John M. | 307 |
| Burkert, Walter | 188, 194 | Cousland, J. R. C. | 470 |
| Burnet, Régis | 369–70 | Cowe, S. Peter | 20, 24, 31–32, 52, 55 |
| Burns, Dylan | 71, 76 | Cowey, James M. S. | 169 |
| Burrows, Millar | 244 | Cox, Claude | 257–58, 267, 273–74, 638,
641 |
| Bush, Frederic W. | 430, 436, 441, 443–44 | Crawford, Sidnie White | 35, 733 |
| Busto Saiz, José Ramon | 782 | Cribiore, Raffaella | 305 |
| Caird, George B. | 701 | Crum, Walter E. | 206, 210 |
| Cairns, Douglas L. | 510 | D'Hamonville, David-Marc | 258, 367 |
| Callaghan, Dympna | 607 | Danby, Herbert | 249 |
| Calmet, Augustin | 266 | Daniel, Suzanne | 378 |
| Campbell, Edward F. | 50, 430, 433, 436,
441, 443 | Danove, Paul L. | 330 |
| Cañas Reillo, José Manuel | 506–8 | David, Arlette | 502 |
| Cary, Ernest | 366 | De Bruin, Wim | 117 |
| Centrone, Bruno | 530 | Decker, Rodney J. | 308 |
| Ceriani, Antonio Maria | 132 | De Crom, Dries | 43, 47–49 |
| Cerutti, Maria Vittoria | 378 | Deissmann, Adolf | 743 |
| Chaniotis, Angelos | 454, 730 | Delcor, Mathias | 585 |
| Chantraine, Pierre | 377 | Delitzsch, Franz | 588 |
| Chavel, Simeon | 243, 561 | De Meulenaere, Herman | 206 |
| Chaytor, Henry J. | 625 | Demiana, Antonia S. | 71 |
| | | Denaux, Adelbert | 311 |
| | | Denis, Albert-Marie | 584, 586 |

- | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Depuydt, Leo | 65 | Erichsen, Wolja | 206, 209–10, 214 |
| Derow, Peter | 369 | Evans, Trevor V. | 312, 673–74 |
| De Troyer, Kristin | 22, 36 | Eynde, Sabine van den | 445 |
| Deysel, Lesley C. F. | 259 | Eynikel, Erik | 265–68 |
| Dhont, Marieke | 266 | Fanning, Buist M. | 668, 686 |
| Dhorme, Paul | 779 | Fantuzzi, Marco | 211 |
| Díaz-Caro, María Vittoria Spottorno | 430 | Fassa, Eleni | 212 |
| Dickey, Eleanor | 304 | Feder, Frank | 62–69, 71–82, 506 |
| Dietrich, Erich Kurt | 443 | Feldman, Louis H. | 621–22 |
| Dieu, Leon | 76 | Fernández Marcos, Natalio | 90, 200, |
| Di Lella, Alexander A. | 138 | 490–91, 782 | |
| Dillery, John | 219 | Fillmore, Charles J. | 629 |
| Dillon, John | 523 | Fish, Jeffrey | 463–64 |
| Dimant, Devorah | 591–92 | Fishbane, Michael | 562 |
| DiMarco, Chrysanne | 615 | Fisher, Nick | 363 |
| Dines, Jennifer M. | 201, 305 | Flashar, Martin | 617, 625 |
| Dogniez, Cécile | 508, 616, 728, 731–32, 734 | Fletcher-Louis, Crispin | 456–57 |
| Domazakis, Nikolaos | 452, 458–59, 463, | Fornara, Roberto | 286, 291 |
| 466 | | Foucault, Michel | 612, 620, 622 |
| Dommershausen, Werner | 430, 443 | Fox, Michael V. | 234 |
| Donner, Herbert | 751 | Fraenkel, Detlef | 135 |
| Doran, Robert | 452, 454, 466–67 | Frankel, Zacharias | 207 |
| Dorandi, Tiziano | 463 | Frankenberg, Wilhelm | 593 |
| Dorival, Gilles | 258, 747 | Fraser, Peter M. | 200, 213 |
| Dorothy, Charles V. | 27, 29 | Freedman, Harry | 433 |
