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*Edited by*  
Melvin K. H. Peters

Society of Biblical Literature  
Atlanta

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## Contents

Introduction by the Editor	
Melvin K. H. Peters.....	1
The Septuagint and Oral Translation	
Anneli Aejmelaeus.....	5
The Hebrew Text behind the Greek Text of the Pentateuch	
Kristin De Troyer .....	15
The Septuagint and Scribal Culture	
Arie van der Kooij.....	33
Schriftliche und mündliche Weitergabe in der griechischen	
Susanna-Erzählung	
Edgar Kellenberger .....	41
Beyond Genre and Style: Notes on the Greek Esther	
Victoria Spottorno .....	51
LXX Ruth: Translation, Interpretation, Characterization	
Nathan LaMontagne.....	59
The Provenance of the Old Greek Job	
Johann Cook.....	73
Concerning the Origin of the Addition Found in Prov <sup>LXX</sup> 1:7	
Lorenzo Cuppi.....	93
Onias III and the Legitimacy of Judas Maccabaeus	
Dov Gera .....	105
Between <i>Měšûbâ</i> and <i>Môšābâ</i> : On the Status of Diaspora Jews in	
the Period of Redemption according to the Septuagint and	
Hellenistic Judaism	
Noah Hacham.....	127

Uncovering Echoes of LXX Legal Norms in Hellenistic Egyptian Documentary Papyri: The Case of the Second-Century Herakleopolite Nome Rob Kugler .....	143
The Miscellanies in 2 Reigns 2:35a–o, 46a–l and the Composition of the Books of Kings/Reigns Zipora Talshir .....	155
Different Distribution of Agreements between LXX <sup>L</sup> and Medieval Hebrew Variants in <i>Kaige</i> and Non- <i>kaige</i> Sections of III–IV Regnorum Pablo Torijano Morales .....	175
Agreements between LXX <sup>BL</sup> , Medieval Hebrew Readings, and Variants of the Aramaic, Syriac and Vulgate Versions in <i>Kaige</i> and Non- <i>kaige</i> Sections of 3–4 Reigns Julio Treballe Barrera .....	193
The Greek Framework of Kings: Indicators of Recension Jonathan M. Robker.....	207
Translating the Historical Books Natalio Fernández Marcos.....	219
Vom hellenistischen Kleinrollensystem zum Kodex: Beobachtungen zur Textgestalt der griechischen Samuel- und Königebücher Jong-Hoon Kim.....	231
“Lukian redivivus” or Barthélemy and Beyond? Siegfried Kreuzer .....	243
Der Tempelbaubericht 3 Kgdms 6:1–22 : Vom Umgang der Übersetzer mit einer schwierigen hebräischen Vorlage Martin Meiser.....	263
Greek Isaiah 25:6–8 and the Issue of Coherence W. de Angelo Cunha.....	277
Hapax Legomena, the Septuagint, and Hebrew Lexicography Hans Ausloos.....	291
The Usages of Δίδωμι in the Septuagint Paul Danove.....	301
The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in the Book of Qoheleth Hans Debel and Elke Verbeke .....	313

“Biblical Greek” in the LXX? The Case of δωρεάν Peter Spitaler.....	333
The Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint: A Sample Entry—εὐλογέω Jan Joosten .....	347
A Note on Some Προσήλυτοι in P.Duk.inv. 727R David M. Moffitt .....	357
What after the <i>Lexicon</i> ? Takamitsu Muraoka.....	361
Jeremiah 38:31–34 (MT 31:31–34): The History of the Two Versions and Their Reception Georg Walser .....	369
Le vocabulaire homilétique de Jr 1–20 comparé à 4 Rg 17,7–20 Christian-Bernard Amphoux and Arnaud Sérandour .....	381
Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets? Jennifer Dines.....	397
Speech in the Book of Judith Deborah Levine Gera .....	413
Some Remarks on the Codex Ambrosianus Mariachiara Fincati.....	425
Greek Variants behind Coptic Readings in 1 Samuel 31? Elina Perttilä .....	435
The Rendering of Toponyms in the LXX-Minor Prophets: An Indication of Alexandrian Provenance Gunnar Magnus Eidsvåg.....	445
Ephraim Dwelt in Egypt: Egypt and Assyria in the Septuagint of Hosea W. Edward Glenny .....	457
Readings Attributed to “οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’” by Theodoret of Cyrrhus Reinhart Ceulemans.....	473
Θρησκεία, <i>Terra Incognita</i> , and <i>Terra Devastata</i> : Vocabulary and Theology of Symmachus Michaël N. van der Meer .....	499
Designing a New Septuagint Commentary: SBLCS and WATER Robert J. V. Hiebert and Nathaniel N. Dykstra.....	515

Writing a Commentary on the Septuagint Dirk Büchner .....	525
Some Peculiar Place Names in the LXX of Joshua Seppo Sipilä.....	539
ἄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ψάλατε (Ps 97:4) : Présent vs aoriste dans les impératifs des Psaumes LXX Philippe Le Moigne.....	549
Die Rezeption der Septuaginta im entstehenden Christentum. Das Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt Martin Karrer .....	569
Old Testament and New Testament Versions of the Mosaic Law: The Intersection of Oral and Written Tradition Ulrich Schmid .....	587
A Comparison of the Septuagint Textual Form in the Torah Quotations Common to Philo of Alexandria and the Gospels of Mark and Matthew Gert J. Steyn .....	605
The Non-dependence of the Psalms Translator in Relation to the Translators of the Pentateuch Staffan Olofsson .....	625
Les <i>Odes</i> ajoutées au Psautier dans la Septante comme actes de langage Cécile Dogniez .....	645
The Septuagint's Fidelity to Its <i>Vorlage</i> in Greek Patristic Thought Edmon L. Gallagher.....	663
Using Patristic Evidence: A Question of Methodology in the Textual Criticism of the LXX Tuukka Kauhanen .....	677
Hebrew Bible(s) and Greek Witnesses? A First Look at the Makeup of 2 Kings for the <i>Oxford Hebrew Bible</i> Andrés Piquer Otero .....	691
Les mots וְתִהְיֶה לָּו סִכְנַת dans 1 Rois 1,2 Jean Koulagna.....	705
Contributors.....	713



## Introduction by the Editor

*Melvin K. H. Peters*

The fourteenth triennial Congress of the IOSCS convened on July 29–31, 2010, in conjunction with the twentieth international meeting of the IOSOT in the beautiful city of Helsinki, Finland. This volume contains the vast majority of the papers presented at that Congress. It includes papers of a concluding panel discussion and also general articles covering a wide array of subjects. Unfortunately, a few participants, despite having received gentle reminders in some cases and, in others, having offered faithful promises, simply did not submit their work. Only rarely did material received fail to qualify for inclusion. The volume is, nonetheless, quite rich with contributions from well-known, distinguished senior LXX colleagues, many of whose work appeared in prior proceedings volumes, as well as from a number of promising younger scholars. The more than fifty papers appearing here are thus truly international in scope, representing viewpoints and scholarship from major Septuagint study centers—Germany, France, Spain, Belgium, The Netherlands, the United Kingdom, Finland, South Africa, Canada, Israel and the United States. Individual contributors are even more widely distributed geographically, some working in West Africa and Korea.

The richness and accessibility of the volume is even further exemplified by the presence of several articles written in English by scholars—native speakers of Spanish, Finnish, German, Dutch, French, Hebrew, Russian, for example—for whom English is a second or third language, as well as the expected articles in English, German and French, written by native speakers. One German article is even prefaced by an English abstract, and another is written in German by a non-native speaker. It was my privilege and pleasure as volume editor to ensure that the ideas of my distinguished colleagues were represented accurately, even as, on the one hand, I sought to retain the distinctive “voice” of each contributor while, on the other hand, striving to eliminate ambiguities and infelicitous expressions as much as possible. Within the volume, thanks in large measure to the widespread use of Unicode fonts, one

finds not only the traditional (vocalized) Hebrew, Greek and Syriac, but also Coptic and Ethiopic scripts.

The fullness of the original program of the Helsinki Congress—nearly seventy papers were originally proposed—attests to the on-going vitality of Septuagint Studies. Earlier in July, 2010, a Septuagint conference was held in Wuppertal, Germany in connection with the Septuaginta Deutsch translation and commentary project to which several of the participants in the IOSCS Helsinki program were also invited to present papers. Furthermore, some of these very participants contributed major papers at the IOSOT meetings in Helsinki. Thus, within the space of a month, certain Septuagint scholars could have presented no fewer than three papers in the field. A few months later in November, the annual meetings of the SBL attracted a number of Septuagint papers. The following summer (2011) a large Septuagint conference was organized in Stellenbosch, South Africa, to which many of the Wuppertal, Helsinki, and SBL participants, including this editor, were again invited. Proceedings of each of these conferences are in press or will appear presently.

The Helsinki Congress was organized around broad biblical themes each being developed in at least two papers. These themes were: Women's Books—Kellenberger on Susannah, Spottorno on Esther, LaMontagne on Ruth; Job and Proverbs—Cook and Cuppi; History—Dov Gera, Hacham and Kugler; Books of Reigns—(two sessions) Talshir, Torijano Morales, Trebolle Barrera, Robker, Fernández Marcos, Kim, Kreuzer, Meiser; Isaiah—Cunha; the LXX Lexicon—(two sessions) Ausloos, Danove, Debel/Verbeke, Spitaler, Joosten, Moffitt and Muraoka; Jeremiah—Walser, Amphoux/Sérandour; Style—Dines, Deborah Gera; Codices—Fincati; Daughter Versions—Perttilä; The Twelve—Eidsvåg, Glenney; Hexapla—Ceulemans, van der Meer; Hexateuch—Hiebert/Dykstra, Büchner, Sipilä; Linguistics—Le Moigne; New Testament—Karrer, Schmid, Steyn; Hymnic Texts—Olofsson, Dogniez; Patristics—Gallagher, Kauhanen; Textual Criticism—Piquer Otero, Koulagna. A panel discussion on the Origins of LXX that included papers by Aejmelaëus, De Troyer and van der Kooij concluded the congress. It would of course extend the size of this introduction far too much to discuss in detail, or even summarize briefly, the content of each of the papers mentioned above. For that, the reader is directed to the abstracts.

A quick survey of the listings above reveals several interrelated results. In some instances all papers read on a theme are included; in others a single contribution represents a subject area. Thus, for example, Daughter Versions are represented only by the fine paper of Perttilä; the popular book of Isaiah by the paper of Cunha; Codices by Fincati, and Linguistics by the paper of Le Moigne. These conditions are due to a combination of the previously mentioned factors explaining the absence of submissions. Some participants elected not to submit their final paper, leaving whole subject areas virtually

denuded and, in a few cases, scheduled papers for the Congress were cancelled at the last minute. Those themes presented in two sessions produced some degree of overlap in the content of papers in the volume and an understandable clustering around identical issues. The books of Reigns are a case in point. All eight papers on those books are included, so the reader should be prepared for extensive references to and disputations about the kaige recension. Indeed, this volume could well serve as a focal point for contemporary discussions of these intriguing books, including as it does contributions by the leading scholars in this area.

If I may be permitted two points of personal privilege: I was particularly pleased to receive and present the reflections of Professor Takamitsu Muraoka now that he has completed his LXX lexicon. The simple title of his paper “What after the Lexicon?” masks the extensive contributions he has made to Septuagint and Hebrew Bible studies over a long and brilliant career. Similarly, I welcomed warmly the opportunity to present in English some thoughts of my long-standing colleague and friend Professor Natalio Fernández Marcos of Madrid. It was Professor Marcos who edited in 1985 the first complete set of proceedings from the fifth IOSCS Congress in Salamanca (1983)—a volume to which I was honored to contribute. Few subsequent congress volumes have matched or exceeded the elegance of that early one. In the intervening decades, Professor Marcos and his team have added considerably to the field of Septuagint studies.

In this my third (and final) edited volume of IOSCS Congress proceedings, I wish again to express thanks to all the contributors who submitted carefully formatted work in a timely manner. Such papers made the editorial task much easier. Special thanks and appreciation go to the editorial staff at SBL Publications, without whose support, patience and skill, this rather detailed and complicated volume would have been infinitely more onerous and challenging to produce. The editorial director, Bob Buller, assisted me in resolving many a technical problem regarding fonts and their appropriate display in this and each preceding volume. Leigh Andersen, Managing Editor, has been absolutely priceless during my entire decade-long stint as monograph series and congress volume editor. She has been a consummate professional and a patient supportive colleague and friend. Billie Jean Collins, Acquisitions Editor, and Kathie Klein, Marketing Manager, have been unfailingly generous and kind in their dealings with me over the years. Of course, having acknowledged the involvement of others in the production of this volume, I take full responsibility for any oversights and mistakes that may remain.

Durham, North Carolina  
April, 2012



# The Septuagint and Oral Translation

*Anneli Aejmelaeus*

**Abstract:** Speaking of oral translation has not been popular in Septuagint research lately. The history of research knows one such theory, developed about a century ago by Paul Kahle, maintaining that there was no one written translation in the beginning but several different oral translations that were written down and eventually unified in a process comparable to the development of the Targums. This theory has been refuted, once and for all, a long time ago. Everything in the textual history of the Septuagint speaks for an *Urtext*, one translation text behind all the various developments in the textual history. But what was there before this *Urtext*? Several puzzles around the Septuagint find a natural solution, if an origin in oral translation is presupposed for the Torah or at least parts of it. The only source of arguments for a theory of this kind is the translation itself.

## 1. INTRODUCTION TO THE PANEL

The real story of the origins of the Septuagint is like a big puzzle for which only a few pieces are available.<sup>1</sup> Through centuries scholars interested in this area of study have tried to find pieces for the puzzle from the Letter of Aristeas—as we all know, a second-century B.C.E. pseudepigraph,<sup>2</sup> which cannot

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1. On the origins of the Septuagint, see also, e.g., Sebastian Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” *OTS* 17 (1972) 11–36, and “Bibelübersetzungen I:2 Die Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments ins Griechische,” in *TRE VI* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1980) 163–172; Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (Understanding the Bible and its World, ed. Michael A. Knibb; London – New York: T & T Clark, 2004); Benjamin G. Wright III, “Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo,” in *The Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus & R.G. Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 47–61.

2. *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate*, introd., texte critique, trad. et notes par André Pelletier (Sources chrétiennes 89; Paris: Cerf, 1962; *Aristeas to Philocrates*, edited and translated by Moses Hadas (Jewish Apocryphal Literature; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951); *Aris-*

be regarded as a historical document telling us what really happened. The problem with Aristeas is that it is impossible to distinguish in which details it happens to be right and in which details it is not. No detail of the story can thus be relied on as such but must be backed up with evidence from other sources. Why then consider the Letter of Aristeas at all? Why let Aristeas determine the agenda for the discussion?<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, more than anything else, the Letter of Aristeas informs us of the circumstances at the time of its writing, in Alexandria of the late second century B.C.E., namely: (1) the existence of the Torah in Greek, known as the Law (ὁ νόμος), and (2) its status as Scripture equivalent to the Hebrew Scriptures.

It is important to note that the Letter of Aristeas speaks only of the Law, the Greek Torah, although towards the end of the second century B.C.E., its time of writing, there must have been other translated books, as witnessed by the translator of Ben Sira. This means that the Torah—Hebrew and Greek—had a special, authoritative status above all the other books, and the Greek Torah obviously derived its authority from the Hebrew original. If this was the situation as late as the final quarter of the second century, I think we should more clearly distinguish between the Pentateuch and the other books when we speak of the process of translation. I am not suggesting that we should use the name Septuagint in its original meaning—that would only cause confusion—but we should take seriously the difference between “the Scripture” and “the other writings.”

I agree with Ben Wright that the Letter of Aristeas shows us the end result of a long process: what became of the translation that was initiated more than a hundred years earlier.<sup>4</sup> In the beginning, there was probably no intention to create an authoritative text. What was the original intention? How did the process that led to authoritative Greek Scripture begin? In this panel we are trying to put together a few pieces of this big puzzle. These pieces—hints and clues to what really happened—should be looked for in the sociology of groups like the diaspora Jews in Alexandria, in the history of the diaspora and the Jewish religion, as much as can be known of it, and most importantly in textual studies, in the text of the Septuagint itself, although its witness is not always easy to interpret.

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*teasbrief*, übersetzt und kommentiert von Norbert Meisner (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, 2.1; Gütersloh, 1977).

3. See Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A study in the narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003).

4. Benjamin Wright, “Translation as Scripture,” 47–61. A need to argue for the authoritative status of the Septuagint is an explanation given to the Letter of Aristeas by Benjamin Wright.

## 2. WHEN AND WHERE—WHY AND HOW?

There is no need for me to start from the very beginning and argue for the when and the where of the translation of the Torah. There seems to be a broad consensus among us about the second quarter or the middle of the third century B.C.E., and this can be made plausible even on linguistic grounds.<sup>5</sup> There also seems to be a firm connection with Alexandria, especially with the Jewish community that was established in the newly founded city from the turn of the century (fourth–third B.C.E.).

What interests me are the why and the how. I would like to see the origins of the Septuagint as a gradual process and a communal enterprise that arose from the need of the community to keep up and strengthen its Jewish identity in the Hellenistic society. The Hellenization of the Jewish immigrants happened very rapidly and an essential part of it was, of course, the adoption of the Greek language, first as a second language alongside their native Aramaic, but soon as the main language of everyday life. Two generations is normally a time long enough for immigrants to change even their home language.

The language seems not to have been constitutive for the identity of the Jewish community. Instead, their Jewish identity must have had a strong religious element. Unfortunately, we know just about nothing about Jewish religious institutions and practices during that time. Did they practice reading the Torah in one form or the other? The Torah itself prescribes gatherings of the community for the celebration of the annual festivals as well as for the reciting of the Torah.

The question of which was first, the Synagogue or the Septuagint, is almost like the question about the chicken and the egg. The emergence of both of them—the *προσευχή* houses and the translation of the Torah—in the mid-third century hints at a definite connection between the two. Assuredly, both can be seen as parts of the strategy of the community—an ethnic minority group in the Hellenistic society—to strengthen its Jewish identity. As we know, it was a successful strategy.

## 3. THE QUESTION OF ORAL TRANSLATION

The outcome of the process makes me believe that Torah reading played a part in it. In the beginning, it must have happened in Hebrew. As long as Aramaic was spoken in the community, they may have translated the recited verses

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5. J. A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SCS 14; Chico, Ca.: Scholars Press, 1983) 129–144.

orally into Aramaic, as we have learned about the origins of the Targum. As Aramaic was more and more replaced by Greek, there must have been an increasing need to find Greek expressions for central concepts of the Jewish religion and the content of the Torah. What could have been more natural than translating Scripture orally into Greek for those members of the community who could not follow Hebrew reading?<sup>6</sup> In fact, there are features in the Greek Pentateuch that hint at a practice of oral translation as a preparatory phase behind the written form.

Already the general impression of the translation technique speaks for some kind of a preparatory phase. The standard equivalents and the conventions of translating are there from the very beginning. I find it difficult to think that the individual translators would have coined the equivalents for the religious terms and other recurring expressions in the course of their work as they were confronted with such words for the first time and that these translation choices would have been simply followed by later translators. The use of the *religious terminology* is remarkably consistent from the very beginning. I am thinking of words such as δικαιοσύνη for צְדָקָה, διαθήκη for בְּרִית, νόμος for תּוֹרָה, ἔλεος for חֶסֶד, δόξα for כְּבוֹד, προσήλυτος for גֵּר—Greek words that were used in a new way, corresponding to certain Hebrew words. One could argue that it would suffice if these words had become part of the speech of the community. The language of the translation was derived from the language usage of the community.<sup>7</sup>

However, this does not explain everything. There are phenomena that presuppose *preconceived equivalences between Hebrew and Greek words* that can only be based on translation practice. It is hardly possible to prove this, but there are details of translation technique that possibly serve as cumulative evidence for oral translation behind the written text of the Greek Torah.

My first example is εὐλογέω, corresponding to the Hebrew root בָּרַךְ, which has the two very different functions, ‘to praise’ and ‘to bless,’ requiring different renderings in most other languages.<sup>8</sup> The Greek word actually corre-

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6. According to Elias J. Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation,” *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* XXVIII (1959), 1–39, “in the Alexandrian synagogue a dragoman standing beside the reader translated the lesson into Greek” (8). Sebastian Brock, *TRE* 6:163–172, seems to have had a similar idea.

7. Jan Joosten, “Language as Symptom: Linguistic Clues to the Social Background of the Seventy,” in *Text-Criticism and Beyond: In Memoriam of Isac Leo Seeligmann* (Textus 23; ed. A. Rofé, M. Segal, S. Talmon & Z. Talshir; Jerusalem: Magnes 2007) 69–80.

8. I am grateful to Jan Joosten who suggested this example to me. See also his discussion of the lexical item in his contribution to this volume. It is interesting that the verb εὐλογέω, just like its Hebrew counterpart, is used to denote not only the act of speaking



sponds to the first function only ('to speak well of,' 'to praise'),<sup>9</sup> and this must have been decisive for the coinage of the equivalence. The first occurrences of the word in Genesis (1:22, 28, 2:3, 5:2, 9:1), however, represent the meaning 'to bless'—in fact most occurrences of the verb and its derivatives in Genesis (> 80) represent this meaning. It is impossible to think that this translator would have coined the equivalent. Rather, he knew that the Hebrew word בָּרַךְ should be translated by εὐλογέω. The next book, Exodus has fewer occurrences of the word, but the result is the same. The meaning 'to praise' occurs in the well-known acclamation יְהוָה בָּרוּךְ—εὐλογητὸς κύριος (Gen 9:26, 24:27; Exod 18:10), and this could be the origin of the equivalence. How it actually came about we do not know. What concerns me here is that it could not have come about at the point where the translator of either Genesis or Exodus or any other book in the Pentateuch was first confronted with the Hebrew word. Nor is it possible to think that the meaning 'blessing' would have come about in the language usage of the community. It clearly presupposes the combination of the two ideas in the Hebrew term and could thus originate with translation from Hebrew only.

Another interesting case is the use of δόξα for כְּבוֹד. In genuine Greek δόξα has mostly a neutral meaning 'esteem,' 'opinion,' 'reputation,' then also 'good reputation,' but in biblical Greek it has a special meaning 'glory,' 'splendour,' especially of God, referring even to a visible radiance in the presence of God, corresponding to the Hebrew כְּבוֹד.<sup>10</sup> The first occurrence of כְּבוֹד in Genesis 31:1, however, has the meaning 'property,' 'wealth,' in reference to Jacob's possessions in Mesopotamia.<sup>11</sup> Even in this human context כְּבוֹד is translated by δόξα. This could not possibly have been the first case of this equivalence, but presupposes the biblical usage and the coining of δόξα as an equivalent for כְּבוֹד in other contexts, particularly in Exodus and Numbers.<sup>12</sup>

either 'praise' or 'blessing,' but also the act of 'effecting blessing.' Cf. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), *sub loco*.

9. See Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*, *sub loco*: the usage to denote 'blessing' is clearly Hebraistic and originates with the Septuagint.

10. Although it also translates a few other related terms, δόξα predominantly corresponds to כְּבוֹד and most probably originated as a rendering of it. The more neutral senses that are common in Classical Greek (see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *sub loco*) have hardly any use in the Greek Bible.

11. See also the parallel verse Gen 31:16 where the Hebrew text has changed to עֶשֶׂר but the Greek text has a double translation with δόξα.

12. The only other cases in Genesis (45:13, 49:6) speak of human honour, whereas examples for the connotation 'visible splendour (of God)' are found in Exodus and Numbers (e.g. Exod 16:7, 10; 24:16, 17; Num 14:10, 21, 22; 16:19).

I am still looking for more such hints and clues that would speak of experience in oral translation preceding the writing down of the final translation. One group of cases could be inappropriate renderings that show influence of another, totally different, later context. One example might be **נָס**, a very basic Hebrew word that has a concrete basic meaning ‘nose’ and a derived abstract meaning ‘anger’ (regularly translated by ὀργή or θυμός). I was surprised to find that the concrete ‘nose,’ ‘nostrils’ is quite rare and rarely appears in the Greek translation.<sup>13</sup> The concrete dual **אַפִּיִם** ‘nostrils,’ occurs in the idiom “to bow one’s face to the ground,” for which πρόσωπον ‘face’ is very natural. Now, the first occurrence of **נָס** in Genesis is 2:7, in the context of the creation of the human being out of dust, God breathing “into his nostrils the breath of life.” A concrete equivalent is needed, and the translator offers εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, using the concrete rendering that is appropriate in the idiom “to bow one’s face to the ground,” which appears later in Genesis (19:1, 42:6, 48:12) and in several other books of the OT. In the Pentateuch it appears however only once outside of Genesis, namely Numbers 22:31. The translator of Genesis seems to be equipped with two alternatives for **נָס**, the abstract ‘anger’ in the singular and the concrete ‘face’ in the dual, which hit the target in the majority of cases, but not in the first occurrence of the Hebrew word.<sup>14</sup>

Further cumulative evidence for my thesis of oral translation practices could possibly be found in various *translation conventions* that spring from an obvious religious motivation and stay the same throughout most of the Septuagint. For instance, there seems to have been an agreement not to translate directly the divine epithet צור “Rock.” This well-known phenomenon is frequent in the Psalms,<sup>15</sup> but the rule is also followed in those few cases where צור appears in Deuteronomy. For instance,

Deut 32:15 וַיִּטֹּשׁ אֱלֹהֵי עֲשָׂהוּ וַיִּנְבֵּל צוֹר יִשְׁעָתוֹ  
καὶ ἐγκατέλιπεν θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέστη ἀπὸ θεοῦ  
σωτήρος αὐτοῦ.

Ps 17(18): 47 חַיִּיהוּנָה וּבְרֹךְ צוֹרִי  
ζῆ κύριος, καὶ εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός μου.

13. “Nostrils,” the plural of נַסְתָּה for the singular **נָס**, appear at Num 11:20; 2 Kgs 19:28; 4 Macc 6:25, 15:19; Prov 30:33; Song 7:5; Job 40:26, 41:12; Ezek 16:12, 23:25.

14. The second occurrence is Gen 3:19 “in the sweat of your face,” and in the third one, Gen 7:22 “the breath of the spirit of life in its nostrils,” the word remains untranslated.

15. See Staffan Olofsson, *God Is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (ConBOT 31; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990).

Another such convention can be observed in the passages that contain the expression “to see the face of God.” As is well known, even the Masoretic vocalization changes the verb ראה to nif. in such cases. In the Septuagint, this device is however also applied to the verb חזה that does not have a nif. There are examples in the Psalter as well as in Exodus:

Exod 34:24 בַּעֲלֹתָּ לְרֹאשׁוֹת אֶת־פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ  
 ἡνίκα ἂν ἀναβαίνης ὀφθῆναι ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου.

Exod 24:11 וַיַּחֲזוּ אֶת־הָאֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּשְׁתּוּ  
 καὶ ὥφθησαν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἔφαγον καὶ ἔπιον.

Ps 16(17):15 אֲנִי בַצֶּדֶק אַחֲזָה פְּנִיךָ  
 ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀφθῆσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου.

Obviously, certain details of the translation were already determined beforehand,<sup>16</sup> not only through the language spoken in the community but also through translation equivalences and conventions that had been developed in the course of oral translation—that is, there was a great deal of “know-how” concerning the correspondence of Hebrew words with Greek ones. And what is amazing and should be studied more closely is that there are many similarities with the Targum, for example, in the theological conventions of translating I just mentioned. Since the Targums were hardly influenced by the Septuagint, I see no other solution but to presuppose a common source or tradition of oral translation behind both.

Speaking of oral translation has not been popular in Septuagint studies lately.<sup>17</sup> Everyone knows Kahle’s theory that was refuted long ago, and I do

16. See my “Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism: Colloquium Biblicum Lovaniense LIII, July 27–29, 2004*, ed M. Knibb (BETL 195; Leuven: Peeters, 2006) 21–48 (reprinted in my *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* [Revised and Expanded Edition; Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007]).

17. About a century ago, Paul Kahle presented his Targum theory, maintaining that there was no one written translation in the beginning but several different oral translations that were written down and eventually unified in a process comparable to the development of the Targum. The weak point of this theory is that there is nothing in the textual history of the Septuagint to support it, whereas the discovery of different types of Targums does give evidence of this kind of a history of development. The textual tradition of the Septuagint clearly speaks for one text of the translation in the beginning, an *Urtext* so to speak, and later variation of this one text through corruption as well as correction according to the Hebrew text. Paul E. Kahle, “Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes,”

not wish to return to it. Instead, I wish to describe the emergence of the Septuagint as the result of a long process in which the community was the active party, initiating the translation in oral form, authorizing its interpretations and translation conventions, and finally legitimating its writing.

In proceeding from oral translation to writing, there were several factors that played a part in the formulation of the written translation in the various books. The final outcome was a combination of (1) translation conventions and standard equivalences, on the one hand, and (2) unparalleled renderings determined by the competence, creativity, and preferences of the individual translators, on the other. (3) A third factor might have been that different genres required different approaches.

I can imagine that the Greek Pentateuch was produced in writing by translators who had experience in the oral translation of these books. But there is at least one more factor causing variation in the quality of the translation: it is hardly thinkable that Scripture reading and the oral translation that accompanied it were practised in a systematic way throughout the Pentateuch from the very beginning. This would mean that the translators were not equally experienced in all parts of the books.

Furthermore, the theory of oral translation behind the Greek Pentateuch could be used to explain some of the differences in comparison with the books translated later. The variation in the quality of the translations cannot be purely a question of varying competence of the individual translators, but must depend, at least to a certain extent, on the status of the various books and the interest of the community in them.<sup>18</sup>

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*Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915), 399–439; the theory was repeated in *The Cairo Geniza* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947).

18. Similarities between the various books, on the other hand, could be explained, as they have been explained before, by familiarity with the translation of the Pentateuch (see Emanuel Tov, “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the Other Books,” *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy études bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60e anniversaire*, ed. P. Casetti, O. Keel & A. Schenker; OBO 38; Fribourg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981; 577–92), either with its written form or with the oral process. That the later translators, however, fall short of the standard set by the Pentateuch is probably also due to the lower status of those books. Books that were less central for the religious praxis or identity must have been less intensively studied, which can be seen, for instance, in frequent errors in translation: false analyses of grammatical forms or failure to recognize less common words.

## 4. THE NOVELTY OF A TRANSLATION IN WRITING

However, what could be the reason for proceeding from oral translation to fixing the translation in writing? Perhaps it had to do with the gradual loss of understanding of Hebrew. One could also think that the number of persons that were capable of performing as oral translators became smaller as time passed.

One could also ask: Why did this happen in Alexandria and not in other Jewish communities elsewhere in the Hellenistic world? Certainly not by chance. The rapid Hellenization of the community and their interest in Hellenistic learning and culture were certainly important factors. It is not implausible that oral translation into Greek was practised also elsewhere. There was actually nothing very special about it. What was special was the fixing in writing of the wording of a sacred text in translation, and this may well have been inspired—if not by the royal librarian—at least by the cultural climate of Alexandria where so much emphasis was laid on books and learning.<sup>19</sup>

Once the translation of the Torah had been fixed in writing, there were radical consequences. From now on, it was possible for just anybody to read the sacred texts of the Jews, if only they could get hold of a copy. A missionary effect of the translation was probably not intended, although for instance Philo thought that the Septuagint was meant for the benefit of all humankind, not just for the Jews.<sup>20</sup> For Jews, the most radical step was giving up the Hebrew reading and using the translated Scriptures independently. Oral translation per definition could only function in the context of a Hebrew reading. As soon as the translation existed in writing, however, it was found to function on its own, and the way was open for the final step, regarding the Septuagint as authoritative, sacred, and equal in status to the Hebrew Scriptures, as witnessed by the Letter of Aristeas. An equally unintended consequence of the translation and its fixing in writing was that the Jewish Scriptures were spread further and wider than they ever could have been in their original form and had an influence on the cultural history of Europe, the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

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19. See also Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint*, 1–60.

20. Philo, *De vita Mosis* 2.26.



# The Hebrew Text behind the Greek Text of the Pentateuch

Kristin De Troyer

**Abstract:** In her attempts to establish the Old Greek text, the text-critic always reconstructs the (Hebrew) *Vorlagen* out of which the attested readings could have emerged and then proceeds to decide which text is most likely the oldest. The text-critic needs to rely on the study of the translation technique in order to reconstruct the correct Hebrew *Vorlage*. In my contribution to the panel, I will offer examples which might point to the existence of Hebrew texts that differ from the MT, even when dealing with the Five Books of Moses, which were most likely to be translated first. I will then discuss the consequences this has for our thinking concerning the origins of the Old Greek translation.

In Septuagint studies there is a fine balance between two activities that Septuagint scholars constantly do. On the one hand, we try to establish the Old Greek text as it left the hands of the first translators who were rendering the Hebrew text into Greek.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, we study the recensions, especially the early ones, namely the so-called proto-Lucian, kaige, Symmachus, and Aquila, etc., in order to find out how the Old Greek was corrected towards a later Hebrew text.<sup>2</sup>

The study of how the Hebrew was rendered in Greek was spearheaded by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen and further advanced by his students Raija Sollamo

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1. Hanhart labels this “eines erreichbaren Zieles” whereas “[D]as ursprüngliche Ziel der Göttinger Edition, die Überlieferung der griechischen Texte, der alten Sekundärübersetzungen und der biblischen Zitate in den Schriften der Kirchenväter im handschriftlichen Bestand der Spätantike und des Mittelalters möglichst vollständig zu erfassen und textgeschichtlich aufzuarbeiten” was, see Robert Hanhart, “Die Geschichte,” in *Das Göttinger Septuaginta Unternehmen*, Göttingen: Septuaginta-Unternehmen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 1997, p. 5–11, esp. 7.

2. See esp. Natalio Fernández Marcos, translated by W. G. E. Watson, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, Leiden: Brill, 2000.

and Anneli Aejmelaesus and the next generation of Septuagint scholars, such as Anssi Voitila and Seppo Sipilä, in Helsinki. The Helsinki school mapped especially how Hebrew syntax was translated into Greek syntax. These studies came to be known as Translation Technique studies. Using Translation Technique, it is easy to see what is standard rendering and what goes beyond it. The “what-goes-beyond-it” has led to many a hermeneutical study. But it is precisely what goes beyond the standard rendering that is also a subject of discussion. Is the element in a text that cannot be explained as the result of Translation Technique an interpretative variant or does it reflect a *Vorlage* different from the MT?

The problem is that we in Septuagint research are most of the time occupied with the exceptions and with the Hebrew text that is different from the MT. This is foremost the result of years of emphasis on precisely the differences between especially the MT and the other texts and not as much the result of the study of Translation Technique. It was especially Qumran research that alerted the scholars to the existence of Hebrew texts, which differed from their Masoretic sister. But also in the field of Septuagint, there was a focus on the differences. For instance, Schenker, writes:

“Ein Ergebnis hat die intensive Forschung der letzten Jahre auf dem Gebiet der Septuaginta erbracht: es ist allgemeiner und deutlicher ins Bewusstsein gerückt, dass die Mehrzahl der griechischen Übersetzer ihre Vorlage genau so übertrugen, wie sie lasen, ohne sie literarisch, d.h. inhaltlich zu verändern. ... Daraus folgt, dass literarisch verschiedene Fassungen im hebräischen massoretischen Text (MT) auf der einen Seite und im griechischen Text der Septuaginta auf der andern in der Regel nicht auf das Konto der griechischen Übersetzer zu buchen sind. Sie beruhen vielmehr auf einer hebräischen Vorlage, die diese Übersetzer vor Augen hatten, und die sich nicht mit dem MT deckte.”<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, there are also in our field a couple presumptions present. For instance it is often presumed that at least the text of the Books of the Torah was stabilized rather early onwards—some even refer to the time of Ezra for the definitive text of the Five Books of Moses. Barton for instance writes: “From about the time of Ezra, in the fifth century BC, the Pentateuch or ‘Torah’ (...) was the centrepiece of Jewish identity. No other books equalled it in prestige

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3. Adrian Schenker, “Hebraica veritas bei den Siebziger? Die Septuaginta als älteste greifbare Ausgabe der hebräischen Bibel (erörtert am Beispiel von 2Chr 1,13),” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus, in collaboration with Martin Meiser; WUNT, 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 426–38, esp. 426.



and holiness.”<sup>4</sup> Soggin also writes: “at the time when the schism between Jews and Samaritans took place, an event the date of which cannot be determined with any certainty, but which cannot be after the end of the fourth century BC, the Pentateuch must have been virtually complete in its present form.”<sup>5</sup> Kaiser in his introduction modifies the standard opinion with regard to the date of the Five books of Moses. He takes into account that the split with the Samaritan community, and hence the dating of the text of the Five books of Moses, can not simply be related to the destruction of the Temple on Mount Gerizim, “sondern das Ergebnis einer längeren Entwicklung gewesen ist, die ihren kritischen Punkt nicht vor dem Ende des 2. Jahrhunderts erreichte.”<sup>6</sup> Kaiser’s remarks about the formation of the canon and especially of the Five Books of Moses stand in contrast to the continued, albeit also severely criticized, dating of the sources of the Five Books of Moses and their final redaction.<sup>7</sup> Kaiser’s dating of the text brings it closer to the dating of not only the Writings, some of whose texts were composed and almost immediately following translated into Greek, but also to the presumed date of the translating of the Five books of Moses into Greek.

That the text of the Five Books of Moses was rather early standardized does not mean that there were no other versions available. There is in Qumran clear evidence that for instance for Exodus and Leviticus there still were other versions available.

In between the Torah and the Writings stand the Historical Books. These books are dissected by especially the scholars of the so-called Deuteronomistic History. And the Deuteronomistic scholars can be divided more or less into two camps: those who believe the majority of the Deuteronomistic work was done in the pre-exilic period, such as for instance the time period of King Hezekiah, and completed during the Babylonian exile (Cross) and those who claim that the majority of the texts stem from the exilic period (Noth and followers).<sup>8</sup> The debate thus is between eighth century and sixth century B.C.E.

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4. John Barton, *How the Bible Came To Be* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997).

5. John Alberto Soggin, *Introduction to the Old Testament. From Its Origins to the Closing of the Alexandrian Canon* (London: SCM, 1980<sup>2</sup>), 14.

6. Otto Kaiser, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Eine Einführung in ihre Ergebnisse und Probleme* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1984<sup>5</sup>), 406.

7. See for instance, Otto Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament. An Introduction including the Apocrypha, and Pseudepigrapha, and Also of the Works of Similar Type from Qumran. The History of the Formation of the Old Testament* (translated by Peter R. Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 155–241, esp. 239–240.

8. For a general survey, see i.a.: Eissfeldt, *The Old Testament*, 241–248; A. Graeme Auld, “The Former Prophets (Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Kings),” in *The Hebrew Bible Today. An Introduction to the Critical Issues* (ed. Steven L. McKenzie and M. Pat-

In LXX circles, however, totally different dates are used to indicate the latest layers in the Historical books—the word ‘Hasmonean’ and ‘second century B.C.E.’ seem to be pivotal. When Schenker for instance studies the differences between MT 1Kgs 20 and LXX3Kgt 21 and concludes that the Old Greek as found in Codex Vaticanus represents the older form of the story—older than the MT—he points to the second century B.C.E. as the time of the edition that is now known as the MT: “Diese Überbearbeitung der überlieferten Textform muss in der hellenistischen Zeit verfasst worden sein (3.-1. Jh.v.Chr.), weil die ursprüngliche LXX, die im 2.Jh. entstanden ist und ihre Vorlage schon als kanonisch betrachtet hat (...), damals noch die unveränderte Erzählung vor Augen hatte.”<sup>9</sup> Similarly, Böhler points to the same time period when dating the form that is now the final version of the MT Ezra-Nehemiah—which is in his theory a later recension. He writes: “Various indications point to the second century B.C.E. for this reworking.”<sup>10</sup> In other words, some Septuagint scholars point to a much later date for the final version of some of the Historical books than their Deuteronomistic counterparts do.

There is indeed a serious gap between the theories of the Hebrew Bible scholars and the theories of the Septuagint scholars with regard to especially the Historical books.<sup>11</sup>

What can we now say about the Hebrew text of the Five Books of Moses from which the Old Greek of the Pentateuch was translated? What did the Hebrew text look like? After all, as Sperber, correctly states: “In der Septuaginta aber

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rick Graham; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 53–68 and more specific: Markus Witte, Konrad Schmid, Doris Prechel, and Jan Christian Gertz, eds., in collaboration with Johannes F. Diehl, *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke. Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur “Deuteronomismus”-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten* (BZAW, 365; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006).

9. Adrian Schenker, “Junge Garden oder akrobatische Tänzer? Das Verhältnis zwischen 1Kön 20 MT and 3Regn 21LXX,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible. The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. Adrian Schenker; SCS 52; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 17–34, esp. 30;

10. Dieter Böhler, “On the Relationship between Textual and Literary Criticism. The Two Recensions of the Book of Ezra: Ezra-Neh (MT) and 1Esdras (LXX),” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible*, 35–50, esp. 48; with reference to his dissertation, Dieter Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras α und Esra-Nehemia. Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels* (OBO, 158; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 382–397.

11. There was a session devoted to the study of the Dtr at the IOSOT Helsinki 2010 meeting and I as Septuagint scholar was asked to present my views. See Kristin De Troyer, “Which Text Are We Using for Our Studies of Dtr?” in *Proceedings of the IOSOT Helsinki 2010 Meeting* (ed. Marti Nissinen; VTSup 148; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 461–471.

besitzen wir einen Zeugen für die hebräische Textgestalt einer Zeit, die lange vor dem Einsetzen der Arbeit der Masoreten liegt.”<sup>12</sup> The reconstruction and study of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Pentateuch is thus certainly a worthwhile project and goal.

It could be said that, aside from the well known exceptions,<sup>13</sup> the Old Greek of most books of the *Pentateuch* was translated from a Hebrew text that was not that much different from the later Hebrew Masoretic text. Sollamo writes with regard to the Five Books of the Moses: “The textual variants of the LXX will not be discussed in detail, because significant variants are comparatively rare ...”<sup>14</sup> Aejmelaeus in her study of the translation of parataxis remarks that “it seems that the text used by the translators of the Septuagint differed from it [*the text of the BHS*] in some respects.”<sup>15</sup> But then, she notes that although there are differences between *BHS* and the Samaritan, the differences are minimal: “the resulting changes ... would be insignificant.” Tov specifies: “Some parts of the LXX were presumably based on a Hebrew text similar to MT.”<sup>16</sup> Moreover, Tov warns that “only after all possible transla-

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12. A. A. Sperber, *Septuaginta—Probleme I* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des hebräischen III; Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament III/13; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1929), 58–80, esp. 58—even if I do not always agree with his conclusions that differences in proper nouns in MT and OG Genesis point to different Hebrew *Vorlagen*.

13. In his discussion of examples of large scale differences between the main versions of the Bible, Tov lists and discusses the different chronological systems in MT, Targumim, Peshitto, Vulgate of the Book of Genesis on the one hand and the Old Greek on the other hand as well as the two literary strata in Deuteronomy 5. He also points to the shortened text of 4QExod<sup>d</sup>, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2001<sup>2</sup>), 319–48, esp. 338, 346. In his 2003 contribution to the volume on the earliest text of the Hebrew Bible, Tov discusses the nature of the large scale differences between LXX and the other texts: “The Nature of the Large-Scale Differences between the LXX and the MT S T V, Compared with Similar Evidence in Other Sources,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible. The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. A. Schenker; SCS 52; Atlanta: SBL, 2003), 121–143; in this volume also only the case of the different chronological systems in Gen is mentioned as an example of a large scale difference in the Pentateuch).

14. Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of the Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum, 19; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 12.

15. Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint. A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae. Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 8–9.

16. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997<sup>2</sup>), 39.

tional explanations have been dismissed should one address the assumption that the translation represents a Hebrew reading different from MT.”<sup>17</sup> Similarly: “The reader should realize that 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.”<sup>18</sup> Wevers, in his famous *Notes*, writes about the Greek text of Exodus: “The Notes are also based on the presupposition that the canonical text being translated was in the main much like the consonantal text of MT.”<sup>19</sup> I would like to add to this statement that it is precisely in the books of the Five Books of Moses in contrast to the rest of the Biblical books that indeed the Hebrew text as translated by the Greek translators is close to the consonantal text of MT.

There are of course also exceptions to be noted. For instance, Skehan in 1957,<sup>20</sup> after studying 4QLXXLev<sup>a</sup> states that “That text is in the main the rendering of Leviticus with which we are familiar; nevertheless, ... there are ten separate readings which are unique.” He concludes: “... that we have here one more book of the OT in which a single early Greek rendering seems to have undergone a good deal of what we would today call critical revision, in the period even before Origen.”<sup>21</sup> In the *edition princeps* he makes the following remark with regard to the variants: “None of these readings constitute errors, but all can be seen as acceptable, free ways of translating a Hebrew text identical with, or very similar to, the received M.”<sup>22</sup> Similarly, Aejmelaeus in her

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17. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 40.

18. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 44.

19. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) xv. See also idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), xiii and idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), xi. See also: “I have taken the parent text as the consonantal text of MT, except where the evidence makes such a parent text unlikely,” see idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), xxxvii and idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SCS 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998), xxxvi.

20. Patrick W. Skehan, “The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism,” in *Volume du congrès: Strasbourg 1956* (VTSup 4; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 148–160, esp. 157–160 (= Patrick W. Skehan, “The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* [ed. F. M. Cross and Sh. Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975], 212–225, esp. 221–225).

21. Skehan, “The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism,” 157–158 (= Skehan, “The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual Criticism,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, 221–222).

22. Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, with a contribution by P. J. Parsons, *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 163.

study of Exodus points to both a different Hebrew Vorlage as well as translation technique to solve the problem with the Tabernacle account: “in cases of divergence between the MT and the Septuagint, we usually ask whether they have resulted from free translation or from a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. We seldom come to think that these two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. Since they are not alternatives, it is possible to have both free translation and a different *Vorlage* in the same text. And this is the case in the tabernacle account.”<sup>23</sup> Hence, Septuagint scholars are warned that their projects are not necessarily straightforward.

It is useful in this context to be reminded of the different words that we use to indicate the Hebrew text: the often imprecisely used term “Masoretic Text,” the better “Proto-Masoretic Text” that is the same consonantal text as the Masoretic Text but without the accents, vowels, masora etc.<sup>24</sup> Then there is the “Pre-Masoretic Text.” In his *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Tov actually does not use the term Pre-Masoretic Text. There is no reference to a Pre-Masoretic Text in the index.<sup>25</sup> There is however the term Pre-Samaritan Text.<sup>26</sup> Tov explains that some texts of Qumran “are now called pre-Samaritan on the assumption that one of them was adapted to form the special text of the Samaritans.”<sup>27</sup> In other words, the pre-Samaritan texts are the texts in which the characteristics of the Samaritan text are not yet present. Using linguistic corrections, harmonizations in minutiae and various readings, Tov differentiates between the pre-Samaritan and the proto-Masoretic text.

By analogy with the pre-Samaritan text, the term pre-Masoretic text however started to also become in use,<sup>28</sup> and thus, there are now three possible stages in the Hebrew text: pre, proto and the MT.

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23. Anneli Aejmelaesus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators. Collected Essays* (CBET 50; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1992; Louvain: Peeters, 2007<sup>2</sup>), 107–121, esp. 121.

24. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 23.

25. See for a survey of Tov’s research, Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 5–8. Lange, although he critically reviews the statistics as offered by Tov, continues to use the same terminology, albeit that he renames a subgroup of the proto-MT as semiMT, see Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 18, fn. 39.

26. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 21, 80–100.

27. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 97.

28. Although Clines uses the terminology not entirely correctly, he does need to be credited with inventing the ‘pre-Massoretic’ stage of the Book of Esther, besides the proto-Massoretic text of Esther, see David J.A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll. The Story of the Story* (JSOTSup 30; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 93–114. For a survey of the research on the

The distinctions between the different layers of the Masoretic Text are useful, even if at times and in principle the so-called pre-Masoretic text did not give rise to a proto- and later MT. Indeed, it is the question whether or not all texts are necessarily recensionally linked to each other. This certainly is not the case in the books of Joshua<sup>29</sup> and Samuel.<sup>30</sup>

In this contribution, however, I am not giving examples from Jeremiah, Samuel/Kings, Esther, or Joshua, even if it would be easier to demonstrate the differences between the different layers or different editions of the Hebrew texts.<sup>31</sup> No, as the topic of the panel-discussion as organized by Anneli Aejmelaeus was the *Origins of the Septuagint*, and as everyone assumes that the Five Books of Moses were first translated, I needed to focus on these five books and their translation.

My example stems from the Book of Leviticus. I hope to demonstrate that the Old Greek can even point to at least one possible example of a small difference between the pre-Masoretic text and the (proto-) MT. I worked on this case when I was preparing the Schøyen Leviticus papyrus for publication.<sup>32</sup>

The Schøyen papyrus offers a lot of variants in comparison with the Old Greek text as reconstructed by Wevers. For instance, in OG Leviticus, the phrase ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔσονται is used—with several variants—in especially chapter 11. The phrase is a key phrase and is often used in summaries with regard to what precisely is unclean (and thus what should be avoided). Wevers for instance writes: “Being ἀκάθαρτος makes one unfit for

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different stages and texts of the Books of Esther, 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: SBL, 2000), 15–71. See also Schenker, who also uses both ‘pre- and proto-Masoretic text’ in Adrian Schenker, *Älteste Textgeschichte der Königsbücher. Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher* (OBO, 199; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 185–186.

29. See chapter 25 on “The Growth of the Book of Joshua in Light of the Evidence of the Septuagint,” in Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 385–396

30. Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel. The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (ed. Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 23–37.

31. See esp. Kristin De Troyer, *Joshua* (Papyri Graecae Schøyen, PSchøyen I; ed. Rosario Pintaudi; Papyrologica Florentina, XXXV/Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, V; Firenze: Gonnelli, 2005), 79–145 + Plates XVI–XXVII.

32. Kristin De Troyer, *Leviticus* (Papyri Graecae Schøyen, PSchøyen II; ed. Diletta Minutoli and Rosario Pintaudi; Papyrologica Florentina XL/Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, Greek Papyri V/II; Firenze: Gonnelli, 2010), 1–68 + plates I–XVI.

cultic participation; one is defiled, and such defilement can be communicated to a person by touching something (or someone) unclean. One is thus in a dangerous state, since like a highly communicable disease this can be transmitted to others through contact.”<sup>33</sup> The statement about uncleanness, for instance, occurs in Lev 25:31. In this verse, the Hebrew text is slightly shorter than the Old Greek text. I decided to verify whether all the occurrences in the Greek text and all the parallel ones in the Hebrew text might reveal something about the Hebrew text behind the Old Greek text of Leviticus. What precisely ἀκάθαρτος is, is not however the topic of this paper,<sup>34</sup> but how the defining phrase is rendered in Hebrew and in Greek.

First, I focused only on those sections of the book of Leviticus for which I also had a parallel text in the Schøyen Leviticus papyrus, that is Lev10:15b-11:3a; 11:12aβ-47a; 12:8-13:6c; 23:20-30; 25:30bβ-40a, although for purpose of introduction I also included a couple cases from chapter 11 where no text of the Schøyen papyrus was actually present. Secondly, I focussed on the readings that contained an adjective followed by a demonstrative pronoun and a personal pronoun. In other words, the cases in which it is said that something or someone is unclean till the evening, and similar phrases, are not included. I note here that in the section of Leviticus 1:1 to 14:45, only five cases out of the 59 contain a reference to time (unclean till the evening, for instance), that is 8.50%. From 14:46 till the end of the book, a reference to time in the ‘unclean statements’ is found 22 times out of the 37 cases, that is 60% of the cases. But that is not of any concern for the moment.

The phrases including an adjective, a demonstrative and a personal pronoun are only found in chapter 11, namely 11:4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 26 (first case), 27 (first case), 28 (second case), 29, 31 (first case), 32 (first case), and finally 35 (third case).

In 11:4, 5 and 7, the following Hebrew expression is found: טמא הוא לכם. The Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτον τοῦτο ὑμῖν. In 11:6, the Qere perpetuum, typical for the Pentateuch, suggests the reading of a female pronoun instead of a male;<sup>35</sup> this also matches the feminine singular used in the expression: טמאה

33. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, 152.

34. See Kristin De Troyer, “Towards the Origins of Unclean Blood of the Parturient,” in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. Raija Sollamo and Seppo Sipilä; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society; Helsinki & Göttingen: The Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki & Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 269–278.

35. Paul Joüon and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew. Part One: Orthography and Phonetics. Part Two: Morphology* (Subsidia biblica, 14/I; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1993) §16.f.2.

לכּם הוא. The Greek has however precisely the same expression as in 11:4, 5, and 7, namely: Ἀκάθαρτον τοῦτο ὑμῖν. In 11:8, however, we start to see what is going to be the problem with the expression. The Hebrew reads: טמאים הם לכּם. The Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν. The plural matches the Hebrew text. Some manuscripts however have added a finite verb, such as ἔσται or ἔστιν. Looking at the text critical data, surely the finite verb did not belong to the Old Greek text: ὑμῖν ] pr εσται 246; + εσται oI<sup>-15</sup> 318 126'-628' 646; + εστιν 319 <sup>Lat</sup>codd 100 103 Sa<sup>3</sup>.<sup>36</sup>

In the next case, however—and from here onward we do have overlap with the Schøyen Leviticus papyrus—there appears an interpretation going on, on the Greek level. The Hebrew reads in 11:26: טמאים הם לכּם. The Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ἔσσονται ὑμῖν. The demonstrative pronoun is no longer used, but instead there is a finite verb. There are in the text history two variants in the form of the verb. And it needs to be said that one of the Old Latin codices adds a 'haec' before the finite verb.

In 11:27 the same Hebrew is found and the Greek also renders with a finite verb instead of a demonstrative: טמאים הם לכּם. The Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ἔσται ὑμῖν. Again, there is variance with regard to the form of the verb. And again, one of the witnesses, in this case, the Armenian adds a demonstrative.

In 11:28, however the Hebrew is slightly different: טמאים המה לכּם. The Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔστιν. Wevers notes that "This verse repeats v. 25 word for word, but then adds ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔστιν as a summary statement for vv.24–28."<sup>37</sup> Wevers also observes that the "Hebrew is slightly more abrupt than the LXX."<sup>38</sup> Thus, using both a demonstrative and a finite verb.

Here the Schøyen papyrus offers an interesting variant: it omits the demonstrative pronoun and simply reads: Ἀκάθαρτα ὑμῖν ἔστιν. In my edition I created the following short text critical line for this minus: ἀκαθαρτα 15 ] + ταυτα BGAFM (and rell).

As the absolute majority of the witnesses reads the text with the demonstrative, it should not be any surprise that Wevers' Leviticus contains the demonstrative in the reconstructed text. But, precisely this text has some interesting other witnesses, which should be considered also. More precisely, the MT reads: טמאים המה לכּם. The text of MasLev<sup>b</sup> however has a remark-

36. John William Wevers, *Leviticus* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis, II/2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 125 ad 12:8.

37. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, 153.

38. *Ibidem*.



able variant: it does not read **טמאים הםה לכם** but **טמאים הםה לכם**. MasLev<sup>b</sup> actually has a final mem in the middle of **הםה**. Talmon discusses at length the case of 11:28. After having drawn attention to the final *mem* in the word **הםה**, he states: “The scribe presumably wrote at first **הם לכם**, like in the MT Lev 11:10: **שקץ הם לכם** where the final *mem* is appropriate, but subsequently adjusted his text to the MT reading **הםה לכם** by appending a *he* to his **הם**, without replacing the final *mem* by the now required medial form.”<sup>39</sup> With regard to this reading, Talmon also offers an alternative explanation and refers to the not-yet-stabilized differentiation between the medial and the final form of the mem.<sup>40</sup>

At this point, it is however important to note that the SP also only reads **הםה**.<sup>41</sup> In other words, the final mem is not just present in the text of Mas Lev<sup>b</sup>, albeit there in an unusual situation; it is also present, without the later correction, in SP.<sup>42</sup>

In my opinion, the MasLev<sup>b</sup> scroll at this point precisely points to the different text traditions of the OG on the one hand, and the MT on the other hand. It is thus possible that MS 2649 reflects a slightly different alternative tradition, which is also visible in MasLev<sup>b</sup> and SP. With regard to 25:31 Wevers also notes that other witnesses support his reading, namely “11Qlev and Sam, as do Tar and Pesh.”<sup>43</sup>

The Old Greek text thus reveals two interpretations for the almost standard Hebrew expression. When in the Hebrew it says: **המה** then the Old Greek renders with both a demonstrative and a finite verb. When the Hebrew reads **הםה**, then the Old Greek renders with either a demonstrative, such as *τοῦτο/ταῦτα* or a finite verb. The Greek Leviticus Schøyen papyrus confirms this. That would also mean that the Old Hebrew read **הם** and later the text became **המה**. But we need to have a look at the rest of the cases.

In 11:29, the Hebrew reads: **הזה לכם הטמא**. The Greek renders: *Kaì ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἀκάθαρτα*. The Schøyen Leviticus has the same reading.

39. Shemaryahu Talmon, with contributions by Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, *Hebrew Fragments from Masada (Masada VI. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports)* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1999), 1–149, esp. 48.

40. *Ibidem*, 48. Both Ingo Kottsieper, by email dd. September 21, 2010, and Daniel Stökl Ben-Ezra, in a discussion after the paper, reassured me that in the Qumran corpus the final and medial mem are often without distinction. The point here is that the added *n* might reflect a correction to a later MT.

41. A. Freiherr von Gall, *Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner: III: Leviticus* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915), 226.

42. This is a small change in my opinion as recorded in De Troyer, *Leviticus*, 66.

43. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, 420.

In 11:31, the Hebrew reads: אֵלֶּה הַטְּמֵאִים לָכֶם. The Greek renders: ταῦτα ἀκάθαρτα ὑμῖν. The Schøyen Leviticus has the same reading. A lot of manuscripts add a finite verb.

In 11:35, the Hebrew has a double case. It reads:

טְמֵאִים הֵם

וְטְמֵאִים יִהְיוּ לָכֶם

The Greek as reconstructed by Wevers reads:

Ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ἔστιν

Καὶ ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔσσονται

The Schøyen papyrus offers a shorter first line and an identical second line:

Ἀκάθαρτα ἔστιν

Καὶ ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτα ὑμῖν ἔσσονται

In the apparatus, the first ταῦτα as reconstructed by Wevers is present in A B M' 509–527 121 18, but omitted by rell (except the editions). The second one is attested by A B b x 121 55 and 319, but omitted by the rest of the manuscripts. Wevers defends his insertion of the demonstrative as follows: “In the tradition, A B M' plus four cursives support ταῦτα, and all others omit it. For the second case.... But ταῦτα in neither case is a correction; it must be original.”<sup>44</sup>

In the edition of the Leviticus papyrus I offered the following line with regard to the minus of the demonstrative pronoun: XI 35 ἀκαθαρτα F O<sup>426–29</sup> C<sup>320</sup> d<sup>125</sup> f 54 75 s<sup>344</sup> t<sup>84</sup> γ<sup>121</sup> z 55 59 426 646 verss ] + ταυτα BAM' 509–527 121 18 83.<sup>45</sup> Against Wevers, however, I regard the case in 11:35 as confirming our view, namely that in case the Hebrew text reads הֵם then the Old Greek renders with either a demonstrative or a finite verb. This view is also buttressed by the Schøyen papyrus. When however there is a verb present in the Hebrew text, then certainly the Old Greek renders with both a demonstrative and a finite verb. We thus not only have to revert back to the old editions in this case and omit the demonstrative from the reconstructed text, but we can also conclude that in 11:28, the Old Hebrew definitively read הֵם and not הִמָּה.

Finally, we need to consider Deut 14:10 and 19 as ‘proof texts.’ With these verses we come across the sort of cases we encounter at the beginning of chapter 11 of Leviticus. The Hebrew of Deut 14:10 reads: טְמֵא הוּא לָכֶם. The Old Greek of Deuteronomy renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ὑμῖν ἔστιν. The Hebrew of Deut 14:19 reads: טְמֵא הוּא לָכֶם. And again the Old Greek renders: Ἀκάθαρτα ταῦτά ἐστιν ὑμῖν. It seems that the Old Greek translator of Deuteronomy did

44. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus*, 157.

45. De Troyer, *Leviticus*, 29.

not take a look at the translation of Leviticus for the rendering of this idiom.<sup>46</sup> There is a different pattern in the Old Greek of Deuteronomy, albeit that two cases are not sufficient to make any claim.

My conclusions are threefold.

First, with regard to the question: “What did the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text of Leviticus look like?” Well, it really looked a lot like the MT.

Second, although there is a strong resemblance between the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek Leviticus and the MT Leviticus, there are cases where there is a difference. I have demonstrated that there is at least one case where the study of the Old Greek text can lead to distinguishing between the pre-Masoretic text as it was translated by the Old Greek translator of the Book of Leviticus and the later (proto-)Masoretic text. In their analysis of the Book of Leviticus in all the witnesses, Metso and Ulrich write that the *Vorlage* of the Greek Leviticus is slightly different from MT: “the OG not infrequently shows faithful dependence upon an ancient Hebrew text which was simply at variance with the form of the text as transmitted as the Masoretic *textus receptus*.”<sup>47</sup>

In this context, it is good to be reminded of the percentages of the text types as found in Qumran. Tov has consistently maintained that about 5 percent of the Qumran scrolls represent the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek.<sup>48</sup> More precisely for the Five books of Moses it is 4.5 percent.<sup>49</sup> Although these percentages represent the amount of scrolls representing the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek, in a sense they might also indicate how much of the text of the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek might be different from the MT. Moreover, a look at the chronological table of the Biblical manuscripts according to their text families, as organized by Lange, also gives an idea of which text was still available at which date.<sup>50</sup> From his survey, I extracted the Leviticus texts:

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46. Regarding the relation between LXX Lev and LXX Deut, see Cornelis G. den Hertog, “Erwägungen zur relativen Chronologie der Bücher Levitikus und Deuteronomium innerhalb der Pentateuchübersetzung,” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel. Band 2* (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter. Lesch; BWANT 161; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 216–228. Whether the phrase under discussion is proof of the reversed sequence of translation as Den Hertog argues is not clear.

47. Sarianna Metso and Eugene Ulrich, “The Old Greek Translation of Leviticus,” in *The Book of Leviticus* (ed. Rolf Rendtorff and Robert A. Kugler; VTSup 93; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 247–268, esp. 260.

48. See also Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 7 (for the percentage of Tov) and 19 (for the percentage of Lange).

49. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 7.

50. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 30–31.

250 B.C.E.	4QEx-Lev <sup>f</sup>	4Q17	non-aligned
150–100 B.C.E.	4QLev-Num <sup>a</sup>	4Q23	non-aligned
50 B.C.E.	4QLev <sup>b</sup>	4Q24	non-aligned
30–1 B.C.E.	4QLev <sup>c</sup>	4Q25	semiMT/pre-SP
30 B.C.E. – 20 C.E.	4QLev <sup>d</sup>	4Q26	<i>Vorlage</i> of G <sup>51</sup>
10 B.C.E. – 30 C.E.	MasLev <sup>b</sup>		protoMT
1–50 C.E.	11QpaleoLev <sup>a</sup>	11Q1	non-aligned
50–68 C.E.	4QLev <sup>c</sup>	4Q25	semiMT/pre-SP
50–100 C.E.	XLev <sup>c</sup>		proto-MT <sup>52</sup>

The other Leviticus Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts<sup>53</sup> are either not classifiable (1Q3; 2Q5; 4Q26b; 11Q2;<sup>54</sup> ArugLev<sup>55</sup>)<sup>56</sup> or not even biblical (6Q2; also 1Q3).<sup>57</sup> 4Q26a, which was not in the survey, is classified as both MT and SP.<sup>58</sup> Both 4QLXX Lev<sup>a</sup> (4Q119) and pap4QLXXLev<sup>b</sup> (4Q120) are clearly Old Greek. Finally, both MasLev<sup>a59</sup> and XLev<sup>c60</sup> are also proto-MT.

The survey of these Lev manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls makes it very clear that there was quite a lot of text types available in precisely the time of the translation into Greek of the Book of Leviticus.<sup>61</sup> It is almost remark-

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51. But note Tov's classification as pre-MT, 'eventuell', see Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 19.

52. According to the editor of XLev, the fragment should be dated "late Qumranic rather than post-70," email of September 22, 2010. See Torleif Elgvin, *Gleanings from the Caves. Dead Sea Scrolls and Artifacts from the Schøyen Collection* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, forthcoming).

53. See De Troyer, *Leviticus*, 64–65.

54. See also Emanuel Tov, "Some Thoughts About the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Transmission of Traditions and Production of Texts* (ed. Sarianna Metso, Hindy Najman, and Eileen Schuler (eds.), with the editorial assistance of Nicole Hilton, Julia Lauwers, Eva Mroczek, Jeremy Penner, and Jonathan Vroom; STDJ, 92; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 151–172, esp. 159.

55. See Hanan Eshel, Y. Baruchi, Roy Porat, "Fragments of a Leviticus Scroll (Arugev) Found in the Judean Desert in 2004," in *DSD* 13 (2006/1) 55–60. According to Armin Lange (email of 21 September 2010), it is too small for clarification. Tov, however, labels it MT, see Tov, "Some Thoughts About the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," 155.

56. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 17.

57. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 17.

58. Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer*, 16.

59. Email of A. Lange, 21 September 2010. See also Tov, "Some Thoughts About the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," 155.

60. See <http://www.schoyencollection.com/HebrewAramaic.html#4611>.

61. Tov observes that with regard to the Dead Sea Scrolls dated between 35 B.C.E.

able that the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek of Leviticus, aside from the exceptions, still so much resembles the (proto-) MT.

Third, both the study of the translation technique of a given book, in this case, the Book of Leviticus, and the evaluation of the textual witnesses, including their textual history, are necessary for the reconstruction and characterization of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek text of Leviticus.

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and 70 C.E., "the communities at the Bar-Kochba sites and Masada possessed only proto-Masoretic texts..., while Qumran displays only a minority of proto-Masoretic texts," see Tov, "Some Thoughts about the Diffusion of Biblical Manuscripts in Antiquity," 157.

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# The Septuagint and Scribal Culture

*Arie van der Kooij*

**Abstract:** Although the origins of the LXX translation may differ from book to book, or alternatively, from one cluster of books to another one, it is to be asked who might have been the appropriate authorities who produced a Greek version of a given part of Scripture. The scribal culture of Early Judaism—both in Egypt and in Judea—was marked by a hierarchy of scholarship who at the same time corresponded with positions of leadership. If the Old Greek version of a given book was to carry any authority, it stands to reason to assume that it was made under the responsibility of leading scholars within a particular community, or party. Evidence from several sources of the time will be adduced, and traditions about Aquila will serve as an illustration.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Current research on the Septuagint (LXX) has made clear that the books of the LXX are marked by a striking diversity of translation style. Hence, it is fair to assume that the origins of these books differed from book to book, or from one cluster of books to another.<sup>1</sup> This also implies that the books making up the ‘Early LXX’, that is to say, the books that were translated before the *kaige*/Theodotion recension was produced, are not to be regarded as the result of a ‘Bible translation’ project. Consequently, the idea that the books were rendered into Greek simply because they were part of Scripture, the collection of ‘ancestral’ books (cf. Prologue Ben Sira), does not provide a sufficient explanation.

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1. On this issue, see e.g. Emanuel Tov, “Approaches towards Scripture Embraced by the Ancient Greek Translators,” in *Der Mensch vor Gott. Forschungen zum Menschenbild in Bibel, antikem Judentum und Koran. Festschrift für Herrmann Lichtenberger zum 60. Geburtstag* (ed. Ulrike Mittmann-Richert, Friedrich Avemarie und Gerbern S. Oegema; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2004), 213–28.

The diversity strongly suggests that the books making up the pre-*kaige* collection have not been translated by one translator (such as was the case, later on, with Aquila, or Jerome), nor by a team of translators. This gives rise to intriguing questions, such as who did produce a Greek version of which book, and why did he chose a particular book to be translated? Or to put it another way: Who was responsible for the Greek version of Isaiah, and why did yet someone else decide to translate Ezekiel, or Proverbs? One gets the impression that each particular book, or set of books such as the Pentateuch, had been translated for a particular reason related to the interests of the group or circle involved.

Research on the origins of the LXX books is of course primarily based on the translations themselves, but, as is the case in any historical study of ancient texts, one cannot do without external evidence. In my contribution to the panel I will not deal with the issues of where and why the books have been translated, but will focus on a question that is strikingly absent in much of the Septuagint research, namely, which were the circles in Jewish society to which the translators belonged, and on whose authority was a translation of a given book made?<sup>2</sup>

## 2. EXPERTISE

In the light of what we know about the Jewish society in the Hellenistic and Roman times the translator of a given part of Scripture must be looked for among the intellectual elite, that is to say, among those who were *experts* in the reading and interpretation of the Scriptures.

In recent publications scholars have drawn our attention to the role of ‘scribes’ as specialists and people of social standing in the making of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>3</sup> Like in Mesopotamia and Egypt, ‘scribes’ in the sense of scholars were the ones who were able to produce literary texts. In early Judaism scholar-scribes, i.e., priests, Levites, and elders, were the ones who were able

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2. For an earlier discussion of this matter, see Arie van der Kooij, “Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint: Who are the Translators?,” in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism. A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (ed. Florentino García Martínez and Ed Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 214–29.

3. See e.g., David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart. Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Karel van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2007). See also Arie van der Kooij, “Authoritative Scriptures and Scribal Culture,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Mladen Popovic; JSJSup 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 55–71.

and authorized to read and interpret the Scriptures. Well-known examples are Ezra, priest and scribe, and Jesus ben Sira, presumably a member of the council of elders,<sup>4</sup> the latter being a scholar who also wrote a book. As the sources indicate, temple circles at Jerusalem played a crucial role. The temple was after all the place where the books of Scripture were deposited and kept by the appropriate authorities.

In my view, these data should be taken into account in searching the origins of the Old Greek version of a given book, or set of books. To give an example: As I have argued elsewhere, the Old Greek of Isaiah reflects a strong interest in a particular priestly milieu in Egypt—Onias, member of the high-priestly family, and his followers who fled from Jerusalem during the crisis in the sixties of the second century BC. It therefore is likely that this part of the Septuagint was produced in this milieu.<sup>5</sup> The Letter of Aristeas is a most interesting document in this regard. According to this Letter, the Ptolemaic court asked the High Priest in Jerusalem to supervise the translation of the Law, the books of Moses, which was produced in Alexandria by learned Jews who had been selected by the High Priest and were sent by him to Egypt. The Letter of Aristeas is of a legendary nature, and the way the translators of the Law are presented is clearly marked by idealization (they are said to be the best philosophers!), but this does not exclude the possibility that the picture concerning those responsible for the translation of the Law basically may reflect a pattern which is line with practices of the time.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, it makes perfect sense in the light of what is known to us because, first, Jerusa-

4. See Van der Kooij, "Authoritative Scriptures," 68.

5. See Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1981), 52–60; idem, "'The Servant of the Lord': A Particular Group of Jews in Egypt According to the Old Greek of Isaiah. Some Comments on LXX Isa 49,1–6 and Related Passages," in *Studies in the Book of Isaiah. Festschrift Willem A.M. Beuken* (ed. J. van Ruitten and M. Vervenne; BETL 122; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 383–96.

6. For this issue, see e.g. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. Vol. I: *Text* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 696–703; Nina L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (VTSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2000); Wolfgang Orth, "Ptolemaios II. und die Septuaginta-Übersetzung," in *Im Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta*. Bd. I (ed. H.J. Fabry und U. Offerhaus; Stuttgart, 2001), 97–114; Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria. A study in the narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003); Tessa Rajak, "Translating the Septuagint for Ptolemy's Library: Myth and History," in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. Martin Karrer und Wolfgang Kraus unter Mitarbeit von Martin Meiser; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 176–93; idem, *Translation and Survival. The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora* (Oxford: University Press, 2009), 24–63.

lem and Judea were part of the Ptolemaic Empire in the third century BC, and second, as noted above, the books of the Torah as well as the expertise to read and interpret them were found in Jerusalem, particularly in temple circles.<sup>7</sup> It fits the culture of the time that a translation of 'ancestral' books such as the Pentateuch, were produced by respected persons, who were asked to do so by leading authorities, such as the High Priest. It is to be noted that in this way a translation of writings belonging to the literary heritage of the Jewish nation could be accepted officially. As to the role of the High Priest, there is an interesting parallel known from the Persian period. On the orders of the Persian king, Darius I, a company of Egyptian scholars went to Persia to produce an Egyptian law-code and its Aramaic translation.<sup>8</sup> However, there is more to say about the role of the High Priest from the perspective of the Jewish culture and society of the time. In view of this matter, two other issues regarding the scribal culture need to be outlined briefly, namely, authority, and hierarchy.

### 3. AUTHORITY

The Scriptures were considered authoritative and used as an authoritative source, i.e., they were regarded significant during the interpreter's time. The fact that the 'ancestral' books were studied, i.e. read and interpreted, is a clear indication that these books were held to be very important. Study was of course important for teaching purposes, but it could also lead to the production of new books which were based, in one way or another, on the Scriptures. The Wisdom of Ben Sira is a good example, but one can also think of 'rewritten' scripture texts as we know them from the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>9</sup> The translation of a given book was just another possibility to promulgate a writing that was considered of great importance (examples are the Greek version of the Wisdom of Ben Sira, and 1 Maccabees).

It is important to note, however, that the Scriptures would not carry any authority if they had not been studied and taught by the appropriate authorities. To put it another way, interpretation of books that were considered authoritative required authoritative and authorized persons to bring the ideas into effect. It is true that in the Hellenistic period a growing number of people were able to read, but in early Judaism the interpretation of Scripture

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7. See also Arie 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: Eisenbrauns, 2007), 293.

8. See E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New Haven, 1953), 30.

9. On this category of texts, see now Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge UK: Eerdmans Publishing, 2008).

was a matter for specialists—scholars who were held to be the appropriate authorities.

In my view, this also applies to the Greek version of a given book of Scripture. If the version was to carry any authority, it is reasonable to assume that the translation was made the responsibility of leading scholars within the Jewish nation, in Jerusalem, or within a particular community or party elsewhere in Judaea or in Egypt. To give an example: According to the Palestinian Talmud (PT), Aquila made his Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, referred to as the Torah, ‘before R. Aqiba’ (PT Qid. 59a), or ‘before R. Eliezer and R. Joshua’ (PT Meg. 7c,8). The way the translation of Aquila is presented indicates that leading scholars were involved in the project. The work was done on their authority and under their guidance.

#### 4. HIERARCHY

If one goes into the details of the scribal culture of ancient Judaism it becomes clear that it was marked by a strict hierarchy. The story of Neh 8 may serve as an illustration. Ezra, ‘priest’ and ‘scribe’, is presented here as a leading scholar. He is the one who read the book of the law, presumably Deuteronomy, to the people at a public and official meeting. In doing so he affirmed ‘the authority of the written words for the life of the community’. Interestingly, the Levites also appear in the story. They are the ones who helped the people understand the law, in their role as teachers, though having a position lower than Ezra, the priest. Ezra is the prime authority, as is also clear from v. 13 in Neh 8:

On the second day, the heads of father’s houses of all the people, with the priests and the Levites, came together to Ezra the scribe in order to study the words of the law.

Ezra is the one who is supposed to explain the words of the law concerning the stipulations for the Feast of Tabernacles to ‘the heads of the families’, the representatives of the lay people, and to the priests and the Levites, the representatives of the temple. In addition, according to the book of Ezra-Nehemiah, Ezra is not only the leading scholar, but is also presented as the political leader.<sup>10</sup>

This picture of a leading scholar who is also a political leader, is known from other sources. In his description of the Jewish nation, Hecataeus of Abdera (ca 300 BCE) depicts the high priest as follows:

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10. Notably, Ezra 7:1–5 testifies to the claim that Ezra should be seen as the legitimate priestly leader of the Judean people.

authority over the people is regularly vested in whichever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue. They call this man the high priest, and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments.<sup>11</sup>

According to Hecataeus' source of information, the Jewish nation was ruled by priests, under the supreme direction of the high priest. The latter is said to be the one to whom the authority over the people was given, as well as to be the authoritative interpreter of the law.<sup>12</sup> This picture which is supported by other sources, such as the Wisdom of Ben Sira, reminds one of the *doresh hattorah* in documents of Qumran (CD VI, 7; VII, 18; 4Q174 I, 11–12)—“the Interpreter of the Law” who presumably is also to be seen as a high-priestly leader.<sup>13</sup> In this case too we are dealing with a scholar who due to his position as leader is the main authority as far as the interpretation of the law is concerned. Thus, the prime authority was with the High Priest. He was the one who, together with the leading priests—‘the chief priests’, as they are called in the New Testament and by Josephus<sup>14</sup>—headed the nation.

## 5. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

To return to the question of the role of the High Priest as presented in the Letter of Aristaeas: In view of the scribal culture, marked by expertise, authority, and hierarchy, as briefly outlined above, it is likely indeed that the Greek translation of the Law was made on the authority of the High Priest in Jerusalem, and that the work was done by learned scribes.<sup>15</sup>

Seen from this perspective, the reading and interpretation of the underlying Hebrew as attested in the Greek version of the Pentateuch is not only to be

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11. Menahem Stern, ed., *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. Vol. I: *From Herodotus to Plutarch* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 28.

12. Cf. J. C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004), 120–22.

13. See John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 114. For another example, see 1 Macc 14:14 (Simon, the High Priest, studying the law).

14. On these high ranking priests, see J. Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus. An Investigation into Economic and Social Conditions during the New Testament Period* (third impression; London: SCM Press, 1976), 147–80.

15. Cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Greek Pentateuch and the Scholarly Milieu of Alexandria,” *Sémitica et Classica* 2 (2009), 81–89. He goes further by arguing that the translators were not only learned scribes, but also that they were in possession of a good knowledge of the language and literature of the Greeks.

seen as the work of the translators themselves, but rather, presumably in cases which were considered of special significance, as reflecting the ideas of the one on whose authority the translation was made; in this instance, the High Priest. This presupposes that they were familiar with specific ideas of the High Priest, which is quite possible since, as Hecataeus of Abdera lets us believe, the latter was expounding the commandments of Moses in ‘assemblies and other gatherings’. Or to put it in line with Neh 8:13, quoted above, he was the one who explained the words of the Law to the priests and the Levites as well as to the heads of the families, or the elders, at some occasions.

Of course, the above does not answer the many questions concerning the origins of the Septuagint, in this case of LXX Pentateuch,<sup>16</sup> but, as I hope, it demonstrates that the issue of the ‘scribal culture’ in Early Judaism is a matter, worthwhile to be taken into account.

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16. For recent contributions to this topic, see Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship* (n. 6); Jan Joosten, “Le milieu producteur du Pentateuque grec,” *REJ* 165 (2006), 349–361; Adrian Schenker, “Wurde die Tora wegen ihrer einzigartigen Weisheit auf Griechisch übersetzt? Die Bedeutung der Tora für die Nationen in Dt 4:6–8 als Ursache der Septuaginta,” *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 54 (2007), 327–47; van der Kooij, “The Septuagint of the Pentateuch” (n. 7); Rajak, *Translation and Survival* (n. 6); Fernández Marcos, “The Greek Pentateuch” (n. 14); Gilles Dorival, “New Light about the origin of the Septuagint?” in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus und Martin Karrer unter Mitarbeit von Martin Meiser; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 36–47; Adrian Schenker, “Was führte zu Übersetzung der Tora ins Griechische? Dtn 4,2–8 und Platon (Brief VII,326a-b),” *ibid.*, 23–35; Anna Pasconi Dell’Acqua, “Translating as a Means of Interpreting: The Septuagint and Translation in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *ibid.*, 322–39.





# Schriftliche und mündliche Weitergabe in der griechischen Susanna-Erzählung

Edgar Kellenberger

**Abstract:** By comparing both Greek versions of «Susanna» (Old Greek and Theodotion) two observations are fundamental: Many differences concern only syntax and vocabulary without being relevant for the content. But where the formulations are identical in both versions, these sentences often are relevant for the intention of the tale. These observations will be compiled and discussed. Can Theodotion be explained as a written revision of a written LXX version? Or may we think about a (partially) oral transmission by a creative retelling that led to changes of style and content?

Der Susanna-Stoff ist bekanntlich nicht nur in zwei unterschiedlichen griechischen Fassungen (LXX und „Θ“) überliefert, sondern zudem auch in verschiedenen mittelalterlichen Erzählungen, und zwar auf Hebräisch,<sup>1</sup> Samaritanisch,<sup>2</sup> Aethiopisch<sup>3</sup> und Arabisch.<sup>4</sup> Während es sich in diesen mittelalterlichen Texten stets um einen Wildwuchs aus mündlicher Tradition handelt, ist die Sachlage im Syrischen unklarer: Hier bewahren die Varianten in den Bibelhandschriften zwar treuer den *plot* der Theodotion-Fassung, aber zeigen doch untereinander deutlich mehr Abweichungen und narrative Zusätze, als dies beim üblichen Abschreiben zu erwarten wäre.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Moses Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel* (Nachdruck der Übersetzung von 1899 samt ausführlichen Prolegomena von Haim Schwarzbaum; New York: Ktav, 1971), §65. Eine weitere hebr. Erzählung bei Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrash* (Jerusalem: Wahrmann, 1967), 6. Teil, 126–128.

2. Israel Levi, “L’histoire de Suzanne et les deux vieillards dans la littérature juive”, *REJ* 95 (1933): 157–171. Elkan-N. Adler und M. Seligsohn, *Une nouvelle chronique Samaritaine* (Paris: Durlacher, 1903).

3. Max Wurmbrand, “A Falasha Variant of the Story of Susanna”, *Bibl* 44 (1963): 29–45.

4. Fabrizio Pennacchietti, *Three Mirrors for Two Biblical Ladies. Susanna and the Queen of Sheba in the Eyes of Jews, Christians and Muslims* (New York: Gorgias, 2006).

5. Edgar Kellenberger, “Die Pluriformität der syrischen «Susanna»- Fassungen als Frage an den Charakter des Überlieferungsprozesses”, *BN* 151 (2011): 63–70.

In Weiterführung meiner früheren Überlegungen zu textkritischen Problemen des Danielbuches<sup>6</sup> wende ich dieselbe Fragestellung an die Susanna-Erzählung an, und zwar in Beschränkung auf die beiden griechischen Fassungen.

Bereits formale Beobachtungen zeigen erhebliche Unterschiede: LXX umfasst rund 800 Wörter, Theodotion bedeutend mehr, nämlich über 1100. Beiden Fassungen gemeinsam sind jedoch nur 300 Wörter, das ist ein gutes Drittel der LXX, bzw. ein Viertel der Θ-Fassung. Inhaltlich zeigen die beiden Fassungen bekanntlich eine je verschiedene Ausrichtung:<sup>7</sup> Während das Hauptanliegen der LXX in einer institutionellen Kritik an den Richtern und Ältesten besteht, zeigt die (wohl jüngere) Theodotion-Fassung ein stärkeres Interesse an den Individuen Susanna und Daniel sowie an einer erotisierenden Atmosphäre. Beim Vergleich der beiden Texte fällt zweierlei auf:

1. Passagen, die in beiden Fassungen mehr oder weniger identisch sind, sind in der Minderheit.

2. Wo sich die beiden Fassungen voneinander unterscheiden, ist dies nur zum Teil inhaltlich bedingt. Häufig handelt es sich jedoch nur um Varianten, die den Sinn einer Aussage nicht verändern. Es geht dabei um unterschiedliche syntaktische Formulierungen, oder beim Vokabular werden sinnähnliche Ausdrücke verwendet. Es ist zu prüfen, ob es sich dabei um stilistische Verbesserungen handelt oder nicht.

#### 1. DIE VERSE 5–11 IM VERGLEICH VON LXX MIT Θ

Zunächst sollen die ersten sieben Verse ab Einsetzen der LXX-Handschrift 967 kommentiert werden.

Vers 5

περὶ ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι Ἐξῆλθεν ἀνομία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐκ  
πρεσβυτέρων κριτῶν, οἱ ἐδόκουν κυβερνᾶν τὸν λαόν.

Durch Unterstreichung wird gekennzeichnet, dass die ganze Formulierung in beiden Fassungen Wort für Wort identisch ist. Dies ist insofern überraschend,

6. Edgar Kellenberger, "Textvarianten in den Daniel-Legenden als Zeugnisse mündlicher Tradierung?," in *XIII Congress of the IOSCS Lubljana 2007* (ed. M. Peters; Septuagint and Cognate Studies 55; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 207–223.

7. Helmut Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zum Septuaginta-Text und zur Theodotion-Bearbeitung* (OBO 61; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1985).

als hier das Vokabular drei *hapaxlegomena* innerhalb der Erzählung aufweist: die Gottesbezeichnung ὁ δεσπότης,<sup>8</sup> das Verbum κυβερνᾶν, die Verbindung πρεσβυτέρων κριτῶν. Zudem könnte man sich vorstellen, dass eine stilistische Überarbeitung dieses etwas schwerfälligen Verses möglich gewesen wäre.

#### Vers 6

Nun ändert sich das Bild, und es zeigen sich Abweichungen, die teils nur stilistischer und teils auch inhaltlicher Natur sind:

LXX

Θ

Καὶ ἦρχοντο κρίσεις ἐξ ἄλλων πόλεων πρὸς αὐτούς.

οὔτοι προσεκαρτέρουν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰωακὶμ, καὶ ἦρχοντο πρὸς αὐτούς πάντες οἱ κρινόμενοι.

Die LXX-Fassung ist hier sehr kurz und wenig anschaulich. Zudem ist der Anschluss an den vorhergehenden Vers schwierig.<sup>9</sup> Θ erscheint als erzählerische und stilistische Verbesserung; die Verbindung der Ältesten mit dem Ort der kommenden Handlung ist so besser gewährleistet.<sup>10</sup> Narrativ geschickter ist Θ ebenfalls, wenn nun Rechtssuchende in Joakims Haus kommen, wogegen die LXX von „Rechtssachen aus andern Städten“ spricht, welche im weiteren Verlauf der Erzählung keine Rolle spielen.

#### Vers 7

οὔτοι ἰδόντες γυναῖκα ἀστείαν τῷ εἶδει, γυναῖκα ἀδελφοῦ αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, ὄνομα Σουσάνναν θυγατέρα Χελκίου γυναῖκα Ἰωακὶμ, περιπατοῦσαν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.

καὶ ἐγένετο ἥνίκα ἀπέτρεχεν ὁ λαὸς μέσον ἡμέρας, εἰσεπορεύετο Σουσάννα καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.

8. So noch in Dan 3,37 LXX = Θ (Gebet Azarjas).

9. «Septuaginta Deutsch» versteht v. 6 als Fortsetzung des Relativsatzes in v. 5b.

10. Dabei verwendet Θ das seltene Verb προσκαρτέρω „sich regelmässig aufhalten“. Dieses Verbum findet sich in der griechischen Bibel sonst nur noch zweimal und in etwas anderer Bedeutung: in Tob 5,8 Θ im Sinn von „warten“ sowie in Num 13,20 LXX von der Beharrlichkeit der Kundschafter. Letztere Bedeutung ist die in der griechischen Literatur sonst vorherrschende.

Die LXX führt erst hier Susanna in die Erzählung ein, wogegen die Presbyter zuvor (im verloren gegangenen Anfang von LXX) eingeführt wurden. Susanna ist „von schönem Aussehen“, was ja im Folgenden die Begierde der lüsternen Presbyter weckt. In Θ fehlt dieser Zug, wohl weil Θ das Gewicht stärker auf die Sittenreinheit Susannas legt. In beiden Fassungen identisch formuliert ist das Spazieren im Park des Ehemannes.

#### Verse 8–9

Punktiert, unterstrichen sind Passagen mit unterschiedlicher Reihenfolge identischer Wörter.

8 καὶ ἐπιθυμήσαντες αὐτῆς

8 καὶ ἐθεώρουν αὐτὴν οἱ δύο πρεσβύτεροι καθ’ ἡμέραν εἰσπορευομένην καὶ περιπατοῦσαν καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ αὐτῆς.

9 διέστρεψαν τὸν γοῦν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μηδὲ μνημονεύειν κριμάτων δικαίων.

9 καὶ διέστρεψαν τὸν αὐτῶν γοῦν καὶ ἐξέκλιναν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν μηδὲ μνημονεύειν κριμάτων δικαίων.

Die Begierde der Presbyter gehört zum *plot* der Erzählung und darf darum in keiner der Fassungen fehlen. Vers 9 ist in beiden Fassungen praktisch identisch. Vers 8 hingegen ist in Θ länger formuliert. Hier erhält man den Eindruck von einer sekundären Erweiterung bei Θ.

#### Verse 10–11

10 ἀλλ’ (Syhex: καὶ) ἀμφοτέροι ἦσαν. κατανενυγμένοι περὶ αὐτῆς, καὶ ἕτερος τῷ ἐτέρῳ οὐ προσεποιεῖτο τὸ κακὸν τὸ ἔχον αὐτοὺς περὶ αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἔγινω τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο.

10 καὶ ἦσαν...ἀμφοτέροι κατα-  
νενυγμένοι περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ οὐκ ἀνήγγειλαν ἀλλήλοις τὴν ὁδὸν ἡ αὐτῶν

—

11 —

11 ὅτι ἡσχύοντο ἀναγγεῖλαι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῶν ὅτι ἤβελον συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ.

In v. 10 formuliert Θ knapper und sprachlich geschickter als LXX. Auch in v. 11 formuliert Θ in besserem griechischem Stil. Dass Susanna selber nichts von der Liebessehnsucht der Presbyter ahnt, wird nur in der LXX-Fassung erwähnt (v.10). Wenn Θ hier diesen Erzähl-Zug weglässt, so scheint mir dadurch die Sittenreinheit Susannas stärker hervorgehoben.

Im Sinne einer Zwischenbilanz bündle ich meine bisherigen Beobachtungen in drei Punkte:

1. Mehrfach formuliert Θ sprachlich geschickter als LXX.
2. Zuweilen scheint Θ auf solche stilistischen Verbesserungen zu verzichten. Entweder folgt dann Θ der LXX, oder die Veränderungen sind weder stilistische Verbesserung noch inhaltlich relevant.
3. Auffällig ist die Minderheit von Stellen, die in beiden Fassungen identisch sind.

## 2. AUSDEHNUNG DER BEOBACHTUNGEN AUF DIE VERSE 12–64

Die drei erwähnten Punkte lassen sich auch im weiteren Verlauf der Erzählung nachweisen. Im Folgenden bringe ich eine Reihe von Beispielen, bevor ich anschliessend deren Relevanz für das Verhältnis zwischen beiden Fassungen prüfe und Konsequenzen aus den Beobachtungen ziehe.

### 2.1. STILISTISCHE VERBESSERUNGEN

Dass Θ vielfach den besseren griechischen Stil bringt, ist in der bisherigen Sekundärliteratur bereits mehrfach betont worden, so dass sich hier weitere Belege erübrigen.

### 2.2. PROBLEMATISCHER GRIECHISCHER STIL

Ungriechischer Stil bei Θ findet sich z.B. im Schluss der Erzählung, der sprachlich und auch inhaltlich völlig anders als der LXX-Schluss tönt:

Vers 63 Θ (LXX —)

Χελκίας δὲ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἤνεσαν τὸν θεὸν περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν Σουσάννας μετὰ Ἰωακίμ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν πάντων, ὅτι οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα.

αἰνέω mit περί als Grund des Lobens ist weder gutes Griechisch, noch findet sich diese Wendung in der LXX. Und ἄσχημον πράγμα ist ebenfalls ungriechisch, aber könnte sich auf die gleichlautende Formulierung in Dtn 24,1 beziehen (MT: דָּבָר עֲרֹךְ), wo es ebenfalls um etwas Schändliches bei einer Frau (nämlich als Grund zur Ehescheidung) geht. Diese Formulierung findet sich in der LXX nur in Dtn 24, und in Θ nur in unserm Vers 63.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.3. IDENTISCHE FORMULIERUNGEN

Besonders interessant ist eine Zusammenstellung jener Sätze, die in beiden Fassungen identisch (oder zumindest fast identisch) sind. Ich liste hier diese Stellen auf, um danach zu fragen, ob ihnen ein gemeinsamer Charakter eignet, und beginne mit dem Erzählschluss:

Vers 62b (LXX = Θ)

καὶ ἐσώθη αἷμα ἀναίτιον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ.

Auf den ersten Blick wirkt der Satz wie eine geläufige Wendung. Doch die Verbindung von αἷμα ἀναίτιον mit σώζεσθαι ist singulär.<sup>12</sup>

Verse 22b–23

Susannas Reaktion auf die sexuelle Bedrängung durch die beiden Presbyter ist in deren zweitem Teil fast identisch:

22b καὶ ἐὰν μὴ πράξω, οὐκ ἐκφεύ-  
ξομαι τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν.

23 κάλλιον δέ με μὴ πράξασαν  
ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ἢ  
ἁμαρτεῖν ἐνώπιον κυρίου.

22b ἐὰν τε μὴ πράξω, οὐκ ἐκφεύ-  
ξομαι τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν.

23 αἰρετόν μοι ἐστὶν μὴ πράξασαν  
ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῶν ἢ  
ἁμαρτεῖν ἐνώπιον κυρίου.

Vers 29

Die lügnerischen Presbyter beenden ihre Anklage mit der Aufforderung:

11. Noch zu vergleichen wäre ἄσχημοσύνη πράγματος in Dtn 23,15 (hier geht es allerdings nicht um Frauen).

12. αἷμα ἀναίτιον kommt vor in Dtn 19,10 und 21,8f LXX.

Ἀποστείλατε ἐπὶ Σουσάνναν θυγατέρα Χελκιου, ἥτις ἐστὶ γυνὴ Ἰωακὴμ.

Θ bewahrt die Charakterisierung Susannas in v. 31 mit der seltenen Formulierung τρυφερά σφόδρα, aber fügt über LXX hinaus noch hinzu: καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει.

Vers 35a LXX / Vers 42 Θ

Die angeklagte Susanna richtet ein längeres Gebet an Gott, der doch um ihre Unschuld weiss. Der Anfang dieses Gebets, das in LXX und Θ an unterschiedlicher Stelle erscheint, ist fast identisch, wobei Θ in der Mitte des Verses eine dublettenartige Erweiterung zeigt:

Κύριε ὁ θεὸς ὁ αἰώνιος (Θ: + ὁ τῶν κρυπτῶν γνώστης) ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν, σὺ ...

Vers 48

Daniel stoppt die Urteilsvollstreckung an Susanna mit folgendem Aufruf an das Volk:

Οὕτως μωροί, νιοὶ Ἰσραὴλ; οὐκ ἀνακρίναντες οὐδὲ τὸ σαφὲς ἐπιγνόντες ἀπεκτείνετε (Θ: κατεκρίνατε) θυγατέρα Ἰσραὴλ;

Verse 52 und 57

Daniels Verhör der beiden Presbyter ist in LXX und Θ zwar nicht identisch formuliert, doch wesentliche Wendungen sind identisch: so z.B. der Name der beiden Bäume sowie das AT-Zitat in v. 53 (Ex 23,7). Fast identisch sind zudem die folgenden anklagenden Sätze:

52 Πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν, νῦν ἤκασί σου αἱ ἁμαρτίαι, ἃς ἐποίησ τὸ πρότερον

57 καὶ οὕτως ἐποιεῖτε θυγατράσιν Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐκείναι φοβούμεναι ὠμιλοῦσαν (Θ ὠμίλουν) ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ θυγάτηρ Ἰουδα ὑπέμεινεν ...

Wenn wir alle diese erwähnten Beispiele miteinander vergleichen, so fällt auf, dass die in beiden Fassungen identisch formulierten Passagen nicht Nebensächlichkeiten betreffen. Sondern es handelt sich jeweils um Elemente, die

inhaltlich zentral sind. Überraschend ist zudem, dass seltene Vokabeln nicht ersetzt, sondern von Θ unverändert übernommen worden sind.

### 3. AUSWERTUNG DER BEOBACHTUNGEN

Wenn nun Schlüsse aus den bisherigen Beobachtungen Schlüsse gezogen werden sollen, so geht es mir um die Frage, wie die Entwicklung der griechischen Susanna-Überlieferung zu erklären ist. Ausser Betracht bleiben soll dabei die umstrittene Frage, ob es eine ursprünglich hebräisch oder aramäisch erzählte «Susanna» gegeben hat oder nicht.<sup>13</sup>

Üblicherweise wird das Verhältnis der beiden griechischen Fassungen als redaktionelle Überarbeitung gedeutet. Wer Θ als eine schriftliche Überarbeitung einer ursprünglichen LXX-Fassung verstehen will, steht jedch vor dem irritierenden Phänomen, dass Θ einerseits stilistische Verbesserungen vornimmt, aber andererseits schlechtes Griechisch in eigenen Formulierungen oder zusammen mit LXX bringt. Auch dass seltene Vokabeln identisch in beiden Fassungen vorkommen, muss erstaunen. Hier wäre zu erwarten gewesen, dass die jüngere Fassung diese durch geläufigere Wörter ersetzt hätte.

Meine eigene Hypothese, die ich seinerzeit (Anm. 6) anhand von Daniel 1–6 nachzuweisen versuchte, geht von einem gleichzeitigen Nebeneinander von schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung aus. Könnte diese Hypothese hilfreich sein, um das Nebeneinander von LXX und Θ zu erklären?

#### 3.1. MÜNDLICHE ANTEILE

Die folgenden Phänomen lassen sich eher bei einer mündlichen Überlieferung plausibel machen:

1. Varianten in Syntax und Vokabular ohne eigentliche inhaltliche Differenz werden in der synoptischen Evangelienforschung auf mündliche Überlieferung zurückgeführt. Ich verweise auf Neutestamentler wie den Engländer James Dunn und den Deutschen Armin Baum.<sup>14</sup> Analoges nehme ich auch für Susanna an.

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13. Auch wenn ein solches, nicht nachweisbares, „semitisches Original“ existiert hätte und verloren gegangen wäre, müsste das Nebeneinander von LXX und Θ erklärt werden. Sogar wenn man beide griechische Fassungen als Übersetzungen je verschiedener semitischer Originale verstünde, würde sich für eine Erklärung des Verhältnisses wenig ändern, sondern wäre die Frage auf die Ebene der hebräischen Erzählung verschoben.

14. James D.G. Dunn, „Altering the Default Setting: Re-envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition,” *NTS* 49 (2003): 139–175. Armin D. Baum, *Der mündliche Faktor und seine Bedeutung für die Synoptische Frage. Analogien aus der antiken Literatur*,



2. Anhand der Jesus-Logien lässt sich zeigen, dass inhaltlich zentrale Aussagen sich in der mündlichen Tradierung besser einprägen; sie werden daher eher unverändert gelassen.

3. Auch seltene Wörter prägen sich stärker ein als Allerweltswörter.

4. Dass Θ zuweilen eine Verbesserung gegenüber dem Sprachstil der LXX bringt, doch zuweilen auch ebenso ungeschickt formuliert, führt zu einem stilistischen Ungleichgewicht, das ebenfalls leichter mit einer mündlichen Tradierung erklärbar ist. Eine rein schriftliche Neugestaltung hätte hier die Vorlage gleichmässiger bearbeitet und verbessert.

5. Im Anschluss daran stellt sich die Frage, wie das *retelling nach* Erstellung einer schriftlichen Fassung weiter gegangen ist. Dazu ist ein textkritischer Blick in die handschriftlichen Varianten nötig. Aus mündlicher Tradierung könnte ein Plus stammen, das die Syhex und die hexaplarische Handschrift 88 gegenüber dem vor-origenistischen LXX-Text im Papyrus 967 zeigen: In v. 7 findet das tägliche Spazieren Susannas im Park jeweils „am Abend“ (τὸ δειλινὸν) statt. Dieses Plus könnte eine Assoziation aus Gen 3,8 sein, wo Gott ebenfalls abends spazieren geht (περιπατεῖν ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τὸ δειλινόν wie in Sus 7). Ich vermute, dass Origenes hier eine mündliche Erzählvariante in seine Hexapla aufgenommen hat. Ansonsten lässt sich für die LXX angesichts der spärlichen Textzeugen kaum etwas sagen.

### 3.2. SCHRIFTLICHE ANTEILE

Im Gegensatz zu LXX liegen für die Θ-Überlieferung sehr viele Handschriften und Kirchenväterzitate vor. Dabei ist beachtenswert, wie wenige LXX-Lesarten in den Θ-Textzeugen vorkommen: Der kritische Apparat der Göttinger Edition gibt nur wenige Stellen an,<sup>15</sup> wobei es sich stets um Lappalien handelt, die auch ohne Beeinflussung durch die LXX-Tradition selbstständig entstanden sein könnten. Wir müssen also davon ausgehen, dass die Textüberlieferung von LXX und Θ je separat und voneinander unabhängig weitergegangen ist und weitgehend in schriftlich fixiertem Rahmen geschah. Dazu passt, dass eine Durchsicht des kritischen Apparats kaum je inhaltlich relevante Textvarianten innerhalb der Θ-Überlieferung zeigt.

der Experimentalpsychologie, der Oral Poetry-Forschung und dem rabbinischen Traditions-wesen (TANZ 49; Tübingen: Francke, 2008).

15. v. 9, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 44, 52, 56, 57.

### 3.3. KONTINUUM VON KREATIVEM *Retelling*

Insofern unterscheiden sich die Textzeugen der Theodotion-Fassung grundsätzlich von denjenigen der syrischen Susanna-Überlieferung.<sup>16</sup> Analoges gilt für die hebräischen, von Gaster und Jellinek mitgeteilten Susanna-Fassungen: Hier wird die Erotisierung—über die bereits in Θ fassbare Tendenz hinaus—verstärkt, indem zum Beispiel die Nacktheit Susannas ausdrücklich erwähnt wird.<sup>17</sup> Dies war bei Θ noch nicht der Fall, aber ist später bekanntlich für die europäischen Maler zu einem beliebten *Sujet* geworden.

Der Susanna-Stoff hat also immer wieder zu kreativem *re-telling* geführt. Beispiele solcher kreativer Veränderungen sind die Fassungen von Θ sowie Fassungen in nichtgriechischer Sprache. Dabei fällt auf, dass die Θ-Handschriften solche Erweiterungen nicht mehr zeigen, sondern getreuer kopiert haben. Hingegen in der syrischen Überlieferung ging die kreative Arbeit weiter. Analoges gilt für die hexaplarische Erweiterung, dass Susanna „am Abend“ spazierte. Hier handelt es sich um eine kreative, wohl ursprünglich mündliche Erzählvariante.

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16. In den syrischen Handschriften sind zahlreiche inhaltliche Veränderungen und Erweiterungen zu beobachten. Dabei werden Intentionen der Θ-Fassung weiter verstärkt. Wenn in Θ eine moralisierende Tendenz zu beobachten war, welche so in der LXX-Fassung fehlt, so finden wir in den syrischen Handschriften noch stärkere Moralisationen. Siehe Anm. 5.

17. Gaster/Schwarzbaum, *Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, 203 („when she stripped to wash“); Jellinek, *Bet Ha-midrash*, 216 (וכשפשטה בגדיה).

## Beyond Genre and Style: Notes on the Greek Esther

Victoria Spottorno

**Abstract:** Textual problems in the Book of Esther may be more significant to trace the history of that haphazard Greek text than could be the analysis of its genre or style, which are otherwise consistently established, having a prominent place in Jewish traditions. A textual approach in the parallel passages may give some indication about why and to whom the texts are written, and to what extent they can be considered as re-written texts.

Translating of the Book of Esther into Spanish has suggested bitter-sweet thoughts to me on the whole. Sweet because wise opinions drawn from sound studies have led to sound and wise conclusions, and bitter because these conclusions still keep the book surrounded with a crown of question marks. I dare to write some reflections about this attractive and complex book, being conscious of the great number of scholarly contributions that have been written on every aspect of its rich and suggestive content.<sup>1</sup> I do not intend to make an evaluation of them, but just to explain my views.

Genre and style substantially sustain the character of historical books, especially in those books telling a single story with figures playing remarkable roles. The item “genre” in the book of Esther falls within a wide range of possi-

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1. Carey A. Moore, *Daniel Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions*, Garden City, New York: The Anchor Bible 44, 1977. David J.A. Clines, *The Esther Scroll: The Story of the Story*, Sheffield: JSOTSS 30, 1984. Michael V. Fox, *The Redaction of the Books of Esther*, Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, SBLMS 40, 1991. Id. *Character and Ideology in the Book of Esther. Second edition and a new Postscript on a Decade of Esther Scholarship*, Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2001. Karen H. Jobes, *The Alpha-Text of Esther: Its Character and Relationship to the Masoretic Text*, Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, SBLDS 153, 1996. 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*, Atlanta: SBL-SCSS 48, 2000. Emanuel Tov, “The ‘Lucianic’ Text of the Canonical and the Apocryphal Sections of Esther: A Rewritten Biblical Book,” *Textus* 10 (1982) 1-25; revised version: *The Greek and Hebrew Bible* (1999) 535-548.

bilities. In the frame of wisdom literature, it may be classified as satire—against the king and foreign powers<sup>2</sup>—or as psychological drama with fighting characters: men/women, lovers/enemies, acting with treacheries and diplomatic policies, and succeeding with doubtful moralities drawn from national conveniences. The attempt at getting a simple and rich formulation fails, on the one side, in light of the plurality of scenes, figures and textual problems and, on the other side, assuming too many partial hypotheses about the redaction and translation of the book is not convincing. Perhaps these considerations may be too harsh if we only see the story, but they are not so if we try to develop the textual relationships and to explain some unique peculiarities attached to this book.