| Doughty, Charles M. | 264 | Freeman, Charles | 32 |
| Douglas, Alex | 484 | Friedman, M. A. | 240–41 |
| Douglas, Mary | 361–62 | Fritz, Volkmar | 404 |
| Dousa, Thomas M. | 215 | Fuks, Alexander | 173 |
| Drescher, James | 65, 72 | Gäbel, Georg | 407, 409 |
| Driver, Godfrey Rolles | 508 | Gager, John G. | 618–19, 621, 626 |
| Driver, Samuel R. | 671 | Galimberti, Umberto | 231 |
| Duke, Rodney K. | 563, 572 | Gammie, John G. | 258 |
| Dworkin, Ronald | 623 | Gane, Roy E. | 396, 399–400 |
| Easterling, Patricia E. | 247 | García Martínez, Florentino | 260 |
| Eberhart, Christian A. | 403, 408, 410, | Gauthier, Henri | 209 |
| 412–13, 420–21 | | Gebhardt, Oscar von | 583, 586 |
| Eckhardt, Benedikt | 188 | Geißen, Angelo | 132 |
| Eco, Umberto | 608–10, 617–18, 626, 628 | Genette, Gérard | 113–14 |
| Ederer, Matthias | 402, 406 | Gentry, Peter J. | 42, 45–47, 75, 257, 259, |
| Edmonds, John M. | 462 | 506–7 | |
| Eide, Tormod | 503 | Georgi, Dieter | 524, 527, 532 |
| Emmenegger, Gregor | 74 | Gera, Deborah Levine | 89–90, 187–88, |
| Engel, Helmut | 90, 92 | 190–92, 194, 202, 207 | |
| Enslin, Morton S. | 90, 92 | Gerhardt, Mia I. | 270 |

- Gerleman, Gilles 257–58, 263, 269, 271, 279
- Gheorghita, Radu 403, 414, 420–21
- Gigante, Marcello 463
- Ginsberg, Louis H. 137
- Giveon, Raphael 209
- Glenny, W. Edward 478, 481–82, 486, 492–93
- Goldingay, John E. 140
- Goldman, Maurice D. 725
- Good, Roger 668, 673–75, 682–83, 690–91
- Gooding, D. W. 398, 403
- Gordon, Cyrus H. 550
- Görg, Manfred 203
- Gow, A. S. F. 218
- Graves, Robert 273
- Gray, John 267
- Greenspoon, Leonard J. 42, 760
- Gregory, Bradley C. 465
- Gressmann, Hugo 550
- Grillet, Bernard 775
- Grimm, Günter 219
- Grintz, Yehoshua M. 89
- Grossouw, Willem 77
- Gruber, Mayer I. 613
- Gruen, Erich S. 26, 189
- Gryson, Roger 91–93, 95, 97, 132, 507
- Guéraud, Octave 178
- Gulde, Stefanie U. 504
- Gurtner, Daniel M. 398–400, 402
- Gzella, Holger 744
- Haas, Volker 503
- Habicht, Christian 452
- Hacham, Noah 6
- Haelewyck, Jean-Claude 28
- Häge, Günther 246
- Haidt, Jonathan 360
- Haiman, John 608
- Hals, Ronald M. 433, 567
- Hamm, Winfried 132
- Hammerstaedt-Löhr, Almut 295
- Hancher, Michael 628
- Hanhart, Robert 21, 90, 93, 452, 501, 680, 685, 703
- Hann, Robert R. 583, 595, 599
- Hanson, Anthony T. 291
- Harl, Marguerite 295, 368, 616, 701, 718, 722–23, 725, 728, 730–32, 734
- Harris, J. Rendel 584
- Harris, William V. 509
- Harrison, Roland Kenneth 408, 410–11
- Hartman, Louis F. 138
- Hatch, Edwin 400, 433, 607, 613
- Hauptman, Judith 249
- Hauspie, Katrin 265–68, 568, 572
- Hayman, A Peter 302, 313
- Hayward, C. T. Robert 287, 289–90
- Heater, Homer 267
- Hecke, Pierre van 609
- Heide, Albert van der 508
- Heilmann, Luigi 435, 438–39, 442
- Heimerdinger, Jean-Marc 670
- Heinen, Heinz 208
- Heinisch, Paul 521
- Helck, Wolfgang 218
- Hellerman, Joseph H. 454
- Hendel, Ronald S. 755
- Hertog, Cornelis G. den 723, 744, 749, 760
- Hertzberg, Hans W. 430, 442–43
- Hess, Johan J. 263–64, 272–73
- Hewsen, Robert H. 25
- Hiebert, Robert J. V. 245, 595, 703, 782
- Hieke, Thomas 396, 407–11
- Hilberg, Isidorus 97
- Hilzheimer, Max 273
- Himbaza, Innocent 291
- Hirsch-Luipold, Rainer 505–8
- Hoffmann, Friedhelm 206, 209, 211
- Hofius, Otfried 415, 417
- Holladay, Carl R. 201
- Holladay, William L. 260, 431, 433, 442–43
- Hollenberg, Johannes 749, 757
- Holmes, Robert 547
- Homan, Michael M. 404
- Honigman, Sylvie 199
- Horner, George 65–66
- Hort, Fenton John Anthony 589

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--|------------------------|--|
| Hossfeld, Frank Lothar | 628 | Kießling, Emil | 760 |
| Houlihan, Patrick F. | 503 | Kilchör, Benjamin | 560, 562 |
| Houtman, Cornelis | 399–400, 402–4 | King, Philip D. | 511 |
| Hubbard, Robert L. | 430, 436–37, 440, 442–43 | Kislev, Itamar | 243 |
| Hübner, Hans | 521 | Kittel, Rudolf | 549 |
| Huizenga, Leroy Andrew | 610 | Klawans, Jonathan | 361 |
| Hunt, Arthur S. | 175 | Kleiman, Assaf | 556 |
| Hunter, Richard | 211 | Klein, Jacob | 503 |
| Hurowitz, Victor Avigdor | 396 | Klein, Michael L. | 753 |
| Hurtado, Larry | 115–16, 123 | Kleinig, John W. | 397, 417–18, 421 |
| Hurvitz, Avi | 562 | Klostermann, Erich | 506 |
| Huß, Werner | 212 | Klotz, David | 216 |
| Ilan, Tal | 188 | Knibb, Michael A. | 349, 532, 536 |
| Jackson, Bernard S. | 244 | Knobloch, Frederick W. | 430 |
| Janowski, Bernd | 408–10 | Koch, Heidemarie | 503 |
| Janz, Timothy | 42, 45 | Kockelmann, Holger | 216 |
| Jeansonne, Pace Sharon | 133 | Koenen, Klaus | 505, 507 |
| Jepsen, Alfred | 352 | Koenen, Ludwig | 217–18 |
| Jobes, Karen H. | 21–22, 29, 33–34, 36, 481, 730 | Koenig, Yvan | 203 |
| Johannes, Dieter | 219 | Koester, Craig C. | 416, 419, 421–23 |
| Johnson, Janet H. | 206, 210 | Kolde, Antje | 730 |
| Jones, Scott J. | 269 | Kolnai, Aurel Thomas | 360 |
| Jonge, Casper C. de | 625 | Komissarov, Vilen N. | 752 |
| Jonge, Marinus de | 386 | Konkel, Michael | 561–62, 564, 571 |
| Jongeling, Bastiaan | 655 | Konstan, David | 363, 509 |
| Joosten, Jan | 90, 93, 202, 206, 242, 258, 288, 303, 479–82, 488 594–97, 609, 671, 743–44 | Kooij, Arie van der | 199–201, 576, 757 |
| Joüon, Paul | 440–42 | Koosed, Jennifer L. | 433 |
| Jürgens, Benedikt | 409–10 | Korpel, Marjo C. A. | 430 |
| Kaestli, Jean-Daniel | 258 | Kotzé, Gideon R. | 499–500, 509 |
| Kákosy, Lászlo | 211 | Kraus, Hans-Joachim | 612, 622 |
| Kalimi, Isaac | 338 | Kraus, Wolfgang | 350, 410, 418–20 |
| Kappler, Werner | 452 | Kreuzer, Siegfried | 205 |
| Karrer, Martin | 417–19, 424 | Kruger, Paul A. | 510 |