It is assumed: (a) that the book sends a message to every nation, using the medium of Hellenistic narrative tools—the scenes of banquets are good examples—and (b) that the book also sends a message to the Jewish people, whose feast of Purim needed to be rooted in a Jewish triumph, within the frame of the good and evil struggle, persistent throughout the Bible, where the people of God fight against “the enemy,” say Amalek<sup>3</sup> or Gog<sup>4</sup> or the nations, or Haman. The narrative of the book touches the national Jewish feelings. Many details of the story come to emphasize that the Jews in exile “are different” because of their laws and way of life, as it is said in 3:8, when they were being accused by Haman of disobedience to the rulers. In fact, the real meaning of Haman’s accusation was Mordechai’s refusal to honour him. According to this, it is possible to say that the core of the book is the relationship between Haman and Mordechai. Evilness and goodness in conflict made progress through the narrative, and in the end the success was attained “with a little bit of luck.” Mordechai heard about the plot from the eunuchs, Esther could make it to be known by the King, the discovery was written in the chronicles of the kingdom, and Assoueros’s will to compensate his saviour made it possible that Haman would experience the most ridiculous and painful position before everyone as servant of Mordechai.

But this “bit of luck” lies in Esther’s clever handling of matters. The story brings several short scenes of suspense around her—the choice of her to become the Queen, her appearance before the King having not been called, or the expectation created when she twice invites the King and Haman to a wine party. Setting the pace for her schedule, she accuses Haman and obtains safety and free will for his people. The edict of the King was revoked through the

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2. D.J.A. Clines, p. 32.

3. Sam 15.

4. Ez 38–39.

petition of Esther, and the Jewish people, also through Esther's petition, could make their revenge inverting the victims of the pogrom.

This simple tale has come to us with great textual complexity. Besides the Hebrew Masoretic Text (from now on I will say Masoretic Text instead of "a Hebrew Text close to the Masoretic," for the sake of simplicity), we have two Greek texts that entail six additions. It is accepted that the Masoretic text is the main source of one of the Greek versions, the "Septuagint version" (Btext). It is a medium-faithful translation, with common discrepancies that may come from a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the MT, or from the style of the translator(s), or from the copyist variations produced during the transmission—nothing new in the history of Biblical translations. The source is less clear for the other Greek narration, the Atext; the story is freely related with a style not according with the extant Hebrew Masoretic text. Nonetheless, there are particular inclusions or expressions in the Atext identical to the MT that are absent or different from the Btext, probably deriving from the current Hebrew text known by the story teller.

1:2 ἐν τῷ καθῆσθαι Ἀσσυήρον ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ

כשבב המלך אחשורוש על כסא מלכותו

LXX ὅτε ἐθρονίσθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρταξέρξης

1:3 καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν χωρῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ

ושרי המדינות לפניו

LXX καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν τῶν σατραπῶν

1:10 ἐν τῷ ἐυφρανθῆναι τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ οἴνῳ

בטוב לב-המלך ביין

LXX >

1:14 καὶ οἱ ὀρώντες τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως

ראי פני המלך

LXX οἱ ἐγγύς

2:17 καὶ εὖρε χάριν καὶ ἔλεον κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ

והוא חן־חסד לפניו

LXX καὶ εὖρεν χάριν

2:17 τὸ διάδημα τῆς βασιλείας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῆς

כתר־מלכות בראשה

LXX τὸ διάδημα τὸ γυναικεῖον

- 3:1 καὶ ἔθηκε τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ὑπεράνω τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ  
 וישם את־כסאו מעל כל־השרים אשר אתו  
 LXX ~ καὶ ἐμπρωτοβάθρει πάντων τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ
- 3:13 εἰς χεῖρας τρεχόντων ἱππέων  
 ביד הרצים  
 LXX διὰ βιβλιαφόρων
- 6:11(9) ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς βούλεται δοξάσαι  
 אשר המלך חפץ ביקרו  
 LXX ~ ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς δοξάσαι
- 6:12(10) ταχὺ δράμε καὶ λάβε τὸν ἵππον καὶ στολὴ ὡς εἴρηκας  
 מהר קח את־הלבוש ואת־הסוס כאשר דברת  
 LXX >
- 6:21(13) πάντα τὰ γενόμενα αὐτῷ  
 תא כל־אשר קרהו  
 LXX >
- 7:11(8) καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπέστρεψεν ἐπὶ τὸ συμπόσιον  
 והמלך שב מגנת הבית אל־בית משתה היין  
 LXX ἐπέστρεψεν δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκ τοῦ κήπου

Here the questions arise: Are these examples strong enough to assume that the Atext *had a written* Hebrew *Vorlage*, and if this was so, was this *Vorlage* so different from the Masoretic text as the Atext is? Are these cases—and a few others—witness of the contamination of that supposed *Vorlage* with the MT, or was the Atext revised in keeping with the MT? Did several *redactions* of the book in Hebrew exist? How many story tellers told the story of Esther before it was fixed by the Masoretes? The answers may be in accordance with every one's research bias, but none of the answers has documentary proof.

On other grounds, connections and discrepancies between Greek texts are not regular throughout all chapters. For instance, in chapter 1 they are coincident, *grosso modo*, while in chapter 2 the Atext is extremely restrictive—about two thirds shorter. In chapter 3 Atext has only a few redactional matches with Btext, particularly vv 6–12 where similarities mixed with transpositions, doublets (from 8:8 and addition B 18) and information absent in Btext and in MT (Haman went to his gods to know the day for the death of the Jews). This constitutes a good example of the behaviour of the texts. In chapter 4 Atext is still restrictive, while from chapter 5 to 7 Btext is much shorter. Chapter 8,

where some scholars put the beginning of “the end of the book,” Btext matches with a small part of chapter 7 of Atext, for the first part of chapter 8; its second part, coming after the addition E in Btext, goes with the expanded addition E in Atext. Atext is again very restrictive in chapter 9, and similar to Btext for the few lines of chapter 10.

The common Hebrew source for the three texts (B, A and M), claimed by some scholars, would be perfect if their behaviour through the whole book would be as it is in chapter 1. But things being different, we only may assume, according to the extant mss, that two ways of telling the story of Esther in Greek, two different Greek styles and lexicons, were current before the HT was fixed and furthermore that the actual source of them is *the very story of Esther*, the tale current among people, as told by the Jews from generation to generation. Again a question rises: would we be able to know which form of the Hebrew stories underlies the Greek texts? For the Btext it can be said that it was a Hebrew text close to the MT, but for Atext, which maybe was not even a translation—the Semitisms found in it can be due to bilingualism—we may better resign and give up. We have no Hebrew documents of that time that could help to trace an accurate history of the transmission and any textual interactivity among the texts of Esther.

Another obscure subject of the book is the provenance of the *Greek additions*. Are they needed to make the story understandable? Certainly not. Esther's main aim is to record the justification for Purim and to root it within the framework of salvation from a national distress, and this aim is attained with the canonical chapters. Two points were missing to fulfil the complete acceptance of Adar 14 and 15 as a national feast in Hellenistic communities: 1) the documents enforcing the historicity of the story, and 2) the explicit divine action. Both are accomplished with the Greek additions. The explicit divine action could have been solved by spreading here and there sentences invoking the Lord, as in every other book of the Bible. But the story itself was not orientated to show God's action upon his people, as the Exodus was, but to show how the Jewish people could succeed under the rule of a foreign sovereign nation. They were first the object of hatred on the point of being exterminated, but the hatred on them became praise, and their laws were just and convenient instead of “different” and the cause of civil disobedience. And this happened not by means of the action of God, but by the ability of their people. Jewish people by themselves appear as deserving mercy and praise.

These views confirm that the story was related “for an internal use of the Jewish community” as some scholars have pointed out.<sup>5</sup> The question is that

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5. A. Lacocque, 320.

in Hellenistic times it is plausible that this was also written for the non-Jews, and then perhaps the absence of mentioning God would have been more convenient, because showing the success of a unique and almighty God, in contrast with their gods and religious feelings, could have been upsetting and offensive. On the other hand the fact of using the Hebrew language for this purpose seems a drawback; Greek would be expected if the story was meant for gentiles. In this matter, as in some others, it is possible to argue reasonably either way. Anyway, a convincing explanation for this phenomenon has not yet been found and is still in debate. Nevertheless in the sections with MT, there are seven allusions to the Lord in one or in both Greek texts.<sup>6</sup>

2:20 In LXX, what Esther must do is “*to fear God* and to do his ordinances, just as when she was with him (Mordecai),” while in the MT “*Esther obeyed Mordecai* just as when she was brought up by him.”

4:8 (AT 4:4–5 ~) Mordecai said to Esther: “Remember your humble days when you were brought up by my hand, for Haman, the second to the king, has spoken against us to put us to death. *Call upon the Lord*, and speak to the king about us, and deliver us from death!” There is no MT for this paragraph.

4:9 AT “...then surely *God* will be to them a helper and deliverance,” while in the corresponding LXX 4:14 “from *elsewhere* help and protection will come to the Judeans,” as it is said in the MT, the only possible allusion to God’s help in the whole book.

4:11 AT “Then the queen sent saying: Proclaim a religious service, and petition *God* earnestly, and I and my girls will do likewise” (no allusion to God in the corresponding 4:16 LXX). MT 4:15–16 “Then Esther said in reply to Mordechai: Go, gather all the Jews to be found in Susa, and hold a fast on my behalf, and neither eat nor drink for three days, night or day. I and my maids will also fast as you do.”

6:1 LXX “But *the Lord* kept sleep from the king that night.” AT 6:1: “But *the Mighty One* kept sleep from the king that night.” MT “On that night the sleep of the King fled.”

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6. Translations from NETS and NRSV.



6:13 LXX "...because a *living god* (sic) is with him," (with Mordechai). AT 6:22 "...because *God* is among them." (among the Jews) TM 6:13 "...but will surely fall before him." (Haman before Mordechai).

7:2 AT "Esther struggled with her reply, because the adversary was before her eyes, and *God gave her courage as she called upon him*." No correspondence in LXX and MT.

All these references to God have been either included in the Greek texts, or removed from the MT. The decision again falls on the one or the other side, depending on the mental position that scholars should have in relation to this problem, because nothing is proved.

Several questions may arise concerning the MT. During the pre-masoretic times, the texts fluctuated, but to what extent? Is the MT of this book the result of the rabbinic treatment of this account, or is it the canonization of one of the various types of text current in religious and lay milieus of the Jewish society?

One is bound to think that references to the God of Israel as a saviour in times of distress are fully within the most basic Jewish thinking, but the fact is that the book of Esther consists of ten chapters telling us a story of salvation without making even one mention of God. Of course, the main aim of the book was to explain and justify the feast of Purim, but the story runs very deeply through the Jewish feelings. Why then did it avoid the usual Biblical language concerning God's action?

As it occurs with other questions the answer is unsatisfactory. Logic is broken if one thinks that references to God in a book were required for it to have a place in Hebrew canon, only because those references are lacking in Hebrew. If we think that they were in a former Hebrew redaction, it makes no sense to have removed them in order to accept the book as canonical. A more convincing explanation may be that they could have been removed to avoid taking the name of God in vain in a feast where wine and riot might be excessive. Or, more probable, that since the book was composed in Hellenistic times, it was necessary to extol nationalism, separately from religious principles, in order to show the strength of Jewish social unity and power.

Maybe because of lack of firm responses to these questions, some scholars<sup>7</sup> introduced a third Greek text (G III), from which *Vetus Latina* has been translated. They make this assertion considering that the *Vetus Latina* pres-

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7. Jean-Claude Haelewyck, "Le texte dit 'Lucianique' du livre d'Esther. Son étendue et sa cohérence", *Le Muséon* 98 (1985), 5–44. Id. "Le Papyrus Oxyrhynque 4443 et la *vetus latina* du livre d'Esther", *Revue bénédictine* 109 (1999) 267–271. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Les formes anciennes du livre d'Esther", *Revue théologique de Louvain* 40 (2009) 66–77.

ents the oldest form of the book. Again this third text may have existed, but fragmentary proofs are not extensive enough to support a theory that only can be taken as a hypothesis.

Textual criticism is most reliable. Readings do not escape from the manuscripts, and they give sufficient information to reconstruct the text as R. Hanhart did with master hand and head in his critical edition. Questions arise when we go beyond, when interpretation of the genre and style takes the place of the witnesses. Analyses and studies treat particular aspects affirming, with interesting arguments, the origin and history of the texts. The departure is correct, but along the journey many partial achievements supporting one trend are often denied right after, by the results of the next step of the study. An example of this is the diversity of attempts to give precise *Vorlagen* and interdependence among texts. The gorgeous effort is patent on the scheme of the *Status Quaestionis* reproduced by Kristin De Troyer in her excellent monograph *The End of the Alpha Text*. Impossibilities are denounced by every scholar, and we all hope that a new discovery could bring some light on the history of these texts.

Although it can be said that the book of Esther, from the redactional point of view, is not a difficult book, the undefined background and the darkness around its canonical acceptance stand in contrast with its apparent comprehensive structure. A rich reception has enlarged its complex text history,<sup>8</sup> giving a message of unity within the Jewish national perspectives.

It remains to give thanks and praise to scholars for their splendid works that made it possible for us to approach the meanings of the words with most accurate perception. Every step in this direction is welcome. I am conscious that what I said has been already said in different forums, even though I wished to express my views about the book, keeping distant from analytical methods and trying to measure the size of their limits.

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8. Jo Carruthers, *Esther through the Centuries*, Malden MA – Oxford: Blackwell 2008.

# LXX Ruth: Translation, Interpretation, Characterization

*Nathan LaMontagne*

**Abstract:** I propose to present an examination of the Septuagint translation of the book of Ruth. The presentation will focus on the language of the story, the characters, and the way that the narrative unfolds. First, I will show how the translator treats Naomi's speech before her daughter-in-law, 1:12–13, and how the translator reenvisioned this dialogue. Then, in the scene in 2:8–13, I will explain how the translator recasts the characters of Boaz and Ruth and how his translation alters the way they treat each other and react to their situation. Lastly I will look at the scene on the threshing floor in chapter 3 and how the translator dealt with the euphemistic Hebrew word "feet." Through these three examples, I will demonstrate how the LXX translator, though he is scrupulously faithful to his Hebrew text, nevertheless imparted to the characters of this story a unique and different interpretation than the one demonstrated in the Hebrew.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Septuagint translators of Ruth were clearly trying to reproduce the Hebrew of Ruth to an exacting degree. This study attempts to analyze the style of the Greek translation, both at the exegetical level and at the linguistic level. This study will proceed then from two perspectives. First, it will examine the linguistic style used to translate Hebrew into Greek throughout the book; second, it will examine individual passages, which offer significant variations from the MT, and examine the meaning and reasons for the variation. Naturally, there will be a great deal of overlap between these sections. The linguistic examination will attempt to look more broadly at the work, whereas the individual passages will highlight what impact the syntactical analysis has on the interpretation of the text.

### 1.1. THE HEBREW TEXT

The Hebrew of Ruth under consideration is the text of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*, working under the assumption that the MT is the most well-pre-

served text of the original Hebrew currently available. More to the point, it is probably the same basic text that the Greek translator had in front of him.

## 1.2. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF LXX RUTH

Rahlfs, in his analysis of the textual tradition of LXX Ruth delineated four basic families of texts: texts originating from the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla, the Lucianic recension, the church fathers' version (which he called K), and a fourth unknown recension (which Rahlfs called R).<sup>1</sup> In addition to these four major families, Rahlfs considered the two major codices, Alexandrinus and Vaticanus, to lie outside of the "families." As such, he took the text of Vaticanus to be the older of the two, and that both codices predated the four families. He identified Vaticanus as the Old Greek text, that is, the original. This conclusion has been challenged, but Vaticanus remains the base text even for the recent Göttingen edition of LXX Ruth.<sup>2</sup>

All the modern editions of the LXX, including the Göttingen, take Rahlfs' presentation of Ruth as the basis for the original Greek text. Nevertheless, it does seem to exhibit some of the peculiarities of what later was called the Kaige recension, so the Greek may have been revised as late as the first century CE. However, the dating of the manuscripts and the identification of recensions is beyond the scope of this work; we shall concern ourselves only with the translation and the translational style.

## 2. LINGUISTIC STYLE OF TRANSLATION GREEK

There are a few aspects of the translator's linguistic style that deserve special attention. These are the difficult to replicate aspects of Hebrew, and the odd aspects of Greek: the use of ἄν and ἐάν in the translation, the translation of the Hebrew infinitive absolute, and finally the treatment of the Hebrew comparative ׀ן.

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1. Edward F. Campbell, *Ruth* (Anchor Bible; New York: Doubleday, 1975), 36–38; Alfred Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth* (Göttingen, 1922), 47–164.

2. Udo Quast, ed., *Ruth* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006). See also Isabelle Assandhôte and Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Ruth* (La Bible D'Alexandrie; Paris: Cerf, 2009), 28–35 for a longer discussion of the problem; cf. Dominique Barthelmy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 1963); R. Thornhill, "The Greek Text of the Book of Ruth," *VT* 3 (1953): 236–49.

## 2.1. THE USE OF ἄν AND ἐάν

Thanks to the project Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Study, the first volume of which is on Ruth, we have a fairly accurate study of the way the LXX translator of Ruth used these interesting and difficult to place Greek particles.<sup>3</sup> In classical Greek, for instance, “ἄν limits the force of the verb to particular conditions or circumstances,”<sup>4</sup> and ἐάν is used only with the subjunctive mood—a crasis of εἰ and ἄν.<sup>5</sup> However, by the time of LXX Greek, ἄν and ἐάν had virtually the same meaning. Even so, these particles had specific and grammatically conditioned uses.<sup>6</sup> However, in the LXX style, these particles seem to show little of the grammatical regularity that accompanies them in classical literature. Rather, they are used in Ruth only as markers of clausal relationship, without regard for the state of the verb or the type of sentence being constructed, and sometimes are not used to modify verbs at all. It is clear that they are intended to lend a vague generality to the passages in which they appear, as in Ruth’s oath formula in 1:16–17. However they are absent four verses earlier when Naomi states a hyperbole over her inability to have more children—a place where unreality is certainly needed. It is not surprising then that most often ἄν and ἐάν are used to translate a clause introduced in Hebrew by אִשֶּׁר (87 percent of the occurrences). It seems that, since ἐ/άν is used so often in translating אִשֶּׁר, that the Greek translator felt that the אִשֶּׁר clause connoted some measure of generality. He only sometimes uses ἐάν in places where an “if” is required by the Greek, so it clearly does not represent its classical usage in Greek. In the Pentateuch, for example, אִשֶּׁר clauses are translated in the natural Greek way, with a relative pronoun.<sup>7</sup> The translator’s choice to add the generalizing particle to the relative pronouns demonstrates his desire to reproduce the deep structure of the Hebrew even if this means adding or subtracting from the surface structure.

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3. John Abercrombie et al., *Ruth* (Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986).

4. Herbert W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920), §1762.

5. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2283.

6. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1934), 190, 921–22, 937–39.

7. Henry S. Gehman, “Hebraisms of the Old Greek Versions of Genesis,” *VT* 3 (1953): 144.

## 2.2. THE TRANSLATION OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE

The infinitive absolute occurs in Ruth only twice—in 2:11, and 2:16. Both times it is used as an intensifier with a finite verb of the same stem.<sup>8</sup> In 2:11, the translator does not feel the need to translate the infinitive absolute  $\text{גַּלְגַּל}$  with a verb form at all; however, he did feel compelled to translate it in some way so as to leave nothing missing. Given his understanding of Greek, and wanting to reproduce a word that was cognate with the verb, he chose the noun  $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$  to match the verb,  $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega$ , which then becomes its cognate accusative.<sup>9</sup>

In v. 16, the infinitive absolute occurs once in the Hebrew; the LXX translator chooses a participle to translate it. However, where the infinitive absolute in Hebrew serves as an intensifier of the reality of the verb, this function in no way can be assigned to the Greek participle (that would be more naturally rendered in Greek by the cognate accusative, as above). The participle in the translation serves a circumstantial purpose, giving the circumstances which are the basis of the action.<sup>10</sup> The two have similar meanings, but certainly not identical. On the one hand, the circumstantial participle in Greek is hardly necessary when it is cognate with the verb for which it is giving the circumstances and, on the other hand, it is only barely a reasonable translation of the Hebrew. This leaves us with the question: why then did the translator choose this translation? The answer will give us an insight into the philosophy of the translator.

The treatment of the infinitive absolute, although it is somewhat rare in Ruth, is an excellent demonstration of the translator's philosophy. He wants to preserve the *words* of the Hebrew, but is willing to forego translating the *form* of the Hebrew, choosing instead to use the words at his disposal in such a way that the Greek still makes sense (even if it is cumbersome). It is important to the translator to preserve first the meaning (which is clearly maintained here), second the deep structure of the Hebrew (so, translating as many words as possible, retaining the sense and/or flavor of the Hebrew), and only third translating the surface structure (preserving the order of the words, the tenses of the verbs, the grammatical constructions).

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8. Bruce Waltke and Michael O'Connor, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 584–85.

9. This is a not unnatural quality of Greek; as such it is a good dynamic equivalent to the infinitive absolute, which “early grammarians ... had no doubt is used as a kind of *internal accusative*.” Waltke and O'Connor, *IBHS*, 584, italics original.

10. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, 456–59.

### 2.3. THE USE OF מְ

When used as a preposition, the Hebrew מְ is generally correctly translated with the Greek preposition ἀπό or ἐκ. However, there are other uses of מְ than simply to indicate direction; there are also the comparative uses.<sup>11</sup> It is used thus in Ruth 1:12, 13; 3:10, 12; and 4:15. In all these cases, the translator has recognized the comparative use of מְ and translated it accordingly. In 1:12 the translator uses a negative result clause (by means of an articular infinitive); in 1:13, 3:10, and 4:15 he uses the preposition ὑπέρ; but in the instance of 3:12 he uses a comparative adjective—a rather rare occurrence in the LXX, being completely absent from the Pentateuch, for instance.<sup>12</sup> The translation of מְ indicates that the translator had a well developed sense for Hebrew and a slightly more natural style in Greek than the translators who came before him.

### 3. VARIATIONS

Although the translator(s) sought to produce a literal translation of the Hebrew text, and for the most part succeeded, there are certain places in which the Greek differs from the MT. Although it is certainly the case that this may arise in some places from the existence of a different Hebrew text than the MT, it is almost as certain that this is not always the reason for the variant. Therefore, we must examine each individual variation on a case by case basis and determine the possible and the likely reasons for the variation.

#### 3.1. NAOMI'S SPEECH: 1:12–13

There is a significant interpretation of the Hebrew in chapter one that occurs during part of Naomi's speech to her two daughters-in-law. The Greek shows some significant difference from the Hebrew. The most interesting aspect of this passage is the use of the Hebrew stative verb with the preposition מְ to show comparison (v. 12). The Greek translator used a verb in the perfect tense (a stative tense). However, the articular infinitive, which translates the מְ and infinitive construct in Hebrew, cannot represent the original comparative meaning. The articular infinitive in Greek generally is used to express purpose or result. In order to compensate for this, the translator inserted the negative

11. Waltke and O'Connor, *IBHS*, 213–14.

12. Anneli Aejmelaus, "Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honor of Albert Pietersma*, ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, JISOTSS 332 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54–73.

μή, so that the clause means approximately “so that I cannot be for a husband.” This passage, though cumbersome in Greek, is a good example of what the translator might have considered “dynamic equivalence,” a method of translating that preserved both the form and the flavor of the original; preserving the deep structure and as much of the surface structure as is reasonable.

In the next sentence, Naomi presents a hypothetical condition, a statement that we might call a contrary to fact conditional statement. The protasis is introduced in the Hebrew by כִּי and a first person suffix conjugation (אֶמְרֶתִּי), and the apodosis, since it is a question, by interrogative הֲ and לֵהָן. In the Greek, this conditional statement is either not well understood or, as before, the translator wanted to be as literal as possible without interrupting the sense in the Greek. He then translated כִּי as the Greek ὅτι, a particle which in Greek does not introduce a conditional statement. The verb, which is the Hebrew suffix conjugation, is then translated as the perfect, εἶπα.<sup>13</sup> The translator, looking at the Hebrew, thought that the text made sense only if Naomi was actually saying or had said in the past “there is hope for me.” In Greek however, because the verb is in the aorist the conditional nature of the statement is lost, and Naomi in her speech quotes herself as having said (presumably at some point in the past), “there is a reality for me to conceive by a man and I will bear sons.” Because this is an actual statement in the Greek, rather than a hypothetical one, the translator removed the word “this night” from his translation, lest Naomi sound too ardent.<sup>14</sup> The line now translates: “For I had said (or, once said), ‘there is hope for me to get married to a man and bear sons.’” It is interesting to note that in this sentence, where in the Hebrew the three verbs (“say” “be” and “bear”) are all perfective, they are translated in Greek by, respectively, an aorist indicative, an aorist infinitive, and a future indicative.

The story in the Greek paints a picture of Naomi the Widow as a woman who said that she would take a husband and bear sons, but age and time have overtaken her and she is no longer able to do this. Because she is no longer capable of “being for a husband,” she feels compelled to force her daughters-in-law to return to their mother’s houses because she is no longer capable of caring for them or of procuring a man who can. Thus, she asks facetiously if

13. λέγω may be translated “think” after the Hebraic fashion, Gehman, “Hebraisms,” 146; however, this would not significantly alter the sense of what Naomi is stating—she is still indicating that she actually had this hope at some point in the past.

14. Though this may have been lost for other reasons; Thornhill, “The Greek Text of the Book of Ruth: A Grouping of Manuscripts According to Origen’s Hexapla,” VT 3 (1953): 239–40 details several manuscripts that misunderstand the Hebrew הלילה as חלילה. There are however no manuscripts that contain νόκτος, cf. Quast, *Ruth*, 163–64.



the girls will wait until her hypothetical sons mature, for surely they cannot hold themselves back from conceiving by other men. Such a prospect is utterly ridiculous, and so, unable to fulfill the promise that she made, she turns them back to their homes as she turns back to hers.

This picture of the bitter old woman whom age has overtaken is capped off by the final phrase of this short passage. In the Hebrew, verse 13c reads “the hand of YHWH has turned against me.” The Greek translation sheds a great light into the thought of the LXX translators. Rather than envisioning the hand of God actively turning against a faithful woman, in Greek Naomi says, “The hand of the Lord has gone out (from) in me.” Although the Greek here might mean several things, depending on how we interpreted the force of the preposition ἐν,<sup>15</sup> the phrase ἐξῆλθεν ἐμοί would have been sufficient to translate the Hebrew here and still be sensible Greek. The addition of the preposition indicates that the translator was specifically trying to connote the locative sense, “inside of, on, or in” in this instance. So whereas the Hebrew indicates that Naomi was the victim of divine turnabout, the Greek translator envisions that God, incapable of doing evil, has only removed a blessing (conferred by the “laying on of his hand”) to which Naomi was formerly entitled.

### 3.2. BOAZ AND RUTH: 2:8, 12, 13, 16

In verse 8, Boaz says הֲלֹא שָׁמַעַתְּ בָּתִּי. The Greek translates this in a literal fashion, making it clear that Boaz is asking a rhetorical question. How we translate this is a matter of some difficulty, however, since the context does not require or support a question (even a rhetorical one). The Hebrew may be interpreted in a number of ways—the LXX and many modern translations treat it as a rhetorical question, “haven’t you heard?” meaning “surely you know.” However, Ruth cannot be expected to know any of the things which Boaz then goes on to assert, and the force of the rhetorical question is simply to introduce instruction, hence “Listen.”<sup>16</sup> However, M. Jastrow suggested in 1896 that this might be understood as an actual question, interpreting the

15. Aside from the traditional meaning of “in, inside of, on” in LXX Greek the particle ἐν + dative may reflect any of the usages of the Hebrew preposition כִּי; see Gehman, “Hebraisms,” 142–43. It may thus indicate dative of instrument, dative of time when, etc. However, as sometimes happens, in translational Greek ἐν was also appended to many types of dative nouns with no force whatsoever; cf. F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek: With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1995).

16. See for instance Campbell, *Ruth*, 96–97; John Craghan, *Esther, Judith, Tobit, Jonah, Ruth* (Wilmington: Michael Glazier, 1982), 209–14.

text slightly differently, “Haven’t you heard, my daughter, ‘Don’t gather in the field of another?’” a trite way of saying “Mind your own business.”<sup>17</sup> The LXX translator understood it as a rhetorical question and translated accordingly. Although this seems to us a question which makes little sense, we have already seen the translators preference for a dynamic equivalence which does not interrupt the flow of the Greek. In all other places he is trying to produce an intelligible Greek translation; however, the subjunctive πορευθῆς seems to favor reading the statement proverbially, as Jastrow suggests.<sup>18</sup>

In verse 12 Boaz pronounces the blessing of YHWH on Ruth, and praises Ruth for having come to Israel, and more to the point, for having come to YHWH, under whose wings Ruth has taken refuge (לַחֲסוֹת). The Greek translator choose to use the second perfect πέποιθα, indicating that Ruth has become *convinced* (the passive sense probably being a divine passive here) to place her trust in YHWH.<sup>19</sup> In response to this, Boaz proclaims that Ruth ought to be (or expresses his hope that she will be) blessed by the Lord. But whereas in the Hebrew he asks that the Lord reward her for her deeds, and that this be a full reward, the Greek translator has Boaz proclaim this reward for her ἐργασίαν. Rendering the noun פֶּעַל in Greek, it would have been sufficient to simply write ἔργοι, and this would have been a literal translation. The word ἐργασίαν however implies not just things done, but things done as a business practice or as a profession, usually with the connotation of profit.<sup>20</sup> This then is primarily a commercial blessing, and this is further confirmed by the existence of the Greek noun μισθός, meaning “wages,” something that is due, rather than “reward” (which is the usual translation of מַשְׁכָּרַת in this

17. “On Ruth ii. 8,” *JBL* 15: 59–62.

18. Contra Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright, *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 241 and Assan-Dhôte and Moatti-Fine, *Ruth*, 80.

19. Possibly indicating that Boaz believes that Ruth has made the act of conversion by accompanying Naomi back to Israel; this, although possible, might be reading too much into the translator’s choice. There have been many studies on the Ruth’s conversion and whether it constitutes incorporation into Israelite society. See for instance Neil Glover, “Your People, My People: An Exploration of Ethnicity in Ruth,” *JSOT* 33 (2009): 293–313; Eunny P. Lee, “Ruth the Moabitess: Identity, Kinship, and Otherness,” in *Engaging the Bible in a Gendered World: An Introduction to Feminist Biblical Interpretation in Honor of Katharine Doob Sakenfeld* (ed. Linda Day and Carolyn Pressler; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 89–101; Mark S. Smith, “‘Your People Shall Be My People’: Family and Covenant in Ruth 1:16–17,” *CBQ* 69 (2007): 242–58; and Christiana van Houten, *The Alien in Israelite Law* (JSOTSS; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 162–63 especially, discusses the acceptance of the alien into Israelite society, with reference to Ruth.

20. BDAG, “ἐργασία,” LEH “ἐργασία,” LSJ, “ἐργασία.”

verse, although the word typically means “wages”). Ruth in the Greek narrative is perceived not so much as a beggar, as she is in Hebrew, but as a business woman, plying her trade in the fields. Boaz recognizes in her a woman who is, literally, “taking care of business,” and we notice in Boaz’s words a hint of respect and mutuality—it is the blessing of one proprietor to another.

In verse 13 Ruth responds to Boaz, blessing him for what he has said. In the Hebrew, she praises him for speaking kindly and comforting her. In the understanding of the translator, from a literal translation of דברת על-לב, Ruth is proclaiming in Greek that Boaz had spoken literally to her heart.<sup>21</sup> In the Greek understanding, this means not that Boaz changed her feelings, but rather that Boaz changed her mind, the “heart” being the seat of reasoning and rationale in Greek thought—a crucial distinction.<sup>22</sup> Because of this, it is necessary to ask, what was it in Ruth’s mind that was changed? The translator has answered this by leaving out the negative לא in verse 13b, changing the meaning of the Hebrew “even though I am not...” to the Greek, “so that I will be...” This is accomplished only through the absence of the negative particle; however it changes the attitude of Ruth. Now in the Greek she responds to Boaz’s kindness in allowing her to glean from his field, not merely by expressing the hope that this favor would continue (as she does in the Hebrew), but by actually making the choice to become for him like one of his servant girls. Although this is a subtle difference, it changes the nature of the character in the story, just as the subtle changes in 1:12–13 altered the character of Naomi. Ruth is now a woman who is making her own choices, looking out for her own interests, and doing as she feels is in her and Naomi’s best interests. In her response, she commits herself to following and serving the man who has shown her such favor.

This action is completed in verse 16 with Boaz’s orders to his servants. The Hebrew makes use of the infinitive absolute, a verbal form that has no cognate in any other non-semitic language. Therefore, the Greek translator had to make the best of what verbal forms he had. In this case, the translator chose the participle and the aorist imperative—an odd choice to be sure. This choice is complicated by the sequence of verbs: in the Hebrew there are only

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21. Caroline Blyth, “Redeemed by His Love? The Characterization of Shechem in Genesis 34,” *JSOT* 33 (2008): 10–12, argues that this phrase at least sometimes has a more selfish nuance than providing words of comfort—she details at least two instances in which it may have the more self-serving meaning of persuading someone else to do one’s will. If this is the case, the Greek is a fairly accurate rendering of the Hebrew.

22. Theodore Tracy, “Heart and Soul in Aristotle,” in *Essays on Ancient Greek Philosophy*, vol. 2 (ed. John Peter Anton and Anthony Preus; Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983), 321–39.

four true verbs, whereas in the Greek there are five. The first verb set in Greek, βασιτάζοντες βασιτάξατε, does not correspond to any Hebrew verb. Although this may have arisen from a differing *Vorlage*, it seems more likely to presume that the translator sought to clarify the sense of the text by appending another verb set, since שָׁלַל (“draw out carefully”) is only partly similar to παραβάλλω (“cast aside” or “expose”). This *hapax legomenon* may have been difficult for the translator to understand, or he may have understood it differently than we do now, or he may have been dynamically substituting in his translation. Whatever the cause, in the Greek, rather than simply dropping some extra, the servants of Boaz are asked to carry Ruth’s burden for her.

The sense then of this pericope in the Greek, although literally translated and for the most part faithful, involves a higher level of commitment from both Ruth and Boaz. Boaz, clearly impressed by Ruth, declares that she has done well to come and place her trust in the God of Israel, and has pronounced a blessing on her business and on her wages. In response to the outrageous generosity of Boaz, Ruth makes the actual commitment to serve Boaz as one of his own serving girls. Making the final motion of this pericope, in order to demonstrate to Ruth that the blessings of the Lord (which he had pronounced on her in verse 12) are good, and to show his favoritism towards Ruth, Boaz commands his servants to do her work for her, carrying for her while she continues to glean.

### 3.3. FEET, OR FEET, OR WHAT? 3:4, 7

The translation of מְרִגְלָתִי, although only a single word and only occurring in two verses in chapter three, really does deserve its own section. The circuitous translation of this one noun in Hebrew by the Greek phrase τὰ πρὸς ποδῶν αὐτοῦ is surely in order to heighten the euphemistic ambiguity of the sense of the Hebrew. This construction is so uniquely Greek that it cannot translate well into any other language, and its presence here, in what attempts to be a relatively literal translation, is somewhat confounding. Although we might translate this in any number of odd ways, the Greek is clearly trying to be obtuse.

There is often, in the mind of modern readers, a question of what exactly happened on the threshing floor between Ruth and Boaz. If the Greek translator knew what happened, he chose to continue to hide it from us. The euphemistic nature of “feet” in the Hebrew language was clearly known to the translator, and in his translation he simply decided to render the Hebrew euphemism with a different sort of Greek euphemism that would have been intelligible, even though not more revealing, to his Greek audience. The Greek reader of this text would have been just as curious (or not) as modern read-

ers are about the goings-on of the threshing floor that night. This indicates strongly that the story was designed to leave the reader in perpetual wonderment about “the juicy part” of the story.

### 3.4. BOAZ AND THAT OTHER PERSON: 4:1–5

The kinsman that has the right of redemption over Naomi’s land and over Ruth is never named, either in the Hebrew or in the Greek. However, the character of this man is a subject of debate. In the Hebrew text, he is addressed by Boaz as “person,” “certain one,” “nameless one,” or the like (פְּלוֹנִי, 4:1). In the Greek, this pseudonym is translated by κρυφίε, meaning “Secret one.” This can hardly be tied to פְּלוֹנִי, which is probably related to the root פָּלַה, “to treat specially.”<sup>23</sup> So, already in the Greek text, this nameless character is identified as a specious character, one who hides or has something to hide.

More importantly though is the way that Boaz phrases the kinsman’s duty in verse 5. In Hebrew, Boaz makes the statement that buying the land from Naomi also means that the kinsman incurs the responsibility to marry Ruth, and to raise a child for the inheritance.<sup>24</sup> However, in the Greek, Boaz seems to imply that the field, while primarily belonging to Naomi, must also be acquired “παρὰ Πουθ” (v. 5). Furthermore, in Hebrew Boaz states that the buying of the one is identical with the buying of the other: “On the day you buy the field ... you buy Ruth...”<sup>25</sup> However, the Greek is more nuanced—Boaz states that once he buys the field, he incurs *the obligation* to marry Ruth. Note that he is no longer buying Ruth, as the Hebrew indicates, and that the Greek indicates that the action of redemption ‘triggers’ the obligation of

23. HALOT 930, BDB 811

24. Robert Westbrook, in his study *Property and Family in Biblical Law* (JSOTSS; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 17–23, 58–89, argues convincingly that the Levirate duty referred to here is inoperative unless there is an inheritance for the child to be raised up over. So, as long as the land remains under the control of another, there is no Levirate duty; but once it is redeemed and returned to family control, the Levirate duty is “triggered.” This is how Boaz was able to spring Levirate duty as a trap, and convince the kinsman not to redeem. Since this is a story primarily of how a foreign woman came to be accepted into Israelite society, this legal distinction is important for understanding the story as a whole; cf. Lee, “The Moabitess”; Agnethe Siquans, “Foreignness and Poverty in the Book of Ruth: A Legal Way for a Poor Foreign Woman to be Integrated Into Israel,” *JBL* 128 (2009): 443–52.

25. Following the qere in v. 5, against the suggestion of D. R. G. Beattie, “Kethibh and Qere in Ruth IV 5,” *VT* 21 (1971): 490–94. Although his conclusion is logical, we tend to agree with Westbrook, *Property and Family*, 63–68 who has a more detailed and nuanced explanation of Israelite law on this subject.

levirate marriage—two aspects of law which are otherwise unconnected. To the original Hebrew audience, the operation of these laws is already apparent. However, the Greek speaking audience may have required more help in understanding the nuances of the application of these laws.

Having been made aware of the impending levirate duty, the kinsman declares that he cannot proceed to redeem, since doing so would “spoil” or “corrupt” his own inheritance. The child born of such a union would inherit the redeemed field by right, and may even be entitled, as the son of the redeemer, to a portion of the redeemer’s estate as well.<sup>26</sup> This clears the way for Boaz to step up and complete the narrative by marrying Ruth. This kinsman-redeemer has very much the same character and the same motivations as his Hebrew counterpart; the primary difference is a cultural one, revolving around the legal language of how Boaz presents his case. The appellation of the kinsman as “κρυφίε” makes us think that perhaps the audience is supposed to consider this man disdainfully, as one who wanted to ‘hide’ from his legal obligations, and refused his familial duties lest it damage his own monetary situation (notwithstanding the fact that were it not for his refusal, the story would not have had the happy ending that it does).

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The exegetical style of the LXX translator of this book is difficult to sum up. We see a number of different and sometimes contradictory elements at work in his translational philosophy. Although his literalness is sometimes confounding in Greek, he seems aware of this fact, dropping and adding particles, negatives, and other minor bits of linguistic markers to make the meaning of a sentence clear. His translational philosophy seems confounding to modern translators of the Hebrew and Greek, with whom this translator shares little in common. Nevertheless, despite its difficulties and occasionally eye-and-ear-twisting Greek style, this translator has done an admirable job, given what he set out to do.

In the main, what we see emerge from the translation is a different attitude in the characters of the story. There is, for instance, little of the dominance problem between the women in the Greek version: Ruth is a decisive and powerful character, and Naomi, who has stated that she is past her prime (1:13) is a supporting character.<sup>27</sup> The real burden of this narrative is carried

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26. Westbrook, *Property and Family*, 74–75 notes that “the offspring of the levirate union is subsequently referred to as the issue of the levir, Judah and Boaz respectively, and not of the deceased, Er and Mahlon (Gen 46.12 and Ruth 4.21).”

27. This dominance problem is discussed in detail by Athalya Brenner, “Naomi and

by Ruth and Boaz, who are both more decisive and more empowered than their Hebrew counterparts. Their decisions reflect their determination, so that they seem to be planning their eventual marriage rather than falling into it through the machinations of Naomi. The Hebrew story is one where the protagonists happen to fall in love, and are helped together by the workings of the aged and wise mother-in-law/kinswoman, who acts as their matchmaker and is the final beneficiary of the narrative. This is obscured however in the Greek version, where the characters themselves produce their own blessings, and the happy ending enjoyed by the background character of Naomi is due primarily to her daughter-in-laws quick, thoughtful, and decisive action.

The Septuagint of Ruth does not demonstrate the startling difference the other LXX texts demonstrate from their sources, like Jeremiah, nor are they a wealth linguistic or stylistic analysis, like the Pentateuch. However, careful studies into the nature and the style of even short works like Ruth can, we hope to have demonstrated, have a significant impact on the way we understand the LXX translators, their language, and their culture.

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Ruth,” *VT* 33 (1983): 385–97, who concludes that these overlapping heroines are evidence of the blending of what were originally two different stories.





# The Provenance of the Old Greek Job<sup>1</sup>

*Johann Cook*

**Abstract:** There can be no doubt that in Septuagint research introductory questions, such as the provenance of individual books, have become a desideratum. Until recently there has been a broad consensus (Gerleman, Cox, et al.) that the Old Greek of Job was translated and composed in Alexandria, Egypt. This consensus has been challenged by A. Y. Reed in a publication in JBL 2001. She focusses on one of the striking additions in LXX Job, the colophon in Job 42:17b–e, and concludes that this plus in fact originated in Palestine. In an endeavour to locate Job geographically she discusses three pieces of information: (1) the connection with the “Aramaic book” mentioned in 42:17b–c; (2) the location of Uz on the border of Idumea and Arabia; and (3) the fact that Job’s wife is Arabian. This paper will discuss and evaluate this provocative and creative contribution in the light of the unique profile of OG Job identified in chapters 1, 2, and 42. In the process applicable criteria will be formulated. Also text-critical issues, such as the origin of LXX Job 42:17a will be addressed.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. THE PROBLEM

Research into the Greek version (Old Greek) of the Hebrew Bible, including the so-called *de novo* Septuagint writings, has been gaining momentum of late. There are various reasons for this positive development. The publication programme of the LXX is advancing progressively. The impact of the Dead Sea Scrolls on Septuagintal studies is also observed at various levels.<sup>2</sup> Novel

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1. This contribution is based on research executed during a visit of six months in 2009 to the University of Leiden in conjunction with Prof. Arie van der Kooij. I acknowledge financial and other assistance by the University of Stellenbosch, SANRE, NWO and the Oppenheimer Memorial Trust.

2. Cf., for instance, G. J. Brooke, B. Lindars, eds., *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Studies* (SCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

theories as to the origin of the LXX have been formulated and many international projects have been formulated over the past decades.<sup>3</sup>

There is a growing perception that this corpus contains invaluable exegetical and hermeneutical insights in addition to its traditional text-critical value.<sup>4</sup> This applies especially to books that have been rendered interpretatively such as Job and the Septuagint of Proverbs. One such issue is establishing the location of the origin of individual books. Whereas there is general consensus that the original Septuagint, the Pentateuch, should be located in Egypt and more specifically Alexandria,<sup>5</sup> there is a difference of opinion on those books outside of this corpus. Ecclesiastes has been placed in Palestine in post-Christian times.<sup>6</sup> This applies also to the LXX of Esther.<sup>7</sup> On the wisdom books, Job and Proverbs, opinions are divided.<sup>8</sup> Gerleman holds the view that LXX Proverbs originated in Alexandria.<sup>9</sup> D'Hamonville agrees that Alexandria is the location of LXX Proverbs; he actually thinks that it was translated by Aristobulus.<sup>10</sup> Gammie,<sup>11</sup> Dick<sup>12</sup> and Cook<sup>13</sup> have argued that Palestine

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3. One need only glance at the recent BIOSCS volumes (34–36).

4. Cf. the excellent book by K. H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic Books, 2000).

5. A. van der Kooij, "On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," VT 33 (1983), 64–74 has argued that perhaps Leontopolis could be seen as location for some LXX books.

6. J. Cook, "Aspects of the Relationship between the Septuagint versions of Kohelet and Proverbs," in A. Schoors, ed., *Kohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (BETL 136; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 492.

7. K. 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, GA: SBL, 2000), 277.

8. Brock has already argued that these two books are different from most books of the Septuagint: "The Phenomenon of Biblical Translation in Antiquity," GRBS 20 (1979), 69–87 and the reprint in S.P. Brock, *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), 551.

9. G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint III, Proverbs* (Lunds Universitets Arsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd 52. Nr 3, Lund. 1956), 144. This view is shared by A.J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes* (Leipzig: Druguline, 1890), 253 and Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhs. V.Chr.* (Mohr: Tübingen, 1973), 292.

10. D.-M. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbs. Traduction du texte grec de la Septante* (Paris: Les Éditions du cerf, 2000), 134.

11. Cf. J. G. Gammie, "The Septuagint of Job: Its Poetic Style and Relationship to the Septuagint of Proverbs," CBQ 49/1 (1987), 14–31.

12. M. B. Dick, "The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs," in D.T. Runia, ed., *The Studia Philonica Annual. Studies in Hellenistic Judaism* (Vol. II; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 20.

13. J. Cook, "The Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation - Alexandria or Jerusalem as Context for Proverbs?" JNSL 19 (1993), 25–39.

could be the place of origin of this conspicuously different, freely rendered translation. As far as Job is concerned, there is consensus that LXX Job was translated in Alexandria, but recently Reed<sup>14</sup> put forward a suggestion that it actually was translated in Palestine.

Two sets of criteria will be studied in this paper: firstly, linguistic ones and more specifically lexically based criteria; secondly, arguments from content analysis that provide insight into the context in which any given unit came to be written.

In connection with LXX Proverbs I have already completed some preliminary research in this regard.<sup>15</sup> It is the intention of this paper, in conjunction with this research, to determine the location of the Septuagint version (OG) of Job. There are two possible hypotheses about its provenance: firstly, that Alexandria is the sole location for *all* the Septuagintal books and more specifically of LXX Job;<sup>16</sup> secondly, that Jerusalem is a possible place of origin for the Septuagint Job. However, before proceeding some methodological issues must firstly be dealt with.

## 1.2. TEXTUAL BASIS

The research into Job is based on the critical edition prepared by Joseph Ziegler.<sup>17</sup> There are a few divergences from this edition, following suggestions made by Pietersma<sup>18</sup> in his review of Ziegler's edition and by Gentry.<sup>19</sup>

## 1.3. TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE AND TRANSLATION PROFILE

Although the Hebrew text of Job has for the most part been composed in poetry, it includes three sections in prose as well, namely, 1:1–2:13, 32 .1–5 and 42:7–17. In the Greek the entire book is in prose, even though arranged

14. Cf. A. Y. Reed, "Job as Jobab: The Interpretation of Job in LXX Job 42:17b–e," *JBL* 120/1 (2001), 31–55.

15. Cf. Cook, "The Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation," 25–39 and "Semantic Considerations and the Provenance of Translated Units," in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *Congress Volume of the IOSCS congress Ljubljana 2007*, (SCS; Atlanta: SBL, 2008), 65–83.

16. Cf. the article by A. van der Kooij, "On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," *VT* 33 (1983), 64–74.

17. J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*. Auctoritate Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, *Job*, Band XI,4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

18. A. Pietersma, Review of *Job. Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, II/4 ed. J. Ziegler, in *JBL* 104 (1985) 305–311.

19. P. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

stichometrically, in the manuscript tradition.<sup>20</sup> Job is, moreover, a shortened text. The OG is substantially shorter than the MT. According to Cox<sup>21</sup> this tendency towards abbreviation increases as one works through the book. The description “shortened text” does not apply consistently to the Greek version of Job. Even though the text as a whole bears witness to conscious shortening, there are also various additions. The major ones are: the diatribe of Job’s wife in 2:9a–d<sup>22</sup> and 42:17a–e.

A significant issue is the relationship between the Greek text and its supposed parent text. In the past some scholars have proposed that Greek Job is based upon an equally shorter Hebrew parent text<sup>23</sup>. However, according to Cox,<sup>24</sup> “on the basis of what we can establish about the translator’s technique, i.e., his rather free, even paraphrastic approach, it seems likely that the shorter text is to be attributed to the time of the translation.”

There is consensus that the Greek versions of Proverbs<sup>25</sup> and Job<sup>26</sup> exhibit a rather free translation technique. Cox<sup>27</sup> is of the opinion that the usual categories for characterising a translation are less helpful for assessing OG Job. “It is not just free or paraphrastic, it is also something of an epitome of the longer and often difficult original. *OG Job is one of a kind in the Septuagint corpus* (italics mine). We can typify it as among the least literal, both in its attitude toward abbreviating the parent text and in the way the translator worked with that portion of the text for which we have a translation.”<sup>28</sup>

OG Job is also a work of good literary quality.<sup>29</sup> The usual “Hebraisms” that are the tell-tale signs of translation Greek in much of the Septuagint corpus are absent. Another general characteristic of the translation consists of transferring passages from elsewhere in Job or from other parts of the Septuagint into the translation, so-called inter-/intra-textual rendering.<sup>30</sup> This prac-

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20. C. E. Cox, Job, in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint. A New Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations traditionally Included Under That Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 667.

21. Ibid.

22. See Cook, “Are the Additions in LXX Job 2,9a–e to Be Deemed as the Old Greek Text?” *Biblica* 19/2 (2010), 275–284.

23. Cox *ibid.*

24. Ibid.

25. E. Tov and B.G. Wright, “Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX,” *Textus* 12 (1985), 186.

26. Cox *ibid.*

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Cf. Cook, “Inter-textual Relations between the Septuagint Versions of the Psalms

tice was detected by Dhorme and Ziegler and has been the subject of a study by Heater, who calls it “the anaphoric translation technique.”<sup>31</sup>

Finally, the translator’s competence in the Greek language is observed from his application of particles. In short, unlike most other Septuagintal translators, Job uses particles more in accord with standard Greek discourse.”<sup>32</sup>

So when attempting to interpret LXX Job, one has to address a considerable number of issues. A prominent one is that the translator chose to interpret his subject matter rather freely; diversity was therefore an important guiding principle for him. Hence this should act as a critical directing principle for the contemporary interpreter.

This paper will therefore focus on the OG of Job. Naturally it cannot deal with this issue exhaustively. Hence one chapter has been chosen as the subject of this analysis, namely chapter 42 and more specifically the additions. The Hebrew and Greek texts will be compared, using the electronic texts of Lybrionics as basis. Since I am a collaborator in the NETS projects, where I am responsible for the book of Proverbs, the NRSV and NETS translations are used as point of departure.

## 2. THE DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF OG JOB

### 2.1. THE HISTORICAL, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY CONTEXT OF OG JOB

Cox has provided the most exhaustive treatment of the issue of the provenance of the book of Job in a seminal article entitled “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job.”<sup>33</sup> He examines the historical, social and literary setting of the OG of Job in the second century B.C.E. By the historical context he means external evidence for the fact that the OG of Job came into being. A decisive witness in this regard is the historian Aristeas,<sup>34</sup> who refers

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and Proverbs,” in Hiebert, Cox, and Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (Sheffield: Sheffield University Press, 2001), 218–228.

31. Ibid.

32. Ibid. See also Cox, “Tying It All Together: The Use of Particles in Old Greek Job,” *BIOSCS* 38 (2005), 41–54.

33. C.E. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” in M. K. H. Peters, ed., *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden 2004* (SCS54; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 105–116.

34. I have used the publication by C. R. Holiday, *Aristeas, Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*. Vol. 1, *Historians* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983), 261–275. See also R. Duran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature*,

to OG Job and also uses parts of this text. According to Cox,<sup>35</sup> Aristeas can be dated to the first half of the first century B.C.E., which could mean that OG Job was translated somewhat earlier, during the second half of the second century B.C.E. in Alexandria.<sup>36</sup> A second piece of evidence is the identification of Job with Jobab in chapter 42.<sup>37</sup> I will deal with this issue more exhaustively, but in a recent article Reed<sup>38</sup> adduces that the additions to chapter 42 stem from Palestine. Finally, Cox sides with Gerleman in stating that the Greek word φορολόγος “tax gatherer” (3:18 and 39:7) is a term that reflects an Alexandrian (Egyptian) context. This word appears only in 2 Es 4:7 and 18; 5:5; Job 3:18 and 39:7, as well as 1 Ma 3:29.

The social context of OG Job is also important as far as Cox is concerned. According to Cox,<sup>39</sup> who quotes Rostovtzeff, “Ptolemaic Egypt was socially ‘a miscellaneous conglomeration.’” The Jews who needed a Greek Bible had to make a living in this context and LXX Job fits this picture.<sup>40</sup>

Finally, the literary context is discussed by Cox. This is decisive for him as it “helps to explain the approach of the Old Greek translator and provides a window into the translator’s world of thought.”<sup>41</sup> Cox distinguishes between three literary contexts. The first is the literary environment in which LXX Job was translated; according to him, this is determined by the literature that the translator knew. The second context is the Greek literature that was composed at the time of Job OG, namely Jewish and non-Jewish writings. And the third is the literary context of LXX Job within the Jewish scriptures.

As to the first, Cox refers to Homer, Plato and Aristotle as sources used by the translator.<sup>42</sup> This leads him to conclude, with Gerleman, that the translator wrote “good Greek.” As far as the second category goes, he quotes a number of Alexandrian writings from the second century B.C.E. such as the Letter of Aristeas, 3 Maccabees, the Sibylline oracles, Pseudo-Orphic Fragments, Ezekiel the Tragedian and the Fragments of Aristobulus.

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*Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 857.

35. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 106.

36. P. H. Remblay, *Job 19,25–27 dans la septante et chez les pères grecs. Unanimité d’une tradition* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, 2002), 64 opts for a date of circa 150 B.C.E.

37. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 106.

38. Cf. A. Y. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 31–55.

39. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 108.

40. Cf. M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du Judaïsme hellénistique au Christianisme ancien* (Initiations au Christianisme ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1988), 91.

41. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 105.

42. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 111.

Finally, the literary context within Jewish Scriptures is also interesting. In some lists Job is placed with the Psalms and Proverbs.<sup>43</sup> It follows the Psalms in the Talmud. Its position varies in the major Greek mss. Of significance is Cox's conclusion: "it is very likely that the book's status at the edge permitted the translator to alter the text that was translated, to the extent that the translator almost becomes an author."<sup>44</sup> This conclusion is applicable to other LXX books as well, such as Proverbs,<sup>45</sup> Esther and Daniel. Various scholars have dealt with other aspects relating to LXX Job. See the series of articles by Orlinsky<sup>46</sup> and the seminal contribution by Fernández Marcos.<sup>47</sup>

### 3. JOB 42—THE EPILOGUE

The final chapter naturally acts as epilogue for the book. As stated already, this is significant for this paper since it contains crucial additions which, *inter alia*, refer to the issue of resurrection/life after death, which can be useful for the issue being analysed in this paper.

#### 3.1. THE TRANSLATOR'S APPROACH

The unique approach of the translator is again observed.

3.1.1. THE MICRO LEVEL. This chapter contains two hapax legomena: διπλασιασμός in verse 10 and προϋπάρχω in verse 17b. On a lexical level there are again significant features. In connection with verse 3 the verb κρύπτω is used 21 times in Job. It appears twice in the present verse—in the first instance referring to עֲלֵי and in the second case it is an interpretation. The noun βουλή is used 9 times in Job, mostly as equivalent for עֵצָה. The verb φείδομαι is used 9 times in Job. The verb οἶομαι occurs 7 times in Job and, according to HR, no example has a parent text. These are therefore probably interpretations. This is the case in verse 3 also, where it is added explicatively. The translator

43. Cox, "The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job," 115.

44. Cox, "The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job," 115. See also D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 133.

45. Cf. Cook, "Were the Persons Responsible for the Septuagint Translators and/or Scribes and/or Editors?" *JNSL* 21/2 1995, 1–12.

46. H.M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the LXX of the Book of Job," *HUCA* 28 (1957), 53–74; 29 (1958) 229–271; 30 (1959) 153–167; 32 (1961) 239–268; 33 (1962) 119–151; 35 (1964) 57–78 and 36 (1965) 37–47.

47. N. Fernández Marcos, "The Septuagint Reading of the Book of Job," in: W. A. M. Beuken, ed., *The Book of Job* (BETL 114; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters, 1994), 251–266.

interprets freely. He offers no equivalent for בלי דעת and adds an object, σὲ, with the addition οἶμαι. The second interrogative phrase “But who will tell me” also has no equivalent in the Hebrew. The subject of this phrase is also different from the Hebrew, which has the 1st person singular, whereas the Greek has the third person singular.

The main difference between the Hebrew and the Greek in verse 4 is that the subject, the Lord, is specified in the Greek. In connection with verse 7 ἁμαρτάνω is an interpretation, according to HR. It is loosely related to the phrase חרה אפי בך. It seems as if the Greek is stressing the issue of sinning. The noun ἀληθής is used 5 times in Job; in the present verse it is an interpretation.

There are significant differences between the Greek and the Hebrew of verse 8. Firstly, the phrase “and offer up for yourself a burnt offering” (בעדכם והעליתם עולה) is rendered by “he will make offerings for you” (καὶ ποιήσει κάρπωσιν περὶ ὑμῶν). The Greek stresses the fact that Job must bring about reconciliation. Secondly, the phrase “and my servant Job shall pray for you, for I will accept his prayer not to deal with you according to your folly” is translated by “and Job, my attendant, will pray for you, for, if not for him, I would have destroyed you.” The intercessory role of Job again comes out more clearly in OG Job. Finally, the phrase “for you have not spoken of me what is right” is rendered by “for what you spoke against my attendant Job.” Job thus has a different role in the Greek compared to the Hebrew.

In connection with verse 9, Job’s intercessory role is again more prominent in the Greek. The phrase καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτοῖς διὰ Ἰωβ (and he absolved them of their sin on Job’s account) is markedly different from the Hebrew. The Hebrew has no reference to “sin” and the preposition διὰ expresses “instrument.”

Διπλοῦς appears twice in Job, namely in 11:6 and 42:10. διπλασιασμός is a *hapax legomenon* and expresses a tautology, probably aimed at stressing Job’s recompense. In this verse the Hebrew refers to “praying,” but not to “the forgiving of sins,” which appears in the Greek. It is possible that the translator indeed used intra-textual interpretations from the previous verses.

In verse 11 the translator again renders the text in a nuanced way. The introductory verb, ἤκουσαν, has no equivalent in the Hebrew and is probably part of the translator’s attempt to enhance the translation on a literary level. There is no reference to “drinking” in the Hebrew compared to the Greek. This is contrary to Job 1:4, where in both the Hebrew and the Greek “eating and drinking” are mentioned.

In verse 12 intra-textual readings are applied in relation to Job 1:3. The translator is clearly interpreting in verse 14. The word ימימה is taken as coming from ים, day. The second word, קציעה, is seemingly rendered literally



as *Κασίαν*, which also has the nuance of cinnamon in its semantic field. The Hebrew word is related to the term for a variety of cinnamon that is used as an ingredient of anointing oil. The third word, however, is a probable exegetical rendering. *Ἀμαλθείας κέρας* is a description that appears in Homer, where it refers to the horn of plenty that was created by Zeus from the she-goat that nursed him in his childhood.<sup>48</sup> It would seem as if there may be evidence of Homeric influence in Job here. Gerleman<sup>49</sup> has already quoted correspondences in this regard. Of particular interest is his reference to the Talmud, where the noun *פֶּרֶךְ* is related to an antelope.

The phrase “beneath heaven” (*ὑπ’ οὐρανόν*) in verse 15 has no equivalent in the Hebrew and represents an intra-textual reading with i.a. Job 1:7.

3.1.2. THE MACRO LEVEL. This chapter contains a list of additions in connection with verses 16 and 17 which will be discussed below. It tells a unique story compared to the Hebrew parent text.

The additions clearly need concentrated attention.

Verse 17

יִמַּת אִיּוֹב זָקֵן וְשֹׁבַע יָמִים:

17. And Job died, old and full of days.

17. No OG text

It is remarkable that the LXX does not have an OG equivalent for the Hebrew of this verse. In connection with chapter 2, I indicated that the translator has added the OG version of verse 9 in the addition 9e.<sup>50</sup> This has been interpreted as an indication that the additions concerning the wife of Job in fact came from the hand of the translator. The situation is markedly different here in verse 17. It is possible, of course, that the translator deemed the statement of Job’s death as tautological, since it is implied in verse 16. This is in line with the abbreviating, condensing tendency of the Greek text that has been demonstrated above.

Verse 17a

17aa. γέγραπται δὲ αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναστήσεσθαι μεθ’ ὧν ὁ κύριος ἀνίστησιν.

48. Cf. J. B Amaltheia in H. Cancik and H. Schneider, eds., *Der neue Pauly. Encyklopädie der Antike* (Stuttgart, 1999), 568.

49. Cf. Gerleman, *Job*, p. 38.

50. Cf. Cook, “Are the additions in LXX Job 2,9a–e to Be Deemed as the Old Greek Text?” *Biblica* 2010/2, 275–284.

17aa. And it is written that he will rise again with those the Lord raises up.

The verb γράφω appears only twice in Job: in 19:23, where it translates בָּתַב, and in the present context, where it is an addition. The adverb πάλιν occurs 11 times in Job. Significantly, of these examples six cannot, according to HR, be related to a parent text, which points in the direction of interpretation. The verb ἀνίστημι occurs 10 times in Job (twice in this verse). In 7 of the cases in Job the parent text is קָוִם. The current examples are part of a plus and consequently interpretations. This particular addition is naturally a significant one for the purposes of determining the provenance of this book. However, it is difficult to reach a conclusion on account of the lexical items in this addition. They were clearly known to the translator. γράφω is evidently a significant lexeme and it probably refers to some writing where this statement is found. Could it be the Bible, and if so, which specific passage?

It is clear that the intention of the addition is to underline the issue of the resurrection and it has been interpreted variously by scholars. Swete<sup>51</sup> was of the opinion that it was either added by a Pharisee or a Christian in conjunction with Job 25:25–27. Reed<sup>52</sup> thinks that it represents a different plus from the rest of the additions in this verse. Accordingly, it represents a reaction against the denial of the resurrection in the book of Job, i.a. 7:9, 14:7–12 and 19:25 and 26. When this took place and whether it is the result of the translator's hand is not easy to determine. According to Ziegler, this reading represents the OG and hence it must have been part of the LXX tradition early on. The problem is that the uncials B and S are already late mss, even though they represent “die älteste uns erreichbare Textform.”<sup>53</sup> Hence theoretically they can also include hexaplaric readings.<sup>54</sup> As stated already, the earliest external reference to Job OG is by Aristeas the Historian from circa 60 B.C.E.<sup>55</sup> Naturally the OG text would have been translated earlier. On the face of it, this addition sounds rather like a later Christian(?) interpolation.

51. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 256–57 and Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 586.

52. See Reed “Job as Jobad,” 31. See also Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 586.

53. Cf. Ziegler, *Job*, 60.

54. In any case Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job*, 7–9 argues that LXX Job contains hexaplaric material.

55. Cox, “Context of Old Greek Job,” 106.

Fernández Marcos indeed thinks this is the case.<sup>56</sup> Van der Kooij<sup>57</sup> has indeed addressed the issue of the afterlife in the Septuagint systematically and agrees with Fernández Marcos on this count.

Verse 17b

17ba. Οὗτος ἐρμηνεύεται ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου ἐν μὲν γῇ κατοικῶν τῇ Αὐσίτιδι ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις τῆς Ἰδουμαίας καὶ Ἀραβίας, προὔπηρχεν δὲ αὐτῷ ὄνομα Ἰωβαβ,

17ba This man is interpreted from the Syriac book as living in the land of Ausitis, on the borders of Idumea and Arabia, and previously his name was Iobab.

This verse can be understood differently depending on punctuation.<sup>58</sup> The demonstrative pronoun Οὗτος corresponds both with the participle κατοικῶν and with the implied subject of the verb προὔπηρχεν.<sup>59</sup> Ziegler indeed refers to a reading Οὕτως in ms 296, which would have fitted well syntactically. Understood this way Doran<sup>60</sup> translates it as “This is translated from the Syriac book.” He understands this statement as a reference to the whole of the passage 42:17b–e. However, the demonstrative particle probably refers to Job as translated in NETS.

The verb ἐρμηνεύω can, according to Muraoka, be glossed as “to put in another language.” This could have a bearing upon the Syriac book mentioned in this verse that could naturally be a reference to an Aramaic source. Syriac is after all an Aramaic dialect and in the LXX, e.g. 2 Esdr 4:7, the Aramaic language is called Syrian (Συρισι). Some scholars in fact think that the additions under discussion were actually translated from an Aramaic source.<sup>61</sup> Significantly enough 11QtgJob does not contain 42:12–17 at all.<sup>62</sup> There are thus no direct Semitic parallels for these Greek additions. Reed<sup>63</sup> also thinks that it is

56. Fernández Marcos, “Book of Job,” 265 n. 52.

57. Cf. Van der Kooij, “Ideas of Afterlife, in M. Labahn and M. Lang, eds., *Lebendige Hoffnung—ewiger Tod?! Jenseitsvorstellungen im Hellenismus, Judentum und Christentum* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 24; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2007), 95.

58. I owe this perspective to Prof. Muraoka expressed during a lecture I gave at the University of Leiden.

59. See Reed “Job as Jobab” 32.

60. R. Doran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” *OTP* 2.859.

61. See C.R. Holladay, *Historians*, 261–64.

62. See J. Gray, “The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in the Light of the Qumran Targum (11QtgJob),” *ZAW* 86/3 (1974), 335.

63. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 31–55.

not evidence that the addition in verses 17b–e is based upon an Aramaic *Vorlage*. She regards the phrase ἐκ τῆς Συριακῆς βίβλου as being determinative. The application of βίβλος she links to the genealogical statements in Gen 2:4 and 5:1.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, according to her, Συριακῆς refers rather to the linguistic and not geographical origin of the book.<sup>65</sup> This leads her to reject the possibility that the book referred to in the LXX was indeed a Targum. She thinks that these added stichs were “not translated from Aramaic, but rather composed in Greek.”<sup>66</sup> An important issue in this regard is that there are elements that are clearly based upon Greek sources.<sup>67</sup> This applies especially to the inter-textual application of LXX Genesis. It is a question whether this reference to a book does not have propagandistic and legitimising intentions, as indeed suggested by Reed.

Reference to the land of Ausitis occurs exclusively in LXX in the book of Job, namely in Job 1:1, 32:2, and 42:17b and e. Some have argued that Αυσίτις represents a place-name. Reed,<sup>68</sup> however, argues that it is a transcription of the Hebrew name יִזְעַב. Be that as it may, it describes a land as the nouns χώρα (32:2 and 52:17b and e) and γῆ (1.1) are used in connection with Αυσίτις in these passages.

Finally, Job is identified with Jobab.<sup>69</sup> This name is used in the following passages in the LXX: Nu 10:29, Ge 10:29 (A), 36:33 and 34, Jo 11:1, I Chron 1:44 (A) and 45:8, 9 and 18. I will return to this issue.

#### Verse 17c

17ca λαβὼν δὲ γυναῖκα Ἀράβισσαν γεννᾷ υἱόν, ὃ ὄνομα Εννων, ἣν δὲ αὐτὸς πατρὸς μὲν Ζαρε, τῶν Ησαν υἱῶν υἱός, μητρὸς δὲ Βοσορρας, ὥστε εἶναι αὐτὸν πέμπτον ἀπὸ Αβρααμ.

17ca now he took an Arabian wife and fathered a son, whose name was Ennon, and he in turn had as father Zare, a son of the sons of Esau, and as mother Bosorra, so that he was the fifth from Abraam.

It is clear that the inter-textual readings are used in order to link Job via Esau to Abraham. This stich evidently has ideological intentions. Another sig-

64. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 37.

65. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 36.

66. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 38.

67. I discussed this passage with Van der Kooij.

68. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 38.

69. Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary context of Old Greek Job,” 106 refers to this identification.

nificant issue is the statement that Job in fact took an Arabian wife, which probably also has the same intentions.

There are many traditions regarding the wife of Job. In the Hebrew version she is depicted in chapter 2 as the unrepentant wife of the pious Job. She vanishes from the picture and this in itself provided many reasons for speculation in the later reception of Job. In the Septuagint a wife of Job reemerges in the passage under discussion, but she is clearly not the same as his “first” wife. There are divergent traditions on the identity of Job’s wife.<sup>70</sup> Firstly, in Rabbinic and other Jewish sources, she is identified with Dinah, the violated daughter of Jacob, described in Genesis 34. Strangely enough, after the story in Gen 34 Dinah disappears from biblical history, except for a reference in Gen 46:15. As could be expected, various exegetical traditions were developed in order to address this apparent anomaly. In Targum Job 2:9<sup>71</sup> an explicative addition is found according to which Dinah is identified as the wife of Job (“and Dinah his wife said to him”). It is immediately clear why Dinah is brought into the picture. But she remains a problematic figure in biblical history and this opened the way to linking Job, a gentile, albeit a pious one, with the history of the Judaeans. It is in fact stated as such in the Targum of Job 1:5,<sup>72</sup> where Job/Jobab says to his children: “I am your father Job, fully engaged in endurance. But you are a chosen and honoured race from the seed of Jacob, the father of your mother. For I am from the sons of Esau, the brother of Jacob, of whom is your mother Dinah, from whom I begot you.”

Legaspi<sup>73</sup> refers to another passage from Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*, where it is stated that Job took Dinah as wife after the revenge of the sons of Jacob, Simeon and Levi and fathered from her fourteen sons and six daughters. According to Legaspi,<sup>74</sup> this passage had a dual intention, firstly to enhance her marital prospects, and secondly to make it clear that Dinah was Job’s only wife.

The second conspicuous tradition concerning the wife of Job is the one identified in the Septuagint passage under discussion, namely that she was an Arabian woman, an Edumean queen. This addition is an inter-textual reference to the Edomite king list in LXX Gen 36:31–39. This reference probably has ideological intentions.

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70. See M.C. Legaspi, “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*: A note on the Synthesis of Two traditions,” *JBL* 127/1 (2008), 71.

71. Cf. D.M. Stec, *The Text of the Targum of Job: An Introduction and Critical Edition* (AGJU 20. Leiden: Brill, 1994).

72. R.P. Spittler, *Testament of Job, OTP*, 1984, 839.

73. See Legaspi, “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 73.

74. “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 73.

The third significant development is that both these divergent traditions are combined by the Testament of Job.<sup>75</sup> As stated already, in the Hebrew version there is a hint that Job in fact had two wives: the unsympathetic one of chapter 2, who remains unnamed, and the passing reference to a wife in chapter 42. In the LXX Job there is no doubt that Job had two wives, the second being the Arabian queen—both remain unnamed. As stated already, the name of this second wife, according to the Testament of Job, is Dinah. This writing also distinguishes between these two wives by naming the first wife Sitis/Sitidos.<sup>76</sup> About the origin of this name Van der Horst<sup>77</sup> has found the connection with *sitos* “bread” determinative.

Legaspi has provided interesting suggestions as to the origin and relevance of these combined traditions. For one thing, the Dinah tradition seems to have opened the way for the author of Test of Job to develop the story of Sitis, the first wife.<sup>78</sup> Contrary to the situation in Job 2, in the Test of Job she has become a heroine. Since the author of the Test of Job probably employed LXX Job 2:9a–e, I do think that it is also possible that this author in fact used the LXX tradition of the second wife, or at least was aware of such a tradition.<sup>79</sup> Be that as it may, the point to make is that the tradition in the addition under analysis was implemented for ideological reasons.

#### Verse 17d

17da καὶ οὗτοι οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ βασιλεύσαντες ἐν Εδωμ, ἧς καὶ αὐτὸς ἤρξεν χώρας, πρῶτος Βαλακ ὁ τοῦ Βεωρ, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ Δενναβα, μετὰ δὲ Βαλακ Ἰωβαβ ὁ καλούμενος Ἰωβ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ασομ ὁ ὑπάρχων ἡγεμὼν ἐκ τῆς Θαιμανίτιδος χώρας, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Αδαδ υἱὸς Βαραδ ὁ ἐκκόψας Μαδιαμ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ Μωαβ, καὶ ὄνομα τῇ πόλει αὐτοῦ Γεθθαιμ.

17da And these are the kings who reigned in Edom, which country he too ruled: First Balak the son of Beor, and the name of his city was Dennaba, and after Balak, Jobab, who is called Job, and after him Hasom, who was a leader from the Thaimanite country, and after him Hadad son of Barad, who cut down Madiam in the plain of Moab, and the name of his city was Geththaim.

75. “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 73.

76. See Test of Job 25:1 “Who is not amazed that this is Sitis, the wife of Job” (Spittler 1984, 850).

77. For the meaning of this name see PW van der Horst, “Images of Women in the Testament of Job,” 96f.

78. See Legaspi, “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 79.

79. See Legaspi, “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 79.

There is an inter-textual relationship with Gen 36:43, which reads as follows in the LXX: “These are the chieftains of Edom in the built places in the land of their possession. This is Esau, the father of Edom.” Significantly Jobab/Job is also called a king!

Verse 17e

17εα οἱ δὲ ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὸν φίλοι, Ελιφας τῶν Ησαυ υἱῶν Θαιμανων βασιλεὺς, Βαλδαδ ὁ Σαυχαίων τύραννος, Σωφαρ ὁ Μιναιῶν βασιλεὺς.

17εα Now the friends who came to him were: Eliphaz, of the sons of Esau, king of the Thaiminites, Baldad, the tyrant of the Sauchites, Sophar, the king of the Minites.

The friends (φίλοι) of Job are seen as leading figures. This is in line with the usage of this term in LXX Proverbs 25:1. In the current addition two lexemes are used to describe these leaders. Both Eliphaz and Sophar are called kings, whereas Baldad is referred to as a tyrant. The noun τύραννος appears 66 times in the LXX, but in the book of Job only in Job 2:11 and here in 42:17e. The application of different lexemes is probably evidence of the creative attitude the translator adopted towards his parent text. However, it is important that the OG Job deems Job and his friends as prominent persons, kings as it were.

The passages under discussion also provide evidence of inter-textual references to LXX Gen 36, which read as follows in NETS:

33. Then Bala died, and Jobab son of Bosorra reigned in his stead. 34. Then Jobab died, and Hasom of the land of the Thaimanites reigned in his stead. 35 Then Hasom died, and Hadad son of Barad, who eradicated Madiam in the plain of Moab, reigned in his stead, and his city's name was Geththaim. 36. Then Hadad died, and Samala of Masseka reigned in his stead. 36 Then Hadad died, (NETS 2007).

Determining the identity of the figure of Job in the Hebrew tradition is problematic because of a shortage of information as to who this figure really was.<sup>80</sup> From the later reception of Job it is clear that the fact that Job is described as a gentile, albeit a pious gentile, was experienced as a problem.<sup>81</sup> It

80. Cf., for example, J. Day, “How Could Job be an Edomite?,” in W. A. M. Beuken, ed., *The Book of Job* (BETL 114; Leuven University Press/Uitgeverij Peeters: Leuven, 1994), 392–399.

81. Cf., for example, Legaspi, “Job’s Wives in the *Testament of Job*.”

is also difficult to determine the origins of the additions under analysis. However, Gen 36:33 offers some clues. Job is identified with Jobab, the Edomite king mentioned in Gen 36:33 and his land of origin is placed “on the borders of Idumea and Arabia.” So Jobab is described as the son of Zare, who hails from Bosorra, who is a king, since he ruled in Barad’s place.

On the basis of these sources one can reconstruct a genealogy of Job/Jobab. Job 42:17e states that Jobab was the fifth generation from Abraham. This is evidently an endeavour to relate Job to the righteous patriarch as part of Israelite history. This is done ingeniously through his father Zare’s genealogy, who is identified in Gen 36:16–17 as one of the sons of Esau.<sup>82</sup> Another ingenious example of relating Job to Israelite history is, as mentioned already, the identification of Job’s wife with Dinah, the daughter of Jacob.<sup>83</sup>

This list of additions has received concentrated attention from various scholars. As indicated above, some argue that it is the result of a non-Greek (Aramaic?), midrashic parent text; others are of the opinion that it is an original Greek composition. Yet other options are that the translator or a later revisor is responsible for the pluses. As stated above, Reed<sup>84</sup> has made an exhaustive analysis of these additions and she thinks that the additions under discussion are original Greek compositions.

A significant factor in determining the origin of the pluses under discussion is the relationship between LXX Job and Aristeas the exegete.<sup>85</sup> Also in this case the views diverge. Aristeas could have been dependent on LXX Job, or vice versa, and both could have used a common source.<sup>86</sup>

There are extensive correspondences between these two writings. A number of stichoi are basically quoted literally; Job is identified with Jobab (Eusebius, Pr. Ev. 9.25.1=LXX Job 42:17b) and Job is related to Esau (Pr. Ev. 9.25.1=LXX Job 42:17c). However, there are also differences. According to LXX Job 42:17e, Eliphaz is one of the sons of Esau, a reference that is absent from Aristeas. Aristeas, moreover, includes information about Elihu from LXX Job 36:10, whereas the LXX Job appendix mentions only the three

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82. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 41.

83. Cf. Legaspi, “Job’s wives in the *Testament of Job*,” 71

84. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 31.

85. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 38 and Cox, “The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job,” 106.

86. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 38. See also R. Duran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” in J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Expansions of the “Old Testament” and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (New York: Doubleday, 1985), 857.



friends from LXX Job 2:11.<sup>87</sup> Other prominent differences are identified in the genealogies of Job. As stated already, LXX Job 42:17c mentions “that he was the fifth (generation) from Abraam,” whereas Aristeas quotes Job as the son of Esau with Bosorra (Pr. Ev. 9.25.1). Wacholder<sup>88</sup> suggested that LXX Job is dependent on Aristeas, who incorrectly identified Bosorra with Basemath. Doran,<sup>89</sup> on the other hand, argues that the genealogy is the result of haplography and that LXX Job is not dependent on Aristeas in this regard. As a matter of fact, he speculates that Aristeas and the LXX share a common source, which could be the Syriac book<sup>90</sup> referred to above.

Reed is also sceptical about the possibility that LXX Job and Aristeas actually both used a common source. Her conclusion is that “Since Aristeas the Exegete is clearly dependent on the rest of LXX Job, it seems most reasonable to posit that he also used the addendix.”<sup>91</sup> Finally, she remains uncertain as to whether the pluses under discussion indeed were part of the OG, even though she does accept the fact that the additions are heavily dependent on the OG. She does venture to suggest dates for the additions: “This addition is best dated between the OG translation of Job circa 150 B.C.E. and the translation of Theodotion in the early first century C.E. Given the use of the appendix by Aristeas the Exegete, the *terminus ad quem* is the quotation of Aristeas by Alexander Polyhistor, circa 60 B.C.E.”<sup>92</sup>

It is possible to come to a conclusion on the two sets of additions under analysis. Although manuscript evidence is of primary importance in textual criticism, it seems to me as if in this instance arguments from content could be determinative.<sup>93</sup> The addition of LXX Job 17a is the only example of a direct reference to the concept of resurrection in the LXX version of Job. Even though the manuscript evidence seems to indicate that this stich could be taken as the OG, it is highly improbable that the translator of Job was indeed responsible for this addition. It is probably the result of a later revisor whose intention it was to undercut the notion in Job that there is no resurrection.

The second set of additions, 17bb–ee, seems to be original Greek compositions. There is no evidence of any Aramaic or other Semitic *Vorlage*—for one thing, I mentioned that 11 Q<sub>1</sub>Job does not have these additions. Reed unfor-

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87. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 39.

88. Wacholder, “Aristeas the Exegete,” *Encyclopedia Judaica* I.438–39.

89. Doran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” 857.

90. Doran, “Aristeas the Exegete,” 857.

91. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 39.

92. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 40.

93. See Cook, “Translation technique and the reconstruction of texts,” *OTE*, Vol. 21/1 (2008), 1–9.

tunately does not address exhaustively the question as to what is the intention of this set of additions. In line with some later receptions of Job, such as the Testament of Job, the author links Job with biblical history and more specifically with the patriarch Abraham. This is done in order to demonstrate that the book of Job is an important writing that should be taken seriously even though the central figure, Job himself, is not a son of Israel.<sup>94</sup> As I demonstrated above, 17b–e thus has an ideological intention.

In the light of this conclusion it must be possible that these additions are the result of the translator's intervention. Two arguments are decisive. Firstly, there are the inter-textual and intra-textual connections within the LXX. The translator probably intra-textually connected these additions with OG Job 1:1 and 2:11. The name Ausitis was probably taken from 1:1. Concerning the second passage, it is significant that the friends of Job are called kings in OG LXX—Baldad is depicted as a tyrant. This is not the case in the Massoretic tradition. Secondly, as stated above, Aristeas already knew these additions; hence they were added to Job early on; this could have been done by the translator.

The *profile* of LXX Job 17b–e has been depicted in the foregoing discussion and a recurrent topos is the ideological intention to connect Job/Jobab with biblical history. These additions also have consequences for determining the *provenance* of LXX Job. According to Reed,<sup>95</sup> there are definite indications that the additions are to be connected with Palestine and more specifically Idumea. She discusses four references from the additions; “(1) the connections with the Aramaic book, (2) the location of Uz on the border of Idumea and Arabia, (3) the fact that Job's wife was Arabian and (4) the name of his son Εὐνωβ.”

The geography of Idumea during the time of the composition of the additions (circa 150–160 B.C.E.) is important in this regard. As demonstrated above, the name Ausitis in LXX Job 42:17b is the Hellenised adjectival form Αυσίτις as rendering for ʾUz in LXX Job 1:1 and 42:17b. Making use of, inter alia, archaeological data, Reed<sup>96</sup> tries to make a case for identifying Uz with a stronghold on the border of Idumea and Nabatea, namely Xorvat ‘Uza. The consequence of this is that “the LXX Job addition may refer to the geography of Idumea at the time of the author.”<sup>97</sup> She addresses various counter-arguments, such as why ‘Uza is called a land in LXX Job 42:17b and if the readers would indeed identify Αυσίτις with ‘Uza. Decisive for her is the anachronistic, yet intentional, reference to “Idumea” in 42:17d, since the term “Edom” is

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94. I discussed this issue with Van der Kooij.

95. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 42.

96. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 45.

97. Reed, “Job as Jobab,” 45.

used in 42:17d. According to her, this reconstruction also helps to solve other questions such as the reference to the Aramaic source in 42:17a. Aramaic was indeed the language of the Idumeans at the time of the inception of the additions. This applies to the reference to Job's wife as an Arabian.<sup>98</sup> The implication of this conclusion is that at least the additions to chapter 42 could be deemed as originating from Palestine.

Although Reed formulates a creative suggestion as to the Palestinian provenance of Job 17b–e, some counter-arguments may be raised.<sup>99</sup> Firstly, the connection that Reed makes between *Ausitis* and *ʿUza* is creative but speculative. It should be remembered that *Ausitis* is indeed a reference to a land and not to a city/stronghold. I do not think her explanation that the author's integration of biblical information and the geography<sup>100</sup> of the time holds water. The nouns *χώρα* and *γῆ* nowhere have the connotation of "city/stronghold" in their semantic fields and clearly refer to the *land* of *Ausitis*. Moreover, as I demonstrated above, the translator in fact used the reference to *Ausitis* from 1:1 intra-textually in 42:17b. It is true that in the reception of Job, the *Testament of Job*, e.g. 28:7, *Uz* is described as a city. However, in LXX Job the reference is clearly to a land.

Secondly, Reed makes much of the link between the land of *Uz* in Job 1:1 and Edom/Arabia in 42:17b. There are positive as well as negative views on the relationship between Israel and Edom. Reed<sup>101</sup> mentions the positive depictions, namely the brotherhood of Jacob/Israel in Gen 25 and Deut 23:7, as well as the association of Edom with wisdom in Jer 49:7 and Obad 8. However, she does not mention Jeremiah 25:20 and 21, nor Lamentations 4:21. In these passages it is stated that Edom in fact lived in the land of *Uz*.

Thirdly, Reed herself confesses that the sources in Palestine are extremely negative about Edom and the Idumeans.<sup>102</sup> This undermines the reconstruction of Job as an Edomite in Palestine during the suggested dating. Fourthly, the dating suggested by Reed,<sup>103</sup> after the forced Idumean conversion to Judaism in 112/111 B.C.E. is problematic in the light of the fact that the translator must have added 42:17b–e earlier, as I argued above. Fifthly, I am not qualified to evaluate the archaeological arguments put forward by Reed,<sup>104</sup> but her

98. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 45.

99. I discussed these issues with Van der Kooij.

100. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 46.

101. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 43.

102. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 45.

103. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 53.

104. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 42–48.

reconstructions concerning Xorvat 'Uza seem speculative to me.<sup>105</sup> A major problem remains that this is a town/stronghold. Moreover, I do not think that readers would readily identify Αυσίτις as 'Uza.<sup>106</sup> Finally, the historical and geographical issues addressed in this passage are typical of Alexandrian scholarship.<sup>107</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSION

In the light of the foregoing it therefore remains problematic to regard the additions 42:17b–e, and by implication the rest of the OG Job, as having originated in Palestine. The consensus that LXX Job was translated in Alexandria must therefore be confirmed.

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105. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 46.

106. Reed, "Job as Jobab," 46.

107. See P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) in this regard.

## Concerning the Origin of the Addition Found in Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7

*Lorenzo Cuppi*

**Abstract:** Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7 shows two additional stichs in comparison with the MT. Scholars have proposed various explanations of this addition. A linguistic analysis of the last two lines proves that the translation technique is incompatible with any of the Three. Furthermore a comparison among Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10ab, Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7ab, and Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10ab shows that the translation technique is more consistent with the Greek Proverbs than with the Greek Psalms. It should also be remembered that the translation technique in Psalms may well be posterior to the one detected in Proverbs. All these observations lead me to conclude that: (1) Prov. 1:7ab is not a doublet (2) or a later insertion from the Greek Psalms; (3) rather, it is an authentic rendering from the Hebrew Psalms; (4) it originated because of the literal proximity of Ps 111:10ab and Prov 1:7 in Hebrew. (5) It is possible that the *Vorlage* already displayed the addition; (6) even if the rendering in Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10ab is so similar, it could be literarily independent from Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7ab.

Both in the Hebrew and the Greek text of the book of Proverbs, verse 1:7 holds, a remarkable position. In the words of Crawford H. Toy, “This general definition of wisdom may be regarded as the motto of the whole book.”<sup>1</sup> For a long time, it has been noted that the LXX translation of the verse shows two additional stichs in comparison with the MT.

יראת יהוה ראשית דעת חכמה ומוסר אילים בזו

The fear of YHWH is the beginning of knowledge,  
fools despised wisdom and instruction.

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1. C.H. Toy, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Proverbs* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899), 10.

Ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ,  
 σύνεσις δὲ ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν·  
 εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν ἀρχὴ αἰσθήσεως,  
 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ παιδείαν ἀσεβεῖς ἐξουθενήσουσιν.

Ἀρχή-θεὸν Arm Syp Aeth] sub ÷ Syh | θεοῦ BSV 248<sup>mg</sup> Sa Ach Syp Syh] κυρίου AC reliqui Arm ClemAlex EphrSyr = Prov 9:10a Ps 110:10ab | εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν<sup>2</sup> Lat<sup>32 94</sup> Arm] + φόβος κυρίου V 252 360 637 766 Arm<sup>M1500</sup> Syp Syh; + κυβερνήτης· φόβος κυρίου 613 | ἐξουθενήσουσιν Syh] ἐξουθενουσιν SV Lat<sup>32 94</sup> Arm Syp LUC<sup>Ath</sup>

Already Ioannes Drusius<sup>3</sup> regarded the first two lines as an intrusion from Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10a-b. This view was later adopted by Paul de Lagarde,<sup>4</sup> Franz Delitzsch,<sup>5</sup> and Giacomo Mezzacasa<sup>6</sup>. More recently, Jacob Weingreen,<sup>7</sup> and Johann Cook<sup>8</sup> proposed instead to consider them a redactional insertion by the first translator from the Greek Psalms. Antoine-Jean Baumgartner<sup>9</sup> took a different view by proposing that only line b was deriving from the Greek Psalms and that line c was actually an addition. More in detail, Toy (*Proverbs*, 11), and August Müller and Emil Kautzsch<sup>10</sup> viewed line c as a second trans-

2. At the beginning of the 3rd stich the Ethiopic reads **ፈረዓ: እግዚአብሔር: farihā 'əgziabəher**; the study of the translation technique it is not sufficient to determine if this corresponds to εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν or to φόβος κυρίου; it will be necessary to make it clear if the Ethiopic ever underwent a Hexaplaric influence, and if at least the earliest manuscripts are totally independent of a later correction toward the Hebrew clearly witnessed by a part of the tradition.

3. I. Drusius, *Quaestionum Ebraicarum libri tres, In quibus innumera Scripturae loca explicantur aut emendantur* (Franeker: apud Aegidium Radaeum..., 1599), 130.

4. P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 6.

5. F. Delitzsch, *Das salomonische Spruchbuch* (Leipzig, Dörfling und Franke, 1873), 540.

6. G. Mezzacasa, *Il libro dei Proverbi di Salomone. Studio critico sulle aggiunte greco-alessandrine* (Rome: Istituto Biblico Pontificio, 1913), 113.

7. J. Weingreen, "Rabbinic-Type Commentary in the LXX Version of Proverbs", in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (ed. A. Shinan; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1977), vol. 1, 411–412.

8. J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 58–62.

9. A.J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état du texte du livre des Proverbes d'après les principales traductions anciennes* (Leipzig: Drugulin, 1890), 30–31.

10. A. Müller and E. Kautzsch, *The Book of Proverbs: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text with Notes* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 71.

lation of the first half of the Hebrew text. Finally Charles T. Fritsch,<sup>11</sup> after noting that the first two lines, according to the Syro-Hexapla, were obelised, suggested that the two other lines were Hexaplaric insertions, although the asterisks were missing.

## 1. LEXICAL ANALYSIS

In order to analyse the translation technique and the vocabulary employed in this verse I shall follow Drusius's proposal as a working hypothesis, which I will later verify in the final discussion. Thus, I will consider stichs a and b as if they derived from Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10ab, and therefore I will compare them with Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10ab.

**ἀρχή:** it occurs nine times in Proverbs, in four of which (here—according to Drusius's proposal—and in 1:7c; 8:22; 17:14) it translates רִאשִׁית. In 8:23 it renders the noun from the same root <sup>12</sup>רֹאשׁ; in two instances (16:7; 16:12) it lacks a Hebrew equivalent; in 9:10 it translates תְּחִלָּה, and in 15:33 פְּנִים.

**σοφίας:** it occurs 45 times in Proverbs, nearly always<sup>13</sup> to translate חֵכְמָה. In 17:28 the equivalence is with the adjective of the same root חָכֵם. In 1:29 and here (still according to Drusius's proposal) it equates דַּעַת, whereas in two instances (2:3; 3:5) it corresponds to בִּינָה. In 18:2 the equivalence is with the noun of the same root תְּבִינָה; finally in 22:24 it renders quite freely עֲנוּה.

**φῶβος:** it occurs 16 times in Proverbs. It translates always<sup>14</sup> יִרְאָה except for 10:29, where it corresponds to דָּרָךְ.

**θεοῦ:** the use of the term in the translation is quite a complex one, since the author is not following strictly the equivalences (κύριος for יהוה, and θεός for אֱלֹהִים, which are usual elsewhere in the LXX. The situation is well synthesised by the following chart.

11. C.T. Fritsch, "The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs", *JBL* 72 (1953), 171.

12. The translation of מִרְאשׁ with ἐν ἀρχῇ seems an intentional allusion to Gen<sup>LXX</sup> 1:1.

13. In two instances (20:29 בָּחַם [metathesis]; 31:5 מְחַקֵּק) the *Vorlage* of the Greek translator was probably different. The occurrence in 8:3C has no equivalence since it is found in an addition.

14. Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 15:27A corresponds to Prov<sup>MT</sup> 16:6; in 18:8 the Greek must have known a different *Vorlage*.

Total יהוה	87
Total אלהים	5
יהוה-κύριος	63
יהוה-θεός	20
יהוה-0	4
אלהים-κύριος	1
אלהים-θεός	3
אלהים-θεῖος	1
אלוה-θεός	1
אדני-κύριος	1
0-κύριος	14
0-θεός	10
Total κύριος	79
Total θεός	34

As one can see, in Hebrew יהוה occurs 87 times and אלהים only 5, while in Greek we find 79 times κύριος and 34 times θεός; in all יהוה is translated by θεός 20 times.<sup>15</sup> On the whole, it seems that the translator is inclined to reduce the use of the divine name κύριος in favour of the universally comprehensible θεός; the use of κύριος as a divine name was not yet common in Greek<sup>16</sup>. Therefore, I would not consider the reduction of the use of κύριος as a religious concern in order to avoid the abuse of the divine name. The tendency is confirmed in this significant introductory verse where θεός is found twice whereas in Hebrew we read just once יהוה.

**σύνεσις**: it occurs 8 times in Proverbs; in four occasions (2:2, 3, 6; 24:3) it renders תבונה, in two (9:6, 10) בינה, and in 13:15 (and here still according to Drusius's proposal) שכל. The phrase σύνεσις ἀγαθή occurs also in 13:15; 2 Paralip 30:22; Ps 110:10 always to translate the phrase שכל טוב.

**εὐσέβεια**: it is extremely rare in the translational LXX; here and in Isa 33:6 it translates רָאָה; still in Isaiah, in the famous passage about the multi-

15. Perhaps 21 times: in 6:16 manuscript B has θεός but Rahlfs has preferred the reading of both A and S, which can be just a later correction.

16. Cf. Werner Foerster, "κύριος", *TWNT* 3:1045–1050.



fold Spirit (11:2) it renders יהוה יְרָאֵת, and in Sir 49:3 it corresponds to חסד. The term occurs also in Prov 13:11 where it has no equivalent in the MT.<sup>17</sup>

**αἰσθήσεως:** it occurs only 5 times outside Proverbs; Exod 28:3 is the only passage where the original Hebrew is known (the equivalence is תְּכֵמָה), whereas in Proverbs it is found 22 times always<sup>18</sup> to translate דַּעַת except that in 2:3c, seemingly a doublet of Prov<sup>MT</sup> 2:3b, where it translates תְּבוּנָה. In its turn דַּעַת occurs 40 times in the MT of Proverbs: in 19 cases it is rendered by αἰσθησις, in 8 cases by γνῶσις<sup>19</sup>, one time each by σοφία (1:29), ἐπίγνωσις (2:5), βουλή (9:10), ἔννοια (18:15), φρόνησις (24:5). In the remaining 7 cases the LXX either omits the verse (19:2; 20:15), or translates less literally (14:7; 15:2; 17:27; 19:27<sup>20</sup>; 22:17). One time (8:10) דַּעַת is rendered by both γνῶσις and αἰσθησις<sup>21</sup>. It seems that the LXX translator, by preferring the equivalence דַּעַת–αἰσθησις, aimed to produce a semantic adjustment: if it is true that αἰσθησις when referred to the mind can mean “perception” and even “knowledge” (LSJ ad loc.), nonetheless a reader unfamiliar with Hebrew ought to understand “the interior faculty of perceiving”. Finally, in the Three the term is employed only once (Prov 1:4) by σ’ to translate דַּעַת.

**δὲ καὶ:** this phrase is found in Proverbs 8 times; it always occurs in the second member of a distich. In 4 occurrences (3:16Ab; 14:22 x2; 22:15b; 30:8b) it connects as here two nouns. In 5 cases it translates only one coordinative וְ, whereas in 14:22 two וְ are found in the MT. In 22:15 it renders the construct state, and 3:16A is an addition in comparison with the MT. This general picture allows to exclude quite safely the authorship of α’ and θ’.<sup>22</sup> It is slightly

17. In this verse the addition μετ’ εὐσεβείας in the second stich balances, both stylistically and thematically, the double translation found in the first stich: ἐπισπουδαζομένην (from the variant reading מְבֹהֶלֶת, cf. Lagarde, *Proverbien*, 44) μετὰ ἀνομίας (מְהַבֵּל). Cf. the commentary on the passage offered by Ronald L. Giese, “Qualifying Wealth in the Septuagint of Proverbs”, *JBL* 111 (1992), 417–418.

18. In 14:7 the *Vorlage* of the Greek translator was probably different. According to Lagarde (*Proverbien*, 46; cf. already Johann G. Jäger, *Observationes in Proverbiorum Salomonis versionem Alexandrinam* [Meldorf: Boie, 1788], 103), the translator read וְכָלִי דַּעַת. The proposal is mentioned also by BHS (ad loc.) and BHQ (ad loc.).

19. Prov 2:6; 8:9; 8:12; 13:16; 21:11; 22:20; 29:7; 30:3.

20. Here the *Vorlage* of the Greek translator was probably רָעָה in place of דַּעַת, cf. Baumgartner, *Proverbs*, 181.

21. Stich b and c are a doublet: the 3rd line, which is omitted by B\*SV Syh, is under asterisk (pro obel) in 161 and is certainly original.

22. It is not necessary here to mention the tendency of α’ to the word-for-word translation. Concerning θ’, Peter J. Gentry (*The Asterisked Material in the Greek Job* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995], 366–371) points out that in the asterisked material of the book of Job the conjunction וְ is translated 198 times by καὶ and only twice by δέ.

more difficult, because of his peculiar translation technique, to take a definitive position concerning  $\sigma'$ , but one may notice that José R. Busto Saiz<sup>23</sup> does not record in the Psalms any occurrence of the phrase in order to translate יָ.

**παιδείαν**: it occurs 26 times in Proverbs where it translates nearly<sup>24</sup> always מוֹסֵר, as already in Deut 11:2. This equivalence is used also by  $\sigma'$  in 8 cases: Job 36:10 (with  $\alpha'\theta'$ ); Prov 1:3; 6:23 (with  $\alpha'\theta'$ ); 10:17; 13:18; 19:20; Jer 10:8 (with  $\alpha'$ ); 30:14 (with  $\alpha'\theta'$ ).

**ἀσεβής**: the word occurs 90 times in Proverbs; it usually translates עֲשָׂה. However, there are some noteworthy exceptions: in 4 cases (1:22, 32; 3:35; 13:19) it corresponds to כְּסִיל, properly “stupid” (HALOT ad loc.); in 11:9 it renders חָנָף,<sup>25</sup> properly “profane, irreligious” (BDB ad loc.). In some instances the equivalence between ἀσεβής and the Hebrew word is found only once in the whole Scripture: in 11:19 it translates the noun רָעָה; in 13:6 the noun רָשָׁע;<sup>26</sup> in 13:22 it corresponds to the participle חוֹטֵא; in 28:24 it renders מִשְׁחִית. In the present verse ἀσεβής translates אָוִיל, properly “fool” (BDB ad loc.), so that, as for כְּסִיל and חָנָף, a sort of moral shift in the meaning is found. Yet this translational pattern occurs only once in the whole Scripture. In  $\sigma'$  the term appears about 25 times always to translate עֲשָׂה.

**ἐξουθενήσουσιν**: it is a LXX neologism<sup>27</sup> and appears also with the thematic vowel -o- (ἐξουθενόω) and with the voiced equivalents (ἐξουδενέω, ἐξουδενόω). In the book of Proverbs it occurs only here, where it translates בּוֹז, which, in its turn, appears 7 more times, and it is rendered with μυκτηρίζω (11:12; 23:9), καταφρονέω (13:13; 23:22), ἀτιμάζω (14:21; 30:17), whereas in 6:30 the translation is less literal. The same equivalence is attested once in

23. Cf. J.R. Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1985), 223–228.

24. In 10:17 the second occurrence of the word is an adjunct. In 16:17 the form occurs in an addition. In 17:8 it has no equivalent in the MT (but it may refer to a different *Vorlage* in which אָבִן has been read בֵּן, interpreted as παῖς to which παιδεία is connected. A similar interpretation may explain Ps 2:12, where בֵּר has been rendered with παιδεία. Cf. also Emanuel Tov and Frank Polak, *The Revised C.A.T.S.S. Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text* [Jerusalem, 2009], ad loc.). In 25:1 it interprets מְשֻׁלִּים, cf. Lorenzo Cuppi, “The Treatment of Personal Names in the Book of Proverbs from the Septuagint to the Masoretic Text” in T. Michael Law and Alison Salvesen (eds.), *Greek Scripture and the Rabbis* (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 30–31.

25. The same choice is made thrice (8:13; 15:34; 27:8) by the first translator of Job.

26. It is interesting that in these last two cases the Hebrew abstract nouns are rendered in Greek by the concrete ones.

27. It is interesting also to note that it does not appear in the Pentateuch and in the book of Joshua, in other words it does not belong to the most ancient part of the Greek translation.

σ' also (11:12, with α'θ'), while in the 5 other cases where ἐξουθενέω (and equivalents) occurs (1 Sam 17:42, with α'θ'; Isa 49:7, with θ'; 53:3 x2, the second time with α'θ'; Jer 49:15, with α') it translates always הִבִּיחַ.

## 2. TRANSLATION

The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom,  
the comprehension is good for all those who practise it;<sup>28</sup>  
the beginning of insight is the reverence toward God,  
the irreverent ones will disdain wisdom and education.

## 3. TEXT-CRITICAL COMMENTARY

First of all, it needs to be stressed that in the Syro-Hexapla the portion of text under obels includes also the third stich until θεὸν. Thus Origen had considered also the first part of the stich c to be without equivalence in the Hebrew text, and consequently—as it is witnessed by V 252 360 637 766 Arm<sup>M1500</sup> Syh—added φόβος κυρίου by deriving it from the Three (cf. for instance Prov 14:27). Hence, Fritsch's ("Hexaplaric Signs", 171) assertion that only the first two stichs are under obels is inaccurate. After it lost the Origenian signs, the stich assumed quite a problematic appearance as it is witnessed by MS 613 which closes the unfinished sentence (εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν) with the addition κυβέρνησις. It is perhaps worth mentioning that Lucifer of Cagliari's text—which reads *timor domini* instead of *pietas in dominum* (Lat<sup>32</sup> *domino*) as the two Latin manuscripts—seems to depend also on the Hexaplaric recension.

Concerning ἐξουθενοῦσιν—a present for the future witnessed by SV, the two Latin manuscripts, the Armenian, the Syropalestinian and by a citation from Lucifer—it is not a correction toward the Hebrew, which would require the aorist, it represents instead a *lectio facilior* which shows how unidiomatic sounds the future form that in fact supposes a literalistic rendering of the yqtol בְּיוֹזֵן (in place of the MT בָּזֵן), which is actually attested in Prov 6:30.

Finally the reading θεοῦ needs to be discussed. Although it is attested only by a minority of witnesses, it has to be preferred because it is shown in the two oldest majuscule codices (BS) and in the best Hexaplaric witnesses (V Syh). Moreover, the phrase φόβος θεοῦ is found a second time in Prov 15:33 where it translates יהוה יִרְאַת, <sup>29</sup> it is thus compatible with the translation tech-

28. David-Marc d'Hamonville (*Les Proverbes* [Paris: Cerf, 2000], 160) understands a possessive dative: "Une bonne intelligence appartient à tous ceux qui la pratiquent". However ἀγαθός also, referred to things, usually takes the dative (cf. LSJ ad loc.).

29. This equivalence is very rare, and is found again only in Isa 11:3.

nique of the first translator. The majority reading (φόβος κυρίου) can be easily explained by the overwhelming influence exerted by the parallel passages in Ps 110:10 and Prov 9:10, where one reads κυρίου.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

Let us deal first of all with the issues posed by the second distich. As stated above, the Hebrew word אֱוִיָּלִים is exceptionally rendered by ἀσεβείς; as Cook (*Septuagint of Proverbs*, 62–63) pointed out, a contrast with εὐσέβεια is created, missing in Hebrew, and the subject is morally connoted. Cook<sup>30</sup> has widely shown that these two tendencies are present all along the translation. It was mentioned above that εὐσέβεια occurs only twice in Proverbs, and that here it is a free rendering of יִרְאָה, which is usually translated with φόβος. Seemingly the translator avoids to repeat the word, and reaches this aim by creating a contrast. If the other correspondences (σοφία for חָכְמָה, παιδεία for מוֹדָר, αἴσθησις for דַּעַת, ἐξουθενέω for זוּז), employed by σ' also, are not sufficient to ascribe beyond doubt to the first translator the part of the distich outside the obels, it is the contrasting and moralising translation which proves the entire second distich to be created by the original translator and not to be a Hexaplaric insertion.

Therefore the Hexaplaric text ought to appear as follows:

÷ Ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος θεοῦ,  
 ÷ σύνεσις δὲ ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν·  
 ÷ εὐσέβεια δὲ εἰς θεὸν <×> φόβος κυρίου <λ> ἀρχὴ αἰσθήσεως,  
 σοφίαν δὲ καὶ παιδείαν ἀσεβείς ἐξουθενήσουσιν.