| Katz, Peter | 506–7 | Kugler, Robert | 168–69 |
| Kauhanen, Tuukka | 43 | Kürth, Dieter | 219 |
| Kaupel, Heinrich | 271–72 | Kyrieleis, Helmut | 218–19 |
| Kazen, Thomas | 360–61 | Labahn, Antje | 508 |
| Keel, Othmar | 502 | Labahn, Michael | 723 |
| Kelly, Daniel R. | 359–60, 367–68, 370 | Lacocque, André | 437, 443 |
| Kennicott, Benjamin | 546, 549 | Lambert, Wilfred G. | 504 |
| Kenyon, Frederic G. | 116, 118, 132 | Lange, Nicholas de | 312 |
| | | Langeveld, Albert | 752 |
| | | Langholf, Volker | 232 |
| | | Larcher, Chrysostome | 520–25, 527–28, 530–32, 535–36, 539, 541 |

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Lasater, Phillip Michael | 378–79 | Mastronarde, Donald J. | 247 |
| Lattimore, Richmond | 457 | Matusova, Ekaterina | 390, 517–19, 526, |
| Lattke, Michael | 599 | 528, 530–31, 533, 535, 540 | |
| Lauterbach, Jacob Z. | 240 | Maurais, Jean | 722, 729, 733 |
| Law, T. Michael | 43 | Mayjee, Philip | 406, 411 |
| Leander, Pontus | 141 | Mazzinghi, Luca | 302 |
| Le Boulluec, Alain | 290, 368, 616 | McCarter, P. Kyle | 780 |
| Lee, John A. L. | 279, 302, 340, 364, 726, | McCauley, Clark R. | 360 |
| 743 | | McCrystall, A. | 133 |
| Legras, Bernard | 369 | McCusker, Claire | 620 |
| Lemmelijn, Bénédicte | 256, 258 | McDonald, Nathan | 561–62 |
| Lemos, Tracy M. | 243 | McEldu, Siobhàn | 625 |
| Lenzi, Alan | 504, 510 | McIvor, James S. | 546–47 |
| Léonas, Alexis | 312 | McLay, R. Timothy | 47, 133, 487–89, |
| Leonhardt, Jutta | 575 | 491, 494 | |
| Lesemann, Sven | 288 | McLean, Norman | 547, 742 |
| Leslie, Elmer A. | 550 | Meer, Michaël N. van der | 291–93, 389, |
| Lestienne, Michel | 775 | 572, 730, 740, 742–44, 749, 752–53, | |
| Levine, Étan | 442, 508 | 757, 759–60, 763 | |
| Levinson, Bernard M. | 249 | Mélèze Modrzejewski, Joseph | 179, 181, |
| Levinson, Joshua | 248 | 370 | |
| Liddell, Henry G. | 607 | Merwe, Christo H. J. van der | 671 |
| Lilly, Ingrid | 572 | Michaelides, Georges | 206 |
| Lindez, José Vilchez | 90 | Milgrom, Jacob | 361–62, 399, 408–9, |
| Lipourlis, Dimitrios | 235, 237 | 411, 566, 573 | |
| Lippert, Sandra | 177 | Milik, Józef T. | 259 |
| Lloyd-Jones, Hugh | 200 | Miller, Susan | 360 |
| Long, Roderick T. | 620 | Miller, William I. | 360 |
| Louis, Catherine | 63 | Mingana, Alphonse | 584 |
| Louw, Johannes P. | 510 | Moatti-Fine, Jacqueline | 45–46, 50, 381, |
| Louw, Theo A. W. van der | 489–92, | 435, 441–42, 505–7, 745, 747–49, 754, | |
| 723–24, 741, 751–58, 765 | | 759, 764 | |
| Lüddeckens, Erich | 205 | Moffit, David M. | 422 |
| Lund, Helen S. | 469 | Montgomery, James A. | 138–39, 142, 550 |
| Lust, Johan | 572 | Moore, Carey A. | 187 |
| MacDonald, Dennis R. | 468 | Morenz, Siegfried | 203–4 |
| Mackie, Scott D. | 399 | Morgan, Teresa | 462 |
| Magistris, Simon de | 132 | Mouton, Alice | 503 |
| Maier, Christl M. | 505–8 | Mowinkel, Sigmund | 269 |
| Maja, Marc | 444 | Mueller, Melissa | 247 |
| Mangin, Dominique | 650–51, 655 | Mulder, Martin J. | 555 |
| Marcone, Arnaldo | 170 | Müller, Christa | 205 |
| Maresch, Klaus | 169 | Müller, Dieter | 213–14 |
| Margolis, Max L. | 610, 742, 760, 764 | Müller, Hans W. | 206 |
| Marquis, Galen | 431 | Müller, Karl | 270 |

- Munch-Jurišić, Ditte Marie 360, 371
 Munday, Jeremy 740, 745
 Munnich, Olivier 42, 135
 Muraoka, Takamitsu 366, 587, 609, 701, 720, 744
 Murphy, Frederick J. 35
 Murphy, Mark 624
 Nagel, Peter 70–71, 73, 82
 Nässelqvist, Dan 115, 117
 Nelson, Richard D. 26
 Nida, Eugene A. 510
 Niebuhr, Karl W. 521, 532
 Nielsen, Kirsten 431, 433
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 241–42
 Nongbri, Brent 65, 67
 Novembri, Valeria 97
 Nowack, Wilhelm 549
 Nysse, Richard William 775–76
 Obiajunwa, Chukwudi J. 133
 O'Brien, Peter T. 398, 422–23
 Ockinga, Boyo G. 204
 O'Hare, Daniel 566, 570, 573–74
 Olariu, Daniel 131–34, 147, 151–52
 Olley, John W. 566, 569
 Olofsson, Staffan 474, 477, 588, 590, 612, 624–25, 729, 730
 Orlandi, Tito 64, 81
 Oshima, Takayoshi 504
 O'Sullivan, Lara 621, 628
 Papoutsakis, Manolis 271
 Parker, Victor 619
 Parsons, James 547
 Parsons, Peter 200–201
 Passoni dell' Acqua, Anna 759
 Patai, Raphael 273
 Patterson, Dilys Naomi 188
 Pearce, Sarah J. K. 371
 Pérez Martin, Immaculada 170
 Perkins, Larry 207–8, 484
 Perles, Felix 589
 Pertillä, Elina 72
 Pestman, Pieter W. 247
 Peters, Kurtis 609
 Peters, Melvin K. H. 70, 340, 729
 Peters, Ronald Dean 309
 Pevarello, Daniele 596
 Pfeiffer, Stefan 201, 203, 212–13
 Pietersma, Albert 2, 42, 125, 126–28, 474–76, 479, 488, 582, 588, 611, 623–24, 626, 740–41
 Pietruschka, Ute 82
 Pitard, Wayne T. 504–5
 Ploeg, Johannes P. M. van der 259, 267, 275, 655
 Pola, Thomas 723
 Polak, Frank H. 234
 Porcher, Émile 63, 76
 Porten, Bezalel 244
 Porter, Stanley E. 670
 Potter, Robert 711
 Pouchelle, Patrick 585
 Poupart, Pascal 615
 Pratelli, Simone I. M. 430
 Prestel, Peter 701
 Price, Simon F. R. 454
 Priero, Giuseppe 107
 Prokop, Daniel 546
 Puech, Émile 260
 Quack, Joachim F. 208, 210–11, 214
 Quast, Udo 50, 52–53, 55, 429–30
 Queyrel, François 218–19
 Rabinowitz, L. 433
 Rahlfs, Alfred 50, 53–55, 73–74, 116, 124, 452, 501, 507, 547, 583, 586, 588, 591, 595, 613, 627, 680, 685, 703, 719, 742, 760, 764, 776–77, 779, 781–85
 Redpath, Henry A. 400, 433, 607, 613
 Reese, James M. 303, 521, 525
 Reider, Joseph 312
 Reitzenstein, Richard 756
 Rémondon, Roger 369
 Rendtorff, Rolf 408–9
 Rice, George E. 396, 400
 Richter, Siegfried G. 82
 Rico, Christophe 436
 Riede, Peter 271–72
 Riffaterre, Michael 127
 Ritner, Robert K. 210, 216
 Roberts, Colin H. 122