The origin of the first distich still needs to be explained. If it is a second translation of Prov<sup>MT</sup> 1:7, the stich a is unexpected for the inversion of the elements, and the stich b because it is not a translation of the corresponding stich in the MT. I would thus discuss Drusius's (*Quaestionum*, 130) suggestion

30. Among the many passages, cf. Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 317, J. Cook, "Contrasting as a Translation Technique in the LXX of Proverbs", in *The Quest for Context and Meaning* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 404–405, 413–414 (concerning the religious dualisms), and J. Cook, "Apocalyptic Terminology in the Septuagint of Proverbs", *JNSL* 25/1 (1999), 252–255 (regarding the creation of new contrasts). About the moralistic translations cf. Giese, "Qualifying Wealth", 411, Cook, "Apocalyptic Terminology", 255–260, and above all Michael B. Dick, "The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs", *Studia Philonica Annual* 2 (1990), 20–50, especially p. 26 where he lists a number of passages in which the concept of "folly" is rendered with a moralistic accentuation.

who, as stated above, thought the distich were coming from Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10. The text of Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10ab runs as follows:

Ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου,  
σύνεσις ἀγαθὴ πᾶσι τοῖς ποιοῦσιν αὐτήν.

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom,  
a good comprehension for all those who practise it;

From the text-critical point of view, only the Sahidic version exhibits *dei* for κυρίου: this witness is too isolated to be considered original. In addition, the Lucianic family and the family of MS A, with the Sahidic and a variant reading in the Bohairic version, add δέ after σύνεσις. This variant reading is a stylistic improvement within the tradition of the Psalter, less probably a harmonisation with the text of Proverbs where the use of the particle δέ is absolutely usual for the first translator.

Let us now compare the passage with Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10ab:

יראת יהוה ראשית חכמה שכל טוב לכל עשיהם

The fear of YHWH is the beginning of wisdom,  
a good understanding for all those who practise them

The pronominal suffix (הם-) is translated as a feminine singular by the LXX and Peshitta.<sup>31</sup> However, the plural transmitted by the MT is a *lectio difficilior*, and because the Peshitta makes use of the LXX its witness may be influenced by the latter.

When comparing Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7ab with Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10ab one observes that ἀρχή corresponds to ראשית, the most usual equivalence in Proverbs, that σοφία corresponds to חכמה, φόβος to יראָה, and in particular the phrase σύνεσις ἀγαθὴ corresponds to שכל טוב, exactly as in Prov 13:15. If we turn our attention to the translation technique in the book of Psalms, we notice that σοφία always translates חכמה, that φόβος renders יראָה and פחד, that ἀρχή translates four times (73:2; 76:12; 77:2; 118:152) קדם, three times (118:160; 136:6; 138:17) ראש, once פנים, and only here ראשית, which in its turn occurs two more times (Ps<sup>MT</sup> 78:51; 105:36) and it is rendered with ἀπαρχή. Finally שכל occurs only here in the Psalter, but its equivalent σύνεσις, apart from the

31. Jerome's Psalter *iuxta hebraicum* reads the neuter plural; however some manuscripts transmit the feminine singular.

numerous instances in which in the titles it renders the noun from the same root **שָׁכַל**, it translates four times (Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 48:4; 77:72; 135:5; 146:5) **תְּבִנָּה**, and once (Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 31:9) the hifil from **בָּן**. The phrase **שָׁכַל טוֹב** occurs four times (Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10; Pr 3:4; 13:15; 2 Chr 30:22) in the whole MT, and it is always translated σύνεσις ἀγαθή except for Prov 3:4 which has been vocalised differently.<sup>32</sup> Therefore, either are we facing a process of literary imitation,<sup>33</sup> or this equivalence seemed the only possible one to the different Greek translators. The only certain datum is that the translator of Proverbs chose it also for Prov 13:15.

To sum up, the translation technique is compatible with both the translator of the Psalter and the translator of Proverbs. But with the latter—who is consistent in the equivalence between φόβος and **יִרְאָה**, who translates three times (1:7c; 8:22; 17:14) out of four **רֵאשִׁית** with ἀρχή (while the translator of Psalms one time only out of three), and reiterates the rendering of **שָׁכַל טוֹב** with σύνεσις ἀγαθή in 13:15—to a greater extent.

Moreover, it is evident that the addition (Prov<sup>LXX</sup> 1:7ab) has its origin in the proximity of Ps 111:10a and Prov 1:7a in Hebrew: actually, within the Greek textual tradition, since **יִרְאָה** had been rendered with εὐσέβεια, the juxtaposition of Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10 and Prov 1:7cd would have been more difficult. In addition, if 1:7ab were a late intrusion from Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 110:10ab, it would be difficult to explain why the reading θεοῦ, as mentioned above, is attested so early.

Therefore I would exclude both the hypothesis of a later intrusion and of the use of the Greek Psalter by the original translator (despite all the commentators until now have suggested it<sup>34</sup>). In this way the anomalous translation of **יִרְאָה** with εὐσέβεια would find a better explanation, as a habitual *variatio*, since the translator had already rendered the first **יִרְאָה** with φόβος. I noticed elsewhere also<sup>35</sup> that the translator, when adding material, tends to amalgam-

32. Cf. Mezzacasa (*Proverbi*, 119) who suggests the unattested imperative form **וְשָׁכַל**, or I. Drusius (*Veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum vetus Testamentum fragmenta, collecta, versa et notis illustrata* [Arnheim: Janssonius, 1622], 1093) who had proposed **וְשָׁכַל**. The qal is attested in the MT only once (1 Sam 18:30) in the 3rd singular of the perfect.

33. Dominique Barthélemy, (*Les devanciers d'Aquila* [Leiden: Brill, 1963], 41–43) shows that the Second book of the Paralipomena exhibits the same translational feature (καὶ γὰρ for **וְגַם**) also found in the Psalter.

34. To my knowledge only Gustav Bickell (“Kritische Bearbeitung der Proverbien”, WZKM 5 [1891], 86) in a cryptic note seems to infer from the readings θεοῦ and δέ that the Greek Proverbs were used by the Greek Psalter. However, his reconstruction of the original Hebrew is conditioned by the hypothesis that the MT originated by homoeoteleuton, and goes eventually astray from the textual evidences.

35. Cf. 15:18; 18:22; 29:24b–25. It is this alternant mixing of literal and free renderings which prevented the scholars to give verse 1:7 a satisfactory explanation until now. Here the

ate literal and free renderings. In other words, the easiest explanation is that he had worked on the Hebrew.

Yet two hypotheses need to be considered: (1) the translator himself was aware of the proximity between Prov 1:7a and Ps 111:10a in Hebrew, and decided to put them close in order to emphasise the role of this verse,<sup>36</sup> and to create the moralising contrast between εὐσέβεια and ἀσεβείας in the second distich; (2) otherwise he read a *Vorlage* in which Prov 1:7ab was preceded by the distich that we now read in Ps<sup>MT</sup> 111:10ab.<sup>37</sup> This would especially fit the rendering of יהוה with θεοῦ, typical of Proverbs. Toy<sup>38</sup> went further on this way and was wondering whether one had to consider this redaction more ancient. These proverbial materials could have been floating for a while before finding their final position in the MT.

A final question remains open. Are the Greek translations of Prov 1:7ab and Ps 110:10ab independent? If this is the case, how did they reach such a similar result? the coincident renderings of שְׂכָל טוֹב with σύνεσις ἀγαθή, and of the plural suffix in עֲשִׂיָּהֶם with the singular αὐτήν are worth of the question. On the whole, the book of Proverbs shows a translation technique which might be earlier than the one observed in the Psalter,<sup>39</sup> and this passage may present us a case of literary influence. It is hoped that further research on the translation technique of these two books might disclose us much insight on this question.

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most literal translation is found in the stich 7d, but with the moralistic shift of ἀσεβείας. The stich 7b has no comparison with the MT of Proverbs, while 7a renders faithfully φόβος, but not σοφία, and the two elements are inverted. Finally the stich 7c is not literal in the rendering of εὐσέβεια, peculiar in the choice of αἰσθησις, but its elements are not inverted. J. Cook ("אִשָּׁה זָרָה [Proverbs 1–9 Septuagint]: A Metaphor for Foreign Wisdom?" ZAW 106 [1994], 472) also detects the style of the first translator in the additions of chapter 9.

36. Cf. Cook (*Septuagint of Proverbs*, 61) who underlines how the translator, with the explicative addition of 1:7ab, strengthen the redactional relevance, already observed in Hebrew, of verse 1:7: "However, says the translator, the most fundamental aspect of wisdom—the beginning thereof—is the φόβος θεοῦ. [...] This is of course the intention of the Hebrew too, but the translator adds the passage from Ps 110 (LXX) in order to underscore this meaning".

37. This hypothesis is considered by Weingreen ("Rabbinic-Type Commentary", 411–412).

38. Toy, *Proverbs*, 11: "Whether the longer form of the Greek is an expansion of Heb. or Grk. scribes, or belongs to the original reading, it is difficult to say".

39. Cf. also the discussion and the bibliography in Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 34–45. For Proverbs cf. the recent overview in d'Hamonville, *Proverbes*, 22–25, and J. Cook, "Intertextual Relationships between the Septuagint of Psalms and Proverbs", in *The Old Greek Psalter* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).





# Onias III and the Legitimacy of Judas Maccabaeus

*Dov Gera*

**Abstract:** This paper looks at the way the figure Onias III is presented in the Second Book of Maccabees. The high priest is depicted as a man who combines devotion to the Temple, concern for Jerusalem and loyalty to the Seleucid throne. These traits remain unshaken even in the face of unmatched provocation. However, after the Heliodorus affair, this loyal servant of the crown is forced to look in vain for shelter, first at the king's court, then at nearby Daphne. His assassination gives him a tragic aura, while the involvement of the future high priests, Jason and Menelaus, in his removal from office and death, accentuates the void that Onias III left behind him. Into the vacuum steps Judas Maccabaeus, whose role is further enhanced by the dead high priest, who is said to appear before him in a dream, alongside Jeremiah the prophet. In this dream, the prophet grants Judas authority over his people. Onias' nocturnal appearance symbolizes his support for the new leader, at the expense of the corrupt high priests who took office after Onias III's removal.

Scholars discussing the Second Book of Maccabees often stress the centrality of the figure of Judas Maccabaeus in it.<sup>1</sup> In light of the role played by Judas in the book, such a view can hardly seem objectionable, but it does need to be looked at from the perspective of the book as a whole. One of the problems concerning this traditional view is that we have to read seven chapters of the book, before actually encountering the figure of Judas at chapter 8.<sup>2</sup> Thus, only the last eight of the book's fifteen chapters deal with Judas, and he is in effect

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1. E.g., Christian Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch* (2nd ed.; JSHRZ I, 3. Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979), 167. See the detailed discussion of Joseph Geiger, "The History of Judas Maccabaeus: One Aspect of Hellenistic Historiography" [Hebrew], *Zion* 49 (1984): 1–8. I am grateful to professor Geiger for his helpful comments on an earlier version of this paper.

2. There is an incidental reference to him at 2 Macc 5:27, as well as at 1:10. 2 Macc 1:10, forms part of the second introductory letter in the book which is considered bogus by most commentators. Furthermore, the relation of the opening letters to the body of the book is unclear.

absent from the first seven chapters.<sup>3</sup> Our discussion of the role of Onias III throughout 2 Maccabees will, it is hoped, demonstrate the existence of a balance of sorts between the earlier part of the book and the latter part. It would also highlight the centrality assigned to the Jewish high priest by the book's author, an attitude which was eclipsed only by his slightly higher esteem of Judas Maccabaeus.<sup>4</sup>

### 1. ONIAS III IN JERUSALEM AND ANTIOCH

We shall begin with the very start of chapter 3, which opens the narrative part of this work. Here we have a description of the serene and untroubled Jerusalem: the holy city enjoyed complete peace while its laws were kept in the best possible fashion. This state of bliss is attributed by the author to the piety of the high priest Onias and to his hatred of evil. Foreign rulers too were prone to respect the sanctuary and to add to the temple's glory through the most precious presents. King Seleucus (IV) took it upon himself to finance the cost of the sacrifices. The author links Onias' reverence to God and his dislike of evil to the benevolence of the foreign kings.<sup>5</sup> However, the animosity felt by Simon, the appointed supervisor of the temple, towards the high priest Onias III soon disrupted the harmony (2 Macc 3:4). Simon approached the Seleucid governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia and informed him that an innumerable amount of cash has been amassed in the temple's treasury, and had not been entered into the account earmarked for sacrifice expenditure (τὸν τῶν θυσιῶν λόγον). Simon recommended that this surplus money be transferred to the king's coffers.<sup>6</sup> The Seleucid satrap took Simon's complaint seriously,

3. Cf. Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 3 n. 1.

4. The discussion of my late teacher, Menahem Stern, "The Death of Onias III," *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period* (ed. M. Amit, I. Gafni and M. D. Herr; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991), 35–50 (in Hebrew; published originally in *Zion*, 25 [1960], 1–16), referred in just one sentence (p. 41 n. 39) to the last scene involving Onias in 2 Maccabees (in ch. 15; to be discussed below). See however his observation in *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 1:406: "Onias III is, after Judas the Maccabean, the main hero of II Maccabees."

5. 2 Macc 3:1–3: ... διὰ τὴν Ὀνίου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ μισοπονηρίαν συνέβαινε καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τιμᾶν τὸν τρόπον ... ὥστε καὶ Σέλευκον ... χορηγεῖν ... πάντα τὰ ... δαπανήματα.

6. 2 Macc 3:4–7. Bickerman downplays any personal animosity felt by Simon towards Onias III, for he considers Simon to be a servant of the Seleucid crown. See also his brilliant explanation of the nature of Simon's accusations: E. Bickerman, "Héliodore au temple de Jérusalem," *AIPHOS* 7 (1939–44): 5–40 (for the English translation: E. J. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* [2nd ed.; AGJU 68/1. Edited by A. Tropper, Leiden:

conferred with the king who then summoned Heliodorus, and ordered him to appropriate the money involved and to transfer it to the royal treasury. The chief minister made his way to Jerusalem, met with Onias III and tried to find out if there was any basis to Simon's accusations (vss. 5–9).<sup>7</sup> Heliodorus was given a courteous and friendly welcome (φιλοφρόνως ... ἀποδεχθεῖς) by Onias who rejected Simon's accusations. He claimed that part of the money had been deposited in the temple by widows and orphans, while the remainder belonged to the much respected Hyrcanus, the son of Tobiah. The high priest concluded his defense speech by saying that it would be altogether impossible to act against those who believed in the sanctity of the temple honoured throughout the entire world (vss. 9–12). Onias noted that the temple's funds were not innumerable, as claimed by Simon (vs. 6), but consisted of 400 talents of silver, and 200 of gold. Thus the implied accusation of Simon that the money accrued in the temple's treasury had been subvented by the king for the sake of sacrifice was properly answered by the high priest who

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Brill 2007], 1:432–39, with updated notes, already found in Bickerman's first edition of his collected papers).

7. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 4–6, 184–86, ascribes the story in 2 Macc 3:5–40, neither to Jason of Cyrene nor to his epitomist, but to an unknown writer whose story became a “floating legend,” which acquired a life of its own before it was amalgamated into 2 Maccabees. He therefore disassociates the story from events occurring during the reign of Seleucus IV, although he was aware of the initial part of an inscription recording this king's interest in the temples of Coele Syria and Phoenicia (pp. 185–86; For the inscription, see now Dov Gera, “Olympiodoros, Heliodoros and the Temples of Koilê Syria and Phoinikê,” *ZPE* 169 [2009]: 125–55). On p. 4, Schwartz defines the extent of this insertion: “the story proceeded from the opening idyll (3:1–3) and Simon's squabbling with Onias (3:4) directly to the worsening of Simon's complaints (4:1–4...)” [emphasis added]. Two main objections will suffice here: a) Seleucus IV's letter expressing his interest in the sanctuaries of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, makes it plausible that some action was taken on his behalf, even if that action was misrepresented in 2 Maccabees. b) Two Seleucid officials, Apollonius son of Thraseas and Heliodorus, are mentioned by appropriate Seleucid titles in 2 Macc 3:5 and 7, which according to Schwartz belong to that part of the story which is extraneous to 2 Maccabees. In the latter case we even possess independent corroboration that Heliodorus did bear the title ascribed to him in 2 Maccabees. However, in other non disputed parts of 2 Maccabees, various Seleucid officials are given proper Seleucid titles, and for two of them, Apollonius son of Menestheus and Hegemonides, we possess independent evidence which supports, as in the Heliodorus case, what 2 Maccabees tells of them. See 2 Macc 4:4, 21; 5:22; 8:8–9; 9:29; 11:1; 13:24. cf. Schwartz's commentary *ad locc*; Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, *ad locc*. This common feature with the supposedly inserted passage seems to show that it too was written by the author responsible for the other parts in 2 Maccabees (note however, that the author sometimes manipulates the information he possesses about Seleucid officials; see Dov Gera, *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics, 219 to 161 B.C.E.* (BSJS 8; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 255–59; Gera, “Olympiodoros,” 141–42.

pointed to the identity of the depositors. Confiscation of the money would rob destitute women and children of their savings, and also injure Hyrcanus, the loyal partisan of the Seleucids.<sup>8</sup> Onias III is presented as a loyal servant of the crown, whose allegiance is exemplified by the friendly reception given to the king's chief minister. One should also take account of Onias' refusal to accept the possibility that the temple, or those believing in it, would come to harm (vs. 12). Onias demonstrates here absolute conviction that both the temple and those believing in its sanctity would remain out of harm's way, and indeed his belief is fully justified. Despite this vigorous defence, Heliodorus rejected Onias' arguments. After all, he had been entrusted with orders from the king (δι' ἃς εἶχε βασιλικὰς ἐντολάς), which left him with no option but to obey. This mention of the royal command was meant to hint that Heliodorus was duly impressed with Onias' words, but felt there was nothing he could do. In any event, Heliodorus set a date to enter the temple in order to conduct an inspection of the money deposited in it (vss. 13–14a).

At this point the focus of the story moves to the reactions of the Jerusalem populace (vss. 14b–22), with anxiety witnessed throughout the city (vs. 14b). Next we hear of the varying reactions of different segments of the populace: the priests throw themselves in front of the altar imploring heaven to keep the money intact, the men leap out of their houses in droves in order to take part in a general supplication, the women fill the roads wearing sack-cloth, while some of the virgins normally shut up (κατάκλειστοι) at home, rush to the city gates and walls, while others peep through the battlement embrasures. They too join the public entreaty, stretching their hands towards heaven (vss. 15, 18–20).<sup>9</sup> The masses respond to the threat facing the temple's investments through physical reactions: they lie prostrate on the ground, they leap out of the houses and storm the streets, they pray with outstretched hands. In their midst the figure of Onias separates the priests from the populace (vss. 16–17), his countenance and complexion change because of his suffering soul, the fear and shuddering which overwhelm him express his inner pains. We are

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8. On this last point, see Dov Gera, "On the Credibility of the History of the Tobiads (Josephus, *Antiquities* 12, 156–222, 228–236)," in *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel: Collected Essays* (ed. A. Kasher, U. Rappaport and G. Fuks; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1990), 27; Gera, *Judaea*, 44–45.

9. I understand τῶν θυρίδων (vs. 19) as "embrasures." Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (AB 41A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983), 195, like other commentators, adopted "windows" here. This interpretation leaves the virgins at home, and destroys the three-partite analogy of the Greek which locates some of the virgins by the city's gates (τοὺς πυλῶνας) and walls (τὰ τείχη). The scene in 2 Maccabees expresses extraordinary circumstances, as does the behaviour of the virgins.

twice told that his sufferings were visible to everyone, and we should probably understand the behaviour of the priests and the populace as a physical reaction to the high priest's distress. The author then compares the populace lying prostrate, and the expectations of the agonizing high priest, and remarks that both sights were pitiful, and immediately adds that the masses turned to the almighty Lord to keep the investments completely safe (vss. 21–22). Here too the sight of the anguished Onias propels the crowds into action. The high priest's suffering arouses the response of the masses because of their identification with his plight.

The story then shifts to Heliodorus' efforts to carry out the king's command and to appropriate the temple funds. The attempt was foiled through supernatural intervention. While already in the treasury, with his bodyguards in attendance, Heliodorus was attacked by a horse and his rider, with the imposing animal brandishing its forehooves at the Seleucid minister. Two young men of an appearance no less remarkable than that of the horse and its rider, whipped Heliodorus unflinchingly. As a result of this attack, performed undoubtedly by angelic creatures, Heliodorus fell to the ground, submerged as it were, in darkness. His men quickly evacuated the once all powerful minister, who was now lying helpless, having lost the power of speech as well as any hope for salvation. The danger to the temple funds had been removed, the temple remained unsullied, and God's powers were properly demonstrated. No wonder then, that the Jews could now offer their thanks to the Lord, and the once stunned and distressed atmosphere turned quickly into scenes of joy and festivity.<sup>10</sup> However, the matter of Heliodorus was as yet unresolved, and some of his friends approached Onias, asking him to invoke God to grant the dying Seleucid minister his life. The high priest, presented at the beginning of the story as a person interested in accommodating the wishes of the Seleucid government, naturally acceded to their request. The narrator tells us that Onias was afraid that the king would lay the responsibility for Heliodorus' misfortune on the Jews, and this prompted him to offer a sacrifice for his salvation. At this point the two young men re-appear before Heliodorus and inform him in direct speech of his large debt to Onias the high priest: it was thanks to his intercession that God had decided to keep him alive. These two angelic figures also instruct the Seleucid chief minister to spread the word concerning the Lord's might (2 Macc 3:31–34). The remainder of the Heliodorus affair (with the exception of vs. 40, which summarizes the whole story), is dedicated to Heliodorus' submission to the instructions of the two divine beings. The Seleucid chief minister sacrifices to God and makes vows to him.

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10. 2 Macc 3:23–30. Cf. Bickerman, *Studies*, 1:445–63.

He further approves of the high priest (καὶ τὸν Ὀνίαν ἀποδεξάμενος), i.e., he publicly praises him in accordance with the command of the two heavenly creatures,<sup>11</sup> and then he makes his way back to the king telling him of God's powers which he had personally witnessed. In response to the king's query about sending another emissary to Jerusalem, he advises Seleucus to dispatch only an enemy of his, for God will surely defend his temple again (vss. 35–39).

The next chapter begins with a new set of accusations leveled by Simon against Onias. Even before turning to these allegations, the author immediately makes it clear that Simon should not be believed. Simon, he tells us, was the man who had become an informer with regard to the (temple's) money and his native city,<sup>12</sup> referring to the whole chain of events starting from Simon's denunciation of the management of temple's money, and ending with Heliodorus' attempt to seize the sacred funds. Thus, the opening of chapter 4 further blackens Simon, and paints the figure of Onias in the most glowing colours. This can be seen in the first set of accusations against Onias, that he had personally frightened Heliodorus, and had been the source of ill.<sup>13</sup> The second part of Simon's censure is contradicted by the author's previous statement that Simon had brought on misfortune on the Jews and the temple. As for the claim that it was actually Onias who stood up to Heliodorus and instilled him with fear, thus making him totally incapacitated, this accusation is actually complementary to the high priest, for in 3:25, it was the charge of the heavenly horse which shook the Seleucid minister and terrified him (ἐνέσεισε).<sup>14</sup> The explicit reference to Heliodorus in 4:1 ties the renewed attack on the high priest with past events, but also moves the story to a new stage, one in which Onias finds himself under a second attack of Simon.<sup>15</sup>

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11. 2 Macc 3:35. My understanding of ἀποδέχομαι is similar to Bickerman's, but not identical. Bickerman, *Studies*, 1:457 n. 155, suggested that Heliodorus thanked Onias relying on vs. 33, in which the two young men order Heliodorus Πολλὰς Ὀνία τῷ ἀρχιεὶ χάριτας ἔχε. Bickerman was aware however, that there is no example of this meaning to the verb in vs. 35. Nevertheless, he refers to 2 Macc 13:24 and Philo, *Embassy* 154. In both, ἀποδέχομαι is to be interpreted as an approval. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 204, suggests that the verb here has the sense of 'to receive', because he wanted to portray Heliodorus as finally reciprocating to the friendly reception which was accorded him by the high priest, in 3:9. Schwartz is however aware that the verb "does not precisely fit"

12. 2 Macc 4:1: ὁ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐνδείκτης γεγονώς.

13. 2 Macc 4:1: ὡς αὐτός τε εἶη τὸν Ἡλιόδωρον ἐπισεικτικῶς καὶ τῶν κακῶν δημιουργὸς καθεστηκώς.

14. Cf. Carl L. W. Grimm, *Das zweite, dritte und vierte Buch der Maccabäer* (KEHA 4; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1857), 78. For alternative ways to translate ἐπισείω here, see Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 213–14.

15. The mention of Heliodorus outside 2 Macc ch. 3, in 4:1; 5:17–20, is an impediment

Simon's further claim that Onias had betrayed the government (vs. 2: τὸν ... ἐπίβουλον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐτόλμα λέγειν) is negated by the author's comment on Simon's effrontery in making such a statement. He further alludes to Onias' noble character, which in itself would make such a slander ridiculous. Onias, so we are told, was the benefactor (*euergetes*) of the city, the defender of his compatriots and a zealot for the laws.<sup>16</sup> In the preceding chapter 3, no mention is made of Onias' benevolence, but the author does make a connection between Onias' righteous character and the donations given to the temple by the kings of the day. It can therefore be argued, that the *euergesia* towards the *polis* ascribed to Onias in 4:2, recapitulates the credit owed to him for the temple's welfare in chapter 3.<sup>17</sup> The praise heaped on Onias for defending his compatriots clearly refers to his efforts to dissuade Heliodorus from confiscating money deposited in the temple by widows and orphans (2 Macc 3:10–12), and his zealousness for the laws refers both to the high level of obedience to the laws before the Heliodorus affair, and the part played by him throughout the confrontation with the Seleucid chief minister (3:1, and 14–28).

It is clear therefore, that the opening of chapter 3, admitted by all to be an integral part of 2 Maccabees, the Heliodorus affair and the beginning of chapter 4 actually complement one another. Onias is the uncontested hero of these passages. At the opening of chapter 3 the high priest is responsible for city's state of peace, and the wealth of the temple may also be ascribed to his shining personality. Later on, when the temple comes under threat, and there is a distinct possibility of an armed clash between Heliodorus and his bodyguard on the one hand, and the agitated Jews on the other, it is Onias who brings relief and succour, because his piety induces God to protect his city. The return of peace at the end of chapter 3, is credited again to Onias, and his exploits and outstanding qualities are mentioned again at the beginning

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to the view that the story about the confrontation between Heliodorus and Onias is derived from an external independent source. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 4, refers to 4.1b as an "editorial" addition, but this is unconvincing.

16. 2 Macc 4:2: καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν καὶ ζηλωτὴν τῶν νόμων. For the importance of the title *euergetes*, see Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 214.

17. It is well known that Antiochus III, father of Seleucus IV, gave subventions for the cost of the sacrifices (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.140–141). Josephus' testimony here forms part of a *prostagma* of the king, the authenticity of which has been demonstrated by E. Bickermann, "La Charte séleucide de Jérusalem," *REJ* 100 (1935): 4–35 [English translation, *Studies* 1:315–56, and esp. 323–26, on the funding of the temple's needs]. Were it possible to prove that the author knew of Antiochus' earlier munificence, then his efforts to magnify Onias could be seen as even more pronounced.

of chapter 4, which foretells of an impending new confrontation between the Seleucid authorities, egged on by Simon, and the virtuous Onias III.

Simon accused Onias of confronting Heliodorus physically, and claimed that he was an enemy of the realm as well. Matters came to a head when one of Simon's men committed murder, and when Onias discovered that the new satrap of Coele Syria and Phoenice, Apollonius son of Menestheus, supported Simon, just as the previous *strategos* had done. Onias therefore decided to seek an interview with the king (2 Macc 4:3–5).<sup>18</sup> The author depicts Onias' decision as a positive act: he did not intend to become a prosecutor of his townsfolk (οὐ γινόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν κατήγορος), in other words he did not intend to level a series of accusations against Simon and his partisans.<sup>19</sup> His sole intention was, as our author would have it, to think of what would be beneficial for all the people as a whole, as well as for each individual (τὸ δὲ σύμφορον κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν παντὶ τῷ πλήθει σκοπῶν).<sup>20</sup> Their interest required that Simon's influence be curbed, but this could be achieved only if the king himself would be involved (vss. 5–6). However, one should not see these events as detached from Heliodorus' abortive attempt against the temple's treasures. In fact, Onias' role in safeguarding the sanctuary's moneys only stresses the contrast between his exalted character and the tribulations which he has to endure. The readers' feeling of commiseration for the priest will only deepen once the story will move on to the next stage, the killing of Onias. This took place after Onias' brother, Jason, took advantage of Onias' absence from Jerusalem, and bought the high priesthood for cash from the new sovereign, Antiochus IV Epiphanes. However, Jason would not remain in his post for long, for Menelaus, Simon's brother, taking a leaf from Jason's book, acquired the high priesthood for himself, after promising the king additional payments (vss. 7–27).

According to the story, Onias' murder occurred while the king was away in Cilicia. The management of affairs in Antioch was left in the hands of one of the king's close associates, named Andronicus. The new high priest, Mene-

18. I have argued that 2 Macc 3:5 is a doublet of 4.4; Gera, "Olympiodoros," 141–42.

19. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 215 n. 5a, rightly contrasts the author's positive appreciation of Onias' appeal to the court with his strong condemnation of the similar actions of Menelaus and Alcimus.

20. The theme of giving aid to the general public and to individuals as well, is a recurrent one in Hellenistic inscriptions. Cf. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 945 lines 10–13: καὶ προαγόμενος εὖνους [ἐστίν] | κοινεῖ τε τῷ δήμῳ λέγω καὶ π[ράτ]των ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἀγ[αθόν] | ὅτι ἂν δυνατὸς ᾗ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν [αἰεὶ] τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν αὐ[τῷ] | τῷ πολιτῶν εὐχρηστον ἑαυτ[ὸν] παρασκευάζει κτλ. See also *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 598 D lines 4–8; *IG* XII/9 236 lines 6–11, etc. Such formulas can often be found in honorary inscriptions; their use in 2 Maccabees here demonstrates the author's intention to glorify Onias.



laus, came to him bearing gifts. These included some golden vessels, which Menelaus had taken from the temple. Onias, who was living in Antioch at the time, having stayed there as a result of Simon's second round of denunciations, learned of the robbery. He did not hesitate to accuse Menelaus of the crime, but took precautions for his own safety; he retired to a site enjoying inviolability (2 Macc 4:33: ἄσυλος τόπος) in Daphne, probably the temple of Apollo and Artemis, and it was from there that he censured Menelaus.<sup>21</sup> The reigning high priest asked Andronicus to do away with Onias, and the Seleucid official lured Onias out of his asylum. Once Onias ignored his earlier premonition and complied, his fate was sealed. The news of the murder of the man who had tried to defend the temple's treasures for the second time, aroused anger amongst Jews and non-Jews alike. Once the King returned to Antioch, the local Jews approached him, protesting Onias' unlawful killing. In this they were joined by some of the Greeks. Upon hearing them, Antiochus IV became filled with sorrow, and working himself into a fit of flaming anger, he stripped Andronicus of all insignia of privilege, and had him executed (vss. 30–38).

In three consecutive verses we are thrice told how unjust the killing was (vss. 34–36). The execution of Andronicus which followed it is naturally seen as following the principle of “a measure for measure.”<sup>22</sup> The reaction to the murder of Onias is depicted as spreading in ever widening circles thus glorifying Onias. Naturally, the first to respond vehemently were the Jews of Antioch. After all, the deceased was a fellow Jew, and a former high priest to boot. Moreover, he was killed because of his protest over the robbery of the temple's vessels. However, many of the non-Jews joined in the protest, including some Greeks. Most improbable of all is the strong reaction of Antiochus IV who shed tears over Onias.<sup>23</sup> Onias, we are told, was a man of self control and of much discipline (vs. 37: σωφροσύνη and πολλή εὐταξία). These two traits are enumerated, along with others, in Plato's praise of the Spartans, and in Polybius' description of Scipio Aemilianus, his younger friend and protec-

21. For the argument on whether a pious Jew like Onias would actually seek an asylum in a pagan temple, see James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2004), 205 n. 259.

22. 2 Macc. 4:38. Cf. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 239; Beate Ego, “‘God's Justice: The ‘Measure for Measure’ Principle in 2 Maccabees” in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology* (ed. G. G. Xeravits and J. Zsengellér; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 141–54.

23. Cf. 3 Maccabees, where the Jews who face extinction are the focus of sympathetic feelings from the Alexandrian Jews (4:12) and from the Greeks there (3:8–10). The king, too, feels sorry for them and revokes their persecution (5:30–33; 6:22–7:9), despite the fact that he was the one who initiated it in the first place (2:25–30; 3:1, 11–29; 5:1–2, 18–20, 37–43 etc.).

tor.<sup>24</sup> The two adjectives also appear side by side, in several honorary inscriptions, and in tomb inscriptions as well.<sup>25</sup> Thus, as noted by Goldstein, it was Onias' Greek ways which aroused the admiration of Antiochus IV, and it is precisely this facet of his personality which is meant to be applauded by the intended readership.

What of the veracity of the stories concerning Onias in chapter 4? I have dealt with this question elsewhere, and noted that the date assigned in 2 Maccabees for Jason's acquisition of the high priesthood tallies with the date of Onias' death in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*. Josephus' words concerning Onias' demise imply that his was a natural death, and seems to have occurred while Onias III served as a high priest, in contrast to the 2 Maccabees version. In addition, in 2 Maccabees Onias' assassination at the hands of Andronicus is placed in 170 B.C.E., and is similar in date and contents to the story of the killing of the Seleucid prince Antiochus (son of Seleucus). It would seem then that Josephus' version concerning the death of Onias III is preferable to the one in 2 Maccabees, and that the author of that book prolonged the life of the high priest, as it were, in order to implicate both Jason and Menelaus in crimes against the central figure of the earlier part of 2 Maccabees.<sup>26</sup> If this is accepted, then the fabrication of the story concerning Onias' removal from office, his self imposed Syrian exile and his murder, are all elements which were constructed in order to exalt and glorify the character of the high priest and to lend him a tragic aura.<sup>27</sup>

## 2. PARALLEL LIVES: JASON AND MENELAUS

The author's attitude to the high priests who came into office after Onias III, Jason and Menelaus, is diametrically opposed to his presentation of Onias. The author introduces Jason and his bid for power immediately after his brother Onias had gone off to Antioch in a self imposed exile. This in itself paints Jason as a crafty and unreliable person. But the author does not let mat-

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24. Plato, *Alcibiades* 1, 122c; Polybius 31.25.8. The connection of our passage with Polybius was made by F.-M. Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris: Gabalda, 1949), 343; while Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 241, noted the similarity with Plato.

25. *I. Kyme* 13 IV-V lines 85–87, 103–104; Hasan Malay, "Three Decrees from Kyme," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 2 (1983): 4–7, No. 2, lines 49–51 (SEG 33.1038, lines 6–8, 24–25; 1039 lines 18–20). For the funerary inscriptions, see *I. Iasos* I, 119; *MAMA* VI 114, I, lines 6–8.

26. See Gera, *Judaea*, 106, 129–30.

27. See Benedictus Niese, "Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher nebst Beiträgen zur Geschichte der makkabäischen Erhebung," *Hermes* 35 (1900): 509–10.

ters rest there, and he accuses the high priest's brother that once Antiochus Epiphanes became king, "Jason ... obtained the high priesthood through corruption" (ὕπενόθευσεν ... τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην). Then comes a list of sums of money promised by Jason to the new king, in exchange for the coveted post and for permission to reform Jerusalem and its institutions according to Greek customs (2 Macc 4:7–9). Menelaus makes his first appearance in 2 Maccabees three years after the appointment of Jason as high priest, as the latter's envoy to the Seleucid king.

From the start, the author's animosity towards Menelaus is evident, for Menelaus is singled out as the brother of the infamous Simon, Onias' old adversary. We have seen that Menelaus eased Jason out of his post as high priest (4:23–24). Thus, Onias' two successors are both presented as disloyal, Jason to his elder brother, and Menelaus to the man who had entrusted him with an important and delicate mission. These two high priests are further presented as illegitimate, for both had risen to their posts through the payments of bribes. Indeed, our author specifically labels Jason as "a non high priest" (vs. 13: οὐκ ἀρχιερέως), while Menelaus is given the dubious praise of "possessing nothing worthy of the high priesthood, but having the temper of a savage tyrant and the fury of a wild beast" (vs. 25: τῆς μὲν ἀρχιερωσύνης οὐδὲν ἄξιον φέρων, θυμοὺς δὲ ὤμοῦ τυράννου καὶ θηρὸς βαρβάρου ὀργὰς ἔχων).

Jason is accused of attempting to re-fashion life in Jerusalem after Greek models. The author states that upon receiving the high priesthood Jason "transformed his kinsmen to the Greek character" (ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτήρα τοὺς ὁμοφύλους μετέστησεν). To achieve this, "he rejected the existing royal concessions" (τὰ κείμενα ... φιλάνθρωπα βασιλικά ... παρώσας), "abolished the customary constitution" (τὰς μὲν νομίμους καταλύων πολιτείας) and "introduced new usages which were contrary to the laws" (παρانونόμους ἐθισμοὺς ἐκαίνιζεν). The author stresses the illegality of Jason's activities, and it is in this context that he labels him "a non high priest". Jason is a leading figure among those who transgress the laws and customs of old, but others join him; these men wear the *petasos* hat, and the priests among them are no longer eager to offer sacrifices, belittling the sanctuary (2 Macc 4:9–15). While Onias III and the people of Jerusalem suffered jointly in the face of the threat to the temple's deposits, Jason and his men were united in their desire to abrogate the accepted laws and the established customs. No wonder then that our author hints that the consequences in both cases will be diametrically opposed. While in the days of Onias the Jews were miraculously saved, Jason and his men will suffer a severe crisis as a result of their sins, and they will have as their enemies and avengers the very same people whose way of life they were emulating; i.e. the Greeks. The author sums up the behaviour of

Jason and his followers by saying that it was no small thing to transgress the divine laws, and that this will become apparent from subsequent events (vss. 16–17). It is quite clear then that the author's view is that the despoiling of the temple and its desecration, the religious persecution initiated by Antiochus IV, and the various military campaigns against the Jews were all an expression of God's wrath against the hellenizing party.

Once Menelaus became high priest, he too began sinning, but in a different way. For Menelaus is often accused of directly attacking the temple's treasures, which were so zealously guarded by Onias III. During Onias' stay in Antioch Menelaus was responsible for removing the holy vessels from the temple and for their subsequent sale. His denouncement by Onias prompted him to convince Andronicus to kill Onias. Other accusations against Menelaus are mentioned later on: he gave his blessing to Lysimachus in yet another robbery of the temple (2 Macc 4:39). This brought on an indictment against the high priest, initiated by members of the Jerusalem *Gerousia*. The trial, which was to take place at Tyre, never materialized. Menelaus took aside one of the king's courtiers promising him money, and through the latter's influence the high priest was acquitted of all charges despite his sole responsibility for the crime (τὸν μὲν τῆς ὅλης κακίας αἴτιον Μενέλαον). Conversely, the Jerusalem prosecutors were sentenced to death by the king, a most unjust verdict (τὴν ἄδικον ζημίαν). Naturally, Menelaus kept his job and was able to increase his wickedness, becoming the great plotter against his fellow citizens (ἐπιφυρόμενος τῇ κακίᾳ μέγας τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιβουλος καθεστώς).<sup>28</sup> The accusations leveled here against Menelaus are primarily moral, not legal, while the allegations against Jason refer mainly to the illegality of his activities. The immoral side of Menelaus' activities surfaces again during Antiochus' conquest of Jerusalem in the wake of Jason's rebellion. Menelaus led the king into the temple, and the author accuses Menelaus that "he had become a traitor to the laws and to the homeland" (5:15: καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῆς πατρίδος προδότην γεγονότα).<sup>29</sup> Later on, when telling of the appointment of *epistatai* to Mt. Gerizim and Jerusalem, the author introduces Menelaus into the story, although he does not belong there, because of his desire to underscore yet again the high priest's hostility to his fellow Jews, which was worse than that

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28. 2 Macc 4:43–50. The components of this story - looted temple vessels, intervening courtier, killing of blameless Jerusalemite(s), sympathy for the dead by non-Jews - also appear in the story concerning the execution of Onias, vss. 32–36. This makes it likely that the story of the murder of Onias is a doublet of the one concerning the execution of the *Gerousia* members. In the same way, the story concerning Jason's acquisition of the high priesthood is a doublet of the later, very similar story, about Menelaus (vss. 7–10, 23–25).

29. Compare with the author's view of Menelaus brother, Simon, quoted above n. 12.

shown by the Seleucid officials.<sup>30</sup> Menelaus, like Jason, is depicted as having his own partners in crime. We hear of his brother Lysimachus (2 Macc 4:29), and of a man named Auranus: both were working on the high priest's behalf. In addition, Menelaus' number of supporters is given as 3,000 (vss. 39–42).

In chapter 5, following the description of Jason's revolt and his invasion of Jerusalem (vss. 1–10), Antiochus' counter measures in the holy city are detailed: the king unleashed his troops against the Jews, killing 40,000 men, women and children. A similar number of people had been sold to slavery. The king then desecrated the most holy of temples, seizing the holy vessels with defiled hands, as well as the dedications made by the other kings. Antiochus then left Jerusalem, taking with him 1,800 talents of booty (vss. 11–16, 21).

Now the author gives his own theological explanation for the tribulations suffered by the people of Jerusalem, and the sacrilege committed in the temple. It was because of the sins of those living in the city (ὅτι διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων), that the Lord became angry for a short spell, and for this reason Jerusalem suffered neglect. The author then mentions Heliodorus and his mission to Jerusalem, and maintains that had the inhabitants not sinned, Antiochus would have been immediately flogged as he advanced, receiving the same divine treatment which was inflicted upon Heliodorus (vss. 17–18). The suffering of the people of Jerusalem in the days of Menelaus stems then from his sins, but also from those of his party. However, we should not forget that this suffering is also a result of the crimes committed by Jason and his followers (4:16–17). Had Jason and Menelaus and their respective partisans followed the example set by Onias and the populace of Jerusalem, then the events in Jerusalem in 169 B.C.E. would have been averted, and the later persecutions of Antiochus IV would never have occurred. The author then adds that God had chosen the place (i.e., the temple) because of the people, and consequently it was right for the sanctuary to share the people's misfortunes, as it was later to take part in their successes (5:19–20). The author claims then that there was a correlation between the behaviour of the high priest and that of his followers. Such a correlation existed throughout the administrations of the three high priests: Onias III, Jason and Menelaus. In the days of Onias, his piety and suffering brought about a miracle, as did the fact that the entire people shared their feelings of distress with him. Afterwards, Jason and Mene-

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30. 2 Macc 5:23. The clause ὃς χεῖριστα τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερῆετο τοῖς πολίταις, undoubtedly refers to Menelaus. However, there is disagreement as to whether the next clause, which alludes to feelings of hatred towards Jews, speaks of Menelaus' feelings, or perhaps those of Antiochus IV. See the translations and comments of Abel, *livres*, 356–57; Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 245, 261–63; and Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 249, 264–65.

laus and their partisans neglected time honoured traditions, with dire consequences.

Aside from the collective punishment of the people and of Jerusalem itself, the principal movers of crime and heterodoxy did not go unscathed. Their first leader, Jason, met his just deserts when he lost the high priestly office to Menelaus. He then had to find refuge across the Jordan. Later on, in his attempt to seize Jerusalem during the Sixth Syrian War, Jason is accused of committing “a massacre of his own citizens without mercy” (ὁ δὲ Ἰάσων ἐποιεῖτο σφαγὰς τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἰδίων ἀφειδῶς), unlike his predecessor, who is praised for having put the interest of his fellow Jerusalemites above everything else.<sup>31</sup> Having failed to capture Jerusalem, Jason was forced to flee from his *patris*, thus undergoing the same punishment he had once inflicted on many of his countrymen. Furthermore, since he died abroad on his way to Sparta, he was denied the privilege of being buried with his ancestors, just as he had cast out many people who received no burial (vss. 23–27; 5:1–10).<sup>32</sup> The principle of “measure for measure” surfaces here once again.

Menelaus was effectively thrown out of office when Judas Maccabaeus and his warriors conquered Jerusalem ca. December, 164 B.C.E.,<sup>33</sup> and like Jason Menelaus too sought to be reinstated as high priest. He accompanied Lysias’ second campaign against the Jews (163 B.C.E.), in which Antiochus V Eupator, the young and new sovereign of the Seleucid kingdom took part. The narrator is far from ascribing Menelaus any noble causes in joining the campaign. Menelaus is branded a sinner (ἀλιτῆριος) and an outlaw (παράνομος). Lysias and Antiochus V then turn against Menelaus, because unbeknown to them, they are influenced by God. Lysias accuses the high priest, in language reminiscent of former invectives, that he was the cause for all the bad things that had happened (τοῦτον αἴτιον τῶν κακῶν εἶναι πάντων). The king therefore decides to execute Menelaus in the city of Beroia in Syria. According to the author, this city was an habitual place for execution, especially for those guilty of sacrilege. Menelaus was responsible for the plunder of the temple’s vessels, and therefore the site chosen was the proper place for him to die. Furthermore,

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31. Above pp. 111–12. For another contrast in the the behaviour of two brothers, see the accusation leveled against Jason that he was willing to contribute money for sacrifices to the Tyrian Heracles (2 Macc 4:18–20). Whereas in the days of Onias foreign money was sent to Jerusalem by the kings to finance the sacrifices to the God whose temple resides in Jerusalem (above, p. 106), in the days of his successor the high priest sent money out of Jerusalem to be used for sacrifices to a foreign god in a foreign land.

32. Jason’s crimes are also mentioned in 2 Macc 1:7–8. Cf. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 170–71, 199; Schwartz, 2 *Maccabees*, 4, 132.

33. See Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 267 n. 3b.

the author notes Menelaus' many sins against the altar, whose fire and ashes are sacred. Now, according to the author's description of the Beroian facility, the criminals were thrown from a great height into the ashes. Thus, Menelaus died in a place and in a manner that befitted his crimes. Like Jason before him, he died in a foreign country after being thrown from a great height into the ashes, without reaching the soil. Menelaus too was denied burial with his ancestors (2 Macc 13:3–8). Thus, Menelaus' final destiny resembles that of his predecessor, Jason, as well as that of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, the three most negative characters in 2 Maccabees.<sup>34</sup>

The author's repeated cataloguing of the crimes and sins of Jason and Menelaus is meant to instill the feeling among his readers that their rule created a void which needed to be filled. Jason is called "a non high priest," while Menelaus lacks "anything worthy of the high priesthood" (2 Macc 4:13, 25). However, when telling of the killing, looting and suffering which had taken place in Jerusalem during Antiochus Epiphanes' raid on the city, the author makes the statement that "the place, having taken his share of the suffering which the people had undergone, later participated in their successes" (5:20). At this stage then, the author anticipates a new era, similar to the one under the high priest Onias, and creates an expectation that a new leader will arise, a new priest, who together with his following, will restore the golden days. It is clear that this new leader cannot be identified with Alcimus. For this man, mentioned for the first time in 2 Maccabees in connection with the year 151 S.E. (162/161 B.C.E.), is defined as a former high priest (ἄλκιμος δὲ τις προγεγονὼς ἀρχιερεὺς), who had willingly defiled himself in past times, and therefore knew that access to the holy altar was impossible for him (14:3, 7). Alcimus then, is tainted with illegitimacy and in this respect he is similar to both Jason and Menelaus.<sup>35</sup> Later on, however, Alcimus' past record does not stop him from coveting to become a high priest yet again (vs. 13). However, we are never told that Alcimus' appointment by Demetrius became effective. In other words, the narrative presents a picture by which Jerusalem lacks a

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34. Cf. Gera, *Judaea*, 258.

35. In another sense there is a difference between the Alcimus of 2 Maccabees and Jason and Menelaus. The two are presented as having their own partisans (above, pp. 115, 117), while Alcimus is depicted as operating by himself; cf. 2 Macc 14:3–13, 26–27. This picture has no political logic, and is further contradicted by 1 Macc 7:5–15, 20–25 (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.391–400). One can understand this characterization of Alcimus, if his late appearance on the scene is taken into account. By 162–161, Judas had already been active for several years, accompanied by his own followers (below). In the author's eyes then, from that moment Judas became the sole leader of the Jews, replacing his non-worthy predecessors, Jason and Onias.

high priest in 162–161 B.C.E., for Menelaus was executed in 163 B.C.E., while Alcimus does not fill the vacant post.<sup>36</sup> The author highlights the void left in the Jewish leadership of the time, and creates anticipation among the readers, who are eager to learn of the appearance of a new leader.

### 3. ONIAS III AND JUDAS MACCABAEUS

The beginning of a turning point occurs, once Judas Maccabaeus appears in 2 Macc 8:1. It is noteworthy, that Judas does not appear alone, but is accompanied by his men (Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ καὶ Μακκαβαῖος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ).<sup>37</sup> Together they raise 6,000 men, twice the number of the troops under Lysimachus, who had once supported Menelaus. They then beseech God to look upon his people, to have pity on the polluted temple and the city, lying in ruins. The entreaties of Judas and his supporters are aimed at revoking the punishments executed upon the city and people of Jerusalem, as a result of the sins of Jason, Menelaus and their followers. Judas and his partisans stand in stark contrast to the hellenizers, and their role is similar to that of Onias III and the people of Jerusalem, ca. 178 B.C.E., but Onias enjoyed a formal status, which Judas lacked. It is no surprise then, that once Judas and his men took to the battlefield, they became a force which the gentiles could not overcome, for God's anger at the Jews had turned into pity (vss. 1–5).

In the closing chapter of 2 Maccabees, chapter 15, Judas Maccabaeus is given some sort of legitimacy to his rule, even if the author does not go as far as giving a formal title to Judas' leadership. Chapter 15 deals with Judas' most famous victory, the one in which Nicanor was killed, and tells of the festival inaugurated to commemorate this triumph. The author makes the claim that the city (of Jerusalem) was ruled by the Hebrews from those times (following the victory over Nicanor; vs. 37). This statement is historically false, as 1 Maccabees demonstrates (9:27, 50), and was probably made with the intention of assigning Judas and his men a most significant success at the very end of the Second Book of Maccabees. The victory over Nicanor and Nicanor's Day were meant to be a high point in 2 Maccabees.<sup>38</sup> It is significant then,

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36. Our interest here is in the picture presented by the author, not in the historical dates for Alcimus' high priesthood. For these, see VanderKam, *From Joshua*, 226–39.

37. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 238 n. 1a, sees 2 Macc 8:1, as a continuation of 5:27. Thus, the men with whom Judas made his escape to the desert in 5:27, accept him as their leader later on.

38. Arnaldo Momigliano, *Primee linee di storia della tradizione maccabaica* (Torino: 1931; repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1968), 67, points to the difference between the letters at the opening of 2 Maccabees, which were intended to justify the celebration of the Hanukkah



that the dead Onias re-appears in this closing chapter. As Judas attempts to bolster his men's spirits in anticipation of the coming battle (2 Macc 15:7–11). To achieve this, the Maccabee tells them of a dream he had had, which was trustworthy beyond anything else.<sup>39</sup> In his dream, Onias the high priest was seen extending his hands in prayer for the entire Jewish community.<sup>40</sup> Then a man of extraordinary presence appeared, whom Onias identified as Jeremiah, the prophet of God, who had come to pray for the people and for Jerusalem. Jeremiah extended his right hand to the Maccabee, gave him a sword made of gold and said to him: “take the holy sword as a present from God. With it you shall shatter your enemies.” Judas’ retelling of his dream had the desired effect on his men, and they were now ready to do battle (vss. 12–17). In Judas’ dream, Onias is introduced as a Greek gentleman, ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν. This should remind us of chapter 4, where the high priest of Greek character was deeply mourned by Antiochus IV (pp. 113–14). Furthermore, in this final chapter of 2 Maccabees, Onias III is described as modest and mild-mannered, yet a person who delivers his words gracefully, and who had learned from childhood everything that pertains to virtue. Onias’ traits befit the Greek ideal of an honourable man. Thus, the description of the dead Onias tallies with his portrayal while he was still alive.<sup>41</sup>

Let us now turn to the meaning of the sword in Judas’ dream. Firstly, it should be remembered that the sword in 2 Maccabees is reminiscent of the weapon taken by Judas as booty from the cadaver of Apollonius (1 Macc 3:12). The fact that each of the first two books of Maccabees focuses on Judas’ sword,

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festival, and the end of the book which lays stress on the Day of Nicanor. Cf. “The Second Book of Maccabees,” *CP* 70 (1975): 88 [*Sesto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1980), 2:578]. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 7–10, thinks that instituting Nicanor’s Day was the author’s goal, but later reworking of the book has added a secondary goal.

39. 2 Macc 15:11. The paraphrase here follows the reading ὑπὲρ τι of the better manuscripts. Cf. some of the readings of 8:20. Abel, *livres*, 473, prefers ὑπάρ τι, but see Grimm, *Das zweite ... Buch*, 205, and Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 498.

40. 2 Macc 15:12. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 493, 501, thinks that Onias’ prayer was conducted for the benefit of “the entire Jewish corps,” because σύστημα (= σύστημα) may indicate a military unit as it does on 8:5. However, in vs. 14 the prophet Jeremiah is said to pray for the people and the holy city, and the text in vs. 12, speaks of the whole *systema* of Jews - τῷ παντὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων συστήματι - which makes more sense if it refers to the entire people. Therefore, the translation “Gemeinde” (community) offered by Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch*, 277–78, and others is preferable.

41. 2 Macc 15:12. See Martha Himmelfarb, “Judaism and Hellenism in 2 Maccabees,” *Poetics Today* 19 (1998): 35–36; Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch*, 277 nn. 12a, 12b. The phrase concerning Onias’ *kalokagathia* may be found in scores of inscriptions, many of which are honorary. See, e. g. *SEG* 30.533 line 3; *IG* XII/7, 11 line 2; *I. Priene* 63 line 8.

albeit in connection with different battles, seems to imply that there is a literary link between the two works, although many scholars deny such a connection.<sup>42</sup> Secondly, the sword is said to be made of gold.<sup>43</sup> This metal appears prominently in Greek literature as in the scene in which Zeus and the other gods are described as seated on a golden floor holding beakers made of gold (*Il.* 4.1–4). It is noted by the commentator that “the floor is golden because most divine things were: thrones, cups ... clothes and accoutrements; golden clouds surround the mountain.”<sup>44</sup> This observation naturally applies to the armament of the gods. Thus Athena has a golden helmet, as well as armor of glittering gold, while Helios too is ascribed with a headgear made of gold.<sup>45</sup> As for the gilded sword in Judas’ dream, it reminds us of Apollo’s weaponry, for the Greek god often bears the epithet “of the golden sword” (χρυσόορος). In various sources this epithet is sometimes transferred to other gods and goddesses, such as Zeus and Demeter.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the goddess Artemis is named “of the golden arrow” (χρυσηλάκατος).<sup>47</sup>

The identification made between the gods and their golden weapons was designed to portray them as omnipotent while in battle, just as the divine weapon given to Judas portends the defeat of Judas’ enemies.<sup>48</sup> The author

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42. For the link between 1 and 2 Maccabees, see Gera, *Judaea*, 46–48, 153–57, 224 with n. 4, 235–36, 255–58, 304 n.130. The author of 2 Maccabees chose to keep silent with regard to Judas’ battle against Apollonius. It is not surprising, then, that the same motif was transferred to a different battle.

43. Compare this with the golden suit of armour worn by the divine rider mentioned in 2 Macc 3:25.

44. Geoffrey S. Kirk, *The Iliad: A Commentary: books 1–4* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 1:331.

45. *Il.* 5.743–744; *h. Hom.* 28.5–6 (*Homeri opera*, ed. T. W. Allen, V, Oxford 1952, p. 88); 31.10 (p. 90).

46. Apollo: *Il.* 5.509; 15.256; Hesiod, *Op.* 771; *h. Ap.* 123, 395; *h. Hom.* 27.3 (*Homeri opera*, V, p. 87). Zeus: Strabo 14.2.25 (C 660); *OGIS* 234 lines 24–25 (Delphi), as well as numerous inscriptions from Caria, in accordance with the notice in Strabo. Demeter: *h. Cer.* 4; Artemis: Herodotus 8.77.

47. Artemis: *Il.* 16, 183; 20.70; *Od.* 4.122; *h. Ven.* 16, 118; *h. Hom.* 27.1 (*Homeri opera*, V, p. 87).

48. I therefore believe that our author introduced the golden sword motif because of the influence of Greek culture. Jan W. van Henten, “Royal Ideology: 1 and 2 Maccabees and Egypt” in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* (ed. T. Rajak et al., Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 2007), 274–77, sees in the sword of 2 Macc ch. 15, an echo of Ptolemaic symbolism and refers to priestly decrees in which a sickle sword of victory is given to a Ptolemaic king by one god or more. Ptolemaic symbolism could naturally blend both Greek and Pharaonic traditions, but we do not know if the Ptolemaic sickle swords were golden.

however, unwilling to limit himself to the use of the Greek motif, adds another element with an identical message, but one which his reader would not miss. For he tells us that the sword was handed to Judas by Jeremiah. Thus, the sword was given to the Maccabee by a natural mediator between God and man, a venerable prophet, and that man of God specifically signified the sword as holy, stated that it was a gift from the Almighty, and promised that it would make Judas victorious over his enemies.<sup>49</sup> This component of the story seems to have been borrowed from a post-biblical tradition in which God gave a sword to either Simon or Levi (or perhaps to both), the executioners of the people of biblical Shechem. Our closest parallel tells how the divine sword was handed to Levi through an intermediary (an angel), as is the case of 2 Maccabees.<sup>50</sup>

But do we, as readers, need to be told of the specific promise made by Jeremiah that Judas and his men would emerge victorious from the battle? And is the military aspect of Judas' leadership deficient up to the dream scene in chapter 15? The answer to both questions must be negative, for we have been told at the very beginning of the invincibility of Judas and his followers (2 Macc 8:5: γενόμενος δὲ ὁ Μακκαβαῖος ἐν συστέματι ἀνυπόστατος ἤδη τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐγίνετο).<sup>51</sup> The repeated promise of victory at chapter 15 may be another example of the author's propensity for repetitions and doublets. However, the placing of Judas' dream on the eve of his victory over Nicanor, and the participation of Jeremiah and Onias in that dream, in which God's sword was given to Judas, suggest that its message is more significant than a promise of yet another victory. Indeed, the sword has a wider symbolic meaning than a weapon of war, and it often points to power, dominion, authority and leadership.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, this wider symbolic meaning of the golden sword given to Judas meshes nicely with the misleading presentation at 15:37,

49. 2 Macc 15:16. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 173–74, 278 n. 16a, makes the observation that Judas became unbeatable once Jeremiah passed on to him the divine sword.

50. *T. Levi* 5:3; *Jdt* 9:2; see too *Jos. Asen.* 23:14. *1 En.* 90:19 forms a partial parallel, but without reference to Simon or Levi, Cf. James L. Kugel, "The Story of Dinah in the Testament of Levi", *HTR* 85 (1992): 3–6; James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible As It Was at the Start of the Common Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 428–29.

51. This may answer some of the difficulties raised by van Henten, "Royal Ideology", 274–75.

52. Steven Olderr, "sword," *Symbolism: A Comprehensive Dictionary* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 1986), 133; Gertrude Jobes, "sword," *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols* (New York, N. Y.: Scarecrow, 1962) 2:1518; Ad de Vries, "sword," *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery* (2nd ed.; Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1976), 453.

which states that after the triumph over Nicanor and its celebration, “the city (of Jerusalem) was dominated by the Hebrews”, Judas’ people.

But what of Onias’ role in Judas’ dream?<sup>53</sup> Theoretically, the dream does not require the presence of the dead high priest. After all, the text does not speak of a prior acquaintance between Onias and Judas which would make Onias the ideal intermediary between Judas and the prophet. Thus, Jeremiah could have appeared in the dream alongside Judas, introduced himself, and presented the Maccabee with the golden sword. Nevertheless, Onias acts as a mediator between the warrior and the prophet. He appears first, and later, when Jeremiah arrives on the scene, it is Onias who introduces him to Judas. By his very presence, the former high priest serves as a witness to Jeremiah’s words as well as to his symbolic act, and his presence demonstrates support for the role given to Judas. Onias’ part in the dream is a central one: the high priest, a descendant of Jesus son of Jehozadak, the first high priest of the Second Commonwealth, sanctions the transference of power to a new leader, who does not belong to the legitimate high priestly family. The dream does not specify the kind of leadership entrusted to the Maccabee, and the more immediate meaning of the sword may lead to the conclusion that Judas has been bestowed with military authority, or even political power. But if we remember the portrayal of Onias III’s successors, then it becomes clear that the author’s intention is to hint at the ascendancy of the Hasmoneans to the high priesthood.

Since the author of 2 Maccabees regularly glorifies Judas, and does so at times at the expense of his brothers,<sup>54</sup> it is only natural that he hints here of a high priestly role that Judas is about to fulfill.<sup>55</sup> Josephus tells us that the Jews

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53. Frances Flannery-Dailey, *Dreamers, Scribes, and Priests* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 231, defines Onias’ role in the dream as a messenger of God, but surely Jeremiah plays that part there.

54. Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judenthums* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1857; 2 ed., Frankfurt am Main: Wahrmann, 1928), 219–20, rightly pointed to the author’s bias against Judas’ brothers, and assumed it to be a result of his criticism of the Hasmonean dynasty in the religious and political sphere. Similarly: Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch*, 188, 191, 268 n. 15 f; Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington, D. C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 112. J. Geiger, “History of Judas,” 6–7, explains this bias more correctly. It is the result of the author’s decision to highlight the protagonist, even if this is done at the expense of his brothers.

55. After writing this paper, I learned that Gideon Bohak, “Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis” (Ph. D. diss., Princeton, N. J. 1994), 137–44, has also suggested that Judas’ dream serves as a vehicle to “the symbolic transfer of power from Onias III to Judas Maccabaeus” (p. 142), and that our views on several other subjects are quite

gave the high priesthood to Judas and that he held the post for three years,<sup>56</sup> and this tradition fits in with our interpretation. Mention has already been made of the para-biblical tradition which refers to Jacob's sons, Simon and Levi, as the recipients of the Lord's weaponry. One of these, Levi, was also awarded the priesthood.<sup>57</sup> Judas receives a sword from God, just like Levi, or are we to infer that upon Judas too the priesthood is to be conferred?<sup>58</sup>

The portrayal of Onias III in the Second Book of Maccabees shows his central role, which is inferior only to that of Judas Maccabaeus.<sup>59</sup> Furthermore, the author uses the figure of Onias to heighten that of the Maccabee. Both men, with their supporters, fulfill an analogous theological role, for under their leadership the people enjoy divine protection of an unlimited scale.

#### 4. SUMMARY

The narrative part of the Second Book of Maccabees divides the events covered in the book into three phases. In the first and third stages the story concentrates on a devout hero (Onias III / Judas Maccabaeus), who enjoys the support of his people and both he and they receive divine protection, which ensures their safety and success. The passage from the first stage to the second comes about as a result of the conspiracy of the Jewish priest Simon against the high priest Onias III. As a result Onias finds himself forced to leave Jerusalem and power passes first to Jason, and then to Menelaus. While both technically held the title of high priest, the author of 2 Maccabees vehemently contests their legitimacy, cataloguing their crimes and their sins as well as mentioning the popular support they enjoyed. As a result not only did God neglect his people, but the tribulations suffered by the Jews during the high priesthood of Jason and Menelaus are explained as God's punishment to his people. The conquest of Jerusalem by Antiochus IV, and the persecution of the Jews by that king are presented as a direct result of the behaviour of

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close. This part of Bohak's discussion was omitted from his revised book of the same title (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

56. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.414, 419, 434.

57. *T. Levi* 2:10; 5:2; 8:2–17; 9:3–14; 12:5.

58. While 1 Macc 2:1 speaks of the priestly descent of the Hasmonians when mentioning Mattathias (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.265; *J.W.* 1.36), 2 Maccabees omits any reference to it. This clears the way for a symbolic deed, presented in the book's last chapter, which hints at the conferment of the priesthood, or rather the high priesthood, to Judas. Cf. Num 25:6–13.

59. On Judas' role, see Geiger, "History of Judas," 5–8.

Jason, Menelaus and their supporters. The middle phase of the book creates an expectation among its readers for a new and just leader who will, with the support of his people, regain God's grace once more. Judas Maccabaeus and his partisans naturally epitomize that third phase in 2 Maccabees, and they are presented from the very start as unbeatable. However, one of the drawbacks of the middle stage, the lack of a lawful high priest, has not been redressed even after Judas appeared on the scene. The dream scene in chapter 15, in which the dead Onias witnesses how Judas is given a divine sword by Jeremiah, symbolizes the passage of leadership to a new priestly house with the acquiescence of the old.

# Between *Měšûbâ* and *Môšābâ*: On the Status of Diaspora Jews in the Period of Redemption according to the Septuagint and Hellenistic Judaism\*

Noah Hacham

**Abstract:** The word *měšûbâ* is translated in several places in the Septuagint as the word κατοικία, as if it were written in the Hebrew source as *môšābâ*. This modification was defined by scholars as an “etymological exegesis” or a “midrashic exegesis”. However, this definition does not explain the meaning, the purpose, and the motivation of this exegesis. My hypothesis is that by using the well known concept of κατοικία, the translator deliberately changed the meaning of the original Hebrew verse in order to legitimize the existence of the Diaspora not only in the contemporary Hellenistic world of his own lifetime, but also during the Restoration period, yet to come. Thus some of the very optimistic prophecies concerning the return to Zion, become in the Septuagint a prophecy regarding the continuity and well being of Diasporan communities in that future period. A comparison to Jewish Hellenistic authors will help us to define and describe this tendentious exegetical phenomenon.

My objective in the following lines is to uncover one of the considerations guiding the translators of the Septuagint in their selection of precise terms for their translation. I would assert that certain proposed translations, seemingly incompatible or in dissonance with the Hebrew version, derive not merely from a different reading of the Hebrew biblical text; rather they are grounded in a coherent worldview pertaining to the translated material. It is my opinion that readers would certainly have understood the Greek text in the context of its revised ideological and theological meaning and it is plausible that on the

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translation level too, ideology rather than lexicography serves as the focus of the discussion and the agent of change.

# I

The biblical word *mēšûbâ* appears several times in the Masoretic Text (MT) of the Bible; in Jeremiah and Hosea exclusively, aside from one occurrence in Proverbs 1:32. *Mēšûbâ*, in the context of all its occurrences, connotes betrayal, sin and apostasy; the outcome of turning back from God, in other words, removal from Him and abandoning His ways.<sup>1</sup> So, for example, the analogy in Jeremiah 3:6–8 between “rebel Israel (*mēšûbâ* Israel)” and “her sister, faithless Judah” should be understood, as well as the parallel between “their transgressions” and “their rebellious acts (*mēšûbôtēyhem*)” (Jer 5:6). The root ŠWB appears too in its more typical sense—return to the ways of God, and God abandoning his wrath—in many occurrences of the word as used by prophets. Thus, a play on inversely related words is created: *mēšûbâ* and *šōbābîm* (rebellious) juxtaposed against the call to “return” to God: שׁוּבוּ מִשׁוּבָה יִשְׂרָאֵל (“Turn back, O rebel Israel”; Jer 3:12), שׁוּבוּ בָנִים שׁוֹבְתֵיכֶם אֲרָפָה מִשׁוֹבְתֵיכֶם (“Turn back, O rebellious children, I will heal your afflictions”; Jer 3:22), שׁוּבוּהָ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד ה' אֱלֹהֶיךָ ... וְשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי ה' ... אֲרָפָה מִשׁוֹבְתֵיכֶם ... כִּי שָׁב אֲפִי מִמֶּנּוּ (“Return, O Israel to the Lord your God ... and return to the Lord.... I will heal their affliction ... for My anger has turned away from them”; Hos 14:2–5).

Though this is the straightforward, and most probable meaning of all the word's occurrences, the Septuagint is inconsistent in its proffered translation. *Mēšûbâ* is translated in the Septuagint in the following ways: κατοικία; ἀποστροφή; σύντριμμα;<sup>2</sup> ἀμαρτία; ἀποστασία (and ἀνομία in Ezek 37:23 should be added too). In most cases, the word implies sin and betrayal<sup>3</sup> with the glaring and frequent exception of the word κατοικία, which appears in five of the word's occurrences throughout the Bible (Jer 3:6, 8, 12 and Hos 11:7, 14:5).

1. See, for example, BDB s.v. מִשְׁבָּה, מִשְׁבָּה; HALOT s.v. מִשׁוּבָה.

2. However, the rendering σύντριμμα (Jer 3:22) can reflect the Hebrew מִשְׁבְּרֵיכֶם instead of MT מִשׁוֹבְתֵיכֶם.

3. According to Johan Lust et al., *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 76, and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 85 (s.v. ἀποστρέφω II.1.e), the word ἀποστροφή means “faithlessness” (Lust) or leaving “the current (right) path or course of action” (Muraoka), based on Jer. 5:6 and several other instances. This meaning is indeed corroborated by 3 Mac 2:10. However LSJ does not give this nuance probably because it stems, as in Hebrew, from the meaning “turning back”, which has both positive and negative connotations.



What caused the modification in these five occurrences? The general meaning of the word κατοικία is “dwelling place”. In several appearances, the word indicates a colony, at times pertaining to a military colony.<sup>4</sup> In the Septuagint too, the word κατοικία is generally used to translate the Hebrew word *môšāb* or *môšābâ* (settlement).<sup>5</sup> It is therefore possible that the Greek translator misread *měšúbâ* as *môšābâ* and posited a fitting Greek equivalent of the word.

Indeed, there is no doubt that these two words gave rise to misunderstandings and that a degree of exchangeability characterized their use, in the Hebrew Bible too. Ezekiel 37:23 reads: “nor shall they ever again defile themselves by their fetishes and their abhorrent things, and by their other transgressions. I will save them in all their settlements (מושבתיהם) where they sinned, and I will cleanse them. Then they shall be My people” (ולא יטמאו עוד בגלליהם ובשקוציהם ובכל פשעיהם, והושעתי אתם מכל) (מושבתיהם אשר חטאו בהם וטהרתי אותם והיו לי לעם). It is apparent that the word *môšēbôtēyhem* is irrelevant to the context of this verse and that perhaps reading the word *měšúbôtēyhem* is preferable, as reflected in the Septuagint (ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν).<sup>6</sup> The obvious source of this problem is the close affinity between the forms and derivatives of the verb ŠWB (שׁו"ב) and those of the verb YŠB (יִשְׁב) and the lack of distinction between the various forms—such as *měšúbâ*/*môšābâ* in a non-vocalized text.<sup>7</sup> In several studies Emmanuel Tov addresses κατοικία, as a Greek rendering of the word *měšúbâ*.<sup>8</sup> He postulates that “the Greek translation (to Jer 3:6,8,12 κατοικία) is based

4. See: Michel Casevitz, *Le Vocabulaire de la colonisation en grec ancien: Étude lexicologique: les familles de κτίζω et de οἰκέω–οἰκίζω* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1985), 164.

5. See E. Hatch and H. A. Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament (Including the Apocryphal Books)* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 755 s.v.

6. Yet it is also possible that MT seeks to incorporate a double meaning: the ingathering of exiles (mentioned above in v. 21) and disengagement from the sins referred to in v. 23, within this word. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 178, alludes to this phenomenon of multiple meanings, in his reference to Isac L. Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese,” in: idem, *Gesammelte Studien zur Hebräischen Bibel* (ed. E. Blum; FAT 41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 10–11.

7. This was of course the nature of the Hebrew text of Hosea held by the translator; see: Jan Joosten, “Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea,” in *Intertextuality in Ugarit and Israel*, (Oudtestamentische Studiën 40; ed. Johannes C. De Moore; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 64.

8. See, for instance, Tov, *Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 171–78 esp. 177–178; idem, “Bilateral Exegesis of Hebrew Roots in the Septuagint?” *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 5–6 (2007), 304 [Hebrew].

on YŠB ...and seems inappropriate in this context". He suggests viewing this as "midrashic" exegesis or "etymological" exegesis that identifies the words according to two of the root letters.<sup>9</sup> The aforementioned affinity between the forms in Hebrew is also at the heart of interpretations suggested by other scholars who call attention to many other instances of exchanges between the verbs ŠWB(שׁו"ב) and YŠB(י"ש) in the Septuagint.<sup>10</sup>

However, the varied possibilities for reading that produce the option for multiple ways of translation, as well as defining the translator's approach as "etymological" or "midrashic" exegesis, merely provide a label for the manner in which the translator treated the text before him while leaving the question of *why* he preferred one interpretation over another unanswered. Similarly, the affinity between the verbs only serves to elucidate the linguistic foundation that enabled the translator to operate the way he did, without explaining his seemingly inappropriate translation preference in the context of this specific prophecy. As stated above, in many instances *měšûbâ* was properly translated as sin (for example: Jer 2:19, 5:6, 8:5, 14:7 and Ezek 37:23 as cited above). Since the translator was indeed familiar with the meaning of *měšûbâ*, and the context clearly indicates a preference for this rendering, why did he nonetheless prefer the meaning *môšābâ* (colony) and use κατοικία in these five places?

It seems that with regard to at least some of these examples, the translation preference was influenced by the translator's exegetical tendency.<sup>11</sup> κατοικία is documented in relation to the Jewish world too not only in the general sense of dwelling place but also in the specific sense of a colony of Jews or in the sense of Jewish communities outside the Land of Israel. Strabo, quoted by Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* 14.117), uses the word κατοικία when discussing a site of Jewish settlement in Egypt.<sup>12</sup> A second-century C.E. inscription from Hierapolis in Phrygia refers to a κατοικία of Jewish settlers;<sup>13</sup> probably the Jewish

9. See also: David Weissert, "Alexandrian Analogical Word-Analysis and Septuagint Translations Techniques," *Textus* 8 (1973), 31–44

10. See: Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stephan Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.1; Paris: Cerf, 2002), 164.

11. On this important question, see: Joosten, "Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea," 62–85, esp. 82–85;

12. On this passage, see: Bezalel Bar-Kochva, "The Settlement of the Oniads in Egypt—Philological Notes," *Zion* 64 (1999), 221–229, esp. 226, n. 24 (in Hebrew); Daniel R. Schwartz, "Once Again, Strabo on the Land of Onias (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.117): Text or Semantics?," *Zion* 64 (1999), 230–234, esp. 231–233 (in Hebrew). Yet the two concur that the meaning of the word could be colony.

13. *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis*, II: Kleinasien (TSAJ 99; ed. Walter Ameling; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 432–435, no. 205.

organization, or community in Hierapolis. It seems, therefore, that the word κατοικία is used not only in the general context but in the Jewish context too, to describe Jewish settlement in various locations throughout the world in the sense of a colony. It is also feasible that the nuance of community derives from here, as evident in LSJ's definition, a "body of residents in a foreign city",<sup>14</sup> based on this inscription.

In view of this it is reasonable to interpret the occurrence of the word in Hosea 14:5 in a similar fashion, as pertaining to Jewish settlement in the Diaspora, mainly and in all probability, to the Egyptian Diaspora. The words ἰάσομαι τὰς κατοικίας αὐτῶν (LXX Hos 14:5) signify that in the future, when Israel returns to its God (Hos 14:2–3), its colonies—according to our proposal, the Jewish settlement in the Diaspora, will be healed. In other words, the Diasporan Jewish communities will not only continue to exist during the age of redemption—they will even be healed. No longer will they be considered a manifestation of sickness, as punishment for sin, but rather as healthy, legitimate communities.<sup>15</sup>

Support for the premise that the translator of Hosea deliberately altered the meaning of the verse is seemingly found in LXX Deut 30:3. The Hebrew text reads as follows: "Then the Lord your God, will restore (ושב) your fortunes (את שבותך) and take you back in love (ורחמך)" while in the LXX, the verse appears as: καὶ ἰάσεται κύριος τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου καὶ ἐλεήσει σε (and the Lord will heal your sins and have mercy on you). These words mirror the Hebrew sentence ורפא ה' את משובותיך (and God will rectify your waywardness), a sentence clearly reminiscent of Hos 14:5 and Jer 3:22. The translator of Deuteronomy was apparently influenced by these verses when translating Deut 30:3, yet in contrast with LXX Hos 14:5, proposed sin as the meaning of *mēšûbâ*, using the word ἁμαρτία. It is therefore probable that translating the word *mēšûbâ* in Hosea as sin was an option recognized by the translator of Hosea, since he was undoubtedly familiar with the Septuagint of Deuteronomy. Therefore, his choice of a different rendering appears intentional and is replete with significance.<sup>16</sup>

It is a well known fact that the Septuagint translates the biblical root GLH, a word charged with negative overtones, using the Greek ἀποικία and

14. LSJ, p. 928 s.v. κατοικία 3.

15. Jer 3:22 (ארפה משובתיכם) cannot assist us in understanding the rendering of Hos 14:5, since LXX Jer translates the word as συντριμματτα, reflecting the Hebrew משברייכם. Similarly the word משבריהם appears to be the Hebrew vorlage of the Vulgate in Hos 14:5; see Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, "Textual Gleanings from the Vulgate to Hosea," *JQR* 65 (1974–5), 95–96.

16. I am grateful to Prof. Alexander Rofé for calling my attention to LXX Deut 30:3.

ἀποικέσια; words whose original meaning, “settlement far from home”, is neutral and generally used to denote a colony. In this manner an equivalent is drawn between the Jewish and Greek pasts, negating the pejorative aspect of the word *gôlâ* (גולה).<sup>17</sup> The Jewish people’s identity vis-à-vis its environment is refashioned in this way as is, more importantly, its perception of its situation in the Diaspora, outside of its homeland, as one of migration rather than Divine retribution. The novelty of this verse in Hosea is in its reference not to the past but to the future. The biblical conception—that of Deuteronomy and the Prophets alike—is that Israel will return to its homeland from the Diaspora as a central component of the redemption. This was a fundamental hope and expectation of Second Temple Jews in the motherland too.<sup>18</sup> This exegetical translation of Hosea’s prophetic promise diverges therefore from customary biblical content with the innovation that even in the long-sought age of redemption, Israel will continue to dwell outside of its homeland and this need not be considered a punishment or curse. In accordance with this prophecy, Diasporan Jews might consider their places of residence not transitory but permanent, obviating the aspiration to relocate to the Promised Land. Moreover, the premise that the translator randomly, unintentionally generated this type of significant change is far-fetched. Seemingly then, what we have before us is an intentional modification undertaken by the Greek translator, deriving from his Diasporan point of view for the purpose of justifying the continued existence of the Diaspora even into the age of redemption.<sup>19</sup>

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17. Joseph Méléze Modrzejewski, “How to be a Jew in Hellenistic Egypt?,” in *Diasporas in Antiquity* (ed. Shaye J. D. Cohen and Ernest S. Frerichs; Brown Judaic Studies 288; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 67–70; Isaiah. M. Gafni, *Land Center and Diaspora: Jewish Constructions in Late Antiquity* (JSPS 21; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 28–29. It is surprising that Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, 74, emphasizes the aspect of coercion making no reference whatsoever to the meaning of “colony”, that appears as the principle meaning in LSJ, s.v.

18. See e.g. Sir 36:10; 2 Macc 1:27; 2:18; *Pss. Sol.* 8:28. On this hope as a feature of Palestinian rather than Diaspora Jewish identity see: Esther G. Chazon, “‘Gather the Dispersed of Judah’: Seeking a Return to the Land as a Factor in Jewish Identity of Late Antiquity,” in *Heavenly Tables: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (JSJS 119; eds. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 159–175.

19. This point, the transience of the Diaspora communities due to their anticipated return to the Land of Israel, appears to Méléze to be the defining distinction between the Greek colonies and the Jewish Diaspora. See: Méléze Modrzejewski, “How to Be a Jew in Hellenistic Egypt,” 70.

## II

Were this the sole possible interpretation of the word, the discussion hitherto would suffice. Even had this conception not been confirmed by other citations from the Septuagint to Hosea, as we shall see, the fact is that it does appear here and the translator, constrained by the original text before him, was assumedly not at liberty to introduce changes wherever he saw fit, except where the original permitted him to deviate. However, since the word *κατοικία* can also be construed as relating to the Jewish people's settlements *within their homeland*—that were destroyed as retribution for their sins—in the manner in which the word is used in many places throughout the Septuagint,<sup>20</sup> further evidence must be submitted to support the view that this was indeed the approach of the Greek translator of Hosea. Additional parallels to this conception from the Hellenistic Jewish world might further bolster the proposed interpretation.

One more methodological pause to remark upon the character of the Septuagint evidence adduced herein is called for. It must be stressed that these are hints that can also be interpreted in alternate ways. Yet one would hardly anticipate provocative modifications and exceptionally anomalous adaptations in a translation that, as a rule, seeks to remain faithful to the original text. Nor would one expect consistency regarding the occurrence of hints that stray from common and accepted theological conceptions; certainly not a coherent subversive theological doctrine. Therefore, it is the forthcoming subtle hints that might reveal the way in which the translation was understood by its readers and even the translator's ideological tendencies. These subtle intimations around which our discussion revolves, scattered here and there, reveal, as an aggregate, the worldview encoded within the translated text.

We commence, therefore, with LXX Hosea. Several indications suggest that the translator of Hosea sought to downplay the importance of the Land of Israel as the nation's special place. Takamitsu Muraoka points to Hos 2:20 "I will also banish... war from the land", in which "the land" according to the straightforward interpretation of the verse signifies the Land of Israel. The LXX, however, employs the translation ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς that obfuscates the specific territorial significance, presenting it in a more general sense, seemingly referring to the entire universe.<sup>21</sup> This being the case, a universal blessing

20. E.g.: Exod 35:3; Lev 3:17; and many other verses.

21. Takamitsu Muraoka, "Notes on the Septuagint Version of Hosea," in *Studies in the Bible and the Hebrew Language offered to M. Wallenstein on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday*, (eds. Ch. Rabin et al.; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1979), 186 [Hebrew]. He points to the fact that the first half of the verse contains the parallel οὐρανός-γῆ. Therefore using

inheres though not necessarily in negation of hope for the ingathering of the exiles. The second example that Muraoka brings of this trend is more noteworthy.<sup>22</sup> The verse “I will sow her in the land as My own” (Hos 2:25: *וְזָרַעְתִּיהָ (לִּי) בָאָרֶץ*) is translated in the LXX as *καὶ σπερῶ αὐτὴν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*. The meaning of the verb *σπείρω* in the LXX is generally “to sow” though it is sometimes taken to mean, “to scatter” and in that sense appears in several places in the LXX.<sup>23</sup> Muraoka remarks that the juxtaposition of “to sow” (*זָרַע*) and in “the land” or “the field” is translated in the LXX by use of the aforementioned verb and the particle *ἐν* followed by the dative.<sup>24</sup> Conversely, in this particular case, though the original features the combination of “to sow” (*זָרַע*) and “the land”, the object of the verb appears in the genitive case with the particle *ἐπὶ*. In Muraoka’s view, this combination implies sowing the land in the agricultural sense perhaps as the Greek Church fathers interpret “I will make her a worker of the land”. However, the genitive following *ἐπὶ* means “upon” and in one occurrence is used to depict the dispersal of one group’s settlement over a certain area (Gen 47:27). This preposition is more clearly understood if we assume the meaning of the verb here not as “to sow” but as “to scatter”. Apparently, then, the meaning of the expression here is to scatter upon the earth, in other words—to disperse upon the earth.<sup>25</sup> In a straightforward sense, this verse constitutes the climax and finale of a prophecy of consolation to follow the Divine punishment that would be visited upon the people of Israel. This prophecy includes the restoration of God’s mercy upon His people and the people’s return to their God. The dispersion of Israel upon the earth, meaning throughout the world, included in this verse according to the Greek translation is therefore part of the assured propitious future destiny. Obviously, this adaptation of that destiny emanates from the Diasporan world seeking legitimization to dwell unremittingly in the Diaspora, redemption notwithstanding.<sup>26</sup>

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the same word (*γῆ*) in the second part of the verse would convey the same general sense. He also refers to Theophylactus (PG, 126, p. 617) who suggests the two options of exegesis: Judah or the whole universe.

22. Muraoka, “Notes on the Septuagint Version of Hosea,” 187.

23. Exod 32:20; Num 17:2; Prov 11:24.

24. In many other cases, an accusative comes after the verb that describes the site of the sowing or the object of the sowing.

25. On this meaning of the Greek translation see: Méléze Modrzejewski, “How to be a Jew in Hellenistic Egypt?” 71.

26. A homily composed on this verse by Rabbi Eleazar, a native of Babylonia and a third generation Palestinian Amora (second half of the third century C.E.), features a similar exegetical conception. According to Rabbi Eleazar (b. *Pesah*. 87a.) “The Holy One, blessed be He, did not exile Israel among the nations save in order that proselytes might

An examination of a number of verses in the LXX text of Hosea gives rise to an exegetical possibility supporting the view put forth above. In several instances of references to Egypt in the MT of Hosea as the site of future punishment, the translator seemingly obfuscates the futuristic facet of the subject, preferring instead to view it as a reference to the past sojourn in Egypt. Thus a verse dealing with God's rejection of the children of Israel and the determination "they shall return to Egypt", (8:13: **יָשׁוּבוּ** **הַמָּה מִצְרַיִם**)<sup>27</sup> is translated αὐτοὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέστρεψαν, using the aorist—in other words, they returned to Egypt. Contrastingly, the continuation of the verse in the LXX states that in the future they will eat unclean things among the Assyrians (καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται) and this sentence appears to be an assured punishment for their sins (καὶ ἐκδικήσῃ τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν).<sup>28</sup> In two additional verses, the translator employs the aorist, replacing the futuristic aspect inherent in the Hebrew version. While the first two segments of the verse "They shall not be able to remain in the land of the Lord, but Ephraim shall return to Egypt and shall eat unclean food in Assyria" (9:3) are rendered in the past: οὐ κατώκησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ κυρίου, κατώκησεν Ἐφραϊμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον, the con-

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join them, for it is said: 'And I will sow her unto Me in the land' (Hos 2:25); surely a man sows a se'ah in order to harvest many kor." In other words, Rabbi Eleazar also understands the verse as referring to the dispersal of Israel and perceives this as a blessing. Yet even he does not regard this as a destiny appropriate to the age of redemption, emphasizing instead the positive aspects inherent in the exile of the current period. *Tg. Neb.*, on the other hand, offers the following rendition: **ואקיימנכון קדמי בארע בית שכינתי** (Alexander Sperber [ed.], *The Bible in Aramaic, III: The Later Prophets according to Targum Jonathan*, [Leiden: Brill, 1962], 390) "and I will establish you before me in the land of the house of my Shekinah" (Kevin J. Cathcart and Robert P. Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, [The Aramaic Bible 14; Glazier: Wilmington, 1989], 34). Thus, it views it as a prophecy pertaining to the ingathering of the exiles to the dwelling place of the Shekinah in the Land of Israel. A similar divergence between the two translations manifests in relation to Hos 2:2 (**ועלו מן הארץ**) **ועלו מן הארץ** (**כי גדול יום זרעאל**). *Tg. Neb.* renders: **ויוסקון מארע גלותהון ארי רב יום כנושהון** (Sperber, 387) "and they shall come up from the land of their exile, for great is the day of their assembling" (Cathcart and Gordon, 31), where the Septuagint translates the verse literally with no mention of the ingathering of the exiles and no emphasis on the importance of the Land of Israel: καὶ ἀναβήσονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ὅτι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Ἰεζραήλ.

27. JPS translation.

28. See: Dominique Barthélemy *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* 3, (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 50/3; Fribourg and Göttingen: Éditions Univesitaires Fribourg Suisse and Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), ccxxiv; Stephen Pisano, "Egypt' in the Septuagint Text of Hosea," in *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 109; ed. Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano; Fribourg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz and Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 301–308; Bons, Joosten and Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, 125–6.

cluding segment is translated in the future tense, similar to the conclusion of 8:13: καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται. In the Greek rendering of 11:5, “He shall not return into the land of Egypt, but Assyria is his king, because they refused to repent”<sup>29</sup> (לֹא יָשׁוּב אֶל אֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם וְאַשּׁוּר הוּא מֶלֶכוֹ כִּי מֵאֲנֹן), the negation disappears,<sup>30</sup> and the following translation is proposed: κατώκησεν Ἐφραιμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Ἀσσοῦρ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐπιστρέψαι. According to this version, while it is clear that Ephraim had sojourned in Egypt in the past, the fact that Assyria itself is his king is not noted definitively in the past and it can be viewed as a depiction of current or incipient punishment deriving from past sins and the refusal to return to God.

These observations demonstrate that the Greek translator of Hosea strove to refrain from depicting the settlement in Egypt as prophetically foretold retribution. The settlement occurred in the past; its circumstances are not sufficiently elucidated. According to 9:3 it might be viewed as a punishment inflicted upon the people in the past, since, after all, the sentence follows a description of the negation of dwelling in the Lord’s land. On the other hand, neither do the remaining verses elaborate the circumstances of the sojourn in Egypt and there is no way of knowing if the period under discussion is that of the enslavement in Egypt, the formative period of Jewish history as Pisano contends, or some other historical period.<sup>31</sup> Yet even if we were to recognize this sojourn in Egypt as punitive, it is associated with the past and if we add to it the healing of the colonies predicted by 14:5 then it might be considered one of the features of redemption: the colonies—or perhaps the Egyptian colonies specifically—will be healed, i.e. no longer regarded as punishment.

Other verses in the LXX of Hosea that feasibly might have adopted an anti-Diasporan stance in view of the Hebrew version do not draw a lucid portrait. An additional occurrence of κατοικία in the LXX of Hosea used to translate the word *mēšûbâ* appears in the verse וְעַמִּי תְלוּאִים לְמִשׁוּבָתִי (11:7). The meaning of this Hebrew verse is obscure and neither does the LXX suggest an acceptably coherent rendering. The Greek translation reads as follows:

29. My translation, depends on both the JPS and the New JPS.

30. The Greek translation effectively moved the word “no” (לֹא) to the end of the previous verse and replaced it with the word “him” (לוֹ).

31. Barthélemy suggests viewing these changes as an outcome of an exegetical tendency that views reliance on Egypt as a sin, as demonstrated by Hos 7:11,16; 12:2. He also views 8:13, presented in the LXX in the aorist, as a component of the sins’ description. There is, however, no difficulty in the portrayal of Egypt by the prophet as a site of future punishment: if indeed Israel sought an alliance with Egypt, there the punishment would transpire. The Septuagint’s attempt to relocate Egypt to the past therefore begs a different explanation and is not sufficiently elucidated in Barthélemy’s thesis.



καὶ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπικρεμάμενος ἐκ τῆς κατοικίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὰ τίμια αὐτοῦ θυμωθήσεται, καὶ οὐ μὴ ὑψώσῃ αὐτόν (and his people are hanging from his dwelling place, and God will be angered at his precious things and will not lift him up). The location of the nation's dwelling place (κατοικία) is unclear from the above—is it in the cities mentioned in verse 6 or in Egypt and Assyria referred to in verse 5? What is the nature of the damage to God's honor? And what is the significance of the declaration “will not lift him up”? The translation of the final verse of chapter 11 (11:11) foreseeing that “They shall flutter from Egypt like sparrows, from the land of Assyria like doves and I will settle them in their homes” is also insufficiently clear. The LXX renders: καὶ ἐκστήσονται ὡς ὄρνεον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὡς περιστερὰ ἐκ γῆς Ἀσσυρίων καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν.<sup>32</sup> Are “their homes” outside of Egypt and Assyria or will there be calm after the terror that will transpire in the place of their sojourn? In contrast with the LXX, the Aramaic translation of this verse presents a characteristically clear interpretation: “Like a bird which comes openly so shall come those who were exiled to the land of Egypt. And like a dove, which returns to its dovecot, so shall they return who were removed to the land of Assyria. And I will bring them back in peace to their houses and my Memra will be their support.”<sup>33</sup> Cyril of Alexandria understood this verse in relation to the return from exile and he interprets it as referring to the period of the Restoration.<sup>34</sup> The LXX, which posits a closer rendering, offers no definitive resolution, leaving open the question of ulterior motivation transcending the translation method.<sup>35</sup> It is plausible that the reluctance to portray Egypt as the site of punishment is demonstrated in an additional verse referring to Egypt in the LXX of Hosea. The verse כִּי הִנֵּה הִלְכוּ מִשָּׁד מִצְרַיִם תִּקְבְּצֵם מִן תִּקְבְּרֵם מִחֲמַד לְכַסְפָּם קִימוֹשׁ יִרְשֵׁם חוּה בְּאֵהֱלֵיהֶם (9:6 “Behold, they have gone from destruction, [with] the silver they treasure. Egypt shall hold them fast; Moph shall receive them in burial. Weeds are their heirs; prickly shrubs shall occupy their [old] homes”) is translated by the LXX as follows: διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ πορεύονται ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐκδέξεται αὐτοὺς Μέμφις, καὶ θάψει αὐτοὺς Μαχμας (therefore, behold, they go from the wretchedness of Egypt, and Memphis will receive them, and Machmas will bury them...). The reference to Machmas, located in the Benjamin region and not in Egypt is perplexing. Are we meant to understand that

32. “And they shall be amazed like a bird from Egypt and like a dove from the land of the Assyrians, and I will restore them to their homes.”

33. Cathcart and Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 55.

34. See: Bons, Joosten and Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, 147

35. Note that Aramaic translation like LXX reflects the Hebrew והשבותים instead of MT: והושבתים.

these people, departing due to the suffering of Egypt, will be accepted in Egyptian Memphis yet be buried in Machmas in the Benjamin region? Might an Egyptian city serve as a refuge for these people while in the Land of Israel they are condemned to die?<sup>36</sup> According to this prophecy, Egyptian Memphis serves as a safe haven for the children of Ephraim; should this be considered retribution? This exegetical direction is improbable according to the LXX though the Aramaic translation, in this instance too, views Egypt specifically as the site of punishment stating: “For behold they shall go into exile on account of plunderers. They shall be gathered into Egypt, they shall be brought near to Memphis.”<sup>37</sup>

These ambiguous hints need not distract us. Three essential assertions lay the groundwork for the premise that according to LXX Hosea, the Jewish communities of the Hellenistic Egyptian Diaspora will persist into the age of redemption: use of the word κατοικία in Hosea 14:5, the rendering of Hosea 2:25, and the transposition of the negative sojourn in Egypt to the past. Aside from the clarity of this meaning of LXX Hosea to readers of these texts, these assertions also demonstrate the deliberate nature of the translator’s work. It seems that the conception expressed herein is that of the conversion of the status of the Jewish Diaspora in Egypt from punishment to blessing. According to the LXX of Hosea, Israel’s sojourn in the Assyrian exile is perceived as retribution, as the past sojourn in Egypt (8:13) is also pejoratively viewed. In other words, the departure from the Land of Israel was primordially punitive in nature. The vision that foresees the healing of the colonies in the future and the dispersal judged a blessing thus transforms the curse into a blessing; creating prophetic justification for the continued existence of the Diaspora during the Hasmonean-Hellenistic period—an age during which the inhabitants of the Land of Israel viewed their situation, to a certain extent, as fulfillment of the prophetic words of deliverance.<sup>38</sup>

### III

Analogous conceptions in Hellenistic Jewish literature stand to reinforce this interpretation of the LXX of Hosea and assist in pinpointing its historical

36. However, the word Μαχμας (Machmas) can be simply a mistake or a misreading. It seems improbable that the LXX speaks about an Egyptian Machmas, as Hieronymus suggested; see also Bons, Joosten and Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, 128.

37. Cathcart and Gordon, *The Targum of the Minor Prophets*, 48. Several manuscripts record this as יתקברון (they shall be buried) instead of יתקרבון (see *ibid.* n. 15; Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, 400). In any case, this translation views Egypt as the site of exile.

38. See for example: 1 Macc 14:4–15 (glorification of Simon’s days); Flavius Josephus, *Ant.* 13.299 (on John Hyrcanus qualities).

location. The implicit and explicit struggle with the question of the continuity of the Diaspora vis-à-vis the vision of the ingathering of the exiles appears in additional sources in Jewish Hellenistic literature.

First, I would refer to another unexpected source in the LXX that clearly manifests a similar tendency. The concluding verses of Ezekiel 39 explicitly describe the ingathering of the exiles. Among other things, Ezek 39:28 states: “They shall know that I the Lord am their God when, having exiled them among the nations, I gather them back into their land, and leave none of them behind.” The first half of the verse is translated with the modification of one word while the second half is completely absent from the LXX: καὶ γνώσονται ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανῆναί με αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (“and they shall know that I am the Lord, their God, when I appear to them among the nations”). The first significant discrepancy is the replacement of *bēhaglōtī* “having exiled”, with the verb ἐπιφανῆναί, seemingly reading the Hebrew as *bēhigālōtī*. Note that this epiphany will take place ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν—“among the nations”—ostensibly meaning within the lands of these nations; everywhere in the world, not especially within the Land of Israel. Second, and more significantly, the LXX bears no mention at all of the entire prophecy of the absolute ingathering of the exiles, after which not one deportee would remain.<sup>39</sup> Apparently, the Diasporan translator does not desire the ingathering of the exiles from their Diaspora abode, most probably because he himself does not view emigration to the Promised Land as his own personal destiny. Thus this translator too, endows residents of the Diaspora with legitimacy, even in the age of redemption.<sup>40</sup>

Flavius Josephus’s remarks, paraphrasing Balaam’s words, are well known (*Ant.* 4.115–116)

that people is happy, to whom God ... has granted His providence as an ally and leader for eternity. ... You will hold fast the land to which He Himself sent you. It will always be subject to your children, and all land and sea will be filled with the glory surrounding them, and there will be enough of you for the world to supply every land with inhabitants from your race. Are you, therefore, amazed, O blessed army, that from a single father you have

39. Obviously, the LXX of Ezekiel does not unequivocally negate the ingathering of the exiles, explicitly mentioned in the LXX of the previous verse (39:27). The omission of the concluding portion of verse 28 articulates an attempt to nullify merely the all-encompassing nature of the ingathering of the exiles, thus detracting from its importance.

40. On this verse in the LXX see: Johan Lust, “The Final Text and Textual Criticism: Ez 39:28,” in *Ezekiel and His Book: Textual and Literary Criticism and their Interrelation* (ed. Johan Lust; BETL 74; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1986), 48–54. My hypothesis differs entirely from his suggestions.

become so great? But the land of the Chanaanians will hold your present army, consisting of a few; yet know that the inhabited world lies before you as a dwelling place forever, and your multitude—as many as is the number of stars in heaven—will reside on islands and in the continent.

And in *Ant.* 1.282, Flavius Josephus introduces the following prediction into Jacob's dream: "And good children will be born to you .... And their multitude will be beyond number... to them and to their children, who will fill all, both land and sea, which the sun beholds, I give the power over this land."<sup>41</sup>

In other words, dispersion throughout the entire world, land and sea, is a destiny promised Jacob even before the inception of the nation and one foretold by Balaam as the outcome of the blessing of multitudinous progeny. Such destinies obviously cannot be considered punishment and, as welcome expressions of the prolific nature of the Jewish people, there is no expectation that they be revoked come the age of redemption.

These ideas certainly appeared in Flavius Josephus's writings subsequent to his relocation to the Diaspora and as a consequence of this turnaround. It is possible that they were also influenced by the destruction of the Temple, as postulated by Gafni,<sup>42</sup> or by fears that positions supporting a return to the Land of Israel expressed by Josephus might provoke rebellion anew, as Wilken contends.<sup>43</sup> Yet there is also a correlation, a most significant one perhaps, between these ideas and Flavius Josephus's status as a Diasporan Jew. In transition to Diaspora life, Josephus encountered and adopted a crystalized Jewish theology that also addressed expectations of a future redemption. These conceptions were not new: rather they were adopted and worked into the writings of this Jewish author, composing a post-destruction programmatic essay with a Diasporan orientation, intent on justifying his existence in the Diaspora and furnishing this existence with theological underpinnings.

Apparently, Philo's theological stance also provided legitimacy to future existence in the Diaspora. According to the accepted approach: "Philo... apparently found no contradiction between his stressing of the positive impli-

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41. Translation of Flavius Josephus *Antiquities* from: L. H. Feldman, *Judean Antiquities* 1–4 (Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 3, Brill: Leiden 2000), 372–73; 110.

42. Gafni, *Land Center and Diaspora*, 29. Azriel Shochet, "Josephus' Outlook on the future of Israel and its Land," in *Yerushalayim: Review for Eretz-Israel Research* (eds. M. Ish-Shalom, M. Benayahu and A. Shohet; Jerusalem: Rabbi Kook Foundation, 1953), 43–50, hints that Josephus's view was influenced by the nation's sizeable population, prolific to the extent that a single country could not contain it.

43. Robert L. Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 273–4, n. 66 (on Josephus' view on the Land of Israel in general).

cation of dispersion as a sign of the nation's growth... and his cultivation, at the same time, of a belief in a future ingathering of the people of Israel to their Land (*Praem.*165).<sup>44</sup> Yet painstaking consideration of Philo's words reveals that the ingathering of the exiles is a destiny intended for segments of the people and not for the nation in its entirety. In *Praem.* 162, Philo refers to the curse and punishment that will be visited upon those who denigrate the holy laws and those in thrall to polytheism that spawns atheism. The latter, should they repent, will benefit from the Lord's mercy and then:

for even though they dwell in the uttermost parts of the earth, in slavery to those who led them away captive, one signal, as it were, one day will bring liberty to all. This conversion in a body to virtue will strike awe into their masters, who will set them free, ashamed to rule over men better than themselves. When they have gained this unexpected liberty, those who but now were scattered in Greece and the outside world over islands and continents (οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ σποράδες ἐν Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ κατὰ νήσους καὶ κατὰ ἡπείρους) will arise and post from every side with one impulse to the one appointed place (πρὸς ἓνα συντενοῦσιν)...<sup>45</sup>

The new Hebrew translation of Philo's writing translates these last words "to their sole destined land".<sup>46</sup> There is, however, no destiny here; only a destination—in other words, Philo's paragraph does not underscore the sole, indispensable, nature of the Jewish people's dwelling place rather it depicts a clear and unambiguous destination to which Jews should proceed. Note too, the fact that the word σποράδες denotes people scattered with no community affiliation, precisely the distinction between the two types of people Philo describes. Thus, though Philo does indeed predict a restoration, he foresees it not for the people at large—of whom he does not speak—but solely for those unattached to communities who were captives and enslaved in various lands. The latter, deserving of this fate due to their sins as aforementioned in 162–3, would be the ones to return to the Land of Israel and rebuild it. By contrast, those deserving people who dwell in the Diaspora as an expression of the blessing of prolific population growth are not captives; they are not depicted as sinners, are not in distress and thus there is no reason to assume that they

44. Gafni, *Land Center and Diaspora*, 29.

45. Philo, *Praem.* 164–165; translated by F. H. Colson, *Philo* VIII (LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1939), 417.

46. Suzanne Daniel-Nataf and Yohanan Cohen-Yashar, *De Praemiis et Poenis*, in *Philo of Alexandria: Writings* (ed. Suzanne Daniel-Nataf; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 2000), 3:275 (Hebrew).

will return to the Land of Israel. In any case, no such description is found in Philo's writing.

Evidently then, Philo's vision of the ingathering of exiles does not pertain to the entire nation and a distinction must be drawn between migration of individuals from places where they had suffered, motivated by distress, and elective migration. Philo does not anticipate elective migration. As a manifestation of the demographic blessing bestowed on the Jewish people and of their colonial settlement (ἀποικία) during that period, there is no reason to expect Diaspora Jews, residents of the colonies, to migrate to the Land of Israel. By contrast, the captives and those enslaved by their enemies, whose situation articulates the punishment visited on the sinners, will be restored to the Land of Israel.

These conceptions were not innovations on the part of Philo and Flavius Josephus. They adhere to an ancient Diaspora tradition, which they color in various shades corresponding to each special, individual context. From the conception that the Jewish dispersion throughout the world at that time need not be considered Divine retribution, they also frame the visions of the future as legitimizing the existence of the Diaspora. Though one might view the Greek translation of the Bible as a precursor of these conceptions, in contrast with Philo and to a certain extent Flavius Josephus too, it does not posit an ordered theological doctrine, planting hints and scattering them where the biblical text permits instead. While the translation preference often hinges on linguistic considerations, one cannot ignore the theological and historical significances inherent in the translation outcomes. Revelation of the translators' motivations, though difficult to discern, assists in illustrating a historical reality that has not yet been sufficiently explored and depicted. This article discussed the choice of the word κατοικία to translate the biblical word *mēšûbâ* in Hos 14:5. The possible existence of this translation tendency in similar translations of the word in Jeremiah is an issue that need be addressed separately.<sup>47</sup>

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47. I will remark briefly that the three occurrences of the word κατοικία as a rendering for *mēšûbâ* are in Jer 3, which discusses the exiling of the kingdom of Israel and calls for Israel to return to God. The other two occurrences of the word *mēšûbâ* in all its inflections in this chapter are either not translated by the LXX or are read differently (see n. 15 above). Do we discern, here too, an intentional modification and positive approach on the part of the translator towards Israel's ongoing residence in the Diaspora?