 Robertson, Archibald T. 590

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Robinson, Theodore H. | 506 | Schönbauer, Ernst | 179 |
| Roca-Puig, Ramon | 133 | Schorch, Stefan | 246, 701 |
| Roddy, Nicolae | 188 | Schorn, Stefan | 366 |
| Roitman, Adolfo D. | 194 | Schreiner, Joseph | 288 |
| Röllig, Wolfgang | 751 | Schroer, Silvia | 502, 510 |
| Rösel, Hartmut N. | 387 | Schüpphaus, Joachim | 383 |
| Rösel, Martin | 288, 290, 405, 474, 476,
482–88, 491, 494, 588, 615, 617–18,
626, 729 | Schwartz, Baruch | 563, 575 |
| Rosen, Debra | 592 | Schwartz, Daniel R. | 451–53, 461, 465 |
| Rosenbaum, Michael | 670 | Schweitzer, Ursula | 502 |
| Rousseau, Philip | 19 | Schwienhorst-Schönberger, Ludger | 338 |
| Rozin, Paul | 360 | Scialabba, Daniela | 383, 385, 440 |
| Rudnig, Thilo | 561, 566 | Scott, Robert | 607 |
| Rudolph, Wilhelm | 505, 507 | Scott, Robert B. Y. | 549–50, 554 |
| Runia, David T. | 525, 530 | Searle, John R. | 489, 627–28 |
| Rupprecht, Hans-Albert | 176 | Seebass, Horst | 287, 405 |
| Sabatier, Pierre | 93–94 | Seele, Astrid | 751, 753–54, 756–57 |
| Salters, Robin B. | 505 | Seeligman, Isaac L. | 204, 730 |
| Salvesen, Alison G. | 200–201, 359, 363,
592 | Segal, Judah B. | 212 |
| Sánchez, Marcos | 97 | Segal, Michael | 132, 143 |
| Sanders, Ed | 363 | Sellin, Ernst | 549 |
| Sanders, Paul | 719, 727 | Sharp, Daniel | 70 |
| Sanderson, Judith E. | 259 | Shaw, Frank | 451, 458 |
| Sandevoir, Pierre | 290, 368, 616 | Shead, Stephen | 609 |
| Sasson, Jack M. | 430, 433, 440, 443 | Shenkel, James Donald | 775 |
| Satlow, Michael L. | 240–41 | Siebert, Folker | 203, 338, 378 |
| Savvopoulos, Kyriakos | 203 | Silva, Moisés | 481, 730 |
| Scalia, Antonin | 242 | Silva Pinto, Leonardo Pessoa da | 775 |
| Scarpat, Giuseppe | 382, 520–22, 528,
530–33, 535 | Simon, Maurice | 433 |
| Schäfer, Christian | 50, 54 | Simpson, Robert S. | 209 |
| Schäfer, Rolf | 501, 505, 507–8, 510 | Sipilä, Seppo | 749 |
| Schaper, Joachim | 1, 2, 201, 204, 207,
273, 405, 452, 474, 582, 744 | Skehan, Patrick W. | 259 |
| Schenck, Kenneth L. | 415, 421 | Slotki, Judah J. | 436 |
| Schenker, Adrian | 43, 546 | Smith, Henry P. | 779, 785 |
| Schiffman, Lawrence H. | 249 | Smith, Jannes | 626 |
| Schipper, Jeremy | 436, 442–44 | Smith, Mark S. | 504–5, 510 |
| Schironi, Francesca | 752 | Smyly, J. Gilbert | 175 |
| Schleusner, Johann Friedrich | 506 | Smyth, Herbert | 592 |
| Schmitz, Barbara | 31, 90, 207 | Snaith, Norman H. | 271 |
| Schneider, Karl | 398, 402, 415 | Soisalon-Soininen, Ilmari | 721, 731, 749 |
| Schneider, Otto | 266 | Sokoloff, Michael | 55, 655 |
| | | Sonnet, Jean-Pierre | 444 |
| | | Sottas, Henri | 209 |
| | | Soubigou, Louis | 89 |
| | | Spicq, Ceslas | 762 |
| | | Spiegelberg, Wilhelm | 756 |

- Spottorno, María Vittoria 572