# Uncovering Echoes of LXX Legal Norms in Hellenistic Egyptian Documentary Papyri: The Case of the Second-Century Herakleopolite Nome

Rob Kugler

**Abstract:** Published in 2001 as *P.Polit.Iud.* 1–20, a group of petitions to the leaders of a Judean community in second-century B.C.E. Herakleopolis prove the existence of Judean *politeumata* in Hellenistic Egypt. Still overlooked, though, is the texts’ testimony to the juridical pluralism practiced by these Judeans: in making complaints against one another and against non-Judeans before the archons of the *politeuma* they relied on a mix of Judean, Egyptian, and Greek normative systems to form their legal arguments. Indeed, scholars have recognized the single clear reference to a statute from the Greek Torah in *P.Polit.Iud.* 4 (Deut 24:1), yet the petitioners’ complex legal claims also contain a wealth of more subtle echoes of the laws of the LXX. The petitioners thoroughly integrated ancestral, Judean norms with those of Egypt and of the colonizing Greeks. This paper catalogues the echoes of LXX law in the *politeuma* petitions and in other texts from the nome involving Judeans (e.g., Lev 25:35–38; Exod 22:22 in *P.Polit.Iud.* 7; Deut 24:6, 10–13 in *P.Heid.Inv.* G5100). It argues further that the rhetoric and ideas of the ancestral legal norms embodied in the LXX informed day-to-day Judean legal reasoning in Hellenistic Egypt more deeply than we heretofore imagined. Thus the paper also lays out a plan for a comprehensive re-assessment of the role of LXX law in the full corpus of documentary papyri from Judeans in Hellenistic Egypt.

Published in 2001 as *P.Polit.Iud.* 1–20, a group of documentary papyri from a Judean community in second-century B.C.E. Herakleopolis prove the existence of a Judean *politeuma* in Hellenistic Egypt.<sup>1</sup> The majority of the texts are

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1. 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 Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien* (Papyrologica Coloniensia, vol. XXIX; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001). Prior assessments of the significance of the papyri are available in James M. S. Cowey, “Das ägyptische Judentum in hellenistischer Zeit—Neue Erkennt-

petitions from Judeans of the *politeuma* to its leaders regarding their disputes with other parties. Some have argued that the papyri demonstrate that while these Judeans relied on ancestral norms found in the Septuagint in matters of family law, regarding most everything else they trusted in the general Ptolemaic legal norms that featured royal administrative and fiscal rules and Greek common law.<sup>2</sup> Yet a closer look at these papyri, as well as others involving

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nisse aus jüngst veröffentlichten Papyri,” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, ed. S. Kreuzer and J. P. Lesch (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 2.24–43; Maria Rose Falivene, “Review of P.Polit.Iud.,” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 59 (2002): cols. 541–50; Sylvie Honigman, “The Jewish Politeuma at Heracleopolis [Rev. of Cowey and Maresch, Urkunden],” *SCI* 21 (2002): 251–66 (see also Klaus Maresch and James M. S. Cowey, “A Recurrent Inclination to Isolate the Case of the Jews from their Ptolemaic Environment? Eine Antwort auf Sylvie Honigman,” *SCI* 22 [2003]: 307–310); Sylvie Honigman, “Politeumata and Ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Ancient Society* 33 (2003): 61–102; Thomas Kruse, “Das politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis in Ägypten,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D), Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 166–75.

2. See especially Sylvie Honigman, “Jewish Communities in Hellenistic Egypt: Different Responses to Different Environments,” in *Jewish Identities in Antiquity: Studies in Memory of Menahem Stern*, ed. Lee I. Levine and Daniel R. Schwartz (TSAJ 130; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 117–35, esp. 125–30, along with her other contributions cited in note 1. Honigman’s views are part of a distinct intellectual lineage that begins with H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer* (2nd ed.; Munich: Beck, 1971 [1962]), 37–48; idem, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und das Prinzipats. Erster Band. Bedingungen und Triebkräfte der Rechtsentwicklung*, ed. Hans-Albert Rupprecht (Reichsgeschichte des Altertums im Rahmen des Handbuchs der Altertumswissenschaft, 5.1; Munich: C. H. Beck, 2002), 35–58. On the basis of a διάγραμμα described in a court record from third century Crocodilopolis (*CPJ* 1.19.42–45 [= *P.Petr.* 3.21 (g); *M.Chr.* 21]) Wolff posited the widely-accepted hierarchy of normative standards the Ptolemies urged upon their subjects in organizing their affairs and adjudicating their disputes: In most matters related to the state, land, and revenue royal administrative and fiscal decrees prevailed; in other matters citizens were encouraged to live by “civic laws,” πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, that the ethnic Hellene immigrants brought with them to Egypt (including normative systems reflective of selected cities [e.g., Athens], regions [e.g., Judea], and peoples [e.g., Thracians]) and γνώμη δικαιοσύνης, the “most equitable judgment” of the participants in litigation. Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, “The Septuagint as Nomos: How the Torah became a ‘Civic Law’ for the Jews of Egypt,” in *Critical Studies in Ancient Law, Comparative Law and Legal History*, ed. John W. Cairns and Olivia F. Robinson (Oxford/Portland, OR: Hart Publishing, 2001), 183–99, esp. 190–93 (among other publications detailing this theory), refined Wolff’s work by observing that in fact we have no evidence that ethnic Hellenes brought their ancestral laws, πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, in written form to Egypt, with the exception being the translation of the Torah into Greek in Egypt. Thus Mélèze Modrzejewski suggests that for most ethnic Hellenes the “civic law” was nothing other than Greek common law,



Judeans from the second century B.C.E. Herakleopolite nome, indicates that in virtually all matters of dispute these Judeans were actually juridical pluralists. Yet they also relied in ways more subtle than heretofore imagined upon their ancestral law embodied in the Septuagint.<sup>3</sup> I offer here a survey of some of the evidence for this last aspect of the Herakleopolite Judeans' legal pluralism, and conclude with some suggestions regarding the significance of it.

### 1. INTRODUCING THE EVIDENCE

This paper deals only with the evidence from the second-century Herakleopolite nome in agreement with Sylvie Honigman's recent admonition that we may not generalize about the "Jews of Egypt" from the evidence of single locales in selected eras. Instead, we may only say what we can about the Judeans of particular times and places from the evidence they have left us.<sup>4</sup> Only when we have exhausted our study of these temporally- and geographically-specific bodies of evidence may we move toward generalizations, a moment that remains for now a long way off.

I have identified over twenty documentary texts from the second century B.C.E. Herakleopolite nome that clearly involve Judeans (by reason of direct identification of one or more parties entailed in the text as Judean). The majority of them cluster around the middle of the century. Of these I address only nine in this essay.<sup>5</sup> I address only seven in brief and two I give lengthier attention.

In *P.Polit.Iud.* 1, Andronicus of the *politeuma* asks the *politarch* Alexandros and the *politeuma* to summon and judge Nicharcus, an ἀλλόφυλος, because the latter had disputed rudely with Andronicus before other Judeans

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the informal norms that had developed across the Greek world going back to the Classical period, while Judeans had in addition to and/or in place of the Greek common law their own ancestral laws recorded in the Greek Torah (on par with the "law of the land" used by the Egyptians). On the evidence of the Herakleopolis *politeuma* papyri, Honigman has advanced this line of thought by arguing that at least with respect to the *politeuma* papyri, Judean adherence to the Greek Torah, their own πολιτικοὶ νόμοι, was mostly, if not entirely, restricted to matters of family law, and that for the rest of human social intercourse they more or less adhered to the Greek common law that prevailed in Ptolemaic Egypt.

3. It has already been established that the Judeans of the nome adopted at least some of the rhetoric of the LXX; see Cowey and Maresch, *Urkunden*, 15–16, regarding the uses of κριτής, ἄρχων, and πρεσβύτερος in the LXX.

4. Honigman, "Jewish Communities of Hellenistic Egypt," 125–30.

5. I leave the others aside because they do not address our present interest in legal reasoning and rhetoric either by reason of their fragmentary state or the nature of their content.

and non-Judeans. He may be echoing Deut 25:1–3 in a case having to do with honor and shame and a sense of personal safety. In the biblical passage on the consequences for parties who enter into dispute in public, the language of contest and consequent shame—ἀντιλογία and ἀσχημονέω—appears, as it does in this petition as well. By contrast, in texts from second century Hellenistic Egypt ἀσχημονέω and ἀντιλογία are attested otherwise only one and seven times respectively and never together, suggesting that Andronicus intentionally invokes the Deuteronomy passage in this case.<sup>6</sup> Thus, although Andronicus could have sought a τίμημα, the fine Ptolemaic law levied on someone who publicly shames another without cause, his language and appeal to the archons may indicate what we really sought instead: Deut 25:1–3 prescribes flogging for such offenders as Nicharchus. On this reading Andronicus was, so it seems, out for blood.

Three petitions refer to defendants' failure to honor a ὄρκος πάτριος, a likely reference to LXX Num 30:3.<sup>7</sup> *P.Polit.Iud.* 3 concerns difficulties in the transfer of a vineyard as part of a dowry. The petitioner complains that his wife's father or guardian failed to deliver part of a vineyard that was promised as part of the φερνή that was to accompany his wife in the marriage agreement. Referring repeatedly to oaths made in the process, Protomachos finally puts the exclamation point on his claim declaring that Euphranor had not only given him the binding documents customary in Greek law for a marriage agreement, but he had given him a ὄρκος πάτριος as well! In *P.Polit.Iud.* 9, a Judean woman named Berenike sues Philotas, a Judean man of Peembasbytis, a village of the nome, for failing to honor the terms of a wet-nurse contract. Berenike had supplied Philotas with Rhome, one of her slaves, as the wet-nurse and Rhome's daughter as an accompanying party in exchange for "rental fees" and provisioning of Rhome and her child during their stay with Philotas. He was to pay a fee for the services of Berenike's slave, Rhome, and provide for her and her child while they were with Philotas. This deal too had been sealed with a ὄρκος πάτριος, and Berenike adds that Philotas' failure to honor

6. ἀσχημονέω, *P.Tebt.* 1.44 (114 B.C.E., Kerkeosiris); ἀντιλογία, *BGU* 6.1247 (137 B.C.E., Syene, or Omboi?); *P.Giss.Univ.* 1.9; *P.Grenf.* 138; *P.Ryl.* 4.585; *P.Tebt.* 1.11 (119 B.C.E., Kerkeosiris), 138 (end of 2nd century B.C.E., Tebtunis); *PSI* 3.167 (118 B.C.E., Thinites).

7. ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπος, ὃς ἂν εὖξῃται εὐχὴν κυρίῳ ἢ ὁμόσῃ ὄρκον ἢ ὀρίσῃται ὀρισμῶ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, οὐ βεβηλώσει τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ· πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν ἐξέλθῃ ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ, ποιήσει, "Person by person—if he (a) vows a vow to the Lord or (b) swears an oath or (c) determines for himself with determination against his soul, he shall not profane his word; everything that proceeds out of his mouth he shall do" (30:3; NETS Translation; for this meaning of ὀρισμός, see LSJ s.v. A v, which cites Num 30:3).

the agreement amounted to a violation of the *πάτριον νόμον*.<sup>8</sup> *P.Polit.Iud.* 12 concerns a land tenant's failure to pay the agreed upon rent. This agreement was governed by royal administrative and fiscal law, the norms of the king, and yet it too is sealed with a *ὄρκος πάτριος*.<sup>9</sup> In short: all three petitions are from Judeans who were engaging in ordinary transactions unaddressed by the Torah; yet in all three cases the parties validated their transactions with an oath normed by the Greek Torah's stipulations.

In *P.Polit.Iud.* 6 Theodotos, a Judean, acts as an *ἐπίτροπος* for his mother and orphaned siblings (because under Greek common law a father's death orphans even children whose mother survives, and a woman without a husband requires a male guardian). He asks the archons of the *politeuma* to investigate the way village elders handled the death of a *παιδίον*—surely his sibling and another of his mother's children—while working for a man named Timotheos. The *παιδίον* was likely working for Timotheos under the terms of a *παραμονή* contract. The elders had interviewed Theodotos' mother, Berenike, but apparently had done nothing to Timotheos. It is possible that Theodotos brought his complaint to the archons of the Judean *politeuma* because of the lack of follow through on the part of the village officials regarding Timotheos. On this reading Theodotos sought relief under the law in Exod 21:20–21 and its insistence that someone who strikes a slave in their employ who then dies should be punished.

Only one petition, *P.Polit.Iud.* 8, seems at least at first glance to contradict ancestral law. Theodotos, a Judean, asks the archons of the *politeuma* to deal with Judeans, Plousia and Dorotheos, a mother and son who are in debt to him for a loan at 24 percent interest. Obviously, the loan contradicts the Torah's prohibition on taking interest on loans to fellow Judeans (Exod 22:24; Lev 25:35–38; Deut 23:20–21; see *CPJ* I 20, 24, for further examples of Judeans in this position), but it is typical of Ptolemaic business transactions.<sup>10</sup> That said, Theodotos remarks in a supralinear insertion—made belatedly by the

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8. It is possible to imagine that Berenike even wishes to take within the compass of her accusation Philotas's failure to care for the sojourner, the *προσήλυτος*, although the absence of any language to that effect leaves this merely in the realm of speculation.

9. Likewise, a reference to swearing to transfer the vineyard in line 6 (confirmed the traces in the papyri collection) reinforces the connection to Num 30:3 (*ὁμόση ὄρκον*).

10. A Judean from the Oxyrhynchite nome, the son had even taken on the ethnic moniker of "Persian of the Epigone," thought by some to be a fictive status used by poor credit risks to obtain financing (see, however, K. Vanderpe, "Persian soldiers and Persians of the Epigone. Social Mobility of Soldiers-Herdsman in Upper Egypt," *AJP* 54 [2008]: 87–108, who argues that the term is used for Egyptians who join the Ptolemaic military as paid reservists). He and his mother had twice failed to honor repayment agreements.

scribe—that he provided the loan in his wife’s name, Philista.<sup>11</sup> Assuming his wife was not a Judean, this practice actually does suggest honor for the Torah, if only in its letter and not its intent. The other thing that sets this account apart from others relating to overdue loan repayment is the fact that Plousia and Dorotheos’ Judean neighbors in their home village had at one point helped negotiate a restructuring of the loan that the mother and son had not honored, necessitating the present petition.

In *P.Polit.Iud.* 7 we encounter a Judean’s petition for the return of his orphaned niece wrongly taken from his guardianship. The petitioner, Dorotheos, based his appeal on a combination of Greek customary law pertaining to the guardianship of orphans and two Torah stipulations: the duty of an individual to care for destitute kinfolk (Lev 25:35–38) and the general requirement to see to the wellbeing of orphans (LXX Exod 22:22; Deut 10:18; 14:29; 24:17, 19, 21; 26:12–13; 27:19). What makes the petition remarkable is that Dorotheos sought the restoration of a burden other persons sought to be rid of in the Hellenistic world: guardianship was a legal responsibility never invited, avoided if possible, and gladly shed when it was over because of the costs and legal jeopardy it entailed for its holders. Thus the only clear rationale for Dorotheos’s remarkable request seemed to be his commitment to keeping Torah, confirmed by the Septuagintal language he used to state it. As my fuller treatment of this petition demonstrates, Dorotheos’ appeal is redolent with the terminology of Lev 25:35–38, the law of care for destitute kin: he had met his obligations fully and this ensured that he was under Greek common law a fit ἐπίτροπος.<sup>12</sup>

We turn now at greater length to two remaining petitions. In the first, *P.Polit.Iud.* 4, the petitioner, a Judean named Philotas, had arranged with Lysimachos, the father of his intended bride, Nikaia, for a marriage and concomitant dowry. However, Lysimachos jilted Philotas by giving his daughter to another man before the marriage could be completed. Philotas seeks recompense, although just what that is remains a mystery because the petition breaks off at the crucial point. Whatever he sought, he argues his case most famously by asserting that Lysimachos had erred in giving Nikaia to another man before receiving from Philotas τὸ εἰθισμένον τοῦ ἀποστασίου

11. One wonders if the petitioner did not require that insertion at the last moment, realizing the contradiction he was caught in.

12. See 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, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010) 389–97 (published online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/i/icp/>).

[[τὸ]] βυβλίον (lines 22b-24a). In this Philotas cites Deut 24:1 in keeping with the state of Judean marriage law and customs in second century Hellenistic Egypt. That such customs had become quite hybrid by then is clear from this text. In lines 5–6 we learn that Philotas ἐμνηστυσάμην Νείκα[ι]αν, “courted Nikaia,” a practice that was a given among Egyptians but not the norm in arranged Judean and Greek marriages. In lines 8–9 Philotas states that Lysimachos ὁ[ὁ]σαντος δώσειν ἐμοὶ αὐτ[ῇ]ν, “swore to give her [Nikaia] to me,” using the language of the Greek and Egyptian practice of swearing by oath to honor an unwritten agreement. In lines 9–10 he also describes the dowry that he and Lysimachos agreed upon as a τὴν σταθεῖσαν ἐπ’ αὐ[τῇ] τῇ φερνήν, the negotiated dowry we know of from Egyptian and Greek practice that had been adapted earlier by Judeans in Elephantine. In line 11 Philotas indicates that he was satisfied by his agreement with Lysimachos by using an Egyptian Demotic formulaic statement also adopted earlier by Judeans in Elephantine, ἐφ’ ἣν κάμου εὐδοκοῦντος. And in line 20 Philotas remarks that Lysimachos gave Nikaia to another man ἄνευ λόγου, implying that a marriage or betrothal could have been dissolved by the woman’s side *with* cause, an aspect of Egyptian marital law that had been taken up already in Judean marriage contracts in Egypt from the fifth century onward.<sup>13</sup>

What interests us most, though, are the correlative conjunctions that span lines 12–16, 16<sup>supra</sup>: οὕτως οὐ μόνο[v] ὀρισμῶν γεγομένων κα[τ]ὰ κοινὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπωμο[σία]ς γενηθείσης εἰς δε[σμὸν]. Here Philotas almost certainly invokes Num 30:3 in a way less explicit yet more substantive than it is used in petitions 3, 9, and 12. The first clause of the paired conjunctions in lines 12–13, οὐ μόνο[v] ὀρισμῶν γεγομένων κα[τ]ὰ κοινὸν, recalls Num 30:3αγ, ὀρίσῃται ὀρισμῶ: this use of ὀρισμός requires a meaning that it does not otherwise have in the documentary papyri, but precisely the one that occurs in the Numbers text.<sup>14</sup> The second clause in

13. For full details on these betrothal and marriage practices, see my forthcoming treatment of this petition and several others related to marriage matters among Judeans of Hellenistic era Egypt.

14. The other times it appears in published papyri it refers to the boundaries of houses and fields, mostly in deeds of sale or other legal texts relating to real property (*PSI* 7.796 [222–3 C.E., Psenyris, Arsinoites]; *P.Giss.* 1.48 [203–4 C.E., Antaiopolites]; *P.Alex.Giss.* 41 [113–20 C.E., Apollonopolites Heptakomias]; *P.Petaus* 13, 14 [184–85 C.E., Syron Kome, Arsinoites]; *P.Thmouis* 1 [180–92 C.E., Thmouis, Mendesios]; *P.Amh.* 2.97 [181–82 C.E., Soknapaiou Nesos]; *P.Cair.Masp.* III 67353 V [569 C.E., Antinoopolis]; *BGU* 2.599 [II/III C.E., Arsinoites]; *P.Oxy.* 38.2847 [272–73 C.E., Oxyrhynchos]; *P.Bub.* 1.1 [after 224 C.E., Bubastos]; *P.Fay.* 23A [II C.E., Delta]; *P.Strasb.* 1.31 [II–III C.E., Arsinoites]; *BGU* 4.1091 [212–13 C.E., Oxyrhynchus]; *SB* 1.5675 [183 B.C.E., uncertain provenance] 18.13887 [VII–VIII C.E., uncertain provenance]).

lines 14–16, 16<sup>supra</sup>, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀπωμο[σία]ς γενηθείσης εἰς δεσμὸν, also echoes Num 30:3. Philotas uses an extremely rare word for “oath,” ἀπωμοσία, that substantivizes the verb ἀτόμνυμι/ὄμνυμι, “to take a solemn vow,” and recalls the clause ὁμόση ὄρκον, “swear an oath,” in Num 30:3aβ.<sup>15</sup> It is even possible that the supralinear insertion can be read as δεσμὸν, “binding.” Ll. 14b-15, 16<sup>supra</sup> would then read: “... but also according to the law an oath turned into [a] binding [oath]” [= “according to the law an oath became binding”].<sup>16</sup>

A further petition receiving more extended attention, P.Heid. Inv. G 5100, does not come from the *politeuma* archive. Peton, son of Philoxenes, a Judean among those in Phnebieus of the Heraklepolite nome, appeals to Ktesias, Chief of Police for help in obtaining justice in a case of extortion by a Ptolemaic official.<sup>17</sup> Peton’s father, Philoxenes, had rented four arouras of τῆς προσόδου γῆς, “Prosodos-Land” (=Crown land) near Phnebieus; he did so through Herakles and Demetrios, joint holders of Crown land (βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί) (lines 4–12a). In Pauni of the 34<sup>th</sup> year, the normal time for collecting rents on grain-planted land, he and his father paid rent to Herakles and Demetrios (lines 12b-16a). However, in the following month of Epeiph, Apollonios, a Ptolemaic official, the overseer of the “Prosodos-Land,” distrained them—that is, seized something of their property—until they paid the rent a second time. The petition breaks off before revealing precisely what Peton wanted Ktesias to do for him.

But Peton’s complaint can be fairly surmised from an understanding of the legal options open to him and from the remains of the rescript, the offi-

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15. Notably, this also recalls Lysimachos’ own action described above of having ὁμ[ό]σαντος δώσειν Nikaia to Philotas. Also noteworthy is the fact that the substantive occurs only once more in known Greek from the Classical and Hellenistic eras, on a stele from western Cilicia that serves as the “rule of the community” for a Jewish brotherhood (members of which are referred to as Σαββατιστοί); according to ll. 22b–24a the stele serves as ἡ στήλη ἀπομοσία κατ’ ἴσον μῆδενα ὑποδέξασθαι τὸ ἡμᾶρ, “The monument of oath according to which no one is taken in [as a guest] on the day [of gathering].” That is to say, the brotherhood’s members swear by the stele that they will retain the exclusivity of their membership.

16. If my suggested reading of l. 16<sup>supra</sup> is correct, Philotas argues that the oath Lysimachos made is binding upon him, and this extends the reliance on Numbers 30: in v. 14 δεσμός is used to signal the binding nature of a wife’s vow that is not repudiated by her husband. See the publication cited in n. 13 above for details on this reading of the text.

17. For a fuller treatment of this petition, see Robert Kugler, “Peton Contests Paying Double Rent on Farmland (P.Heid.Inv. G 5100): A Slice of Judean Experience in the Second Century BCE Herakleopolite Nome,” *A Teacher for All Generations: Essays in Honor of James C. VanderKam*, ed. Eric Mason et al. (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 2.537–51.

cial reply to his petition preserved in lines 1–2. First Peton's legal options. Since Herakles and Demetrios were βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί, Peton had little or no remedy from them: as their sublessees, Peton and his father owed them the rental payment without question, the two βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί had collected it at the expected time of the year, and in any case βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί enjoyed legal protections that made it very difficult to bring them to any tribunal, let alone win a judgment against them.<sup>18</sup> By contrast, Apollonios behaved oddly in collecting rent as late as Epeiph, and his coercive behavior aroused greater concern than the normal business transaction between Peton and the βασιλικοὶ γεωργοί. Peton's complaint, then, was almost certainly that Apollonios had acted corruptly in forcing a second rental payment from father and son.<sup>19</sup>

All of this is typical practice according to Ptolemaic administrative law relating to leases and subleases of Crown land. It is, though, the way that Peton describes Apollonios' corruption that might set his complaint apart and suggests that he sought to exercise one option we know he had as a Judean of the Herakleopolite nome: to bring Apollonios before the archons of the *polit-euma* in Herakleopolis (cf. *P.Polit.Iud.* 1 above for evidence that non-Judeans could be sued by Judeans before the archons). The clue that he aims to exercise this right is his use of the verb ἐνεχυράζειν to describe Apollonios's behavior toward him and his father. It is not language typical of the few documentary papyri complaining of the collection of double rents, and otherwise names what appears to have been a legitimate practice on the part of officials seeking to get payment of other kinds of debts.<sup>20</sup> However, it is also the language that appears in LXX declaring certain kinds of "pledge taking" against a debt to be prohibited acts (Exod 22:25–26 [Eng. 22:26–27]; cf. Deut 24:12–13, 17; Deut

18. See the discussion and references to documentary evidence in Jane Rowlandson, "Freedom and Subordination in Ancient Agriculture: The Case of the *Basilikoi Georgoi* in Ptolemaic Egypt," *History of Political Thought* 6 (1985): 327–47, esp. 331–32.

19. Peton would hardly have been the first resident of Ptolemaic Egypt to complain of a corrupt official. See Dorothy Crawford, "The Good Official in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions 27.-29. September 1976 in Berlin*, ed. H. Maehler and V.M. Strocka (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1978), 195–202; W. Peremans, "Die Amtsmisbräuche im ptolemäischen Ägypten," in *Korruption im Altertum: Konstanzer Symposion, Oktober 1979*, ed. W. Schuller (München: R. Oldenbourg, 1982), 103–33; see also the comments regarding abuse of the poor by officials in Eccl 5:7, a passage many think was written during the days of Ptolemaic rule over Judea: Ἐὰν συκοφαντίαν πένητος καὶ ἀρπαγὴν κρίματος καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἴδῃ ἐν χώρᾳ, μὴ θαυμάσῃς ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι· ὅτι ὕψηλός ἐπάνω ὕψηλῳ φυλάξει καὶ ὕψηλὸς ἐπ' αὐτούς.

20. It occurs with respect to an official obtaining payment of legitimate or illegitimate ἐκφόρια only one other time, in *P.Erasm.* 1.1.25–26 (148–147 B.C.E., Oxyrhyncha [Arsinoites]).

24:6, 10–11).<sup>21</sup> This suggests the influence of the LXX on Peton's legal reasoning: lacking other recourse for reversing Apollonios's unjust taking of a second rental payment, he may have been looking to criminalize under the Judean law that could apply to him the otherwise typical (and apparently legal) official practice of distraint by Ptolemaic officials.

But that alone it is hardly enough to support this reading. Augmenting it, though, is the language of the rescript. Although it possibly evinces a "royal" we, the use of the first-person plural by the author(s) of the rescript more likely indicates that a group of officials issued it, not an individual, suggesting that it had been referred by Ktesias to a body of officials, an administrative act typical for police officials in the papyri.<sup>22</sup> In a case involving a Judean of the Herakleopolite nome a group of individuals might well have been the archons of the *politeuma*, and at least where rescripts from the archons are preserved in the *politeuma* papyri, like this one they are written in the first person plural.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the rescript commands Hephaistion, one of Ktesias' underlings, to transfer (πρ[οσ]καλέσασθαι) for examination and judgment a single male who can only be Apollonios, given the characters named in the petition. This too is paralleled in the *politeuma* papyri: the archons are asked to do precisely what this rescript prescribes, to transfer people from place to place for questioning, judgment and the like.<sup>24</sup> And we also know from two of the *politeuma*

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21. Exod 22:25–26 (Eng. 22:26–27) decrees that if you ἐνεχύρασμα ἐνεχυράσης, "take in pawn (for a debt owed)" your neighbors garment, you have to restore it before sundown so that s/he is protected from the night air (see the similar sentiments and use of the verb and related substantives in Deut 24:12–13, 17); Deut 24:6, οὐκ ἐνεχυράσεις μύλον οὐδὲ ἐπιμύλον, ὅτι ψυχὴν οὗτος ἐνεχυράζει, "No one shall take a mill or an upper millstone in pledge, for that would take a life in pledge," makes clear that pledge-taking which undercuts a person's ability to prepare bread to sustain himself deprives him of life itself and is prohibited; and Deut 24:10–11 says that when you make your neighbor a loan, οὐκ εἰσελεύσῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχυράσαι τὸ ἐνέχυρον, "You shall not go into the house to take the pledge" (i.e., remove it forcibly). While the usual translation of ἐνεχυράζειν is "take in pledge," its sense is of distraint placed upon a debtor by a creditor through the seizure of property in pledge.

22. Chiefs of police and other officials were routinely asked by petitioners to refer cases to relevant officials: see, for example, *P.Tebt.* 3.796 (185 B.C.E., Tebtunis); *BGU* 8.1822 (60–55 B.C.E., Herakleopolites); *P.Ryl.* 4.578 (= *C.Pap.Jud.* 1.43) (159/158 B.C.E., Arsinoites); *P.Polit.Iud.* 4 (134 B.C.E., Herakleopolites); *P.Polit.Iud.* 8 (133 B.C.E., Herakleopolites); *P.Polit.Iud.* 9.34–35 (June 20, 132 B.C.E., Herakleopolis).

23. *P.Polit.Iud.* 6 (134 B.C.E., Herakleopolis), 7 (134 B.C.E., Herakleopolis), 8 (133 B.C.E., Herakleopolis), 16 (143–132 B.C.E., Herakleopolites [?]).

24. *P.Polit.Iud.* 1.19–20 (135 B.C.E., Herakleopolites); 11.10 (133–132, B.C.E., Herakleopolites); 12.24–25 (135 B.C.E., Herakleopolites). In all these cases the same verb used in this petition, προσκαλέομαι, appears also.



texts that the archons received affirmative responses to their request for the transfer of persons: officials at Penei and Tebetnoi answer positively the summonses of individuals from their communities made by the archons in Herakleopolis.<sup>25</sup> In short, Peton may have sought a remedy for his troubles with Apollonios before the archons and precisely on the grounds of the Torah's laws regarding distraint in seeking to regain payment of a debt.

## 2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The evidence seems considerable: In all matters—familial, business and otherwise—the Judeans of the Herakleopolite nome in the second century B.C.E. we know of through the documentary evidence called upon norms from a rich mix of legal systems, but they also had a recurrent inclination to invoke norms of the Torah as it was known to them in the Septuagint.

That being said, I close by stressing that this general observation can apply *only* to the Judeans of the Herakleopolite nome in the second century B.C.E. As noted at the outset, Sylvie Honigman's recent warning that Judean communities in Hellenistic Egypt must be treated separately should become a canon for study of Egyptian Judeans of the Greco-Roman era. Thus the task that lies ahead is further analysis of the sort that this essay provides.

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25. *P.Polit.Iud.* 19 (141–131 B.C.E., Penei) and 20 (143–132 B.C.E., Tebetnoi).



# The Miscellanies in 2 Reigns 2:35a–o, 46a–l and the Composition of the Books of Kings/Reigns

*Zipora Talshir*

**Abstract:** The miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2:35a–o and 46a–l form a unique case among other substantial differences between the LXX and MT versions of the book of Kings. There is hardly any comparable phenomenon in the transmission of the Hebrew Bible as we know it. While in their present form and context the miscellanies obviously constitute a result of later redactional intervention, the question remains whether they may be a genuine vestige of the composition process of the book of Kings.

From time to time, like the Phoenix, the miscellanies appended at 3 Reigns 2:35a–o, 46a–l reappear on the scene, and capture our attention, as befits this quite extraordinary phenomenon. Like the legend, the problems are everlasting, but like its subject, the solutions are imaginary. The intriguing question raised by the miscellanies is whether they testify to the history of the book of Kings or to the history of the book of Reigns. In other words, are the miscellanies a remnant of the books of Kings in the making, or rather a by-product of the process of revision, the results of which are preserved in 3 Reigns?

Several important studies have been dedicated to these texts, by scholars such as Hänel (1929)<sup>1</sup>, Montgomery (1932)<sup>2</sup>, Gooding, in his articles (1968, 1969)<sup>3</sup>, and especially in his outstanding book-length analysis (1976)<sup>4</sup>, and

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1. J. Hänel, "Die Zusätze der Septuaginta in I Reg 2 35a–o und 46a–l," ZAW 47 (1929): 76–79

2. J.A. Montgomery, "The Supplement at End of 3 Kingdoms 2 [I Reg 2]," ZAW 49 (1930): 311–319.

3. D. W. Gooding, "The Shimei Duplicate and its Satellite Miscellanies in 3 Reigns II," JSSt 13 (1968): 76–92; idem, "Problems of Text and Midrash in the Third Book of Reigns," *Textus* 7 (1969): 1–29.

4. D. W. Gooding, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis; A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Reigns 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

Tov (1984).<sup>5</sup> I have briefly addressed the miscellanies back in 1990.<sup>6</sup> I would like to restate and substantiate my view on the process that produced the miscellanies, and react to more recent contributions by Darshan (2006),<sup>7</sup> and Tov (2008).<sup>8</sup>

In the latter, Tov asserts that the third book of Reigns—as a book—is later than the first book of Kings. This judgment is based first and foremost on the miscellanies, together with some other, quite striking phenomena in 3 Reigns. Indeed, the miscellanies introduce chaos into the course of events. They are very obviously out of place, they repeat material extant throughout the following account on the reign of Solomon in 3 Reigns, and they stand out as an awkward literary composition. Their literary quality, being as they are a collection of mostly unrelated items, has led to their definition as miscellanies.

The problems raised by the miscellanies are so complicated and variegated that there is no single satisfying solution capable of explaining them, hence Gooding's romantic, all-inclusive attempt to solve the puzzle. In his view, they are the product of:

a rabbinic school, a Beth [ha]Midrash, where varying Hebrew text-traditions and the comparative merits of alternative Greek renderings could be discussed; where opposite verdicts on the characters of the leading figures in the Book... could be debated; and where in the light of the prevailing views the Greek translation could, where necessary, be worded over and revised...; and where textual variants, both Hebrew and Greek, and alternative interpretations, which were not adjudged worthy to stand in the main body of the text, were still thought important enough to be the starting point of further Midrash and worthy of being permanently recorded in the form of the miscellanies. Admittedly this means that 3 Reigns, whatever it was to start with, has developed a long way in the direction of being a Midrash rather than a

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5. E. Tov, "The LXX Additions (Miscellanies) in 1 Kings 2 (3 Reigns 2)," *Textus* 11 (1984): 89–118.

6. Z. Talshir, "The Nature of the Edition of the Book of Kings Reflected in the LXX—General Evaluation and Analysis of 1 Kgs 11," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 249–302, specifically 259–267 [Hebrew]. The part relevant to the present discussion was not included in the English version of this article: Z. Talshir, "1 Kgs and 3 Kgdms—Origin and Revision. Case Study: the Sins of Solomon (1 Kgs 11)," *Textus* 21 (2002): 1–36.

7. G. Darshan, "The Long Additions in LXX 1 Kings 2 (3 R 35a–k; 46a–l) and their Importance for the question of the Literary History of 1 Kings 1–11," *Tarbiz* 75 (2005–2006): 5–50 [Hebrew].

8. E. Tov, "Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel, Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere," in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 369–393.

direct translation of a strictly Biblical text; but no other explanation seems to do justice to the facts.<sup>9</sup>

In essence, Gooding (like others) refers to the elements of the miscellanies as separate, unrelated items that may have emerged in either Hebrew or Greek as variant readings, either accidental or intentional, during an undefined period of transmission. On the other hand, Gooding (and others) attempted to find themes and structures that would explain the miscellanies as compositions. I will first present my theory that sees the miscellanies as inherently a conglomeration of data extracted from the account of Solomon's reign, and then react to Darshan's theory that considers the miscellanies first and foremost a coherent composition.

# 1. EXTRACTS RELATED TO THE CREATION OF THE REVISION UNDERLYING 3 REIGNS

Unlike Gooding, I believe that, just like 3 Reigns in its entirety, the miscellanies were created in Hebrew in the process that resulted in the revision reflected in 3 Reigns. It is mostly possible to trace them back to their *Vorlage*. The Greek texts and their assumed *Vorlage* are provided at the end of this paper.

## 1.1. THE WORK OF THE COMPILER(S)

Speaking of the compiler in the context of the miscellanies may refer to three phases that are not necessarily separate: the redactor who produced the *Vorlage* of 3 Reigns (hereafter, 3 R); the compiler who created the miscellanies; and the compiler who interpolated the miscellanies into 3 R.

### 1.1.1. The Interpolation

The miscellanies are quite loosely connected to the context. They do not fit into the course of events or fill out a gap in the narrative, nor do they offer a novel concept that might change the perspective of the surrounding material. The miscellanies were certainly not composed for their present context.

The most conspicuous contribution by the interpolator is the repetition of David's testament regarding Shimei at the end of the first miscellany (35l–o), thus forming a continuous Shimei narrative comprising both the testament of David and its fulfillment by Solomon (3 R 2:36–46).<sup>10</sup> Notably, the only words

9. Gooding, *Relics*, 111–112.

10. There is no logic at all in assuming that the combined version is the original one.

he has written on his own constitute the opening: ...ובעוד דוד חי, manifestly an editorial flashback.

Why did he decide to place the miscellanies around the Shimei story? The awkward position of the miscellanies might suggest that the interpolation at this point was conditioned by technical reasons, such as an empty space at the end of the scroll.<sup>11</sup> Otherwise, the interpolator may have looked for a suitable pause in the course of events and found one at 2:35 that reports Solomon's new appointments.<sup>12</sup> This suggestion is further substantiated by the conclusion καὶ ἡ βασιλεία κατωρθοῦτο ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which awkwardly interrupts v. 35. The similar line וְהַמַּלְכָּה נְכוֹנָה בְיַד שְׁלֹמֹה concludes chapter 2 in 1 Kings, at the exact point where the second miscellany is appended. 3 R does not have a counterpart for this conclusion and instead offers an ending of its own at the end of the second miscellany. This is no coincidence.

Gooding suggested that the trigger was the emphasis on Solomon's wisdom in the testament on Shimei<sup>13</sup>; this would mean that the miscellanies circulated in their present form, complete with the openings referring to Solomon's wisdom.

### 1.1.2. Openings and Endings

It is no coincidence that both miscellanies begin with Solomon's wisdom. There is, however, a difference between the two openings. The first opening (vv. 35a–b) corresponds to 1 Kings 5:9–10; as such, it is easily mistaken for one of the assorted items collected in the first miscellany. Verse 46a must have read: ויהי המלך שלמה חכם מאד ונבון. It echoes a verse such as 5:9 ויתן אֱלֹהִים חָכְמָה לְשֹׁלֹמֹה, but has no exact parallel in the account; it is, therefore, more easily attributed to the compiler. I believe the first opening, too, should be attributed to the compiler, who borrowed it verbatim from the more extensive account of Solomon's wisdom (1 Kings 5:9–14). Notably, unlike most of the components gathered in the miscellanies, there is no difference between 1 Kings and 3 R regarding the reading and position of these verses.

11. Darshan, "The Long Additions," 38–39.

12. Just as the list of David's officials marks borders in the course of the book of Samuel, at the end of 2 Sam 8, and more important to our case, at the end of 2 Sam 20, preceding the appendix of 2 Sam 21–24.

13. 1 Kings 2:9. However, Solomon's wisdom plays a part in the testament on Joab as well (v. 6).

14. See also 3:12 וְהָיָה נְתִיתִי לְךָ לֵב חָכָם וְנָבוֹן.

The fact that both miscellanies begin with Solomon's wisdom has been overplayed in the characterization of the miscellanies. First of all, it is far from an independent contribution by the compiler. Solomon's wisdom is certainly a leading theme throughout his reign, as described in 1 Kings<sup>15</sup>. This is hardly the case in the miscellanies, where wisdom occurs only in the openings. The compiler's decision to highlight Solomon's wisdom at the beginning of the miscellanies did not turn them into coherent entities, in which Solomon's wisdom is allegedly expressed through his building projects (first miscellany) and the extent of his rule (second miscellany). The materials are much more variegated than that.

Like the opening of the second miscellany, its ending—*שְׁלֹמֹה בֶן דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ—עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוּדָה בִּירוּשָׁלַיִם*—is also unparalleled in its present form and may very well be the compiler's contribution. It, too, is reminiscent of a verse in the nearby context, 1 Kings 4:1 *וַיְהִי הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ עַל-כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל*. As noted, it substitutes the MT's conclusion.

### 1.1.3. The Management of the Data Included in the Miscellanies

It is difficult to know whether, or to which extent, the compiler who provided the openings and endings of the miscellanies also intervened in other aspects of their organization. Two examples follow:

*Verse 35k.* This verse as it stands has no counterpart in either 1 Kings or 3 R and may have originated with the compiler. It does not belong with the editorial elements that turned the miscellanies into so-called compositions, but nonetheless shows the compiler at work. The verse demonstrates his sensitivity regarding the sequence of events: *רק אחרי בנתו את בית יהוה ואת חומת ירושלים סביב אחרי כן בנה את הערים האלה*. Like the openings and conclusions, this remark too is not an independent contribution. It echoes 1 Kings 9:1, preceding the second revelation: *וַיְהִי כְּכַלּוֹת שְׁלֹמֹה לְבָנוֹת אֶת-בֵּית-יְהוָה*; 9:10, preceding the negotiations between Hiram and Solomon: *וַיְהִי מִקְצֵה עֲשָׂרִים שָׁנָה אֲשֶׁר-בָּנָה שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת-שְׁנֵי הַבָּתִּים אֶת-בֵּית יְהוָה*; and is embedded in 9:15 (see below).

The sensitivity regarding the timetable of Solomon's building activities is further apparent in 3 R in the addition preceding 1 Kings 8:1 *אֲזַי קִהְלִי* *...שְׁלֹמֹה*: *Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ συντελέσαι Σαλωμων τοῦ οἰκοδομησαι τὸν οἶκον κυρίου καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ μετὰ εἴκοσι ἔτη, τότε ἐξεκκλησίασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς*

15. Solomon's wisdom is mentioned 18 times throughout 1 K 1–11. It touches on a wide range of issues, from his shrewdness manifested in the way he rid himself of his adversaries to his ability to judge his people, his incomparable wisdom, his relations with Hiram and the queen of Sheba, as well as his general grandness.

Σαλωμων (3 R 8:1); it reflects a text such as: *יהי ככלות שלמה לבנות את בית יהוה ואת ביתו מקצה עשרים שנה, אז יקהל המלך שלמה...* This latter expansion, unrelated to the miscellanies, shows that we cannot treat the miscellanies as a separate phenomenon but as part of the entire revision of 3 R.

*Verses 46c–d.* Another sort of activity on the part of the compiler would be the placement of these verses in their present context, where they hardly belong. He imported them from a list of Solomon's building projects to show the extent of Solomon's rule, which plays a major role in the second miscellany (see below).

In sum, we have seen three sorts of editorial activity: the Shimei testament that must have originated with the interpolator; the openings of both miscellanies and the ending of the second, probably from the compiler who turned the miscellanies into compositions; and the third, which relates to the organization of the included data and is reminiscent of the work of the compiler of 3 R.

I now move to the provenance of the data that comprise the miscellanies.

## 1.2. THE PROVENANCE OF THE DATA STORED IN THE MISCELLANIES

My second observation regards the character of the material contained in the miscellanies, excluding the contribution by the compiler. There has not been enough attention to the fact that it all carries the air of raw data: short, usually unrelated, separate informational segments<sup>16</sup>. A quick survey of 1 Kings, chapters 3 through 11, shows that the relatively long, coherent parts that comprise the reign of Solomon are not represented in the miscellanies. Thus, there is no trace of the first revelation at Gibeon (3:4–15) and Solomon's wisdom as applied in the trial (3:16–28); the long list of twelve prefects (4:7–19); the entire description of the building of the Temple (chapter 6), or the palace (7:1–12). One short verse, 35e, is reminiscent of the detailed report of the furnishing of the temple (7:13–51). The extensive account of the inauguration ceremonies (8:1–66) has not left its mark in the miscellanies, nor have the second revelation (9:2–9), the negotiation with Hiram (9:10–15), or the story of the queen of Sheba (10:1–13). Finally, the reports on Solomon's riches, grandeur and horses (10:14–29) also remain unmentioned in the miscellanies. As for the final elaborate chapter in Solomon's life (1 Kings 11), only the building of the Milo (1 Kings 11:27b)—*שְׁלֹמֹה בָּנָה אֶת־הַמְּלֹא סָגַר אֶת־פָּרֶץ*—*עִיר דָּוִד אָבִיו*—found its way into the miscellanies (35f), triggered by its mention in reference to the location of the daughter of Pharaoh.

16. See Talshir, "The Nature of the Edition," 261–262.



The items that ended up in the miscellanies are isolated data that are either context-less or, rather, are part of contexts whose structures are elaborate, and could have been easily misconstrued.

This fact alone questions the popular evaluation of the miscellanies as a collection of variants.<sup>17</sup> If it were a collection of variants we would expect a few from the large sections mentioned above.<sup>18</sup> The origin of the miscellanies must therefore be of a different nature than is usually surmised. While each verse deserves careful consideration and may contain a variant in either Hebrew or Greek or may emphasize a particular interpretation, or clarify a certain ambiguity—Gooding has a spectacular presentation of such possibilities—as a whole this bizarre collection must have originated for other reasons.

In my view, the different components found their way to the miscellanies because of their problematic position in the course of the text. They were culled out as part of a procedure intended to reorganize the reign of Solomon into a more coherent sequence. The miscellanies, then, are the result of problems of redaction that abound in 1 Kings 3–10, especially chapters 4–5 on the one hand and chapter 9 on the other. Let us briefly look at these main sources that lent their ingredients to the miscellanies. Their main characteristic is their cluttered structure.

### 1.2.1. 1 Kings 9:15–25

1 Kings 9:15–25 comprises a more or less coherent exhortation regarding the origin of the people who served as forced labor (vv. 15–22), followed by three detached comments about the prefects (v. 23), the daughter of Pharaoh (v. 24), and the sacrifices (v. 25). All of these echo issues addressed previously, before the Temple unit. The first telling fact is the fate of this entire passage in the running text of 3 R. Verses 15–22 take their place with certain modifications in chapter 10:22a–c, and vv. 23–25 have no counterpart at all. Verses 23–25 are fully represented in the miscellanies (35fb, 35 g, and 35 h), as if they were stored away there<sup>19</sup>; and vv. 15–22 are partly (vv. 15, 17b, 18) represented in 35i,<sup>20</sup> and probably also in 46c. While vv. 23–25 agree with the characteriza-

17. Since Hänel, “Die Zusätze,” and accepted in the main by Gooding, *Relics*, 111.

18. There is no explanation as to why the list of twelve prefects, for example, or the elaborate description of the building of the Temple and its furnishing, would not lend a variant or two to this collection.

19. Notably, the formulation of 35h follows 1 Kings 9:23, but the number agrees with 5:30.

20. As mentioned, the following verse, 35k, which specifies that the cities were built after the building projects in Jerusalem, is dependent on 1 Kings 9:15 that explicitly says so.

tion of the data collected in the miscellanies as separate detached items, we may ask why an arguably coherent passage such as the statement on the forced labor would end up in the miscellanies. I claim that its complicated structure was an obstacle to later tradents:

Verse 15a is the opening formula: “And this is the account of the forced labor.”

Verses 15b–19 elaborate on the purpose of this forced labor—a long series of building projects.

Verses 20–22 return to the issue stated in the opening formula—the identity of those who served as forced labor.

In addition, the list of cities built by Solomon is interrupted by v. 16, which explains how Gezer came into the hands of Solomon, and v. 17a, which serves as a *Wiederaufnahme*.

The parallel text in 2 Chr 8 demonstrates what might become of such a text. The Chronicler extracted data regarding the building of the cities from Kings and reported it as independent information (vv. 4–6). But, at the same time, he went on with the second part of the address about the forced labor verbatim (vv. 7–9); the latter, having lost its anchor, is now hanging in the air.

The reviser at work in 3 R used his own redactional methods to disentangle the maze in his *Vorlage*; the miscellanies seem to have played a role in this procedure. The structure of 1 Kings 9:15–22 is intricate but undoubtedly well-calculated.<sup>21</sup> It is preserved, *grosso modo*, in 3 R 10:22a–c. The differences between 1 Kings and 3 R, all, in a way, have a bearing on the miscellanies: (1) There is no trace in either 3 R 10:22a–c or the miscellanies of the parenthetical passage about Gezer (v. 16). This verse does occur, however, together with the report on the marriage itself, in 3 R 5:14a–b. (2) Together with v. 16 the *Wiederaufnahme* at the beginning of v. 17—**וַיֵּבֶן שְׁלֹמֹה אֶת־גִּזְרֹה**—disappears as well. However, the formulation of the resumption may have influenced the consecutive reporting style in 35i **וַיֵּבֶן אֶת חֲצוֹר**,<sup>22</sup> a sequence unparalleled in either 1 Kings or 3 R. (3) Whoever formulated 35i must have been aware of the sequence in v. 15, since he makes clear as he continues (35k) that the cities were built after the building of the Temple and the wall, just as the sequence in 1 Kings and 3 R requires. (4) 3 R 10 has no counterpart for Tadmor and the garrison cities (end of v. 18 beginning of v. 19); the building of Tadmor(?) in

21. A similar structure evident in Josh 5:2–9 did not survive in the LXX; see Z. Talshir, “The Detailing Formula **וְזֶה (ה) דְּבַר**,” *Tarbiz* 51 (1982): 23–35 [Hebrew].

22. Just as it influenced 2 Chr 8:4–5.

the desert is documented in the miscellanies, 46d. (5) 3 R skips ובלבנון in v. 19. Solomon's deeds in Lebanon are mentioned in the miscellanies, just before the building of Tadmor (?), 46c. (6) Verses 24–25 are absent in 3 R but fully accounted for in 35f–g. (7) Verse 23 is absent in 3 R but is partly represented, combined with 5:30, in 35h.

In sum, the thematic connection between the miscellanies and the re-ordering and rewriting reflected in 3 R is apparent not only in the very fact that the entire passage is set in a different context (1 Kings 9 versus 3 R 10) but also in several details that are missing in 3 R but extant in the miscellanies. There may have been more stages than we can reconstruct on the basis of the extant material, since there is no simple answer to the jigsaw puzzle of relationships, but the connections can hardly be accidental. The first miscellany seems to have played a part in the process that eventually yielded the revision reflected in 3 R. The same is true of the second miscellany.

### 1.2.2. 1 Kings 4:1–5:8//3 Reigns 2:46a–i

The second miscellany mainly relates data from another unit whose structure is complex, 4:1–5:8. The relationship in this case is even tighter. In fact, most of the material in the second miscellany parallels this exact unit. Only verses 46c–d, which refer to Solomon's fortifications in the north, have their counterpart elsewhere, in 1 Kings 9:18 (absent in 3 R). Even the opening and ending, said to be the compiler's contribution, seem to have been borrowed from the same context; the beginning (46aa) is reminiscent of 1 Kings 5:9, which immediately follows the unit under consideration. The ending (46l) is even more closely related to 1 Kings 4:1, which precedes the list of ministers that is also part of the miscellanies (46h).

At first glance, 1 Kings 4:1–5:8 seems to be a collection of data randomly placed next to each other, several repetitions included. A closer look reveals the arrangement the author must have had in mind, interlacing the needs of the royal court with notices on the king's extensive rule and the well-being of his people<sup>23</sup>.

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23. The partly chiasmic structure is reminiscent of the partly chiasmic structure of the entire reign of Solomon.

- 4:1 Solomon reigned over all Israel
- 4:2–6 Solomon's ministers
- 4:7–19 Solomon's prefects
  - 4:20 Well-being of Judah and Israel
    - 5:1 Solomon's rule
- 5:2–3 Solomon's table provisions
  - 5:4 Solomon's rule
    - 5:5 Well-being of Judah and Israel
- 5:6 Solomon's horses
- 5:7–8 The prefects provided for the king's table and the king's horses.

After stating that Solomon reigned over Israel (4:1) and listing the ministers at his side (4:2–6), the author adduces the long list of prefects (4:7–19). This is followed by two short statements regarding Israel's well-being (4:20) and Solomon's extensive rule (5:1). A report on the immense provisions for Solomon's table is next (5:2–3), again followed by short statements on Solomon's rule (5:4) and Israel's well-being (5:5). All this is supplemented by a notice on the king's horses and horsemen (5:6). A summary wraps it all up: the prefects provided for all the king's men and all the king's horses (5:7–8). While this arrangement may look like a non-structure, it is nevertheless premeditated.

The reviser of 3 R must have found this structure odd. One main thing caught his eye: the concluding verses (5:7–8) which, unlike the preceding text, mention the prefects explicitly, must belong together with the list of prefects. This is indeed the sequence he created: immediately following the list of prefects are the provisions they had to see to for the king's table as well as for his horses. Only then is the extent of the provisions for the king's table reported. Quite oddly, there is no information regarding his horses in this context; a parallel to 1 Kings 5:6 is, however, preserved in the miscellanies, 46i, as if its relevance was overlooked in the course of rearrangement<sup>24</sup>. The verses referring to Solomon's rule and Israel's well-being similarly remained stored away in the miscellanies (4:20//46a; 5:1//46b; 5:5//46g), and, except for one verse (5:4//46f–g)<sup>25</sup>, were not reinstated in the running narrative of 3 R.

In sum, both miscellanies are unmistakably connected with the process of reworking that took place in 3 R.

24. It also partly replaces the information in chapter 10:26.

25. Unlike the MT and 46f, 3 R does not record the syntactically awkward line *מִתַּפְסֵחַ וְעַד-עֵזָה בְּכָל-מַלְכֵי עֶבֶר הַנְּהָר*.

## 2. ARE THE MISCELLANIES A LATE POST-DEUTERONOMISTIC DOCUMENT?

Guy Darshan, in a thoroughgoing article published in 2006, turned things upside down. In his view, the miscellanies are neither a collection of variants nor excerpts from the running books of Kings. Rather, he believes that the miscellanies are the source and the books of Kings / Reigns the recipients. In his view, the miscellanies constitute a self-contained document composed as late as the time of Ezra-Nehemiah. This document came into the hands of late post-Deuteronomistic revisers of the Books of Kings, who disassembled it and scattered its ingredients, a piece here and a piece there, throughout the reign of Solomon<sup>26</sup>. Darshan is deeply entangled in his theory and tries, with great skill, to wrap it up from every possible angle. It remains, in my view, an artificial solution forced upon the material.

### 2.1. THE MILIEU OF THE MISCELLANIES

I find it completely unwarranted to quote passages from Ezra-Nehemiah and argue that their surmised affinity with the concept of the miscellanies proves that the latter were composed in the days of Ezra-Nehemiah. It is deplorable that such an upside-down course of thinking has infiltrated even a philological study such as Darshan's, as Ezra-Nehemiah obviously depends on the Book of Kings and not the other way round. Specifically, Darshan argues that the image of Solomon as a great king ruling the entire region 'beyond the river' must have emerged in the Persian period.<sup>27</sup> Solomon is indeed described in Ezra-Nehemiah as a great king: "we are rebuilding the house that was originally built many years ago; a great king of Israel built it and completed it" (Ezr 5:11). This verse might prove only one thing: that its author draws on the books of Kings, where many chapters are dedicated to Solomon's grandeur. Another verse is quoted to complement this connection, bringing the argumentation to the verge of Midrash: "Powerful kings have ruled over Jerusalem and exercised authority over the whole province of Beyond the River, and tribute, poll-tax, and land-tax were paid to them" (Ezra 4:20). Now, it is argued, the author of the miscellanies must have been aware of this verse, originally directed at the kings of Asshur and Babel, and adapted it to describe king Solomon (3 R 46b//1 Kings 5:1)!

Let me mention an even more subtle affinity between Kings and Ezr-Neh, albeit completely out of the range of the miscellanies. Nehemiah, alarmed at

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26. Darshan, "The Long Additions."

27. Darshan, "The Long Additions," 46–47.

the intermarriages with Ashdodite, Ammonite, and Moabite women, adduces the antecedent of Solomon: “and adjured them by God, saying, You shall not give your daughters in marriage to their sons, or take any of their daughters for your sons or yourselves. It was just in such things that King Solomon of Israel sinned! Among the many nations there was not a king like him, and so well loved was he by his God..., yet foreign wives caused even him to sin” (Neh 13:25b–26). The language and concept obviously echo 1 Kings 11: “King Solomon loved many foreign women...—Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite, Phoenician, and Hittite women, from the nations of which the Lord had said to the Israelites, None of you shall join them and none of them shall join you, lest they turn your heart away to follow their gods” (vv. 1–2). Both texts betray a Midrashic combination of the law of the Herem (Deut 7), addressed to the seven peoples of Canaan, and the law addressed to the Moabites, Ammonites and Edomites that should not “enter the assembly of God” (Deut 23:4–9).<sup>28</sup> Does this mean that 1 Kings 11 was written in the days of Ezra-Nehemiah? *Ezr-Neh* may have simply elaborated on the ideas reflected in the Book of Kings. But, even if the affinity does reflect on the late date of 1 Kings 11:1–8, it proves only that the late features in the Books of Kings have nothing to do with the miscellanies. There is no need to postulate a late document such as the miscellanies in order to explain the existence of a late stratum in Kings.

## 2.2. LITERARY DESIGN

The contention that the miscellanies are a self-contained document calls for literary proof. Indeed, Darshan provides two charts that demonstrate the allegedly careful structure of the miscellanies, both said to follow the pattern *abcd–c'b'a'*.<sup>29</sup> Such patterns appear quite frequently in recent studies designed to reveal the literary skills of late redactors and compilers; these patterns often are in the eyes of the designer, who molds the material into the shape he envisaged. In the case of the miscellanies, one can only wonder why bother: it is not clear why the suggested axis is an axis, and it is not clear in what way the items that surround it correspond to one another. (1) The boundaries: in the first miscellany the first two verses (35a–b), introducing Solomon’s wisdom, are left out, while in the second miscellany the first verse (46a), also introducing Solomon’s wisdom, plays an equal part in the structure. (2) The axis: how can 35f, concerned with the daughter of Pharaoh, be the axis of the first miscellany, when the daughter of Pharaoh is also the main interest of 35c? And how

28. The combination of the laws of Deut 7 and 23 is even more obvious in *Ezr* 9:12.

29. Darshan, “The Long Additions,” 29, 31.

are verses 46f–g, concerned with the extent of Solomon's rule and the welfare of the people, the axis of the second miscellany, when the very same topics are repeated in three of the other components of the pattern (46aα, b, and k)? (3) The correspondence: how does taking the daughter of Pharaoh (35c) correspond to the building of the cities (35i)? How does the list of Solomon's ministers (46h) parallel his building projects and the food served on his table (46c–e)? Moreover, even if someone of a more imaginative mind does detect some flavor of parallelism between these or other items, the parallelism is nevertheless artificial, a forced afterthought of the compiler of the miscellanies, not a planned pattern by an author of a document. Why would someone bother to construct a document of such an odd design, if it were not based on a previously existing group of unrelated items?

We know of documents that are, so to speak, manufactured into almost perfect (albeit completely artificial) structures, such as the supplement in 2 Sam 21–24, in which independent materials of different literary genres, of no chronological sequence and no contextual relationship were combined into an abc–c'b'a' skeleton. The same is true, to a certain extent, of the structure of the entire reign of Solomon, with the Temple in the center, surrounded primarily by materials related to the Temple and secondarily by accounts of Solomon's wisdom, riches and grandeur. However, while these structures were created in order to accommodate extant materials, the miscellanies are said to have been composed as a premeditated chronicle-look-alike document. How did it end up as such a defective composition?

### 2.3. LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

Darshan adduces some late features that arguably support the late provenance of the miscellanies. I argue against the quality of the evidence and its exclusivity.

One example is the phrase **יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל**. It occurs once in 1 Kings 5:5, paralleled in 46g, and besides these only in Chr (5 times). Is this good enough evidence for an exclusive late usage of this phrase? The Chronicler uses the phrase in the references to his assumed sources in the concluding formulae: **סִפֹּר מַלְכֵי־יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל** (4 times). However, he similarly uses the alternative sequence **סִפֹּר מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה** (3 times) in the very same formulae. Outside the formulae the phrase **יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל** occurs only once (2 Chr 35:18), while **יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיְהוּדָה** is much more frequent throughout Chr. And what do we make of the conclusion at 46l—probably formulated by the compiler of the miscellanies—that nevertheless uses **יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל**?

Another questionable feature adduced as indicative of late biblical Hebrew is the clause **וּשְׁלָם אֶת הַבַּיִת** (end of 9:25//35g): (1) In respect to the sequence

of tenses, it is argued that in classical Hebrew one would rather expect the consecutive *וַיִּשְׁלַם*. (2) In respect to vocabulary, it is argued that the author of Kings rather uses *כָּלָה* or *תָּמַם*, while *שָׁלַם* must come from the late interpolator. However, it is not advisable to draw conclusions on the basis of a text whose syntax and meaning are problematic. The verb may have been meant to continue the preceding iterative forms, ...*וַהֲעֵלָה* ...*וַהֲקִטִּיר*, or could have been influenced by them. The meaning, too, is not so easily comparable to the use of *כָּלָה* or *תָּמַם*; this is quite an odd place in the sequence of events to mention the completion of the house, and may mean something completely different.<sup>30</sup>

Another aspect to be addressed is whether there are arguably late features in the Solomon narrative outside the verses paralleled in the miscellanies. Darshan adduces a stylistic feature such as *אֲכָלִים וְשָׂתִים וְשִׁמְחִים* (4:20//46a), as a late expression, indicative of the existence of a late document that contributed its ingredients to the Books of Kings. Would the phrase *שִׂמְחָה גְּדוֹלָה* have a similar impact? It appears once in 1 Kings 1:40 *וְהָעָם מְחַלְלִים בְּחַלְלִים* and elsewhere only in late Biblical Hebrew: once in Jonah, 3 times in Nehemiah and 4 times in Chr. Would this be a sign that 1 Kings 1 too is a late post-Deuteronomistic creation? At the very least, it has nothing to do with the miscellanies.

Beyond the fragile argumentation regarding the historical background, the literary design and the linguistic evidence, there are general considerations that undermine this theory.

Contents-wise, there is one main flaw in the late-document theory. It is hardly imaginable that an author living in the days of Ezra-Nehemiah would compose a pseudo-chronicle about the great king Solomon, and leave out his main accomplishments. Where, if I may ask, is the Temple? He does not as much as summarize the grand Temple project. The Temple is mentioned only in second place, qualifying the relative time of other happenings. The very verse quoted from Ezra to establish the milieu of the miscellanies speaks of Solomon as the great king who built the Temple. This is what it is all about. But there is no independent report on the Temple throughout the miscellanies.

The miscellanies cannot even be labeled ‘theme summaries’,<sup>31</sup> since, without the temple and many other parts of the narrative, they do not “summarize verses relating to the central theme of chapters 3–10, Solomon’s wisdom.”<sup>32</sup> Is

30. If it does mean ‘to complete’ it would be a hapax, as registered in the dictionaries (BDB; HALOT); as such it cannot bear evidence on early or late strata in Kings.

31. A term borrowed from J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings* (OTL; London: SCM, 1964), 45; Tov, “Three Strange Books,” 5.

32. Tov, “Three Strange Books,” 19.



Solomon's wisdom better reflected in the number of his horses and porters than it is in the building of the palace or the Temple?

The surmised process that yielded the books of Kings and Reigns in their present forms presents another flaw in Darshan's theory. It is no easy matter to imagine a late document coming into the hands of two late post-Deuteronomistic revisers. The one at work in 1 Kings dismantled it and interwove its constituents into the Deuteronomistic composition, while the other, at work in 3 R, decided to include the entire document in one piece (or rather two).<sup>33</sup> It is even more difficult to imagine that these two revisers, independently, decided to disassemble the document that came into their hands and interweave its parts in the given work, sometimes at the very same point, and more frequently at completely different points.

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The miscellanies are no doubt an outstanding phenomenon. Nevertheless, I believe that we should not treat them on their own, but rather as part of literary processes reflected also on other occasions in 3 R, most remarkably within the reign of Solomon.

The author of the books of Kings used formerly existing materials and interpolated them—frequently keeping their detached form and odd style—into the framework of his own narrative, sometimes creating quite peculiar structures and sequences. Subsequent tradents such as the Chronicler and the reviser whose work is preserved in 3 R had to cope with these awkward frameworks as well as the data incorporated into them; sometimes the process resulted in yet other bizarre compositions, such as the reign of Solomon in 3 R.

The miscellanies are part of the effort to reorganize the reign of Solomon into a different sequence. The fact is that the greater part of the miscellanies, if not all of them, relate in one way or another to the discrepancies between 1 Kings and 3 R. I assume, therefore, that they contain data culled out from one version in order to be rearranged in the other. Notably, all the ingredients of the miscellanies are found in 1 Kings, while some of them are missing in 3 R (end of 35c; 35g; 35h; 46aβ; 46b; 46c–d; 46f; 46gβ). This would suggest that not all the components extracted from the former edition (1 Kings) were reinstalled in the revised version (3 R). It is my view, then, that the miscellanies do

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33. The comparable case of certain segments of Judg 1 interpolated in the book of Joshua is quite attractive.

not testify to the history of the book of Kings but rather to the history of the revision reflected in the book of Reigns.

In reference to the more general relationship between 1 Kings and 3 R, I return to Tov's evaluation of these versions compared with Esther and Daniel and their versions in the canonical books and in the LXX. In my view, they are comparable only to the point that all three books in their LXX versions contain large additional sections later interpolated in or appended to prior versions, more or less preserved in the Hebrew Bible. However, the similarity ends here. The difference between 3 R on the one hand and the LXX versions of Esther and Daniel on the other lies in the nature of the additional material. The additions in Esther and Daniel consist of completely new material; this is the case with the additions interpolated in the course of Esther and Daniel, not to speak of the stories of Bel and the Dragon and Susanna appended to Daniel. In that regard the literary activity demonstrated in Esther and Daniel should rather be compared to 1 Esdras. This book parallels parts of Chr-Ezra-Neh, with the addition of the unparalleled Story of the Youths (1 Esd 3–4). On the other hand, the reviser at work in 3 R mainly reorganizes the same ingredients into a different sequence and design. This is obvious even in regard to the alternative story of the division of the kingdom appended at 3 R 12:24a–z, which, indeed, has a literary design of its own, but scarcely contains a passage that is totally unparalleled in 1 Kings. All the more so in the miscellanies, all made of materials known from the book itself and reorganized into a different sequence and makeup.

### 3 Reigns 2

### Reconstruction

#### 35a (= 1K 3R 5:9)

Καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σαλωμων  
καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα  
καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος  
ἢ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν

ויתן יהוה חכמה לשלמה  
ותבונה הרבה מאד  
ורחב לב כחול  
אשר על שפת הים

#### 35b (= 1K 3R 5:10)

καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ φρόνησις Σαλωμων σφόδρα  
ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων ἀρχαίων υἱῶν  
καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου

ותרב חכמת שלמה מאד  
מחכמת כל בני קדם  
ומכל חכמי מצרים

#### 35c (= 1K 3:1b; 3R 5:14a)

καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραω  
καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ  
ἕως συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις  
καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ἱερουσαλημ κυκλόθεν

ויקח את בת פרעה  
ויביאה אל עיר דוד  
עד כלתו לבנות את ביתו  
ואת בית יהוה בראשונה  
ואת חומת ירושלם סביב

(≈ 1K 6:38b; >1R)

ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν ἐποίησεν καὶ συνετέλεσεν

**35d (= 1K 3R 5:29)**

καὶ ἦν τῷ Σαλωμων

ἐβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες αἶροντες ἄρσιν

καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα χιλιάδες λατόμων ἐν τῷ ὄρει

**35e (≈ 1K 7:41, 43–44 = 1R 7:27, 29–30)**

καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν

καὶ τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα

καὶ τοὺς λουτήρας τοὺς μεγάλους

καὶ τοὺς στύλους

καὶ τὴν κρήνην τῆς αὐλῆς

καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῇν

**35f (≈ 1K 3R 11:27b)**

καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν

καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς

καὶ διέκοψεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ

(= 1K 9:24; 3R 9:9a)

οὕτως θυγάτηρ Φαραω ἀνέβαινεν

ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ

εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς ὃν ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτῇ

τότε ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν

**35g (= 1K 9:25; >3R)**

καὶ Σαλωμων ἀνέφερεν

τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἑνιαυτῷ

ὀλοκαυτώσεις καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον

ὃ ᾠκοδόμησεν τῷ κυρίῳ

καὶ ἔθυμία ἐνώπιον κυρίου

καὶ συνετέλεσεν τὸν οἶκον

**35h (≈ 1K 3R 5:30; ≈ 1K 9:23 >3R)**

καὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ καθεσταμένοι

ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σαλωμων

τρεῖς χιλιάδες καὶ ἑξακόσιοι

ἐπιστάται τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ποιούντων τὰ ἔργα

**35i (≈ 1K 9:15, 17–18; 3R 10:22a)**

καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν τὴν Ἀσσουρ

καὶ τὴν Μαγδω καὶ τὴν Γαζερ

καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρων τὴν ἐπάνω καὶ τὰ Βααλαθ

**35k (> 1K 3R)**

πλὴν μετὰ τὸ οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν

οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου

καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ἱερουσαλημ κύκλῳ

בשבע שנים עשה ויכל

ויהי לשלמה

שבעים אלף נשא סבל

ושמנים אלף חצב בהר

ויעש שלמה את הים

ואת? הפקעים?

ואת הכיורות הגדולים

ואת העמודים

ואת? ברכת? החצר

ואת ים הנחשת

ויבן את המלוא

ואת??

ויפרץ את עיר דוד

?אך? בת פרעה עלתה?

מעיר דוד

אל ביתה אשר בנה לה

אז בנה את המלוא

ושלמה העלה

שלש (פעמים) בשנה

עלות ושלמים על המזבח

אשר בנה ליהוה

והקטיר לפני יהוה

ושלם את הבית

ואלה שרי הנצבים

על המלאכה לשלמה

שלשת אלפים ושש מאות

רדים בעם העשים במלאכה

ויבן את חצור

ואת מגדו ואת גזר

ואת בית חורון עליון ואת בעלת

רק אחרי בנתו את בית יהוה

ואת חומת ירושלים סביב

μετὰ ταῦτα ὥκοδόμησεν τὰς πόλεις ταύτας **35l-o (= 1K 3R 2:8-9)** אחרי כן בנה את הערים האלה

35l

Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι Δαυιδ ζῆν  
ἐνετείλατο τῷ Σαλωμων λέγων  
Ἴδου μετὰ σοῦ Σεμεΐ υἱὸς Γηρα  
υἱὸς σπέρματος τοῦ Ἰεμινι ἐκ Χεβρων

ובעוד דוד חי  
צוה את שלמה לאמר  
הנה עמך שמעי בן גרא  
בן זרע הימיני מחברון

35m

οὗτος κατηράσατό με κατάραν ὀδυνηράν  
ἐν ἣ ἡμέρα ἐπορευόμην εἰς Παρεμβολάς  
35n

הוא קללני קללה נמרצת  
ביום לכתי מחנים

καὶ αὐτὸς κατέβαινεν εἰς ἀπαντὴν μοι ἐπὶ  
τὸν Ἰορδάνην

והוא ירד לקראתי הירדן

καὶ ὤμοσα αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου λέγων  
Εἰ θανατωθήσεται ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ

ואשבוע לו ביהוה לאמר  
אם יומת בחרב

35o

καὶ νῦν μὴ ἀθώωσης αὐτόν  
ὅτι ἀνὴρ φρόνιμος σὺ  
καὶ γνώσῃ ἃ ποιήσεις αὐτῷ  
καὶ κατὰξεις τὴν πολιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐν αἵματι  
εἰς ἄδου

ועתה אל תנקהו  
כי איש חכם אתה  
וידעת את אשר תעשה לו  
והורדת את שיבתו בדם שאול

**46a (> 1K 3R)**

Καὶ ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων  
φρόνιμος σφόδρα καὶ σοφός  
(= 1K 4:20; > 3R)

ויהי המלך שלמה  
חכם מאד ונבון

καὶ Ἰουδα καὶ Ἰσραὴλ πολλοὶ σφόδρα  
ὥς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς πλῆθος  
ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ χαίροντες

ויהודה וישראל רבים מאד  
כחול אשר על הים לרב  
אכלים ושתיים ושמחים

**46b (= 1K 5:1; > 3R)**

καὶ Σαλωμων ἦν ἄρχων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς  
βασιλείαις

ושלמה היה מושל בכל הממלכות

καὶ ἦσαν προσφέροντες δῶρα  
καὶ ἐδούλευον τῷ Σαλωμων  
πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ

ויהיו מגשים מנחה  
ועבדים את שלמה  
כל ימי חייו

**46c (≈ 1K 9:18; > 3R)**

καὶ Σαλωμων ἤρξατο διανοίγειν  
τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου

ושלמה החל ל??  
את ?? הלבנון

**46d (≈ 1K 9:18; > 3R)**

καὶ αὐτὸς ὥκοδόμησεν τὴν Θερμαι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ

והוא בנה את תדמר במדבר

**46e (= 1K 3R 5:2-3)**

καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄριστον τῷ Σαλωμων

וזה לחם שלמה

<p> <b>46f</b> (<math>\approx</math> 1K 3R 5:4a)  <b>46g</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 3R 5:4b)  <b>46h</b> (<math>\approx</math> 1K 3R 4:2–6)  <b>46i</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 5:6 <math>&gt;</math> 3R; <math>\approx</math> 3R 10:26)  <b>46k</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 5:1a; 3R 10:26a) </p>	<p> שְׁלִשִּׁים כּוֹר סֶלֶת  וּשְׁשִׁים כּוֹר קִמְחָא?  עֶשְׂרֵה בִקְר בְּרִירִים  וְעֶשְׂרִים בִּקְר רֵעִי  וּמֵאָה צֶאֱן לְבַד מֵאִיל וְצִבִי  וּבְרִבְרִים אֲבוּסִים  כִּי הוּא רָדָה בְּכָל עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר  מִ? עַד עֵזָה  בְּכָל מַלְכֵי עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר  וַיְהִי לוֹ שְׁלוֹם  מִכָּל עֲבָרָיו מִסְבִּיב  וַיֵּשֶׁב יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְבֶטֶח  אִישׁ תַּחַת גִּפְנוֹ  וְתַחַת תְּאֵנָתוֹ  אֲכָלִים וְשִׁתִּים  מִדָּן וְעַד בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע  כָּל יְמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה  וְאַלְהָה הַשָּׂרִים אֲשֶׁר לְשְׁלֹמֹה  עֲזָרְהוּ בֶן צְדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן  וְ? אֲרִנְיָה? בֶן נֹתָן  שֶׁר הַנְּצִבִים  וְ? אֲדָרָם? עַל בֵּיתוֹ  וְ? שִׁישָׁא? סוֹפֵר  וְ? בֶן אַחִי? מִזְכִּיר  וְ? אֲבִי? בֶן יוֹאֵב עַל הַצֶּבֶא  וְ? אַחִירָה? בֶן עֲדֵרָאִי? עַל הַמֶּס  וּבְנֵיהוּ בֶן יְהוֹיָדָע  עַל הַכְּרֹתִי? וְעַל הַפְּלֹתִי?  וְזָכוֹר בֶּן נֹתָן הַיּוֹעֵץ  וַיְהִי לְשְׁלֹמֹה  אַרְבַּעִים אֶלֶף אֲרוֹת סוּסִים לְמִרְכָּבוֹ  וּשְׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר אֶלֶף פָּרָשִׁים  וַיְהִי מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל הַמְּלָכִים </p>
<p> <b>46f</b> (<math>\approx</math> 1K 3R 5:4a)  <b>46g</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 3R 5:4b)  <b>46h</b> (<math>\approx</math> 1K 3R 4:2–6)  <b>46i</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 5:6 <math>&gt;</math> 3R; <math>\approx</math> 3R 10:26)  <b>46k</b> (<math>=</math> 1K 5:1a; 3R 10:26a) </p>	<p> שְׁלִשִּׁים כּוֹר סֶלֶת  וּשְׁשִׁים כּוֹר קִמְחָא?  עֶשְׂרֵה בִקְר בְּרִירִים  וְעֶשְׂרִים בִּקְר רֵעִי  וּמֵאָה צֶאֱן לְבַד מֵאִיל וְצִבִי  וּבְרִבְרִים אֲבוּסִים  כִּי הוּא רָדָה בְּכָל עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר  מִ? עַד עֵזָה  בְּכָל מַלְכֵי עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר  וַיְהִי לוֹ שְׁלוֹם  מִכָּל עֲבָרָיו מִסְבִּיב  וַיֵּשֶׁב יְהוּדָה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְבֶטֶח  אִישׁ תַּחַת גִּפְנוֹ  וְתַחַת תְּאֵנָתוֹ  אֲכָלִים וְשִׁתִּים  מִדָּן וְעַד בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע  כָּל יְמֵי שְׁלֹמֹה  וְאַלְהָה הַשָּׂרִים אֲשֶׁר לְשְׁלֹמֹה  עֲזָרְהוּ בֶן צְדוֹק הַכֹּהֵן  וְ? אֲרִנְיָה? בֶן נֹתָן  שֶׁר הַנְּצִבִים  וְ? אֲדָרָם? עַל בֵּיתוֹ  וְ? שִׁישָׁא? סוֹפֵר  וְ? בֶן אַחִי? מִזְכִּיר  וְ? אֲבִי? בֶן יוֹאֵב עַל הַצֶּבֶא  וְ? אַחִירָה? בֶן עֲדֵרָאִי? עַל הַמֶּס  וּבְנֵיהוּ בֶן יְהוֹיָדָע  עַל הַכְּרֹתִי? וְעַל הַפְּלֹתִי?  וְזָכוֹר בֶּן נֹתָן הַיּוֹעֵץ  וַיְהִי לְשְׁלֹמֹה  אַרְבַּעִים אֶלֶף אֲרוֹת סוּסִים לְמִרְכָּבוֹ  וּשְׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר אֶלֶף פָּרָשִׁים  וַיְהִי מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל הַמְּלָכִים </p>

ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἕως γῆς ἀλλοφύλων  
καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου

**46l** (≈1K 3R 4:1)

Σαλωμων υἱὸς Δαυιδ ἐβασίλευσεν  
ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ καὶ Ἰουδα ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ

מִן הַנָּהָר וְעַד אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים  
וְעַד גְּבוּל מִצְרַיִם

שְׁלֹמֹה בֶן דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ  
עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהוּדָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם

# Different Distribution of Agreements between LXX<sup>1</sup> and Medieval Hebrew Variants in *Kaige* and Non-*kaige* Sections of III–IV Regnorum

*Pablo Torijano Morales*

**Abstract:** 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has shown that the text of I–IV Regnorum translates a Hebrew that differs from that of the MT. John Wevers concluded “that [in Kings] the Hebrew [medieval] variants have perpetuated pre-Masoretic traditions which were the basis for certain readings in LXX and the later Greek recensions. Possibly most significant of all are the many instances of striking agreements of Luc with the Hebrew variants, since Lucian revised LXX on the basis of a Hebrew text older than MT.” The aim of this paper is to revise Wevers’s classification of variants by adding a factor that he did not take into account, the distribution of such agreements between *kaige* and non-*kaige* sections. The number and type of those agreements is distributed in a meaningfully different way between both sections. The paper focuses mainly on the analysis of the agreements of Luc with Hebrew variants in medieval manuscripts: 121 cases in *kaige* section and 32 in non-*kaige* section. This type of analysis helps us to judge the critical value of the L readings that could appertain to OG and reflect a Hebrew variant different from the one preserved by the Receptus.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Greek version of the LXX is a literary work, which has a value of its own. It has been rightly criticized quite often that it was used in the past almost exclusively in terms of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. Today we are more aware that, as J. W. Wevers affirmed:

Before the Septuagint can be used in the text criticism of the Hebrew text, 1. the nature and limitations of the Greek language in contrast to those of the Hebrew language must be thoroughly understood. The text critic must understand and be able to contrast the grammatical coding systems of the source language and the target language. 2. The critic must make also a prior

attempt at a critical judgment of the text of the version itself in order to be sure that the Greek reading is truly Septuagint and not the result of inner Greek or scribal error. And 3. one must fully understand just how and from what points of view this translation was done by a particular translator.

The text critic must approach his or her task not only in broad and general terms but also in the details of translation technique.<sup>1</sup>

Wevers' article focuses on the books of the Pentateuch and precedes the publication of the Qumran manuscripts, particularly those corresponding to the historical books, among which there are texts akin to the Hebrew original of the Septuagint as 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and "unaligned" or "independent" texts as 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> and also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.<sup>2</sup> These manuscripts have underlined the remarkable textual plurality of the historical books in the Qumran period. Until the publication of these Mss, the textual criticism of the Hebrew text was limited to readings in the ancient versions, differences of Kethib and Qere, and variants in the medieval Hebrew manuscripts. After Qumran, we speak about the existence of two or more editions of these biblical books.<sup>3</sup>

The historical books still await the critical edition of their Greek text in the Göttingen Septuaginta Series. Therefore, one of the conditions established by Wevers is not yet fulfilled—the possible reconstruction of the Hebrew text that was the basis for the Greek version of these books, and the posterior critical reconstruction of the Hebrew text.

On the other hand, we know now that the study of the translation technique has to be done on a book by book basis, even on a section by section basis, as it is the case in the kaige and non-kaige sections of Samuel-Kings. The Greek text of 4 Kingdoms, on which we focus here, corresponds to the γδ section identified by Thackeray and assigned later to the kaige recension by Barthélemy after the discovery and study of the twelve Prophets Scroll of Naḥal Ḥever.<sup>4</sup> This means that in the case of 4 Kingdoms the text of the first or original translation (OG) is not available to us and can be therefore considered as lost for the most part. What has reached us is the text of a recension

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1. J. W. Wevers, *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 15–24.

2. E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2nd ed.; JBS 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997).

3. E. Ulrich, "Characteristics and Limitations of the Old Latin Translation of the Septuagint," in *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Madrid: CSIC, 1985), 67–80.

4. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup X; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 31–68, 91–143; H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907): 262–78.



that revises the old translation of a Hebrew text of a proto-Masoretic sort, that differed from the one that lay at the basis for the first version and that was also different to a lesser degree from the Masoretic text that has arrived to us through the Medieval tradition. The text itself of 4 Kingdoms that we have, is defined by referring to a Hebrew text, which was undergoing the process of becoming preeminent in proto-rabbinic circles around the change of the era, and which is also defined in opposition to the Old Greek translation that was beginning to be rejected for not being considered faithful to its supposed Hebrew original.

The text transmitted by Codex Vaticanus and by the majority of the manuscript tradition is that of a recension characterized by a tendency to systematize the Greek equivalents of specific Hebrew words or roots and, generally speaking, to revise the text of the original version according to a Proto-Masoretic Hebrew text. This B text is followed by Rahlfs in his edition, with several contributions taken mainly from the A text. It is the one translated into English in the NETS, precisely under the designation of “kaige text”, and into German in the *Septuaginta Deutsch* as well.<sup>5</sup> It is a revised text that sometimes does not mind forcing the grammar and syntax of the Greek language in pursuit of its purpose of “coming back to the Hebrew.” Therefore, it is necessary to study the correspondence between this Greek text and its Hebrew original, both for the understanding of the Greek text and the critical edition itself of LXX Kingdoms as well as for the subsequent textual criticism of the Hebrew text. We will give an example right away.

But first it is necessary to mention the Lucianic recension that, as E. Tov observes, reflects many significant Hebrew variants.<sup>6</sup> Effectively, the text of this recension is based upon a previous one, proto-Lucianic, attested both by the OL, the pre-hexaplaric strata of the Armenian and Georgian versions, as well as by the reading of Josephus and the Hebrew readings transmitted in the parallels of 2 Chronicles. The German translation of the LXX introduces readings taken from the Lucianic recension and puts them in parallel with the typical kaige readings.

In this paper, I will study the relation between the LXX textual variants and the Hebrew medieval variants in Kings. J. W. Wevers dedicated a long and detailed study, published in 1945, to this question. Wevers begins his article proposing the following hypothesis:

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5. A. Pietersma A. and B. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009).

6. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint*, 152.

If it can be demonstrated that pre-Masoretic traditions are perpetuated by readings in the mss. collated by Kennicott and de Rossi (as well as by Ginsburg) then these variants must be considered in a new light in the textual criticism of the O.T.<sup>7</sup>

Wevers classifies the 629 variants in the following sections, in which G corresponds to “the original Greek of the Septuagint as far as that can be determined from the existing evidence”:<sup>8</sup>

1. Instances where G has counterparts in the Hebrew Variants
  - a. Cases where G, Hex and Luc together agree with the Hebrew variants 246
  - b. Cases where both G and Hex agree with the Hebrew Variants 33
  - c. Cases where G and Luc agree with the Hebrew Variants 75
  - d. Instances in which only G agrees with the Hebrew Variants 66
2. Instances where Hex agrees with the Hebrew Variants
  - a. Cases where both Hex and Luc agree with the Hebrew Variants 20
  - b. Instances where only Hex agrees with the Hebrew Variants 35
3. Instances where Luc agrees with the Hebrew Variants<sup>9</sup> 154

Considering the text “G” as OG as Wevers does (= B text), there are 420 cases of agreement between medieval Hebrew mss and the OG (66.77% of the total). Such proportion is too important to dismiss them without further study, despite Goshen-Gottstein’s opinion against the value of the MM variants.<sup>10</sup> However, he did recognize that the situation could vary from book to book.<sup>11</sup>

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7. John W. Wevers, “A Study in the Hebrew Variants in the Books of Kings,” *ZAW* 20 (1945–48): 43–76, especially p. 45.

8. John W. Wevers, “A Study,” p. 46.

9. For the full list of cases and correspondences see the appendix at the end of the paper.

10. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition,” *Bib* 48 (1967): 243–90.

11. Goshen-Gottstein affirms several times through the whole of his article that the situation could vary depending on the book, see “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts,” pp. 282, 283, 284, 286 and especially P. 287: “In our views of the growth of the Hebrew ‘Masoretic Text’, as gained from the analysis of both medieval and pre-medieval MSS, there is nothing that induces to assume that the fate of all the books was absolutely identical. On the other hand, we have as yet no reason to assume slightly different histories for different books,

Wevers' classification does not take into account the division of the text in *kaige* (βγ 1 Kgs 1:1–2:11, γδ 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs)) and non-*kaige* sections (γγ 1 Kgs 2:12–21:43) and the fact that in *kaige* sections “G” does not represent the OG text but a recension which goes back to a proto-Masoretic text. In order to reconstruct the OG text of these sections we have to resort to a pre-Lucianic text which has to be also reconstructed from the Lucianic recension and witnesses like the OL, Josephus, the prehexaplaric level of the Armenian and Georgian versions, and also the parallel Hebrew text of Chronicles. Rahlfs himself resorted to the Hebrew text to decide about those passages where the Lucianic reading is to be considered pre-Lucian “weil sie... wahrscheinlich auf alte hebräische Grundlage zurückgeht”. From the 34 cases of pre-Lucianic readings accepted by Rahlfs 23 correspond to a *kaige* section, and only 9 to the non-*kaige* section.<sup>12</sup>

If we take into account the division in *kaige* and non-*kaige* sections, the distribution of agreements between Greek readings and Hebrew variants gives the following results:

1. G has Counterparts in the Hebrew Variants	Non- <i>kaige</i> Section	<i>Kaige</i> Section
a. G. Hex and Luc = Mss	134	109
b. G and Hex = Mss	10	23
c. G and Luc = Mss	50	30
d. Only G = Mss	21	41
2. Hex agrees with the Hebrew Variants		
a. Hex and Luc = Mss	6	14
b. Only Hex = Mss	22	16
3. Luc agrees with the Hebrew Variants	32	121

Regarding this distribution it is possible to make three considerations:

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apart from the obvious slight differences of ‘spread’ of readings connected with the liturgic position of the books. However, *the analysis of readings such as in the Book of Kings may at least justify mentioning the possibility that different results may be obtained for different books (or parts) of the Bible and that, accordingly, we may have to reckon with different ‘breadths’ of the ‘central current’ and different strengths of the ‘trickle’ from the side.*” (my italics). It is clear that Wevers’ article made Goshen Gottstein leave a door open for a different situation in Kings.

12. A. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (Septuaginta-Studien III; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911) 283–290.

1. Again the most outstanding fact is the high proportion of cases in which L agrees alone with Mss in *kaige* sections, 121 (79.08%), as compared with 32 cases in the non-*kaige* section (20.91%). Given that in the *kaige* sections the Lucianic text preserves a proto-Lucianic textual layer akin to the OG, the agreements of Mss with proto-Lucianic readings attest a different Hebrew text akin to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG.

In many cases the coincidences between L and Mss are shared as well by the secondary versions of the Septuagint, mainly, the Ethiopic, Armenian, Coptic Georgian and Old Latin, which could confirm the pre-Lucianic character and, finally OG, of the variants of L. In 72 of the 121 cases of agreements between L and the Mss, these versions support the variant. This 58% of agreement is distributed according to the following table:

Georgian	32	1 Kgs 1:3; 1:17.27 2 Kgs 2:12.15b; 3:18; 4:13.35; 5:7.8.12.27; 6:32; 7:12.12b; 8:24; 9:32; 10:14b.18.19.28.33; 14:21; 15:14.20; 16:9; 19:6; 20:14; 21:22.25; 15:14
Armenian	4	2 Kgs 5:7b; 15:16; 16:19b; 22:9
Ethiopic	5	2 Kgs 5:18; 6:12; 7:9; 16:19;
Coptic	2	20:21
Old Latin	3	2 Kgs 15:26.31
Syrohexapla	2	2 Kgs 6:12; 15:38; 18:16
Armenian + Georgian	9	1 Kgs 1:1; 2 Kgs 7:3 1 Kgs 1:16; 2 Kgs 2:15.21; 4:26;
Armenian + Coptic + Georgian +	1	14:13; 15:25; 18:14; 20:8; 23:3
Old Latin	3	1 Kgs 1:52
Georgian + Old Latin	1	1 Kgs 2:1; 2 Kgs 3:7; 6:8
Ethiopic + Armenian + Georgian	1	1 Kgs 1:12
Armenian + Coptic + Georgian	2	1 Kgs 12:19
Armenian + Ethiopic	6	2 Kgs 18:34; 24:12
Ethiopic + Georgian		2 Kgs 4:2.5; 10:19b; 11:19; 19:14; 23:6
Ethiopic + Old Latin + Georgian	1	2 Kgs 10:6
Ethiopic + Georgian + SyroH	1	2 Kgs 10:31

The weight of some of the versions, such as the Georgian and the Armenian, is important in the total result. In 60 cases (84%) either Armenian, the Georgian or both at the same time agree with the L and the Mss. According to these data, the Caucasian versions constitute important witnesses to the

Lucianic recension, which have been underestimated till now<sup>13</sup>. On the other hand, it has to be noted that the fragmentary state of some of the versions, mainly the Coptic and the OL, precludes us from getting an exact idea of their importance in the overall picture.

2. It is also noteworthy the quantity of cases in which the Mss agree only with the B text (Mss = B<sup>1</sup> AL): 21 in non-*kaige* section and 41 in the *kaige* sections. Wevers' abbreviation "G" designates here only the B text (manuscripts B 121–509), that in *kaige* section is a recensional text. Of the 41 cases of agreement between the Mss and the B text, 26 are omissions.

3. Most of the variants of the Mss agree with the Greek text of B, A and L. Normally, they correspond to OG readings. Almost every one of the 134 variants in non-*kaige* section and of the 109 variants in *kaige* sections follows that pattern.

Finally, the Hebrew medieval variants preserve occasionally a *kaige*-like text, a fossilized stage of the development of the Hebrew text toward the MT. Such a case is 2 Kgs 15:10, which is an example of agreement between Mss + Versions with the *kaige* text.<sup>14</sup> As a basis for the discussion I am providing a draft to the Greek critical text that Prof. Treballe and I are preparing for the Septuaginta Göttingen edition:

4 Reigns 15:10 καὶ συνεστράφη ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σελλημ υἱὸς Ιαβεις καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ιερλσαμ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Σελλημ.

B V O L C I C II b d f o s t x z mixti Aeth Arm Cop Geor Josephus<sup>15</sup>

13. We owe to Andrés Piquer the research on the Georgian version, cfr. A. Piquer, P. Torijano, J. Treballe, "Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions. The Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latin, Armenian and Georgian Versions in *III-IV Regnorum*", in *Translating a Translation. The Septuagint and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, (ed. H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 251–281.

14. The Lucianic text preserves here the pre-*kaige* or OG reading: ἐν Ιβλσαμ (ביבליסם)

15. The list of the manuscripts distributed in several groups according to their textual filiation is as follows: B V A-247 (=O) 19–82–93–127 (=L), 98–243–379–731 (CI), 46–52–236–242–313–328–530 (CII), 121, 44–06–107–125–610 (d), 56–246 (f), 64–381 (o), 92–130–314–488–489–762 (s), 74–120–134 (t), 68–122 (z), 55–71–158–244–245–318–342–372–460–554–700–707<sup>s</sup> (mixti). Following the convention of the Göttingen LXX, the uncials would appear at the beginning of every entry but for A that is included in the O group; when the letter designating a mss group is capital, it means that it constitutes a true recension. This point specially applies to O L and C. For the general disposition of the

συνεστράφη L 460 700 Cop SyrH] συνεστραφησαν rel | ἐπ' ] εν 530 ; προς 247 121 488 | αυτο 245 | Σελλημ 82–127] σελλειμ 460 ; σελημ 108 ; σελειμ 19 ; σεαλημ 93 ; ελειμ 700 ; σελουμ 46'–328 106–107\*–610 64\* 71 342 ; σελλομ 121 Aeth ; σελαουν 158 ; σελλος 247 488 ; **σελλομ** rel ; σελλημου Jos | υἱός] pr ο 242–530 ; > d<sup>-106</sup> | Ιαβεις ] ιαβις A b f 381 71 342 Arm Geor ; αβης 245 ; ιαμεις 106 | και 2° B L 460 700] pr και κεβλααμ A 121; pr και κεβλαμ 247 488 ; pr και βδααμ V\* 74 ; pr και κεβδααν 134 ; pr και κεβδααμ CII 509 d f 381 s–488 120 z 245 342 707 ; pr και κεβδααμ ( κευδααμ 527 ; κεδδααμ CI 244 ; βελδααμ 71 ; Bala'an Aeth) και σελλημ (σελημ CI 55 71 244 ; σελλιμ 554 ; σελειμ 527 ) ο πατηρ αυτου CI 64 x 55 71 158 244 372 554 Aeth SyrH<sup>ms</sup> | ἐπάταξεν L 460 700] επαταξαν B VO rel | αὐτόν] > 125 ; + κεβδααμ B ; + κατεναντι του λαου O 127 121 488 Arm SyrH<sup>txt</sup> | ἐν Ιεβλααμ (ιεβασαν 158 ; *Blaam* Cop) L<sup>-127</sup> 460 700 Cop] om rel | καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν B<sup>c</sup> 127] και εθανατωσαν αυτον B\* VO C' b d f o s t x z *mixti*<sup>-460 700</sup> ; > L<sup>-127</sup> 460 700 Aeth ; + εν ιεβλααμ 127 | ἐβασίλευσεν B L 460] pr Σελλομ (σελουμ 243–731 46'–328 106–125 71 342 554 ; σελλουν 158) rel SyrH ; εβασιλευσαν 700 ; + *Sellum* Arm ; *Sellom* Aeth | Σελλημ ( pr ο L 460 700 ; σελλιμ 460 700 ; σελειμ 19 ; σελημ 108 ) L 460 700 ] > rel

The proposed text differs from Rahlfs in several points. The MT reads: “And he [Shallum] struck him down) before the people (and killed him)”. The Greek text according to Rahlfs’ edition and the NETS translations says: “And Selloum son of Iabis and Keblaam conspired against him, and they struck him and put him to death”. The discussion turns on the MT reading קבל, suspect because the Aramaic word קבל is not attested elsewhere in biblical Hebrew.<sup>16</sup> The lack of article before קבל is also strange. The reading of the Lucianic text ἐν Ιεβλααμ corresponds to the Hebrew ביבִלעם. We would have here the toponym Yibelam, alluded in 2 Kgs 9:27, a town near to Megiddo. This

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critical apparatus see any introduction of the Critical Editions in the Göttingen series. For a description of the different mss that have been collated see A. RAHLFS *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmens 2; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914). The study of the textual filiations of a partial collation based in Brooke-McLean's Edition was made for 1 Samuel by S. P. Brock and can be extrapolated grosso modo to 1–2 Kings as well; see SEBASTIAN BROCK, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch; Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1987).

16. Rendsburg takes qābol (“before”), “as an IH feature, linking this dialect of ancient Hebrew with the Aramaic dialects spoken to the northeast,” see G. A. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Book of Kings* (Bathesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 2002), 126.

reading Ιβλααμ, preserves the old form of the geographical name, against the tendency toward the loss of initial yod, already attested in the Hebrew text of 1 Chr 6:55, where Yibleam appears in the form of בִּלְעָם, that also appears in the Coptic reading in our text of 2 Kgs 15:10. This tendency produces the modern Arabic toponym *Tell Belameh*. Some medieval Hebrew manuscripts preserve in 1 Chr 6:55 the fuller form יבִלְעָם (as well as the LXX<sup>AL</sup> and the Targum), that is found as well in 2 Kgs 9:27; Judg 1:27 and Josh 17:11. Such was the Cananite name *ybl'm*, transcribed into Egyptian as y-b-r'-m.<sup>17</sup>

Thus, the Lucianic reading ἐν Ιβλααμ belongs to the pre-Lucianic layer, and therefore to the OG, which reflects the Hebrew reading בִּיבִלְעָם. However, in order to strengthen this conclusion, it is necessary to explain both this and the alternative reading within the context of each one.

The variant κεβδααμ witnessed by the majority kaige text as well as the Hexaplaric variant Κεβλααμ correspond to a different form of the Hebrew in one word, קְבִלְעָם, which appears in many medieval Hebrew manuscripts.<sup>18</sup> Leaving aside the Greek paleographical difference, it is important to note that the reading of the kaige text Κεβλααμ (= קְבִלְעָם ) is found in many medieval Hebrew mss (קְבִלְעָם). The Masora assumed the existence of this reading, and Yebet ben Ely also knew the two traditions קְבִלְעָם and קְבִל אִם.<sup>19</sup> The Hexaplaric text also contains the reading κατέναντι τοῦ λαοῦ, that appears in the Aramaic, SyroHexapla and Vulgata versions as well and that would reflect a proto-Masoretic reading.

In the *kaige* and Hexaplaric texts the term κεβδααμ/κεβλααμ (confusion A / Λ) is not a toponym but the name of a character who, together with Sellum, hits and kills Zechariah, king of Israel. Because of that, the verbs are in plural form, συνεστράφησαν ... συνεστράφησαν ... ἐθανάτωσαν, instead of the singular form of MT וימיתו ... ויכהו ... ויקשר. Rahlfs follows the major-

17. Y. Aaron, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography* (London:1968<sup>2</sup>), 148.

18. The reading of Codex Vaticanus (B) has no value here as it is the case in many other occasions in which it is found isolated regarding the rest of the textual tradition. It distribute in an incongruent form the names of the two conspirators among the plural verbs: καὶ συνεστράφησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σελλουμ υἱὸς Ιαβεις καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτὸν Κεβλααμ καὶ ἐθανάτωσαν αὐτόν ("And conspired (pl.) against him Selloum son of Iabis and struck (pl.) him Keblaam and they put him to death"). The mss 243 119 55 71 158 554 Aeth and SyrH<sup>mg</sup> mention that Kebdaam was Shellum's son: καὶ συνεστράφησαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σελλουμ υἱὸς Ιαβεις καὶ Κεβδααμ καὶ Σελλημ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτόν.

19. D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancient Testament* (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 4 vols) , vol. 1. 403–404. Barthélemy notes that the reading קְבִל עָם has to be vocalized without sewa under the lamed. This is the vocalization of the Leningrad Codex that takes the reading in one word against its own masora.

ity kaige text although he takes from the A group the reading that was nearer to the MT, κεβλααμ.<sup>20</sup>

On its side, the Lucianic text καὶ συνέστραφη ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σελλημ υἱὸς Ιαβεις, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ιεβλααμ has the verbs in singular form like the MT. It omits, however, due to parablepsis, the terms καὶ ἐθανάτωσαν αὐτὸν (MT וַיִּמָּיתֵהוּ), that form part of the narrative sequence of the so-called “Putschbericht” or report of conspiracy.<sup>21</sup> But in this case, it has to be pointed out the singular form ἐθανάτωσεν of B<sup>a</sup> 127.

On the basis furnished by these data, it is possible to propose that the proto-Lucianic reading ἐν Ιεβλααμ is the nearest one to OG. Like MT, the OG had singular verbal forms, being their only subject Shalum: καὶ συνέστραφη ἐπ' αὐτὸν Σελλημ υἱὸς Ιαβεις, καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτὸν ἐν Ιεβλααμ καὶ ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτόν. The underlying Hebrew text was then: וַיִּקְשֶׁר עָלָיו שָׁלֹם בֶּן יִבְשׁ וַיִּמָּיתֵהוּ בִּבְלַעַם. In the same way the reading κεβλααμ is not an inner Greek development but reflects a Kaige-like Hebrew original; the following table shows in a synoptic way the relationship between the different recensions and texts:

OG	(L)	Kaige	Hexaplar (A)	MT
κ. συνεστραφη ἐπ αὐτον Σελλημ υιος Ιαβεις,	κ. συνεστραφη ἐπ αὐτον Σελλημ υιος Ιαβεις,	καὶ συνεστραφησαν ἐπ αὐτον Σελλουμ υιος Ιαβεις καὶ Κεβδααμ	καὶ συνεστραφησαν ἐπ αὐτον Σελλουμ υιος Ιαβεις καὶ Κεβλααμ	וַיִּקְשֶׁר עָלָיו שָׁלֹם בֶּן יִבְשׁ
καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτον ἐν Ιεβλααμ καὶ	καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτον ἐν Ιεβλααμ	καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτον	καὶ ἐπάταξαν αὐτον  κατεναντι τοῦ λαοῦ	וַיַּכְהוּ  קִבְלָם
ἐθανάτωσεν αὐτον		καὶ θανάτωσαν αὐτον	καὶ ἐθανάτωσαν αὐτον	וַיִּמָּיתֵהוּ

In this way, the medieval variants follow guidelines marked by the textual tradition and correlate with the three basic forms of the text of Kings: OG text transmitted by L in kaige section, text of the kaige recension transmitted by B in kaige section and OG text transmitted by BL in both sections.

20. It is significant that Rahlfs does classify this Lucianic reading neither in the headings corresponding to the cases of Lucianic dependency on B, nor in the chapter “Änderungen nach ähnlichen Stellen”. In the same way, he did not consider this variant as “Vorlucianisches Gut in L”, cfr Rahlfs *Lucians Rezension*, 200 ff, 211 ff., 283 ff.

21. Cf J. C. Treballe Barrera, *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana: Introducción a la historia de la Biblia* (Madrid: Trotta, 1993), 112; W. Dietrich, *Prophezie und Geschichte* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 59.



## 2. CONCLUSIONS

Wevers finishes his paper with the following affirmations:

Certain conclusions may now be drawn from the above study. At the outset the question was raised whether the Hebrew variants perpetuated pre-MT traditions which are reflected in G, the Greek recensions and the secondary versions based upon them. It has been noted that the Hebrew variants fell into three categories: agreements with G, agreements with Hex and agreements with Luc. Furthermore, the multiplicity of these agreements must lead to the conclusion that the Hebrew variants are remnants of the Hebrew Vorlage used by the first translators of the O.T., as well as of Hebrew readings in vogue at the time of the later revisers.<sup>22</sup>

The present analysis takes into account the distribution of variants between *kaige* and *non-kaige* sections; it modifies notably Wevers's conclusion, although it reaffirms his main hypothesis: "the Hebrew variants are remnants of the Hebrew Vorlage used by the first translators of the O.T., as well as of Hebrew readings in vogue at the time of the later revisers." Wevers considers later revisers as responsible for the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recension, that is, Origen and Lucian respectively, and identifies *de facto* the G text with that of the LXX. This last point is valid for its most part when it refers to the *non-kaige* section of 3 Kingdoms, but it is not the case when referring to the *kaige* section *gd* (3 Kingdoms 22. 4 Kingdoms), as well in the section *bg* in 3 Kingdoms (1:1–2:11). In these sections G does not amount to "the original Greek of the Septuagint as far as that can be determined from the existing evidence," because it preserves a *kaige* recensional text.

Wevers goes on affirming that "possibly most significant of all are the many instances of striking agreements of Luc with the Hebrew variants, since Lucian revised OG on the basis of a Hebrew text older than the M." According to the previous pages, it is clear that textual development was the other way around: Lucian worked with a previous Greek text that reflected a Hebrew original older than the MT and corrected it in its formal aspects. At least in the *kaige* sections it preserves partially the proto-Lucianic text that is equal or quite close to OG. The agreements between L and MM in *kaige* sections reinforce this textual approach, since it shows that some remnants of the no Masoretic Hebrew text that stands behind the OG survived and reached the HMM despite the enormous weight of the Masoretic textual tradition.

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22. John W. Wevers, "A Study", 74.

Therefore, for the edition and reconstruction of the Greek text of Kingdoms it is necessary to know and evaluate its links with its Hebrew Vorlage. Thus, to the Wevers conditions quoted at the beginning of this paper for studying the Textual traditions, we may add another one: it is necessary to know the history of the Hebrew text and the characteristics of the translated text. As textual critics of the Greek texts, we are interested in both OG and the later recensions as well as in the Hebrew as it contributes to the identification of that OG and its recensions. We do not finish our work when we think we have established the OG or the OH, that is, the readings that constitute the lemma of a critical edition. We have to identify also the text of the recensions and acknowledge their value and importance. On occasion, we may even have to do so with a group of manuscripts or one manuscript alone. Qumran Biblical manuscripts have shown the links between the history of the Hebrew and Greek texts, so these days textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible is intertwined with textual criticism of the LXX and its versions. A modern edition of Kings should reflect clearly and distinctively both the OG and its recensions; otherwise it would be utterly incomplete.

APPENDIX: AGREEMENTS BETWEEN L AND HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS IN THE  
KAIGE SECTION

1 Kgs	Kaige	Lucianic	HMM [MT]
1,1	πρεσβυτηρος	πρεσβυτης σφοδρα SyrH <sup>I</sup>	זקן + זקן
1,3	εκ παντος οριου	εν παντι <i>L</i> Arm Geor	בגול >
1,4	νεανις	παις <i>L</i>	והנערה [והנער]
1,16	ειπεν	ειπεν αυτη <i>L</i> Aeth Arm Geor	וויאמר + לה
1,17	τη δουλη σου	> <i>L</i> Geor	לאמתך >
1,21	ως	εν <i>L</i>	כשכב [בשכב]
1,27	Ei	και ει <i>L</i> Arm Geor	אם [אם]
1,42	εισηλθεν	> (ηλθεν A ?) <i>L</i>	בא [1] >
1,50	Σαλωμων	του βασιλεως σαλομωντος <i>L</i> 242–328 554	המל pr[ שלמה
1,52	των τριχων αυτου	απο της κηφαλης αυτου θριξ <i>L</i> Arm Cop Geor Lat	משערותו [משערת ראשו]
2,1	σαλ. υιω αυτου	του υιου αυτου σολομοντι 247 <i>L</i> 158 Geor Lat	שלמה בנו [בנו]
2,4	λεγων	> <i>V L CI</i> 328 121 381 71–244–318 Cop Geor	לאמר [2] ?

2,5	οσα	και α ( > α 19 ) L Arm Aeth	אשר [2] ואשר
22,20	κυριος	> L Thdt Geor	יהוה [ > ]
22,38	ελαλησεν	ελαλησεν δια ηλιου 19' 246 158 Geor 2 Kgs	דבר [ > ] ביד א(י)ליהו
1:11	ταχεως	> L <sup>-19</sup> 98-379 > Jos (vid)	מהרה [ > ]
1:12	και ελαλησεν προς αυτον και ειπεν (om και ειπεν 82 71 460 707	και ειπε προς αυτον L 707 Aeth Arm Geor	וידבר [ > ] ויאמר
2:12	των ιματιων αυτου	του ιματιου αυτου L 700 Geor	בבגדיו [ > ] בבגדו
2,15	και ειδον αυτον	και ειδον L 700 Arm Geor	ויראהו [ > ] ויראו
2,15β	εξ εναντιας	εξ εναντιας και αναστρεφοντα αυτον L 700 Geor	מנגד [ > ] מסביב
2,17	αυτον	> L 700	מצאהו [ > ] מצאו
2,21	ουκ	και (>93) ουκ 82-127 489 244 <sup>c</sup> 460 Arm Geor	לא [ > ] ולא
3,7	και επορευθη	> L 700 Lat Geor	וילך [ > ]
3,18	κια παραδωσω	και δωσει κυριος L 700 Geor	ונתן + יהוה
4,2	ουκ εστιν τη δουλη σου ουθεν εν τω οικω οτι αλλ η αλειψομαι ελαιον	ουκ εστιν τη δουλη σου ουθεν αλλ' η αγγειον ελαιου εν τω οικω ο αλειψομαι L 700 = Aeth Geor	כל בבית [ > ]
4:5	αυτοι	και αυτοι L 489 799 Aeth Geor	הם [ > ] והם
4,13	ειπον δε	ειπε (L <sup>-82</sup> 342 700) ; om δε L <sup>-82</sup> 700 Geor	נא [ > ]
4,26	νυν	και νυν L 460 ; om νυν 700 Arm Geor	עתה [ > ] ועתה
4,31	και απηγγειλεν αυτω λεγων	και ειπεν αυτω και απηγγειλεν αυτω οτι L	ויגד [ > ] ויאמר
4,35	εως	> L 460 Lat Geor	עד [ > ]
5,3	τοτε	και L 158 460 Aeth Geor	אז [ > ] ואז

5,7	γνωτε δη	γνωτε (247 L (98 vid) CI 488 372 460 Geor SyrH	> [נא
5,7β	μοι B f 71 158 245 318 342	προς με L 372 460 ; με rel Arm	[לי אליי
5,8	Ελισσαιε	ο ανθρωπος του θεου L-82 460 ; Ελισσαιε ο (> A) ανθρωπος του θουρ O 488 Geor	> [אלישע
5,13	και ηγγισαν οι παιδες αυτου και ελαλησαν προς αυτον (+λεγοντες 245 372 Arm ; <i>et dixerunt</i> SyrH sub * α σ θ)	και προσηλθον οι παιδες αυτου και ειπον προς αυτον L-82 381 460	ויגשו עבדיו וידברו אליו [ויאמרו > וידברו
5, 18	τω ρηματι τουτω και B O f799 64'- 488* 342 318 και περι του λογου τουτου και $a^{-11}$ 64' 318 342	και περι του λογου τουτου (>460) L-82 (*127) 55 372 460 Aeth <sup>a</sup> Thdt	לדבר [ולדבר
5,27	εις των αιωνα	εως αιωνος L-82 460 Thdt Geor	לעולם [עד לעולם / עד עולם
6,8	εβουλησατο (συν- 246)προς τους παιδας	συνεβουλεσατο τοις παισιν L-82 460 Lat Geor	אל (1) [את
6,12	παντας τους λογους ους (παντας sub ÷)	παντα οσα L-82 460 Lat ( <i>quodcumque</i> )	את הדברים > [אשר
6,21	ει παταξας παταξω	ει παταξω (+αυτους 82 125) L-82 44-125 460 Aeth	> [אכה
6,32	ουχι	ουκ (pr και 127)ιδου (+η Thdt) L 246 460 Geor	הלוא [הנה
7,3	ωδε B O CI a 56 64;-488 55 71 158 244 318 372	> L 460 rel SyrH	> [פה
7,4	εκει	> L 121 <sup>mg</sup> 245 460 [om και 3° N και 4° 82 799 121 <sup>txt</sup> 44'242] Geor	> [שם
7,6	αδελφον	πλησιον L 372 460	אחינו [רעהו

7,7	προς την ψυχην εαυτων	κατα τας ψυχας αυτων $L^{-82}$ 460 ; προς τας ψυχας 554*	אל [על
7,9	η ημερα αυτη	σημερον και η ημερα αυτη $L^{-82}$ 460 Lat	היום] והיום
7,12	νυκτος	$>L^{-82}$ 328 460 Geor	לילה] >
7,12b	αναγγελω δη	απαγγελω $L^{-82}$ 489 460 Geor	נא] >
8,11	τω προσωπω	κατα προσωπον $L$ 460 Geor	את [על
8,14	ειπε V A 121 d 55 554	ειπρε σοι $L$ (συ 93 318) μοι 342 Geor	ויאמר [(2) + לו
8,17	οκτω A / τεσσερακοντα B	δεκα $L^{-19'}$ 460	שמונה] עשר
8,29	εν ραμωθ	εν ραμαθ (ρομαθ 460 ; ραμωθ 530) γαλααδ $L^{-82}$ (sub * 127) 530 460 Geor	ברמה] ברמות גלעד
9,5	λογος μοι	λογος (+ κρυφιος 56–246 158) μοι κρυφιος (-ως 460) $L^{-82}$ 158 460	דבר [לי + סתר
9,17	και αποστειλον	ιππου και αποστειλατε $L^{-93}$ 246 460 ; ιππου 93 Geor	וישלח] הסוס
9,27	προς B (εν rel Aeth Arm SyrH)	επι $L^{-82}$ 460	אל [על
9,29	και εν ετει	εν ετει $L^{-82}$ 52	ובשנת] בשנת
9,32	το προσωπον αυτου	τους οφθαλμους $L^{-82}$ 460 Geor	פניו] עיחיו
10,6	ανδρων	$> L$ 460 700 Aeth Lat Geor	אנשי] >
10,12	αυτος	και αυτος $L$ 460 700	הוא] והוא
10,14	εσφαξαν αυτους (>700) B A 82–93 527 134 489 71 318 700 460	εσφαξεν αυτους <i>rel</i>	וישחטום] וישחטום
10,14β	ανδρα εξ αυτων	εξ αυτων ουδενα $L$ 246 460 700 Geor ανδρα εξ αυτων ουδενα 246	איש מהם] מהם איש
10,17	προς	εν χειρι $L$ 460 700	אל [ביד
10,18	Ιεου δουλεσει B A	και εγω δουλευσω $L$ 460 700 Geor	יהוא [(2) ויהוא
10.19	τους ιερεις	και τους ιερεις $L$ 460 700 Aeth Geor	כל [(2) וכל

10,19β	τους δουλους του βααλ	παντας τους δουλους <i>L</i> 460 <i>Aeth Geor</i>	את כל; + כל
10,28	βααλ <i>B O</i> 127 488 318 372 460 700	τον βααλ και τον οικον αυτου <i>L</i> 158 <i>Geor</i> ; οικον του βααλ <i>V rel</i>	הבעל בית <i>pr</i>
10,31	Ιεροβοαμ <i>B A f</i> 71 245	ιεροβοαμ υιου ναβατ <i>rel</i> <i>Aeth SyrH Geor</i>	ירבעם + בן נבט
10,33	του γαδδι	και του γαδ <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Arm</i> <i>Geor</i>	הגדי והגדי
11,13	του λαου	και του λαου <i>L</i> 460 700	העם והעם
11,19	και τον χορρι	τον χορρι <i>L</i> 381 460 <i>Aeth</i> <i>Geor</i>	ואת את (1)
12,19	και οικου	και εν τω οικω <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Arm Cop Geor</i>	ובית ובית
14,13	εν τη πυλη	απο της πυλης <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Arm Geor</i>	בשער משער
14,19	επ' αυτον συστρεμμα	συστρεμμα επι αμεσσιαν <i>L</i> 460 700; επ' αυτον συστρεμμα επι αμεσσιαν 158	עליו קשר קשר עליו
14,21	τον αζαριαν	+ υιον αυτου <i>L</i> 158 460 700 <i>Geor</i>	את אזריה + בנו
15,11	ιδου εστι	ουκ (+ και 328 554) <i>L</i> 328 158 460 554 700	הנם הלא הם
15,14	εν σαμαρια	> <i>L</i> 245 460 700 <i>Geor</i>	בשמרון >
15,20	επι τον Ισραηλ	επι παντα Ισραηλ <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Geor</i>	ישראל כל ישראל
15,25	μετα του αργοβ	και μετ' αυτου αργοβ <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Arm Geor</i>	את ואת
15,26	ιδου εισι γεγραμμενα	ουχ ταυτα γεγραπται <i>L</i> 460 70; <i>nonne haec Cop</i> ; ουχι ταυτα γεγραμμενα 44	הנם הלא הם
15,30	εν ετει- οχοζιου	> <i>L</i> 460 700	בשנת -----עזיה >
15,31	ιδου	ουκ ιδου <i>L</i> 71 460 700; ουχι 44 <i>Cop</i>	הנם הלא הם
15,33	ην	ην ιωθαμ ( <i>pr</i> συν 460) <i>L</i> 460 700	היה + יותם
15,38	μετα των πατερων αυτου	> <i>L</i> 460 700 <i>Lat</i>	אביו- >

16,9	εις δαμασκων	επι δαμασκων <i>L</i> 460 700 Geor	אל [על
16,13	και προσεχεε	και προσεχεε (>93) επ' αυτο <i>L</i> 460 700 [και] pr εσπεισεν αυτω (επ ' αυτο 127 700) 19'-127 700 ; pr εσπεσεν επ αυτο 82 ; pr εσπευσεν επ' αυτον 93 ; pr εσπησεν επ' αυτο 460 )	ויוזרק] + עליו
16,19	οσα	και παντα οσα <i>L</i> 98' 460 Aeth	אשר] וכל אשר
16,19β	ουχι	ουκ ιδου <i>L</i> 71 460 Arm	הלא הם] הנם
17,20	και εδωκεν αυτους	και εδωκεν αυτους ο κυριος (κς <i>L</i> -108 700) <i>L</i> 700	ויתנם] + יהוה
17,22	Ιεροβοαμ	Ιεροβοαμ υιου ναβατ <i>L</i> 460 700	ירבעם] + נה נבט
17,30	χουθ	χωθα (εκχωθα 127) <i>L</i> 460 700	Talmud Babli כות] כותה
17,34	και κατα την κρισιν	και τα κριματα (om τα κριματα 82) <i>L</i> 460 700	וכמשפטם] וכמשפטים
18,14	ο	και οσα <i>L</i> 460 700 ; και ο Arm Geor	את] ואת
18,16	εζεκιας B A 44'-106 <i>f</i> 71 245	εζεκιας βασιλευς ιουδα <i>L</i> rel Lat	חזקיה] + מלך יהודה
18,21	νυν	> <i>L</i> 71 158 460 700 Arm Lat Geor	עתה] >
18,26	σομνας	σομνας ο γραμματευσ <i>L</i> 460 700	ושבנה] ושבנה הספר
18,34	που	και που <i>L</i> CI 244 460 Arm Aeth	איה] 2 ואיה
19,2	την προφητην υιον αμωσ B A <i>f</i>	υιον αμωσ την προφητην <i>L</i> rel	הנביא בן האמוץ] בה אמוץ הנביא
19,6	ταδε	ουτως <i>L</i> 71 460 700 Geor	כה] 2 כן
19,11	συ	> <i>L</i> -19' 342 460 700	אתה] >
19,14	και ανεγνω αυτα	και ανεγνω αυτο (-τω 19') <i>L</i> 71 460 700 Aeth Geor	ויקראם] ויקראהו
19,15	και ειπεν	λεγων και ειπεν <i>O L</i> (sub * 127) 488 460 700	ויאמר] לאמר
19,15β	κυριε	κυριε παντοκρατωρ <i>L</i> 460 700	ישראל] צבאות

20,8	κύριος με B A a 121 488	με κύριος <i>L rel Arm Geor</i>	יהוה [לי] לי יהוה
20,13	το αργυριον	και το αργυριον <i>L 460 Lat</i>	את [ואת
20,14	ελαλησαν	ελαλησαν προς σε <i>L-182 460 Geor</i>	אמר] + לך
20,16	κυριου	κυριου παντοκρατωρος <i>L 460 ; κυριου σαβαωθ 121 488</i>	יהוה] + צבאות
20,21	μετα τον πατερων αυτου, B A	μετα τον πατερων αυτου και εταφη εν οικω δαυιδ <i>L rel Aeth Luc [om και εταφη 44 328   εταφη] + μετα των πρων αυ L<sup>-82</sup> ; + μετα ‘ αυτων 460]</i>	אבתיו] + בעיר דוד
21,18	εν κηπω του οικου αυτου	<i>&gt; L 44 245 460</i>	בגן ביתו] >
21,22	τον κυριον	<i>&gt; L 46’ 460 Geor</i>	יהוה [1] >
21,25	οσα	και παντα οσα <i>L 98’ 55 244<sup>mg</sup> Geor</i>	אשר [כל אשר
22,9	χειρα	χειρας <i>L<sup>-82</sup> 127 Arm</i>	יד [ידי
23,3	επι το βιβλιον	εν τω βιβλιω <i>L CII<sup>-313 328</sup> 246 318 460 707<sup>s</sup> Arm Geor Luc</i>	על הספר] בספר
23,6	αυτον	αυτα <i>L a 64 372 Aeth Geor</i>	אתה] אותם
23,6b	τον ταφον	τους ταφους <i>L 460</i>	קבר] קברי
24,2	τους μονοζωνους	<i>&gt; L<sup>-82</sup> 71</i>	גדודי [4] >
24,12	επι rel	προς 247 <i>L a 121 64’-488 55 342 460 Arm Aeth</i>	על] אל
24,16	μετοικησιαν	<i>&gt; L<sup>-82</sup> 246 460</i>	גולה
25,8	εβδομη	ενατη <i>L 460</i>	בשבעה] בתשעה
25,12	της γης	του λαου της γης	בארץ] עם בארץ
25,14	ιαμιν	τας κρεαγρας <i>L 460 Geor</i>	היעים] + ואת המזלגות
25,16	τω οικω	εν οικω <i>L 158 460 Arm</i>	לבית] בבית



# Agreements between LXX<sup>BL</sup>, Medieval Hebrew Readings, and Variants of the Aramaic, Syriac and Vulgate Versions in *Kaige* and Non-*kaige* Sections of 3–4 Reigns\*

Julio Trebolle Barrera

**Abstract:** This paper analyzes a sample of 150 readings of LXX-B, L, A, that agree—in quite different combinations—with variants of the Aramaic (T), Syriac (S) and Vulgata (V) versions, as well as with Hebrew medieval readings (K-R). It studies in particular the distribution of these readings between *kaige* (1 Kgs 1:1–2:11 and 1 Kgs 22:1–2 Kgs 25:30) and non-*kaige* (1 Kgs 2:12–21:43) sections. The quantity of such readings is significantly greater in *kaige* than in non-*kaige* sections, especially when referring to agreements of LXX<sup>L</sup> readings with variants of T, S, or V and K-R. The analysis leads us to conclude that the important differences between the text of III Regnorum and IV Regnorum reflect a different transmission of the Hebrew text of each scroll of those that compose 1–2 Kings according to the division witnessed by OG. The study of the quantity and distribution of such coincidences contributes to shed light on the critical value of those LXX<sup>L</sup> readings that in *kaige* sections could go back to an OG text and reflect a Hebrew original different from the *receptus*.

The question of the relationship between textual criticism of the LXX and textual criticism of the Hebrew text (not exactly and not only the MT) becomes more acute and perplexing in a *kaige* section such as that of 4 Reigns. In this section LXX<sup>B</sup> does not transmit the OG text but that of a recension, which reflects a proto-Masoretic text, attempting to reproduce it with a literalism which prefigures Aquila's—as the title of Barthélemy's book indicates, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*.<sup>1</sup> In order to reconstruct the OG of this section we have to resort to a pre-Lucianic text preserved in the Lucianic recension and witnesses

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1. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963).

like OL, Josephus, the prehexaplaric level of the Armenian and Georgian versions, and also the parallel Hebrew text of Chronicles. Rahlfs himself resorted to the Hebrew text to decide about passages where the Lucianic reading has to be considered pre-Lucian “weil sie ... wahrscheinlich auf alte hebräische Grundlage zurückgeht.” From the 34 cases of pre-Lucianic readings accepted by Rahlfs, 23 correspond to a *kaige* section (1 Kgs 1–2:10; 2 Kgs 22–2 Kgs), and only 9 to the non-*kaige* section (1 Kgs 2:11–21:43).<sup>2</sup>

The boundary between textual criticism of the Hebrew texts and textual criticism of the Greek version is not so clearly cut today as it might have been in the past. The history of the discovery and study of the Qumran biblical manuscripts has been that of a growing awareness of the plurality of texts or editions of the biblical books. The progressive publication of 4Qpaleo-Exodus<sup>m</sup> and 4QNum<sup>b</sup>, texts close to the Samaritan Pentateuch, of texts akin to the Hebrew original of the Septuagint, as 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QJer<sup>b,d</sup>, and of “unaligned” or independent texts as 4QJosh<sup>a</sup>, 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> and also 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, has underlined the remarkable textual plurality of the biblical books in the Qumran period,<sup>3</sup> to the point that the moulds of what until recently was considered biblical text seem to break down.<sup>4</sup>

Two examples will show that any analysis of the Greek and Hebrew textual readings in Kings has to take into account the medieval Hebrew variants as well as the Aramaic, Syriac and Vulgate versions. Both examples are related to questions of grammar—Hebrew in the first case, Greek in the second.

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2. Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (Septuaginta-Studien, 3. Heft, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911), 283–290.

3. Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls. Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (Leiden · Boston: Brill, 2010); Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, Band 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009).

4. E. Tov has recently modified his opinion regarding the character of 4QReworked Pentateuch (4Q158, 4Q364–67), a composition published as a non-biblical composition, that now has to be reclassified as a Bible text similar in character to some of the rewritten LXX Books like 3 Reigns, Emanuel Tov, “3 Kingdoms Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions,” in Flores Florentino, *Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2007), 345–366, esp. pp. 358 and 365; id., “Three Strange Books of the LXX: 1 Kings, Esther, and Daniel Compared with Similar Rewritten Compositions from Qumran and Elsewhere,” *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*, Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006 (ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus with the collaboration of Martin Meiser; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 369–393; Molly M. Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?” *DSD* 15 (2008) 315–339.

Shlomoh Morag isolated 61 cases in which inflected forms of the nota accusativi (*ʔt*-forms) appear where the syntax typically would require inflected forms of the preposition **את** (*'itt*-forms). Twenty-one cases are found in Ezekiel and 17 in Jeremiah. Morag holds that the replacement of *'itt*-forms by *ʔt*-forms results “from the interference of foreign languages in the morphological system of Hebrew: Babylonian in the case of Ezekiel, Aramaic in that of Jeremiah” (Morag 314). The employment of *ʔt*-forms in place of *'itt*-forms occurs also in Kings in 12 instances. According to Rendsburg, these instances (three of which are repeated in Chronicles) occur uniformly in northern settings: the annals of the Israelites and the stories of Elijah and Elisha. In this way this phenomenon is a feature of the northern dialect of Hebrew that creates an isogloss between Israelite Hebrew and Aramaic.<sup>5</sup>

From these 12 instances, 10 are found in 2 Kings, in a *kaige* section:

1 Kgs 22:7	מאותו ( <i>mēʔōtō</i> )	nonn Mss מאתו ( <i>mē'ittō</i> ) LXX δι' αὐτου, V <i>per eum</i>
1 Kgs 22:8	מאתו ( <i>mēʔōtō</i> )	nonn Mss מאתו ( <i>mē'ittō</i> ) LXX δι' αὐτου, V <i>per quem</i>
1 Kgs 22:24	אותך ( <i>ʔtāk</i> )	Cairo אתך ( <i>'ittāk</i> ) LXX εν σοι, V <i>tibi</i>
2 Kgs 1:15	אותו ( <i>ʔtō</i> )	2 Mss אתו ( <i>'ittō</i> ) LXX μετ' αὐτου, T עמיה, S <b>חבט</b> , V <i>cum eo</i>
2 Kgs 1:15	אותו ( <i>ʔtō</i> )	2 Mss אתו ( <i>'ittō</i> ) LXX μετ' αὐτου, T עמיה, S <b>חבט</b> , V <i>cum eo</i>
2 Kgs 3:11	מאותו ( <i>mēʔōtō</i> )	2 Mss מאתו ( <i>mē'ittō</i> ) LXX παρ'/δι' αὐτου, T <b>בניה</b> , S <b>חבט</b> , V <i>per eum</i>
2 Kgs 3:12	אותו ( <i>ʔtō</i> )	2 Mss אתו ( <i>'ittō</i> ) LXX <sup>B</sup> αὐτω, LXX <sup>L</sup> εν αὐτω, LXX <sup>A</sup> συν αὐτω, Arm <i>cum eo</i> , Aeth <i>super eum</i> , T עמיה, S <b>חבט</b> , V <i>apud eum</i>
2 Kgs 3:26	אותו ( <i>ʔtō</i> )	2 Mss אתו ( <i>'ittō</i> ) LXX μεθ' εαυτου, V <i>secum</i>
2 Kgs 6:16	אותם ( <i>ʔtām</i> )	Ms Versions אתם ( <i>'ittām</i> ) LXX μεθ' αὐτων, T <b>בְּעִמְהוֹן</b> , S <b>חבט</b> , V <i>cum illis</i> .

5. G. H. Rendsburg, *Israelian Hebrew in the Books of Kings* (Bathesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 2002), 314.

In all of them some Hebrew manuscripts and the versions witness the forms (*mē'ittō*) instead of (*mē'ōtō*), (*'ittāk*) instead of (*ōtāk*), (*'ittō*) instead of (*ōtō*), (*'ittām*) instead of (*ōtām*).

In addition to the problems of historical linguistics that these grammatical forms may pose, it is necessary to take into account the history of the text. From this point of view we are possibly facing a phenomenon linked with the history of MT and the Hebrew underlying the Greek of this *kaige* section, rather than of the history of the Hebrew Grammar. Although at first glance the books of Samuel-Kings share a common textual history, each Hebrew scroll could have its own and particular history.

The second example comes from 2 Kgs 25:19, MT הספר שר הצבא. The B text drops the article which precedes ספר, thus rendering τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς δυνάμεως. This is the reading accepted by Rahlfs in his edition. According to Walters (formerly Katz) MT should have been translated as τὸν γραμματέα τὸν ἀρχόντα τῆς δυνάμεως. The mistaken interpretation of ספר as “secretary” or “deputy civilian officer” led the Greek translator to drop the article. The absence of the article in the parallel Hebrew text of Jer 52:25 probably sprang from corruption due to a similar misunderstanding. The hexaplaric recension restored the text in both cases following the correct interpretation of שר הצבא as an apposition to ספר, reading instead of the genitive the accusative τὸν ἀρχόντα (247 Armenian-ed).<sup>6</sup>

Walters did not pay attention to the double reading of the Lucianic text: Σαφάν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον (19 108 158 82 127 93, Chr) καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τῆς δυνάμεως. The Hebrew word צבא and composite expressions with it, like שר הצבא, are translated in the OG with the word στρατία or composites thereof, such as ἀρχιστράτηγος, and in the *kaige* recension by the noun δύναμις as in ἄρχων (τῆς) δυνάμεως. In our case as in all others in *kaige* section, the Lucianic manuscripts are the only ones to have preserved the old version ἀρχιστράτηγος, whereas the rest of the Greek manuscripts have incorporated the *kaige* version ἄρχων (τῆς) δυνάμεως.

Though always reluctant to acknowledge a “Lucian before Lucian,” Rahlfs was obliged to include the reading Σαφάν in the list of variants of the Lucianic text earlier than Lucian. He does reconstruct a Hebrew שפן את שפן or ספן.<sup>7</sup> He acknowledges that, generally speaking, the Lucianic text preserves personal names more faithfully than the rest of the Greek manuscript tradition. Walters corroborates this statement.<sup>8</sup> It is quite revealing that also the Vulgate assumes

6. Peter Walters (formerly Katz), *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (ed. D. W. Gooding; London: Cambridge University Press, 1973) 309.

7. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*, 290.

8. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint*, 300.

in this case the presence of a personal name, *Sopher principem exercitus*, without the preceding article, in contrast with the common noun with article in MT 2 Kgs הספר.

A joint analysis of the Hebrew and Greek variants, as well as of parallel passages (Jeremiah in this case) and of readings from the versions (Vulgate here) contributes to elucidate what the OG and its Hebrew *Vorlage* may have been. The pre-Lucianic reading Σαφαν τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον has the merit of bringing into light yet another mention of the well-known Saphan family and an important piece of information on the days of the destruction of Jerusalem and the deportation to Babylon.<sup>9</sup>

#### 1. AGREEMENTS OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW VARIANTS WITH LXX<sup>B</sup> READINGS

The medieval variants follow guidelines marked by the textual tradition and correlate with the three basic forms of the text of Kings: OG text transmitted by L in *kaige* section, text of the *kaige* recension transmitted by B in *kaige* section, and OG text transmitted by BL in both sections.

Most of the variants of the Mss agree with the Greek B (B 121 509), A (A 247 121) and L (19 108 158 82 127 93) texts. Normally they correspond to OG readings. Many of the 134 variants in non-*kaige* section and of the 109 variants in *kaige* sections follow that pattern.

We will focus first in the cases in which Mss agree only with the B text (Mss = B ≠ AL): 21 in non-*kaige* section and 41 in the *kaige* sections. The 41 cases in *kaige* sections are the following:

1 Kings (MT] Mss)

1:23 לאמר > K<sup>1, 109</sup> B] + λεγοντων/λεγοντες AL

1:35 ויהודה[ועל יהודה K<sup>154</sup>

2:3 ולשמר] לשמר 62 mss. and ed.

9. To the Shaphan family belong Ahikam son of Shaphan (Jer 26:24); Elasa son of Shaphan (Jer 29:3), Gemariah son of Shaphan (Jer 36:10), Gedaliah son of Ahikam son of Shaphan (Jer 39:14.40.41; 43:6). The first and most important in the family was the royal secretary who informed King Josiah (2Kgs 22:8–10) when the “Book of the Torah” was discovered in the temple. The authorship of the Deuteronomistic History has even been attributed to this scribe. One generation later appeared the Shaphan *commander* of the army, to whom our text alludes, who was taken in captivity to Babylon. On the other hand, Gedaliah, son of Ahikam son of Shaphan, member of the royal family, is mentioned later as the “governor over the people who remained in the land of Judah, whom King Nebuchadnezzar had left” (2 Kgs 25:22).



- 16:11 [מדמשק...(7)...בן] > K<sup>70 158 201</sup>  
 B] + ουτως εποιησεν ουριας ο ιερεις  
 εως του ελθειν τον βασιλεα απο δαμα-  
 σκου AL α' σ' θ' (hexaplaric)
- 17:8 [ומלכי ישראל] > K<sup>70</sup>  
 17:25 [יהוה (2)] > K<sup>145</sup> B κυριος \* εβρ. α' σ' θ' ε' syroH (hexa-  
 plaric)
- 18:36 [היא] > K<sup>85</sup>  
 19:6 [אתי] > K<sup>180</sup>  
 19:13 [לעיר] > K<sup>182</sup> B] + της πολεως AL (hexaplaric)  
 19:26 [ושדמה] > K<sup>172 180mg 201</sup> Isa 37:27  
 20:2 [את פניו] > K<sup>89</sup> BA] + το προσωπον αυτου N omn  
 (hexaplaric)
- 22:1 [יאשיהו] > K nunc<sup>82</sup>  
 22:17 [במעשה בכל מעשה] > K<sup>158</sup> Rpr.<sup>211</sup>  
 23:10 [לבלתי] > Rpr.<sup>304 518</sup>  
 24:4 [אשר] > Rpr.<sup>440</sup>  
 24:17 [דדו] > Rpr.<sup>701</sup>  
 25:18 [משני] > K<sup>1 30 85 150 154 175 180 201 225</sup>; pr. 21; nunc<sup>224</sup> Jer 52:24

Of the 41 cases of agreement between the Mss and the B text, 26 are omissions (Mss = B ≠ AL). At least 15 of these omissions in Mss correspond to omissions in the B text, which were supplemented later by the hexaplaric additions. They are marked in the previous list with an asterisk as hexaplaric; 1 Kgs 2:5; 2 Kgs 4:16; 5:1; 5:13 (2x); 8:29; 10:14; 10:27; 11:9; 13:5; 15:38; 16:6; 16:11; 17:25; 19:13; 20:2. It is quite significant that in such cases the Medieval manuscripts attest Hebrew readings that agree with a proto-masoretic Hebrew that was used as *Vorlage* of the Greek *kaige* (B). This proto-masoretic Hebrew lacked at least some of the readings that were supplemented later in the Greek by the hexaplaric additions (to which degree may be called proto-masoretic a Hebrew text wanting the passages corresponding to the hexaplaric Greek additions?).

## 2. AGREEMENTS OF MEDIEVAL HEBREW VARIANTS + READINGS OF THE ARAMAIC, SYRIAC, AND VULGATE VERSIONS WITH LXX<sup>L</sup> READINGS

The total of agreements of Hebrew variants and readings of the Aramaic (T), Syriac (S) and Vulgata (V) versions (Vrs) with readings of the Septuagint (LXX<sup>BL</sup>) is 369, 214 of them in *kaige* sections and 155 in the non-*kaige*. Not only the number of variants is larger in the *kaige* sections than in the non-

*kaige*, but the agreements between Mss + Vrs vis-à-vis the LXX differ in relation to the Greek text type represented. In the non-*kaige* section this Greek text is that of B and L, both representing the OG. In the *kaige* sections, the Hebrew variants and, above all, the Targum, Syriac and Vulgata versions differ according to which form of the Greek text they correspond: the B *kaige* text or the pre-Lucianic akin to the OG.

We will focus only in the coincidences of Mss + T S V with L (≠ BA). Again, the distribution of agreements between sections is worthy of consideration. In 1 Kings, a non-*kaige* section, the agreements of Mss with L against B are not frequent (6 instances from a total of 94, 6.38%):

4:5	וזכור [וזבוד pc Mss	L ζαχουρ/ζακχουρ	S <sup>W</sup>
6:3	ועשר [עשר nonn Mss	L και δεκα	SV
9:18	תמר K, תדמר Q mlt Mss	Ιεθερμαθ] θοδομορ L	TSV 2 Chr 8:4
10:8	ואשרי [אשרי nonn Mss	L και μακαριορι	T <sup>Ms</sup> V
12:16	העם [ישראל Ms	L ο λαος	V
21:19	> [לאמר pc Mss	λεγων] > L	S

On the contrary in the *kaige* sections the frequency of agreements with L against B is much larger (42 instances from a total of 165, 25.45%):

#### 1 Kings

1:16	ויאמר + לה mlt Mss Cairo	+ αυτη L	T <sup>fMs</sup> SV
2:4	> [לאמר Ms	λεγων] > L	V
2:5	ואשר [אשר pc Mss	και οσα L	S

#### 2 Kings

2:15	ויראה [ויראה pc Mss	αυτον] > L Arm	S
2:17	מצאו B] [מצאהו Mss	αυτον] > L	V
2:21	ולא B] [לא Mss	και ουκ L Arm	TSV
3:27	לארצם [לארץ Mss	αυτων L Arm Aeth	SV
7:6	רעהו [אחי Mss	αδελφον] πλησιον L	T <sup>fMs</sup> S
7:9	והיום [היום Mss	ποιουμεν η ημερα] ποιουμεν σημερον και η ημερα L ( <i>faciamus hodie</i> OL), V <i>haec enim dies</i>	
7:12	> [נא Mss	αναγγελω δη] απαγγελω L	SV
9:25	זוכר [זכר Ms	μεμνημαι εγω οτε (כי) [זוכר אני] L	SV
9:32	ענינו [פניו Ms	το προσωπον] τους οφθαλμους L	S <sup>W</sup>
10:6	> [אנשי Mss	ανδρων] > L	SV
10:12	והוא [הוא Ms	αυτος] και αυτος L Arm	SV



10:14	מהם איש] איש מהם pc Mss	ανδρα εξ αυτων] εξ αυτων ουδενα L	T <sup>f</sup> Mss SV
10:18	ויהוא] יהוא pc Mss	ειου] pr και γε LXX- <sup>AB</sup> ; και εγω δουλευσω L	V
10:19	כל] -1 Mss	παντας] και παντας L	T <sup>f</sup> Mss SV
10:25	עיר] > Ms	πολεως οικου] εως του ναου L ( <i>at domum</i> OL)	
14:13	משער] בשער pc Mss	εν τη πυλη] απο της πυλης L	TSV Chr
15:14	בבית] > Ms	εν σαμαρεια] > L	T <sup>M</sup> s
15:38	אביו] > 2 Mss	του πατρος αυτου] > L OL Arm	T <sup>f</sup> S
16:14	מזבח] המזבח pc Mss	θυσιαστηριον ο ην L	TSV
16:19	אשר] pr וכל mlt Mss	και παντα L Aeth	T <sup>f</sup> Mss S
17:24	ומספרוים] וספרוים Q <sup>Or</sup> pc Mss	απο L, <i>a Sefaruim</i> Arm	TSV
17:27	תים] הגליתם - Ms	ων αποκισα L ?	T <sup>f</sup> Mss
17:29	בבתי] בבית	εν οικοις L Arm Aeth	SV
18:14	ואת] את Ms, וכל Ms	και οσα L	T T <sup>f</sup> SV
18:20	ועתה] עתה 2 Mss	και νυν L Arm Aeth	T <sup>f</sup>
18:34	ואיה] איה pc Mss	και που L Arm Aeth	T <sup>M</sup> ss S
19:14	אהו] ויקראם - Ms	αυτο L	Isa 7:14
19:15	לאמר] ויאמר Ms	λεγων L	V Isa
19:25	ועתה] עתה Ms	και νυν L	SV
19:37	ואדרמלך] א' 2 Mss	και] > L Arm Aeth	SV
20:12	ויחי] + חזקיהו Ms	+ και ανεστη L	S Isa
20:14	לך] + אמרו Ms	+ προς σε L	S
20:16	צבאות] + יהוה 2 Mss	+ παντοκρατορος LXX <sup>121</sup> L	Is 39:5
21:25	אשר] עשה pr וכל mlt Mss	και παντα L	S
23:4	פום] וישרפם - Ms	κατεκαυσεν] -αν L	S
23:6	קברי] קבר Ms	τον ταφον] τους ταφους L	TS
23:17	אל] בבית אל pc Mss	το εν βαιθηλ L	TS
24:12	אל] מלך על מלך pc Mss	επι] προς L Arm Aeth T <sup>M</sup> s	SV
25:8	בתשעה] בשבעה 2 Mss	εβδομη] ενατη L	S

Cases of addition or omission of ו, ב, ל, על, את, changes of ועתה into ואתה and vice versa or changes of אל by על or על by אל are usually disregarded as unimportant. However, criticism tends to prefer the reading preserved by L and other witnesses against MT at least in the following cases: 1 Kgs 6:3; 2 Kgs 10:12; 2 Kgs 14:13; 2 Kgs 16:19; 2 Kgs 19:25; 2 Kgs 23:17.

The 11 instances of omission may be significant: 1 Kgs 1:3; 2:4; 2 Kgs 7:12; 7:12; 10:6; 10:25; 15:14; 15:30; 15:38; 21:18; 21:22. In 2 Kgs 10:6 and 15:30 crit-

ics also tend to prefer the reading preserved by L. In the same way, in 17:27 and 19:14 the reading preserved by L and other witnesses seems to be preferable to that of MT.

Cases that seem isolated and, therefore, without importance, are significant when compared with similar ones. Such a case is 12:16 העם MT ישראל Ms L (ο λαος) V (*populus*). Comparable to this is 1 Kgs 8:62 עמו MT ישראל ('*immō*) Ms, העם (*hā'ām*) 2 Chr 7:4, οι υιοι Ισραηλ LXX. The hexaplaric reading μετ' αὐτου (A 247 Arm Syr sub \*) follows M. Chronicles preserves here the oldest Hebrew reading, העם, attested in Kings by the double reading of one Ms, העם ישראל. In the same way, in 1 Kgs 1:20 (*kaige* section) against MT ישראל = LXX<sup>B</sup> Ισραηλ the reading of L and Syr<sup>1</sup> του λαου represents the OG and, therefore, a Hebrew reading העם.<sup>10</sup>

Against common opinion the addition or omission of ו, ב, ל, על, etc., can be worthy of consideration as, for example, in 2 Sam 7:8: MT על עמי ישראל] επι τον λαον μου επι τον Ισραηλ LXX<sup>B</sup>, > επι τον λαον μου A 376 247 Eus; > επι 2° 707 19 108 107 489 56 119 82 372 127 93 Arm Sah Aeth. The oldest reading can be the one attested by L and other manuscripts, επι τον λαον μου τον Ισραηλ, supported also by the Armenian, Sahidic and Ethiopic versions, as well as by the Syriac, Targum (T<sup>Ms</sup>) and Vulgata, some medieval manuscripts and the Hebrew of 1 Chr 7:7: על עמי ישראל.<sup>11</sup> It could be affirmed that this “facilitates” the reading of MT in 2 Sam, which repeats the particle על ... על. Then it could also be said that both readings, with or without על, can represent a double reading, as the omission by the A group (hexaplaric) that attests a simpler text: επι τον Ισραηλ = על ישראל, seems to suggest. In any case the presence or absence of על reveals the composite character of the long reading על עמי על ישראל.

### 3. AGREEMENTS OF THE ARAMAIC, SYRIAC, AND VULGATE VERSIONS WITH LXX<sup>L</sup> READINGS (2 KINGS, *Kaige* SECTION)

There are 35 agreements of the versions with L  $\neq$  B (without accordance with the Mss) in 2 Kings (*kaige* section):

1 Kings

1:32    𐤅𐤓] >                      B δαυειδ]                      L >                      S

10. The reading העם against MT ישראל appears in LXX<sup>BL</sup> in several other cases, cf. Julio Trebolle Barrera, “‘Israelitización’ del texto proto-masorético en los libros históricos (Josué-Reyes)”, *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos. Sección de Hebreo* 53 (2004) 441–472.

11. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel* (Garden City NY: Doubleday, 1980), 192–193.

1:50	אל אהל יהוה + וילך	B απηλθεν]	L + εις την σκηνην του κυριου (V <sup>Mss</sup> )
2:4	דבריו [דברו	B τον λογον αυτου	L τα ρηματα αυτου TSV
2:4	דרכיהם [דרכם	B τον οδον]	L τας οδους SV <sup>Mss</sup>
2:9	ואתה [ועתה	B ου]	L συ ου V
2 Kings			
1:9	ויעלו [ויעל	B και ανεβη]	L και επορευθησαν Aeth S
1:9	והוא [והנה	B και ιδου]	L αυτος δε (T)S
1:13	שלשי [שלשים	B >]	L (rell) τριτον T?V
3:3	ממנהים [ממנה	B Aeth αυτης]	AL αυτων TSV
3:7	> [וילך	B επορευθη]	L > V
4:10	> [קיר	B τοπον]	L > SV
6:26	ג- [הושיעה	B σωσον]	L + μου SV
6:30	> [והנה	B >]	L και ιδου SV>
6:32	ובטרם [בטרם	B πριν]	L και πριν Arm Aeth SV
7:2	ואם [הנה	B και ιδου]	L και εαν Arm Aeth TV
9:21	אסרו [אסר	B ζευξον]	L ζευξατε S
9:21	ויאסרו [ויאסר	B εξευξεν]	LA εξευξαν Arm SV <sup>B</sup>
10:10	מדברי [מדבר	B απο του ρηματος]	L απο των λογων V
10:13	וימצא [ויהוא מצא	B και ειου ευρεν]	L και ευρεν OL (V)
11:7	ו > [שמרו	B και]	L > Arm S
12:13	qoh- [לחזקה	B κραταιωσαι]	L + αυτον Sah (T)(S)
13:6	בם [בה	B εν αυτη]	LA εν αυταις TSV
14:28	ואשר [אשר	B οσα]	L και οσα S
17:27	וילכו וישבו שם B וילך וישב שם	πορευσθωσαν και κατοικειτωσαν	L ποευθητω και κατοικειτω SV
17:29	בבתי [ביתב	B οικω]	L οικois Arm Aeth SV
17:32	בבתי [ביתב	B οικω]	L οικois V
18:4	pl [וכרת	B εκαλεσεν]	L εκαλεσαν Arm Aeth TS
18:21	> [עתה	B νυν]	L > Arm OL S Isa 36:6
19:14	sg [הספרים	B τα βιβλια]	L το βιβλιον Aeth T <sup>Mss</sup>
19:22	sg 2 suff + [קול	B φωνην]	L φωνην σου Arm Aeth SV <sup>Mss</sup>
22:4	ויתך [ויתם	B σφραγισον]	L χωνευσατε TV (v. 9)
23:4	בשדמות [בשדמות	G σαδημωθ]	L εν τω εμπυρισμω TS (V)
23:5	יקטרו [ויקטר	B εθυμιων]	T L του θιμιαν OL SV

It has to be noted that some readings of L are supported by Arm, Aeth or OL, which shows their proto-Lucianic status. Authors tend to acknowledge the critical value of 1 Kgs 1:50; 2:9; 2 Kgs 1:13; 6:21; 7:2 (Arm Aeth T V) and 23:5 (OL S V).

On the contrary in non-*kaige* section (1 Kings) we find only four possible cases of agreement between L and the versions 2:34 οικω] ταφω (S); 12:15 L + του προφητου (S); 20:2 B εις την πολιν] > L S; 20:29 B εκατον] + και εικοσι L (V<sup>Mss</sup>).

The medieval Hebrew manuscripts and the three versions form part of the textual tradition of MT. LXX differs from MT mainly by a different chronological system, by large transpositions not only in 1 Kings but also in 2 Kings (attested by L and OL), by the presence of the so-called supplements in 1 Kgs 2 and the alternative story of Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 12 and by many additions, omissions and varied changes—many more than generally acknowledged if the proto-Lucianic text is taken into account. None of these distinctive characteristics is found either in the Medieval manuscripts or in the three versions that derive from MT.

Nevertheless, both the medieval Hebrew manuscripts and the three versions still attest readings which agree with the Hebrew text represented by the *kaige* text or with the Hebrew text reflected by the Old Greek (BL in non-*kaige* section and L ≠ B in *kaige* section).

The data previously exposed confirm and, at the same time, correct Wevers' conclusion according to which "the Hebrew variants are remnants of the Hebrew *Vorlage* used by the first translators of the O.T., as well as of Hebrew readings in vogue at the time of the later revisers."<sup>12</sup> They confirm the first part of the clause, "the Hebrew variants are remnants of the Hebrew *Vorlage* used by the first translators of the O.T.," and correct the second, "(are remnants of) Hebrew readings in vogue at the time of the later revisers." Many Hebrew readings witnessed in a *kaige* section by L + Mss + Vrs are remnants of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint.

Wevers' work was previous to the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts and the publication of the Twelve Prophets Scroll of Naḥal Ḥever. Therefore he could not come to the idea of classifying the variants according to the text division in *kaige* and non-*kaige* sections, which is crucial for a correct identification of the OG, proto-Lucianic and *kaige* readings. The Medieval variants as

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12. John W. Wevers, "A Study in the Hebrew Variants in the Books of Kings," ZAW 20 (1945–48): 43–76, esp. p. 74; cf. in the present volume, Pablo Torijano, "Different Distribution of Agreements between LXX<sup>L</sup> and Medieval Hebrew Variants in *Kaige* and Non-*Kaige* Sections of III–IV Regnorum."

well as those of the versions correlate with the three basic forms of the text of Kings: OG preserved by L in *kaige* section, *kaige* text transmitted by B in *kaige* section and OG text transmitted by BL in both sections.



# The Greek Framework of Kings: Indicators of Recension

Jonathan M. Robker

**Abstract:** In the continuing debate about the redactional and recensional history of Reigns, one factor that has generally been overlooked concerns the structure of the books in the form of the opening and concluding formulae regarding the reigns of the respective Israelite and Judean kings. This paper demonstrates through a consideration of several of the opening and closing frames, as well as the special case of Jehoshaphat, that Vaticanus, whether in the *kaige* or non-*kaige* portions, often presents the modern exegete with a more primitively structured—and therefore older—version of Reigns than that of the Lucianic recension. As establishing the oldest stage of the text provides a prerequisite for any redaction history, the recensional history of Reigns should be regarded as an unavoidable precursor to any redaction history of Samuel or, more significantly, Kings.

## 1. INTRODUCTORY MATTERS

One cannot understand the Greek tradition of the book of Reigns as a monolith; rather, two important textual traditions, which are closely related to one another, play a decisive role in defining the textual history of Reigns: Vaticanus and Lucian.<sup>1</sup> An important figure in the continuing conversation about

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1. The two versions must be considered as being strongly related to one another, and it is clear that their differences are not such that one must anticipate fully distinct textual histories for the various traditions of Vaticanus and Lucian; for similar opinions, cf. Andrzej S. Turkanik, *Of Kings and Reigns* (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 3 and Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know about the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (by Anneli Aejmelaeus; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 73, who correctly expand this understanding of the relatedness of the texts to MT and Alexandrinus. For the edition of Vaticanus used here, cf. *Bibliorum SS. Graecorum Codex Vaticanus 1209 (Cod. B) Pars Primae Testamentum Vetus Tomus II* (Pagg. 395–944) (Codices e Vaticanis Selecti: Phototypice Expressi; Mediolani: Hoepli, 1906); for Alexandrinus, cf. *The Codex Alexandrinus in Reduced Photographic Fac-*

the relationship between the *kaige*<sup>2</sup> text of Vaticanus and the Antiochene tradition represented by the Lucianic texts is Siegfried Kreuzer, who has not only published in this matter, but was also the editor responsible for the Books of Reigns (among others) in the *Septuaginta Deutsch*.<sup>3</sup> In the context of his introduction to Reigns in LXX.D, Kreuzer comments: “Dieser antiochenische Text war nicht von der *kaige*-Rezension erfasst und er repräsentiert ein älteres Stadium des Septuagintatextes der Bücher der Königtümer, das der ersten, ursprünglichen Form der Septuaginta sehr nahe steht.”<sup>4</sup> In another context, he also concludes that “the Antiochene text is older than the *kaige* recension, going back at least to the first century B.C.E.”<sup>5</sup> Kreuzer provided some examples in order to elucidate the situation and demonstrate that the Lucianic text is older than the *kaige* recension. However, other elements, most especially the structural elements of the frames of Reigns, suggest that Lucian may not always preserve the older version of the text. Determining the chronological priority of these variants could have some implications for the redaction and source history of the book of Kings<sup>6</sup> and could even have implications for identifying any potentially genuine Lucianic recension of the Antiochene tradition.<sup>7</sup> While it is possible that Lucian preserves older readings in some

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*simile: Old Testament Part II—1 Samuel–2 Chronicles* (London: British Museum, 1930); and for Lucian, cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega II 1–2 Reyes* (Madrid: Instituto de Filología del CSIC: Departamento de Filología Bíblica y de Oriente Antiguo, 1992), though this text really represents the Antiochene tradition of the 4–5th centuries CE (cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos, “Der antiochenische Text der griechischen Bibel in den Samuel- und Königsbücher [1–4 Kön LXX],” in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel Band 2* [ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter Lesch; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004], 209).

2. For the purposes of this paper, the divisions of Reigns proposed in H. St. J. Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 8 (1907): 262–78 into four sections will be accepted, with βγ (2 Reigns 10–3 Reigns 2) and γδ (3 Reigns 22–4 Reigns 25) being the *kaige* sections, as has been generally accepted since the publication of Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSupp; Leiden: Brill, 1963).

3. Cf. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), xv.

4. Kraus and Karrer, *LXX.D*, 301.

5. Siegfried Kreuzer, “Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, *Kaige*, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns,” *Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 42 (2009): 49.

6. This consideration will be developed elsewhere.

7. Kreuzer has commented that rather than presume that a Lucianic recension of the Antiochene occurred, one must demonstrate this; cf. e.g. Siegfried Kreuzer, “Towards the



instances, this must be confirmed on a case by case basis—regardless of whether we are referring to a portion of the *kaige* text or a non-*kaige* text—rather than by assuming Lucianic priority over Vaticanus in every case, as Kreuzer seems to suggest.<sup>8</sup> In order to help clarify this situation, I will begin by examining some of the opening frames of kings' reigns before considering the case of Jehoshaphat and examining some of the concluding frames.

## 2. THE OPENING FRAMES

The first opening frame of a king's reign in the biblical tradition—found in 1 Reigns 13:1 (Lucian) and 1 Samuel 13:1 (MT)—is simultaneously one of the most problematic framing elements of the book of Reigns; two variant traditions exist regarding the opening of the reign of Saul and one does not. Vaticanus does not attest an opening frame for Saul's reign,<sup>9</sup> MT clearly represents an incomplete text of the standard regnal formula at 1 Samuel 13:1 ("A son of year was Saul at his accession and two years he reigned over Israel"), and some Lucian texts offer a more sensible opening frame ("A son of thirty years was Saul at his accession and two years he reigned over Israel"). In the LXX.D translation of Reigns, a footnote suggests that Vaticanus<sup>10</sup> (though not mentioned by name) is missing this verse "wohl wegen seiner inhaltlichen Schwierigkeiten."<sup>11</sup> However, based on the axiomatic *lectio brevior* and *lectio difficilior*, one must arrive at exactly the opposite conclusion: the LXX manuscripts missing this verse are both shorter and more difficult structurally, implying that they are in fact older.

A historical reconstruction of the order of the text seems more probable in the order Vaticanus, MT, and Lucian than in any other order. Later editors presumably added a frame for Saul to continue the tradition of opening formulae for the kings of Israel and Judah but, as they did not have information particular to Saul in their sources, they left his age blank. Later recensors then presumably added the round number 30 as his age in the latest stage of

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Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and Kaige Recension)," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Ljubljana, 2007* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 253.

8. Cf. Kreuzer, "Translation and Recensions," 44: "the Antiochene text represents the OG."

9. Alexandrinus also fails to offer this opening frame and matches Vaticanus for this passage.

10. This would also apply to Alexandrinus, which is identical at the opening of 1 Reigns 13.

11. Kraus and Karrer, *LXX.D*, 313.

recension here.<sup>12</sup> Presumably these later redactors and recensers sought consistency in their text, therefore expanding and adapting the text at the opening of 1 Reigns 13. This situation seems more probable than a single missing number in the textual tradition leading to the deletion of an entire verse and the removal of a structural element of the book of Reigns, as would be implied if the Lucianic text were the oldest and Vaticanus the youngest. Therefore, the non-*kaige* text of Vaticanus should be favored as the older reading against Lucian and MT, which are more similar in this instance. Therefore, the Antiochene text should not be considered identical to the Old Greek in this case. Since the difference between Vaticanus and the Antiochene tradition can be found in a non-*kaige* text in Vaticanus, could this be an example of a later Antiochene or even genuine Lucianic revision in Reigns?

The next such example can be found in 3 Reigns 12:24<sup>a</sup> and 14:21 in Vaticanus and 12:26 and 14:35 in the Madrid edition of the Lucianic text. Both Lucian and Vaticanus offer a duplicate opening frame for Rehoboam here, offering his age and the length of his reign. One important difference must be stressed between the two traditions: while Vaticanus reads two different ages for Rehoboam (16 and 41 years, respectively), the Antiochene text offers 41 years in both instances. For this reason, *lectio difficilior* must again favor the non-*kaige* Vaticanus text against Lucian as the older tradition. It is less likely that someone would later add a glaring inconsistency as found in Vaticanus as opposed to removing one. The Lucianic text was most likely emended for the sake of consistency and, therefore, the Antiochene tradition should not be regarded as representing the Old Greek in 3 Reigns 12:26. Could this once again be evidence of a later Antiochene or genuine Lucianic revision?

A third example in an opening frame can be found in 3 Reigns 16:15. Vaticanus reads an unusually abbreviated “and Zimri reigned seven days in Thirzah,” missing the synchronistic notice. Lucian, on the other hand reads “In the 22nd year of Asa king of Judah, Zimri reigned seven days in Thirzah,” which matches MT in every respect except for the year of accession.<sup>13</sup> *Lectio brevior* and *lectio difficilior* clearly once again favor Vaticanus, as it remains shorter and less systematic regarding the frames of the kings of Israel. In this instance it again remains improbable that the Antiochene tradition can be regarded as representing the Old Greek, as it conforms more to the standard opening frames in Reigns than does Vaticanus. The redaction process here

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12. Saul is one of the few kings to have such a round age of accession. The others are Ishbaal (2 Reigns 2:10), David (2 Reigns 5:4), and Ahaz (4 Reigns 16:2). Suspiciously, all of the kings mentioned in the Book of Samuel (1–2 Reigns) have round numbers as their age of accession.

13. MT offers the 27th year of Asa as the year of accession.

seems especially conspicuous in that 3 Reigns 16:8 reads an abbreviated formula for Elah of Israel in both Vaticanus and the Antiochene text. Were the Lucianic text older, one would have to argue that the tradition of Vaticanus deleted elements of the frames inconsistently, as shown by the universally missing element in 3 Reigns 16:8 of the Greek tradition contrasted with the missing synchronistic notice in Vaticanus at 16:15. Might 3 Reigns 16:15 be a third example of a later Antiochene or genuine Lucianic revision?

The Antiochene tradition and Vaticanus both offer a roughly duplicate text following 4 Reigns 1:18 and again at 3:1–3. The first occurrence is missing in MT, suggesting that it was potentially removed as a duplicate. Regarding Vaticanus and Lucian, Vaticanus clearly presents the shorter text in 1:18<sup>a–d</sup>:

V: Καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Ἀχααβ βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη δέκα δύο ἐν ἔτει ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ Ἰωσαφατ βασιλέως Ἰουδα ... καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἀχααβ.

L: Καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Ἀχααβ βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ἔτη δέκα δύο. ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰωράμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσαφὰτ βασιλέως Ἰούδα ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰοράμ υἱὸς Ἀχαάβ ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ ... καὶ ἐθυμώθη ὀργῇ κύριος ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἀχααβ.

The Lucianic text has moved the reign of Joram of Israel into the time of Joram of Judah, probably for ideological reasons, i.e., to prevent the concurrent reigns of Jehoshaphat of Judah and Joram of Israel. The Lucianic text has also been expanded to elucidate the explicit anger of יהוה against both the house of Ahab generally and Joram of Israel explicitly. As in 3 Reigns 1:18<sup>a</sup>, Vaticanus can be regarded as the *lectio difficilior* in 4 Reigns 3, in that the Antiochene text transfers a narrative that might reflect negatively on the king of Judah—after all, he appears both subservient to the king of Israel and fails to achieve a victory—from the time of Jehoshaphat to the time of Ahaziah. It seems less likely that someone would later move these events into the time of Jehoshaphat. The use of the aorist in the Lucianic text at 1:19 and 3:1 instead of or in addition to the historical present should also be regarded as evidence against the historical priority of the Antiochene tradition for these verses. For these reasons it once again seems more likely to regard Vaticanus as the older tradition against both the Antiochene tradition and MT.

4 Reigns 12:1 represents another interesting case, this time in a Judean king's opening frame. While Vaticanus—matching MT here—reads a distinct order of the elements of the king's opening frame, placing the king's age at accession before his synchronistic notice, the Antiochene text remains consistent with the system prevalent in Reigns. There are two possibilities here: (1) either Vaticanus' text was later edited to match MT, or (2) Vaticanus and

MT represent the older text. While this issue remains ultimately impossible to decide, I would suggest that the *lectio difficilior* favors Vaticanus (and MT). The reason? I find it more likely that someone would edit a text to make it more consistent with the systematic framework of the book of Reigns, than that someone would make it less consistent. If Lucian presents the exegete with the older text, this implies that at some later date, for no obvious reason, someone changed the text, placing Joash's age before his synchronistic notice. As this represents the only attestation of such an opening frame in Reigns, this seems most unlikely. For this reason, I suggest that Lucian again cannot be representative of the Old Greek for this verse.

One last example of an opening frame should suffice. In 4 Reigns 15:13 one finds the opening frame for Shallum of Israel. The Antiochene text and Vaticanus present the same pertinent information, but in two different forms:

**L:** Καὶ Σελλῆμ υἱὸς Ιαβείς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Σαμαρεία μῆνα ἡμερῶν ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ Ἀζαρίου βασιλέως Ιούδα.

**V:** Καὶ Σελλουμ υἱὸς Ιαβείς ἐβασίλευσεν. Καὶ ἐν ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ ἐνάτῳ τοῦ Ἀζαρία βασιλεῖ Ιούδα ἐβασίλευσεν Σελλουμ μῆνα ἡμερῶν ἐν Σαμαρεία.

**MT:** שְׁלֹם בֶן־יְבוֹשׁ מֶלֶךְ בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלִישִׁים וְתִשְׁעַ שָׁנָה לְעֵזִיָּה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֹךְ יָרֵחַ יָמִים בְּשִׁמְרוֹן

The matter is somewhat more complicated than it initially seems. The syntax of Vaticanus is somewhat unwieldy, whereas the Lucianic syntax is more easily understood and more concise. Such a suggestion favors Vaticanus as the older reading. On the other hand, one should note that the syntax of Vaticanus appears closely related to the syntax of MT, suggesting that a revision of Vaticanus in order to follow proto-MT is plausible. However, this is further complicated by the fact that the syntax of MT and Vaticanus is still not identical. The most likely resolution is that the Antiochene tradition streamlined an unwieldy syntactical unit. Otherwise, one must presume that both MT and Vaticanus took a sensible text, added some duplicate material, and made the syntax more complicated. While there can ultimately be no resolution here, Lucian has the appearance of distinguishing itself as the later, more syntactically refined—and presumably, therefore later—text.

### 3. THE CASE OF JEHOSHAPHAT

An exceptional instance appears in Jehoshaphat's reign in 3 Reigns 16:28<sup>a-h</sup> in Vaticanus, which has a parallel in the Antiochene text of 3 Reigns 16:29–37. Vaticanus presents an abbreviated duplicate of this text in 3 Reigns 22:41–

46+51, which matches the location of MT, although MT reads the longer version in 1 Kings 22:41–51. To put it in Septuagint terminology, Leningradensis reads the non-*kaige* text in the *kaige* section. The situation here seems incredibly complicated, as neither the Antiochene nor the Vaticanus texts match MT, but I will again argue that Vaticanus represents the older text. I find it more probable that Lucian would have removed one version of a roughly duplicated text rather than that Vaticanus would have added a roughly identical text at a second location. One cannot regard this as an attempt by the *kaige* recensor to correct Vaticanus based on the MT or proto-MT since the pericopes in question are not identical; whoever would have tried to reconstruct the text based on MT would have done an exceptionally bad job, forgetting four whole verses. What seems more likely is that Vaticanus maintained a duplicate tradition found in the oldest version; MT settled the issue by removing the first instance (i.e., before Ahab's reign, possibly trying to disassociate Jehoshaphat from Ahab, introducing him only after Ahab's death) and setting that longer text at the location of the second occurrence. The Antiochene text on the other hand simply removed the second, abbreviated text from the location at 3 Reigns 22. In this instance it seems more likely again that Vaticanus attests the older text against both MT and Lucian.

#### 4. CLOSING FRAMES

In order to establish at least the questionable nature of ubiquitous Antiochene historical priority, we should also consider a limited number of the closing frames of some kings.<sup>14</sup> The first we will consider follows the concluding notice of Jehu's reign in 4 Reigns 10:36–43 in the Antiochene tradition.<sup>15</sup> Vaticanus offers no matching text for this pericope; MT also fails to reproduce this text. In terms of *lectio brevior* therefore, Vaticanus (matching MT) should clearly be favored over Lucian. When one regards the similarity between MT and Vaticanus, one could argue that Lucian represents the older text, Vaticanus having been revised in order to remain consistent with proto-MT. However, that is not really an argument, but rather a presumption that Lucian is older. In terms of the more difficult reading, the Lucianic text of 4 Reigns 10:36 is clearly the *lectio difficilior*, as it contextualizes Jehu's reign within the second regnal year of Athaliah—a factor inconsistent with, e.g., 4 Reigns 9:21 and

14. Jeroboam I's concluding frame will not be considered here, as both Vaticanus and the Antiochene tradition agree against MT in that the Greek tradition does not contain a closing frame for Jeroboam I.

15. For this passage, cf. Julio C. Treballe-Barrera, *Jehú y Joás: Texto y composición literaria de 2 Re 9–11* (Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984), 110–18.

11:1—and directly claims Jehu's accession to the Israelite throne as the result of יהוה's active intervention.<sup>16</sup> I find it improbable that someone would add such a fact at a later date, but it would be understandable that someone would delete it for ideological reasons.<sup>17</sup>

The most difficult text to appreciate in terms of literary history, at least the most difficult text that will be dealt with here, doubtlessly remains 4 Reigns 13–14. In this pericope there are no fewer than three locations for Joash of Israel's concluding frame. The first location is doubtlessly the most senseless: Vaticanus and MT both conclude Joash's reign in 2 Kings/4 Reigns 13:12–13, immediately subsequent to his introduction. Following this conclusion are two extended narratives about Joash (one with Elisha in 13:14–21 and one with Amaziah of Judah in 14:8–14) and some brief notices about his reign and that of his contemporaries in 13:22–25 and 14:1–7. It is between these last two texts that the Antiochene text adds Joash's concluding frame, which seems to be a more logical position from a narrative perspective, although it still fails to incorporate all of the material regarding his reign. The most logical position for the concluding notice can be found in Vaticanus and MT, and at least partially in Lucian, at 14:15–16. Aside from the three locations of this tradition, there is another problem.

The text of 2 Kings/4 Reigns 14:15–16 (MT and Vaticanus) parallels 4 Reigns 13:25–26 (Lucian), whereas 2 Kings/4 Reigns 13:12–13 finds a partial parallel in 4 Reigns 14:16 (Lucian). The difficulty becomes obvious because Joash's concluding formula contains the phrase “and Jeroboam sat upon his throne” in 2 Kings/4 Reigns 13:13 (Vaticanus) and 14:16 (Lucian).<sup>18</sup> This phraseology is totally foreign to the other closing frames known throughout Reigns, which speaks to its possible antiquity.<sup>19</sup> The problem is that it is found in two disparate locations. If Lucian represents the older text, one wonders why Vaticanus and MT moved this unique phrase forward from a location at 14:15–16 and simultaneously replaced it with a standard closing frame. If the other witnesses are older, the Antiochene text deleted the first part of the clos-

16. Lucian reads *Ἐπει δὲ δευτέρῳ τῆς Γοθολίας βασιλεύει Κύριος τὸν Ἰοῦ υἱὸν Ναμεσσεῖ* which presumes a *Vorlage* reading *יהוה את־יהוא בן נמשי*, i.e. a Hiphil of *נמשי*.

17. These reasons include precluding the legitimacy of Athaliah's time on the throne of Judah and the denial of יהוה's culpability for placing Jehu on the throne of Israel.

18. Context demands that the throne mentioned here is that of Joash of Israel and not of Amaziah of Judah, precluding the possibility of a narrative about Israelite domination of Judah with Jeroboam on the throne of Judah, a narrative which would have needed the curious conclusion of Jeroboam's reign in 4 Reigns 14:29 (V). Jeroboam did not sit on the throne of Amaziah of Judah, but rather on the throne of Joash of Israel.

19. Cf. however 3 Reigns 2:12 in Vaticanus and Lucian and 1 Kings 2:12 in MT.

ing frame (“and the rest of the deeds of Joash, etc.”) at 14:15 and then added Joash’s closing frame at a previously unknown location in 13:25–26. The reasons for this would be just as vague.

Vaticanus	4 Reigns 13–14	Lucian
13:10–11	Joash’s Opening Frame	13:11–12
13:12–13	Joash’s Concluding Frame (Throne)	—
13:14–21	Joash and Elisha	13:13–20
13:22–25	Joash and Ben-Hadad	13:21–24
—	Joash’s Concluding Frame	13:25–26
14:1–7	Amaziah of Judah	14:1–7
14:8–14	Amaziah and Joash	14:8–14
14:15–16	Joash’s Concluding Frame (Throne in <i>L</i> )	14:16

The only possibility I can suggest is structural; there are no other instances of a king’s concluding formula occurring within the narrative of his contemporary within the book of Kings/Reigns. This could imply Antiochene redaction for the purpose of structural consistency, suggesting that the Vaticanus and MT tradition is older. Two factors should be mentioned in this context: 1) the Antiochene tradition apparently saw no problem in reporting a king’s death and then allowing him to appear in subsequent narrative (n.b. Jehoshaphat in 3 Reigns 16:29–37 and 3 Reigns 22 in the Antiochene tradition); 2) it is more likely that the Antiochene tradition would have smoothed the textual disparities in 4 Reigns 13–14 than that Vaticanus and MT would have created them at a later date. How and in what redactional context Vaticanus and MT ended up with a concluding frame for Joash at 13:12–13 still remain a complete mystery. The formulation of Jeroboam sitting on the throne of his father has the ring of being original, as its uniqueness defines it as the *lectio difficilior*. Is it possible that the remnant of this passage in Lucian demonstrates its original location? That means that MT and Vaticanus may have moved it forward and completed it with a standard introduction. But, this must remain a mystery.

Finally, one closing frame in Vaticanus should be regarded as older than Lucian with only limited discussion necessary. In 4 Reigns 14:29 one finds the conclusion of Jeroboam II’s regnal formula:

V: καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ιεροβοὰμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ισραήλ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Αζαρίας υἱὸς Αμεσσιου ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ

L: καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ιεροβοὰμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων Ισραήλ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Ζαχαρίας υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ

MT: וישב ירבעם עם-אבתיו עם מלכי ישראל וימלך זכריה בנו תחתיו

Lucian almost perfectly matches MT at this point and reads with the traditional conclusion: “and Zechariah, his son, reigned in his stead.” On the other hand, Vaticanus reads: “and Azariah, the son of Amaziah, reigned in his father’s stead,” that is, without concluding Jeroboam’s reign in the traditional manner, Vaticanus jumps back to a Judean narrative. In this case, the *lectio difficilior* clearly favors Vaticanus against MT and Lucian. It would be highly unlikely that a later editor would come up with the current text of 4 Reigns 14:29 as found in Vaticanus without it having been in his *Vorlage*.<sup>20</sup> The limited number of identical words and existence of 15:1 seem preclude parablepsis as a plausible explanation for the Vaticanus reading. Lucian’s closing of Jeroboam’s reign must even be regarded as the most structured—and presumably, therefore, latest—text in that it comments about Jeroboam’s burial, which is the traditional structure for the concluding frames of kings’ reigns who die peacefully. This element can only be found in Lucian, remaining absent in Vaticanus and MT.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

A number of conclusions can be reached based on the preceding information. First, Lucian should not always be regarded as the older text; many cases suggest that this is not true. Secondly, this becomes especially apparent when one considers the structure of Reigns. The Antiochene text remains better structured than the text of Vaticanus, and in some instances, even more structured than MT. The fact that Lucian has an introduction for Saul’s reign, a standard opening for Zimri’s reign, a more typical frame for Joash of Judah, a more consistently placed concluding frame for Joash of Israel, and a standard closing frame for Jeroboam II are indicative of later structural editing of the narrative. This Antiochene restructuring can be found when compared to both

20. One should add to this evidence the fact that Alexandrinus reads virtually identically to Vaticanus in 4 Reigns 14:29.



the *kaige* and non-*kaige* sections of Reigns, as demonstrated in the pericopes noted above.

Further, I would suggest that where the Antiochene text does not match the non-*kaige* text of Vaticanus—e.g., 1 Reigns 13:1; 3 Reigns 12:26; 14:35; 16:15—the differences could be indicative of secondary or even genuine Lucianic redaction. The same could be said of materials in which the Antiochene text distinguishes itself as closer to MT than does Vaticanus, e.g., 4 Reigns 14:29. At least in these few variant instances, one should consider the possibility of genuine Lucianic—or at the very least, later Antiochene—recensional activity. It must remain unclear in these cases whether this later Antiochene recensional activity requires proto-masoretic affiliation, or whether the recensor adapted the text independently of the proto-masoretic tradition. Both alternatives seem plausible in this case.

The objective of this glance into the textual complexity of Reigns was not to preclude the value of Lucian as a text-critical source, but rather to affirm or deny the definitive and ubiquitous historical priority of the Antiochene tradition of Reigns. The suggestion that the Antiochene text always maintains the older reading seems to be out of order, especially in structural terms. However, this should not imply that the Lucianic text is always younger than the text of Vaticanus. Rather, I see this as an affirmation of the suggestion of testing the age of a text on a case by case basis, without postulating the historical priority of any text. Kreuzer has shown that in some instances Lucianic readings appear to be older than those of Vaticanus. Hopefully I have been able to demonstrate that readings in Vaticanus, whether *kaige* or non-*kaige*, can often be regarded as older than Lucianic readings. Only after one has arrived at the oldest structure of Reigns can one legitimately consider redaction and source critical methodologies for the books of Reigns, which will be the next logical step taken under consideration. The variant structure of Reigns has generally not been regarded in redaction historical approaches to Samuel and Kings, a matter which will hopefully be emended in the future.

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## Translating the Historical Books

*Natalio Fernández Marcos*

**Abstract:** After the publication of the first volume (the Pentateuch) of the Spanish translation of the Septuagint (Salamanca: Sígueme, 2008), the second volume with the historical books is scheduled to appear at the end of 2010. I will explain the different problems presented by this new corpus of the Greek Bible (lack of critical editions, double texts, *kaige* revision and Antiochene text, etc.), and the solutions given by the Spanish translation on the background of the policy followed by other modern translations, especially the English, German and French. The main innovation of the Spanish project will consist of translating the Antiochene text edited in Madrid for the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. Some reflections on the advantages of this translation option will follow.

It is a well known fact that the translation of the Pentateuch is not always a faithful rendering of the original text, despite the affirmations to the contrary made by the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* §310: “Since this version has been made rightly and reverently, and in every respect accurately, it is good that this should remain exactly so, and that there should be no retouch.” The discrepancies between the original and the Greek copies were noticed at an early stage; this is apparent in the quick response to correct the Greek with the relation to the Hebrew in the most ancient papyri, and the warning signs expressed by the translator of Sira in the Prologue, probably wishing to enter into a polemic with the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*: “For what was originally expressed in Hebrew does not have exactly the same sense when translated into another language. Not only that, but even the Law itself, the Prophecies, and the rest of the books differ not a little when read in the original.” Even in the Pentateuch there are important discrepancies between the Greek and the Hebrew such as Jacob’s blessings (Gen 49), the account of the Tabernacle (Ex 35–40), Balaam’s oracles (Num 22–24) or the Song of Moses (Dt 32).

However, when we move beyond the Pentateuch to the new *corpus* of the historical books (the Former Prophets in the Hebrew Scriptures) these differences between the Greek and the Hebrew Bible are more common and

widespread. I do not mean the differences that arise from the contact between languages in the process of translation, but the focus on the major discrepancies which, we can say, make the Greek Bible another Bible, the Bible of Hellenistic Jews, just as the members of the community of the Judaean Desert had their own Bible—the Bible of Qumran. Those changes affect: a) the organization of the material; b) the inclusion of new books, or supplements to some books, which are lacking in the Hebrew Bible; c) the presence of double texts for some of the Greek books, and d) the appearance of early revisions in some of these books which notably modify the history of text transmission. These transformations emphasize the many voices of the Biblical text in Greek, the richness and originality of the Greek Bible as a literary and autonomous work.

To begin with, the book of Ruth, which in the Hebrew Bible counts among the Megilloth, is placed in the Septuagint after Judges as the last book of the Octateuch, no doubt following the chronological suggestion of the first words of the book: “In the days when the judges ruled...” 1–2 Paralipomena, and 1–2 Ezra follow 1–4 Kings. In addition, new books, not included in the Hebrew Scriptures, are produced, books such as Judith, Tobit and 1–4 Maccabees, or supplements are attached to some Hebrew books, for example, the six supplements to Esther or the story of the three bodyguards in 1 Ezra (1 Ezra 3–5:6).

All these additions or new productions were considered to have a certain connection with the historical books. In other words, the Former Prophets of the Hebrew Bible have not only been translated but also transformed and completed with new stories which extend to the history of Israel at their own time, or with fictitious stories about the way Jews should behave in conflict with their religious beliefs in the hostile milieu of the diaspora, or novels about Jews in the court of a foreign king.

Concerning the double texts in Greek it is worth emphasizing that Rahlfs' manual edition prints the book of Judges in two recensions: the text of *codex Alexandrinus* and its group, and the text of the *Vaticanus* in the upper and lower part of the page respectively, apparently considering them, in line with P. A. de Lagarde, as two different translations. The same could be said for some chapters of Joshua, printed by Rahlfs in parallel columns (Jos 15:21–62 and 18:22–19:45). For the time being, although the Greek manuscripts have already been collated in the Septuaginta-Unternehmen of Göttingen, these books lack a critical edition in order to stratify the evidence of the manuscript tradition and restore, in all probability, a single archetype.

But even some books critically edited in the series *maior* of Göttingen attest phenomena of double recensions. The Greek Esther, according to the critical edition of R. Hanhart, has been transmitted in two different forms: the *o'* text and the *L* or *Alpha* text, which cannot be traced back to a single arche-

type. The relationship between both recensions and the original Hebrew is the object of strong debate among the experts of the Septuagint. The book of Tobit exists in two (and partially three) different textual forms: a long text attested mainly by *Codex Sinaiticus* and the *Vetus Latina*, and a short text attested by *codices Alexandrinus*, *Vaticanus* and the most part of the Greek tradition—two textual forms which cannot be genetically reduced to a single original.

In brief, the polyphonic character of the Greek Bible becomes patent once we cross the frontier of the Pentateuch. It is possible that when they were being translated those books were not considered as authoritative as the Torah, and it was this that allowed the translators to also be creative scribes intervening with more freedom on the original text, or creating new writings in response to the needs of the community.

The text history and transmission of the books of Kings is peculiar in many aspects. The Old Greek of the story of David and Goliath (1 Kings 17–18:5) reflects a short version with 31 verses less than the Masoretic text. In 3 Kings 2–14, the divergencies between the Old Greek and the Hebrew are so strong that this narrative probably offers two different versions of Solomon's access to the throne. Moreover, in some parts of the historical books, the so-called *kaige* sections of Kings (2 Kings 11:2–3 Kings 2:11, and 3 Kings 22–4 Kings), the mainstream Greek tradition transmits a revised text, while the Antiochene text escaped this Hebraising revision, and is homogeneous throughout 1–4 Kings, and closer to the Old Greek.

To cope with these problems modern translations have had recourse to different procedures: *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, on the base of Rahlfs' edition, translates the short text of David and Goliath's story in 1 Kings 17–18:5 and inserts, in italics within the current text, the long text printed by Rahlfs in the apparatus. The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) simply translates the short text, supposed to be the Old Greek. The *Septuaginta-Deutsch* (LXX-De), however, translates the short text and inserts into the current text the translation of the long text between asterisk and metobelus, to indicate that it has been transmitted by the Hexaplaric recension, although it is also attested by the Antiochene manuscripts.

As for the *kaige* sections, I am not aware of the policy to be followed by *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, since only 1 Kings has been published up to now. NETS follows Rahlfs' edition in Kings, in spite of being a composite text of Old Greek plus the Hebraising revision. However, both sections are translated by different scholars, B. A. Taylor for the Old Greek and P. D. McLean for the *kaige* sections. A third solution has been adopted by the translators of LXX-D (S. Kreuzer et al.). They usually follow the text of Rahlfs' edition but in the *kaige* sections they translate in parallel columns Rahlfs' text and the Antiochene text according to the critical edition of the Madrid team.

I have the impression that these compromise solutions do not satisfy the requirements of the present state of Septuagint research. Rahlfs' manual edition is not only a composite text of Old Greek plus a late revised text, but influenced by his negative judgement on the Lucianic recension, which he considered both late and of secondary character, Rahlfs usually does not take into account the readings of the Lucianic group of manuscripts, as stated in a note to the apparatus at the beginning of Kings: *Huius editionis* [that is, the Lucianic] *innumeras lectiones singulares* (cf. Rahlfs Sept.-Stud. 3 [1911]) *praetereo*.

As we started working on the translation of the historical books we thought that the Spanish translation could be a new contribution to the map of modern translations focusing exclusively on the version of the current Antiochene text.

The choice was made to translate 1–4 Kings and 1–2 Paralipomena on the base of the Antiochene text edited in Madrid. First of all, it is a current, homogeneous text throughout 1–4 Kings which, in general, preserves an ancient text very close to the Old Greek. Nowadays, in contrast to Rahlfs' devaluation of the Antiochene or Lucianic text, a revaluation is in order. Inasmuch as the Antiochene is a text attested by a group of minuscules since the ninth century, but which can be traced back to the fifth century in Theodoret's quotations, or back to the second century by its agreements with Josephus and the *Vetus Latina*, and back to the first century C.E. by its agreements with 4QSam<sup>a,c</sup>, it has been selected as the base of the Spanish translation. This is also due to the inner quality and antiquity of most of its readings and to the genuine character of these sections of the Greek tradition that escaped the *kaige* revision. Among other literary and editorial divergencies, with relation to the majority text of the Septuagint, there is one which is worth emphasizing: the prolongation of the second book of Kings to 3 Kings 2:11, the death of David, in parallel with 1 Kings which ends with the death of Saul, and the beginning of 3 Kings in 3 Kings 2:12, with the reign of Solomon.

This text was held in high esteem by Julius Wellhausen in the 19th century, because the Lucianic manuscripts in 1–2 Kings not only often confirmed his critical decisions but also backed up his own conjectures.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Thackeray, at the beginning of the 20th century, was already putting forward some of the reforms of the Greek text of 1–4 Kings that have been adopted in our edition of the Antiochene text: "It will probably not fall within the scope of the larger Cambridge Septuagint to depart from the arrangement of books in the

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1. J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871, p. 223.

Codex Vaticanus, but I venture to think that in the Septuagint of the future the second of the four Kingdoms books will end with the death of David.”<sup>2</sup>

In order to navigate safely and soundly through the complex history of the biblical text in the historical books one should be aware that in several of these books two textual stages, chronologically differentiated, can be detected: a) the Old Greek or first translation on the one side, and b) a Hebraising revision on the other, the so-called *kaige* revision, with its starting point in the first century B.C.E. The aim of this revision was to approximate the Old Greek version to the Proto-Masoretic Hebrew which started to be predominant within Judaism. The book where these two stages are most visible is Judges, edited by Rahlfs in a double text, the A-text and the B-text. The second, the text of *Vaticanus*, *Sinaiticus* and a group of minuscules transmits a late Hebraising, the so-called *kaige* revision. At the other extreme of this translation process, one comes across the book of Ruth, a very literal version according to the Proto-Masoretic text. There is not an Old Greek of Ruth, because the translation was probably carried out by a member of the *kaige* group in the first century C.E.

In the books of Kings both stages can be detected: the Old Greek represented mainly by the Antiochene text throughout all the books, joined to the majority text in the non-*kaige* sections, and the *kaige* revision of the majority text in the *kaige* sections. In Judges, Rahlfs offered a critical text based mainly on codex *Alexandrinus* and the Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensions. It was clear to him that the text of *Vaticanus* did not represent the Old Greek in this book. However, in the books of Kings Rahlfs opted basically for the *Vaticanus* as the basis of his edition, relying on his research on the Lucianic text published in 1911.<sup>3</sup>

According to some recent studies by Böhler, the same scheme could be applied to 1–2 Ezra. 1 Ezra would correspond to a fairly free translation of the Old Greek, including material which is not to be found in the Hebrew Bible such as the three bodyguards of king Darius. Then, in a second stage with 2 Ezra, we find more literal Hebraising translation of the Hebrew Ezra-Nehemiah.<sup>4</sup>

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2. H. St. J. Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four books of Kings,” *JTS* 8 (1907) 262–278, p. 266.

3. A. Rahlfs, *Lucians recension der Königsbücher. Septuagintastudien III*, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911.

4. D. Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras a und Esra-Nehemia: zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels*. OBO 158, Fribourg: Presses universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997. For another view that 1 Ezra is a subsequent composition depending upon the biblical books see Z. Talshir, *I Esdras: From Origin to Translation*. SBLSCS 47, Atlanta: SBL, 1999.

To return to the Antiochene text in the books of Kings, I think that our option is, for the moment, the best solution while waiting for the critical editions of Joshua, Judges and the rest of the historical books in the Göttingen series. The Antiochene text is first and foremost Septuagint, that is to say that the great number of coincidences with the majority Greek text is such that it represents the same current of tradition as the Old Greek. It shares with the rest of the Septuagint the additions of 3 Kings 2:35a-o and 46a-l on the wisdom and prosperity of Solomon, as well as 3 Kings 12:24a-z; all of these passages do not have their equivalent in the Masoretic Hebrew. It also shares with the rest of the Septuagint the distinctive organization of the material in 3 Kings as well as the permutation of chapters 20 and 21<sup>5</sup>. In other words, it is not a new translation from the Hebrew, or 'an Old Greek',<sup>6</sup> as if there had been another translation. It develops in the mainstream of the Old Greek. Nevertheless, it departed from the majority current of LXX at an early stage, probably in the first century C.E., and its transmission was relatively independent from the rest of the Greek tradition.<sup>7</sup> This explains the considerable number of original readings it conserves and which were lost in the rest of the manuscript tradition.

The proper names merit our special attention. Their forms differ considerably from those transmitted by the rest of the Septuagint, the Hexaplaric recension included, and reproduce more faithfully the forms of a Hebrew older than the Masoretic text. For instance, in 2 Kings 9 the Antiochene text preserves the original name of the son of Jonathan (and Saul's grandson) as Μεμφιβάαλ, corrected to Μεμφιβόσθε in the majority text of the Septuagint according to the Masoretic Text, which substituted the ancient name of the god Baal with the derogatory designation of בִּשְׁת, "shame."

Nevertheless I do not think that the Antiochene text can be identified with the Old Greek. Some elements of a stylistic recension can be detected even at an early stage<sup>8</sup>. The Old Greek can only be restored through the com-

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5. In accordance with these data, 3 Kings would end in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint in chapter 21, the victory of Ahab (= chapter 20 of the MT), and 4 Kings would begin in chapter 22 of 3 Kings. Thackeray is also inclined to place the end of the third book of Kings at the end of chapter 21 of the Septuagint, cf. H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins*, London 1923<sup>2</sup>, p. 19.

6. See note 16.

7. S. P. Brock, "A Doublet and its Ramifications", *Biblica* 56 (1975) 550–553, p. 553.

8. S. P. Brock, "Lucian *redivivus*. Some Reflections on Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*", in *Studia Evangelica* V, edited by F. L. Cross, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968, 176–181.



parison of all the witnesses and the elimination of the recensional features in the diverse groups of manuscripts. As Aejmelaeus says:

Sie [The Old Greek] hat die Vorlage sowohl für die lukianische wie für die Kaige-Rezension gebildet und kann aufgrund der beiden wiederhergestellt werden, wenn die Rezensionszüge der beiden Rezensionen erkannt werden. Praktisch würde ich here den Hinweis geben neben Rahlfs die spanische Edition des antiochenischen (d. h. lukianischen) Textes zu stellen. Wenn eine Textstelle zugleich in den beiden verschiedenen Rezensionen geändert worden ist, dann bleibt nur die Rekonstruktion des ursprünglichen Textes übrig.<sup>9</sup>

However, according to S. Kreuzer, in view of the agreements of Antiochene with Josephus, *Vetus Latina*, probably the New Testament,<sup>10</sup> and Qumran, the analysis in Kings must be inverted. Antiochene is a uniform and homogeneous text, close to the features of the Old Greek, but without excluding the existence of a slight Proto-Lucianic and a late Lucianic revision. In contrast, it is the *Vaticanus* and the *kaige* revision which changed the text in Kings more radically, according to the new fashion of accommodating the biblical texts to the dominant Proto-Masoretic Hebrew.<sup>11</sup> Kim Jong-Hoon comes to similar conclusions in his doctoral dissertation,<sup>12</sup> that most of the differences between *kaige* and Antiochene in Kings are explained by the style and grammar of the original Greek language, maintained in Antiochene, and corrected in *kaige* towards a strict literalism<sup>13</sup>.

Notwithstanding I would like to point out that the passages analyzed by Kreuzer and Jong-Hoon belong exclusively to the *kaige* sections, and that the

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9. A. Aejmelaeus, "Die Übersetzung einer Übersetzung. Vom Hebräischen über das Griechische in eine moderne Sprache", in S. Kreuzer and J. P. Lesch, eds., *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel. Band 2*, BWANT 161, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004, 133–150, pp. 136–137.

10. See Rom 11:3–4.

11. S. Kreuzer, "Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and Kaige Recension)", in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 2007*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008, 239–253, p. 253, and idem "Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, *Kaige*, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns", *BIOSCS* 42 (2009) 34–51.

12. Kim Jong-Hoon, *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königsbücher. Studien zur Textgeschichte ausgehend von 2Sam 15,1–19,9*. BZAW 394. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009.

13. Against Rahlfs' interpretation who attributed the Antiochene readings to scholarly corrections, "Gelehrten korrektoren". See note 3, p. 283.

analysis should be extended also to the non-*kaige* sections in order to verify in which direction the correction goes in those cases where there are discrepancies between the Vaticanus and the Antiochene. I think that the Old Greek in Kings is still a vanishing ideal only attainable through a rigorous application of textual criticism to the main recensions or groups of texts identified according to the procedure used by the Göttingen series. That is, each variant has to be weighed on a case-by-case basis.

Our option of translating the Antiochene text is a compromise solution while waiting for the standard critical edition. I am aware of the shortcomings of this version of a text which cannot be identified with the Old Greek. But at least it is a real text read in the first centuries C.E. in the patriarchate of Antioch. The difficulty to distinguish between the final stage of the recension and the Proto-Lucianic material does not prevent it from being readable and understood. The frequent presence of doublets or alternative readings, which may go back to Hebrew sources, means that hardly an old variant has been excluded. It is an expansive text concerned with the completion of what was implicit in the different moments of the narrative according to the scheme of announcement and fulfilment—the insertion of short phrases to clarify any uncertain situation and soften the passage of any breaks in meaning. The reworking of style on certain occasions, including multiple changes in the hyperbaton of the sentence, is a sign that the addressees were seriously taken into account. In short, it seems to be a text “designed for public reading,”<sup>14</sup> a text that can be read and understood quite well. Early authors and modern commentators emphasize the capacity of the Antiochene recension to put the materials in their right place and to reorganise the narrative. There are no gaps in the sequence throughout 1–4 Kings; it includes even the long text of David and Goliath.

Our aim is to offer a faithful translation of this current text without signalling graphically its deviations from the Hebrew, convinced that these discrepancies are not only quantitative (additions and omissions) but permeate the whole structure of the translation, shifting and rearranging the material, and qualitative modifications inasmuch as the first translation is, at the same time, the first interpretation of the Hebrew Bible. I would like to emphasize its most important intervention, the prolongation of the second book of Kings to 3 Kings 2:11. It would have been difficult to achieve this unless it could be borne out by the same sequence of material in the Hebrew scrolls used as the basis of the translation. We have no documentary proof of the existence

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14. S. P. Brock, *The Recension of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel*, Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1996, p. 252.

of ancient Hebrew scrolls or codices with the same distribution of material. There are, however, other indications which support this hypothesis. The *kaige* revision, in section βγ, ends precisely where 2 Kings ends in the Antiochene text, in 3 Kings 2:11.

There is, therefore, no need to enter into sophisticated speculations as to the motives for this revision and why it only covers two concrete sections of the books of Kings. I share Barthélemy's view that the *kaige* revision originally encompassed the whole of the books of Kings, and that the fact that only two sections remain corrected is due to an accident of transmission—the alternate copying of different types of scrolls by the scribe of the archetype of the Vatican codex. This resulted in a mixed text, alternating sections from the Old Greek type with sections from the *kaige* type.<sup>15</sup> Both, the *kaige* revision and the Antiochene text belong to a period in which the biblical text was transmitted in scrolls and not in codices. Therefore, the value of the Antiochene text in the books of Kings lies in the fact that it transmits a homogeneous text which has not undergone the Hebraising revision.

But I do not pretend that we are offering a translation of the Old Greek; this was lost for all the books. The Old Greek can only be reached through the examination of all the evidence at our disposal submitted to the rules of textual criticism. Certainly I do not think that in the non-*kaige* sections the substratum of the Antiochene text always represents the Old Greek.<sup>16</sup> The linguistic and literary traits which appear in the Antiochene text cannot be identified with the characteristics of the Old Greek nor can they be the mere product of historical evolution<sup>17</sup>. The specific differences between Antiochene and the text of *Vaticanus* that still remain precisely in the non-*kaige* sections necessitate some explanation. Both, Antiochene and *Vaticanus*, cannot be Old Greek. And it is more plausible to explain these differences as a slight revision of Antiochene than the other way around, i.e., from Antiochene as the Old Greek to move towards the text of *Vaticanus*.

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15. D. Barthélemy, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament*. OBO 21. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978, p. 275.

16. Contrary to the view of Tov, who states: "In conclusion, it is suggested here that the substratum of boc2e2 contains either the OG translation or any single OG translation," cf. E. Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian. Toward a New Solution of the Problem," *RB* 79 (1972) 101–113, now in E. Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint*. VTS 72, Leiden: Brill, 1999, 477–488, p. 484.

17. See S. Kreuzer, "Translation and Recensions", p. 44: "Be it unintentional mistakes and corruptions only, or be it a minor revision, the Antiochene text represents the OG"; and D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*. VTS 10, Leiden: Brill, 1963, p. 127.

Moreover, the changes in Antiochene can be explained as being the result of an editorial intervention whose purpose was to eliminate some, but not all, of the most obvious Hellenistic Greek forms and substitute them for the Attic forms. We do not know whether the purpose of these changes was to adapt the text for public reading, to serve the needs of the community or more simply to accommodate it to the literary tastes of the times. In any case these changes cannot be compared with the systematic and radical elimination of the historic present by the *kaige* revision. Of special interest is the high number of lexical variants, as pointed out in the Greek-Hebrew Index published by our team;<sup>18</sup> these variants merit careful study in the light of the Atticistic lexica, in order to ascertain the possible reasons for the change and appreciate the character of the copyists who were acting, to a large extent, as authors.

Other features of the Antiochene text have been summarised by S. Brock,<sup>19</sup> such as the preference for the second aorists, the tendency to eliminate the Semitism of the translation; the beginnings with εἰ in the oaths are substituted by οὐκ; the Hebrew expression ἐρωτᾷν εἰς εἰρήνην, is sometimes substituted for the more classical ἀσπάσασθαι ... ἐν εἰρήνῃ. It is common to write the verb in the singular with the neuter plural subject and the article is frequently included although it is absent in the Hebrew. More use is made of participles to avoid the paratactic constructions, and there is a greater variety in the use of particles. Transliterations tend to be discarded and replaced by translations. Indeed, the question must remain open as to whether all these characteristics belong to the Antiochene revision or go back to the style and characteristics of the Old Greek in Kings. But in any event, these are characteristics which are not shared by Vaticanus in the non-*kaige* sections.

I have insisted on the fact that the Antiochene text is above all Septuagint, that it shares, together with the rest of the Greek tradition, the major part of the differences compared with the Masoretic text, in particular 3 Kings 12–14. Even in those sections where the differences between the Antiochene and the rest of the Septuagint are not so obvious, the basic coincidence is confirmed.<sup>20</sup> There are also a number of literary and editorial features which

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18. N. Fernández Marcos, M<sup>a</sup> V<sup>a</sup> Spottorno Diaz-Caro y J. M. Cañas Reillo, *Índice griego-hebreo del texto antioqueno en los libros históricos. Volumen I: Índice general*, Madrid: CSIC 2005; *Volumen II: Índice de nombres propios*, Madrid: CSIC, 2005.

19. S. P. Brock, *The Recensions*, pp. 252–253.

20. “As far as 1Kms is concerned, the matter in common between L and LXX rell is so great that it would have required a Philonic miracle (and then not a very competent one, in view of the actual divergencies) to have brought about such a close identity of two different translations,” cf. S. P. Brock, *The Recensions*, p. 31.

I have described elsewhere.<sup>21</sup> The role of this editorial activity was, in part, to produce a more harmonious narrative, rounding off the rough edges so that it flowed more smoothly.

Stratifying these types of interventions chronologically is no easy task and continues to provide fodder for scientific debate. Pisano maintains that one of these tendencies, that of completing what was left unsaid or half unsaid in the original, had already started with the very translation of the Old Greek of 1–2 Kings or even in its Hebrew *Vorlage*, if we compare it with the character of the Masoretic text.<sup>22</sup> If this were the case, certain of these features would date back to the Old Greek or its base Hebrew text. Clarification and search for meaning is at the base of every process of translation. However, the level reached in the Antiochene text is far superior to anything that can be found in the tradition of the Septuagint. That is why I maintain that Antiochene is to a large extent (though not wholly) the result of recensional and editorial activity. But I am rather inclined to admit that there are older recensional elements—which include stylistic improvements and a few non-Hexaplaric approximations to the Hebrew—and, of course, a collection of ancient, in all probability, original readings. These composite elements of the recension prevent me from identifying the simple characteristics of the Antiochene recension with the characteristics of the Old Greek in Kings. To separate the late features of the recension from the Proto-Lucianic component is one of the most difficult problems of Septuagint research in Kings.<sup>23</sup> I would also add, modifying Wevers' statement, that to separate the Proto-Lucianic component from the Old Greek is even more difficult.

The connection between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek would seem to have been proved, although insufficient evidence was found to affirm any link between Antiochene and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, except for Antiochene's dependence upon LXX, which was in turn dependent upon 4QSam<sup>a24</sup>. But to whatever extent the documents of Qumran have confirmed the faith-

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21. N. Fernández Marcos, "Literary and Editorial Features of the Antiochian Text in Kings", in C. Cox (ed.), *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986*, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987, 287–304.

22. S. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel*. OBO 57. Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984, pp. 67–69 and 238–242.

23. "All in all, the so-called proto-Lucianic text is to my mind the most difficult problem in modern Septuagint work," see J. W. Wevers, "Proto-Septuagint Studies", in *The Seed of Wisdom. Essays in honor of T. J. Meek*, W. S. McCullough, ed., Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1964, 58–77, p. 69.

24. H. D. Herbert, "4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Its Relationship to the LXX: An Exploration in Stematological Analysis", in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge 1995*, B. A. Taylor (ed.), SCS 45, Atlanta, 1997, 37–55, p. 49.

ful nature of the Septuagint as a testimony of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, the Septuagint is also *interpretation*. In other words, the Septuagint does not transmit the biblical text as just another copyist, but rather as an *interpres*, and in this context there is a greater margin for the inclusion of ideological variants, even though they may have been introduced unconsciously. In the original it is quite possible to copy passages which have been corrupted or which are totally incomprehensible. But, in translation, it is not plausible to present an incomprehensible text.

Some years ago Prof. Marguerite Harl reminded her Spanish colleagues that it would be desirable to provide the Antiochene text edited in Madrid with a modern translation. That is precisely what we have tried to do with this new version into Spanish of the Antiochene text, the first complete translation into a modern language. It is a complete text, which provides meaning and clarification even for those passages which are obscure or ambiguous in the original, a text for public reading. With this translation we hope to offer not only a service to the Spanish-speaking community but also to provide a contribution to the studies of the Septuagint.

There still remain many problems which require appropriate solutions. The debate will continue on the complicated text history in Kings, on the relationship between the Old Greek and Antiochene in the non-*kaige* sections, trying to guess who corrected whom and which is the secondary text, the one which allows facilitation and harmonization in relation to the other. But for the time being, I think that the option of translating the Antiochene text, whose quality in the historical books has been sufficiently proved, is not only plausible but fully justified.

# Vom hellenistischen Kleinrollensystem zum Kodex: Beobachtungen zur Textgestalt der griechischen Samuel- und Königebücher<sup>1</sup>

*Jong-Hoon Kim*

**Abstract:** Seitdem Thackeray zwei unterschiedliche Textformen in Sam-Kön erkannt hatte, wurde es üblich, die Septuaginta von 1–4 Kgt in folgende vier Abschnitte einzuteilen, wobei die Abschnitte βγ und γδ zur—später von Barthélemy so genannten—kaige-Rezension gehören. Diese Einteilung ist heute weithin anerkannt (eventuell mit Änderung des Anfangs von βγ zu 2Sam 10,1; vgl. dazu J.D. Shenkel). Es ist auch weithin akzeptiert, dass der Wechsel des Charakters des Textes durch die Verwendung unterschiedlicher Rollen zustande kam. Es wurde aber bisher nicht weiter gefragt, wie die unterschiedlichen Umfänge der einzelnen Abschnitte (deren Länge von 218 Versen des Abschnittes ββ bis zu 790 Versen des Abschnittes α reicht) zustande kamen und ob die zugrunde liegenden Rollen auch noch andere Auswirkungen gehabt haben könnten. Wichtig für diese Fragen ist ein Blick auf die Entwicklung der Schreiberpraxis: Während in der attischen Zeit die Länge einer Schriftrolle bis über 40 Meter erreichen konnte (sog. Grossrollensystem), galt in der hellenistischen Zeit ein großes Buch als ein großes Übel und bevorzugte man wesentlich kürzere Rollen (sog. Kleinrollensystem). Die Veränderungen im Rollensystem spiegeln sich nicht nur z.B. in den beiden unterschiedlichen Teilen des griechischen Jeremiabuches, sondern daraus lassen sich auch die unterschiedlichen Abschnitte der Samuel- und Königebücher sowie ein Problem der Goliatgeschichte erklären.

## 1. TEXTFORMEN IN DEN GRIECHISCHEN SAMUEL- UND KÖNIGEBÜCHERN

Bekanntlich sind in den griechischen Samuel- und Königebüchern unterschiedliche Textformen zu erkennen. 1921 stellte Thackeray seine Theorie über die Septuaginta-Übersetzung von Sam-Kön auf, deren wesentliche Idee

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1. Hiermit bedanke ich mich bei Herrn Prof. Dr. Siegfried Kreuzer (Wuppertal, Deutschland) für seine wichtige Ratschläge.

er schon 1907 vorgestellt hatte.<sup>2</sup> Nach ihm bestehen die griechischen Sam-Kön bzw. 1.–4.Kgt aus zwei Teilen: α(1 Sam); ββ (2 Sam 1,1–11,1)<sup>3</sup>; γγ (1 Kön 2,12–21,43<sup>4</sup>, und βγ (1 Sam 11,2–1 Kön 2,11)<sup>5</sup>; γδ (1 Kön 22,1–2 Kön 25,30).<sup>6</sup>

Er behauptet, dass die Samuel- und Königebücher zweistufig ins Griechische übersetzt wurden: Zunächst wurden nur 1 Sam 1,1–2 Sam 11,1 und 1 Kön 2,12–21,43 übersetzt, und erst später wurden die übrigen Teile ergänzt. Nach Thackeray sind der Charakter dieser späteren Ergänzungen als „certain mannerisms of the Asiatic school“<sup>7</sup> darzustellen. Die uns bekannten Handschriften sollen dann die mit den späteren Ergänzungen gemischte Textform enthalten.<sup>8</sup>

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2. H. St. J. Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings”, *JTS* 8 (1907): 262–66.

3. Thackerays Abgrenzung wurde 1968 von Shenkel in Frage gestellt: J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), bes. 117–120. Zwar nimmt Shenkel im grossen und ganzen Thackerays Abgrenzung auf, aber beim Anfang des βγ-Abschnittes unterscheidet er sich von Thackeray. Dabei setzte er sich mit Barthélemy auseinander, der die von Thackeray erkannten Charakteristika bei seiner Untersuchung auf Grund der Zwölfprophetenrolle aus Naḥal Ḥever übernommen hatte. Gegenüber Thackeray und Barthélemy stellte Shenkel fest, dass in 2 Sam 10 ebenfalls die Charakteristika des βγ-Abschnittes bzw. der KR zu erkennen sind. Shenkel bezieht sich dabei vor allem auf die Fälle in 2 Sam 10,8.16, wo dieselben Phänomene wie die KR aufweisen. Abschließend stellt Shenkel fest: „II Samuel 10:1–11:1, contrary to the views of both Thackeray and Barthélemy, belongs to the KR“ (120).

4. 1 Kön 20,43 im MT. Die Kapitel 20 und 21 wurden in der LXX umgestellt.

5. Die Abgrenzung dieses Teiles wird handschriftlich auch bezeugt, d.h. in den antiochenischen Handschriften (boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>; Rahlfs: 19 108 82 93 127) endet das 2. Samuelbuch mit Kap. 26,11, was 1 Kön 2,11 des MT entspricht. Dazu siehe: N. Fernández Marcos und J. R. Busto Saiz, eds., *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega. I 1–2 Samuel* (TECC 50; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1989; Ders., eds., *Índice Griego-Hebreo del Texto Antioqueno en los Libros Históricos. Volumen I: Índice general*, (TECC 75, Madrid, 2005), XXXV. Auf den Seiten von XXXV–XL (vorbereitet von M<sup>a</sup> Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro) dieses Buches findet sich der Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Verszählungen von Sam-Kön im antiochenischen Textes und im MT: „Tabla de Correspondencias Entre el Texto Antioqueno (TA) y el Texto Masoretico (TM)“.

6. Die Unterteilung α bis δ bezieht sich auf die griechische Nummerierung der Bücher 1–4 Kgt.

7. H St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. A Study in Origins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921), 17.

8. Siehe dazu: Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, 18–20. (a) Inhaltlich gesehen sind die späteren Teile „The Decline and Fall of the Monarchy“. Diese eher negativen Erzählungen wurden bei der ersten Übersetzung ausgelassen; (b) Solch eine willkürliche Bearbeitung hat schon in der hebr. Bibel einen Vorläufer, nämlich die Chronik; (c) Die lukianische Buchteilung, in der 2 Sam bis 1 Kön 2,11 reicht, unterstützte seine Unters-



Thackerays Theorie von einer zweistufigen Übersetzung wurde von Barthélemy abgelehnt. Vielmehr erkannte Barthélemy in diesen Abschnitten eine hebraisierende Bearbeitung, die sog. Kaige-Rezension. Er identifizierte vor allem die  $\beta\gamma$ - und  $\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitte der Samuel- und Königebücher als einen wichtigen Textbereich der Kaige-Rezension.<sup>9</sup>

Nach Barthélemy sind die  $\beta\gamma$ - und  $\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitte, anders als bei Thackeray, keine spätere Übersetzung, sondern sie gehen auf eine Rezension zurück. Zur konkreten Datierung der Kaige-Rezension wurde von Barthélemy die griechische Zwölfprophetenrolle aus Naḥal Ḥever herangezogen, die 1952 gefunden, von ihm selber 1953 erstmals veröffentlicht<sup>10</sup> und später in „Les Devanciers d'Aquila“ noch detaillierter beschrieben wurde. Seine Textausgabe und Beschreibung galt bis zur offiziellen Ausgabe in der Reihe „Discoveries in the Judaean Desert“.<sup>11</sup> Nachdem er den griechischen Text der Zwölfprophetenrolle („R“) untersucht hatte, stellte er fest, dass der Texttyp der Rolle zur KR gehört:<sup>12</sup>

Les concordances précédentes sont cependant assez claires pour établir que notre recension, manifestement antérieure à Aquila, se rattache au groupe kaige dont elle confirme la cohérence.

Diese Rolle wird zwischen 50 v.Chr. und 50 n.Chr. datiert.<sup>13</sup> Aufgrund der Datierung der Rolle ist es klar, dass die Texttradition der KR spätestens in dieser Zeit vorhanden war. Trotz aller unterschiedlichen Meinungen im Detail ist jetzt klar, dass in den griechischen Samuel- und Königebüchern hauptsächlich zwei unterschiedliche Textformen überliefert wurden (einer-

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cheidung zwischen erster Übersetzung und späterer Ergänzung; (d) die charakteristischen Eigenschaften der beiden Teile unterscheiden sich voneinander.