 Stadler, Martin A. 214–15, 220
 Stamatopoulou, Zoe 468
 Staubli, Thomas 510
 Stephens, Susan A. 203
 Sterling, Gregory E. 520–24
 Stock, St. George William Joseph 310, 364, 567
 Stoebe, Hans Joachim 781
 Strawn, Brent A. 269–70, 277, 502–3
 Streete, Gail Corrington 621
 Suciu, Alin 64, 71, 75, 78
 Sullivan, Shirley Darcus 508, 510
 Swete, Henry Barclay 229, 501, 583, 703
 Szegedy-Maszak, Andrew 610, 619
 Takla, Hany N. 63–64
 Tattam, Henry 506
 Taubenschlag, Raphael 170, 176–77, 246
 Taylor, Charles 266, 628
 Taylor, John R. 608
 Tcherikover, Victor 175, 180
 Teeter, Emily 503
 Thackeray, Henry St. J. 44, 430, 547, 566–67, 590, 774–75
 Theis, Christoffer 203
 Thenius, Otto 549
 Theocharous, Myrto 615
 Thesleff, Holger 530–31, 539
 Thiselton, Anthony C. 609
 Thompson, Dorothy B. 211
 Thompson, James W. 397, 413, 415, 422
 Thomson, Robert W. 35
 Thornhill, Raymond 50, 53
 Tigay, Jeffrey 727
 Toda, Satoshi 93, 598
 Torallas Tovar, Sofia 72, 78, 170
 Toury, Gideon 475, 491, 709, 715–16, 741, 750–51
 Tov, Emanuel 22, 45, 49, 121–23, 125, 203, 234, 434, 476–79, 484–85, 488, 491, 493, 615, 723, 755
 Trafton, Joseph L. 585
 Treat, Jay C. 46
 Trebolle Barrera, Julio 258
 Tucker, James M. 249
 Turner, Eric Gardner 116, 123
 Turner, James 610
 Turner, Kenneth J. 49
 Ueberschaer, Frank 339–40, 347, 351–52, 508
 Ulrich, Eugene 35, 122, 259
 Vahrenhorst, Martin 205, 407
 Vanderlip, Vera F. 215
 Vaux, Roland de 259, 554
 Vendler, Zeno 668
 Venetz, Hermann-Josef 45
 Verbeke, Elke 256, 274
 Viteau, Joseph 586
 Vittmann, Günther 210
 Voigt, Edwin Edgar 94, 103
 Volterra, Edoardo 179, 181
 Vonach, Andreas 205
 Vorm-Croughs, Mirjam van der 754
 Vorster, Willem S. 308
 Wagner, J. Ross 609, 733
 Wahl, Harald Martin 31
 Wallace, Daniel B. 309–10
 Weber, Robert 91–93, 95, 97, 132, 507
 Wechsler, Michael G. 33
 Weiß, Hans-Friedrich 415
 Wells, Edward 266
 Wenham, Gordon J. 698, 700
 Wenthe, Dean Orrin 133
 Werline, Rodney A. 584
 Westcott, Brooke Foss 589
 Westendorf, Wolfhart 206
 Wevers, John W. 42, 116, 124, 201, 267, 614, 616–17, 627, 699, 717–20, 724, 728
 Wieger, Madeleine 339
 Winnige, Mikael 593
 Winston, David 301, 311, 520–22, 527, 529–31
 Wirth, Raimund 775, 785
 Wojciechowski, Michael 188
 Wolde, Ellen van 609
 Wolff, Hans Julius 179
 Worrell, William H. 74
 Woude, Adam S. van der 260, 267, 275, 655

- Wright, Benjamin G. 127, 199, 340, 370,
389, 468
Wright, J. Edward 26
Wright, Robert B. 583–84, 590
Yaron, Reuven 244
Young, Ian 138
Young, Norman H. 416
Youngblood, Kevin J. 45, 47–49, 508
Yoyotte, Jean 369
Žabkar, Louis V. 210, 216–17, 219–21
Zanker, Graham 217–18
Zeitlin, Solomon 90, 92
Zenger, Erich 90, 628
Ziegert, Carsten 441
Ziegler, Joseph 76, 135, 259–60, 273,
389, 501, 506–7, 599
Ziegler, Yael 441–42
Zobel, Hans-Jürgen 641
Zohrapean, Yovhannēs 21