Thackeray zeigte zudem folgende Charakteristika der beiden Übersetzungen auf (114f): (a) als Charakteristikum der früheren Teile nannte er beispielsweise den üblichen Gebrauch des Präsens *historicum*; (b) als die Charakteristika der späteren Teile führte er 10 Beispiele an: ἄδρός für גִּדּוּל (אִישׁ), κερατίνη für שׁוֹפָר, μονόζωνος für גִּדּוּד, zusätzliches ἀνθ' ὧν ὅτι, ἀπάνωθεν für מֵעַל, zusätzliches ἥνικα, καὶ γε für גַּם, καὶ μάλα für אַבְלָא, ἐγὼ εἰμι für אֲנִי, Abwesenheit des Präsens *historicum*.

9. Dazu siehe D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTS 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 31–47.

10. D. Barthélemy, „Redécouverte d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante“, *RB* 60 (1953): 18–29.

11. E. Tov, ed, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever* (8., evXII gr). The Seiyāl Collection I, with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft and a contribution by P. J. Parsons, (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

12. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, 202.

13. Zur Datierung s. *DJD VIII*, 22–26.

seits die ursprüngliche LXX [im Wesentlichen durch den antiochenische Text repräsentiert]<sup>14</sup> und die Kaige-Rezension), und dass diese Textformen in den Handschriften abschnittsweise zusammengestellt und überliefert wurden.

Nach der Meinung von Barthélemy ist anzunehmen, dass die Kaige-Rezension eigentlich eine vollständige Bearbeitung war, die zumindest im 1. Jh. v. Chr. vorhanden war. Allerdings führte Barthélemy die Diskussion darüber nicht weiter, warum die Kaige Rezension in den Samuel- und Königebüchern (des Kodex Vaticanus) nur abschnittsweise vorhanden ist.

Darüber hinaus liegt aber noch weiteres schwieriges Problem vor uns, nämlich warum sich die Aufteilung der griechischen Samuel- und Königebücher gegenüber dem MT (bes. βγ und γδ) unterscheidet. Neulich hat Emmanuel Tov ebenfalls dieses Problem aufgegriffen. Er behauptet: „The major reason for this diversity is connected to the fact that these collections were composed by the assembling of Greek scrolls, small and large, of a different nature and background.“<sup>15</sup> Er nennt solche Kombination „an amalgam of diverse translation units“. Als das klarste Beispiel für solche unterschiedlich langen Rollen nennt er die Samuel- und Königebücher. Nach seiner Ansicht bestehen die Samuel- und Königebücher aus mehreren Schriftrollen. Die Abschreiber kümmerten sich nicht um die Textform der Schriftrollen, sondern sie handelten „regardless of their contents.“ Daraus soll sich die abschnittsweise gemischte Textformen ergeben haben. Allerdings erklärt Tov nicht, wie die beachtlichen Unterschiede der Länge der Abschnitte zustande gekommen ist (bes. α im Vergleich mit ββ und βγ).

Nun will der vorliegende Beitrag versuchen, aufgrund der Entwicklung des griechischen Schriftrollensystems diese Probleme zu erklären.

## 2. KLEINROLLENSYSTEM DER HELLENISTISCHEN ZEIT

Es ist nun zunächst die Entwicklung der Rollentradition der antiken griechischen Literatur in Betracht zu nehmen. In seinem Buch über das antike

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14. Es ist anzunehmen, dass der antiochenische Text der ursprünglichen LXX nahe steht, aber er ist nicht ganz identisch. Zur detaillierten Besprechung, siehe meine Untersuchungen: Jong-Hoon Kim, *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen der Samuel- und Königebücher. Studien zur Textgeschichte ausgehend von 2Sam 15,1–19,9* (BZAW 394; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009); Ders., „Zur Textgeschichte von Sam-Köm anhand 2.Sam 15,1–19,9“, in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte und Lebenswelten* (ed. M. Karrer und W. Kraus; WUNT 219, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 353–368.

15. E. Tov, „Reflection on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translation“, in: *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. W. Kaurs und M. Karrer; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 18.

Buchwesen behauptet Birt, dass in der attischen Zeit die Länge einer Schrift-enrolle normalerweise bis über 40 Meter (Grossrollensystem) erreichte:

Das alte Aegypten, von dem ja Athen seine Bücher bezog, benutzte indess, wie thatsächlich bekannt ist, Buchrollen von 21, ja 43 Meter Gesamtlänge. Eine solche konnte die ganze Odyssee in sich aufnehmen. Im fünften Jahrhundert n. Chr. verbrannte in Byzanz eine Homerrolle aus einem anderen Materiale, deren Länge auf gut 37 Meter angegeben wird.<sup>16</sup> [...] Wirklich hat sich Athen noch eines sehr viel unbeholfeneren Grossrollensystems bedient, das später Rom und Alexandria schlechthin beseitigten. Das Buchwesen, mit ihm aber auch die Schriftstellerei der Autoren selbst, war dadurch ohne Vergleich einfacher; Buch und Werk ganzes konnte noch zusammenfallen; man brauchte noch nicht nach Büchern disponiren.<sup>17</sup>

Ob es das Grossrollensystem in dem beschriebenen Ausmaß der Rollen wirklich gegeben hat, ist allerdings sowohl aus praktischen Gründen<sup>18</sup> als auch wegen des Mangels an Belegen<sup>19</sup> fraglich. Trotzdem ist klar, dass in der hellenistischen Zeit (d.h. ca. im 3. Jh. v. Chr.) die Länge der einzelnen

16. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen* (Berlin, 1882; repr., Aalen: Scientia, 1974), 439.

17. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 443.

18. W. Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern. Eine Studie aus der Berliner Papyrussammlung* (2nd ed.; Leipzig, 1921; repr. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), 43: „Zu den unsicheren Vermutungen aber gehört es, wenn man gemeint hat, in jener Zeit habe es Rollen von ganz gewaltigem Umfange gegeben, Rollen, die z. B. das gesamte Geschichtswerk des Thukydides enthielten. [...] Rechnet man aber den ganzen Thukydides als eine Buchrolle, so ergibt sich ein Riesenexemplar von etwa 80 m Länge, weit mehr, als selbst die größten uns erhaltenen griechischen Rollen zeigen. An sich war es gewiss möglich, solche Rollen herzustellen und zu beschreiben; wer aber eine Vorstellung davon hat, wie solch ein Ungeheuer aussehen müsste, wird doch Bedenken tragen, daran zu glauben. Zum mindesten wäre diese Rolle eine Last für den Leser, der sie kaum handhaben könnte; sie wäre außerdem schon beim Beschreiben eine wahre Qual für den Schreiber und fortwährend in Gefahr, zu zerreißen oder sonst beschädigt zu werden. Ich sehe nicht ein, weshalb wir den Alten etwas so Unpraktisches zutrauen sollen. Es lag doch vielmehr näher, den Text auf Rollen von mäßigen Umfange zu verteilen und sie mit Nummern zu bezeichnen.“

Aber Schubart übersieht dabei, dass wir doch, wie oben aus Birt zitiert, etwa 40 Meter lange Buchrollen aus Ägypten haben, nämlich Papyrus Harris im Britischen Museum, Ramses III-IV, spät 13. Jh.–früh 12. Jh. v. Chr. Trotzdem können wir zustimmen, dass solche riesigen Rollen sowohl für den Leser als auch für den Schreiber ganz unbequem gewesen wären.

19. O. Mazal, *Geschichte der Buchkultur 1. Griechisch-römische Antike* (Graz: ADEVA, 1999), 104: „Mehr Informationen über das Buch des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts sind kaum zu gewinnen. Die These von Theodor Birt, dass es in der Frühzeit Grossrollen gegeben hat, dürfte nicht zutreffend sein.“

Rollen viel kürzer als vorher geworden ist, nämlich unter 1500 Verse, häufig um 700–500 Verse. Als Beispiel nennt Birt dazu Teile der Literatur in der Kaiserzeit.<sup>20</sup> Obwohl diese noch später sind, geht die Verwendung kürzerer Rollen offensichtlich auf die hellenistischen Zeit zurück. Dieses Phänomen nennt Birt „Kleinrollensystem“.<sup>21</sup> Nach dem Exzerpt der Athenaeos S. 72A hatte Kallimachos aus Kyrene, der einflussreiche hellenistische Dichter und gelehrte Schriftsteller (†240 v. Chr.),<sup>22</sup> dazu gesagt, „dass das große Buch einem großen Übel gleichwertig sei“ (Ὅτι Καλλίμαχος ὁ γραμματικὸς τὸ μέγα βιβλίον ἴσον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τῷ μεγάλῳ κακῷ).<sup>23</sup> Diese Aussage betrachtete Birt als Beleg für das Ende des Grossrollensystems und als *terminus ad quem*.<sup>24</sup>

Neben bzw. in Verbindung mit diesem Wechsel zu kurzen Rollen entstand—wie Otto Mazal darlegt,<sup>25</sup> eine neue Erwartung im Bezug auf die Rollenaufteilung, nämlich dass eine Rolle, auch wenn sie ein Teil der längeren Geschichte ist, inhaltlich einen geschlossenen Zusammenhang bieten soll.

Der Historiker Diodorus Siculus (1. Jh. v. Chr.) äußerte etwa den Gedanken, dass es den Autoren von Geschichtswerken zieme, in ihren Büchern die Geschichte von Städten oder Königen vollständig von Anfang bis zum Ende darzustellen. Dahinter stehe also sichtlich die Absicht, dass der Historiker jedes Buch zu einem in sich geschlossenen Abschnitt der Geschichte gestalten solle. Die hier für den Historiographen aufgestellte Forderung galt *mutatis mutandis* auch für andere Literaten. Ab dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. beginnt sich offensichtlich die Intention durchzusetzen, umfänglich konzipierte Werke in einzelne inhaltlich in sich abgerundete Bücher bzw. Rollen unterzugliedern. Es war freilich nicht immer möglich, den annähernd gleichen Umfang einzuhalten.

Als Fazit des Kleinrollensystems der hellenistischen Zeit ist festzustellen, dass eine Schriftrolle nicht all zu lang sein sollte (ca. 400–700 Verse), und dass sie dazu tendierte, inhaltlich in sich geschlossen zu sein.

20. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 443.

21. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 490–97.

22. Zu Kallimachos siehe: A. Köhnken, „Kallimachos“, *Lexikon des Hellenismus* (2005), 506–12.

23. Zitiert von T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 482.

24. T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 490: „Das Grossrollensystem reichte also hinab bis in die Zeit der Kallimachos. [3. Jh. v. Chr.] Es hält angesichts jenes Verdikts gegen das μέγα βιβλίον“.

25. O. Mazal, *Geschichte der Buchkultur* 1, 106.

### 3. KLEINROLLENSYSTEM UND DIE GRIECHISCHEN SAMUEL- UND KÖNIGEBÜCHER

Es liegt nahe anzunehmen, dass sich diese buchtechnische Entwicklung zum Kleinrollensystem auch auf die Überlieferung der biblischen Schriften auswirkte, d.h. konkret auf die Unterteilung in verschiedene Teile bzw. Abschnitte. So ist anzunehmen, dass auch die griechische Übersetzung der Samuel- und Königebücher gemäß dem hellenistischen Kleinrollensystem aufgeteilt wurde. Diese Vermutung ist nicht nur auf Grund der allgemeinen buchtechnischen Entwicklung wahrscheinlich, sondern sie passt auch gut zum Quantum der Verse und zur inhaltlich relativ geschlossenen Struktur vor allem der  $\beta\gamma$ -,  $\gamma\gamma$ - und  $\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitte: Wenn wir die Verse an Hand des Kodex Vaticanus (nach B-M und LXX-Ra) zählen, ergeben sich folgende Zahlen:

- $\beta\gamma$ -Abschnitt: 532 Versen (2 Sam 10,1—1 Kön 2,11)
  - Davids Sündenfall und verhängnisvolle Geschichte;
- $\gamma\gamma$ -Abschnitt: 730 Versen (1 Kön 2,12—21,43)
  - Salomo-Geschichte und Zeit des vereinten Königsreichs;
- $\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitt: 777 Versen (1 Kön 22,1—2 Kön 25,30)
  - Abstieg der beiden getrennten Königsreiche.

Problematisch sind aber die beiden vorderen Teile, weil der erste Teil ( $\alpha$ -Abschnitt: 790 Verse) im Vergleich mit den anderen relativ zu lang ist, und vor allem weil der zweite Teil ( $\beta\beta$ -Abschnitt: 218 Verse) dann all zu kurz ist. Hier stehen wir vor dem oben, beim Referat zu Tov, erwähnten, aber noch nicht gelösten Problem.

In Bezug auf Rollenaufteilung ist m.E. eher betrachtenswert, dass es in der David-Goliath-Geschichte (1 Sam 17–18) des Cod B und der von ihm beeinflussten Handschriften eine große Lücke gegenüber dem antiochenischen Text und gegenüber dem Kodex Alexandrinus gibt:

	<i>Om</i>	<i>Hab</i>
17,12–31	BNanvyb <sub>2</sub>	boc <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub> A(c)d-jlm(sub $\theta'$ $\lambda^*$ )pqstw(x)za <sub>2</sub>
17,41	BNahinvya <sub>2</sub> b <sub>2</sub>	boc <sub>2</sub> (sub * vid)e <sub>2</sub> Ac-gilmpqstwxx
17,48b	BNafhinsvya <sub>2</sub> b <sub>2</sub>	boc <sub>2</sub> (sub *)e <sub>2</sub> Ac-eghj <sup>mg</sup> lm <sup>mg</sup> (sub $\lambda^*$ ) pqtwxz
17,50	BNafhimnsvya <sub>2</sub> b <sub>2</sub>	boc <sub>2</sub> (sub *)e <sub>2</sub> Ac-eghj <sup>mg</sup> (sub * $\theta'$ $\lambda$ ) lpqtwxz

17,55–        BNanvya<sub>2</sub>b<sub>2</sub>        boc<sub>2</sub>(sub \*)e<sub>2</sub> A(c)d-jlm(sub \*)pqstw(x)z  
18,6aa

Aus dem Vergleich der Textzeugen ist klar zu erkennen, dass der antiochenische Text (boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>) und die Traditionen des Cod. A den vollständigen Text enthalten. Der Cod. A (auch Hss. cx) ist bekanntlich ein bedeutungsvoller Zeuge des hexaplarischen Textes in den Samuel- und Königebüchern.<sup>26</sup> Besonders auffallend ist zudem, dass die Hss. mjc<sub>2</sub>, deren hexaplarischen Randnotizen bekannt sind, an diesen Stellen Asteriken haben (\*), d.h. die längere Texttradition geht auf die vorhexaplarische Zeit zurück. Zudem findet sich dreimal das Zeichen „λ (mit o Subscriptum)“, das „οἱ λοιποὶ“ (die anderen griechischen Versionen). Beide Phänomene, sowohl die Asterisierung als auch das Vorhandensein den jüngeren jüdischen Übersetzungen bedeuten, dass dem Origenes die längere Tradition in griechischer Form bekannt war. Diese griechische Tradition beruht wahrscheinlich auf dem antiochenischen Text. Dagegen geht der kürzere Text in diesem Fall vermutlich auf eine andere Tradition zurück.

Literarkritisch betrachtet, besteht die hebräische David-Goliath-Geschichte aus zwei voneinander unabhängigen Traditionen.<sup>27</sup> In der einen kennt Saul David als einen jungen Mann (1 Sam17,1–11. 32–40. 42–48a. 49. 51–54), aber in der anderen ist ihm David unbekannt (1 Sam17,12–31. 41. 48b. 50. 55–58; 18:1–5), obwohl es aus dem Kontext klar ist, dass David dem Saul als sein Harfenspieler bekannt sein musste.

Die Lücke in der Septuaginta bezieht sich auf diese unterschiedlichen Traditionen. Man könnte vermuten, dass ein Abschreiber jene Tradition gelöscht hat, in der David als ein noch unbekannter Kämpfer dargestellt ist. Allerdings sind, wie Lust meint,<sup>28</sup> die Lücken des Cod. B. nicht intentional, sondern sie gehen auf unterschiedliche Texttraditionen zurück. In der vorhexaplarischen Zeit waren offensichtlich zwei Texttraditionen (mit/ohne Lücken) in griechischer Form vorhanden.

Wir stellen hier die Hypothese auf, dass diese Lückenstellen des Cod. B ein Hinweis für die Abgrenzung zwischen der 1. und 2. Rolle sein könnte, d.h.

26. Siehe dazu: Bo Johnson, *Die hexaplarische Rezension des 1. Samuelbuches der Septuaginta* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963), 89–107; auch S. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of 1 Samuel* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani editore, 1996), 16–17.

27. Vgl. P. Kyle McCarter, *1 Samuel* (AB 8; New York et al.: Doubleday, 1980), 284–309.

28. J. Lust, „The Story of David and Goliath in Hebrew and in Greek“, in *The Story of David and Goliath. Textual and Literary Criticism. Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (ed. D. Barthélemy et al.; OBO 73; Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 10 u. 14.

die erste Rolle (die erste Phase der David-Geschichte) endet mit dem Sieg Davids gegen Goliath, je nach der Texttradition mit oder ohne Lücken, und die zweite Rolle enthielt die Geschichte von Sauls Abstieg und Davids Aufstieg.

Legt man das Kleinrollensystem der hellenistischen Zeit zu Grunde, so ergibt sich für Sam-Kön folgende Buchteilung mit der folgenden Verszahl:

1. Rolle: 449 Verse ( $\alpha^1$ : 1 Sam 1,1—17,54 [R1, mit Lücken]) der Ur-LXX;
2. Rolle: 559 Verse ( $\alpha^2$ – $\beta\beta$ : 1 Sam 18,6b—2 Sam 9,13) der Ur-LXX;
3. Rolle: 532 Verse ( $\beta\gamma$ : 2 Sam 10,1—1 Kön 2,11) der KR;
4. Rolle: 730 Verse ( $\gamma\gamma$ : 1 Kön 2,11—21,43) der Ur-LXX;
5. Rolle: 777 Verse ( $\gamma\delta$ : 1 Kön 22,1—2 Kön 25,30) der KR.

Diese Einteilung entspricht zwar dem Kleinrollensystem, aber es ist noch problematisch, warum die erste Rolle besonders in 1 Sam 17–18 eingeteilt werden muss. Denn vom Quantum her ist das ganze Buch von 1 Sam ( $\alpha$ -Abschnitt) etwa gleich lang wie der  $\beta\beta$ - und  $\beta\gamma$ -Abschnitt oder  $\gamma\gamma$ - bzw.  $\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitt. Wenn man den Umfang dieser Teile im dreispaltig geschriebenen Cod B vergleicht,<sup>29</sup> ergeben sich folgende Umfänge:

$\alpha$ -Abschnitt:	134 Kol.;
$\beta\beta$ - und $\beta\gamma$ -Abschnitte:	140 Kol.;
$\gamma\gamma$ -Abschnitt:	111 Kol.;
$\gamma\delta$ -Abschnitt:	144 Kol.

Daher muss man sich hier in einer anderen Ebene Gedanken führen, nämlich vom Inhalt her. Beim letzten Kapitel von 1 Sam wird Sauls Tod berichtet, und die Erzählung geht im ersten Kapitel von 2 Sam mit Davids Trauer über Sauls Tod weiter. Vom Inhalt her kann man diese Geschichte nicht einfach trennen. Dagegen ist die Erzählung bei 1 Sam 18,6aa noch leichter zu trennen, denn ab 1 Sam 18,6a $\beta$  beginnen tatsächlich der Saul-David-Konflikt und Davids Aufstieg.

Die Aufteilung der griechischen Samuel- und Königebücher ist dann, inhaltlich folgendermaßen denkbar:

29. *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209. Bibliorum Sacrorum Graecum Codex Vaticanus B*, Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, (Rom: Pontifical Institute, 1999), 309–484.

1. Rolle: Samuel und Saul—Geschichte, Davids Auftreten;
2. Rolle: Sauls Abstieg und Davids Aufstieg;
3. Rolle: Davids Sündenfall und verhängnisvolle Geschichte;
4. Rolle: Salomo-Geschichte und Zeit der beiden Königsreiche;
5. Rolle: Abstieg der beiden Königsreichen.

#### 4. VOM HELLENISTISCHEN KLEINROLLENSYSTEM ZUM KODEX

Nun erhebt sich eine weitere Frage: Wann kann diese griechische Aufteilung entstanden sein? Es ist zunächst durchaus vorstellbar, dass die ursprüngliche hebräische Rolle der Samuel- und Königebücher nicht aufgeteilt gewesen war.<sup>30</sup> Immerhin gibt es in Qumran bis um die Zeitwende relativ lange Rollen (z.B. 1QJes<sup>a</sup> mit dem ganze Jesajabuch auf einer Rolle von ca. 7,5 Meter). Vermutlich hatte die ursprüngliche Fassung der Septuaginta dieselbe Aufteilung auf Rollen wie der hebräische Text. Beim Gebrauch in der hellenistischen Umgebung wurde es dann aber *usus*, die Aufteilung gemäß dem hellenistischen Kleinrollensystem abzuändern.

Auf Grund unserer Beobachtungen können wir einen *terminus a quo* und einen *terminus ad quem* annehmen. Der *terminus a quo* kann um die Zeit von Diodorus Siculus (2./1. Jh. v. Chr.) eingestellt werden. Denn diese Zeit passt einerseits gut zum hellenistischen Kleinrollensystem, andererseits war die Kaige-Rezension um diese Zeit wahrscheinlich als vollständige Version zugänglich gewesen sein sollte, obwohl das Vorhandensein der Lücke von 1 Sam 17–18 in der Kaige-Rezension nicht klar ist.

Für den *terminus ad quem* kann man die Erfindung des Kodex im 1. Jh. n. Chr. annehmen. Zunächst ist die Meinung von Würthwein zu erwähnen:<sup>31</sup>

Erst die Erfindung des *Kodex*, zunächst als Pergamentkodex, im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr. gab die Möglichkeit, mehrere Bücher der Bibel oder ihren ganzen Umfang zu vereinigen. Reste von *Papyruskodizes* mit alt- und neutestamentlichen Texten in griechischer Sprache reichen bis ins 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. zurück. Im 4. Jahrhundert kam der Kodex allgemein in Gebrauch.

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30. L. Blau, *Studien zum althebräischen Buchwesen und zur biblischen Literatur- u. Textgeschichte* (Strassburg: Trübner, 1902), 47: „Sowohl der Sprachgebrauch der Bibel, wo ‚Buch‘ (ספר) jedes Schriftstück, ohne Rücksicht auf dessen Umfang, bezeichnet, als auch die Betrachtung des jüdischen Schriftwesens im allgemein lehrt, dass ursprünglich jede biblische Schrift ein für sich abgeschlossenes Buch bildete, mithin auch als Einzelschrift existierte“.

31. E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, (5th ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1988), 11.



Beim Kodex muss man nun die Abgrenzung der früheren einzelnen Rollen nicht mehr berücksichtigen. Die hellenistische Aufteilung der Samuel- und Königebücher ist somit durch die Verbreitung des Kodex wieder außer Gebrauch gekommen. Als der älteste Zeuge für die Samuel- und Königebücher haben wir den Cod. B, der dieselbe Buchteilung (Βασιλείων Α, Β, Γ, Δ) wie den jetzigen MT (1., 2. Samuel; 1., 2. Könige) hat, d.h. Der Cod. B. kannte schon die Aufteilung des Proto-MT. Ihm war die hellenistische Aufteilung nicht mehr bekannt. Diese Tradition geht sicherlich auf die vorhexaplarische Zeit zurück, denn auf Grund der Übereinstimmung der Hexapla mit der KR im βγ-Abschnitt ist es gut möglich, dass Origenes dieselben Aufteilungen und Textformen wie die des Cod. B vermutlich in der Form von Kodices kannte. Darüber hinaus, auch wenn die Papyrus(kodices) der Samuel- und Königebücher nur sehr fragmentarisch erhalten sind,<sup>32</sup> hat man für die anderen Bücher des AT einige alten Papyruskodices, die entweder ein ganzes Buch oder mehrere Bücher enthalten. Z.B. Der älteste und umfangreichste Papyrus 967, der auf das 2./3. Jh. n. Chr. zurückgeht, enthält die Büchern von Hesekei, Daniel, *Bel et Dracho*, Susanna, und Esther. Dieser Papyruskodex, der jetzt in den verschiedenen Museen vereinzelt vorliegt, hatte ursprünglich 236 Seiten.<sup>33</sup> Wenn man die Kapitel der enthaltenen Bücher in diesem Papyrus zählt (77), könnte man schon vermuten, dass es damals nicht unmöglich war, die ganze Samuel- und Königebücher (102) in einen Kodex oder in zwei solchen „Heften“ abzuschreiben.

Jedenfalls ist m. E. sicher, dass die hellenistische Aufteilung zumindest vor der Erfindung des Kodex vorhanden war.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist es noch zu fragen, aus welchem Grund die unterschiedlichen Textformen (Ur-LXX und KR) im Cod. B abschnittsweise gemischt wurde? Im 1. Jh. v. Chr. gab es vermutlich zwei Rollenkorpora der Samuel- und Königebücher. Der eine Rollenkorpus enthielt den Text der Ur-LXX, der in 1 Sam 17–18 eine Lücke hatte. Der andere war dann der des antiochenischen Textes, der in 1 Sam 17–18 keine Lücke hatte. Die beiden Rollenkorpora waren offensichtlich nebeneinander vorhanden. Beim Über-

32. Siehe zur übersichtlichen Liste der Papyri der Samuel- und Königebücher: D. Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments, Bd. 1: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 477–78.

33. Zur Beschreibung des Kodex siehe: Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, 98–103; Zur weiteren Diskussion über diesen Papyrus siehe: S. Kreuzer, „Papyrus 967—Bemerkungen zu seiner buchtechnischen, textgeschichtlichen und kanongeschichtlichen Bedeutung“, in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte und Lebenswelten* (ed., M. Karrer und W. Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 65–81.

gang des Buchswesens von Rollen zur Form des Kodex wurden mehrere Schriftenrollen zum Kodex zusammengestellt. Dabei wurden im Bereich von den Samuel- und Königebüchern offensichtlich Rollen der beiden verschiedenen Texttypen (Ant und Kaige-Rezension) gemischt worden, wie wir jetzt an den unterschiedlichen Textformen her erkennen können. Den genauen Grund kennen wir leider nicht. Vielleicht waren die Rollen der verschiedenen Texttypen unvollständig oder die Rollen wurden ohne Berücksichtigung der Texttypen gemischt. Ob dies bei der Erstellung des Kodex Vaticanus geschah oder bei einem früheren Kodex liegt ebenfalls im Dunklen, und wird nicht mehr erklärbar sein.

Unbestritten ist jedoch, dass der Kodex Vaticanus aus solchen unterschiedlichen Rollen zusammengesetzt ist. Der Blick auf das hellenistische Kleinrollensystem erklärt nicht nur die scheinbar unregelmäßige Aufteilung der kaige- und der nicht-kaige-Abschnitte, sondern auch die Unebenheit und Störung des Textes in der Goliathgeschichte.

# “Lukian redivivus” or Barthélemy and Beyond?\*

*Siegfried Kreuzer*

**Abstract:** D. Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (1963) has become one of the most important books in Septuagint research, especially because the discovery of the kaige-recension has been widely accepted. On the other hand S. Brock's "Lucian redivivus" (1965/68) has become most influential in defending the traditional view of the Lucianic redaction against Barthélemy's revaluation of the Lucianic/Antiochene text as the best representative of the Old Greek, especially in 1–4 Kgdms. The present paper is the first detailed examination of Brock's paper. It turns out that Brock's reasons and examples are doubtful and misleading or mere possibilities, but no real proofs against Barthélemy's insight. It becomes clear that the identification of the kaige-recension and Barthélemy's new evaluation of the Antiochene text are two sides of one coin. In the section "Barthélemy and Beyond" some conclusions are drawn and some observations on the text of Codex Vaticanus in the non-kaige-sections are presented.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The famous German philosopher and poet Gotthold Ephraim Lessing once wrote a little poem about Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, a famous and much appraised poet who lived in the eighteenth century and who was a little bit older than Lessing. It goes:

Wer wird nicht einen Klopstock loben?  
Doch wird ihn jeder lesen? Nein!  
Wir wollen weniger erhoben  
und fleißiger gelesen sein.

Who would not praise a Klopstock?

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\* This paper stands in the context of research sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft.

But would everyone read him? No!  
 We would like to be less elated  
 but more read.”

This saying could also be applied to one of the most famous Septuagint scholars at least of the second half of the twentieth century, Dominique Barthélemy, and his book “*Les Devanciers d’Aquila*” from 1963.<sup>1</sup> This book can be found in almost every bibliography wherever it is appropriate. Certainly, the basic idea, i.e., the discovery of a heavily Hebraising Palestinian recension, now called the kaige-recension, is recognized in Septuagint studies. Yet, looking more closely and in detail, Barthélemy’s book does not always have the impact it could have and deserves, and sometimes hardly more is known than its basic idea.

Certainly one reason is, that the book is in French and at least partly in a rather elaborated style.<sup>2</sup> The other reason is a counter article written by Sebastian P. Brock with the title “*Lucian redivivus*.” Brock by that time was completing his dissertation on 1 Sam which then was accepted in 1966. Brock’s paper was presented to the “Third International Congress on New Testament Studies held at Christ Church,” Oxford, 1965, and appeared in print in 1968.<sup>3</sup> To understand both, Barthélemy and Brock, we have to take a brief glance at the earlier research on the books of Samuel and Kings or 1–4 Kgdms respectively.

## 2. RESEARCH ON THE LUCIANIC TEXT UP TO BARTHÉLEMY AND BROCK

The most influential position on this subject was that of Alfred Rahlfs with his study on the text of the books of kings.<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs did not discuss the distinction between different sections of 1–4 Reigns put forward by Thackeray in 1907 and then in 1921,<sup>5</sup> which we today call the distinction between the

1. D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (VTS 10, Leiden 1963).

2. In the social part of the centennial celebration of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen 2007 I have suggested to make a German or English translation of Barthélemy’s work. I am glad that this idea has been taken up and will be realised by P. Hugo and T. Law.

3. S. P. Brock, *Lucian redivivus*. Some Reflections on Barthélemy’s *Les Devanciers d’Aquila*, in: F. L. Cross, *Studia Evangelica*, Vol. V, *Papers Presented to the Third International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1965* (TUGAL 103, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag 1968) 176–81.

4. A. Rahlfs, “*Lucians Recension der Königsbücher*,” *Septuaginta-Studien III* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1911 [reprint 1965]), 3 [363] 295 [655].

5. St. J. Thackeray, “*The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings*,” *JTS* 8 (1907): 262–266; id., *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, A Study in Origins* (London: British Academy 1921; reprint München: Kraus 1980).

kaige and non-kaige-sections. As expressed in the title "Lucians Recension der Königsbücher" the basic question was the evaluation of the Lucianic text in 1 and 2 Kings. As is well known, the Lucianic text received its name because Hieronymus mentioned the relation of the biblical text used in Antioch with the martyr Lucian who died in 312.

The text was known through the quotations by the Antiochene fathers, but it was identified in the manuscripts by Antonio Maria Ceriani in 1863 (and probably independently by Paul Anton de Lagarde in 1867).<sup>6</sup> Different from his teacher Lagarde and from Adam Mez, who in 1890 had demonstrated the many agreements between Josephus and the Antiochene text,<sup>7</sup> Rahlfs clearly concentrated on Lucian's redactional activity. His basic idea was that the text of Codex Vaticanus was practically identical with the original Septuagint and that almost all the differences in the Lucianic texts were the result of Lucian's activity. For this reason, he reduced all the contrary indications. The agreements with Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* were reduced to a few name forms and the agreements with *Vetus Latina* and Latin Fathers were declared as later influence or as agreements that came about by chance. Agreements with quotations in the NT were explained as secondary influence of the NT text upon the OT manuscripts. To be correct, it has to be noted, that Rahlfs allowed for some old substratum in the Lucianic text, but basically the text was seen as the result of a late Lucianic redaction.

According to Rahlfs, the main traits of this redaction were additions, i.e., additions of the article and of explaining words, semantic changes to other expressions, and a change to atticising forms. But there was also a problem. Lucian's activity was irregular; he not only added the article or explaining words, sometime he also deleted them. As Rahlfs was convinced that the Lucianic text was late, this observation was not seen as a problem of the analysis, but it was declared as a further trait of Lucians work; Lucians recensional activity was irregular and even contradictory. In the words of Rahlfs: "der Hauptcharakterzug dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips" ("the main characteristic of this recension is the lack of a clear rule"),<sup>8</sup> or as Ziegler in his

6. Cf. the discussion in Rahlfs, "Lucians Recension," 80 [440] n. 1. For this and the further history of research, see Jong-Hoon Kim, *Die hebräischen und griechischen Textformen, der Samuel- und Königsbücher. Studien zur Textgeschichte ausgehend von 2Sam 15,1–19,9* (BZAW 394, Berlin: de Gruyter 2009), 4–22.

7. A. Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus—untersucht für Buch V–VII der Archäologie* (Basel: Jaeger & Kober, 1895).

8. Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension*, 1911, 293.

description of the Lucianic activity in the prophetic books expressed it: “Konsequenz ist nicht seine Sache” (“being consequent is not his thing”).<sup>9</sup>

These traits of the Lucianic redactional activity became generally accepted. Also in Brock’s analysis of 1 Sam there are these traits: addition of article, additions of explaining words, and irregularities in all of them. Only that Brock in his book speaks about recurrent and non-recurrent variants or, as he calls them, approximations, and that he leaves out the non-recurrent variants from further consideration.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. BARTHÉLEMY, KAIGE AND THE CONSEQUENCES FOR THE LUCIANIC TEXT

Barthélemy’s discovery of the kaige-recension changed this picture. The basic discovery was that, at least in the kaige-sections, the text of Codex Vaticanus was not the Old Greek, but a recensional text, and, on the other hand, that the Lucianic text was not affected by this recension. So, comparison of the texts must not necessarily start with the text of Vaticanus, and it must be done openly. In doing so, Barthélemy came to the conclusion, that most of the differences can be explained as the result of the kaige-recension. Typically, the kaige-recensor would replace words that express the function, like σάλπιγξ, for giving signs, by a literal rendering, like in this case by κρατίνη, which is a one-to-one rendering of the Hebrew שופר, but without the functional connotation it has in Hebrew. Kaige would also tend to make the Greek transparent for more or less formal specifics of the Hebrew, for instance, by rendering the short form of the Hebrew personal pronoun אני with ἐγώ and the long form אנכי with ἐγώ εἰμι, independent from Greek grammar. And kaige would try to consistently render the same Hebrew word by the same Greek word, i.e., Hebrew אִישׁ, man, is rendered by ἀνὴρ, man, even where it means ἕκαστος, everyone.

With the discovery of the kaige-recension the situation of the Lucianic text becomes different as well. If for example κρατίνη is a word of the kaige recension, σάλπιγξ is not necessarily a change made by Lucian, but may be as well the original Greek. The same is the case for ἀνὴρ versus ἕκαστος and many other differences. Barthélemy’s discovery also affects the question of atticising language in the Antiochene text. Certainly, compared with kaige, the Antiochene text has atticising tendencies. But atticising language is possible not only for Lucian around 300 C.E., it is even more possible in Alexandria

9. J. Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta* (MSU VI, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1958), 163.

10. S.P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel*, (Dissertation Oxford 1966), (Torino: Zamorani 1996), esp. 255.

in the third century B.C.E., where the classic Greek writers and philosophers were the yardstick for literary Greek (by the way, there was always a difference between everyday Hellenistic Greek and the literary ideal of atticising language).

Taking all this together Barthélemy came to the conclusion that the Antiochene text is basically identical with the original Septuagint, although certainly with some changes and corruptions which happened over the centuries. In Barthélemy's famous words: The Lucianic or Antiochene text, is "essentiellement la Septante ancienne plus ou moins abâtardie ou corrompue" ["essentially the ancient Septuagint, more or less disturbed or corrupted"].<sup>11</sup>

This insight now also allows accepting the witness of Josephus and of the Old Latin. They do not need to be belittled or pushed aside to fit in the concept, as Rahlfs had done. Rather they are the evidence that this text existed long before Lucian and also before the Hexapla.

This was the new situation as Sebastian P. Brock was working on 1 Samuel and as he delivered his paper on "Lucian redivivus." This was indeed a fitting title, because of the insights of Barthélemy, a Lucianic recension around 300 C.E., needed not any longer to be assumed, and it even would be hard to show traces of such Lucianic activities. This brought serious problems to Brock's almost finished work on 1 Sam and he therefore understandably tried to refute Barthélemy and to revive Lucian, i.e., the Lucianic recensional activity.

#### 4. BROCK AND HIS "LUCIAN REDIVIVUS" FROM 1965<sup>12</sup>

First, Brock sketches briefly Barthélemy's book, basically by referring to the kaige recension discovered in the Naḥal Hever scroll of the Minor Prophets in Greek, but also mentioning, "that his pre-Aquila *correctio* of the LXX was by no means confined to the Minor Prophets, but that it can especially be isolated in the textual tradition of the Historical Books" (177).

"Barthélemy treats in considerable detail the section of Kingdoms which Thackeray designated βγ (= 2 Kgdms 11:2–3 Kgdms 2:11). In this section in particular, the text of certain minuscules differs notoriously from that of Vaticanus and the rest of the textual tradition. ... Barthélemy, however, shows that in fact this so-called "Lucianic" text, which he prefers to call "Antiochene" (henceforth Ant.) often *alone* retains the original LXX translation of this book" (177).

11. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 127.

12. Cf. n. 3. For the sake of a fair presentation and a clear discussion some larger passages will be quoted.

Brock continues with some remarks on the Palestinian [= kaige-]revision, which brought the text “into closer agreement with the Hebrew” and comes to Barthélemy’s conclusion: “Consequently he proposes that the question-begging title ‘Lucianic Recension’ be dropped altogether: the so-called ‘Lucianic’ manuscripts simply preserve an old popular text which escaped the Hebraising ‘Palestinian Recension’” (177). Brock at first goes on to underline this, but then he declares his reservation: “It should be said at once that his main point, that the Antiochene text has escaped this Hebraising revision which influenced the rest of the tradition, seems entirely convincing, and it would be hard to over-emphasize the importance of this discovery. What I wish to stress here, however, is that Ant. still remains a recensional text, even though it has escaped the Palestinian revision which Barthélemy so brilliantly isolated.” (177). The Ant. still remaining a recensional text for Brock simply means the old ideas about the Lucianic redaction of this text. This view is defended with several points, which we have to discuss now.

**4.1.** Brock begins with “a minor but quite definitely recensional feature in Ant., namely the preference for Attic, as against Hellenistic, grammatical forms. One of the most obvious examples of this is the regular replacement in Ant. of Hellenistic εἶπα etc., by εἶπον etc. Now this feature is found in, and often confined to, so-called Lucianic manuscripts of a very wide range of books; there could be no clearer sign of recensional activity at work. It is found, for example, just as much in Kms α (= 1 Kgdms) where, according to Barthélemy, the Palestinian recension is not traceable, as in Kms βγ” (177).<sup>13</sup>

The matter of atticising language in Ant. (esp. as compared with the text of Codex Vaticanus), is a well known point. It was already used by Rahlfs, 1911, and it is widely accepted. But what does it really mean or prove? It is a correct description, but it does not decide the chronological relation to the kaige-text. Ant. is different from kaige, of course, but the atticising aspects in Ant. may have been introduced by Lucian, or they may have been part of the Old Greek. Attic was the ideal for literary language (against the “everyday”-Koine), at least as much in Ptolemaic Alexandria as in late Roman Antioch. The atticising tendencies show that Ant. is different from kaige, but they do not prove that Lucian (or whoever it was) introduced them.

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13. In the footnote Brock, *Lucian redivivus*, refers to two more examples: “Other recurrent features of this type, even more closely confined to ‘Lucianic’ MSS, are, e. g., the alteration of the gender of ἑλεος from *Koine* neuter to the more literary masculine; likewise that of ἄλως from masculine (apparently only LXX) to the normal feminine.”



4.2. Brock goes on by expanding on the fact that features of Ant. in the kaige-sections can also be observed in the non-kaige-sections. "This very fact that the Palestinian recension did not affect Kms  $\alpha$  is important in evaluating the character of Ant. in Kms  $\beta\gamma$ , for the five manuscripts which provide the Antiochene text in  $\beta\gamma$  also provide a text at variance with the rest of the tradition in Kms  $\alpha$ , and at variance often in the same sort of way as in  $\beta\gamma$ . This of course raises a problem, for the variant text of Ant. in Kms  $\alpha$  cannot be attributed to the non-influence (to use an ugly term) of the hebraising Palestinian recension, since there is no trace of this in this book. The obvious inference is that the distinctive text of Ant. in both Kms  $\alpha$  and Kms  $\beta\gamma$  is partly (and only partly) the product of recensional activity." (178)

Before coming to an example, Brock states: "It has often been noted that one of the striking features of the so-called 'Lucianic' text in all books, where it is easily identifiable, is a desire to improve on the Greek style of the original translation. This desire is manifested not only in grammatical changes of the kind already mentioned, but also in more drastic syntactical and lexical ones".

Then he discusses the two different translations of *בִּיהוּה נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי* in 2 Kgdms 19,7(8) with *ἐν κυρίῳ* (*ᾧμοσα*) in Pal. [= kaige] and *κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου* in Ant. and goes on by concluding: "At first sight it looks as if Pal. is bringing Ant. closer to the Hebrew, yet in fact Ant. must be secondary since the same change is also found twice in 1 Kms<sup>14</sup>: it is evidently a recensional characteristic of the Antiochene text." (178)

Now, at first sight this conclusion ("Ant. must be secondary since the same change is also found twice in 1Kms") is surprising and not very clear. It works only with the assumption that Ant. is late (and if B is always the oldest text). Indeed, if a feature in Ant. is late within the  $\beta\gamma$ -section, it will be late in the  $\alpha$ -section as well. But the same is true the other way around also: If Ant. is old and close to the OG in the  $\beta\gamma$ -section, it will be the same in the  $\alpha$ -section. Again, the syntactical and lexical similarities or identities show that the texts belong together, but they do not prove the age of the text. Brock's conclusion about the age is methodologically wrong and simply wishful thinking without considering the other possibility.

Yet, even if Brock's reason does not prove his conclusion, there are indeed two readings and one of them must be secondary.<sup>15</sup> The alternative simply is that also in the non-kaige-section, where B is much closer to the Old Greek, the text of B is secondary, probably because also in the non-kaige section there

14. In the footnote: "1 Kms 24:22; 28,10; once again in  $\beta\gamma$  at 3 Kms 1:17."

15. At least if there have not been two different translations. But because of the similarities of the two text types, this can be excluded and (to my knowledge) has never been contended for.

may have occurred a Hebraising revision (although much milder so to speak) or some cross-influence from a kaige-text. This question will be taken up later on. Here, in regard to Brock, it is enough to note that his reason does not decide the case, but allows both conclusions.<sup>16</sup>

4.3. Brock now turns to matters of lexical variation: “Despite the very large number of instances of lexical variation between Ant. and the main tradition throughout Kms and elsewhere, it is surprisingly hard to find any consistency or motivation for change, whether it be on the part of Ant., or not. On the negative side, it can be said that, except in one or two cases, the dictates of the Atticist lexicographers do not seem to have played any great part in the choice of words used” (178).

This statement is interesting insofar as it relativises the question of Atticist vocabulary (and also Brock’s initial statement, see above). Brock goes on: “A few examples of general stylistic improvement in Ant, in βγ must suffice for the present. On several occasions Ant., introduces ὅλος as a variant to the interminable πᾶς. This alteration is found in other books of Kms<sup>17</sup>, and, importantly, in one or two passages of Hexaplaric origin<sup>18</sup>, which must mean that the change was made at a comparatively late date” (178).

Brock then discusses two examples from Barthélemy, the different renderings of the question **השלום**, in the sense of “is there well-being?” or more literal “is there peace?” and the rendering of the oath formula found in 2 Kgdms 11:11 (179). In both cases also Brock admits, that it is hard to decide. In the first of the two cases, there are just two possibilities; in the second case Brock’s reasoning is rather complicated. Brock is certainly right, that Ant. is better Greek, but the conclusion, that Ant. therefore is late, tends to be circular reasoning. Why cannot the OG have given a fairly good translation, which would be preserved in Ant., while the Palestinian revision formalistically adopted its text to the Hebrew? The explanation to these examples given by Barthélemy

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16. It may be mentioned, that for 1 Kgdms 28:10 Brock does not give the full picture. There, the alternative is not B and Ant., but A and Ant. This means that A and Ant. suppose a text like MT, while the reference text of B must have been without **בִּיהוּה**. This would be one of the cases where it could be assumed, that Ant. (and also A) has been revised according to the MT or that probably this goes back to the Hexapla. In any case it must be assumed that B had a Vorlage different from MT. But this also can be seen the other way around: Ant. (supported by the Coptic version!) with κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ is the oldest text; (the predecessor of) A has changed to ἐν κυρίῳ, and B (probably following its Hebrew reference text) has the verb only. However one decides, the case is difficult and certainly not a clear proof for Brock’s position.

17. N: “e.g. 4 Kms 23,3; in βγ 2 Kms 19,28; elsewhere e.g. 1 Chr 10,6.”

18. N: “e.g. 3 Kms 15,29.

is much less complicated and far more convincing. Brock's explanations are not impossible, but their mere possibility is far from disproving Barthélemy's view.

Now, there is one argument which could become important. It is the reference to hexaplaric origin in the statement quoted above: "This alteration is found in other books of Kms, and, importantly, in one or two passages of Hexaplaric origin, which must mean that the change was made at a comparatively late date." For this, Brock mentions 3 Kgdms 15:29 without any further explanation.

Again, the case is more complicated than it sounds. Firstly, B has only (ἐπάταξεν) τὸν οἶκον Ἱεροβοάμ. Ant. has ὅλον τὸν οἶκον. A and others, and evidently Origen *sub asterisco* read σύμπαντα. So, again there is a shorter reading in B, which is different from MT and there are two other different readings which represent MT, but differently. Again, it is hard to decide which of these two is older; σύμπαντα seems to be more in line with kaige's rendering of כָּל with πᾶς, so it may represent some Hebraising influence. But σύμπαντα is not the same as πᾶς or πάντα (Brock does not mention the difference). Brock assumes that ὅλον is later, although there is no real reason except his general assumptions about Lucian and Lucianic recension. Beyond that, Brock's statement is misleading. Even if Ant.'s ὅλον were secondary against Origen's σύμπαντα, Origen's lifetime would not be the *terminus a quo*. Origen astericised σύμπαντα. This means he considered it as a plus compared with his Hebrew text (which in this case was not identical with MT!). In other words, Origen did not create or insert this word, rather he found it in the textual tradition and criticised it. We don't know, how old it is, it may go back to the second century C.E. or to the first century C.E. or B.C.E., but it certainly is older than Origen. The very fact that it is *sub asterisco* means that it is not from Origen, and therefore, Origen is not the *terminus a quo* for the Ant. reading ὅλον, even if it were secondary against σύμπαντα. Brock's argument is simply wrong and is no real reason to date the Ant. after Origen.

4.4. Brock goes on with one more example, namely the different renderings of הַטֹּב בַּעֲיִיךְ: "A different and more frequent type of case does not involve any Hebrew variant. As an example I take 2 Kgdms 19,38 (39). MT has הַטֹּב בַּעֲיִיךְ, for which Pal. has the literal τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, while Ant., gives τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου. At first sight once again this would seem to be an obvious case of the influence of the Hebraising recension on Pal., but on further investigation doubts arise. Usage elsewhere is unfortunately problematic and cannot decide the issue. But if one looks at the rendering of the same Hebrew phrase in 1 Kms, the tables are turned and suspicion shifts onto Ant. In this book הַטֹּב בַּעֲיִיךְ is normally rendered τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιόν,

but Ant. regularly substitutes ἀρεστόν<sup>19</sup> for ἀγαθόν. In 1 Kms ἀγαθόν cannot be due to the Palestinian recension, since it is not to be found in this book; and even, supposing for a moment that it were, one would *then* have expected ἐνώπιόν to be altered to ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς,<sup>20</sup> as well as ἀρεστόν for ἀγαθόν. The conclusion must be that ἀγαθόν, at least, of Ant. is secondary in βγ. ἀρεστόν > ἀγαθόν is simply a recensional feature of Ant.” (179–80).

This statement again is complicated. If we put the words into a table, it becomes clearer. In the sense of Barthélemy,<sup>21</sup> the situation is as follows:

	1 Kgdms	2 Kgdms 19,38(39) and Pal. throughout
Hebrew	הטוב בעיניך	הטוב בעיניך
Ant.	τὸ ἀρεστόν ἐνώπιόν σου	τὸ ἀρεστόν ἐνώπιόν σου
B (non-kaige)	τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐνώπιόν ...	
B (Pal. / kaige)		τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου

This means that Ant. is the oldest text (and more or less the Old Greek) and has the identical characteristic in the kaige- and the non-kaige-section. Pal. / kaige adapts exactly to the Hebrew wording. In the non-kaige section the text of B is older, it reads ἐνώπιόν as Ant., but it has ἀγαθόν instead of ἀρεστόν. This could be explained in the way that the text of B shows a first step of formalistic adaptation towards the Hebrew.<sup>22</sup>

Brock notices the difference between the kaige- and the non-kaige-section, and postulates that because according to Barthélemy Pal. / kaige would have changed to τὸ ἀγαθόν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου, and because in 1 Kgdms there is also ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθόν cannot be the Palestinian recension (because this recension is not in 1 Kgdms), and if it were, also ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς should be expected. As neither one is the case (but see ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς in 1 Kgdms 1,23!) Brock postulates that Ant. must be late. Put in a table, Brock's view is as follows:

19. N: “1Kms 1,23; 3,18; 11,10; 14,36.40.”

20. N: “So regularly in Pal. in βγ.”

21. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, does not discuss this example.

22. 1 Kgdms 1:23, the first of the cases mentioned—but not quoted by Brock [see n. 19], even has ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς.

	1 Kgdms	2 Kgdms (Pal.)
B	ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιόν	τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου
Ant.	τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου	τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου

This scheme is not impossible; it is just the old picture. But it does not solve the problem that the text within B is different. In fact, Brock's argumentation is a false syllogism, because he jumps from the semantic difference within B to dating Ant. The problem of the semantic difference within B falls under the table. If Brock would explain the difference in B, he would necessarily come to some kind of two levels in the text of B, and he would have to find some reason for it (be it a different translation technique or a revision). This would lead to a similar differentiation in B as shown above for Barthélemy's view. The difference is just the place of Ant. and how it can be explained. Again: Brock's view is possible, but the mere possibility is no proof against the other solution.

4.5. Finally, Brock once more tries to give a date for the Lucianic recension. A good reason would be if it could be shown that the Antiochene fathers before Lucian used a text different from the Lucianic text, while later on they used Lucian's text: "If the pre-Lucian Antiochene fathers exhibit a text related to, but not identical with, our present Antiochene text, while post-Lucian writers provide this text exactly as we know it, then the traditional ascription may have some truth in it, for the Antiochene text will have received its final formulation during Lucian's *floruit*" (181).

This indeed would be helpful (although the argument presupposes that there was only one text type around), but: "Unfortunately, however, the quotations from Kms are not extensive enough in pre-Lucian writers for a satisfactory analysis of their text, but to judge from what meagre indications there are, neither they, nor for that matter any other pre-Lucian witness, exhibit an Antiochene text in the form we know it to-day. The first writer who definitely does so, is in fact a pupil of Lucian's, Asterius Sophista, who died sometime after 341. This is quite clear from his Homilies on the Psalms, recently edited by M. Richard, for in these Asterius has several quotations, some fairly long, taken from Kms. Their text is virtually identical with the Antiochene text" (181).

Brock continues, saying: "Thus what evidence there is, and it is admittedly not full enough to be at all satisfactory, does point to the Antiochene text as having received its final formulation at a time close to Lucian. For this

reason I see no objection to keeping the traditional designation of this text as Lucianic, remembering, of course, that very many of its peculiarities are pre-Lucian" (180).

That the Antiochene fathers of the fourth century confirm the Lucianic text is a well known and accepted fact. The problem is the time before Lucian. Brock is very vague on this and names no single author and gives not even one example of the "meagre indications." So his conclusion ("thus what evidence there is") is unfounded and creates a false impression.

On the other hand, Brock keeps silent about the evidence we really have: This is the evidence of the Old Latin translation which confirms the Antiochene text to a very high degree, and which goes back to the second century C.E., and therefore not only antedates Lucian but also the Hexapla, and there are the quotations by Josephus.<sup>23</sup> Again, the contradicting evidence<sup>24</sup> goes by the board.

To sum up: (1) Brock presents the basic ideas of Barthélemy's "Les Devanciers" and he discusses some of his points, basically by giving a number of rather isolated examples. Most of the examples are from beyond the texts Barthélemy had analysed. This also applies to the examples for semantic change in the kaige-revision (Brock does not take up the examples discussed by Barthélemy and practically ignores the subject). This certainly can be done, but it would have been more convincing to take up more of what is argued against and to show that there are better explanations.

(2) Most of Brock's examples and reasons are rather strained, some are very complicated or with inconclusive arguments, some are simply wrong or misleading. And it is a serious problem that contradicting evidence is left aside.

(3) Several of Brock's examples and decisions are possible or at least not impossible. Brock presents his cases as proofs against Barthélemy, but the mere possibility is not yet a proof.

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23. Both, the evidence of Josephus and of the Old Latin and the ancient Latin fathers, are not without problems, but there has been enough critical discussion that established the importance of these textual traditions for the so-called proto-Lucianic material; cf. N. Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 232–234 and the literature quoted there.

24. I do not want to argue about the evidence from Qumran. Unfortunately, the publication of the Samuel manuscripts has been delayed over decades. But some of the evidence was known and explicitly related to the Septuagint long before Brock delivered his paper: F. M. Cross, "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint" (*BASOR* 132, 1953), 15–26.

(4) On the contrary, one may say, that Barthélemy's view of the Antiochene text as being close to the Old Greek is not refuted; Brock's examples rather confirm Barthélemy's view, and they show that the discovery of the kaige-recension and the new evaluation of the Antiochene text belong close together.<sup>25</sup>

## 5. BARTHÉLEMY AND BEYOND

It is amazing that Brock's rather short paper became so influential and that it never was seriously checked. This cannot only be explained by the paper itself, but rather because it also confirmed the old assumptions about the Lucianic text as most scholars were used to, and at the same time it seemed to allow accepting the kaige-recension, which could hardly be ignored because of the findings from Qumran and the Judean desert.

5.1. So, a first question may be, whether the discovery of the kaige-recension and the new evaluation of the Antiochene text are really as independent as they are usually treated since Brock. Now, at least for the kaige-sections, accepting the kaige-revision means that the kaige-text, i.e., the text of Codex Vaticanus, cannot be the Old Greek. If Ant. basically is Lucianic, there is a vacuum, because there is no other text type to really fill the gap and the hexaplaric or some reconstructed text becomes all the more important. So, is Barthélemy only redating the Ant. in order to fill the vacuum? If one reads Barthélemy, it becomes clear that this is not the case. As I understand Barthélemy, this was not his starting point. Yet, as mentioned above, he asks about the base text for the kaige-recension and comes to the conclusion that it must be a text like Ant. (see above, n. 25: "identité de base entre la forme antiochienne et la forme palestinienne du text grec," 92–102), which therefore is older than kaige and close to the OG. On the other hand, he showed, that the Antiochene text cannot be deduced from the kaige-text (see above, n. 25: "la forme antiochienne ne peut être issue de la forme palestinienne par abâtardissement," 110–13). So, the discovery of the kaige-recension and the new evaluation of the Ant. are two sides of the same coin. This is not because of speculation or because of fear of a vacuum at the place of the Old Greek, it is simply because indeed the Ant. represents the text that was used and revised by the kaige revisers.

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25. Therefore it is important that Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, showed that the Antiochene text is not unrelated to the kaige-text, but that it represents its *Vorlage* ("identité de base entre la forme antiochienne et la forme palestinienne du text grec," 92–102) and that on the other hand, the Antiochene text cannot be deduced from the kaige-text ("la forme antiochienne ne peut être issue de la forme palestinienne par abâtardissement," 110–13).

By a different approach I have come to a similar conclusion. Traditionally it is said that Lucian in his revision improved the Greek style and that in order to do so he added articles and explaining words. But the problem is that Lucian was doing this very irregularly, not only adding, but also deleting the article or explaining words. Instead of questioning the analyses, already Rahlfs declared this irregularity as a further trait of Lucian's work and he was followed by many authors, also in other books, like in Jeremiah.<sup>26</sup> Against this, I have found that if one allows Ant. to be the older text, the changes can be explained consistently. On order to make this observation of a consistent explanation, one cannot just pick single cases, but one has to analyse coherent passages.<sup>27</sup> The observations confirm Barthélemy's view that Ant. basically represents the Old Greek.

5.2. At the end of his paper Brock made a statement about the Lucianic text being of mixed character, basically late, i.e., Lucianic, but with older components. "For this reason I see no objection to keeping the traditional designation of this text as Lucianic, remembering, of course, that very many of its peculiarities are pre-Lucian. The task for the future remains to separate the Lucianic from the pre-Lucianic in this text." (180). That's the traditional view since Rahlfs, (*Lucians Recension*, 1911) although these pre-Lucianic parts have been identified differently. Rahlfs pushed aside the evidence of Jose-

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26. See above, part 2 (Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension* 1911, 293: "der Hauptcharakterzug dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips" ["the main trait of this recension is the absence of a clear rule"], or J. Ziegler, *Ieremias-Septuaginta* 1958, 163: "Konsequenz war nicht seine Stärke" ["being consequent was not his strength"]).

27. The first time I presented such observations (together with a chapter on early Jewish hermeneutics) was at the joint meeting of the "Bible d'Alexandrie" and "Septuaginta-deutsch" at Strasbourg in 2004; unfortunately, the publication of this congress took a long time. See now: S. Kreuzer, "Das frühjüdische Textverständnis und die Septuaginta-Versionen der Samuelbücher. Ein Beitrag zur textgeschichtlichen und übersetzungstechnischen Bewertung des Antiochenischen Textes und der Kaige-Rezension an Hand von 2 Sam 15,1–12" (Strasbourg 2004), in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France. Septuaginta Deutsch und Bible d'Alexandrie*, (ed. W. Kraus and O. Munnich; OBO 238; Fribourg: Herder; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2010), 3–28. Further studies on the subject are: S. Kreuzer, "Towards the Old Greek. New Criteria for the Evaluation of the Recensions of the Septuagint (especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and the Kaige-Recension)," in *Congress Volume Lubljana 2007*, ed. M. Peters; SCS 55; Atlanta 2008), 239–53; S. Kreuzer, "Translation and Recensions: Old Greek, Kaige, and Antiochene Text in Samuel and Reigns," *BIOSCS* 43 (2009), 34–51; and S. Kreuzer, "Textformen und Bearbeitungen. Kriterien zur Frage der ältesten Textgestalt, insbesondere des Septuagintatextes, anhand von 2 Samuel 12," in *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel. The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (ed. P. Hugo and A. Schenker; VTS 132; Leiden: Brill 2010), 91–115.



phus and the Old Latin as much as he could, by explaining most agreements with Josephus as mere coincidence and the agreements with the Old Latin as secondary adaptations. Others, especially more recent authors who had the Qumran evidence in mind, tended to a larger share of pre-Lucianic text, although even e.g. E. Tov and E. Ulrich<sup>28</sup> tried to reconcile their observations with the traditional view of the Lucianic recension. So, most of the research on the Lucianic text has become a compromise between the insights of Barthélemy and from the Qumran biblical texts (not to mention the witness from Josephus and the Old Latin) on the one hand and the traditional view that there was—or must have been—a Lucianic redaction on the other hand. This implies the assumption that the character of the Lucianic text changes along the fractures where we by chance have a Qumran fragment (or a quotation by Josephus or a fragment of the Old Latin)—an assumption which hardly can be justified. Although Brock tried to use the argument the other way around, he is at least right with his view, that the character of the Lucianic text in Sam-Kings is basically the same throughout.<sup>29</sup>

5.3 All these facts and observations lead back, or maybe better, forward to Barthélemy. Should we also go beyond Barthélemy? Now, Barthélemy gave us a groundbreaking work. Yet, he had to work with what he had and he concentrated on his new findings as they became possible because of the Naḥal Ḥever scroll. Today we have much more of the Qumran biblical texts and we have an excellent critical edition of the Antiochene text with an apparatus including the testimonies of Josephus, the text of the Old Latin and quotations of the Antiochene fathers, and we have several decades of research on these questions.<sup>30</sup>

Barthélemy gave a new evaluation of the Antiochene text as basically representing the Old Greek though with changes and corruptions. This view excludes the traditional view of an ample Lucianic redaction. I think this is basically correct, although I would not exclude that there may have been some

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28. E. Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian," *RB* 79 (1972), 101–113; E. C. Ulrich, "4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Septuagintal Research," *BIOSCS* 8 (1975), 26–27.

29. It cannot be excluded that the character of the text may change within a Lucianic manuscript (just as the text of B changes between the kaige- and the non-kaige-section), but so far nobody made such an observation for the text within Sam-Kings (there is such a change in Ruth 4, 11, where the Mss 19 and 108 become Lucianic; cf. A. Rahlfs, *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth* (MSU 3, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1922), 77.)

30. N. Fernandez Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega, I, 1–2 Samuel; II, 1–2 Reyes; III, 1–2 Crónicas* (TECC 50, 53, 60; Madrid: Instituto de Filología des CSIC 1989, 1992, 1996).

minor proto Lucianic (i.e., between the Old Greek and the Ant. as we have it) or Lucianic redaction. But this must be shown and not only postulated.

Barthélemy concentrated on the kaige-section, because that was what related to the redaction he discovered in the Naḥal Ḥever scroll. Today, Barthélemy's kaige-recension is widely accepted, and many also accept the other side of the coin, his new evaluation of the Ant.<sup>31</sup>

The question is about the non-kaige-sections. As the character of the text in Codex Vaticanus changes, its relation to Ant. also changes. In the kaige-section Ant. clearly is older and the text of B is the revised text. In the non-kaige-sections we have two competing texts so to speak: the B-text, traditionally held as very close to (or even more or less identical with) the Old Greek, and the Ant., also being very close to the Old Greek. This is, where further and open minded discussion has to go on, and hopefully will lead us forward.

5.4 Most probably the decisions will not always be the same. Even if the Ant. is "essentiellement la Septante ancienne" ["essentially the ancient Septuagint"], it is also "abâtardie ou corrompue" ["disturbed or corrupted"]. But also the text of B in the non-kaige-sections clearly is not always the oldest text. It exhibits clear examples of disturbances and corruptions and it has interesting phenomena which point to hebraising influences or even revision.

5.4.1 An interesting example is what we discussed above in regard to 2 Kgdms 19: 38 (39) and other cases of the translation of הַטּוֹב בְּעִינֵיךְ. If

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31. At this point another problem may be mentioned, which is not taken up by Brock but which has some importance in the discussion; that is the relation of the Ant. to the three younger translations, especially to Symmachus. There are cases where Ant. and Symmachus exclusively agree, which shows that there must have been some contact. Normally these observations are seen as a proof, that (1) Lucian knew and used Symmachus and (2) that the Lucianic recension is post-Hexaplaric. This view is referred to e.g., in N. Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 2000, 230: "additions taken from 'the three', particularly from Symmachus" and 232: "From the earliest research it had already been noted that in the Lucianic recension there were two clearly differentiated components: 1. some late material, certainly post-Hexaplaric, included in the time of the historical Lucian; 2. an underlying layer of very ancient readings, earlier than the time of Lucian." Yet these agreements can be explained in an other way as well: Symmachus did his work not without knowing and using the Old Greek. Agreements between Ant. and Symmachus may therefore as well be explained by their common relation to the Old Greek. Especially in cases where a word has been changed by the kaige-recension or some other revision, specific words of the OG may have been preserved in Ant. and in Symmachus only. Now, this possibility is not a proof in itself, but it certainly shows that the traditional assumption is not the only explanation of the phenomenon and not proof for a late Lucianic redaction. Yet it is less complicated, because one needs not to explain how Lucian came to use Symmachus or the Hexapla.

we allow Ant. to be old, the explanation would be that ἀγαθόν (instead of ἀρεστόν) in 1 Kgdms 1:23; 3:18; 11:10; 14:36,40 is a semantic adaptation to the Hebrew טוב. Interestingly, in 1 Kgdms 1:23 there is not ἐνώπιόν but, apparently one step further—also the kaige rendering ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. While the usual changes to ἀγαθόν look like a mild hebraising revision, the one case of ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς in 1:23 looks like a cross influence from a kaige-manuscript or because the scribe had this "biblical" expression on his mind.

	1 Kgdms	2 Kgdms 19:38(39) and Pal. throughout
Hebrew	הטוב בעיניך	הטוב בעיניך
Ant.	τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου	τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου
B (non-kaige)	τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιόν ... (τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου)	
B (Pal. / kaige)		τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου

5.4.2 Most interesting is the case of ἦ / τῇ Βααλ in 3 Kgdms 19:18 (seven thousand in Israel did not bow to Baal). This verse is taken up in the New Testament in Rom 11:4 and it was discussed by Rahlfs in his "Lucians Recension" 1911, 251; i.e., Rahlfs discussed some of the differences between B and Ant. and the agreement of Ant. with Rom 11 (see below). As in other cases, Rahlfs pushed aside the agreement between Ant. and the New Testament by explaining it as an influence from Romans (see below: "aus dem Zitat Röm 11,5"; "Nivellierung mit V. 10 und Röm 11,3"; "aus Röm 11,4").

18<sub>24</sub> יענה עπακουση Ⓜ] + σημερον ℒ: aus v. 28.  
 19<sub>10.14</sub> καὶ υπολειμμαι Ⓜ] καὶ υπελειφθην ℒ:  
 aus dem Zitat Röm. 11s, wo jedoch καγω υπελειφθην statt  
 καὶ υπελειφθην εγω.  
 19<sub>14</sub> καθειλαν (oder -λον) Ⓜ] κατεσκαψαν ℒ: Ni-  
 vellierung mit v. 10 und Röm. 11s. Auch das vorherge-  
 hende την διαθηκην σου ändert ℒ nach v. 10 in σε, ebenso  
 jedoch A und B (aber B hat την διαθηκην σου neben σε).  
 19<sub>18</sub> ωκλασαν γονυ Ⓜ] εκαμψαν γονυ ℒ 121 244  
 247: aus Röm. 11s.

Amazingly, Rahlfs did not mention the most remarkable reading  $\tau\eta$  Βααλ. This is the only occurrence of Baal in the New Testament and strangely with the feminine article. This strange expression occurs many times in the Septuagint, starting from Judg 2:13 (A-text) and through Sam and Kings, and also in other books, esp. Jeremiah. Most probably the feminine article is a kind of Ketib-Qere in the Greek, indicating that one should avoid the name of Baal and read  $\eta$  αἰσχύνῃ.<sup>32</sup> However the phenomenon may be explained, it is given up in the kaige-recension which reads Baal with the masculine article  $\tau\omega$  Βααλ (see e.g. Judg. 2:13; 10:6,10 etc.). Also in 3 Kgdms 19:18  $\tau\eta$  Βααλ has been changed to Baal with masculine article,  $\tau\omega$  Βααλ. The situation is as follows:<sup>33</sup>

וְהִשְׁאֲרֹתַי בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל שְׁבַעַת אֲלָפִים כָּל־הַבְּרָכִים אֲשֶׁר לֹא־כָרְעוּ לְבַעַל וְכָל־הַפָּה  
אֲשֶׁר לֹא־נָשַׁק לִי:

Rom 11:4

1 Kgs / 3 Kgdms 19:18  
Antioch. Text (Madrid)

1 Kgs / 3 Kgdms 19:18  
(Rahlfs)

4 ἀλλὰ τί λέγει αὐτῷ  
ὁ χρηματισμός;  
κατέλιπον ἑμαυτῷ  
ἑπτακισχιλίους  
ἄνδρας, οἵτινες οὐκ  
ἔκαμψαν γόνυ τῇ  
Βάαλ.

18 καὶ καταλείψω ἐξ  
Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας  
ἀνδρῶν πάντα τὰ  
γόνατα ἃ οὐκ ἔκαμψαν  
γόνυ τῇ Βααλ, καὶ  
πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ  
προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ

18 καὶ καταλείψεις ἐν  
Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας  
ἀνδρῶν πάντα γόνατα  
ἃ οὐκ ὠκλασαν  
γόνυ τῷ Βααλ καὶ  
πᾶν στόμα ὃ οὐ  
προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ

αὐτῷ] αὐτῇ 127

32. Cf. S. Kreuzer, "Übersetzung–Revision–Überlieferung. Probleme und Aufgaben in den Geschichtsbüchern," in: *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. M. Karrer, W. Kraus and M. Meiser ; WUNT 252, Tübingen: Mohr 2010), 108–110.

33. There are other interesting details which can be mentioned only briefly. The προσεκύνησεν at the end presupposes וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּהוּ, to acclaim, to pay homage, instead of וַיִּשָּׁק, to kiss. As Ant. and B agree, this will have been the OG / its Vorlage. The difference ἐν Ἰσραὴλ / ἐξ Ἰσραὴλ probably goes back to a scribal error כ / מ in the Hebrew. If the difference "I will leave" / "you will leave" goes back to the Greek or the Hebrew, is hardly to decide. But as B also keeps close to its Hebrew reference text it looks like that was different from MT (as it was with προσεκύνησεν).

Strangely, Rahlfs discussed the other variants, but he did not mention τῇ Βααλ:<sup>34</sup> Indeed it would be impossible to explain all the occurrences of ἡ Βααλ etc. as having originated from Rom 11:4 influencing 3 Kgdms 19:18 and having spread out from there throughout the Septuagint. Because of the general situation of τῇ Βααλ > τῷ Βααλ, also in 3 Kgdms 19:18 the reading in Ant. is clearly older than the reading in B. In B it is changed to the usual form with the masculine article. At first view, this change in B looks like an isolated adaptation to the reading practice, which would have returned to Baal instead of αἰσχύνῃ. Yet, the article before Baal is not the only change in 3 Kgdms 19:18. There are several other words which have been changed as well (see above, Rahlfs' discussion). So, the text of B also at this point is not just an isolated change of the reading of Baal, but again shows a real revision which changed several words.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This first detailed evaluation of Brock's most influential paper has shown that its seemingly convincing arguments and examples are problematic and misleading or at best mere possibilities but no real proof against Barthélemy's insights, especially his new evaluation of the Lucianic/Antiochene text as "essentially the ancient Septuagint," although with corruptions.

This changes the widely assumed view, that the Ant. is a mixture of an old substratum and an extensive Lucianic revision, and also leads to accepting the importance of the secondary witnesses like Josephus and the Old Latin and especially the Qumran biblical texts.

With and beyond Barthélemy it is demonstrated that also in the non-kaige-sections the text of Codex Vaticanus has undergone a (although milder) Hebraising revision, corrections and cross-influences. So, for the search of the Old Greek in the non-kaige-sections, both textual traditions, Ant. and B, have to be considered as equal candidates which should be evaluated openly and without preliminary decision.

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34. It is also not in the apparatus of A. Rahlfs (and R. Hanhart), *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935 [2006]). Brooke-McLean clearly has it and shows that not only the typical Antiochene manuscripts testify to it.



## Der Tempelbaubericht 3 Kgdms 6:1–22 : Vom Umgang der Übersetzer mit einer schwierigen hebräischen Vorlage

*Martin Meiser*

**Abstract:** Der Tempelbaubericht in 1 Kön 6:1–22 hat den Septuaginta-Übersetzern manche Schwierigkeiten bereitet (ähnliches gilt für Ez 40f). Begründet liegen diese Schwierigkeiten in der architektonischen Terminologie, die teilweise (fast) ausschließlich in den Tempelbau- und Visionsberichten (1 Kön 6,1–22; Ez 40f; 2 Chr 3) verwendet wird, sowie in den Spannungen dieser Texte untereinander und innerhalb der jeweiligen Textüberlieferung. So werden die Begriffe *‘ulam* und *debir* nicht übersetzt, sondern transkribiert, vermutlich deshalb, weil sich die Übersetzer über die genaue Bauausführung im Unklaren waren. Hinsichtlich anderer Änderungen der Septuaginta im Verhältnis zu ihrer Vorlage (zu 1 Kön 6:2, 8) gibt es unterschiedliche Theorien, die zu diskutieren sind. Hingegen gibt es für einige der hier architektonisch verwendeten Begriffe (z.B. zu 1 Kön 6:4) epigraphische und literarische Parallelen. Es wird zu prüfen sein, ob sich der in Ez 40:15, 17 sichtbare Einfluss ägyptischer Terminologie auch für 1 Kön 6:7 nachweisen lässt und wie die für die Übersetzung der Königsbücher allgemein vorauszusetzende Treue der Übersetzer zu ihrer Vorlage sich auch in der Übersetzung des Tempelbauberichtes bemerkbar macht.

Septuagintaforschung sucht seit alters die philologische und theologische Eigenart der jeweiligen Übersetzungsleistung in den verschiedenen Teilbereichen der Septuaginta zu bestimmen und leistet so einen Beitrag zur Rekonstruktion der Geistigkeit eines bestimmten Flügels innerhalb des pluriformen antiken Judentums. Die Überprüfung der Frage, ob ein spezieller Abschnitt der Septuaginta eher an der Ausgangs- oder an der Zielsprache orientiert ist, beginnt man, so zu Recht Anneli Aejmelaeus, am besten bei in unserem Sinne theologisch irrelevanten Stellen, um falsche Subjektivismen auszuschließen.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Vgl. Anneli Aejmelaeus, „Von Sprache zur Theologie. Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta,“ in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. M. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: Leuven University Press; Leuven: Peeters, 2006), 21–48.

Als Ergebnis dessen zeigt sich für die Übersetzung von 3 Kgdms, Sektion γγ, dass auch diese Partie, bei allen Unterschieden zu den και-γε-Abschnitten, als eine an der Ausgangssprache orientierte Übersetzung zu beurteilen ist.<sup>2</sup>

Der Tempelbaubericht in 1 Kgs 6:1–22 hat den Septuaginta-Übersetzern bekanntlich manche Schwierigkeiten bereitet.<sup>3</sup> Ähnliches gilt für Ezek 40f, wo allein schon die Variantenbreite der Transliterationen von אֵילִם und אֹלִם noch um ein Vielfaches höher ist.<sup>4</sup> James Montgomery und Henry Gehman vergleichen antike und moderne Übersetzungen mit dem Resultat: “moderns knew little more than the ancients”<sup>5</sup>. Auch andernorts in der Sekundärliteratur heißt es explizit, die Übersetzer hätten nur geraten<sup>6</sup>, ihre Vorlage nicht verstanden<sup>7</sup>, gewisse Ausdrücke seien unübersetzbar<sup>8</sup>—und damit bescheidet man sich. Dabei liegt in der verhandelten Sache selbst ein Moment, das überhaupt das Interesse an diesem nicht ganz einfachen Text rechtfertigt: Hat der erste Tempel die Übersetzer in erkennbarer Weise inspiriert, sei es positiv als der von Gott verheißene (Exod 15:17) und dann auch konzedierte (2 Sam 24) Tempel<sup>9</sup>, sei es negativ i.S. prophetischer Tempelkritik (vgl. Jes 66:1f. u.a.)?<sup>10</sup>

2. Als semantische Semitismen in 3 Kgdms seien beispielsweise vermerkt: *τιὸς* ... *ἐτῶν* dient zur Bezeichnung der Altersangabe in 3 Kgdms 14:35<sup>Ant=21<sup>Ra</sup></sup>, 3 Kgdms 12:12; 12:26<sup>Ant=24a<sup>Ra</sup></sup>; *εἰ* dient zur Einleitung eines Fragesatzes 3 Kgdms 22:15<sup>Ant</sup>; *χεῖρ* übernimmt auch die Nebenbedeutungen des hebräischen Äquivalentes **יָד**, nämlich Instrument, Werkzeug, so im Satz *καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου ἐν χειρὶ Ιου* ..., in 3 Kgdms 16:1<sup>Ra</sup>; vgl. 3 Kgdms 1:14<sup>Ant=2:25<sup>Ra</sup></sup>, 3 Kgdms 16:7<sup>Ra</sup>, 34<sup>Ra</sup>.

3. Auch in Tg. Jon sind die im Hebräischen schwierigen Stellen V. 4, 6, 9 durch erweiternde Präzisierungen gekennzeichnet (Daniel J. Harrington and Anthony J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets. Introduction, Translation and Notes* [ArBib 10, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987], 222).

4. Die folgenden Varianten begegnen in Ezek 40: *αἰλαμμῶθ* für אֵילִם Ezek 40:24–26, 30bis, 31, 33bis, 34, 36, für אֵילִ 37f; *αἰλαμμῶν* für אֵילִם Ezek 40:22bis, 24–26, 31, für אֵילִם Ezek 40:21, 30bis, 33bis, 34, 36, für אֵילִ 37f; *αἰλεον* für אֵילִ Ezek 40:21; *αἰλεῦ* für אֵילִ Ezek 40:9, 21, 24, 26, 29, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37.

5. James Montgomery und Henry Snyder Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Kings* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951 [1986]), 148; vgl. Martin Noth, *Könige. I. Teilband* (BK AT IX/1; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 99, zu 1 Kgs 6:9.

6. Ernst Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige, Bd. 1, 1. Könige 1–16* (ATD 11,1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 64.

7. Bernhard Stade and Friedrich Schwally, *The Books of Kings. Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text* (Leipzig: Hinrichs; Baltimore: John Hopkins; London: David Nutt 1904), 85.

8. Volkmar Fritz, *Das erste Buch der Könige* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: TVZ, 1996), 65 Anm 30.

9. Vgl. Sir 47:13; AscMos 2:4; 1 En. 89,50f.

10. Die spätere Relativierung in 2 Bar. 4:2f.; 7:1–3 (vgl. 4 Ezra 3:25f.) wird aber nicht



Oder hat der zu ihrer Zeit real existierende zweite Tempel sie inspiriert, oder gar die Beschreibung eines fiktiven idealen Tempels, wie sie seit Ezek 40–48 immer wieder für frühjüdische Literatur bestimmend ist? Oder muss man Martin Rösels Erklärung für die Divergenzen zwischen Septuaginta und masoretischem Text in den Kapiteln über den Bau der Stiftshütte auf unser Problem übertragen, nämlich dass die Bauausführung des realen zweiten Tempels nicht den Anweisungen im Exodusbuch entsprach, folglich das Interesse an der Tempeltheologie größer war als das Interesse an der konkreten Ausgestaltung des Tempels?<sup>11</sup> Oder muss man im Gegenteil höchst nüchtern mit der Orientierung an Tempelanlagen der eigenen Umwelt, z.B. Ägypten rechnen?<sup>12</sup> Oder aber—und das ist meine Vermutung—war den Übersetzern die Treue zum Text wichtiger als ihre eigenen Vorstellungen durch die Sache?

Um über die genannte Selbstbescheidung hinauszukommen ist es gut, sich genau zu vergegenwärtigen, worin die Schwierigkeiten für die Übersetzer gelegen haben könnten. Begründet liegen sie in der architektonischen Terminologie<sup>13</sup>, die fast ausschließlich in den Tempelbau- und Visionsberichten (1 Kgs 6:1–22; Ezek 40f; 2 Chr 3) verwendet wird und mehrere umstrittene Termini wie <sup>14</sup>יָצִיעַ (1 Kgs 6:5), לֹוֹל (V. 8)<sup>15</sup>, <sup>16</sup>גְּבִים und <sup>17</sup>שְׂדֵרֶת (V. 9) aufweist,

auf das Verhalten Salomos, sondern auf das des Volkes insgesamt zurückgeführt (2 Bar. 1:2f.).

11. Martin Rösel, "Tempel und Tempellosigkeit. Der Umgang mit dem Heiligtum in der Pentateuch-LXX," in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. W. Kraus/M. Karrer; WUNT 252; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2010), 447–61 (457).

12. Ptolemäische wie seleukidische Herrscher ließen neben architekturgeschichtlich neuen Anlagen auch Tempel "rein im Stil der alten regionalen Hochkulturen errichten" (Hans Lauter, *Die Architektur des Hellenismus*, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986, 5). Gerade in hellenistischer Zeit wird eine recht aufwändige Gestaltung des Propylon üblich; erst jetzt wird das Propylon „geläufiges, architektonisches Allgemeingut" (Lauter, *Architektur*, 201). Es ist denkbar, dass die Bücher der Königtümer in Ägypten übersetzt wurden. Zur methodischen Problematik der Lokalisierung vgl. insgesamt Emanuel Tov, "Reflections on the Septuagint with Special Attention Paid to the Post-Pentateuchal Translations," in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (eds. W. Kraus/M. Karrer; WUNT 252; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 2010), 3–22 (7–15).

13. Einen Überblick über die Termini der Tempelarchitektur in 1 Kgs 6 gibt Simon DeVries, *1 Kings* (WBC AT 12; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2003), 94–5.

14. Noth, *Könige*, 98, leitet das Wort von יָצַע ausbreiten, hinlegen ab und denkt an eine Bauschicht, die, auf den unebenen, weil unbehauenen Natursteinen aufruhend, eine ebene Fläche zur Auflage der Dachkonstruktion ergeben soll; Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige erklärt* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 9, Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1873), 65, und Jean Ouelette, "The yāsīa' and slā'ot: Two Mysterious Structures in Solomon's Temple," *JNES* 31 (1972): 187–91, bezeichnen das Wort als Anbau.

15. Das Wort kann der syrischen Übersetzung קַרְקָטָא = καταρράκτης gemäß als

die zudem in der Septuaginta mit wechselnden Äquivalenten wiedergegeben werden. Dabei dürfte es nicht immer nur um die simple Unkenntnis eines fremdsprachlichen Lexems gehen. Mindestens probenhalber muss man die Spannungen der genannten Tempelbautexte in ihren verschiedenen Fassungen einbeziehen. Im Folgenden werden weder die Fragen nach der archäologischen Verifizierbarkeit von 1 Kgs 6<sup>18</sup> oder der biblischen Datierung des Tempelbaus<sup>19</sup> oder der Maße des Gebäudes<sup>20</sup> noch die diversen Textumstel-

Falltür (so Bernhard Stade, "Der Text des Berichtes über Salomos Bauten I Kö. 5–7," ZAW 3 (1883): 129–77 [135]) oder der Septuaginta εἰλεκτός (als architektonischer terminus belegt bei Kallixinos v Rhodos, frgm. 1, Müller 57) gemäß als Wendeltreppe verstanden werden. Martin J. Mulder, *1 Kings; Vol 1/1, Kings 1–11* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 247, zufolge ist ב לא Präposition, sondern gehört zum Wort; die Verwurzel בלל bedeutet vermischen, verwirren; בלול bedeutet dann nicht "winding stair", sondern "spirale shaped stair".

16. גבים ist hinsichtlich der Wortform wie der Bedeutung umstritten. Thenius, *Könige*, 65 liest גבים: Hölzer, deren Unterseite ausgeschnitten war, so dass eine flache Wölbung entsteht; sie werden quer über das Dach gelegt. שדרת sind dann die Reihen, längs verlaufend. Albert Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige übersetzt und erklärt, 1. Halbband: Das erste Buch der Könige* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1911) 128 dagegen: Das Tempeldach war ein Flachdach, wie in Ägypten; Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, (New York et al.: Doubleday, 2001), 240, vermutet eine Konjektur aus גב: "hollow," "depression". Manfred Görg, "Zwei bautechnische Begriffe in 1 Kön 6,9," BN 10 (1979): 12–15, vermutet in diesem Wort aufgrund ägyptischer Vorlagen eine Bezeichnung für einen Anbau. Zur Kritik all dieser Vorschläge siehe DeVries, *1 Kings* 95.

17. John Gray, *I and II Kings. A Commentary* (2d revised ed. London: SCM, 1970), 162 Anm e, hält שדרת für eine zweifelhafte phonetische Variante von סדרת, obwohl שדרת offensichtlich in 2Kgs 11:8, 15 in dieser Deutung belegt ist.

18. Vgl. dazu Jens Kamlah, "Der salomonische Tempel. Paradigma der Verknüpfung von biblischer Exegese und Archäologie für eine Rekonstruktion der Religionsgeschichte Israels," VF 53 (2008): 40–51, vor allem 46f.

19. Über die Priorität der Datierung des Tempelbaus in das 480. Jahr (MT, LXX<sup>Ant</sup>) oder das 440. Jahr (LXX<sup>Ra</sup>) nach dem Exodus hat sich kein Konsens gebildet. Für die Datierung nach LXX plädiert Julius Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, <sup>3</sup>1899), 265, für die Datierung nach MT plädieren Noth, *Könige*, 110; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 236.

20. David Willoughby Gooding, "Temple specifications: a dispute in logical arrangement between the MT and the LXX," *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967): 143–72, hat die veränderten Längenmaße als Missverständnis von V. 17 erklärt (168–72), darin sind ihm einige Exegeten gefolgt (Noth, *Könige*, 97; Mulder, *1 Kings*, 232; DeVries, *1Kings*, 87). Hingegen führt Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament, Bd. 1: Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (OBO 50/1; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 340, die verminderten Maßangaben auf das Bestreben zurück, den in Hag 2,3 zuungunsten des neuen Tempels durchgeführten Vergleich zu kaschieren. Das Problem wurde schon in voraufklärerischer Exegese in umgekehrter Richtung virulent. Anastasius Sinaita erschließt aus den konkur-

lungen<sup>21</sup> und Sondergutstücke des MT<sup>22</sup>, wohl aber die Transliterationen αἶλαμ und δαβειρ / δαβιρ sowie einige Termini vor allem aus 3 Kgdms 6:1–15 untersucht.

# 1. DIE TRANSLITERATIONEN αἶλαμ UND δαβειρ / δαβιρ

In den älteren uns bekannten griechischen Fassungen des Tempelbauberichts wird הִיכָל mit ναός übersetzt, hingegen wird אֹלָם als αἶλαμ, דְּבִיר als δαβειρ / δαβιρ transliteriert; die Übersetzungen προναίον<sup>23</sup>, πρόπυλον<sup>24</sup> und προπύλαιον<sup>25</sup> für אֹלָם sowie ἄδυτον<sup>26</sup> und χρημαστήριον<sup>27</sup> für דְּבִיר sind in

rierenden Angaben V. 2 und V. 17 (gesonderte Erwähnung des Debir), dass der Tempel 60 Ellen lang gewesen sein müsse; er qualifiziert dies als eigene Meinung, gegen die Angabe der Heiligen Schrift (! Θαυμάζτω δὲ μηδεὶς, εἰ, τῆς Γραφῆς μὲν πηχῶν εἰρηκῦας τὸ μήκος, ἐξήκοντα εἶπον ἐγώ: Es soll sich niemand wundern, dass während die Schrift die Länge mit 40 Ellen angibt, ich sage, dass es 60 Ellen sind; Anastasius Sinaita, *qu.* 44, PG 89:596a), ganz offensichtlich in Unkenntnis des MT. Anastasius verweist auch auf die Differenz zu 2Chr 3:4 und auf die entsprechenden Angaben bei Josephus.

21. Zum Dissens hinsichtlich des Übergangs von Kap. 5 zu Kap. 6 vgl. nur die Positionen von A. Schenker einerseits und u.a. P.S.F. van Keulen andererseits (Adrian Schenker, *Septante, et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14* [Cahiers de la Revue biblique 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000], 135–36; Percy S.F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11* [VT.S 104, Leiden: Brill, 2005], 124–26), zum Dissens über die Stellung von 1 Kgs 6,37f. vgl. die Angaben bei Stade, „Text“, 135; zur Stellung des Palastbauberichtes vgl. unter den neueren Frank H. Polak, „The Septuagint Account of Solomon's Reign: Revision and Ancient Recension,” in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B.A. Taylor; SBL.SCS, 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 139–64 (153) einerseits (er tritt für die Priorität von MT ein, wie schon Wellhausen, *Composition*, 264), Julio Trebolle, „Kings (MT/LXX) and Chronicles: The Double and Triple Textual Tradition,” in *Reflection and Refraction. Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (eds. Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim, W. Brian Aucker; VTSup, 113; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 483–501 (497), andererseits (zugunsten der Priorität von LXX).

22. Der Zusatz 1 Kgs 6:11–13 mahnt zum Gehorsam gegenüber den Geboten; der Zusatz in V. 20–22 spricht von Arbeiten in Gold, um die Herrlichkeit des Tempels noch zu erhöhen (Würthwein, 61). Der Tempel sollte der Stiftshütte nicht nachstehen (Rudolf Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige übersetzt und erklärt* [HKAT, 1/5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900], 51). Hier gilt allgemein der masoretische Text als sekundär. Zur Literarkritik von V. 17–20 s.u.

23. Josephus, *Ant.* 18.65. Auch Vitruv IV 4:1 kennt *pronaon* als griechisches Fremdwort für „Vorhalle“.

24. 3 Kgdms 6:3; 7:6 (bis), 7 Symmachus.

25. Theodoret, *qu. in III Reg.* 23 (PG 80:685a).

26. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.72.

27. 3 Kgdms 6:5, 16, 19, 20 Symmachus; vgl. Timothy R. Law, „The Translation of

der Frühzeit der griechischen Versionen nicht nachweisbar. Die genannten Transliterationen begegnen auch in dem um einiges klareren Baubericht 2 Chr 3; אולם in den o.a. Variationen auch in Ezek 40–48; beide Transliterationen fehlen aber ebenso wie ihre hebräischen Bezugswörter in Ex 25–40.

Schnell zu erheben ist, dass diese Transliterationen nicht etwa im Blick auf die Heiligkeit des Tempels erfolgt sind: 1. Transliterationen betreffen in 3 Kgdms auch Dinge außerhalb des Tempels, nämlich den αἶλαμ des Königspalastes in 3 Kgdms 7:43–45, ferner die Pflanzensorte ῥαθυ in 3 Kgdms 19:4 sowie den Idumäer Ader, der als σαρὰν, als Widersacher bezeichnet wird (3 Kgdms 11:14); 2. היכל wird ebenfalls nicht transliteriert, sondern zumeist mit ναός wiedergegeben, was nicht für Sakralbauten reserviert ist, sondern außerhalb der Königebücher den israelitischen, ja selbst den außerisraelitischen Königspalast<sup>28</sup> oder gar einen nichtisraelitischen Tempel<sup>29</sup> bezeichnen kann. So greift auch die für Einzelheiten der Innenausstattung wie χερουβίμ, μεχωνωθ etc. denkbare Annahme nicht, diese Dinge hätte es eben nur im Tempel zu Jerusalem gegeben<sup>30</sup>. Es gibt mehrere Möglichkeiten, diesen Befund der Transliteration von אולם und דביר im Gegensatz zur Übersetzung von היכל zu deuten:

1. Man könnte vermuten, dass אולם und דביר als Lehnwörter übernommen wurden.<sup>31</sup> Die o.a. Übersetzungen προναίον, πρόπυλον etc. stimmen jedoch skeptisch; jedenfalls hätten sich diese potentiellen Lehnwörter im griechischsprachigen Judentum nicht durchgesetzt.<sup>32</sup>

2. Man kann für אולם und דביר je gesondert nach der Ursache für die Transliteration fragen. Bisher hat das aber noch zu keinem konsensfähigen

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Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms),” in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Ljubljana, 2007* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; SBLSCS 55; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 277–92 (282).

28. Für ersteres vgl. Ps 44(45):16<sup>LXX</sup>, für letzteres vgl. 2 Chr 36:7, in beiden Fällen steht ναός für היכל.

29. Joel 3 (4):5<sup>LXX</sup>; Bel et Draco.

30. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien, 9; Münster u.a.: Lit-Verlag, 2001), 216.

31. John A. Tvedtnes, “Egyptian Etymologies for Biblical Cultic Paphernolia,” in *Egyptological Studies* (ed. S. Israelit-Groll, ScrHier 28, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 215–21 (217), vermutet, דביר sei entweder semitisches Lehnwort in Ägypten oder umgekehrt ägyptischer Terminus technicus, ins Kanaanäische übertragen. Manfred Görg, “Weiteres zur Gestalt des Tempelbaus,” *BN* 13 (1980): 22–25 (22f.), verweist für אולם auf das ägyptische Pendant wrm.t, “Laube”, “Dach”.

32. Im hebräischen und aramäischen Traditionsbereich wird אולם weiterhin als Bezeichnung der Vorhalle des Tempels verwendet, vgl. 11Q19 IV, 8:1; mMid 3:6.

Ergebnis geführt. Deshalb schlage ich einen neuen Zugang zum Problem vor:

3. Man kann fragen, was אולם mit דביר in einer Weise verbindet, die für היכל nicht zutrifft.

M.E. ist für das Vorgehen der Transliteration in beiden Fällen die Unsicherheit der Übersetzer hinsichtlich der genauen Bauausführung verantwortlich. Dabei geht es nicht darum, dass die Übersetzer prinzipiell nicht gewusst hätten, ob der אולם den vordersten oder den hintersten Bereich meint. Vielmehr geht es um die bauliche Zuordnung der beiden genannten, in ihrer Funktion feststehenden Teile zum ναός.

אולם kann aufgrund der Doppeldeutigkeit der Wendung על-פני in 1 Kgs 6:3<sup>33</sup> als eigenständiger Vorbau verstanden werden, der von dem היכל durch einen wenigstens in der Mitte freien Platz abgetrennt ist, oder als eine Vorhalle, deren Wand zum היכל hin mit der einen Wand des היכל selbst identisch ist. Im ersteren Fall hätte von der Etymologie her als Übersetzung πρόπυλον nahegelegen, im letzteren Fall πρόναος<sup>34</sup>; das Nebeneinander beider Übersetzungen in späterer Wiedergabe ist m.E. ein Indiz für die Unsicherheit in der räumlichen Konzeption. Die Beschreibung des Königspalastes 3 Kgdms 7:43–45 ist, wie schon der masoretische Text zur Stelle, ebenso wenig klar: In V. 45 wird das Haus für die Tochter des Pharao mit einem αἶλαμ verglichen; in 3 Kgdms 7,43f. scheint es sich eher um Hallen innerhalb eines größeren Komplexes zu handeln.

Doch auch דביר wurde nicht übersetzt; dabei mag die in 1 Kgs 6:16b; 8:6/3 Kgdms 6:17<sup>Ant</sup>=16<sup>Ra</sup>, 8:6<sup>Ant+Ra</sup> explikativ beigegebene Wendung ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων eher zur Unklarheit beigetragen haben, wie ein Vergleich der verschiedenen Tempelbauberichte nahelegt: Laut Ezek 41:3 MT befindet sich das קדש הקדשים, das Allerheiligste, in einem Innenraum (פְּנִימָה); Ezek 41:3<sup>LXX</sup> zufolge befindet es sich in einem Innenhof; in 1 Kgs 6:16b steht im MT לְקֹדֶשׁ לְקֹדֶשׁ, in 3 Kgdms 6:17<sup>Ant</sup> die Lesart καὶ ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ δαβὶρ τὸν τοίχον εἰς τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων, in 3 Kgdms 6:16<sup>Ra</sup> ἐκ τοῦ δαβὶρ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων<sup>35</sup>. Kaum durchsichtiger ist die Darstellung im Folgen-

33. Sie kann bedeuten „an der Vorderseite eines Gebäudes“ (so nach traditioneller Deutung 1 Kgs 6:3); aber auch „gegenüber“ („sie schauten hinaus gen Sodom“, Gen 18:16; 19:28).

34. Faktisch sind die Begriffe, wie die einschlägigen Lexika zeigen, nicht völlig auf die o.a. Bedeutung eingeengt; man kann allerdings vermuten, dass sich die Übersetzer an der Etymologie orientiert haben.

35. Zumeist wird das Fehlen des Wortes/Wortbestandteiles בית in LXX als unabsichtliche Tilgung verstanden, während der Verweis auf die Mauer ergänzt wurde, um zu יבן ein passendes Objekt zu haben.—Das ἐκ vor τοῦ δαβειρ ist bei Theodotion und Aquila in

den, ist doch im Zusatz<sup>36</sup> in 3 Kgdms 6:18<sup>Ant</sup>=19<sup>Ra</sup> der ναός näher bestimmt durch die Wendung κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ δαβείρ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ οἴκου ἔσωθεν; im erweiterten Zusatz in MT steht ähnlich דָּבַר הַבַּיִת (וּמִפְּנֵי) (לְפָנָיו, vgl. V. 17). In 1 Kgs 8:6 ist von dem דָּבַר הַבַּיִת (LXX: δαβίρ τοῦ οἴκου) die Rede, während 2 Chr 3:8 vom בֵּית־קֹדֶשׁ הַקְּדוֹשִׁים, vom Haus des Allerheiligsten spricht.

Unklar war den Übersetzern also das semantische Verhältnis zwischen דָּבַר und בַּיִת, wie auch in der neueren Forschung aus anderen Gründen durchaus umstritten ist, was man unter דָּבַר ursprünglich zu verstehen hat.

Die hier vorgetragene Theorie wird auch nicht in Frage gestellt durch diejenigen Texte, in denen דָּבַר oder אֹלָם durch ναός wiedergegeben werden, denn diese verändernden Übersetzungen entstammen philologischer oder theologischer Korrektur. Wenn in Ps 28:2 דָּבַר mit ναός wiedergegeben wird, dürfte das darin begründet sein, dass man das Erheben der Hände des Beters hin zum Allerheiligsten als unberechtigten Eingriff in die Heiligkeitssphäre empfunden hat. Aber auch der fünfmal vorzufindende Ersatz von אֹלָם durch ναός dürfte beabsichtigt sein: David wird gemäß 1 Chr 28:11 seinem Sohn einen Entwurf wohl nicht nur für den אֹלָם gegeben haben; der Brandopferaltar steht natürlich vor dem Hauptgebäude, nicht speziell vor dem אֹלָם (zu 2 Chr 8:12; 15:8); in 2 Chr 29:7 soll das völlige Ende des Kultes für den Gott Israels ausgesagt sein, und die Aussage „sie gingen hinein in den אֹלָם und weihten das Haus“ in 2 Chr 29:17 erschien unsinnig; Beide Satzteile sollten sich auf den selben Referenten beziehen.

Datiert man die Septuaginta zu den Königebüchern in die erste Hälfte des zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderts, kann man nach dem Einfluss sowohl von Baubeschreibungen des real existierenden Zweiten Tempels als auch von Spekulationen über das himmlische Heiligtum fragen. Dabei muss es nicht um literarische Abhängigkeit gehen, es könnte ebenso gut eine allgemeine Vorstellung dessen zugrunde liegen, wie eben ein Tempel in Jerusalem auszusehen habe.

Was ist uns an Baubeschreibungen des real existierenden Zweiten Tempels erhalten? In 1 Macc 4:48 werden Heiligtum und Vorhöfe erwähnt (τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τὰς αὐλάς), sonst erfahren wir nichts. In Sir 50:2 heißt

ἔσωθεν, bei Symmachus in ἐσώτερον abgeändert (Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexapla quae supersunt vol. I, Prolegomena; Genesis—Esther* [Oxford 1875 = Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964], 604); auch dies verweist auf die Schwierigkeit des Verständnisses.

36. Wahrscheinlich ist nicht V. 18 in LXX als Homoioteleuton ausgefallen (so aber The-nius, *Könige*, 69), sondern muss als weiterer Zusatz beurteilt werden, wie schon V. 19 zumeist als früherer Zusatz zu dem Text V. 17, 20 gilt (Kittel, *Könige*, 50; Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, 150; Cogan, *1 Kings*, 242; Noth, *Könige*, 100; Würthwein, *Könige*, 60 Anm. 10).

es, Simon, der Sohn des Onias, habe den Tempel in doppelter Höhe errichtet; das lässt sich aber aus Josephus nicht verifizieren. Josephus zufolge soll der salomonische Tempel 120 Ellen, der zweite Tempel vor dem Umbau durch Herodes nur 60 Ellen hoch<sup>37</sup> und ebenfalls 60 Ellen breit gewesen sein<sup>38</sup>; Herodes d. Gr. habe die Länge auf 100 Ellen, die Höhe auf 120 Ellen heraufgesetzt.<sup>39</sup> Zweimal werden umgebende Säulenhallen erwähnt<sup>40</sup>, einmal die oberen Räume des Tempels<sup>41</sup>, einmal das östliche Tor<sup>42</sup>, aber eine Spezifizierung innerhalb des Tempelgebäudes ist nicht durchgeführt.

Auch von den Baubeschreibungen des himmlischen Heiligtums in Qumran ist nicht viel an Hilfe zu erwarten.<sup>43</sup> In 11Q19 IV, 10 ist offenbar an eine Höhe von 60 Ellen gedacht. Möglicherweise (!) wird in 11Q19 XX, 11f.; XXI, 3 ein innerer und ein äußerer Hof innerhalb des Tempelareals unterschieden. Weitere Bauten innerhalb des Tempelbereiches werden in 11Q19 XXX–XLV beschrieben, ohne dass sich 3 Kgdms 6 dadurch besser erklären ließe. In 4Q405 XVI, 6f.; 11Q17 B, 3 ist offensichtlich von דביר im Plural die Rede, in col XVII, 3–6 von dem דביר des Königs. Die Wendungen “Debir seines Heiligtums” in 4Q403 I II, 16 und “ein Allerheiligstes in den Königs-Debirim” in 4Q405 XVI, 7 tragen auch nicht unbedingt zur Klarheit bei.

Welche Schlussfolgerungen lassen sich aus dem bisher Dargestellten ziehen? Die bauliche Zuordnung dieser Gebäude(-teile bzw. -gegenstände) zum ναός war den Übersetzern undurchsichtig; darum haben sie nicht übersetzt, aber auch nicht den Allgemeinbegriff αὐλή verwendet, der seit Ex 27,9 für הֶחָצֵר steht und auch in 3 Kgdms 6–7 dafür verwendet wird; vielmehr haben sie transliteriert. Sie griffen wohl zum Mittel der Transliteration, weil sie die sachlich falsche Aussage scheuten. Aus der antiken Homerphilologie ist nämlich der Grundsatz bekannt, dass ein Text auch sachlich einwandfrei, d.h. nach damaligem Verständnis der Wirklichkeit auch im Detail entsprechend sein müsse.<sup>44</sup> Dieses Ideal der Übereinstimmung zwischen Text und Wirklichkeit

37. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.385.

38. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.13, 99. Dort wird auch berichtet, der Tempel sei aus drei Lagen geglätteten Marmors und einer Lage Holz des Landes erbaut worden. Über seine innere Aufteilung steht an dieser Stelle nichts.

39. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.391.

40. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.89; 12.141.

41. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.149.

42. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.154.

43. Die Texte 11Q20 XII; 1Q32; 2Q24; 11Q18 sind weitaus zu fragmentarisch überliefert, als dass sie zur Auslegung von 3 Kgdms 6 etwas beitragen könnten. In 5Q15 ist von der Tempelbeschreibung nichts erhalten.

44. Rudolf Pfeiffer, *Geschichte der klassischen Philologie. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Hellenismus* (Hamburg-Reinbek: Rowohlt Verlag 1970), 260.

war für die Übersetzer offensichtlich nicht zu erreichen, doch berechtigt das in ihren Augen noch nicht zur Falschaussage. Die Alternative einer Athetese—antike Homerphilologen haben einiges an Homerversen aufgrund von Widersprüchen zu anderen Aussage des Dichters für unecht erklärt—schied für jüdische (wie später auch für christliche) Schriftgelehrsamkeit in der Bearbeitung einzelner kanonisch anerkannter Texte aus. Sie ist aber auch deshalb nicht möglich, weil der Tempelbaubericht ohne die Stellen mit den beiden umstrittenen Termini nicht auskommen kann. Daher wurde die Transliteration offenbar als adäquate Weise der Problembewältigung empfunden.

## 2. ARCHITEKTONISCHE TERMINOLOGIE UND DIE BINDUNG AN DIE HEBRÄISCHE VORLAGE

Für einige der hier architektonisch verwendeten Begriffe gibt es epigraphische und literarische Parallelen, für andere hingegen nicht. Parallelen aus 2 Chr 3 und Ez 40–48 werden fallweise herangezogen.

In 3 Kgdms 6:9<sup>Ant</sup>=4<sup>Ra</sup> fungiert θυρίδες als Äquivalent für חֲלוֹנִים; das dürfte sich der Alltagssprache verdanken und ist insofern nicht der Klärung bedürftig.<sup>45</sup> In der Fortsetzung bietet der antiochenische Text δεδικτυωμένας κρύπτας, während in Codex Vaticanus παρακυπτομένας κρύπτας gelesen wird. Das Verständnis sowohl des hebräischen Textes wie auch der griechischen Versionen ist schwierig<sup>46</sup>; die späteren Rezensionen der Septuaginta gehen auseinander.<sup>47</sup> Das erste Wort des antiochenischen Textes (δεδικτυωμένας) ist auch als architektonischer Ausdruck belegt<sup>48</sup>, nicht jedoch das erste Wort

45. Das gilt auch für die konkordante Wiedergabe von קִיר durch τοῖχος (so auch in 2 Chr 3:7; in Ez 40; 41 jedoch begegnen zur Wiedergabe von קִיר auch περίβολος in Ezek 40:5; 42:20 und προτείχισμα in Ezek 40:5; 42:20; 48:15) und von קֶרֶע (Grund, Boden, Fußboden) durch ἔδαφος (vgl. Nbs 5:17). Außerhalb der Geschichtsbücher steht ἔδαφος jedoch für verschiedene hebräische Begriffe. Alltagssprachlich ebenfalls verständlich, aber nicht konkordant ist, dass der Begriff πυλῶν in 3 Kgdms 6:8, 33 für פֶּתַח, in 2 Chr 3:7 für שַׁר, in Ezek 40:9 für שַׁעַר als Äquivalent fungiert. Für die Verwendung von θύρα oder θύρωμα zur Wiedergabe von דֶּלֶת bzw. פֶּתַח in den drei Tempelbauberichten lassen sich keine vokabelstatistischen Gesetzmäßigkeiten aufstellen.

46. Die Ausdrücke gelten auch der neueren Forschung als obskur, vgl. Cogan, *1 Kings*, 238. Schon im chronistischen Tempelbaubericht wie bei Josephus hat dieser Teil von 3 Kgdms 6:4 keine Parallele, was ebenfalls auf Schwierigkeiten des Verständnisses schließen lassen kann und auf den Versuch, eine Falschaussage zu vermeiden.

47. Theodotion bietet θυρίδας διακυπτομένας κρύπτας, Aquila θυρίδας ἀποβλέπουσας βεβυσμένας, Symmachus θυρίδας καὶ ἐκθέτας ἐπισκέποντας.

48. Polybius 15.30:8; IG XI/2, 165,13 (Delos, 3. Jh. v. Chr.).



des Textes im Codex Vaticanus (παρακυπτομένας<sup>49</sup>); evident ist hier die Bindung an eine hebräische Buchstabenfolge  $\eta\kappa\eta$ , doch war diese den Übersetzern nur als  $\eta\kappa\eta$  II ni. = “emporragen, freie Aussicht haben, zum Fenster hinaussehen;” hi. = “hinaussehen”, nicht auch als  $\eta\kappa\eta$  I. “einschlagen, befestigen” bekannt.

Das Wort  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  begegnet in 3 Kgdms 6:10, 13<sup>Ant=5</sup>, 8<sup>Ra</sup> als Übersetzung zu dem Begriff  $\text{צֹלַע}$  (Seitenanbau, Brett)<sup>50</sup>; für diesen werden in dem hier diskutierten Bericht und in seinem Kontext aber auch andere Übersetzungen geboten, nämlich in 3 Kgdms 6:16<sup>Ant=15<sup>Ra</sup></sup>  $\xi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu$ , in 3 Kgdms 6:33<sup>Ant=34<sup>Ra</sup></sup>  $\pi\tau\upsilon\chi\eta$  (Falte, Schicht, Lage, Brett), das in LXX nur an dieser Stelle zweimal begegnet, einmal für  $\text{צֹלַע}$ , einmal für  $\text{קֶלָה}$ .<sup>51</sup> Das Wort  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  wird von Lebewesen gebraucht, manchmal auch von der unbelebten Welt und kann die Flanke einer militärischen Formation<sup>52</sup>, aber auch die Seite eines Dreiecks<sup>53</sup> bezeichnen. Dass es, soweit ich sehen kann, in der Literatur nicht als architektonischer Terminus technicus begegnet, muss nicht viel besagen; nicht alle Ausdrücke dieser ja auch von Nichtliteraten gebrauchten Fachtermini müssen sich in die Literatur hinein verewigt haben. Dem Begriff  $\text{צֹלַע}$  eignet ein breites semantisches Spektrum; er ist in MT auch keineswegs ein hapax legomenon. Liegt hier jeweils eine interpretierende Wiedergabe vor, so dass sich der Übersetzer an dem vorgestellten baulichen bzw. räumlichen Szenario zu orientieren sucht? Ein Widerspruch zu der oben entwickelten These zu den Transliterationen wäre insofern nicht gegeben, als für die Imagination des Übersetzers Alternativen kaum nahegelegen haben dürften, anders als bei den transliterierten Begriffen. Für 3 Kgdms 6:33<sup>Ant=34<sup>Ra</sup></sup> reicht diese Erklärung möglicherweise aus. Für die sehr allgemein gehaltene Übersetzung in 3 Kgdms 6:16<sup>Ant=15<sup>Ra</sup></sup> mit  $\xi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu$  ist zusätzlich zu bedenken, dass  $\xi\lambda\omicron\nu\nu$ , sonst faktisch durchgehend Äquivalent zu  $\text{פֶּטַח}$ , hier das einzige Mal für  $\text{צֹלַע}$  steht. Ob der Übersetzer hier in der Vorlage eine Form von  $\text{פֶּטַח}$  gelesen hat?

49. Von  $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\upsilon\pi\tau\omega$ , sich daneben bücken, um etwas genauer oder verstohlen zu betrachten, z.B. aus dem Fenster sehen, aus der Höhle, Zenob 3:32, durch die Tür, Zenob. 5:39; ins Grab, Joh 20:11. In der Septuaginta steht das Wort für  $\eta\kappa\eta$  hi. in Gen 26:8, für  $\eta\kappa\eta$  ni. in Judg 5:28; 1 Chr 5:29.

50. Aufgrund des Begriffes  $\pi\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}$  in 3 Kgdms 6:11<sup>Ant/6<sup>Ra</sup></sup> wird  $\text{צֹלַע}$  zumeist gegen MT  $\text{עֲצֵי}$  konjiziert (Gray, *I and II Kings*, 161; Noth, *Könige*, 98; Cogan, *I Kings*, 239).

51. Das Wort wird seit Ex 27,9 mit  $\iota\sigma\tau\iota\nu$  wiedergegeben, begegnet aber sonst in 3 Kgs 6–7 nicht. Liegt eine Verlesung von  $\text{צֹלַע}$  zu  $\text{קֶלָה}$  vor? Jobst Bösenacker, “Text und Redaktion. Untersuchungen zum griechischen und hebräischen Text von 1 Könige 1–11.” (Theol. Diss., University of Rostock, 2001), 141, rechnet damit, dass die alte, nordisraelitische Schreibvariante  $\text{קֶלָה}$  schon in der Vorlage zu  $\text{צֹלַע}$  abgeändert wurde.

52. Xenophon, An. III 4:22, 28.

53. Plato, Tim. 53 D, übertragen dann bei Polybios 2.14:4.

In 3 Kgdms 6:10<sup>Ant=5<sup>Ra</sup></sup> begegnet μέλαθρον als Übersetzung des wohl zu vermutenden יציע (Anbau)<sup>54</sup>, in 3 Kgdms 7:41<sup>Ant+Ra</sup> zur Wiedergabe von ש קפים (Rahmen? Balken? = hapax. leg. in 3 Kgs 7:4)<sup>55</sup>, in 3 Kgdms 7:9<sup>Ant+Ra</sup> wird es zur Übersetzung von כתר (‐Dach‐ der Säule, Kapitell) in 3Kgs 7:20 benutzt. Das Wort μέλαθρον, das in der Septuaginta nur an den eben genannten Stellen verwendet wird, kann in der Profangräzität mehreres bedeuten: Die Stubendecke, vor allem den Querbalken, der die Decke trägt<sup>56</sup>, das Dachgesims, den Dachbalken<sup>57</sup> wie überhaupt Dach<sup>58</sup>, häufig allgemein ‐Haus‐<sup>59</sup>, wie *tectum*. Mit der Wahl dieses semantisch so breitgefächerten Äquivalentes konnte man wieder eine Falschaussage vermeiden.

Die Übersetzung διάστημα (Zwischenraum, Entfernung) für מגרעות (Absätze, Verkürzungen) in 3 Kgdms 6:11<sup>Ant=6<sup>Ra</sup></sup> m selben Vers ergibt sich wohl daraus, dass der Übersetzer מגרש gelesen hatte<sup>60</sup> (vgl. die Wiedergabe von מגרש [freier Platz] durch διάστημα in Ezek 48:15, 17<sup>61</sup>); für 3 Kgdms 7:46<sup>Ant+Ra</sup> besteht ein Dissens in der Forschung, ob διάστημα als Übersetzung von מדה zu gelten hat, was die Semantik von מדה durchaus zulässt<sup>62</sup>, oder eine Verlesung von מגרה zu מגרעה oder zu מגרש voraussetzt.

In 3 Kgdms 6:14<sup>Ant/9<sup>Ra</sup></sup> steht κοιλοσταθμέω für ספן (bedecken)<sup>64</sup>; in dieser Bedeutung ist das griechische Verbum epigraphisch durchaus belegt.<sup>65</sup> Die Ausdrücke גבים und שדרות fehlen in LXX<sup>Ant+B</sup> und sind nur in LXX<sup>A</sup>

54. MT Kt. יציע (Lager); MT Qr. יציע (Anbau). In V. 15<sup>Ant=10<sup>Ra</sup></sup> begegnet ἔνδεσμος, das nur spärlich als archäologischer Terminus belegt ist (SIG<sup>2</sup> 587.308).

55. Das Verbum μελαθροῦσθαι gibt in 3 Kgdms 7:42 das hapax legomenon שִׁקָּר (3 Kgs 7:5) wieder.

56. Homer, *Od.* 8.279; 11.278.

57. Homer, *Od.* 19.544.

58. Homer, *Il.* 2.414.

59. Pindar V 52. Aeschylus Ag. 957.

60. Gooding, ‐Temple specifications,‐ 153, sieht in der Differenz der Anordnung der Seitenkammern zwischen MT (da schließen sie unmittelbar an den Hauptraum an) und LXX (da sind sie durch einen Zwischenraum vom Hauptgebäude getrennt) den Ausdruck einer frommen Idee der stärkeren Trennung zwischen dem eigentlichen Tempel und den Nebenräumen. Allerdings passt die von mir vorgeschlagene Deutung zur sonstigen *Translation Technique* des Übersetzers.

61. Das Wort διάστημα dient in Ez 40–48 für eine weitaus größere Anzahl hebräischer Begriffe als Übersetzung. Von den hebräischen Begriffen deckt sich jedoch keiner mit den in 1 Kgs 6 verwendeten.

62. HRCS 1:311.

63. Böseneker, ‐Text,‐ 147

64. In 3 Kgdms 6:14<sup>Ant=15<sup>Ra</sup></sup> steht κοιλοσταθμέω für hebr. צפה II., das nicht wirklich selten ist; die semantische Bandbreite von צפה lässt die Übersetzung jedoch zu.

65. P.Petr 3 p. 143; IG XI/2, 287 A 96 (Delos, 3. Jhdt. v. Chr.); ebd. B 146.

wiedergegeben. Die Wiedergabe des erstgenannten Wortes durch φατνώματα (Täfelung) greift einen in architektonischer Terminologie durchaus bekannten Begriff auf.<sup>66</sup> Rätselhaft bleibt m.E. die Wiedergabe von שדרות durch διάταξις. Das hebräische Wort שדרות in 2 Kgs 11:8, 15 (dort auf eine Ordnung von Kriegern bezogen) wird in 4 Kgdms 11:8, 15<sup>Ant+Ra</sup> jeweils mit σαδηρωθ transliteriert, in der Übersetzung von 2 Chr 23:14 nicht wiedergegeben. διάταξις wird sonst ebenso wie das Verbum διατάσσειν und das Substantiv τάξις nicht allzu oft und reichlich uneinheitlich verwendet, während τάσσειν nicht selten für שים steht—eine graphische Brücke zwischen שים und שדרות erscheint aber doch als zu sehr gewagt, als dass man 3 Kgdms 6:14<sup>Ant=9Ra</sup> damit erklären könnte.

Liegen aramäische Einflüsse vor? In dieser Richtung wird man nicht recht fündig<sup>67</sup>: שדרות ist in der Bedeutung “Wirbelsäule”, איל in der Bedeutung “Widder” belegt; ein metaphorischer bautechnischer Gebrauch ist bisher nicht nachgewiesen, aber bei Nichtliteraten auch nicht völlig ausgeschlossen. Nachgewiesen sind ferner aram. גב (Erhöhung, Rücken, Wall), aram. לול (kleine Öffnung, enger Raum, Öffnung im Haus), aram. שקוף = קפא (Oberschwelle)<sup>68</sup>, also jeweils in anderen Bedeutungen als in der Septuaginta vorausgesetzt; ספן i.S. v. “Dach” fehlt.

Liegt ein spezifischer Einfluss ägyptischer Terminologie vor, wie es in Ezek 40:15, 17 offensichtlich der Fall ist? Der Begriff αἶθριον, in LXX nur bei Ezek belegt (in Ezek 40:14 als Wiedergabe einer unverständlichen hebräischen Vorlage, in Ezek 40:15 für פנים), ist ein Begriff der ägyptischen Hausarchitektur und bezeichnet den quadratisch angelegten Hof inmitten der Hausanlage, von dem her die einzelnen Räume des Hauses ihr Licht erhalten. In Ezek 40:17 bezeichnet παστοφόριον (für לשכה?) wörtlich den Raum eines παστόφορος. Bei diesen Pastophoren handelt es sich um einen Teil des niederen Klerus im Kult der ägyptischen Götter. Die genaue Funktion der Pastophoren im ägyptischen Kult ist unklar, deutlich jedoch ist, dass ihre Stellung im Kult in etwa

66. IGRom IV 556 in einer Bauinschrift; Polybios X 27:20, aus der Beschreibung des Palastes von Ektabana; Josephus, Ant. VIII 68. Im Sinne von “Täfelung” wird der Begriff auch bei Eupolemos, Frgm. 2 (bei Eusebios von Caesarea, praep. ev. 9.34:6, GCS 43/1, 542) verstanden.

67. Herangezogen wurden Gustav Dalman, *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch* (Frankfurt am Main: Kauffmann, 1901; Göttingen: Pfeiffer<sup>3</sup>1938); Walter Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (Leiden: Brill, 1953); James H. Charlesworth, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*, (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr/Louisville: Westminster/John Knox), 1991; Klaus Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*, Bd. 1, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); Bd. 2 (2004); Ergänzungsband (1994).

68. Dalman, *Handwörterbuch*, 68, 215, 433

der der Leviten im JHWH-Kult entspricht. παστοφόριον ist erst hellenistisch belegt. Die Belege in den Papyri weisen darauf hin, dass es sich um Nebenräume innerhalb von Tempelbezirken handelte.<sup>69</sup>

Anders als zu Ezek 40:14, 17 lässt sich in 1 Kgs 6 ein spezifischer Einfluss ägyptischer Terminologie nicht erkennen; das liegt aber nicht an einer anderen Geistigkeit der Übersetzer, sondern ist darin begründet, dass die hebräischen Vokabeln פָּנִים und לְשֹׁכָה, die in Ezek 40:17 diese ägyptisierende Übersetzung nach sich zogen, in 1 Kgs 6 nicht begegnen.<sup>70</sup>

### 3. FAZIT: ZUR CHARAKTERISTIK DER ÜBERSETZUNG VON 1 KGS 6:1–22

Der Gegenstand der Darstellung hat bei den Übersetzern zu keiner Sonder-sprache geführt. Sowohl für den antiochenischen Text als auch für den milde hebraisierend bearbeiteten Text des Codex Vaticanus gilt: Die Übersetzer haben dem Text Dignität zugesprochen und sich an ihre hebräische Vorlage gehalten, gerade weil man im Falle des Tempels Falschaussagen vermeiden wollte.<sup>71</sup> Die genaue bauliche Zuordnung des אולם und des דביר zum היכל war ihnen unklar, darum haben sie die beiden erstgenannten Begriffe transliteriert. Ansonsten haben sie zumeist architektonische Begriffe verwendet, die selten auch in der Umwelt begegnen. Gelegentlich ist auch dabei das Anliegen leitend, Falschaussagen zu vermeiden; deshalb werden Wörter mit einem breiten semantischen Spektrum wie μέλαθρον verwendet. Auch ist mit Textverderbnissen zu rechnen. Eine interpretierende Wiedergabe liegt da vor, wo für die Imagination des Übersetzers Alternativen kaum nahegelegen haben dürften. In der späteren Fassung des Codex Vaticanus ist gelegentlich die Bindung an eine hebräische Buchstabenfolge leitend (παρακυπτομένας setzt שקף voraus).

Einflüsse des Aramäischen sind m.E. nicht nachweisbar; zu Ägyptizismen bestand literarisch gesehen kein Anlass. Somit bestätigt sich für den hier besprochenen Textabschnitt die These, 3 Kgdms, Sektion γγ sei eine an der Ausgangssprache orientierte Übersetzung.

69. Michael Konkel, Ezechiel, in *Septuaginta Deutsch Erläuterungsband*, z.St., 2969.

70. Ezek 40:14 MT gilt als unverständlich (Konkel, Ezechiel, in: *Septuaginta Deutsch Erläuterungsband*, z.St.).

71. Die Treue der Übersetzer zu ihrer Vorlage bestätigt sich auch an einer anderen Einzelheit: In 3 Kgdms 6:15 zeigt sich in der Wendung “bis zu den Balken, bis zu den Mauern” eine doppelte Wiedergabe zweier hebräischer, sich nur in ך contra ך unterscheidender Begriffe: Nichts sollte verloren gehen. Auch das zweimalige un griechische καὶ ἕως im selben Vers ist Wiedergabe einer Vorlage וְעַד, im Vergleich zu welcher gegenüber im MT nur עַד steht.

# GREEK ISAIAH 25:6–8 AND THE ISSUE OF COHERENCE

W. de Angelo Cunha

**Abstract:** From a translation point of view, G Isa 25:6–8 differs greatly from H Isa (MT/1QIsa<sup>a</sup>). This article intends to see if G Isa 25:6–8, with its divergences from the H, presents a coherent message. In doing so, it will try to provide an answer for the following problems: first, how must the phrase καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (v. 6) be understood? Will the Lord do something to the nations or will he “deal” with the nations? Second, who are the subjects of the phrases “they will drink joy, they will drink wine, they will anoint themselves with oil” in v. 6b? And does v. 6b entail a positive or a negative image? Third, what is the content of ταῦτα πάντα in v. 7? Fourth, is the counsel of v. 7b “against” or “concerning” the nations? And, fifth, what is the function of v. 8? In G Isa studies, much has been argued for taking G Isa as a text in its own right and to look for a coherent message. G Isa 25:6–8, with its several problems, will be a good test case to see if it presents a coherent message. It will be argued here that G Isa 25:6–8, which looks meaningless when analyzed solely as a translational text, actually makes good sense when interpreted as a text in its own right.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The Greek translation of Isaiah (G Isa) often differs from MT and the Isaiah scrolls (H Isa).<sup>1</sup> Whereas G Isa does not contain major structural differences from the Hebrew, as is the case with G Jer, it does differ from the Hebrew

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1. Cf. e.g., R. R. Ottley, *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)* (2 vols.; London: Clay & Sons, 1904–1906), 1:30; Charles T. Fritsch, “The Concept of God in the Greek Translation of Isaiah” in J. M. Myers et al., *Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman* (New York: Augustin, 1960), 155; Joaquim C. M. das Neves, “A Teologia dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías,” *Itinerarium* 43 (Jan.-Mar 1964), 1; Stanley E. Porter and Brook W. R. Pearson, “Isaiah through Greek Eyes: The Septuagint of Isaiah,” in Craig C. Broyles and Craig A. Evans, eds., *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (VTSup 70.2; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 531: “A cursory comparison of the LXX and MT of Isaiah brings up a host of ‘differences.’”

in several small but seemingly important details. Scholars have rightly compared it with G Job and Prov, as well as with the *targumim* because it contains several cases where its translation is rather free.<sup>2</sup> In comparison with other Greek translations of the prophets, G Isa may be characterized as a *sui generis* translation.<sup>3</sup>

The history of research on G Isa is basically an attempt to solve the problem of the divergences between the G and the H. In its earliest period, G Isa's research approached it mainly as a translational text. The main goal was to offer an explanation as to why this translation differs greatly from MT Isaiah, the only Hebrew Isaiah then available. Although this line of research has produced many valuable insights, it also has several limitations as it will become clear in the course of this paper.

Another trend of research focused on G Isa not only as a translation of the H but also as a version in its own right. Scholars tried to see if the divergences from the H made sense in the literary context of G Isa itself, without explaining them in relation to its H source. Fundamental in this phase was an article on G Isa 25:1–5 by the French scholar J. Coste. After discussing G Isa 25:1–5 in comparison with MT,<sup>4</sup> Coste concluded that it showed itself, as a translational text, “comme un échec presque complet.” Contrarily, when analyzed as a literary unit in its own right, G Isa 25:1–5 is “une composition ordonnée et cohérent.”<sup>5</sup> Coste further concluded that G Isa 25:1–5, as a literary and conceptual text, shows that an active interpretive plan was already at work even before its translation had started. Finally, Coste argued that this interpretive plan reflected the translator's personal piety and faith.<sup>6</sup>

The present paper will seek to address the issue of coherence with a discussion of G Isa 25:6–8. This text presents several difficulties. First, how must the phrase καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (v. 6) be understood? Will the Lord do something to the nations, or will he “deal” with the nations? Second, who are the subjects of the phrases “they will drink joy, they will drink wine, they will anoint themselves with oil” in v. 6b? And does v. 6b entail

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2. Cf. e.g. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA 12.3: Münster: 1934), 7; das Neves, “A Teologia dos Setenta no Livro de Isaías,” 2; Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as a Translation and Interpretation: The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 72.

3. Cf. Frederic Raurell, “Archontes’ en la Interpretació Midràshica d’Is-LXX” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 1 (1976): 321: “El traductor grec d’Isaías manifesta diferents particularitats d’estil, de vocabulary, d’interès social i religió que el distingeixen d’altres llibres profètics.”

4. Cf. Coste, “Le Texte Grec d’Isaie XXV, 1–5,” *RB* 61 (1954): 37–45.

5. Cf. Coste, “Le Texte Grec,” 50.

6. Cf. Coste, “Le Texte Grec,” 51.

a positive or a negative image? Third, what is the content of ταῦτα πάντα in v. 7? Fourth, is the counsel of v. 7b “against” or “concerning” the nations? And, fifth, what is the function of v. 8? This paper will attempt to provide an answer for each one of the questions above.

In order to do so, this paper will first analyze G Isa 25:6–8 as a translational text, discussing several of the G’s divergences from the H. After this analysis is completed, this paper will study G Isa 25:6–8 as a text in its own right and will try to offer solutions to the problems mentioned in the previous paragraph. A conclusion will then summarize the results of the study above and will point to the importance of reading G Isa as a literary unit.

## 2. A COMPARISON OF G AND H ISA 25:6–8

A comparison of G Isa with its H counterpart must be preceded by a word on the translator’s *Vorlage*. As there is no textual evidence in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> as well as in early ancient translations for a different H *Vorlage* than current MT for Isa 25:6–8, it is assumed in this article that the translator’s *Vorlage* was basically the same as present consonantal MT and 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>. Consequently, the G will be compared with unvocalized MT below.

### 25:6

- MT: ועשה יהוה צבאות לכל־העמים בהר הזה משתה שמנים  
משתה שמרים שמנים ממחים שמרים מזקקים
- LXX: καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος  
τοῦτο πίνονται εὐφροσύνην πίνονται οἶνον<sup>7</sup> χρίσονται μύρον
- NETS: “On this mountain the Lord Sabaoth will make a feast for  
all nations: they will drink joy; they will drink wine; <sup>7</sup>they  
will anoint themselves with perfume.”
- LXX.D.: “Und der Herr Sabaoth wird allen Völkerschaften auf  
diesem Berg (etwas) zubereiten. Sie werden Freude trinken,  
sie werden Wein trinken,<sup>7</sup> sie werden sich mit Duftöl salben.”

The phrase καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο represents a literal translation of the H יהוה צבאות לכל־העמים בהר הזה. The transliteration of צבאות with σαβαωθ is a peculiarity of G Isa. This transliteration occurs 52 times in the LXX, out of which 47 are found in G Isa.<sup>7</sup> Besides, παντοκράτωρ “almighty” is the usual rendition of צבאות in the

7. The other places are 1 Sam 1:3, 11; 15:2; 17:45; Jer 46:10.

rest of the LXX. The use of ἔθνεσιν to render עמים is important because the equivalence ἔθνος/עם occurs only 21 times in G Isa, compared to 91 occurrences of the more usual λαός/עם in the same book (cf. 25:8 below). As such, the translator's choice of ἔθνος raises the question as to why he chose ἔθνεσιν for עמים, a question that will be addressed below.

The clause πίνονται εὐφροσύνην stands in place of מִשְׁתֵּה שְׂמָנִים. In this clause, πίνονται is clearly related to מִשְׁתֵּה as πίνω renders מִשְׁתֵּה five times in the LXX, three out of which are in G Isa (cf. Isa 5:12; 25:6 [2x]; Dan 1:5, 8). As for εὐφροσύνη, a scholar included it among passages that exemplify some sort of “clarification, solution of images, paraphrases.”<sup>8</sup> Another opined that εὐφροσύνη may “be שִׂמְחָה [in the translator's *Vorlage*?] for one of the similar words שְׂמָנִים מִמַּחִים.”<sup>9</sup> But it is better to explain εὐφροσύνη as due to the context.<sup>10</sup>

Πίνονται οἶνον relates to מִשְׁתֵּה שְׂמָרִים. For the link between πίνονται and מִשְׁתֵּה, see the previous paragraph. In the LXX, τρυγίας “lees of wine, dregs” (cf. Psa 75:9) and δόξα “glory” (cf. Jer 48:11) translate שְׂמָר. Isa 25:6 is the only place where οἶνος translates שְׂמָר “dregs of wine” in the LXX.<sup>11</sup>

Χρίσονται μύρον stands in place of שְׂמָנִים מִמַּחִים. The noun μύρον “ointment, perfume” connects to שְׂמָנִים as there is some evidence for the equivalence שֶׁמֶן/μύρον in the LXX (cf. Psa 133:2; Song of Sol. 1:3; Amos 6:6 [Prov 27:9 and Isa 39:9 are uncertain]) and should be seen as a case of free translation in G Isa 25:7.<sup>12</sup> Liebmann saw a possible connection between χρίω and שְׂמָנִים.<sup>13</sup> Ottley opined that the translator extracted “what he took for מִשְׁחָה מֵר [“they will anoint the Lord”] from מִשְׁתֵּה שְׂמָרִים.”<sup>14</sup> But Ottley's opinion must be rejected as it requires too many changes in relation to the *Vorlage*. Ziegler suggested that the translator had G Amos 6:6 in mind: οἱ πίνοντες τὸν διυλισμένον οἶνον καὶ τὰ πρῶτα μύρα χριόμενοι “who drink thoroughly filtered wine and anoint themselves with the finest oils” (NETS).<sup>15</sup> Although G Isa 25:6 shares a high number of lexemes with G Amos 6:6 (cf. πίνω, οἶνος,

8. Cf. A. Scholz, *Die Alexandrinische Uebersetzung des Buches Jesaias* (Würzburg: Druck von Leo Woerl., 1880), 35.

9. Cf. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:226.

10. Cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 129 n. 224.

11. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010), 84. For a discussion of the etymology of שְׂמָר, cf. Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (trans. M. E. J. Richardson; 5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1994–2000), 4:1584–85.

12. Cf. Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 80.

13. E. Liebmann, “Der Text zu Jesaia 24–27,” *ZAW* 23 (1903): 268.

14. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:226.

15. cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 117.



**25:7**

Ἡ βουλή is connected to **והמסכה הנסוכה**. In G Isa, *χωνευτός* “molten” (cf. Isa 42:17) and perhaps *συνθήκη* “mutual agreement” (cf. Isa 30:1) render **מסכה**. The latter was not rendered in Isa 28:20. It has been suggested that the translator had some difficulty with the meaning of **מסכה** and resorted to the context in his use of *βουλή*.<sup>20</sup> But *βουλή* could also be an interpretation of the phrase **והמסכה הנסוכה**. As the latter denotes something that is covered, the translator interpreted it as something that is hidden. He then interpreted

20. Cf. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah*, 266.

“what is hidden” as a reference to a βουλή. The phrase πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν represents על-כל-העמים.

## 25:8

- MT: בלע המות לנצח ומחה אדני יהוה דמעה מעל כל-פנים  
 וחרפת עמו יסיר מעל כל-הארץ כי יהוה דבר
- LXX: κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας καὶ πάλιν ἀφείλεν ὁ θεὸς  
 πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ  
 ἀφείλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν
- NETS: “Death, having prevailed, swallowed them up, and God has  
 again taken away every tear from every face; the disgrace  
 of the people he has taken away from all the earth, for the  
 mouth of the Lord has spoken.”
- LXX.D.: “Der Tod, *mächtig geworden*, hat *sie* verschlungen, und  
*wiederum nahm jede* Träne von jedem Antlitz weg;  
 die Schmach *des Volkes* nahm er weg von der ganzen Erde,  
 denn *der Mund* des Herrn hat gesprochen.”

The phrase κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας renders בלע המות לנצח, where κατέπιεν corresponds to בלע (cf. also Isa 9:15; 28:4; 49:19), taken as a past tense verb, ὁ θάνατος to המות, read as the subject of the verb בלע, and ἰσχύσας is linked to לנצח. Different from the usual interpretation of the H, the G presents “death” as the subject of the clause.<sup>21</sup> As for לנצח, Ottley argued that the meaning of נצח as “to be ‘lustre,’” “brightness,” accounts for its translation in G Isa 25:8 as “victory,” “glory.”<sup>22</sup> Fischer proposed that the translator read נצח through Aramaic נצח “to win.”<sup>23</sup> In G Isa, αἰών “time” (cf. Isa 13:20; 28:28; 33:20) and χρόνος (cf. Isa 13:20; 33:20; 34) translate לנצח. Although Isa 25:8 is the only place in the LXX where ἰσχύω renders נצח, 1 Chron 15:21; Jer 15:18 attest respectively to similar translations with ἐνισχύω and κατισχύω both meaning “to strengthen.”<sup>24</sup> Despite the examples from 1 Chron 15:21; Jer

21. Cf. Thomas Hieke, “„Er verschlingt den Tod für immer“ (Jes 25,8a): Eine unerfüllte Verheißung im Alten und Neuen Testament,” *BZ* 50/1 (2006): 37.

22. Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:227.

23. Fischer, *Isaías*, 41.

24. Cf. Liebmann, “Der Text zu Jesaia 24–27,” *ZAW* 22 (1902): 38; A Rahlfs, “Über Theodotion-Lesarten im Neuen Testament und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin,” *ZNW* 20 (1921): 184, n. 1.

15:18, the translator's use of ἰσχύσας for לִנְצַח remains striking and must be seen as a case of a free translation.<sup>25</sup>

Clause 8b καὶ πάλιν ἀφεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου stands in place of מְעַל כָּל־פָּנִים וּמַחָה אֲדָנִי יְהוָה דְּמַעָּה מֵעַל. Πάλιν is a plus in the G as it is also elsewhere in G Isa (cf. G Isa 7:4; 23:17).<sup>26</sup> As for ἀφεῖλεν, G Isa 25:8 is the only place where ἀφαιρέω “to remove” renders מַחָה.<sup>27</sup> Besides, the past tense ἀφεῖλεν is striking because in G Isa future tense verbs usually render *wegatal* forms. This does not mean the translator had some difficulty with מַחָה. His translation of the latter with ἐξαλείφω “to obliterate” (cf. G Isa 43:25) and ἀπαλείφω “wipe off” (cf. G Isa 44:22) shows that he was well acquainted with the meaning of that verb. His choice of ἀφαιρέω must be explained in analogy with the second ἀφαιρέω in v. 8c. Πᾶν is a plus in the G.

The last clause of v. 8 τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἀφεῖλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν stands for כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כִּי יְהוָה דָּבַר וַחֲרַפְתָּ עִמּוֹ יִסִּיר מֵעַל. The pronominal suffix in עִמּוֹ is not attested in the G. The use of ἀφαιρέω as a rendition of סִוֵּר is common but the use of the past tense ἀφεῖλεν for the prefixed verb יִסִּיר is not as prefix verbs are usually rendered with future tense verbal forms in G Isa. Finally, τὸ στόμα is a plus in the G. The reason is the stereotyped nature of the Greek phrase τὸ γὰρ στόμα κυρίου ἐλάλησεν in G Isa (cf. 1:20; 24:3; 25:8; 58:14).

### 3. G ISA 25:6–8 IN ITS OWN RIGHT

#### TRANSLATION

- 6a: And the Lord Sabaoth will deal with all the nations on this mountain  
 6b: They will drink joy,  
 6c: they will drink wine,  
 6d: they will anoint themselves with ointment<sup>28</sup>

25. Cf. Rahlfs, “Theodotion-Lesarten,” 183–84.

26. Cf. A. van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: the Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 72.

27. Cf. Muraoka, *Two-Way Index*, 20.

28. There is a disagreement in the text critical editions of H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (3 vols.; Cambridge: University Press, 1887–1894), ad loc., A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: is est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979), ad loc., and J. Ziegler, ed., *Isaías* (vol. 14 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*; ed. auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939), ad loc., as to the placement of the phrase “on this mountain” (2x) and “they will anoint themselves with ointment.” The latter

- 7a: On this mountain, deliver all these things to the nations  
 7b: for this is the counsel against all the nations.<sup>29</sup>  
 8a: Death, having become strong, swallowed [the nations] up  
 8b: and, on the other hand, God took away every tear from every face  
 8c: he took away the disgrace of the people from the face of the earth  
 8d: for the mouth of the Lord spoke.

## 25:6

Καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο (v. 6a). The third person reference to the κύριος (cf. ποιήσει κύριος in v. 6a) clearly points to a break with 25:1–5, which addressed the κύριος directly throughout. Besides, the future ποιήσει with the κύριος as the subject indicates that 25:6a must be read in conjunction with 24:23, where the κύριος also appears as the subject of future verbs (cf. βασιλεύσει/δοξασθήσεται). A further link with G 24:23 is the phrase ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο “on this mountain,” clearly referring to Zion (ἐν Σιών) in 24:23.<sup>30</sup> But G Isa 25:6 is not completely unconnected to 25:1–5. First, the phrase “on this mountain” (vv. 6–7) clearly refers to ἐν Σιών that also appears in 25:5. Second, the picture of abundant drink (v. 6; cf. πίνουνται [2x]) contrasts with the image of thirst in 25:4–5 (cf. διψάω). And, third, both pericopae share the use of παραδίδωμι (cf. vv. 5, 7). Thus, G Isa 25:6–8 must be read in conjunction with both 24:23; 25:1–5.

In his commentary on G Isa, Eusebius of Caesarea captured well v. 6’s problem when he asked after quoting v. 6: τί δὲ ποιήσει “what will he do?” In fact, some time before Eusebius, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion had already felt this problem, seen in their addition of the Greek ποτον: “drinking-party; drink.”<sup>31</sup> In taking ποιέω as “to do, make,” most translations are forced to add a word or two to clarify the clause καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. Brenton and NETS translate “and the Lord Sabaoth will make

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was taken as belonging to v. 6 in this article. As this issue is of little importance for the present discussion, it will not be further addressed here.

29. The phrase ἡ βουλή αὕτη can be taken either in an attributive “this counsel” (cf. Otley, *Isaiah*, 1:157; NETS) or predicative sense “this is the counsel” (cf. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament: with an English translation and with various readings and critical notes* [London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1870], ad loc.; LXX.D). For an unambiguous case of an attributive sense of the phrase ἡ βουλή αὕτη, cf. G Isa 7:7.

30. Cf. already Eusebius of Caesarea’s comments on G Isa 25:6 as they appear in J. Ziegler, *Der Jesajakommentar* (vol. 9 of Eusebius Werke: Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 162, l. 29–36.

31. Cf. Ziegler, *Der Jesajakommentar*, 162, l. 26–27.

[a feast] for all nations,” while Ottley and LXX.D simply add “it” or “etwas.”<sup>32</sup> However, the verb ποιέω followed by a noun in the dative may convey the idea of “treating sbd in a certain way” or “dealing with someone” (cf. Isa 5:4).<sup>33</sup> It is in this sense that G Isa 25:6a must be interpreted.<sup>34</sup> The advantage of the translation proposed here is the needlessness of providing an object for the verb ποιέω, as in the case of most translations above.

As argued above, ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο “on this mountain” is a reference to mount Zion and also to Jerusalem (cf. 25:5; 24:23; also G Isa 10:12). The translation of 25:6a as “the Lord will deal with the nations on this mountain” raises the question as to whether this “dealing” was meant in a positive or negative manner. The answer to this question will become clearer in the rest of the discussion on vv. 6–8.

Πίνονται εὐφροσύνην πίνονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον (v. 6b-d). The plural verbs in these clauses clearly have the plural “nations” (ἔθνεσιν) in 25:6a as their subject. The expressions “they will drink joy, they will drink wine” sharply contrast with the picture of thirst in vv. 4–5. While the “we” group is thirsting in Zion under the oppression of the “ungodly” (v. 5), the nations will be holding rich banquets in the same mount. The expression “to drink joy” must be seen as an intentional hyperbole to single out the picture of overabundant joy that pervades vv. 6b-d. It is interesting to note that “joy and wine” often occur together as the latter is the source of the former. A similar expression to “drink joy, to drink wine” appears in Jdt 12:13, where both “joy” and “wine” occur closely together: πίεσαι μεθ’ ἡμῶν εἰς εὐφροσύνην οἶνον “you will drink wine with us for joy” (cf. also Jdt 12:17; Sir 31:28; Isa 22:13). Thus, the translator’s introduction of εὐφροσύνη was clearly not an accident but carefully thought-out in analogy with the reference to “wine” further in v. 6.

The expression χρίω μύρον occurs only three times in the G Bible (cf. Jdt 10:3; Amos 6:6; Isa 25:6). Amos 6:6 is important because it shows that the drinking of wine and the anointing with ointment may belong together. As such, it is not surprising to find a reference to “anointing with ointment” in G Isa 25:6 in light of the previous mention of “drinking wine.” Taken together, πίνονται εὐφροσύνην πίνονται οἶνον χρίσονται μύρον paints a very positive picture for the nations. For a little while, the nations will hold rich banquets on

32. Cf. Brenton, ad loc.; Ottley, 1:157; NETS, ad loc.; LXX.D, ad loc. (brackets ours).

33. Cf. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 569, where he provides more examples of ποιέω + dative in the sense of “treating sbd in a certain way.” The reader will also see there that the most common construction for the sense above is ποιέω + accusative.

34. Cf. Liebmann, “Jesaia” (1903), 266 had noted that the same nuance is true for the H: “לִישָׁהּ muss er in folgedessen im Sinne von „verfahren mit“ nehmen.”

mount Zion. Despite the seemingly positive tone of v. 6b-d, it will become clear below that the nations' activities on mount Zion will be short lived.

## 25:7

Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ παράδος ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν (v. 7a). The phrase ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ recalls ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο in v. 6a above, indicating that the mountain in question is Zion. Ἐν τῷ ὄρει τούτῳ also points to an important link between vv. 6, 7. As v. 6 refers to the Lord's future handling of the nations "on this mountain," v. 7 emphatically urges the Lord to "deliver these things to the nations" on the same mountain.

As for παράδος "deliver," I. L. Seeligmann argued that the imperative addresses the prophet because "it is his task to make God's plan known to the nations."<sup>35</sup> However, the immediate context lacks any evidence that the prophet was being addressed. Rather, the singular direct address παράδος must be seen as addressing the κύριος. Παράδος recalls the second person sing. παρέδωκας at the end of v. 5. In view of the use of second person singular verbs in vv. 1–4 directed at the κύριος (cf. v. 1: ἐποίησας; v. 2: ἔθηκας; v. 4: ἐγένου; v. 5: παρέδωκας), it is clear that the addressee of παρέδωκας is also the κύριος. Thus, παράδος (25:7) should likewise be seen as a direct address to the κύριος.

What would then be the identity of the addresser? The addresser of the κύριος is a member of the group referred to in the "we" (ἡμᾶς, v. 5) and the "I" speaker in v. 1. After having told the κύριος that he was suffering in Zion because the κύριος had delivered (παρέδωκας) him and his group into the hands of the "ungodly" (v. 5), the "I" speaker addresses the κύριος directly in v. 7 and asks him to deliver (παράδος) "all these things to the nations."

The phrase ταῦτα πάντα "these things" deserves further attention. To what does it refer? Ταῦτα πάντα refers to the "drinking" picture in v. 6, which immediately precedes v. 7a. In 25:7, the phrase ταῦτα πάντα parallels ἡ βουλή αὕτη in 25:7b. It is important to note then that "drinking" of the nations in v. 6 is the content of the Lord's "counsel" "against" or "concerning" (see below) the nations. The addresser in v. 7 is thus asking the Lord to carry out his βουλή. Is the "drinking" picture to be taken in a negative or positive sense?

The main question of v. 7 is whether the βουλή is "against" or "concerning" the nations as the preposition ἐπὶ can be taken either as "concerning" or "against." Translations are divided with Brenton and LXX.D taking ἐπὶ

35. Cf. I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (JEOL 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948), 110.

Ziegler further pointed to the interpretation of the “drinking” of the nations in Tg. Isa 25:6, which also interprets the “drinking” of the nations in a negative way. It reads: “On this mountain the Lord of hosts will make for all peoples a feast *and a festival; they think that it is of glory, but it will be to them for shame, strokes from which they will not be rescued, strokes by which they will come to an end.*”<sup>36</sup>

36. Cf. Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus, and Notes* (ArBib 11; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1990), 49 (italics his). Tg. Isa reads as follows: מִדְּמֵן וַיַּעֲבִיד יוֹי צְבָאוֹת לְכָל עַמְמֵיא בְּטוֹרָא הָרִין שִׁירוֹ וּזְמֵן דְּהִיא דִּיקָר וְתֵּהּ לֵהוֹן. לקלן מחן דילא ישתיבון מנהון מחן דיסופן בהון. All Aramaic quotations in this article are taken from Alexander Sperber, ed., *The Bible in Aramaic: based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

37. Cf. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen*, 145. It is interesting to note that a theological interpretation of H Isa 25:6 is already attested in the Syr., cf. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, eds., *The Hebrew University Bible: The Book of Isaiah* (HUBP; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1995) ad loc., which may reflect a Christian interpretation. Syr reads the H שמרים שמנים as a reference to a drinking belonging to “our life-Giver” as ܡܫܬܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ can be translated as follows: “a preserved and fat drinking, of our heavenly and mighty life-Giver.” “Life-Giver” is undoubtedly a reference to Jesus, cf. A. van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 273–274, also n. 45–46. Vg.’s convivium pinguium convivium vindemiae pinguium medullatorum vindemiae defecatae followed the H closely.

## 25:8

Κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ισχύσας (v. 8a). Different from the H (cf. part 1 earlier), the G portrays death as swallowing up. The first question that arises concerns the object of the verb κατέπιεν. Whereas Brenton added “men” after the verb “to swallow,” Ottley, NETS, and LXX.D inserted simply “them.”<sup>38</sup> In the immediate context, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη “all the nations” (v. 7) is the best candidate as the object of κατέπιεν.<sup>39</sup> Starkly contrasting with the apparently picture of blessedness for the nations in v. 6b-d earlier, v. 8a declares that the nations were swallowed up.

The reference to the nation’s banquet (v. 6b-d) must be read as temporary. The nations will, for awhile, hold banquets on mount Zion, even while the translator’s group is thirsting under their oppression (cf. Isa 25:5). However, the Lord will deal with them by carrying out his βουλή (25:7) against them. The past tense verbs of v. 8 (ἄφειλεν 2x) indicate that the Lord has started the process of bringing the oppressive rule of the “nations” to an end. The rest of the commentary on G Isa 25:8 will confirm this description.

The phrase ὁ θάνατος ισχύσας “death, having become strong” occurs only here and it is not clear what the translator intended with it. It is important to note that in G Isa “death” functions as one of the κύριος’ agents. In G Isa 9:7, it is said that the κύριος sent “death” against Jacob/Israel. The translator read the H דָּבָר, pointed in MT as “word,” as “pestilence” (דִּבְרָה).<sup>40</sup> Likewise, “death” in G Isa 25:8 must be understood as an agent that the Lord sent to punish the “nations.”

Καὶ πάλιν ἄφειλεν ὁ θεὸς πᾶν δάκρυον ἀπὸ παντὸς προσώπου τὸ ὄνειδος τοῦ λαοῦ ἄφειλεν ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς γῆς (v. 8b-c). As noted in part 1 earlier, πάλιν is a plus in the G. It has been correctly noted that πάλιν is typical of G Isa because it usually occurs as a plus (cf. G Isa 7:4; 23:17).<sup>41</sup> The usual meaning of πάλιν in the LXX is “again.”<sup>42</sup> But it can also denote a turn of thought “on the other hand.”<sup>43</sup> It is this latter sense that is most fitting to v. 8b. There is a contrast between the actions of “death” (v. 8a) and that of God (v. 8b). While death swallows the nations up, God, on the other hand (πάλιν), has started to take away every tear from every face.

38. Cf. Brenton, ad loc.; Ottley, *Isaiah*, 1:157; NETS, ad loc.; LXX.D, ad loc.

39. Cf. Hieke, “„Er verschlingt den Tod für immer“ (Jes 25,8a),” 37.

40. Cf. e.g., Ottley, *Isaiah*, 2:156.

41. Cf. van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre*, 72.

42. Cf. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 521.

43. Cf. J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 457.



Different from the H (מחה “to wipe out”/הסיר “to cause to depart”), the G employed the same verb (ἀφαιρέω “to take away”) twice. This double use of ἀφαιρέω indicates that v. 8b–c must be taken together. As such, the phrase “every face” means the faces of the people in v. 8c and “tears” and “reproach” must be interpreted in light of each other. What is exactly at stake in the translator’s use of ὄνειδος?

In the LXX, ὄνειδος may indicate the feeling of shame of those living under the control of foreign nations. In Joel 2:17, for instance, priests ask the Lord: “spare your people, O Lord, and do not subject your inheritance to the reproach of being ruled over by the nations” (NETS; the G reads: φείσαιο κύριε τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ μὴ δῶς τὴν κληρονομίαν σου εἰς ὄνειδος τοῦ κατάρξαι αὐτῶν ἔθνη; cf. also Micah 6:16).<sup>44</sup> Similarly, ὄνειδος in G Isa 25:8 denotes the shame of being ruled over by foreign nations. The “nations” are the “nations” referred to in vv. 6–7. The past tense ἀφείλεν, different from future ones in H (cf. ומה/יסיר), indicate that God has started to take away the shame of the people, that is to say, the shame of being ruled over by the nations. Thus, v. 8 portrays two divergent but interrelated pictures. On one hand, God has sent “death” to swallow the nations up. On the other hand, that act also meant that God has started to take away the “shame” of the people, that is, the shame of living under the oppression of the nations.

At this point, a word about the “nations” (ἔθνος, vv. 6, 7) and the people (λαός, v. 8c) must be said. In the comparison between the G and the H, it was noted that the use of ἔθνος as a translation of עַם is unusual. It is now clear that the translator purposefully employed it antithetically to λαός (v. 8). The “nations” should be identified with the ἀνθρώπων ἀσεβῶν “ungodly men” (v. 5), whose city is named “the city of the ungodly” (v. 2). It is noticeable that God’s handling of the nations occurs “on this mountain” (vv. 6–7). As argued above, “this mountain” is mount Zion mentioned in v. 5. The picture in v. 5 is that the translator’s group is under the oppressive control of the “ungodly” in Zion. In v. 7, the translator asks the Lord to carry out his βουλή in Zion, making it clear he expects the Lord will liberate his group from the control of the “ungodly.” The past tense κατέπινεν in v. 8 indicates that the Lord has started to liberate the translator’s group because “death” has swallowed up the nations. Thus, the place of the Lord’s handling of the nations (Zion) and the reference to their swallowing up by death makes it clear that the oppressive situation of the translator’s group has begun to be solved.

The reference to λαός differs from the H in that the G mentions only “the people,” whereas the H has “his people” (עַמּוֹ; cf. also Isa 1:3, where עַמִּי was

44. Cf. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 498.

simply rendered with ὁ λαός). In its immediate context, λαός must be identified with ὁ λαὸς ὁ πτωχός “the poor people” of v. 3. The “poor people” are described in vv. 3–4 as being under the oppressive control of the “evil men” (v. 4). The reference to “death swallowing the nations up” and to “God removing the disgrace of the people” (v. 8) indicates that the “poor people” (v. 3) started to be liberated. It is interesting to note that, whereas v. 4 portrays the liberation of the poor people as a future reality (cf. ῥύση), v. 8 portrays their liberation as something that has already begun. This interchange between future and past tense verbs can only be explained as due to the translator’s view of God’s liberation as something that has started but has not been fully completed. However, this point cannot be further addressed here.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

From the study of G Isa 25:6–8 as a text in its own right, this paper has demonstrated the following. First, καὶ ποιήσει κύριος σαβαωθ πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν in 25:6a must be taking in the sense of “dealing” with somebody. Second, the “drinking” picture in 25:6 must be interpreted in a negative sense as it serves as a sign of the nations’ upcoming judgment. This interpretation is in line with H/G Obad 15ff and Tg. Isa 25:6. Third, the phrase “these things” in 25:7 refers to the “drinking” picture of 25:6. Fourth, the “counsel” must be read as directed against the nations. Isa 25:8a makes clear that the “drinking” (25:6) was meant in a negative sense because it declares that “death” swallowed the “nations” up. And, finally, v. 8 proclaims both judgment against the “nations” (v. 8a) and liberation for the “people” (vv. 8b–c), which must be interpreted as the “poor people” (25:3) under the oppression of the ungodly (25:5).

This paper has further concluded that G Isa 25:6–8’s divergences from the H, when taken only as a translation, may be explained as due to errors, bad knowledge of the H language, or even due to a different *Vorlage*. But when interpreted in its own right, G Isa 25:6–8 presents a coherent message. The main point of this message is G Isa 25:6–8’s focus on two different groups. On one hand, there is the “nations,” whose “drinking” in mount Zion serves as sign of their upcoming judgment (vv. 6–8a). On the other hand, there is the “people,” that started to be liberated from the oppression of the “nations.” As such, this paper has come to a similar conclusion to Coste’s analysis of G Isa 25:1–5: from a translation point of view, G Isa may seem to be the result of several mistakes, but from the point of view of a text in its own right, G Isa 25:6–8 presents a coherent message that differed greatly from the most natural reading of the H and which reflects the translator’s social-political context.

# *Hapax Legomena*, the Septuagint, and Hebrew Lexicography

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**Abstract:** The definition of words in the Hebrew Bible as *hapax legomena* is a thorny issue. Even more problematic is the task to translate *hapaxes* accurately. Especially the interpretation of so-called absolute *hapaxes* sometimes seems to be a quiz in which guessing for the precise meaning is the only option. Although it cannot be known with certainty to which degree words that are currently considered to be absolute *hapax legomena* were also experienced as *hapax legomena* by the translators of the Septuagint as the most ancient Bible translation, most probably they would have been the first ones to become confronted with this enigma. Their initial interpretation of Hebrew *hapax legomena*, moreover, has had far-reaching consequences. Paraphrasing the title of T. Muraoka's publication *Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography* (1991), the present paper will discuss the way in which lexicographers often seem to be guided by the Septuagint's interpretation of Hebrew *hapax legomena*. In this respect the extent to which Hebrew lexica often and in a quasi-dogmatic way present the meaning of a Hebrew *hapax* exclusively on the basis of the Septuagint's interpretation will be illustrated on the basis of some concrete items.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Almost three decades ago, my secondary school Dutch language teacher tried to persuade his pupils to consult a dictionary at least once a day—be it a bilingual dictionary or a reference encyclopedia. His advice initially evoked somewhat of a deep, even sacred reverence to dictionaries. When it was written in a dictionary, it should have been correct. Now, many years later, and actually making daily use of dictionaries, my almost blind trust is sometimes crum-

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bling. Even though I am still persuaded of the accuracy and precision with which the majority of dictionaries are composed, I have the impression that the meaning of a number of lexemes sometimes has been inspired by guesswork, even if well-founded.

*In extenso*, this impression seems to be correct with respect to dictionaries for so-called dead languages, of which ancient Hebrew is a typical example. Undoubtedly, much excellent lexicographic research stands at the basis of many dictionaries aiming at unlocking (Biblical) Hebrew. Nevertheless, even in this domain one is sometimes confronted with a kind of arbitrariness, even though the material is mostly (presented as) founded on scientific grounds. Particularly with respect to the interpretation of so-called Hebrew *hapax legomena*, this phenomenon seems to occur regularly. Being well aware of the complexity of the issue of *hapax legomena*, the present contribution will firstly deal concisely with this specific type of vocabulary and the particular problems related to it for a translator/lexicographer. Secondly, and against that background, I will try to illustrate that and how lexicographers compiling bilingual (Hebrew) dictionaries, have often been led by the interpretation which the oldest Bible translation, the Septuagint (LXX), has given to these *hapax legomena*.

This combined interest in *hapax legomena* and *lexicography* is not at all new. Within the proceedings of the seventh meeting of the *International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* in Leuven (1989), T. Muraoka has published an article with the title: *Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography*.<sup>2</sup> Although our approaches clearly differ—Muraoka has been mainly interested in Septuagint lexicography whereas I will be looking at the influence of the Septuagint on Hebrew lexicography—it may be obvious that the title of my paper (*Hapax Legomena, the Septuagint and Hebrew Lexicography*) alludes to this extremely interesting article.

## 2. THE PROBLEM OF HEBREW HAPAX LEGOMENA

There is no dispute that it is a thorny question to define the concept ‘*hapax legomenon*.’<sup>3</sup> Although some words seem to be entirely unique within a liter-

2. T. Muraoka, “Hebrew Hapax Legomena and Septuagint Lexicography,” in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Leuven 1989 (ed. C. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 205–22.

3. Cf. I. M. Casanowicz, “Hapax Legomena. The Biblical Data,” *JE* 6:226–28. See, more recently, F. E. Greenspahn, “The Number and Distribution of Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 30 (1980): 8–19; idem, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew. A Study of the Phenomenon and its Treatment Since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms*

ary corpus—the so-called absolute *hapax legomena*—other words can, sometimes easily, be linked with related terms (non-absolute *hapax legomena*).<sup>4</sup>

In addition to the peculiar problem of defining the term *hapax legomenon*, the enigma of finding the exact meaning of a term that occurs only once is even more problematic. It is precisely at this juncture we are confronted specifically with the matter of lexicography. Sometimes, *hapax legomena*—and this is particularly true with respect to absolute *hapax legomena*—are like a puzzling quiz in which guessing seems to be the only option.

The problematic nature of absolute *hapax legomena* becomes particularly clear in comparing the way in which Bible translations deal with them. Indeed, in their rendering, translators often give an entirely different interpretation to one and the same term. A good example can be found in Judg 3:22, the story which tells about the murder of king Eglon by the judge Ehud. After having told how Ehud has thrust his sword in Eglon's belly, the Hebrew text reads: ויצא הפרשדנה. The *Traduction Œcuménique de la Bible* (TOB) translates this clause as “alors Ehoud sortit par le trou.” Thus, considering Ehud as the subject of the verb, the TOB interprets the *hapax* הפרשדנה as the term which indicates the way by which Ehud has escaped from the *locus delicti*. The *King James Version*, however, gives a completely different interpretation. It translates the clause with “and the dirt came out.” So, the *hapax* is interpreted as the content of Eglon's stomach or intestines coming out of Eglon's wound.<sup>5</sup>

*Mutatis mutandis*, the interpretation of Hebrew *hapax legomena* has also caused serious problems to the earliest Bible translators, that is, the LXX translators. Some preliminary analyses of the Greek rendering of Hebrew

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(SBLDS 74; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984); idem, “Words That Occur in the Bible Only Once—How Hard Are They to Translate?” *BRev* 1 (1985): 28–30. Reference also can be made to the contribution of E. 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* (eds. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 507–21.

4. “There are about 1500 of these [*hapax legomena*] in the Old Testament; but only 400 are, strictly, ‘hapax legomena’; i.e., are either absolutely new coinages of roots, or cannot be derived in their formation or in their specific meaning from other occurring stems. The remaining 1100, while appearing once only as a form, can easily be connected with other existing words” (Casanowicz, “Hapax legomena,” 226).

5. For a full discussion of this pericope, see H. Ausloos and B. Lemmelijn, “Characterizing the LXX Translation of Judges on the Basis of Content-Related Criteria. The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Absolute Hapax Legomena in Judg 3,12–30,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books* (ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, and J. Trebolle Barrera; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 171–92.

*hapax legomena* have revealed two main tendencies.<sup>6</sup> On the one hand, the LXX sometimes seems to opt to leave a problematic word untranslated and simply replace it with a transliteration. On the other hand, the translator often tries to render the Hebrew term, which we consider as a *hapax legomenon* as faithfully (which is not identical to ‘literally’) and adequately as possible by searching for meaningful translation equivalents, which make sense within the literary context.

What is further striking is the fact that the translation equivalents of the LXX often seem to have been used as authoritative within Hebrew lexicography. In other words, Hebrew dictionaries, almost slavishly followed by commentaries and Bible translations, often make reference to the meaning that the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* is given in the LXX. In what follows, I would like to illustrate this influence of the LXX on the composition of Hebrew lexica using some examples to indicate its far-reaching consequences.

### 3. THE INFLUENCE OF THE GREEK RENDERING OF HEBREW *HAPAX LEGOMENA* ON HEBREW LEXICOGRAPHY. SOME EXAMPLES

#### 3.1. EXODUS 16:14

In reaction to the complaints of the hungry Israelites after their escape from Egypt, God orders Moses in Exod 16:12 to address the people: “At twilight you shall eat meat, and in the morning you shall be filled with bread.” And indeed, at night the quails fall to the ground. The next morning, a dew hangs over the Israelite camp. When the dew has lifted, “on the surface of the wilderness was a fine flaky substance, as fine as frost on the ground” (Exod 16:14, NRSV) (עַל פְּנֵי הַמִּדְבָּר דָּק מַחֲסַפֵּס דָּק כִּכְפָּר עַל הָאָרֶץ).

There is a lot of speculation with regard to the translation and the meaning of this verse, in particular with regard to the precise nature of the sub-

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6. Cf. in this respect H. Ausloos and B. Lemmelijn, “Rendering Love: Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs,” in *Translating a Translation. The Septuagint and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (eds. H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 43–61; H. Ausloos, “The Septuagint’s Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena and the Characterization of Its ‘Translation Technique’. The Case of Exodus,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 20 (2009): 360–76; Ausloos and Lemmelijn, “Hapax Legomena in Judg 3,12–30,” 171–92.

stance, which is called ‘manna’ in v. 31.<sup>7</sup> This speculation has been the consequence of the enigma launched by the absolute *hapax legomenon* מחספס.<sup>8</sup>

The LXX of Exod 16:14 has the following equivalent: ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου λεπτὸν ὡσεὶ κόριον λευκὸν ὡσεὶ πάγος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς (NETS: “upon the surface of the wilderness was something fine like coriander, white like frost on the ground”).<sup>9</sup> The beginning and ending of the verse do not present any problems, as the Hebrew text has been rendered very consistently (על פני המדבר—ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τῆς ἐρήμου; על הארץ—ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). The middle part, however, is more problematic. First of all, it is remarkable that the LXX seems to have two different translation equivalents for the term דק, which appears twice. In its first mentioning (דק מחספס), the term דק is interpreted as a quasi-substantive with the meaning “something fine” (λεπτόν).<sup>10</sup> As such, the LXX seems to consider the term דק as a deverbal form of the verb דקק (‘to crush,’ ‘to be fine’). The second time (דק ככפר), the term דק has—likewise quasi-substantively used—the adjective λευκὸν (‘white’) as its translation equivalent. The fact that the LXX is rendering דק as λευκὸν probably finds its origin in the tendency to harmonize with Exod 16:31, where the manna is described as having a white color: ויקראו בית ישראל את שמו מן והוא כזרע גד לבן (NRSV: “The house of Israel called it manna; it was like coriander seed, white...” —καὶ ἐπωνόμασαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ μαν· ἦν δὲ ὡς σπέρμα κορίου λευκόν...).

Perhaps, this harmonization of Exod 16:14 to 16:31 on the level of the Greek text could also be helpful in finding out the strategy used for the interpretation of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* מחספס. First, it is striking that the Greek translator (or probably already its *Vorlage*, since it is shared by 1QExod), apparently has read כחספס instead of מחספס. This would imply that the form has been understood as a noun and not as a verb, as is done, for example, by

7. Cf. C. Houtman, *Exodus. Volume 2: Chapters 7:14–19:25* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Kampen: Kok, 1996), 336–38. For the rendering of the church fathers, see A. Le Boulluc et P. Sandevor, *L'Exode* (La bible d'Alexandrie; Paris: Cerf, 1989), 56–57.

8. Greenspahn, *Hapax legomena*, 184 (חספס); Casanowicz, “Hapax legomena,” does not mention the word as an absolute *hapax legomenon*.

9. Contrary to Houtman, *Exodus*, 337, who states: “In LXX, which has left it untranslated, 16:14b reads (...).”

10. A. Pietersma and B. J. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 63: “something fine”; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 429 translates the Greek term in Exod 16:14 as “thin layer.” See also J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 371: “fine, small.”

Gesenius and Köehler-Baumgartner (they consider it to be a participle *pu'alal* of the root **חספס**).<sup>11</sup> It is possible that the text was originally **בחספס**. However, it is equally possible that the analogy is of a secondary nature caused by harmonization with **ככפר** (“fine as frost”) in the second part of the verse.<sup>12</sup> Accordingly, the parallelism in the verse has become strengthened: **כי-... כי-; ωσει ... ωσει**). Furthermore, similar to what has been argued above (the rendering of the second **דק** as *λευκὸν* as influenced by Exod 16:31), there seem to be good arguments in favor of the hypothesis that the noun *κόριον* as the corresponding word for the *hapax legomenon* **חספס** would have been inspired by harmonization with Exod 16:31 as well. In this verse, the manna is described as **כזרע גד**, which is usually translated as “like coriander seed.”<sup>13</sup> However, this very rendering of the term **גד** as ‘coriander’ is exclusively based on the translation equivalent of the LXX, which reads *ὡς σπέρμα κορίου* (NETS: “like coriander seed”).<sup>14</sup> This implies that it is no longer possible to conclude that the interpretation of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* **חספס** as *κόριον* (coriander) should be considered as an harmonization with Exod 16:31, as the common interpretation of the noun **גד** in Exod 16:31 (and Num 11:7), since ‘coriander’ is completely dependent on the LXX rendering of that lexeme. Therefore, it is, at least theoretically, just as likely that the term **גד** in Exod 16:31 (and Num 11:7) has been translated as ‘coriander’ on the basis of the LXX translator’s interpretation of the *hapax legomenon* **חספס**, which he renders as “fine like coriander” (*λεπτον ὡσει κόριον*), thus interpreting the Hebrew term as a noun and not as a verb.

At this point, we are confronted with the particular influence of the LXX translation equivalents on Hebrew lexicography. According to a number of Hebrew lexica, the term **גד** has several, quite distinct meanings. BDB and Koehler-Baumgartner, for example, mention the following meanings of the

11. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, “**חספס**,” *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (3rd ed.; repr., Leiden: Brill, 2004), 325: “knisternd (Manna)”; W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (18d ed. Berlin: Springer Verlag, 1987), 378. BDB, 341 and DCH, 3:284 consider the term as a passive participle *pu'alal* of the verb **חסף** (‘be scaly’).

12. E. Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls. Transcriptions and Textual Variants* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 67. SamP is identical to MT: A. Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch. Edited According to MS 6 (C) of the Shekhem Synagogue* (Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects, 8; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1994), 71. In the fragment of Exod 16:13–14 that is handed down in 4QpaleoGen–Exod<sup>1</sup>, the term is not preserved. See Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 67.

13. With regard to the term ‘coriander,’ see C. Houtman, *Exodus. Volume 1* (Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Kampen: Kok, 1993), 164–65.

14. See also in Num 11:7.



lemma גַּד: (1) As a noun, גַּד can be used with the meaning of ‘fortune.’ (2) In Isa 65:11, גַּד is a *nomen dei* (the “God of fortune”) and (3) Josh 12:7 uses the term as *nomen loci* (“Baal-gad in the valley of Lebanon”). Vocalized with a *qames* (4) גַּד functions as the *nomen masculinum* of one of Jacob’s sons (Gen 30:11: “And Leah said, ‘Good fortune!’ so she called his name Gad”) or (5) it can be the *nomen masculinum* of a further unknown prophet from David’s time (1 Sam 22:5: “The prophet Gad said to David”). (6) However, its best known use is as the name of the tribe Gad (e.g. Num 1:14).

Furthermore, in addition to these usages of the term, BDB and Koehler-Baumgartner, as well as Gesenius and DHC mention foremost ‘coriander’ as the first meaning of the word.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, these lexica indicate that with this particular meaning, the term occurs exclusively in Exod 16:31 and Num 11:7. In my view, it is almost beyond any doubt that this particular meaning of the term has been completely based on the translation equivalent of the LXX. There is no reason to accept that ‘coriander’ should be the original meaning of גַּד, but rather it is the LXX that renders the Hebrew גַּד כִּזְרַע as ὡς σπέρμα κορίου.

### 3.2. NUMBERS 11:5

Numbers 11:5 is an interesting verse, not least because it contains, according to both Casanowicz and Greenspahn, no less than four absolute *hapax legomena*. The verse prefaces with the Israelites getting tired of eating the manna and complaining to Moses, remembering their luxurious life in Egypt: “We remember the fish we used to eat in Egypt for nothing, the cucumbers (הַקְשָׁאִים), the melons (הָאֲבִטִּיחִים), the leeks, the onions (הַבְּצָלִים), and the garlic (הַשּׁוּמִים)” (NRSV).<sup>16</sup> With the exception of הַשּׁוּמִים, which can be related to several Semitic languages,<sup>17</sup> the interpretation of the three other terms seems to be dependent on the LXX.

15. Koehler and Baumgartner, “גַּד,” *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, 169 refer to G.H. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*. 6: *Zeltleben, Vieh- und Milchwirtschaft, Jagd, Fischfang* (Schriften des Deutschen Palästina-Instituts 9; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1939; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 86: “Coriandrum sativum.” See also Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch*, 199 and DCH 2:315–16.

16. Cf. H. Seebass, *Numeri. 2. Teilband: Numeri 10,11–22,1* (BKAT 4/2/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener, 2003), 46.

17. Cf. the references in Koehler and Baumgartner, “שׁוּמִים,” *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, 1139.

Bible commentaries and translations mostly agree with each other as to the meaning of the term קשאה, which is translated as ‘cucumbers.’<sup>18</sup> This is not surprising, as Koehler-Baumgartner and BDB also translate the word as ‘Gurke’ (KB: ‘Posthorngurke’) or ‘cucumber’. However, this translation is not based on etymological evidence—nor any evidence—but rather on the translation of the LXX which uses the term σικύς (a *hapax* in the LXX as well) as a corresponding word. The noun σικύς, which is widely known in ancient Greek literature, indeed means ‘cucumber.’<sup>19</sup> Within the process of translating Num 11:5, the Greek translator was apparently looking for a good translation equivalent of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* קשאה, which he ‘translated’ with the Greek noun σικύς. With regard to both the content and form, σικύς can be considered as an appropriate translation equivalent. From the perspective of the content, it is not at all implausible that the Israelites have nostalgia for Egypt’s cucumbers, and from a formal perspective, the noun σικύς is well chosen as it resembles the Hebrew term קשאה. This procedure of looking for good equivalents from a phonetic perspective that simultaneously make contextual sense, seems to have been used often by the Greek translators when they were confronted with Hebrew *hapax legomena*.<sup>20</sup> Of course, this procedure also implies that the meaning that the Greek translator is giving to the Hebrew *hapax legomenon* is nothing more than a choice of the translator in the context of his translation; it cannot be considered as the exact ‘meaning’ of the Hebrew *hapax legomenon*.

In addition to the term קשאה, the interpretation of the *hapax* הבצלים, which is commonly translated as ‘onions,’ seems to be entirely dependent on the LXX as well. Without the LXX, which renders the noun as κρόμμυον, a commonly used term in ancient Greek literature,<sup>21</sup> there would not have been a single indication that the Hebrew term could mean ‘onion.’ The same conclusion can be drawn with regard to the rendering of אבטיח by the widely used Greek term πέπων (‘melon’).<sup>22</sup>

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18. With respect to the enumeration in Num 11:11, B. Levine, *Numbers 1–20. A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 4a; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 321, writes: “The detailed list of foods is entirely appropriate.”

19. LSJ, 1598.

20. For example, the translator of Cant 4:14 renders the Hebrew *hapax* קנמון by using κιννάμωμος, a fully-fledged Greek word. See for this case, and general conclusions with respect to the translation of *hapax legomena* in Canticles: Ausloos and Lemmelyn, “Rendering Love,” 54–55, 61.

21. LSJ, 998.

22. LSJ, 1364.

## 3.3. 1 SAMUEL 19:20

My final example is taken from 1 Sam 19. The author of this pericope narrates how David, after having succeeded in escaping from Saul, goes to the prophet Samuel and accompanies him to Naioth. When it is told to Saul that David is in Naioth, Saul sends messengers to capture David. However, when they saw the “company of the prophets” (1 Sam 19:20) prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul and they also began prophesying. Although much has been discussed from a theological perspective about this ‘company of prophets’—this verse is often used to make statements with regard to the development of the institution of old Israelite prophecy—one generally does not realize that the term לַהֲקָה within the construction אֶת לַהֲקַת הַנְּבִיאִים belongs to the list of Old Testament Hebrew *hapax legomena*.

The corresponding Greek text reads καὶ εἶδαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν προφητῶν (NETS: “and they saw the assembly of the prophets”). Undoubtedly, the LXX translator has linked the term לַהֲקָה with the very similar Hebrew noun קהל (having three consonants in common) which is currently translated as ἐκκλησία. Moreover, it is not improbable that the Hebrew לַהֲקָה might indeed have been the result of a metathesis of the consonants.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless the term is considered in lexicography as a separate lexeme, meaning “*Senatus*”<sup>24</sup> or “*band, company*.”<sup>25</sup> Whether it is correct to consider לַהֲקָה as an original Hebrew lexeme is not at all clear. In any case, rendering the term as ‘company’ seems to find its origin within the interpretation of the LXX.<sup>26</sup>

## 4. CONCLUSION

This limited number of examples—undoubtedly many more examples can be found—clearly illustrates the influence of the LXX on Hebrew lexicography. In the majority of the lexemes, Hebrew lexicography gives an accurate interpretation of the Hebrew term. However, specifically with respect to difficult terms—*hapax legomena* can undoubtedly be considered as such—I hope that this

23. The passage has not been preserved in Qumran; cf. Ulrich, *Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 278.

24. Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, 495.

25. BDB, p. 530. DCH, 4:521: “Seniority, company (of elders), old age.”

26. J. Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 26 argues that “the word is probably a collective or feminine form and means something like ‘group of elders’ among the prophets (...); and the word, though a *hapax legomenon* in Hebrew, seems to be deserving of acceptance.”

paper has demonstrated that one should be careful in trusting lexica, commentaries and Bible translations too uncritically or relying on them with too much certainty. They regularly seem to quote the LXX in order to support a specific understanding of a Hebrew lexeme. As long as this is made explicitly clear, there is no problem at all. However, quite often they present a particular interpretation in a somewhat dogmatic way, while it is actually nothing more than the rendering of the corresponding term in the Septuagint.<sup>27</sup>

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27. In Muraoka, "Hebrew Hapax Legomena," 212, the author also briefly mentions this procedure. He does so against the background of Amos 7:14: "When a LXX lexicographer consults the Hebrew Bible it ought to be stressed that our Hebrew lexicography is sometimes dependent on the LXX or some other ancient version as a useful depository of lexicographical knowledge and traditions of interpretation. Thus Biblical Hebrew lexicons often cite ancient versions as evidence to support specific understandings of Hebrew words. Failure to recognise this fact could lead to a circular argument."

# The Usages of Δίδωμι in the Septuagint

Paul Danove

**Abstract:** This paper resolves the 1,991 occurrences of δίδωμι in the LXX into seven usages and considers the interpretation and translation of the verb with each usage. The introductory discussion develops the semantic and syntactic criteria for identifying verbal usages and specifies the grammatical characteristics of δίδωμι. The Case Frame study of each usage identifies the semantic, syntactic, and lexical requirements for the grammatical use of δίδωμι, considers potential interpretive difficulties, and proposes procedures for developing “working” translations that clarify the interpretive constraints of the verb.

## 1. PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

This discussion investigates the procedure for identifying verbal usages, the grammatical characteristics of δίδωμι with all usages, and the implications of these characteristics for interpretation.

### 1.1. IDENTIFYING VERBAL USAGES

All occurrences in which δίδωμι requires completion by arguments with the same semantic and syntactic functions constitute a usage. For example, in the following occurrences, δίδωμι requires completion by three arguments that function as a semantic Agent (the entity that actively instigates an action and/or is the ultimate cause of a change in another entity), Theme (the entity moving from one place to another), and Goal (the literal or figurative entity towards which something moves).<sup>1</sup> These arguments are associated respec-

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1. These and following definitions of semantic functions are developed from those proposed in Paul L. Danove, *Linguistics and Exegesis in the Gospel of Mark: Applications of a Case Frame Analysis and Lexicon* (JSNTSup 218; SNTG 10; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 31–45, and John I. Saeed, *Semantics* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), 139–71.

tively with the verbs' syntactic first complement (the subject when the verb has active forms), second complement (the typical subject when the verb has passive forms), and third complement (the atypical subject when the verb has passive forms). Occurrences of δίδωμι with these linked semantic and syntactic properties constitute the usage, Transference to a Goal:<sup>2</sup>

δέδωκα χίλια δίδραχμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου. (Gen 20:16)

I (Agent) have given a thousand two-drachma coins (Theme) to your brother (Goal).

τὸν στέφανόν σου δώσω αὐτῷ. (Isa 22:21a)

Your crown (Theme) I (Agent) will give to him (Goal).

The occurrences of δίδωμι in the LXX resolve into seven usages. With each usage, the verb requires completion by three arguments, the first of which functions as an Agent. With some usages, the second and/or third arguments may remain unrealized as complements. When the context does not specify the exact semantic content of an unrealized complement, it is an indefinite null complement (INC).<sup>3</sup> Indefinite null second complements have the interpretation, "a gift." When the context specifies the semantic content of an unrealized second or third complement, it is a definite null complement (DNC); and the grammatical interpretation of the verb requires the retrieval of its semantic content from the context.<sup>4</sup> The study addresses the interpretation of indefinite null third complements in the discussion of the usages with which they occur.

## 1.2. THE GRAMMATICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF δίδωμι

Δίδωμι has four grammatical characteristics, which this discussion develops in relation to the previous examples from Gen 20:16 and Isa 22:21a.

First, δίδωμι requires completion by an entity undergoing a change. In the examples, this entity undergoes a change in locale and functions as a Theme.

2. The discussion transforms all passivized verbs into their correlate active forms and analyzes them accordingly.

3. Further discussion of indefinite null complements appears in Ivan Sag and Jorge Hankamer, "Toward a Theory of Anaphoric Processing," *Linguistics and Philosophy* 7 (1984): 325–45.

4. Further discussion of definite null complements appears in Peter Matthews, *Syntax* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 125–26.

Second, when the context offers no countervailing information, Greek (and English) grammar interprets the Agent entity as the Benefactive (the ultimate entity for which an action is performed or for which, literally or figuratively, something happens or exists) of the entity undergoing a change. Since the context of Gen 20:16 offers no countervailing information, the interpretation is that Abimelech (I) has given a thousand of his own coins to Abraham (him). The context of Isa 22:21a, however, clarifies that God (I) gives to Eliakim (him) the crown of Hilkiah (your), not God's own crown. Greek (and English) typically realizes the non-Agent entity that is Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change as a genitive case noun phrase ("of" prepositional phrase).

Third, δίδωμι licenses a Benefactive that specifies the entity for which the action itself occurs. The following discussions specify for each usage the rules for retrieving the Benefactive of the action. The Benefactive of the action in the two examples is identical to the Goal: Abimelech's action in Gen 20:16 is for Abraham, and God's action in Isa 22:21a is for Eliakim.

Fourth, δίδωμι imposes the interpretation that the Benefactive of the action becomes Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change. As a consequence, this entity has two Benefactives: the Agent or contextually specified entity (second characteristic); and the Benefactive of the action itself (fourth characteristic). The conditions that characterize the action determine the relationship between these two Benefactives. If there are no conditions, the action may accomplish a complete transfer of the entity undergoing a change, as in Gen 20:16, where Abimelech's action makes his coins the permanent possessions of Abraham. In Isa 22:21a, the crown or kingship becomes the possession of Eliakim for as long as the Agent (God) grants it.

The following discussions introduce within double brackets, [[ ]], the entity that functions as the Benefactive of the action itself (third characteristic) and of the entity undergoing a change (fourth characteristic), when these are not realized as complements. The content of the null Benefactive of the action appears after the verb and is introduced by "for;" and the content of the entity that becomes Benefactive of the entity undergoing a change appears after that entity and is introduced by a relative clause whose verb is "become." Double parentheses, (( )), enclose the content of other null verbal complements. This produces the following "working" translations for the two examples:

I have given [[for your brother]] a thousand two-drachma coins  
[[which have become your brother's]] to your brother. (Gen 20:16)

Your crown [[which will become his]] I will give [[for him]] to him.  
(Isa 22:21a)

## 1.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE BENEFACTIVE RELATIONSHIP

Just as the Agent acting on an entity functions as its Benefactive (second characteristic), the Benefactive of an entity may be attributed with the agentive property of exercising sway over or acting directly on that entity. The nature of this sway or action generally is circumscribed by cultural, legal, ethical, and/or contextual considerations. In the following example, δίδωμι first makes the Goal entity the Benefactive of the Theme and then licenses an adjunct in which the former entity acts on the Theme entity in a contextually circumscribed manner (“eating” as opposed to any other action):

οὗτος ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἔδωκεν κύριος ὑμῖν φαγεῖν. (Exod 16:15)

This [is] the bread [[which became yours]] which the Lord gave [[for you]] to you to ((you)) eat ((the bread)).

## 2. TRANSFERENCE TO A GOAL

With the Usage of Transference to a Goal, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, a Theme, and a Goal. The verb admits to straightforward translation by “give,” which has a parallel English usage with the same four grammatical characteristics.

The rule for retrieving the Benefactive of the action and of the Theme uses the semantic feature  $\pm$ animate, which specifies whether Greek grammar interprets entities to have an animate or an inanimate referent.<sup>5</sup> +Animate entities reference divine and demonic beings, living human beings and animals, forces of nature, natural phenomena, “idol” (εἰδωλον, Ezek 6:13b) when it designates false gods, “name” (ὄνομα) when it functions as a designation for God (Ps 113:9; Ode 7:43; Sir 39:15; Mal 2:2), and “heart” (καρδία) when it specifies a human being viewed from the perspective of the capacity to think (Exod 31:16; 1 Chr 22:19; 2 Chr 11:16; Ezra 7:10; Neh 2:12; Eccl 1:13, 17; 8:16; Sir 38:26; Jer 37:21). All other entities are –animate. The  $\pm$ animate distinction permits the formulation of the following rule: with the usage of Transference to a Goal, δίδωμι makes Benefactive of the action and Theme either (1) the +animate Goal entity or (2) the +animate Benefactive of the –animate Goal entity. With this usage, all –animate Goal complements require completion by a +animate Benefactive:

5. See Paul L. Danove, “Distinguishing Goal and Locative Complements of New Testament Verbs of Transference,” *FgNT* 20 (2007): 65–80.



- (1) παρέδωκεν γὰρ κύριος ὑμῖν τὴν πόλιν. (Josh 6:16)  
For [the] Lord gave [[for you]] to you the city [[which became yours]].
- (2) ἔδωκεν τὸ ποτήριον εἰς τὴν χεῖρα Φαραῶ. (Gen 40:21)  
He gave [[for Pharaoh]] the cup [[which became Pharaoh's]] into the hand of Pharaoh.

In Josh 6:16 the action is for the Israelites (you) and has placed the Israelites in a Benefactive relationship with the city. In Gen 40:21 the action is for Pharaoh, the +animate Benefactive of “hand,” and places him in Benefactive relationship with the cup.

The ±animate distinction also clarifies the distribution of six of the seven lexical realizations of Goal complements with this usage. Five occur only with the +animate [+an] Goal: the dative case (to) noun phrase (N+dat); and the ἐναντίον (before), κατά with genitive object (against), πρὸς with accusative object (to), and ὑπεράνω (above) prepositional phrases (P/ἐναντίον, P/κατά [+gen], P/πρὸς [+acc], and P/ὑπεράνω). The εἰς (to, into) prepositional phrase (P/εἰς) occurs only with the –animate [–an] Goal. The ἐπὶ (upon) prepositional phrase with an accusative object (P/ἐπὶ [+acc]) occurs with both the +animate and the –animate Goal. The Goal also may be definite and null (DNC).

N+dat (1174 occurrences), P/ἐναντίον (3), P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (50), P/κατά [+gen] (1), P/πρὸς [+acc] (6), and P/ὑπεράνω (1) realize the +animate Goal:

- τότε ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Χιραμ εἴκοσι πόλεις ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Γαλιλαίᾳ.  
(1 Kgs 9:11)  
Then the king gave [[for Hiram]] to Hiram twenty cities [[which became Hiram's]] in the land of Galilee.

P/εἰς (156) and P/ἐπὶ [+acc] (34) realize the –animate Goal:

- δέδωκα εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου τὸν βασιλέα Αἰ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ. (Josh 8:1)  
I have given [[for you]] into your hands the King of Ai and his land [[which have become yours]].

Elsewhere the Goal is a definite null complement (143).

- δοῦς σπέρμα ἵνα σπείρωμεν. (Gen 47:19)  
Give [[for us]] ((to us)) seed [[which becomes ours]] so that we may sow.

## 3. TRANSFERENCE TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE

With the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, a Theme, and a Locative (the literal or figurative place in which an entity is situated or an event occurs). The Locative usage arises whenever the Goal is interpreted as the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of transference.

The translation of δίδωμι with this usage is difficult because “give,” does not occur with the English usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative. This explains the frequent translation of δίδωμι by other English verbs with the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative (e.g., place, put,) or the translation of Locative complements as if they had a Goal function (e.g., translating ἐν by “into”). Neither approach respects the grammatical constraints of the Greek usage: no English verb with the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative places an entity other than the Agent in a Benefactive relationship with the action and Theme (leaving the third and fourth characteristics unfulfilled); and translation of the third argument as a Goal removes its interpretation as the abiding locale of the Theme at the termination of transference. To safeguard the placement of the Benefactive relationships and the Locative function of the third argument, the “working” translations of δίδωμι with this usage coordinate “give” and an English verb with the usage of Transference Terminating in a Locative and realize the Theme and Locative complements of δίδωμι as complements of the following verb. This permits “give” to retrieve the semantic content of its null Theme and Goal complements from the Theme and Locative complements of the following verb and to place the appropriate entity into the Benefactive relationship with the action and Theme:

ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ δίδωμι ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν σήμερον εὐλογίαν καὶ κατάραν. (Deut 11:26)

Behold, I give and set [[for you]] before you a blessing and a curse [[which become yours]].

The verb makes Benefactive of the action and Theme either (1) the +animate Locative entity or (2) the +animate Benefactive of the –animate Locative entity. All –animate Locative complements require completion by a +animate Benefactive.

Five realizations occur only with the +animate Locative: P/ἀνὰ μέσον (between), P/διὰ χειρός (in the charge of), P/εἰς (on, among), P/ἐνώπιον (before), and P/ἐπί [+dat] (on). Eight realizations occur only with the –animate Locative: N+dat (on, under), P/ἐπί [+gen] (on), P/κατὰ [+acc] (before), P/παρά (along), P/περί (around), P/πρό (before), and P/ὑπό (under); and the

ἐκεῖ (there) adverb (A/ἐκεῖ). P/έν (in, on) realizes both the +animate and the –animate Locative. The Locative is never definite and null (DNC).

P/ἀνὰ μέσον (4), P/διὰ χειρός (3), P/εἰς (5), P/έν (13), P/ἐνώπιον (7), and P/ἐπί [+dat] (1) realize the +animate Locative:

ἐγὼ δίδωμι ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν σήμερον εὐλογίαν καὶ κατάραν. (Deut 11:26)

I give and set [[for you]] before you today a blessing and a curse [[which become yours]].

N+dat (17), P/έν (50), P/ἐπί [+gen] (10), P/κατά [+acc] (5), P/παρά (1), P/περί (1), P/πρό (7), P/ὑπό (1), and A/ἐκεῖ (5) realize the –animate Locative:

ἵνα δῶ τῇ σῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανον χαρίτων. (Prov 4:9)

That she may give and set [[for you]] on your head a crown of favor [[which may become yours]].

#### 4. DELEGATION TO A GOAL

With the usage of Delegation to a Goal, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, an Event (the complete circumstantial scene of an action or event), and a Goal. The verb, which designates the action of equipping the Goal entity to accomplish the Event, admits to translation by “give” or “delegate,” which occur with a comparable English usage.

The verb makes the consistently +animate Goal entity the Benefactive of the action and Event. The Event is a non-maximal infinitive (to) phrase, that is, an infinitive phrase that does not incorporate its first (subject) complement (V-i). Δίδωμι retrieves its +animate third (Goal) complement as the first complement of the infinitive (V-i3) of the Event. The Benefactive of the action, which accomplishes and so exercises sway over the Event, functions as the Benefactive of the Event.

The Event is realized by V-i3; and the consistently +animate Goal is realized by N+dat (15) or is a definite null complement (2):

δώσει δέ σοι ἀποδοῦναι τὰς εὐχάς. (Job 19:23)

And he will give [[for you]] to you to [[you]] repay the vows.

#### 5. DELEGATION TERMINATING IN A LOCATIVE

With the usage of Delegation Terminating in a Locative, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, an Event, and a Locative. In its one occurrence in the

LXX, the Locative “heart” (καρδία) specifies a +animate human being viewed from the perspective of the capacity to think. The verb makes this +animate Locative entity the Benefactive of the action and Event, and this +animate entity co-instantiates the first complement of the V-i3 Event. Since the Agent and Locative in this occurrence are co-referential, the verb designates an action of self-delegation or self-dedication:

ὅτι Εσδρας ἔδωκεν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ ζητῆσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν ἐν Ἰσραὴλ προστάγματα καὶ κρίματα. (Ezra 7:10)  
 For Ezra delegated [[for Ezra’s heart]] on his heart to [[Ezra’s heart]] inquire of the law and do it and teach [its] commandments and decrees in Israel.

## 6. BENEFACTION

With the usage of Benefaction, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, a Patient (the entity undergoing a change other than locale), and a Benefactive. This is the only usage in which δίδωμι permits this Benefactive to be –animate. Since English has a comparable usage, δίδωμι may be translated by “give.”

N+dat (for, 1 occurrence), P/ἀντί (in exchange for, 3), and P/ὑπέρ (on behalf of, 2) realize the +animate Benefactive:

τίς δώη τὸν θάνατόν μου ἀντὶ σοῦ ἐγὼ ἀντὶ σοῦ Ἀβεσσαλωμ υἱέ μου υἱέ μου; (1 Sam 19:1)  
 Who would give my life [[which would become yours]] instead of you, I instead of you, Absalom, my son, my son?

P/εἰς (for, 1) and P/ὑπέρ (on behalf of, 2) realize the –animate Benefactive:

πᾶν τὸ πλεονάζον ... ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν δώσουσιν εἰς τὰ ἔργα τοῦ οἴκου. (1 Macc 10:41)  
 All the increase [[which will become the works’]] ... from now on they will give for the works of the house.

Most frequently, the Benefactive is a definite null complement (88):

δώσει ἡ γῆ τὰ ἐκφόρια αὐτῆς καὶ φάγεσθε εἰς πλησμονήν. (Lev 25:19)  
 The earth will give [[for you]] its fruit [[which will become yours]] and you will eat to satisfaction.

The indefinite null Benefactive (4) has the interpretation, “someone / something other than the Agent.” Here “at interest” interprets the null Theme as “money:”

μετὰ τόκου ἔδωκε. (Ezek 18:13)

He gave [[for others]] ((money)) [[which became others']] at interest.

## 7. DISPOSITION

With the usage of Disposition, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, a Patient, and an Event. Translation of δίδωμι with this usage is difficult because “give” has no parallel English usage. Like the Greek and English verbs with the usage of Compulsion (an Agent compels a Patient to accomplish an Event), δίδωμι realizes its Event by a non-maximal infinitive phrase and retrieves its +animate second (Patient) complement as the first complement of the infinitive (V-i2). The genitive case article may introduce the infinitive (τοῦ V-i2). Also like Compulsion, Disposition has the interpretation that the Patient entity accomplishes the Event when δίδωμι is not negated. Unlike Compulsion, which attributes the accomplishment of the Event exclusively to the Agent’s action on the Patient, Disposition attributes the accomplishment of the Event both to the Agent’s action of disposing the Patient entity to act in a specific way and to the Benefactive of the Event and Patient exercising sway over the Patient entity to act in this way. The “working” translations coordinate “give” with the usage of Benefaction and “dispose” with the usage of Compulsion and realize the complements of δίδωμι as complements of “dispose.” “Give” then retrieves the content of its null Patient and Benefactive complements from the Patient and Event complements of “dispose.”

The verb makes Benefactive of the Event and Patient either (1) the +animate entity within the Event that is not also licensed by δίδωμι or (2) the +animate Benefactive of the –animate entity within the Event that is not also licensed by δίδωμι.

N+acc realizes the Patient, and either V-i2 (9) or τοῦ V-i2 (8) realizes the Event:

οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν. (Ps 15:10)

And you will not give and dispose [[for corruption]] your holy one [[who will not become corruption’s]] to ((your holy one)) see corruption.

ἔδωκα καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι σοφίαν. (Eccl 1:17)

I gave and disposed [[for wisdom]] my heart [[which became wisdom's]] to ((my heart)) know wisdom.

## 8. TRANSFORMATION

With the usage of Transformation, δίδωμι requires completion by an Agent, a Patient, and a Resultative (the final state of an entity) and admits to completion by a Benefactive adjunct that specifies the entity for which the action is performed. Since “give” does not occur with this usage, the translations coordinate “give” and “make,” the most common English verb with the usage of Transformation. With noun phrase and prepositional phrase realizations of the Resultative, δίδωμι makes the Benefactive of the action the Benefactive of the Resultative. The remaining realizations of the Resultative do not admit to completion by a Benefactive.

The Resultative has four realizations: N+acc; P/εἰς (into); an adjective in the accusative case (Adj+acc); and an adverb, ὡς (like), ὡσεῖ (like), and ὥσπερ (like), plus a following N+acc (A/ὡς N+acc, A/ὡσεῖ N+acc, and A/ὥσπερ N+acc). The Adj+acc may be a participle. The Resultative always is realized. The Patient is N+acc or, with a partitive sense, P/ἐκ (some of). The Benefactive adjunct is realized by N+dat when +animate (18) or –animate (2) or by P/εἰς when –animate (2). The adjunct most frequently is definite and null. When it is indefinite and null, it has the interpretation, “for someone other than the Agent.”

N+acc realizes both the +animate (10) and the –animate (11) Resultative:

δέδωκά σε θεὸν Φαραώ. (Exod 7:1)

I have given and made you a god [[who has become Pharaoh's]] for Pharaoh.

P/εἰς (into) realizes both the +animate (13) and the –animate (34) Resultative:

ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς εἰς βασιλεία ἐπὶ πάντα Ἰσραὴλ. (Neh 13:26)

God gave and made [[for all Israel]] him into a king [[who became all Israel's]] over all Israel.

Adj+acc realizes both the +animate (10) and the –animate (3) Resultative:

ὀλιγοστὸν δέδωκά σε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν. (Obad 2)

I have given and made [[for the nations]] you least among the nations.

The realizations of the adverb plus N+acc Resultative are A/ώς N+acc [+an] (4), A/ώς N+acc [-an] (8), A/ώσεί N+acc [-an] (1), and A/ὥσπερ N+acc [+an] (1):

δώσω τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον ὥσπερ Σηλωμ. (Jer 33:6)

I will give and make [[for the people of Judah, cf. 33:2]] this house like Shiloh.





# The Greek Rendering of Hebrew *Hapax Legomena* in the Book of Qoheleth

Hans Debel and Elke Verbeke\*

**Abstract:** A few years ago, Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn suggested a new ‘content-related’ approach to the study of the translation technique of the Septuagint, which elaborated on the qualitative methodological trail followed by the ‘Finnish school.’ In a pilot-study devoted to the Song of Songs, they demonstrated how one such ‘content-related’ criterion of translation technique, viz. the rendering of *hapax legomena*, could shed new light on the characterisation of a particular translator. Against the background of a research project launched in the wake of this pilot-study, the present paper explores what type of results this criterion yields for LXX Ecclesiastes. A list of *hapaxes* in this book is presented, after which they are classified in different categories. The results are compared with previous characterisations of LXX Ecclesiastes and illustrate some nuances in the application of this criterion to the characterisation of the translation technique of the Septuagint.

## 1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

### 1.1. THE CHARACTERISATION OF LXX ECCLESIASTES

If one is looking for a candidate to load with all the sins of literalism, the book of Qoheleth presents a willing victim, as it is commonplace to count its Greek translation among the most ‘literal’ translations of the Hebrew Bible. Robert Kraft, for example, classified the book in the category of “literal translations reflecting closely the Semitic text,” with “relatively more focus on parent text,” in the subdivision of “mechanical,” where it appeared as the only *Old Greek* on par with Aquila’s version.<sup>1</sup> Actually, older research tends to identify the

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translator of LXX Ecclesiastes with Aquila: Heinrich Graetz is usually credited for having launched the idea,<sup>2</sup> particularly on account of the frequent rendering of תא by σύν.<sup>3</sup> Graetz further theorized that Aquila had, in fact, made two different translations of the book, with the LXX text representing his first edition and the Aquila text transmitted in the third column of the *Hexapla*, a second.<sup>4</sup> His suggestions quickly made their way into influential early twentieth century commentaries,<sup>5</sup> but they were subjected to scrutiny and, in effect, rejected by August Dillmann and Erich Klostermann.<sup>6</sup>

Their objections notwithstanding, the theory of Aquila's two translations of Qoheleth has also been taken into consideration by Dominique Barthélemy in his epoch-making *Devanciers*. He concluded, on the one hand, that the

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1. See Robert A. Kraft, "Septuagint. B: Earliest Greek Versions ('Old Greek')," *IDBS* (1976): 813.

2. It was, however, foreshadowed in the works of Bernard de Montfaucon and Zacharias Frankel, on which, see Emmanuel Podechard, *L'Ecclésiaste* (EtB; Paris: Gabalda, 1912), 201.

3. Cf. H. Graetz, *Kohélet תהלת oder der salomonische Prediger übersetzt und kritisch erläutert* (Leipzig: C.F. Winter'sche Verlagshandlung, 1871), 177: "Zunächst müsste man annehmen, dass der griechische Uebersetzer von Koh., dessen Produkt den LXX einverleibt wurde, Aquila gewesen ist, von dem wir wissen, dass er das תא durch σύν dat accent is ook fout, maar staat het zo in het citaat? wiedergegeven hat." For a concise *Forschungsüberblick* on the supposed authorship of Aquila, see in particular, Peter J. Gentry, "The Relationship of Aquila and Theodotion to the Old Greek of Ecclesiastes in the Marginal Notes of the Syro-Hexapla," *AS* 2 (2004): 63–66, as well as Françoise Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste* (BdA 18; Paris: Cerf, 2002), 26–29, who, however, as noted by Gentry, does not survey all the major contributions to the debate. Nevertheless, it should also be noticed that Gentry's state of the question does not mention Erich Klostermann's dissertation (see below note 6).

4. See Graetz, *Kohélet*, 177–79.

5. E.g., Alan H. McNeile, *An Introduction to Ecclesiastes. With Notes and Appendices* (Cambridge: University Press, 1904), 115–34, and George A. Barton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Ecclesiastes* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1908), 8–11.

6. Cf., respectively, August Dillmann, "Über die griechische Übersetzung des Qoheleth," *SPAW* 11 (1892): 14: "Als Ergebnis dieser Untersuchung stellt sich uns heraus, dass der jetzige LXXText des Eccl. nicht von Aquila, auch nicht in seiner Schule angefertigt ist, sondern auf Revision einer älteren griech. Übersetzung nach Aquila beruht"; and Erich Klostermann, *De libri Coheleth versione Alexandrina* (Kiel: Schmidt & Klaunig, 1892), 52: "quamquam non Aquilae debetur, tamen eius potissimum methodum imitata est, ceteris consulto praetulisse". Be it noted that the position of Dillmann and Klostermann was endorsed by, e.g., Gerrit Wildeboer, "Der Prediger," in *Die fünf Megilloth* (ed. Karl Budde et al.; Freiburg: Mohr Siebeck, 1898), 119–20.

LXX text was indeed the product of young Aquila's earliest literary activities, while arguing, on the other hand, that it seemed unlikely that Aquila should be held responsible for the text transmitted as Aquila's in Origen's *Hexapla*.<sup>7</sup> However, Barthélemy's suggestions were challenged by Kyösti Hyvärinen and John Jarick.<sup>8</sup> Likewise departing from Barthélemy's conclusions, a recent study of ten marginal notes in the *Syro-Hexapla* has led Peter Gentry to argue that the LXX text stands closer to Theodotion than to Aquila.<sup>9</sup> In the introduction to his NETS translation, he asserts that "the character of the translation reveals that in fact some patterns are identical to those considered classical Aquila, while others are not clearly Aquila," and evaluates the translator's identity as "uncertain and undetermined."<sup>10</sup> Writing in the same vein, Jennifer Dines summarised research on the topic as deeming direct authorship of Aquila unlikely and attributing the translation, rather, to "an earlier translator in the same line."<sup>11</sup>

Be that as it may, Yun Yeong Yi has recently undertaken a thorough investigation of the translation technique of Greek Ecclesiastes in his 2005 Southern Baptist Theological Seminary dissertation supervised by Gentry.<sup>12</sup> On the basis of an in-depth analysis of many syntax-related criteria and of a wealth of statistical evidence that enables a comparison of LXX Ecclesiastes to other books, Yi puts into perspective the traditional characterisation of this translator by calling him literal but not mechanical, as he sometimes employs functional rather than formal equivalences, and at certain points opts for variations that break an otherwise consistent pattern.<sup>13</sup> In like manner,

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7. See Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila. Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophète* (SVT 10; Leiden, Brill, 1963), esp. 22 and 33.

8. Resp. in Kyösti Hyvärinen, *Die Übersetzung von Aquila* (CB OT 10; Uppsala: Almqvist und Wiksell, 1977), 98–99 and John Jarick, "Aquila's *Koheleth*," *Textus* 15 (1990): 131–39.

9. See Gentry, "Relationship," 83; comp. his "Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three: The Priority of a New Critical Edition of Hexaplaric Fragments," *AS* 2 (2004): 171: "OG Ecclesiastes is closer to the *kaíe* tradition than to Aquila."

10. See Peter J. Gentry, "Ecclesiast. To the Reader," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright; Oxford: University Press, 2008), 648.

11. See her *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 20, 88.

12. Now published as Yun Yeong Yi, *The Greek Ecclesiastes: Translation Technique and Identity* (Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag, 2009). However, this book did not reach us in time in order to take it into account in our investigation, which is therefore still based on the copy of the original dissertation acquired through ProQuest/UMI Dissertation Services.

13. See Yun Yeong Yi, *Translation Technique of the Greek Ecclesiastes* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, promoted by Prof. Dr. P. J. Gentry; Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, KY, 2005), 414.

Gentry recently noted: "Although the translator of Ecclesiastes rigorously pursues a program of formal correspondence to the parent text, he is not entirely mechanical and is concerned for contextually sensitive translation."<sup>14</sup> Thus, recent research reveals that there is a greater depth to the translator of LXX Ecclesiastes than his traditional portrayal as a hyper-literalist.

#### 1.2. A NEW APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE: 'CONTENT-RELATED' CRITERIA

In line with these subtle modifications in the scholarly appreciation of the translator of LXX Ecclesiastes, the present paper investigates the problem from a different angle. A thorough reading of Yi's dissertation certainly reveals its great value for the characterisation of this translator, but one simultaneously cannot avoid the impression that his analysis has approached translation technique from a somewhat one-sided interest in grammatical phenomena. As such, one could say that Yi mainly proceeded along the lines set out by the 'qualitative,' 'syntax-related' approach of the 'Finnish school.'<sup>15</sup> It is well known that, in recent years, an alternative 'qualitative' but 'content-related' approach to translation technique has been developed, aiming to complement the other approaches rather than substituting them.<sup>16</sup> The initial impetus to this line of research was given by Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn during the 2006 specialist symposium on modern LXX translations in Leuven, where they presented a study of the Greek rendering of *hapax legomena* in Song of Songs that slightly altered the picture of this translator.<sup>17</sup> In the ensuing years,

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14. Peter J. Gentry, "Special Problems in the Septuagint Text History of Ecclesiastes," in *XIII Congress of the IOSCS: Ljubljana, 2007* (ed. Melvin K.H. Peters; SBL SCS 55; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 151.

15. Comp. the survey of research into translation technique by Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. Raija Sol-lamo and Seppo Sipilä; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82; Helsinki, Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), who basically observed a bifurcation between a 'quantitative' and a 'qualitative' approach.

16. See the seminal essay by Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Content-Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus et al.; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), as well as the introductory sections in Hans Ausloos, "The Septuagint's Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena and the Characterization of Its 'Translation Technique': The Case of Exodus," *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 20 (2009): 360–62, noting a number of important caveats in order not to misunderstand the aims of this approach.

17. Published as "Rendering Love. Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the

Ausloos and Lemmelijn have explored other avenues of a 'content-related' study of translation technique, particularly jargon-defined vocabulary and word-play,<sup>18</sup> and more specifically, the rendering of proper names and toponyms.<sup>19</sup> However, the study of the Greek rendering of *hapax legomena* has remained one of the main interests of the Louvain *Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism*, where a research project on the subject is currently being conducted.<sup>20</sup>

Against the backdrop of this project, the present study will investigate the rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena* in LXX Ecclesiastes. It is important to note that this presentation cannot provide an exhaustive commentary on the meaning and interpretation of each of these Hebrew words. Rather, it will concisely highlight the alleged choices made by the LXX translator. In fact, the purpose of the following analysis is twofold. First, this paper aims to compare

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Translation Technique of Song of Songs," in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (ed. Hans Ausloos et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008).

18. On which see, respectively, Bénédicte 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; JSJS 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), and Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn and Valérie Kabergs, "The Study of Aetiological Wordplay as a Content-Related Criterion in the Characterisation of LXX Translation Technique," in *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte* (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer, Martin Meiser and Marcus Sigismund; WUNT 286; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

19. See particularly Hans Ausloos, "LXX's Rendering of Hebrew Proper Names and the Characterisation of Translation Technique of the Book of Judges," in *Scripture in Transition. Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJS 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), and Hans Ausloos, "The Septuagint's Rendering of Hebrew Toponyms as an Indication for the Translation Technique of the Book of Numbers," in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense* (ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales; SJSJ 157; Leiden: Brill, 2012).

20. This project (2008–2011), entitled *Once-Only Hebrew and Unique Greek: The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena as a Significant Indication within the Characterisation of the Septuagint's Translation Technique* is funded by the Research Foundation–Flanders (FWO-V) (promoter: B. Lemmelijn; co-promoter: H. Ausloos). Some of the results of this research project have already been published or will soon appear in print. In addition to the works cited in notes 20 and 24, see particularly the essays by Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Characterizing the LXX Translation of Judges on the Basis of Content-Related Criteria: The Greek Rendering of Hebrew Absolute Hapax Legomena in Judg 3,12–30," in *After Qumran: Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts. The Historical Books* (ed. Hans Ausloos et al.; BETL 246; Leuven: Peeters, 2012), as well as, in this volume, Hans Ausloos, "Hapax Legomena, the Septuagint and Hebrew Lexicography."

the results of this particular, content-related perspective on translation technique with previous characterisations of the translator in question. Secondly, it hopes to further explore both the usefulness and the potential difficulties of the application of this criterion to the study of the translation technique of the Septuagint. However, to start, a number of preliminary remarks on methodology should be formulated.

### 1.3. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE IDENTIFICATION AND COLLECTION OF HEBREW *HAPAX LEGOMENA*

To begin with, an unambiguous working definition of the concept '*hapax legomenon*' is needed.<sup>21</sup> A literal translation of the Greek notion ἅπαξ λεγόμενον ("once said") gives us a clue as to how to define the concept, namely, as a unique word. A closer look at the notion, however, immediately makes clear that much more needs to be said.<sup>22</sup> This is due to the fact that *hapax legomena* do not "constitute a true class of words."<sup>23</sup> Words, indeed, do not have the objective, formal and universal characteristic of being a *hapax*, as opposed to their qualities of being a verb or a feminine noun for instance. It is a rather artificially composed group of words that thereby fits in well with the ultimate goal of the present study: the study of the Greek renderings of rare or difficult Hebrew words in order to discover more about the translation technique of the LXX translator of a specific book. One way to delineate this group of generally 'rare' words is by choosing for this artificial group the term *hapax*

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21. For a more detailed study of the concept and methodology, 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 et al.; BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 507–21.

22. Note that the Greek is often—incorrectly—translated as "once read" instead of "once said."

23. John Huehnergard, Review of Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew*, *BASOR* 264 (1986): 88–90. See also Joshua Whatmough, *Poetic, Scientific and Other Forms of Discourse. A New Approach to Greek and Latin Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 42: "theoretically, a word once used may always be used again, and so pass from the class of words used once to that of words used twice, or three times, or any very low number of times. Hence, the entire notion of the *hapax legomenon* is something of a mirage, and unless there is some special feature in a series of such supposed once-words, any given specimen is not really worthy of notice; it is a mere accident." (emphasis ours). Furthermore, see Poulheria Kyriakou, *Homeric Hapax Legomena in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius. A Literary Study* (Palingenesia. Monographien und Texte zur Klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 54; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), 1–2, comparing the formulation of a definition to "cutting a Gordian knot."

*legomena*.<sup>24</sup> As such, the study of *hapaxes* as a class of words in itself is not the aim of our study, but only the practical means by which we will observe the options taken by the translator confronted with such a potentially difficult semantic situation. On this basis, we will then try to re-evaluate the characterisation of the translation technique of the book, *in casu* Ecclesiastes.

In the present contribution, we mainly base ourselves on the study of the concept by Immanuel M. Casanowicz,<sup>25</sup> who was the first to make the useful distinction between absolute and non-absolute *hapax legomena*, and by Frederick E. Greenspahn, who was the first—and only one—to publish a complete list of all *hapax legomena* of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>26</sup> Casanowicz's distinction between absolute *hapax legomena* as true unique words and non-absolute *hapaxes* as words that stem from a more common root is a very useful criterion, but it should be noted that we will deal with both groups without distinction.<sup>27</sup> Following Greenspahn, we have indeed excluded all proper names and we accept a strict quantitative interpretation of unique occurrence.<sup>28</sup>

Furthermore, our collection of *hapax legomena* in the book of Qoheleth, presented *infra*, is not solely based on Greenspahn's exhaustive list. Rather, it is a collection of all *hapaxes* mentioned by Casanowicz or Greenspahn and supplemented with data from Gerhard Lisowsky's concordance and the Bible Works 7.0 Word List Manager.<sup>29</sup> With regard to Lisowsky's concordance, we

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24. This, unfortunately, leaves open the possibility that words that might have caused no problem to the translator are treated, while other difficult words, not being *hapaxes* are not included in the group under scrutiny. However, this can only be detected after an in-depth investigation.

25. I. M. Casanowicz, "Hapax legomena. Biblical Data," *JE* 6 (1904): 226–28. Note that, although Casanowicz presents the distinction between absolute and non-absolute *hapaxes*, he only presents a full list of absolute *hapaxes* of the Hebrew Bible.

26. See Frederick E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew: A Study of the Phenomenon and Its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* (SBLDS, 74; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984).

27. This is due to several reasons, one of them being the difficulty to ascertain that a word is an absolute or a non-absolute *hapax*.

28. This strict quantitative interpretation thus stands in opposition to the inclusive quantitative approach in which words that occur several times, but (1) only within one book; or (2) within the same context (i.e. verbatim expressions); or (3) within one paragraph are considered as *hapaxes*. See, for instance, (1) Christian Wagner, *Die Septuaginta-Hapaxlegomena im Buch Jesus Sirach: Untersuchungen zu Wortwahl und Wortbildung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des textkritischen und übersetzungstechnischen Aspekts* (BZAW 282; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999), 86; Yair Zakovitch, *Das Hohelied* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2004), 64; (2) Eduardo Zurro, "Siete hápax en el libro del Génesis," *EstB* 51 (1993): 122; (3) L. G. Zelson, "Les Hapax legomena du Pentateuque hébraïque," *RB* 36 (1927): 244.

29. Casanowicz, "Hapax Legomena," 183–98; Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Bib-*

collected all words, occurring in one single biblical passage. Based on Bible Works, we selected all words that have a single occurrence in the program.<sup>30</sup> Every word occurring in at least one of these four instances has been recorded, which resulted in the following complete list of 29 absolute and non-absolute hapaxes.

1:15	חֶסְרוֹן	10:6	סָכַל	12:3	טַחְנוֹת
1:17	שְׂכָלוֹת	10:8	גּוֹמֵץ	12:4	טַחְנָה
2:2	מְהוֹלָל	10:13	הוֹלִלוֹת	12:5	אֲבִיוֹנָה
2:25	חוּשׁ	10:17	שְׁתִּי	12:5	חֲתַחַת
5:10	רְאוּת	10:18	דֹּלֶף	12:9	אֶזֶן
6:10	תִּקְרִיף	10:18	מְקַרָּה	12:11	אֶסְפָּה
8:1	פֶּשֶׁר	10:18	עֲצָלָתִים	12:11	מְשֻׁמְרָה
9:1	בוֹר	10:18	שְׁפָלוֹת	12:12	יְגִיעָה
9:1	עֶבֶד	11:10	שְׁחָרוֹת	12:12	לְהֵג
9:11	מְרוֹץ	12:3	בַּטֹּל		

A few notes regarding these *hapaxes* in the book of Qoheleth should be made, however. Firstly, the unique conjugation of a well-known verb can never be classified as a *hapax*. For that reason we have excluded מְהוֹלָל in 2:2.<sup>31</sup> Secondly, we base ourselves on MT, thus on the vocalised text. This means that words like הוֹלִלוֹת (10:13), סָכַל (10:6), and אֶזֶן (12:9) have been included. We are, however, well aware of the fact that unvocalised, these words would not vary from their more common homographs or spelling variants. And

*lical Hebrew*, 183–98; Gerhard Lisowsky, *Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament* (Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1958).

30. Note that this depends on the tagging of the words in the program. We conducted the search on Westminster Hebrew OT Morphology (WTM), so with morphological tagging.

31. Although Lisowsky has מְהוֹלָל as a separate entry, we consider this form as a participle *poal* of the verb הָלַל, which also occurs in Qoh 7:7 and is there rendered περιφέρω. See Antoon Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth. Part II: Vocabulary* (OLA 143; Leuven: Peeters–Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004), 355. Note that the three others—Bible Works, Casanowicz and Greenspahn—do not list it as a *hapax*.



finally, Hebrew *hapaxes* that are quite common in the Aramaic portions of the Hebrew Bible, as is the case for בָּטַל in 12:3, were likewise excluded.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. A STUDY OF THE GREEK RENDERINGS OF *HAPAX LEGOMENA* IN THE BOOK OF QOHELETH

### 2.1. CONSISTENT RENDERING

For our first category, we do not choose to use the terminology ‘stereotyped rendering,’<sup>33</sup> nor ‘stereotyped equivalency,’<sup>34</sup> because this frequently bears the connotation of a strict one-to-one equivalency in which one Hebrew word is always rendered by the same Greek equivalent. The designation ‘consistency,’ indeed, is less strict and would thus fit better in this regard. It still refers to one Hebrew word which in several or even in most cases is translated with the same Greek equivalent.<sup>35</sup> Evidently, in the context of *hapaxes* it does not make sense to speak of consistency in this way, as the word in question occurs only once. However, in the case of non-absolute *hapaxes*, a special kind of consistency may occur, which tries to render words considered to be derived from a common root in such a way that reflects their alleged shared origin.<sup>36</sup> As such, ‘consistent rendering’ as defined in this study—which, to a certain extent, deviates from the term’s common use in LXX studies—refers to a rendering in which the translator recognized the *hapax* as a unique derivation of a more common root and based himself on this common rendering in order

32. According to Greenspahn’s criteria, בָּטַל clearly is a *hapax* since it occurs only once in the texts of the Hebrew Bible, although it is known from the Aramaic portions of the book of Ezra (4:21, 23, 24; 5:5; 6:8).

33. See, e.g., Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of LXX Words,” *RB* 83 (1976): 533.

34. See, e.g., Galen Marquis, “Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique as Exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel,” in *VI Congress of the IOSCS. Jerusalem 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 409.

35. Or as defined by Marquis, “Consistency,” 406: “Consistency is the degree to which a word in the source text is translated by one word in the translation (lexical equivalent), relative to the total number of occurrences of the word in the source text.” See also Albert Pietersma, “A New English Translation of the Septuagint,” in *IX Congress of the IOSCS: Cambridge, 1995* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 185: “the term stereotype is widely used in our literature to describe a rigid or wooden equating of, say, a Hebrew root with a Greek root in most of its occurrences.”

36. For an overview of terminology, see Staffan Olofsson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ConBOT 30; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 16–19, as well as his “Consistency as a Translation Technique,” *SJOT* 6 (1992): 14–30.

to provide a consistent translation of the *hapax*. Within the book of Qoheleth, this represents the largest category.

**1:15.** חָסֵר—ὕστερημα: This is indeed a *hapax*, but it seems to stem from the more common root חסר, ‘to lack.’<sup>37</sup> In the book of Qoheleth, this root occurs in 4:8 and 9:8 where it is rendered, respectively, by στερίσκω and ὑστερέω. The adjective derived from this root occurs in Qoh 6:2 and 10:3, where LXX reads a form of ὑστερέω in both cases.<sup>38</sup> In 1:15, the translator clearly recognized the word as related to חסר and translated it, accordingly, as ὑστερημα, ‘deficiency, need.’

**5:10.** רָאָה/רָאָה—ὁράω: Since both forms are *hapaxes*, related to the same common root ראה, we can ignore the *ketiv-qere* discussion here.<sup>39</sup> The translator clearly linked the *hapax* to this root in translating it with the verb ὁράω, which is the most common equivalent of ראה.<sup>40</sup>

**6:10.** תִּקְיָה—ισχυρός: This non-absolute *hapax* is believed to be a unique adjective that comes from the root תקי, ‘to overpower.’ It also occurs in Qoh 4:12, where it is rendered with a form of ἐπικραταιώω. In the book of Daniel, several forms that stem from the root תקי occur and are rendered ισχύω (Dan θ’ 4:8) and ισχύς (Dan LXX 4:27; 7:7). In this case, too, the translator recognized it as a similarly derived form and rendered it into ισχυρός, ‘strong.’

**9:1.** עָבַד—ἐργάζομαι: According to Schoors this noun stems from the root עבד and would represent an Aramaism.<sup>41</sup> Ἐργάζομαι is one of the many—though not the most commonly used—equivalents that occur for עבד. The translator seems not to have experienced any problems in understanding this *hapax*.<sup>42</sup>

37. Note that, according to Choon-Leung Seow, *Ecclesiastes* (AB 18C; New York: Doubleday, 1997), 122–23, this noun is a *hapax*, but the similar-looking *hissārôn* also occurs in post-biblical Hebrew.

38. Only 4:8 with στερίσκω is an exception here.

39. Antoon Schoors, *The Preacher Sought to Find Pleasing Words: A Study of the Language of Qoheleth. Part I: Grammar* (OLA 41; Leuven: Peeters–Departement Oosterse Studies, 1992), 35. See also Yohanan A. P. Goldman, “Qoheleth. Commentaries on the Critical Apparatus,” in *Biblia Hebraica Quinta, Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth* (ed. Adrian Schenker et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), 84\*, for this discussion.

40. Edwin Hatch & Henry Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament*, Graz, Akademische Druck-U. Verlagsanstalt, 1954 (HR).

41. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 455.

42. Cf. Vinet, *L’Ecclésiaste*, 155: “le substantif hébraïque, quoiqu’il constitue un *hapax* ([...]), nous renvoie au champ sémantique bien connu du travail et de la servitude, *ergázesthai*...”

**9:11.** מְרוֹץ—δρόμος: Although מְרוֹץ is a *hapax*, it is clearly derived from the more common מְרוּצָה, which is always translated with δρόμος.<sup>43</sup> The translator has rendered the *hapax* in the same way. Perhaps the final ה- was only lost by accident in this “unique form.”<sup>44</sup>

**10:13.** הוֹלִלּוֹת—περιφέρεια: In Qoh 1:17; 2:12; 7:25 and 9:3, the word occurs as הוֹלִלּוֹת, while in Qoh 10:13 it is vocalised הוֹלִלּוֹת. The translator had no problem in rendering this word, since it is only a *hapax* in its vocalised form. Qoh 1:17 is rendered into παραβολή, while Qoh 2:12 and 7:25 have περιφορά, and 9:3 and 10:13 the closely related περιφέρεια.<sup>45</sup>

**10:18.** דָּלַךְ—στάζω: It is uncertain whether דָּלַךְ is a *hapax*. Lauha has indeed stated that דָּלַךְ in the meaning ‘to drip, leak’ is a *hapax*, but this assumption is questionable.<sup>46</sup> Several dictionaries consider the appearance of the verb דָּלַךְ in Job 16:20 and Ps 119:28 as derived from the same root and as such understand it as a polysemous verb.<sup>47</sup> The translator rendered all three occurrences with the same equivalent: στάζω.<sup>48</sup>

**10:18.** עֲצִלָּתִים—ὀκνηρία: The *hapax* is sometimes understood as the feminine dual form of עֲצִל, and Schoors believes that the Greek rendering ὀκνηρία is “undoubtedly reflects the dual of the MT.”<sup>49</sup> The Greek rendering ὀκνηρία is a LXX *hapax*,<sup>50</sup> but in the book of Proverbs the similar-looking ὀκνηρός is used no less than twelve times: nine times as the equivalent of עֲצִל and once as the equivalent of עֲצִלּוֹת.<sup>51</sup> In translating it with ὀκνηρία, the translator of LXX Ecclesiastes probably opted for a consistent rendering vis-à-vis the translations of עֲצִל and עֲצִלּוֹת in the book of Proverbs.

**12:3.** טַחְנוֹת and **12:4.** טַחְנָה—ἀλήθω: Both words are only *hapaxes* in their grammatical forms. They are derived from the verb טַחַן, which has the following equivalents: ἀλέω (Isa 47:2), ἀλήθω (Num 11:8; Judg 16:21) and

43. See, e.g., Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 465. It is attested in 2 Sam 18:27 (twice); Jer 8:6; 23:10.

44. Thus Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 69.

45. Note that περιφέρεια in the whole of LXX only occurs in these two passages, while περιφορά is used once more, in Qoh 2:2, as the equivalent of the participle מְהוֹלֵל.

46. See Aarre Lauha, *Kohelet* (BK 19; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1978), 197.

47. Comp. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 379 n. 657.

48. Note that HR has a form of νυστάζω for Ps 119:28.

49. Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 70–71. For other interpretations of this *hapax*, see Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 165; Michael V. Fox, *A Time to Tear Down and a Time to Build Up: A Rereading of Ecclesiastes* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 309; Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 331.

50. Note that σ' and θ' also read ὀκνηρία in Prov 19:15. For Qoh 10:18, no θ' is preserved. See Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 164.

51. The two other occurrences are a plus (Prov 11:16) and a ‘free’ translation (18:8).

καταλέω (Exod 32:20), all meaning ‘to grind.’<sup>52</sup> The translator, in rendering the *hapaxes* into two participles of ἀλήθω, seems not to have experienced any problems with them.

**12:11.** חֲסִיָּה—σύναγμα: This *hapax* stems from the root חסא. Qoh 12:11 has the only attestation of the Greek σύναγμα, but the verb συνάγω from which the word is derived, is used very frequently to render the verb חסא.<sup>53</sup> In the book of Qoheleth, however, συνάγω is normally the equivalent of כָּנַף.<sup>54</sup>

**12:11.** מְשִׁמֵּר—ἥλος: This word most likely only reflects an alternative spelling of the well-known מסמר.<sup>55</sup> The translator also understood it that way, probably because the interchange of ש and ס was rather common in later Hebrew.<sup>56</sup> He, indeed, in rendering it ἥλος, used the same equivalent as is the case for מסמר in Isa 41:7; Jer 10:4; 1 Chron 22:3 and 2 Chron 3:9.

**12:12.** יָגַע—κόπωσις: This non-absolute *hapax* is derived from the root יגע. Schoors notes that יָגַעִים (1:8) and יָגַעְנָהּ (10:15) are derived from the same root.<sup>57</sup> Both are rendered, respectively, ἔγκοπος and κοπώ.<sup>58</sup> Qoh 12:12 is the only instance cited in LSJ for κόπωσις, but given the link between the three Hebrew words in 1:8; 10:15 and 12:12, as well as the etymological relationship between the three Greek renderings, we can conclude that the translator rendered the *hapax* according to the root from which it is derived.<sup>59</sup>

## 2.2. ESTABLISHING A LINK WITH A SIMILAR-LOOKING WORD

Next to the above mentioned non-absolute *hapaxes* in which the translator has sought for a solution in analogy with the rendering of words derived from a similar root, there are also cases in which the translator seems to have interpreted the Hebrew as a form of a—often more common—Hebrew word that

52. The occurrence in Job 31:10 has no exact equivalent, and the one in Isa 3:15 has κατασχύνω, which is a completely different rendering than the ones mentioned above.

53. Cf., for instance, only the passages in the book of Genesis where συνάγω is used to translate חסא: Gen 6:21; 29:3.7.8.22; 34:30; 49:1.

54. See Qoh 2:8.26; 3:5. In Qoh 2:26, however, חסא is rendered into προστίθημι.

55. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 398, and Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 387.

56. See Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 19–20, discussing the interchange of ש and ס, which he has also observed in other, mostly late biblical books, in the Dead Sea Scrolls, in some letters of Bar Kokhba, in Mishnaic Hebrew and in biblical Aramaic, and on which he concludes: “This interchange between *sin* and *samekh* is not phonemic, probably not even phonetic, but merely orthographic.” See also Qoh 1:17 *infra*.

57. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 310, 462.

58. Qoh 1:8 has the only occurrence of ἔγκοπος as a translation in LXX. However, it is also attested in Jdt 13:1. Κοπώ occurs in Isa 43:23 as an equivalent of עָיָה.

59. See also Vinet, *L’Ecclesiaste*, 173.

looks very similar. To a certain extent, these can also be considered cases of 'consistent' rendering, but as they seem to make up a special kind of 'consistent' rendering, we have decided to treat them separately.

1:17. שְׁכָלוֹת—ἐπιστήμη: According to Schoors, this is a spelling variant of the frequently used סְכָלוֹת, 'folly.'<sup>60</sup> Seow, on the other hand, believes it to be a deliberate pun. He thinks the author used a homonym with the opposite meaning 'prudence' in order to make clear the irony of the verse.<sup>61</sup> The LXX translation, however, seems to reflect the root שָׁכַל (Neh 8:8; Job 34:35; Jer 3:15) in translating it with ἐπιστήμη. If the translator had read סְכָלוֹת, he probably would have used ἀφροσύνη.

2:25. חוֹשׁ—φείσομαι: In this verse, which is "a real *crux interpretum*,"<sup>62</sup> many modern translators opt for 'who can have enjoyment' (וּמִי יְחִוֵּשׁ), which is based on the meaning of a similar root in Rabbinic Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic and Akkadian. However, according to Schoors, this interpretation should no longer be accepted.<sup>63</sup> Others have 'to hasten,' which is also the interpretation of medieval Jewish commentators. However, the debate was, still according to Schoors, settled by Ellermeier, who proposed the meaning 'worry.'<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, it should be noted that Rahlfs' choice for φείσεται is disputed, and that a number of scholars prefer the reading πίεται. If the translator opted for φείσεται, then he seems to have read חוֹשׁ as חוֹס. If his rendering was originally πίεται, as argued by Gentry,<sup>65</sup> then this may be an example of contextual exegesis based on the parallelism with the preceding verb יֵאָכֵל.

9:1. בּוֹר—καρδία: Schoors argues that לְבוֹר is the infinitive of בָּרַר, which also occurs in Qoh 3:18.<sup>66</sup> The conviction that this word constitutes a *hapax* is based, however, on the assumption that we have here a unique occurrence of

60. Cf. Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 19: "The Hebrew root שָׁכַל has rather the opposite meaning 'be prudent,' so that שְׁכָלוֹת is not only an unusual but also an equivocal form. But the context undoubtedly requires the meaning 'folly.'" See also Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 194. Comp. 12:11 מִשְׁמֶרֶת *supra*.

61. Cf. Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 125: "The likeness of *śiklūt* 'prudence' and *siklūt* 'folly' is not accidental, however, since Qohelet could have used the more common noun *śēkel/śekel* instead. Qohelet probably intends the ambiguity, and not a little irony, in his choice of *śiklūt*, a homonym for *siklūt* 'folly'."

62. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 384.

63. Thus *ibid.*, 385.

64. See Friedrich Ellermeier, "Das Verbum חוֹשׁ in Koh 2,25: Eine exegetische, auslegungsgeschichtliche und semasiologische Untersuchung," *ZAW* 75 (1963): 197–217.

65. See Gentry, "Propaedeutical," 170.

66. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 354. Goldman, "Qoheleth," 102\*–3\*, notes that this is a "unique יָעַר variation of בָּרַר introduced with a somewhat rare syntactic form."

the verb בור, in contradistinction to the root ברר in 3:18.<sup>67</sup> Schoors and Seow point out that MT has the *lectio difficilior* in 9:1.<sup>68</sup> As such, some suggest that the LXX reading καὶ καρδία μου σὺν πᾶν εἶδεν τοῦτο would be the result of a corrupt *Vorlage* or of “an interpretative translation of the difficult Hebrew text.”<sup>69</sup> This *Vorlage* would then have read זה כל את ראה ולבי instead of ולבור את-כל-זה, so that the *hapax* disappears and καρδία serves as the stereotyped rendering of לב.<sup>70</sup> Vinel, on the other hand, explicitly states that the Greek must be the result of a bad division of the words in this verse.<sup>71</sup>

**10:6.** סָכָל—ἄφρων: In the unvocalised text, the translator probably understood the word as the more common noun סָכָל, which occurs five times in the book of Qoheleth and is often rendered as ἄφρων.<sup>72</sup> Schoors also suggests the possibility that the versions “may have appreciated the *abstractum pro concreto* correctly, meaning that they translate the *hapax* סָכָל, ‘folly’ as the concrete סָכָל, ‘fool.’”<sup>73</sup> If that is true, then this is a case of consistent rendering instead of confusion with a similar-looking word.

**10:17.** שְׁתִּי—αἰσχύνω: The rendering αἰσχύνω could be explained as reflecting the root בושׁ—MT has בִּשְׁתִּי—of which it is a common rendering, although it remains unclear why the translator opted for a third plural. However, as וְשָׂרִיד (subject of יֵאָכְלוּ) in the preceding part of the verse is a plural, the translator could have chosen the plural on account of it.

**11:10.** שְׁחֲרוּת—ἄνοια: It is not entirely clear how the translator interpreted this word. It might be a case of a ‘consistent’ rendering, as Seow believes, that the translator saw a relationship with the verb שָׁחַר, ‘to seek,’ which is used in Prov 1:28 and 8:17 for the search for wisdom. Hence, the translator would have interpreted the noun as denoting a lack of wisdom or knowledge,

67. However, Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 354, notes that Zorell's *Lexicon Hebraicum Veteris Testamenti* considers Qoh 3:18 as a form of בור as well.

68. See Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 27, and Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 297.

69. Schoors, *The Preacher I*, 27–28.

70. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 354, as well as Fox, *A Time to Tear Down*, 290. Goldman, “Qoheleth,” 103, does not support this explanation. Note that MT has לב preceding the *hapax* and that LXX, as such, has καρδία twice.

71. Cf. Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 33: ‘le grec répète *kardía*, sans doute à cause d'une séparation incorrect entre les mots.’

72. Qoh 2:19; 10:3, and 10:14 have ἄφρων, while the second occurrence in 10:3 is rendered ἀποσύνῃ, and 7:17 has, surprisingly, σκληρός as equivalent. Note that ἄφρων is also this translator's standard equivalent for the far more frequently used כָּסִיל. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 193; Vinel, *L'Ecclésiaste*, 162.

73. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 195. See also Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 314. Note that Schoors interprets this as an indication that “the translator was not simply mirroring the Hebrew, as he is often supposed to, and was at least thinking about what he was doing.”

and translated, accordingly, ἄνοια.<sup>74</sup> The Greek rendering ἄνοια occurs twice in Proverbs as the equivalent of אֵלֶּלֶת. Most likely, this is an example of the way in which the translator has tried to make sense of a word which he did not understand by basing himself on the context. Schoors points out that the noun should have a similar meaning to that of the preceding יָלִידוֹת.<sup>75</sup>

**12:9.** וְאִזְ—οὐς: The translator read וְאִזְ, ‘ear,’ which also occurs in Qoh 1:8. He probably did not consider it to be a verb form, since one would then expect a form of ἀκούω (or its derivatives εἰσακούω and ἐπακούω). Apparently, he tried to make sense of it by omitting the ו prefixed to the following verb form and seems to have been unaware of a root וְאִזְ that means ‘to ponder,’ thus translating this verb form into οὐς.

**12:12.** לִהְיֶה—μελέτη: It is difficult to decide whether this is a case of ‘consistent’ rendering or rather of confusion with a similar-looking word. Schoors notes that the Hebrew is highly disputed and that its translation as ‘study’ is already attested in LXX and Vulgate, whereas Syr has a word meaning ‘speech, eloquence.’<sup>76</sup> Thus, it would seem that LXX is one—if not the main—pillar on which our understanding of this Hebrew word relies. If we, indeed, base ourselves on LXX, the rendering μελέτη makes clear that the translator tried to provide a rendering consistent with the rendering of the similar-looking הִגָּה (Job 37:2), הִגִּיז (Ps 19[18]:14; Lam 3:62), הִגְוֹת (Ps 49[48]:3), and הִגִּיז (Ps 39[38]:3).<sup>77</sup> All these words, with the exception of הִגִּיז, are derived from the root הִגָּה, whereas there is no certainty on whether or not there is a link with לִהְיֶה. We can conclude that the translator did understand the *hapax* as a derivation of הִגָּה and tried to render it ‘consistently.’

74. Thus Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 350–51. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 468, believes that the *hapax* is related to שָׁחַר, ‘dawn,’ or שָׁחֹר, ‘black.’ He prefers the link with שָׁחֹר, ‘black’ “for the noun שִׁיבָה, ‘old age,’ is also derived from a root meaning ‘hoary.’ And in MH, שְׁחֹרִי הָרֹאשׁ, ‘the black-headed’ is sometimes used as the opposite of בְּעָלִי הַשִּׁיבּוֹת, ‘the grey-haired.’ Seow, however, notes that the translator clearly did not consider ‘blackness’ to be appropriate here, but also that “it is difficult to believe that the audience would not have connected the word with dawn” (351). For another interpretation of this *hapax*, see Fox, *A Time to Tear Down*, 319.

75. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 468. Cf. Vinel, *L’Ecclésiaste*, 168: “Sans doute le choix de *ánoia* est-il suggéré, devant un mot inconnu, par la proximité de *mataiôtēs* et par ce qui a été dit de la jeunesse au verset précédent.”

76. Thus Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 463.

77. The verb μελετάω is used as the equivalent of הִגָּה in Josh 1:8; Job 27:4; several times in the Psalms; in Prov 8:7; 15:28; 24:2; and in six instances in the book of Isaiah (HR). See also Vinel, *L’Ecclésiaste*, 172–73.

## 2.3. CONTEXTUAL EXEGESIS

In some cases it seems as if the translator did not understand the *hapax*, did not see any link with another, more common root, and could not make any sense of the Hebrew by slightly adapting the text. In such an instance, his last resort was contextual exegesis, if he wished not to leave out the passage, nor transliterate the *hapax*. This seems not to have happened too often to the translator of Qoheleth. This is, however, not so surprising since the book has a rather low number of *hapaxes* and quite a number of them are easily related to their own or another related root. Clearly in one, 12:5, and probably in four passages altogether, the translator uses the context of the *hapax* in order to interpret the unknown word.<sup>78</sup>

**10:18.** שְׁפִלּוֹת—ἀργεία: This seems a clear derivation from the root שָׁכַל. Probably the translator understood the *hapax* without any problem. On the other hand, the Greek rendering ἀργεία does not occur as the equivalent of other words derived from שָׁכַל, nor does the verb ἀργέω (Muraoka: ‘to neglect work, to be at a standstill, to rest from work’), which does occur in Qoh 12:3 as the equivalent of בָּטַל, cf. *infra*. As such, it seems to be a contextual rendering, based on the parallelism.

**12:5.** חֲתָתָה—θάμβος: According to Schoors, the noun “derives from חָתַת, ‘be shattered, be terrified.’ In the first hemistich the verb יָרָא occurs, and the meaning of the parallel חֲתָתָה can only be ‘terror.’”<sup>79</sup> The use of θάμβος seems to be a contextual rendering based on the previous part of the verse.

## 2.4. THE MEANING OF THE GREEK IS UNCLEAR

In some cases the meaning of the Greek is unclear to such an extent that it is hard to decide whether it actually presents an adequate rendering of the Hebrew.

**10:18.** מְקָרָה—δόκωσις: This *hapax* is, according to Schoors,<sup>80</sup> related to קוּרָה, a noun appearing in Gen 19:8; 2 Kgs 6:2, 5; 2 Chron 3:7 and Song 1:17, which means ‘timberwork,’ or ‘beam.’<sup>81</sup> According to the list of HR, δόκωσις is also a *hapax*, occurring only in Qoh 10:18 as the equivalent of מְקָרָה. LSJ

78. For the two passages that are not discussed here, see *supra* 2:25 חוּשׁ and 11:10 שְׁחָרוֹת.

79. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 461.

80. See *ibid.*, 465.

81. Note that מְקָרָה, a noun derived from the verb קָרָה, occurs seven times in Qoheleth (2:14, 15; 3:19 [3x]; 9:2, 3) meaning ‘fate.’ Hence, Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 203, consid-



translates it as ‘act of furnishing with rafters, roofing.’ Thus, it seems to be an adequate rendering. However, because of the fact that the Greek is also a LXX *hapax*, we should reckon with the possibility that the alleged meaning of the Greek has been derived from the Hebrew word (of which the meaning may be considered relatively plausible).

**12:5.** אֲבִינָה—κάππαρις: Being attested in Mishnaic Hebrew in the meaning of ‘caper berry,’ one is inclined to consider κάππαρις as an adequate rendering. However, the question remains whether this understanding of the word is not dependent upon the LXX rendering of Qoh 12:5,<sup>82</sup> as this Greek word is also a LXX *hapax*, although it also occurs in other non-biblical Greek texts.<sup>83</sup>

## 2.5. THE TRANSLATOR APPARENTLY HAD NO PROBLEM WITH THE HEBREW

In a few instances the *hapax* seems to have been a common word, of which the unique occurrence in the Hebrew Bible is a mere coincidence. Consequently, these *hapaxes* do not seem to have caused any trouble to the translator.<sup>84</sup>

**8:1.** פֶּשֶׁר—λύσις: Schoors points out that “since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we know the word פֶּשֶׁר better, since it occurs more than 100 times, mostly in commentaries on biblical books.”<sup>85</sup> Λύσις does not occur as the equivalent of any other Hebrew word: it is only attested in Wis 8:8 and in Dan LXX 12:8, which reads τίς ἡ λύσις τοῦ τούτου καὶ τίνος αἱ παραβολαὶ αὗται for MT מָה אֲחֲרִית אֱלֹהִים. LSJ suggests a whole range of translations, among them the technical terminology ‘solution of a difficulty, interpretation...’ This fits in perfectly well with the assumed meaning of פֶּשֶׁר, so that we may conclude that the translator most likely had no problem with the meaning of the word.

**10:8.** גִּוְמָץ—βόθρος: This *hapax*, meaning ‘pit,’ is more frequent in Aramaic.<sup>86</sup> Since the translator uses βόθρος—used in Ezek as the equivalent of בּוֹר—this seems an adequate rendering of a word that the translator did not consider *hapax*.

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ers it a word typical of Qoheleth. In all its occurrences in Qoheleth, it has συνάντημα as its Greek equivalent.

82. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 455–56, as well as Seow, *Ecclesiastes*, 363.

83. Cf. LSJ s.v.

84. Note that 10:18 שְׂפָלוֹת is possibly also such a case; cf. the discussion of the word *supra*.

85. Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 466.

86. See Schoors, *The Preacher II*, 459. Morris Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Pardes, 1903), mentions three occurrences s.v. גִּוְמָץ: Targ. Prov. 22:14; Job 23:2; 26:2, and he also has the verb גִּמַּץ, ‘to finish a pit’ in Targ. Ps 7:16.

## 3. CONCLUSIONS

In sum, our inquiry yielded the following results:

With respect to the characterisation of the translation technique of Ecclesiastes, the variety of ways in which the LXX translator of Qoheleth has dealt with Hebrew *hapax legomena* does not fully endorse the alleged 'hyper-literalism' of LXX Ecclesiastes. Quite the contrary, his search for a 'consistent' rendering for a large number of *hapaxes* seemingly related to a more common root reveals his translational creativity. This type of 'consistency' does not reflect the most natural choice for a 'literal' translator, since the translator could have taken refuge in minuses or in the transliteration of words, which would have been easier solutions. Moreover, when compared to other books of the Hebrew Bible, there is an interesting observation to be made, namely the striking difference vis-à-vis, e.g., the translator of Job, who bases himself more on contextual exegesis.<sup>87</sup> In addition, it is remarkable that in several instances the translator of Qoheleth rendered the Hebrew *hapax* into a Greek *hapax* as well.

As such, the content-related criterion of studying the Greek renderings of Hebrew *hapaxes* has, again, proven to be a useful criterion towards a more precise characterisation of the translation technique of a given book. However, throughout this study an important caveat has emerged, in that many words, mainly non-absolute *hapaxes*, were apparently not entirely unknown to the translator.<sup>88</sup> Thus, the translator did not have to make a mere 'guess.'

Finally, one should be well aware that the very limited number of *hapaxes* in the book of Qoheleth makes it difficult to decide anything definitive with regard to the translation technique of the book. As explicitly stated in the content-related methodology, the results of the study of this aspect need to be combined and compared with studies on different aspects, as well as with the study of *hapax legomena* in other LXX books.<sup>89</sup> Therefore, in methodological respect we conclude that the criterion of the study of the Greek rendering of

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87. This is based on unpublished results of the study of the Greek rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena* in the book of Job within the context of the CSSTC's research project as mentioned above.

88. Note that, for this reason, in the articles mentioned Ausloos and Lemmelijn generally restrict themselves to the study of absolute *hapaxes*, as there is a higher degree of probability that these were problematic for the translator.

89. Comp. the conclusions of Ausloos, Lemmelijn and Kabergs, "The Study of Aetiological Wordplay," who talk about a comparison *ad intra* and *ad extra*. As for similar studies into the Greek rendering of *hapax legomena*, see, e.g., Ausloos and Lemmelijn, "Rendering Love," and Ausloos, "The Case of Exodus," as well as Herrie F. van Rooy, "The Treatment of Hapax Legomena in MT Ezekiel, in the LXX Ezekiel and Peshitta: A Comparative Study," in

Hebrew *hapaxes* should be understood as a very useful criterion, but simultaneously as one of several ways in which one could track down interesting cases for a more precise characterisation of translation technique.



# “Biblical Greek” in the LXX? The Case of δωρεάν

Peter Spitaler

**Abstract:** This essay attempts to critique the long-standing assumption that the Greek word δωρεάν has a distinct “biblical” meaning in LXX texts and suggests translations in accordance with prevailing Hellenistic Greek usage.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The authors of the LXX frequently translate the Hebrew word חנם with the Greek word δωρεάν. The spectrum of meaning of חנם is broad, ranging from “without giving or taking compensation” to “without cause,” “undeservedly,” or “needlessly.”<sup>1</sup> In contrast, δωρεάν has a much narrower range of meaning, generally describing actions completed without giving or receiving payment, namely, “as a gift.” Thus, the use of δωρεάν in the LXX raises two intriguing questions.

First, in choosing to translate חנם with δωρεάν, did the translators expand the range of meaning of δωρεάν to include shades of meaning imported from the Hebrew language system (in particular, “for nothing” and “without cause”), as many claim,<sup>2</sup> or did they narrow the various meanings of חנם to

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1. W. Lee Holladay, “חנם,” *A Concise Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament. Based upon the work of Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991; repr., Leiden: Brill, 2000), 110; David J.A. Clines, ed., “חנם,” *The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew* (vol. 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 271–72; Ludwig Koehler and Walter Baumgartner, “חנם,” *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (rev. Walter Baumgartner and Johann Jakob Stamm; transl. M.E.J. Richardson; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 334.

2. Timothy Friberg, Barbara Friberg and Neva F. Miller, “δωρεάν,” *Analytical Lexicon of the New Testament* (Baker’s Greek New Testament Library; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 123; William Arndt, Frederick W. Danker and Walter Bauer, “δωρεάν,” *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 266; Gerhard Schneider, “δωρεάν,” in Horst Robert Balz

one basic meaning, namely, “as a gift”? Second, if the former is correct and the translators used δωρεάν in ways that deviated from classical and Hellenistic Greek standards, then “we have here a true example of biblical Greek,” as Friedrich Büchsel observes.<sup>3</sup> If he is right, what caused δωρεάν’s meaning to shift from denoting unearned, free, “gratis” events to events “without purpose” or “without reason” and, consequently, produce a new linguistic category, biblical Greek meaning of δωρεάν, of which there are only a handful instances attested in the LXX and the NT?<sup>4</sup>

## 2. THE DATA

In the LXX, the noun δωρεά occurs thirty five times, mostly in the singular,<sup>5</sup> a few times in the plural.<sup>6</sup> Occurrences are spread across a wide range of texts and genre: Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, 1–3 Kingdoms, 1 Chronicles, Job,

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and Gerhard Schneider, eds., *Exegetical Dictionary of the New Testament* (vol. 1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 363–64; Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones and Roderrick McKenzie, “δωρεά,” *A Greek-English Lexicon* (rev. and augm. throughout; Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press; Oxford University Press, 1996), 464; William D. Mounce, “δωρεάν,” *The Analytical Lexicon of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Zondervan 1993), 155; Friedrich Büchsel, “δωρεάν,” *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* (vol. 2, ed. Gerhard Kittel, Geoffrey W. Bromiley and Gerhard Friedrich; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 167; Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, “δωρεά,” *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Revised Edition* (Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft: Stuttgart, 2003), 165; Herwart Vorländer and Oswald Becker, “δῶρον,” *Theologisches Begrifflexikon zum Neuen Testament* (vol. 1; ed. Lothar Coenen and Klaus Haacker; Wuppertal, Neukirchen: Brockhaus, Neukirchener 1997), 597.

### 3. TDNT 2:167.

4. In modern NT editions, δωρεάν is commonly translated with one of its classical and Hellenistic Greek meanings, namely, “freely,” “gratuitously,” or “as a gift”—with two exceptions: John 15:25 and Gal 2:21. In John 15:25, a loose LXX citation of Ps 35:19 or 69:5, δωρεάν is usually translated “without a cause.” In Gal 2:21, δωρεάν is variously rendered “needlessly” (NASB); “for nothing” (NRSV); “for no purpose” (ESV); “in vain” (NKJV). These “biblical” Greek meanings are sometimes thought to have surfaced first in NT texts (for example, *LSJ* 464) while others find antecedents in the LXX: “The NT meanings correspond, for the most part, to those of the LXX where δωρεάν renders Hebrew *hinnām* (favorable, in vain, unfounded) in 20 of the 24 passages which have a Hebrew equivalent” (Schneider, *EDNT* 1:363–64; similar Büchsel, *TDNT* 2:167). The present essay discusses the use of δωρεάν in the LXX only.

5. Gen 29:15; Ex 21:2; 21:11; Num 11:5; 1 Kgdms 19:5; 25:31; 2 Kgdms 24:24; 3 Kgdms 2:31; 1 Chr 21:24; Job 1:9; Pss 34:7.19; 68:5; 108:3; 118:161; 119:7; Isa 52:3.5; Jer 22:13; Lam 3:52; Dan 5:17 (Theodotion); 11:39 (Old Greek); Mal 1:10; Wis 16:25; Sir 20:23; 29:6.7; 1 Macc 10:33; 2 Macc 4:30; PsSol 7:1.

6. Dan 2:6 (Theodotion); 2:48 (Old Greek); Wis 7:14; 1 Esdr 3:5; 3 Macc 1:7.

Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Daniel, Malachi, Wisdom, Sirach, 1–2 Maccabees, 1 Esdras, and Psalms of Solomon.

In the majority of cases (26), δωρεά is used without definite article in the accusative case in the singular.<sup>7</sup> In these instances, anarthrous δωρεάν functions grammatically like an adverb. LXX authors use δωρεάν to render the Hebrew **בְּחִנָּה**, also a noun in the accusative used adverbially, in twenty of the thirty-two instances of the Hebrew word.<sup>8</sup>

The other six instances of δωρεάν are without Hebrew equivalent: Ps 119:7 (120:7 MT); Sir 20:23; 29:6.7; 1 Macc 10:33; PsSol 7:1. Ten of the remaining twelve instances of **בְּחִנָּה** are variously rendered διὰ κενῆς (Job 2:3; 9:17; 22:6; Prov 23:29); ἀδίκως (Prov 1:11.17); μάτην (Ps 34:7; Prov 3:30; Eze 14:23); ματαία (Prov 26:2). In Prov 24:28, the Hebrew **בְּחִנָּה עֵד** ("witness without cause") is rendered ψευδῆς μάρτυς. Eze 6:10 lacks a Greek equivalent.

In eleven of the twenty-six cases of δωρεάν in the LXX, the NETS<sup>9</sup> renders δωρεάν variously "for nothing," "freely," "without obligation, payment, ransom,"<sup>10</sup> in nine instances, "without cause."<sup>11</sup> Two verses each render δωρεάν "needlessly" (Sir 29:6.7) and "without reason" (Pss 34:7; 119:7), and one verse each has "to no purpose" (Sir 20:23) and "in vain" (Mal 1:10).

### 3. A SHIFT IN MEANING?

The NETS translations "without cause/reason," "needlessly," "to no purpose," and "in vain" are based on the assumption that a significant shift in meaning has occurred on the level of the Greek *Vorlage*. As already stated, in classical and Hellenistic Greek δωρεάν has one basic meaning, "as a gift," that is, the adverbial noun describes an action performed without payment or something

7. Gen 29:15; Ex 21:2; 21:11; Num 11:5; 1 Kgdms 19:5; 25:31; 2 Kgdms 24:24; 3 Kgdms 2:31; 1 Chr 21:24; Job 1:9; Pss 34:7.19; 68:5; 108:3; 118:161; 119:7; Isa 52:3.5; Jer 22:13; Lam 3:52; Mal 1:10; Sir 20:23; 29:6.7; 1 Macc 10:33; PsSol 7:1. Dan 11:39 (Old Greek) also has anarthrous δωρεάν, albeit in the phrase χώραν ἀπομεριεῖ εἰς δωρεάν ("he will divide the area freely," NETS).

8. Schneider's (EDNT 1:364) count differs here: "20 of the 24 passages which have a Hebrew equivalent."

9. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009<sup>2</sup>).

10. Gen 29:15; Ex 21:2; 21:11; Num 11:5; 2 Kgdms 24:24; 1 Chr 21:24; Job 1:9; Isa 52:3.5; Jer 22:13; 1 Macc 10:33.

11. 1 Kgdms 19:5; 25:31; 3 Kgdms 2:31; Pss 34:19; 68:5; 108:3; 118:161; Lam 3:52; PsSol 7:1.

that is received as a gift, freely, gratis, free of charge, for nothing.<sup>12</sup> However, dictionaries and lexa identify two additional meaning categories for δωρεάν limited to biblical texts:

- (1) pertaining to something endured without cause: *undeservedly, without reason, fault or cause*;<sup>13</sup>
- (2) pertaining to something done without meaningful result: *in vain, to no effect or purpose, for naught*.<sup>14</sup>

Whereas most dictionaries, lexa, or commentaries provide limited evidence for a biblical meaning of δωρεάν (the most common approach is verification via cross-referencing LXX passages), a handful explain, ever so briefly, the mechanism that brought about the supposedly new meaning of δωρεάν. Among these, Büchsel's succinct analysis remains the gold standard.

[T]he LXX often uses δωρεάν for “without cause or guilt,” 1 Baç. 19:5; ψ 34:19; 68:4; and “to no effect,” Ez. 6:10. The attachment of these meanings to the Greek δωρεάν is obviously because it is used for נָחַל so that we have here a true example of biblical Greek.<sup>15</sup>

Büchsel's statement is noteworthy for his attempt at arriving at an explanation. However, his observation is built upon the unverified inference that translating נָחַל with δωρεάν (as LXX authors did) translates into verifying a shift in meaning for δωρεάν (as LXX readers assume), that is, that δωρεάν took on virtually all meaning dimensions of נָחַל.<sup>16</sup> Although it is commonplace to argue that LXX authors, by rendering נָחַל δωρεάν, brought about a meaning shift of δωρεάν, I submit to the reader and contemporary translator for consideration that they most likely narrowed the broad meaning of נָחַל to express what δωρεάν narrowly denotes—“as a gift.”

12. For this and the following two meaning categories, see the bibliography in footnote 2. Commonly cited examples for the occurrence of this standard Greek meaning in LXX texts are Gen 29:15 and Ex 21:11.

13. The following verses are commonly cited as examples of an expanded meaning of δωρεάν: 1 Kgdms 19:5; Pss 34:19; 68:5; 108:3; 118:161; PsSol 7:1.

14. Job 1:9 and Ps 34:7 are usually cited here.

15. TDNT 2:167. For a similar argument, see Vorländer and Becker, *Theologisches Begriffslexikon* 1:596; Schneider, *EDNT* 363–64.

16. נָחַל has one broad, basic meaning—“for nothing.” Depending on the context, it may be translated “needlessly,” “without purpose,” “for no good reason,” “without warrant,” “illegally,” “unjustly,” “in vain,” “at no cost,” “gratis,” “gratuitously.” For bibliographic information, see footnote 1. The “biblical” meaning category for δωρεάν comprises these shades of meaning.



## 4. THREE POINTS OF DEPARTURE FOR CRITIQUING δωρεάν's NEW MEANING

First, if one admits a biblical meaning category for δωρεάν one has to take into consideration that it existed parallel to its classical/Hellenistic Greek meaning. Put differently, because the biblical meaning never penetrated the Greek language system, it existed in a linguistic-cultural bubble.<sup>17</sup> Given the assumption that only specialists (that is, LXX translators) knew about δωρεάν's "new" meaning, how did hearers and listeners of LXX texts learn about the presumed intention of the translators to expand δωρεάν's core meaning so that they would have been able to understand passages with δωρεάν in a new "biblical" way?

Second, the presumed reinterpretation of δωρεάν by LXX authors would have corresponded to their rejection of both its traditional meaning and common words for "without cause" or "to no purpose" that were part of the Greek semantic inventory. How did ancient readers and hearers of LXX texts learn to discern the difference between δωρεάν's standard classical/Hellenistic Greek meaning and its biblical offshoot and, once learned, prevent it from entering the common Greek language system?

Third, lexica, dictionaries, and commentaries suggest that the "biblical" meaning of δωρεάν can be established by referencing instances in the LXX that appear to express the new meaning. However, this popular approach is rooted in the untested presupposition that the semantic development of δωρεάν in the LXX arose organically across a variety of texts, contexts, and literary genre. Furthermore, cross-referencing passages seemingly perpetrates a circular argument in which one first posits a biblical meaning for one or more passages and then proves it by using other LXX verses.

## 5. EVIDENCE FROM WITHIN THE LXX

Evidence from within the LXX reveals a different story. It appears the translators were aware of the classical/Hellenistic Greek meaning of δωρεάν, particularly its limited semantic bandwidth. Specifically, they rendered **δωρεάν** not only with δωρεάν but also with μάρτην (Ps 34:7; Prov 3:30; Eze 14:23), ματαία (Prov

17. Of the roughly 3,600 occurrences of δωρεάν in the corpus of Greek texts indexed in the TLG online database (*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library for Greek Literature*. Online: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>), approximately two hundred occur in documents that predate, or are concurrent with, LXX texts. Yet, independent use of the biblical meaning categories, "in vain, to no purpose," cannot be established. Already Büchsel (*TDNT* 2:167) observed that these "derived meanings are never found outside the LXX and NT (including the post-apostolic fathers)."

26:2), and the phrase διὰ κενῆς (Job 2:3; 9:17; 22:6; Prov 23:29). In addition, there are texts in which חֲנֹן is rendered both δωρεάν and διὰ κενῆς, as is the case in Job (δωρεάν, 1:9; διὰ κενῆς, 2:3; 9:17; 22:6) and Psalms (δωρεάν, 34:19; διὰ κενῆς, 24:3). In other words, LXX authors used words other than δωρεάν to emphasize specific meaning dimensions of חֲנֹן for which δωρεάν was not an appropriate translation choice. There is little literary evidence that LXX authors viewed common Greek words as semantically biased or reduced such that they sought—and found—a more fitting rendering of “without cause” or “to no purpose” in δωρεάν.

Psalm 34:7 is an especially telling example of the diversified approach LXX authors took to translating חֲנֹן. The verse has חֲנֹן twice, but is rendered with different words in Greek: δωρεάν and μάτην. Each word expresses a particular meaning dimension of חֲנֹן that is foreign to the other.

כִּי־חֲנֹן טַמְנוּ־לִי שַׁחַת רִשְׁתָּם חֲנֹן חָפְרוּ לִנְפְשִׁי:

ὅτι δωρεάν ἔκρυψάν μοι διαφθορὰν παγίδος αὐτῶν, μάτην ὠνείδισαν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

The *NETS* more or less translates δωρεάν and μάτην as if they were synonymous, apparently deduced from the two occurrences of חֲנֹן:<sup>18</sup>

“Without reason they hid for me their snare’s destruction, without cause they cast reproach on my soul.” (*NETS*)

Rather than treating δωρεάν and μάτην as synonyms, I think it is more likely that LXX authors here used different words to express meanings that were not property of δωρεάν. In Ps 34:7, the classical/Hellenistic meaning makes sense:

“For nothing they hid for me their snare’s destruction, without cause they cast reproach on my soul.”

The translator thus ascribed to each use of חֲנֹן a different meaning and, in so doing, constructed a sentence in which the second clause (μάτην ὠνείδισαν τὴν ψυχὴν μου) interprets the first (δωρεάν ἔκρυψάν μοι διαφθορὰν παγίδος

18. T. Muraoka (“δωρεά,” *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* [Louvain, Paris, Walpole: Peeters, 2009], 181), for example, derives the meaning, “for not justifiable reason, undeservedly,” from the parallel construction with μάτην here and ἀδίκως in Ps 34:19. Already Didymus the Blind proposed this reading: τὸ γὰρ δωρεάν ὥδε τὸ μάτην σημαίνει (*Commentarii in Psalmos* 29–34, 209.23–24; M. Gronewald, ed., *Didymos der Blinde. Psalm-enkommentar* [pt. 3; Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen 8; Bonn: Habelt, 1969]).

αὐτῶν). That is, the hunters envisioned here are not hired hands; their chase is self-financed (δωρεάν) and, as the second clause clarifies, also self-motivated (μάτην). The ironic force of v. 7 is highlighted in v. 8: hiding snares is portrayed as a gift that is hoped to entrap the giver. A similar idea is expressed in v. 19:

אֶל־יִשְׁמַח־לִי אִיבֵי שְׁקֶר שְׁנֵאֵי חֲנָם יִקְרְצוּ־עֵינַי:

μη̇ ἐπιχαρείησάν μοι οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδίκως, οἱ μισοῦντές με  
δωρεάν καὶ διανεύοντες ὀφθαλμοῖς.

"May those who unjustly are my enemies not be happy over me, those who hate me without cause and wink with the eyes." (*NETS*)

In this verse, the translator rendered a parallel construction: οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδίκως, οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν. It clarifies that people who hate for nothing (δωρεάν) are people who unjustly (ἀδίκως) are enemies. Whereas the verse may indeed relate unjust enmity to unprovoked hatred, as the *NETS* translation insinuates, the use of δωρεάν suggests the translator introduced with "as a gift" an ironic metaphor. Specifically, the adversary is depicted as hating without receiving, or having received beforehand, something in return. Verse 12 further clarifies that, from the perspective of the psalmist, enmity was justified when it was understood as payback for a particular provocation. "Repaying evil for good" (ἀνταπεδίδοσάν μοι πονηρὰ ἀντὶ καλῶν), however, disrupted culturally predictable payback norms.

Here in Ps 34:7.19 and elsewhere in the LXX, "as a gift" frequently becomes a metaphor for the subversion of the concept, giving a gift. Translating δωρεάν with meaning dimensions borrowed from חֲנָם (in Ps 34:7.19, commonly "without reason" and "without cause") not only squeezes δωρεάν into foreign meaning categories; it also deconstructs the gift metaphor.

In summary, conclusive evidence for a meaning shift of δωρεάν is missing. Δωρεάν's standard classical and Hellenistic Greek meaning adds a perspective to the narratives that a meaning-shifted δωρεάν cannot express. In addition, translators do not need to take recourse to a biblical meaning category to explain LXX verses satisfactorily.<sup>19</sup> Rather, understanding δωρεάν first and foremost in terms of "a gift freely received or given" may serve as an important instrument in sharpening our understanding of the ways in which the LXX translators read the Hebrew text.

19. Admittedly, due to length limitations the present essay selectively discusses LXX passages with δωρεάν. However, all twenty-six cases of δωρεάν can be meaningfully rendered with the adverb's classical/Hellenistic meaning.

## 6. WHEN DID THE MEANING OF δωρεάν CHANGE?

The shift in meaning of δωρεάν did not originate with Hebrew-Greek translations as we find them in the LXX, but with Greek interpretation and Latin translation practices dating back to the first centuries of the common area.

## 6.1. THE GREEK TRADITION

The transformation of δωρεάν seems to have occurred in Greek patristic authors' attempts at explaining its use in LXX texts, mostly Pss 34:7.19 and 68:5.

- (1) Ps 34:7 LXX: ὅτι δωρεάν ἔκρυψάν μοι διαφθορὰν παγίδος αὐτῶν, μάτην ὠνείδισαν τὴν ψυχὴν μου.  
 “Without reason they hid for me their snare’s destruction, without cause they cast reproach on my soul.” (NETS)

Didymus the Blind: (a) τὸ γὰρ δωρεάν ὥδε τὸ μάτην σημαίνει;

(b) δωρεάν ποιοῦσιν ἐμοῦ αἰτίαν μὴ παρεσχηκότος.<sup>20</sup>

Eusebius: ἀνθ’ οὗ ὁ Σύμμαχος ἐξέδωκεν οὕτως. Ὅτι ἀναίτιως κατέκρυψάν μοι διαφθορὰν δικτύων αὐτῶν, Μηδὲν γὰρ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ προπεπονθότες δωρεάν καὶ ἀναίτιως ἐπεβούλευόν μοι κρύπτοντες παγίδα.<sup>21</sup>

- (2) Ps 34:19 LXX: μὴ ἐπιχαρείσάν μοι οἱ ἐχθραίνοντές μοι ἀδίκως, οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν καὶ διανεύοντες ὀφθαλμοῖς.  
 “May those who unjustly are my enemies not be happy over me, those who hate me without cause and wink with the eyes.” (NETS)

Didymus the Blind: τὸ ἀδίκως καὶ τὸ δωρεάν ταῦτόν ἐστιν, τὸ ἄνευ αἰτίας.<sup>22</sup>

- (3) Ps 68:5 LXX: ἐπληθύνθησαν ὑπὲρ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς μου οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν, ἐκραταιώθησαν οἱ ἐχθροί μου οἱ ἐκδιώκοντές με ἀδίκως, ἃ οὐχ ἥρπασα, τότε ἀπετίννουν.

20. *Commentarii in psalmos* 29–34, 209.23–24; 26–27.

21. Eusebius, *Commentaria in psalmos* 297.38–41 (PG 23; J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia graeca*, 162 vols.; Paris, 1857–1866).

22. *Commentarii in psalmos* 29–34, 227.7–8.

“They multiplied beyond the hairs of my head, those who hate me without cause; my enemies who persecuted me unjustly became strong. What I did not seize I would then repay” (NETS)

Theodoret of Cyrus: αἰτίαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ μίσους οὐ δεδωκότος.

Eusebius: (a) δωρεάν δὲ μισεῖν λέγονται οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τοῦ μίσους.

(b) ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ, οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν, ὁ Σύμμαχος, Οἱ μισοῦντές με, φησὶν, ἀναίτιως.

John Chrysostom: μισεῖν ... εἰκὴ καὶ μάτην.

Athanasius: οἱ μισοῦντές με δωρεάν ... οἱ μηδὲν ἡδικημένοι παρ’ ἡμῶν.<sup>23</sup>

These texts point to the existence of an interpretive tradition that begins to impose a new meaning on δωρεάν, not intentionally, but collectively via a more or less unified approach to reading LXX passages with δωρεάν. The cited patristic writers use phrases like οὐκ ἔχω/δίδωμι αἰτίαν or ἄνευ αἰτίας and words like ἀναίτιως, εἰκὴ or μάτην to describe the futile, random nature of the events described with the adverbial noun δωρεάν, which have no cause or for which no reason can be given.

However, these texts provide little evidence that patristic authors thought LXX translators shifted δωρεάν’s meaning. Rather, they reveal the need to explain the use of δωρεάν when they (that is, patristic authors) thought it meant contextually “without cause” or “to no purpose.” Because these meanings were not part of the mainstream Greek semantic inventory, the use of δωρεάν apparently was highly unusual and confusing and necessitated further clarification. In this regard, Eusebius’s comparison of the LXX text of Pss 34:7 and 68:5 with Symmachus’s Greek translation (see the quotes above) is interesting because it highlights variants in translation that appear to have influenced the “reception history” of δωρεάν. In both places, Symmachus used ἀναίτιως instead of δωρεάν, leading Eusebius to incorporate both words in his analysis. Still, rather than using one word to explain the meaning of the other, Eusebius placed them next to each other:

μηδὲν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ προπεπονθότες δωρεάν καὶ ἀναίτιως ἐπεβούλευόν μοι κρύπτοντες παγίδα.

23. Theodoret, *Interpretatio in psalmos* 1401.36–37 (PG 80); Eusebius, *Commentaria in psalmos* 732.36–37; 39–41; Chrysostom, *Expositiones in psalmos* 88.17 (PG 55); Athanasius, *Expositiones in psalmos* 305.55–57 (PG 27).

“Having suffered nothing from me beforehand they plotted against me for nothing and without cause, hiding traps.”<sup>24</sup>

The interpretation tradition of the book of Job further demonstrates that there is little evidence for a meaning change of δωρεάν already at the time of the book’s translation from the Hebrew original. In this text, δωρεάν occurs only once (1:9), rendering the Hebrew דָּנָן.

ἀπεκρίθη δὲ ὁ διάβολος ... Μὴ δωρεάν σέβεται Ἰωβ τὸν θεόν;  
 “And the slanderer answered ..., ‘Does Job really worship you for nothing?’” (NETS)

Many modern lexica and dictionaries list the verse as an example of the occurrence of δωρεάν’s biblical meaning “in vain, to no effect or purpose, for naught,”<sup>25</sup> following the Vulgate that has *frustra* for דָּנָן/δωρεάν. Greek patristic authors did not read δωρεάν in this way. John Chrysostom, for example, stated multiple times that Job here is probed whether he serves God for nothing (in the sense of “without remuneration”) or for a reward or pay (ἐπὶ μισθῷ; μετὰ μισθοῦ; ἀντίδοσις). Severianus similarly thought that the slanderer’s question implies Job served God for pay (ὑπομίσθιος).

Chrysostom: (a) ἐπὶ μισθῷ ... ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος ἐνάρετος.  
 (b) διὰ τοῦτο σέβεται τὸν θεόν, διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον καὶ τὰ χρήματα.  
 (c) τί πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας νῦν οὐδὲ μετὰ μισθοῦ σεβομένους τὸν θεόν;  
 (d) δωρεάν γὰρ ἦν, οὐκ ἀμοιβή, καὶ χάρις, οὐκ ἀντίδοσις.  
 Severianus: τουτέστιν, ὑπομίσθιος ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἐνάρετος.<sup>26</sup>

## 6.2. THE LATIN TRADITION

Latin translation and interpretation traditions accelerated the development of a new meaning for δωρεάν.

24. *Commentaria in psalmos* 297.40–41.

25. See footnotes 2 and 14. They appear to follow the Vulgate, which has *frustra*. A notable exception is T. Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 181. Muraoka lists Job 1:9 under the definition, “for receiving or giving no remuneration.”

26. Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum* 28–29 (PG 49); *Commentarius in Job*, 17.30–18.3–4 (D. Hagedorn and U. Hagedorn, *Johannes Chrysostomos. Kommentar zu Hiob* [Patristische Texte und Studien 35; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1990]); 17–18; *Fragmenta in Job* (in *catenis*) 568.32–33 (PG 64); Severianus, *In Job* (sermone 1–4) 573.5–16 (PG 56).

Where the LXX has δωρεάν, the Vulgate has variously *gratis*, *gratuita/o*, *frustra*, *absque culpa*.<sup>27</sup> In turn, Latin writers (a few examples from Psalms are listed below) explain the meaning of *gratis* with phrases like *sine causa* ("without cause"); *sine culpa*; ("without a fault") *sine merito* ("without any merit"); *sine crimine* ("without indictment"). In their analysis of Pss 34:7.19; 68:5; 119:7, the authors explicate the word *gratis* to describe unprovoked events like hiding snares, hating, and fighting.

- (1) Psalm 34:7 (VUL): quoniam gratis absconderunt mihi interitum laquei sui supervacue exprobraverunt animam meam.

*Unknown author: Gratis, id est, sine causa.*

Augustine of Hippo: Quid est, *gratis*? Quibus nihil mali feci, quibus nihil nocui.<sup>28</sup>

- (2) Psalm 34:19 (VUL): non supergaudeant mihi qui adversantur mihi inique qui oderunt me gratis et annuunt oculis.

*Unknown author: Gratis autem oderunt, id est, sine culpa, sine merito.*

Augustine of Hippo: *Qui oderunt me gratis: hoc est, quibus nihil nocui.*<sup>29</sup>

- (3) Psalm 68:5 (VUL): multiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei qui oderunt me gratis confortati sunt qui persecuti sunt me inimici mei iniuste quae non rapui tunc exsolvebam.

Hilary of Poitiers: Oderunt autem eum *gratis*, id est, causam odii non habentes.

27. The Vulgate has *gratis* in Pss 34:19; 68:5; 108:3; 118:161. However, variant readings frequently have *frustra* and also *sine causa*; see *Biblia Sacra: Psalmi iuxta Hebraicum et Varia Lectio* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983<sup>3</sup>).

28. *Appendix ad tomum septimum s. Eusebii Hieronymi. Complectens commentarios in Job et breviarium in psalmos. Breviarium in psalmos. Psalmi incipiunt edisseri. Psalmus xxxiv* Col.0925A (PL 26; J.-P. Migne, ed., *Patrologia latina*, 217 vols.; Paris, 1844–1864); Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos. In psalmum xxxiv enarratio. Sermo i. De prima parte psalmi.* Col.0329 (PL 36).

29. *Appendix ad opera Rufini. In lxxv Davidis psalmos commentarius Rufino Aquileiensi olim attributus. Commentarius in lxxv psalmos. Psalmus xxxiv* Col.0771D (PL 21); Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* Col.0339.

Augustine of Hippo: Si nihil / cuiquam noceas, et sic odio habearis: hoc est enim gratis, sine causa.<sup>30</sup>

- (4) Psalm 119:7 (VUL): cum his qui oderant pacem eram pacificus cum loquebar illis inpugnabant me gratis.

Ambrose of Milan: hoc est, cum causas impugnandi non haberent; qui impugnatur sine crimine.<sup>31</sup>

As is the case with patristic authors, Latin authors at times go to great length to explain the meaning of *gratis*. In classical Latin, *gratis* has one basic meaning similar to the meaning of δωρεάν in classical and Hellenistic Greek: “without (receiving or giving) payment,” which, depending on the context, can be variously translated “for no reward but thanks;” “out of favor or kindness;” “for nothing;” “gratuitously;” “gratis.”<sup>32</sup> Significantly, by the sixth century C.E. an additional meaning of *gratis* solidified; it now included “in vain, without ulterior motive.”<sup>33</sup> It appears Christian writers contributed to the shift in meaning of the Latin word by consistently interpreting *gratis* in biblical passages to mean *sine causa* or *frustra*, a meaning that over time was also projected onto the Greek δωρεάν. However, because this particular use of *gratis* frequently requires additional explanation, a lingering uneasiness with the word is also discernable among Latin authors.<sup>34</sup> Augustine’s reading of Ps 68:5 highlights this ambivalence and also shows his attempt at explaining *gratis* within its traditional meaning horizon.

Si nihil cuiquam noceas, et sic odio habearis: hoc est enim gratis, sine causa. ... Ecce ibi duo latrones, ibi et Dominus; et illi crucifixi, et ille crucifixus: et illos odio habuit mundus, sed non gratis; et illum

30. Hilary, *Tractatus super psalmos*, *psalmus lxxviii* Col.0474B (PL 9); Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos* Col.0847–48.

31. In *psalmum David cxvii exposition*, *sermo nonus* Col.1327A; *sermo vigesimus primus* Col.1504C (PL 15).

32. Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, “gratis,” *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon 1962), 826; Art. “gratia,” *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon 1968), 773 (8).

33. Alexander Souter, “gratis,” *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford: Clarendon 1957), 165.

34. James H. Moulton and George Milligan use the expanded meaning of the Latin word *gratis* as the basis for arguing for a “slightly developed meaning of δωρεάν ‘for nothing,’ ‘in vain;’” (“δωρεά”, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930], 174).



odio habuit, sed gratis. *Quae non rapui, tunc exsolvebam.* Hoc est gratis.<sup>35</sup>

"If you do no harm at all and thus are hated: this indeed is for nothing, without cause. See there are two robbers, and there is the Lord; and they are crucified, and he is crucified; and the world hates them, but not for nothing; and [the world] hates him, but for nothing. *That which I took not away I then paid.* This is for nothing."

## 9. CONCLUSION

Because Greek and Latin translators and interpreters commenting on LXX and Vulgate texts read δωρεάν and *gratis* in creative new ways, it appears that these words impacted both Greek and Latin language development in dramatic ways. Understanding the meaning of δωρεάν is not an issue of Hebrew-Greek translation conventions, but of Greek and Latin interpretation traditions. In my opinion, the contemporary understanding of δωρεάν's "biblical" meaning signals a *posteriori* conjecture. Put differently, a reification of past translation and interpretation practices is hidden behind the concept of "biblical" meaning. A review of these old practices shows that the ancients, while getting the sense of δωρεάν within its contexts mostly right, did not necessarily keep its traditional lexical meaning intact. There is a big difference between translating texts—the task of LXX and Vulgate authors—and interpreting the final product, the feat of patristic authors. The latter, for the most part, derived the meanings of δωρεάν and *gratis* from their understanding of the larger literary and theological contexts. In that sense, patristic writers may very well have imagined that some of the actions described δωρεάν and *gratis* were "without reason or purpose." However, this must not be confused with the meaning of the lexicon.

In this regard, analogies with the German word *umsonst* are quite misleading. The polysemous *umsonst* has two basic meanings: "for nothing" in the sense of "freely" and "futile." Thus, translating the German *umsonst* necessitates contextual awareness. However, rendering *umsonst* "freely" does not cause a shift in meaning of the English word "freely" so that it suddenly includes the other meaning dimension of the German *umsonst*—futile. But this appears precisely to be the issue underlying arguments for a biblical meaning of δωρεάν. To state as Schneider does that "the adverb [δωρεάν],

35. Augustine, *Enarrationes in psalmos. In psalmum xviii enarratio. Sermo i. De prima parte psalmi*. Col.0847–48; Col.0848 (PL 36).

like German *umsonst*, has a twofold meaning: *undeserved/gratis; in vain*<sup>36</sup> assumes a meaning shift of δωρεάν that perhaps is exegetically desirable but linguistically unverifiable. To return to my example: if I render the German *umsonst* “freely” but actually mean “futile,” my audience will most likely be lost in translation.

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36. EDNT 1:363.

# The Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint: A Sample Entry—εὐλογέω\*

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**Abstract:** Sample article of the projected *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Data are provided concerning the use of the word in classical and documentary texts, in the Septuagint, and in later writings standing under the influence of the Septuagint.

εὐλογέω, “to praise” and “to bless” (w. acc.; w. dat. → 2.4)

1. The verb εὐλογέω, whose etymology is transparent (for εὖ- see εὐδοκέω, “to favor,” εὐπορέω, “to cause to thrive,” etc., for -λογέω, see κακολογέω, “to revile,” σεμνολογέω, “to speak solemnly,” etc.), might in principle be expected to mean: “to speak well.” This meaning is indeed attested once, in *Let. Aris.* 249; note also the noun εὐλογία “fine words” (distinct from the usual meaning “praise”) in Plato, *Rep.* III 400d and in Rom 16:18, and the adjective εὐλογος, “eloquent,” occurring as a variant reading for ἱκανός in Exod 4:10 (the more usual meaning of εὐλογος is “reasonable”). Commonly, however, the verb means “to praise, to commend.”

1.1. In the latter meaning, εὐλογέω is attested, although not frequently, in Greek literature from Pindar and Aeschylus onward. The verb participates in the vocabulary of public honor. “He said that women were not informers, nor did they bring lawsuits, nor hatch conspiracies; in short, he *praised* the

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\* The *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint* is planned to offer substantial word studies of around 400 head words, or word-groups, of the Septuagint. The Lexicon is to comprise four volumes, to be published by Mohr-Siebeck, Tübingen. The project will be directed by Eberhard Bons and Jan Joosten. The present sample will be completed with notes on εὐλογία and other cognates.

women in every possible manner (ἑτέρα τε πλείστα τὰς γυναῖκας ἡλόγει) (Arist., *Eccl.* 453–454). It typically co-occurs with verbs like ἐπαινέω, “to laud,” or ὑμνέω, “to sing praises” and stands opposed to verbs expressing blame like καταλαλέω, ὀνειδίζω, λοιδορέω or καταφέρω ψόγον: “...he who assumes the character of a historian must (...), if their actions demand this, speak good (εὐλογεῖν) of his enemies and honor them with the highest praises (κοσμεῖν τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐπαίνους) while criticizing and even reproaching roundly (ἐλέγχειν καὶ ψέγειν ἐπονειδίστως) his closest friends” (Polyb., *Hist.* 1, 14, 4–5).

Although εὐλογέω naturally belongs to epideictic oratory, it occasionally figures in judicial or quasi-judicial contexts with the meaning “to defend,” as an antonym of κατηγορέω, “to accuse”: “Everyone knows that those who wish to praise (εὐλογεῖν) a person must attribute to him a larger number of good qualities than he really possesses, and accusers (κατηγοροῦντας) must do the contrary” (Isoc., *Bus.* 4, see also *ibid.* 31 and 33). In a late papyrus, the cognate noun is found with a similar nuance: “If you have anything to say in his favor (εἰ δὲ ἔχετε εὐλογίαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτόν), come with him and tell me” (P.Oxy. I 65,4 iii–iv A.D.).

Praise of the gods is usually expressed by other verbs (especially αἰδῶ/ᾶδω “to sing,” *Hom. Hymn* 2, 1; 16, 1; 30, 1; Eur. *Hipp.* 58; and ὑμνέω “to sing the praise of,” Hes. *Op.* 2; Eur. *Bacch.* 71). The use of εὐλογέω is exceptional: Ion prays, in Euripides’ play of the same title, *Ion* 137: “Phoebus is my true father, I praise (εὐλογῶ) the one who feeds me.” A similar use occurs in *Ion* 1614. Even rarer is the use of the verb with a divine subject: the Greek gods do not usually praise human beings. A single example is Euripides, *Suppl.* 927, where Theseus says of Amphiaraus: “As for the noble son of Oecleus, him, while yet he lived, the gods snatched hence to the bowels of the earth, and his chariot too, manifestly praising him (εὐλογοῦσιν).” According to legend, the earth had swallowed Amphiaraus alive during the war of the Seven against Thebes, so as to preserve him from ignominy. The usage of the verb is metaphorical but the meaning remains very close to the normal one: the act of the gods is interpreted as an expression of approval.

1.2. The documentary evidence from the Hellenistic period shows a slight increase in the use of εὐλογέω in religious discourse. An inscription dedicated to Pan reads: ε[ὐ]λογ[ῶ] τὸν εὖο[δο]ν θεόν, “I praise the god who prospered my travel” (CIG 4705 b2), and one to Isis: εὐλογῶ [τ]ὴν Εἰσιν, “I praise Isis” (CIG 4705 c3). The same terminology is found in a Jewish inscription: εὐλόγει τὸν θεόν. Πτολεμαῖος Διονυσίου Ιουδαῖος, “Praise God. Ptolemaios the son of Dionysios, a Jew (made this)” (or “Ptolemaios the son of Dionysios, a Jew, praises (εὐλογεῖ) God”) (OGIS 73). Otherwise, papyri and inscriptions attest the same usages as literary texts.

2. In the Septuagint, εὐλογέω occurs over 500 times. The verb keeps its normal Greek meaning in many passages (2.1.). Concurrently, however, another semantic range develops under Hebrew influence: functioning as the standard rendering of בָּרַךְ *pi.*, “to bless,” εὐλογέω absorbs the meaning of its counterpart in the source text (2.2.).

2.1. In books where the translator did not observe strict lexical stereotyping, εὐλογέω corresponds to several Hebrew verbs meaning “to praise”: הלל *pi.*, “to praise” (Isa 38:18; 64:10[11]; Prov 31:30 ); ידה *hi.*, “to confess” (Isa 12:1; 38:19); כבד *pi.*, “to honor” (Isa 25:3; 43:20; רנן, “to jubilate” (Job 29:13); and Aramaic שבח *pa.* and הדר *pa.*, “to praise” (Dan 5:4, 23). See also Isa 25:5 where there is no precise Hebrew equivalent. In these passages, the verb has its usual Greek meaning.

The meaning “to praise” fits well also in some passages where εὐλογέω renders בָּרַךְ. Particularly where the object of the action is God, the notion of praise is contextually apt (see, e.g., Deut 8:10; Jos 22:33; Jud 5:2, 9; 1 Chr 29:20; 2 Chr 20:26; 31:8; Neh 8:6; 9:5; Ps 16(15):7; Dan 2:19LXX; 1 Esd 4:62; Tob 4:19; 8:15). In such passages, the Hebrew verb itself sometimes occurs side-by-side with verbs meaning “to praise”, such as הלל *pi.* and ידה *hi.* (see Ps 96[95]:2; 100[99]:4; Ps 145[144]:2, 10; 1 Chr 16:36). The meaning of Hebrew בָּרַךְ in such passages is debated: the verb may have its usual function implying the transmission of a life-giving force; it may be declarative, expressing that God is the source of blessing; or perhaps the verb simply means “to praise” when the object of the action is God.

Whatever the precise nuance of the Hebrew, the Greek version must surely have been understood, by the translator as well as his readers, in the meaning attested in analogous expressions occurring in contemporary texts (→ 1.2.). Gen 24:48 “I praised (εὐλόγησα) the Lord, God of my lord Abraham, who prospered my way (εὐόδωσέν μοι)”, is essentially similar to CIG 4705 b2. Note also that in language directed to God, εὐλογέω co-occurs with the same synonyms as in Greek literature, such as (ἐπ)αινέω and ὑμνέω (1 Chr 16:36; 1 Esd 5:57; Neh 9:5; Ps 34(33):2; 145(144)1; Tob 13:18; 1 Mac 4:24; Sir 39:14; Isa 38:18; Dan LXX 3:51–90).

The use of the verb εὐλογέω to express the praising of God continues classical and Hellenistic models. What is nevertheless distinctly biblical is the frequency of the usage. Under the influence of Hebrew diction, the use of εὐλογέω in prayers and liturgical texts greatly increases in the Septuagint corpus. For praising human beings, the verb is used rarely in the Septuagint, Prov 31:30; Job 29:13 and Sir 31(34):23 being perhaps the only examples in the translated books (→ 2.3).

2.2. Although εὐλογέω adequately renders בָּרַךְ in some contexts, the basic meaning of the Hebrew verb is rather different from that of the Greek one. This can be seen most clearly, although not exclusively, in clauses where God is the subject of the verb. Where God is said to “bless” human beings in the Hebrew Bible, the implication is that he imparts to them some sort of vivifying force. This meaning is far removed from the normal meaning of εὐλογέω in Greek literature.

The principle of lexical stereotyping entailed a situation where Hebrew בָּרַךְ was translated with εὐλογέω in almost all occurrences—including those where the normal Greek meaning was not suitable. Lexicographers generally suppose that the stereotyped translation of בָּרַךְ with εὐλογέω induced a semantic change in the latter. This is almost certainly correct: through constant use in contexts clearly demanding something like the meaning of Hebrew בָּרַךְ, Greek εὐλογέω ended up expressing such a meaning. The process might be qualified as a type of translational catachresis: a word was pressed into service for expressing a meaning it didn’t possess to begin with. In the passages concerned, one can often find contextual features neutralizing the “Greek” meaning of the word and superimposing a different meaning upon it. The process expressed does not imply words of praise or approbation, but does lead to fertility and prosperity. Moreover, in these contexts, εὐλογέω rarely co-occurs with other verbs meaning “to praise.” Its antonyms are not badmouthing or accusation but “to curse,” καταράσθαι (see Gen 12:3; Num 22:6; Prov 30:11). The semantic change is confirmed by some uses of εὐλογέω in parabiblical literature composed in Greek (→ 3).

Nevertheless, the use of εὐλογέω in the meaning “to bless” probably never became self-evident for Greek readers. Distinguishing the “Greek” from the “biblical” meaning required much attention to the context and could be made only by those who were intimately familiar with the septuagintal corpus.

2.2.1. In the translated books of the Septuagint, εὐλογέω occurs very often with God as subject, in narration, divine promises, requests, confession, and thanksgiving. God blesses the animals, the land, and its produce (Gen 1:22; Deut 33:13). God blesses the Sabbath (Gen 2:3). He blesses humankind (Gen 1:28), and particularly his elect (Gen 9:1; 32:30; 35:9; Deut 1:11; Jud 13:24; 2 Kgs 7:29). The effect of his blessing is the proliferation of life (Gen 24:35; Isa 51:2). Having received the assurance of God’s blessing, Israel is to pursue it actively through the cult (Exod 20:24; cf. Ps 28/27:9; 67/66:2) and through the practice of the law (Deut 28:8, 12), particularly the laws of mercy (Deut 15:10; 24:19).

Where God is the subject of the verb, the contextual implication is never that of mere speaking: God's blessing immediately (even if mysteriously) effectuates increase and prosperity. The translator of Job is sensitive to this nuance when he translates Job 1:10 "You have blessed (ברכת) the work of his hands, and his livestock has increased in the land" as "You have blessed (εὐλόγησας) the work of his hands, and *have made* his livestock *plentiful* in the land." The small adjustment in the second clause here comes to explain the meaning of the verb in the first clause.

2.2.2. Where human beings "bless" one another in the Hebrew Bible, different conceptions can be observed. At times the process is almost magical in nature: once Isaac has blessed his son Jacob, Jacob will be blessed; the giver of the blessing cannot take it back (Gen 27:33; see also Num 22:6). In other passages, however, the process more simply implies the imploration of divine grace, e.g.: "Eli would bless Elkanah and his wife, and say: 'May the LORD repay you with children by this woman'" (1 Sam 2:20). In the latter sense, blessing is a type of prayer. At times, the verb means little more than "to salute" (Gen 48:20; 2 Kgs 4:29; Prov 27:14; "May YHWH bless you" is an everyday greeting; Ruth 2:4) or "to welcome" (Ps 118[117]:26).

Other usages are perhaps not completely understood. The prophet Samuel is expected to "bless" the offering (1 Sam 9:13), implying apparently a type of consecration.

In the Septuagint, all these cases are indiscriminately translated with the verb εὐλογέω.

2.2.3. The Hebrew verb בִּרַךְ is used euphemistically, instead of קָלַל, "to curse, treat with contempt" (1 Kgs 21:10,13 [cf. Exod 22:27]; Job 1:5, 11; 2:5, 9). The use of verbs of praise in an antiphrastic sense is well-known in Greek and attested for the verbs εὐφημέω and ὑμνέω (see Schleusner, s.v. εὐλογέω), but not for εὐλογέω. The Septuagint translators consequently vacillate: the literal translator of 1 Kgs renders the Hebrew verb literally with εὐλογέω (3 Kgds 20:10,13), but the translator of Job paraphrases the usage with good Greek equivalents in Job 1:5 and 2:9, using the literal equivalent εὐλογέω in 1:11 and 2:5 only. The passages rendered "literally" could perhaps be understood as instances of sarcasm by a Greek reader without access to the Hebrew text.

2.2.4. In a few instances, εὐλογέω appears to be used in the "biblical" sense although the Hebrew does not have the verb בִּרַךְ. In most cases, this is no doubt due to a divergent source text from which the Greek has been rendered: see Deut 18:5 (cf. Deut 10:8); Jud 9:19; 1 Kgds 2:9; 2 Kgds 6:20; Job 11:3; Prov 22:8–9. In a few instances, the use of εὐλογέω in the extant text appears

to be due to confusion between this verb and εὐδοκέω, see notably 2 Kgds 24:23 (and see the apparatus of Ps 48[49]:14; 118[119]:108). The apparent equivalence between εὐλογέω and יָרָא “to fear” in Isa 25:3b may reflect influence from the context, see Isa 25:3a and 25:5.

2.3. Translated books whose Semitic source text was not accepted into the Jewish canon (e.g. Tobit, Sirach) essentially continue the usages discussed above in 2.1 and 2.2. Septuagint books written directly in Greek, however, mostly use the verb εὐλογέω in the meaning “to praise.” In 2 Maccabees, the verb is used only in the sense “to praise (God)” (2 Mac 1:17; 11:9; 15:34; see also 3 Mac 7:23; in 3 Mac 6:11 it is used of praise of false gods). As to Judith, although the verb is used here several times with the heroine as object, the context shows that the conception is one of praise (see in particular Jdt 15:9).

Only Wisd 14:7 uses the verb in a sense that may be closer to that of Hebrew בָּרַךְ: “For blessed (εὐλόγηται) is the wood whereby righteousness comes” (note the antonym, “accursed” [ἐπικατάρατον], in the next verse).

2.4. An interesting phenomenon is the use of εὐλογέω with a dative object, found in both translated and nontranslated texts (Tob 10:14S; Dan 4:34Theod; 5:23LXX; 13:60Theod; 1 Esd 4:58; 9:46; Sir 51:12; 2 Mac 10:38; 3 Mac 6:11; Ps Sol 6:4; see also Hen 10:21; 12:3; 106:3). The origins of the usage may lie in the language of liturgy and prayer of Greek-speaking Jews. The change in rection may reflect influence of the nearly synonymous εὐχαριστέω, “to thank,” which is normally constructed with a dative (see e.g. 2 Mac 1:11; Jdt 8:25).

2.5. The choice of the verb εὐλογέω as the standard equivalent of בָּרַךְ is hard to understand in regard to the usages discussed in section 2.2, but easy in regard to the meaning “to praise (God)” discussed in 2.1. This circumstance suggests that the equivalence was not established in the translation of the Pentateuch, where the latter meaning is rare and the former meaning frequent, but in the language of prayer where the meaning “to praise (God)” predominates. Almost nothing is known about Jewish prayer in the Diaspora during the period preceding the translation of the Pentateuch. It is reasonable to submit, however, that Jews prayed in this period, that they did so in Greek, and that their prayers followed Semitic—Hebrew or Aramaic—models. One may conjecture that the equivalence בָּרַךְ–εὐλογέω was established in the language of prayer even before the first books of the Hebrew Bible were translated into Greek (Joosten 2010).

3. In later Jewish and Christian writings the semantic tension introduced by the Septuagint is often in evidence. The verb occurs in passages where its



normal Greek meaning “to praise” makes sense, but it also turns up in passages where the “biblical” meaning “to bless” seems to be required. In some instances, it is difficult to decide between these two meanings. In the NT, a third meaning, “to say a blessing,” needs to be reckoned with. This meaning is unattested in the Septuagint, yet connected to it.

3.1. Parabiblical literature of the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods essentially continues septuagintal patterns. In the meaning “to praise,” εὐλογέω is practically limited to the praise of God (*1 Hen.* 10:21; 12:3; 22:14; *T. Sim.* 6:7; *T. Lev.* 5:7; *T. Naph.* 1:4; *Jos. Asen.* 8:5; 15:12; *Liv. Pro.* 21:8; *T. Job* 19:4; *Or. Sib.* 4:25). In a few passages, it refers to the praise of idols (*Jos. Asen.* 8:5; 11:8). In addition, the biblical meaning “to bless” is very prominent: God “blesses” his elect (e.g., *T. Lev.* 2:15; *Jos. Asen.* 8:9), and human beings “bless” one another (e.g., *T. Abr.* 1:5; *T. Lev.* 9:2). The biblical meaning occurs both in writings that were translated from Hebrew or Aramaic (*Jub.*, *1 Hen.*) and in writings that were probably written originally in Greek (*T. Abr.*, *Jos. Asen.*).

Both usages are also attested in the fragments of early Judaeo-Hellenistic historians, although very rarely. The meaning “to praise (God)” is found in a fragment of Eupolemus (*Eus.*, *Praep. Ev.* 9, 34, 1), and the meaning “to bless” occurs in a fragment where Demetrius summarizes Gen 27 (*Eus.*, *Praep. Ev.* 9, 21, 1).

3.2. The data in the writings of Philo are suggestive but also rather complicated. On his own initiative, Philo uses the verb εὐλογέω, along with other verbs like εὐχαριστέω and ἐπαινέω, in reference to the praise of God (*Plant.* 135; *Sobr.* 58). Since “to praise” is a good Greek meaning for the verb, such passages are unproblematic.

Things become more complex in the numerous passages where Philo relates to biblical verses containing εὐλογέω with the Hebraistic meaning “to bless.” In an exegetical work, Philo shows that he understands the biblical usage well enough. In a comment on Exod 23:25 “I will bless your bread and your water,” he explains: “Neither bread nor water nourishes by itself (...) if the divine word (Logos) does not bestow upon them its helpful powers” (*QE* 2, 18). The verb is interpreted to mean: “to endow with power,” which is close enough to the meaning required by the context. In his philosophical works, Philo shows sensitivity to the Hebrew meaning of the word when he glosses it, or replaces it, with the verb εὔχομαι “to pray” (Tomson 2007, 41–2), e.g., εὐχόμενος εὐλογεῖ τὸν λεών *Mut.* 125, in reference to the blessing of Moses, Deut 33:1 (see also *Mos.* 1, 291). Elsewhere, too, the verb εὐλογέω is associated with the transfer of benefits (*Somn.* 176) or the procurement or divine favor (*Migr.* 122).

Nevertheless, in many passages, the Hebrew meaning remains completely in the background and Philo draws out other meanings more congenial to non-biblical Greek, and to his own philosophical system. The verb εὐλογέω is connected with notions of honor and praise (in *Migr.* 109–110, the verse “I will bless those who bless you” [Gen 12:3] is explained: “he who praises a good man is himself worthy of encomium”), of sound reasoning (*Leg.* 1, 17; 3, 210), and of eloquence and wise action (*Leg.* 3, 215; *Sobr.* 17–18). All three elements are interwoven in a long comment on Gen 12:2–3 in *Migr.* 70–73.

3.3. Flavius Josephus uses the verb sparingly and almost exclusively in the sense “to praise God” (e.g., “It becomes us to bless [εὐλογεῖν] your Majesty, and it is necessary for us to return you thanks [εὐχαριστεῖν]” *A.J.* 8, 11; see also *A.J.* 4, 318; 7, 380; 9, 15). Only one passage in the *War of the Jews* appears to attest the Hebraistic meaning (“[Jesus son of Ananias] neither cursed [κατηρᾶτο] those who beat him every day, nor blessed [εὐλόγει] those who gave him food.” *J.W.* 6, 307).

More interesting than the use of the verb is its non-use in the *Antiquities* where Josephus paraphrases verses in which divine or human blessings are central. He deals with these passages in one of three ways. Firstly, in some instances, he simply omits the notion of blessing, as in the account of creation corresponding to Gen 1 (*A.J.* 1, 27–33) or of the calling of Abraham (*A.J.* 1, 154). Secondly, when he does incorporate the motif of blessing in his paraphrase, he uses Greek words other than εὐλογέω to express it. A notable example is that of the blessing Isaac intended to give to Esau: “(Isaac) bid him therefore to go out a hunting (...) that after this he might *make supplication* (ἱκετεῦσθαι) *to God, to be to him a supporter and an assister during the whole time of his life*; saying (...) that he was desirous, *by prayers* (εὐχαῖς) *for him, to procure, beforehand, God to be merciful to him*” (*A.J.* 1, 267; cf. Gen 27:1–4; for another example, see *A.J.* 1, 331–4). Thirdly, and most interestingly, Josephus occasionally transforms the meaning of the text so as to be able to use the verb εὐλογέω in its usual Greek meaning. Where the Hebrew text says: “He (Solomon) *blessed* the entire congregation of Israel” (1 Kgs 8:55), Josephus writes: “The king began to *praise* (εὐλογεῖν) God, and exhorted the multitude to do the same, as now having sufficient indications of God’s favorable disposition to them” (*A.J.* 8, 119).

The avoidance of the verb εὐλογέω in passages requiring the biblical meaning “to bless” is probably to be explained in light of Josephus’ readership. Greek or Roman readers unfamiliar with biblical literature would have experienced difficulties with this biblical usage.

3.4. The situation in the NT is comparable to that in the Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha (→ 3.1.). Both of the main septuagintal usages are well

attested: “to praise (God)” (Luke 1:64; 2:28; 24:53; 1 Cor 14:16) and “to bless” (with a human subject: Luke 2:34; 6:28; Rom 12:14; 1 Cor 4:12; Rom 11:20–21; 1 Pet 3:9; Christ: Luke 24:50–51; Acts 3:26; God: Gal 3:9; Eph 1:3).

In addition to these instances, the verb εὐλογέω is used absolutely in the context of meals: Matt 14:19; 26:26; Mark 6:41; 14:22; Luke 24:30 (cf. Mark 8:7; Luke 9:26; and 1 Cor 10:16 where the object is the food or the drinking cup). These cases can best be accounted for as reflecting the influence of post-biblical Hebrew. The developing custom of blessing God before meals, first attested in the Qumran Scrolls (1QSa 2:19–21), occasioned a new meaning for the Hebrew verb בָּרַךְ, namely “to say a blessing.” Since the linkage between בָּרַךְ and εὐλογέω was already a fact, the new meaning of the Hebrew verb was projected onto the Greek one as well (Joosten, 2009, 122–4). If it weren’t for this linkage, the most natural way to express this meaning in Greek would be with the verb εὐχαριστέω, “to give thanks,” a verb with which εὐλογέω alternates in some passages (see Matt 15:36 [cf. 14:19]; 26:27 [cf. v. 26]; Mark 8:6 [cf. v. 7]; John 6:11, 23; Acts 27:35; 1 Cor 11:24).

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# A Note on Some Προσήλυτοι in P.Duk.inv. 727R<sup>1</sup>

David M. Moffitt

**Abstract:** Since the influential essay of W. C. Allen in 1894, a significant consensus has arisen concerning the meaning of the word *proselyte*. Today it is widely held that, from its inception, *προσήλυτος* was a technical term within the Jewish Diaspora used to denote a convert to Jewish practice and belief. Dissenting voices have arisen from time to time, but the lack of any attestation of the term prior to and outside of the LXX and communities influenced by that translation tradition has helped bolster claims concerning the word's exclusively Jewish provenance. In this paper I offer new evidence in this debate. The recto of an unpublished papyrus in the holdings at Duke University (P.Duk.inv. 727) contains a third-century B.C.E. draft of a legal document addressing a dispute between “some of the *προσηλύτων*” and other members of a village in the Fayyum. The text's provenance is plainly not biblical. Moreover, nothing in the draft indicates a Jewish or even overtly religious milieu. The fact that the papyrus is roughly contemporary with the translation of the Torah into Greek in Alexandria calls for a reassessment of many contemporary conclusions regarding the translation of the Hebrew word *גל* as *proselyte* in the LXX. This papyrus, I suggest, indicates that the septuagintal translators have pulled the word *proselyte* from common parlance in Ptolemaic Egypt and employed it to render *גל* simply because they understood it to mean roughly what *גל* meant for them—a stranger or newcomer.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

A papyrus in the holdings of the Special Collections Library at Duke University—P.Duk.inv. 727—likely dates from the third or second centuries B.C.E. The *recto* of this document provides the earliest nonseptuagintal attestation of the word *προσήλυτος* to date. In this note I will briefly summarize the con-

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1. This note is an abstract of a larger project. My colleague, C. Jacob Butera, and I are in the process of publishing a critical edition of P.Duk.inv. 727 and a longer piece detailing the potential interpretive significance of the papyrus. I am grateful to those at the conference who offered critical feedback on the original paper and its tentative conclusions.

tents of the *recto* and offer some initial comments on the potential significance of the papyrus for the study of the Septuagint.

## 2. SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF P.DUK.INV. 727R

Unfortunately P.Duk.inv. 727 is a fragmentary document. Nevertheless, it is clear that the papyrus does not contain any biblical text. Both the *recto* and *verso* appear to be drafts of official documents. The *recto* consists of 13 lines of text. The document addresses a commotion caused by some προσήλυτοι. The problem seems to be about the acquisition of property. A payment to village elders is mentioned, and this is presumably related to the land acquisition and the public disturbance caused by the προσήλυτοι.

## 3. POTENTIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF P.DUK.INV. 727R

In 1894 W. C. Allen published an influential essay on the meaning of προσήλυτος.<sup>2</sup> Allen directly challenged the then prominent view that the term denoted *foreigner* or *sojourner* and only later developed in Jewish circles into a technical word for *convert*.<sup>3</sup> Allen argued the reverse. I will not here detail all of Allen's arguments. A few are, however, especially noteworthy. He claimed, for example, that because the LXX contains the oldest attested use of the word, the term likely denotes a convert to Judaism in the LXX. He knew that in some ancient literature the word seemed to refer to a stranger.<sup>4</sup> These instances, though, postdated the LXX. Accordingly, he suggested, "If ... the word originally meant 'proselyte,' it would be natural that it should soon draw to itself something of the meaning involved in such words as 'stranger,' 'advena,' 'alien'; a proselyte generally being, as a matter of necessity, a 'stranger in a strange land.'"<sup>5</sup>

In addition, he noted that the translators of the LXX render the Hebrew word גַּל (*stranger* or *sojourner*) with one of two Greek terms: προσήλυτος or πάροικος. Of these, they preferred προσήλυτος in the vast majority of cases. He claimed that most of the verses that translate גַּל as προσήλυτος are in contexts where the idea of a convert usually makes good sense. Particularly clear in his opinion were texts that allow or require the individual called a גַּל/προσήλυτος to participate in certain festivals and practices (e.g., Exod 12:48;

2. W. C. Allen, "On the Meaning of ΠΡΟΣΗΛΥΤΟΣ in the Septuagint," 264–75, *The Expositor*, Fourth Series, vol. 10, 1894.

3. Allen, "On the Meaning of ΠΡΟΣΗΛΥΤΟΣ," 264–75.

4. Among other examples he cites Philo, *De Monarch*, 7.51.

5. Allen, "On the Meaning of ΠΡΟΣΗΛΥΤΟΣ," 265.

Lev 16:29).<sup>6</sup> Such texts, he reasoned, must refer to converts since these people are participating in distinctly Jewish practices prescribed by the Mosaic Law. The fact that first-century C.E. texts such as the Gospel of Matthew (23:15) and the Acts of the Apostles (2:11; 6:5; 13:43) seem to use προσήλυτος for *convert* strengthened this assertion.

H. Kuhli makes similar claims. In the English version of his EWNT essay on προσήλυτος he states that the word was “a technical designation for ‘men and women who—without descending from Jewish parentage—have become members of the Jewish cultic community or have joined it on the basis of a legally binding acceptance process’... this term is documented only in Jewish and Christian literature and probably originated in the Hellenistic Diaspora. ... The term served to differentiate actual converts from mere sympathizers, the ‘God-fearers.’”<sup>7</sup>

If the view just detailed is correct, it follows that one should infer that the translators understood most of the biblical references to a ἄλλ in terms of a convert to Jewish practice and belief—a proselyte. Though far from universal, numerous variations of this interpretation were assumed and defended in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a few items have appeared that do not endorse this opinion. For example, the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS)<sup>8</sup> has opted to translate προσήλυτος as “guest,” while T. Muraoka’s new Septuagint lexicon defines the term as, “One who has arrived at a place as a foreigner.”<sup>9</sup>

The preceding discussion has not attempted to provide an exhaustive survey of the opinions and arguments for and against particular views regarding the meaning of προσήλυτος. Enough has been said, however, to show that scholars are divided on how to understand the term in the Septuagint. The examples given of scholars who have argued that προσήλυτος refers to a Jewish convert demonstrate that proponents of this view often take the fact

6. Allen lists Exod 12:48–49, 20:10, 22:20, 23:9, 12; Lev 16:29, 17:8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 18:26, 19:33, 10, 34; 20:2, 22:18, 23:22, 35, 47; Num 9:14, 15:14–16, 26, 29, 30, 19:10, 35:15; Deut 1:16, 5:14, 10:18–19, 14:29, 16:11, 14, 24:14, 17, 19–21, 24:11–13, 27:19, 28:43, 29:10, 31:12; Josh 8:33, 35, 20:9; 1 Chron 22:2; 2 Chron 2:16, 30:25; Ps 94:6, 146:9; Jer 7:6, 22:3; Ezek 14:7, 22:7, 29, 47:22–23; Zech 7:10; Mal 3:5.

7. H. Kuhli, “προσήλυτος,” *EDNT* 3:170–71.

8. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Included under the Title* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

9. T. Muraoka, “προσήλυτος,” *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009). Muraoka does allow that “In some cases, e.g. Ex 12:48, the person designated as π. prob[ably] refers to a coreligionist, whether a recent immigrant or [somebody] in transit.”

that the word's earliest attestation is in the Septuagint and then in later Jewish and early Christian literature to be highly significant.

While P.Duk.inv. 727R is not a lengthy text, the presence of προσήλυτος in this papyrus complicates the argument that the word's heretofore limited provenance implies that it was a technical term in the Jewish Diaspora for a Jewish convert. The attestation of προσήλυτος in P.Duk.inv. 727R, a non-biblical, documentary text, shows the word was in use around the time of the initial translation of the LXX in Alexandria. On the one hand, this does not prove absolutely that the word cannot have been coined in the Jewish Diaspora. Yet on the other hand, given that P.Duk.inv. 727R is not obviously of Jewish origin, that προσήλυτος is known in Greek literature after the LXX to mean *stranger*, and that it was used to translate the Hebrew term נָכַר, which does mean *stranger* in biblical Hebrew, it stands to reason that προσήλυτος was not originally a technical term in the Jewish Diaspora for a convert. The word was probably in parlance in Ptolemaic Egypt and probably denoted *stranger* or *newcomer*.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

P.Duk.inv. 727R presents the earliest, nonseptuagintal evidence for the term προσήλυτος. The document does not preserve enough context to conclude with certainty that the word was in use outside of Jewish Diaspora communities. It does, however, complicate arguments that marshal the word's lack of attestation outside the Septuagint and the communities that utilized and were influenced by that translation. At the very least, the history of debate over this term merits a more thorough study of this papyrus. C. Jacob Butera and I will soon publish such a study.



## What after the *Lexicon*?

Takamitsu Muraoka

**Abstract:** With the completion of my 25-year LXX lexicography project and the publication last year of *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters) I would like to ponder in this short paper what could or should be done in terms of future linguistic research into the language of the LXX. By the time of the present congress a Greek–Hebrew/Aramaic two-way index of the Septuagint will probably have been published. It combines in a single volume a revised Hebrew/Aramaic index to the Septuagint (1998) and a revised index showing for every LXX Greek word which Hebrew/Aramaic words are used to translate it. This should be helpful for various philological studies of the LXX, not the least questions of translation techniques. My LXX lexicon provides information at the end of most entries some paradigmatic data, namely a list of semantically related lexemes. These lists are still provisional and can be expanded by applying the notion of semantic domains and mapping the entire LXX vocabulary. Such would advance semantic studies of the LXX. Another desideratum was mentioned in my “Why not a Morgenthaler for the Septuagint?” At the very beginning of the history of the IOSCS, two important desiderata were identified: dictionary and grammar. The latter still remains a desideratum, particularly syntax. Helsinki has been a fruitful, productive centre of syntactic studies from the perspective of translation techniques. A full-scale syntax, incorporating results of research by the Finnish school, is highly desirable. I am contemplating writing a syntax of the LXX Greek based on a systematic investigation of the Pentateuch supplemented with selective reference to the data in the rest of the corpus. Given my advancing age I couldn’t possibly undertake all of the outstanding desiderata singled out here. I challenge younger Septuagintalists.

My LXX lexicon (GELS)<sup>1</sup> provides at the end of most entries some paradigmatic data, namely, a list of semantically related lexemes. Unlike LEH<sup>2</sup> I am primarily interested in meaning, not forms. So I list not only derivationally

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1. Muraoka, Takamitsu, *A Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Leuven: Peeters, 2009.

2. Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek–English Lexicon of the Septuagint*. 2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003.

related lexemes, but also semantically related words, namely synonyms, antonyms and suchlike. In GELS, therefore, you would not find, for instance, ἀποκρίνομαι listed under κρίνω, because they have semantically nothing in common. The only feature that they share and could be of interest lies in their morphology. Thus at the end of the lexeme ἀφανίζω you will find in my lexicon a lengthy list of 81 lexemes, showing how bloody destructive Koine Greek speakers were! I am sure that I have missed out quite a few more lexemes. Even at a formal level, LEH confines itself to verbs. Hence we do not find anything under καλός, for instance. Here I have in mind an approach based on the notion of semantic domains as demonstrated by Louw and Nida for New Testament Greek.<sup>3</sup> What one thinks of their mode of presentation of data is a separate issue. The general conception is, I believe, sound, promising, and scientifically stimulating. This is part and parcel of the universal consensus in modern linguistics that a language is a structured whole and each of its constituent parts can be fully understood solely in relation to other constituents in the system.

Most of the lists presented in GELS, however, are far from complete. To make a complete list, I ought to have made a lexico-semantic research on the entire LXX vocabulary, mapping out all its lexemes according to the method advocated by Louw and Nida. Obviously, however, that would have called for a separate, long-term investigation.

Furthermore, my current lists are confined to lexemes.<sup>4</sup> The semantic analysis we are proposing needs, by definition, to look at senses of individual lexemes. Take a polysemic verb such as καλέω. Its sense **1** in GELS, *to give a name to, name*, sense **3** *to summon*, and sense **6** *to invite as guest* belong to three separate semantic domains. Sense **1** needs to be studied with lexemes such as ὀνομα, ὀνομάζω, and sense **6** with ξένος *invitee*.

Another thing we need to bear in mind is that a sense unit is expressed sometimes with more than one lexeme. For instance, a well-known Hebrew calque in the LXX, εὐρίσκω χάριν as at Gen 30:27 Εἰ εὐρον χάριν ἐναντίον σου ‘if I may, sir’ is a phrasal verb; though it consists of two separate lexemes, it denotes a single lexical notion. As such it should be studied with lexemes such as ἀρέσκω, εὐαρεστέω. In rare cases we must also consider an elliptical phrasal verb such as ἀνίημι as used at Isa 42:2 οὐ κεκράξεται οὐδὲ ἀνήσει translating for לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא קוֹל. The verb ἀνίημι, for which GELS lists a sense *to let*

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3. Louw, Johannes P. and Eugene A. Nida, eds. 2 vols., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament Based on Semantic Domains*. New York: United Bible Societies, 1988.

4. With rare exceptions. For instance, under οἰκοδομέω I mention, as an antonym, καταλύω, sense 4.

loose, and a subsense *to utter a sound* with φωνήν understood<sup>5</sup>, needs to be studied with lexemes such as a generic lexeme λέγω and more specific words like φωνέω, κράζω and a host of other semantically related lexemes.

Let's take two verbs which belong to a semantic domain of vocal, but not necessarily verbal,<sup>6</sup> communication conducted with a high decibel. I am referring to ἐρεύγομαι<sup>7</sup> and ὠρύομαι, both of which are defined in my lexicon as *to roar*. They are both of low frequency in the LXX: 4x and 11x respectively. Whilst both are often used with a threatening overtone with predatory, carnivorous lions and their cubs as the grammatical subject,<sup>8</sup> there is an interesting paradigmatic difference between them. ὠρύομαι is used twice with a human subject: Ep Jer 31 ὠρύονται δὲ βοῶντες ἐναντίον θεῶν αὐτῶν ὥσπερ τινὲς ἐν περιδείπνῳ νεκροῦ 'they, i.e., heathens, howl at the top of their voice in front of their gods like people in a funeral feast for someone deceased.' Likewise Ps 37:8 ὠρυόμην ἀπὸ στεναγμοῦ τῆς καρδίας μου 'I kept howling, groaning in my heart.' From this we may conclude that the feature of hostility is contextually conditioned, and is not an integral component of the meaning of the verb. In another case even the God of Israel appears as the actor, but in the figure of a roaring lion: Hos 11:10 ὀπίσω κυρίου πορεύσομαι· ὡς λέων ἐρεύξεται, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὠρύσεται καὶ ἐκστήσονται τέκνα ὑδάτων 'I shall go after him; for he will roar like a lion. For he will growl and then fishes will become alarmed.' Here the two verbs are used in parallelism with the same subject. In the first instance God cannot be threatening, otherwise Israel would not follow him. Here God in the figure of a lion is summoning its cubs, sending a loud message, so that the whelps can hear their parent even at a long distance. The same loud message, however, comes as a threatening, terrifying message to Israel's enemies. Here again we see that with the first verb also the feature of hostility is a secondary, contextual factor. We also see that studying semanti-

5. Our translator clearly and rightly understood the Hebrew verb concerned as elliptical. For this Greek verb is not a standard equivalent of the Hebrew verb in question. The translation in *Septuaginta Deutsch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009) is unduly influenced by the underlying Hebrew: "nicht (seine Stimme) erheben." The footnote is more sensible: *freilassen*. NETS with its *send forth his voice* is no less problematic, for one usually does not *send forth* a voice. One cannot say if our Isaiah translator was familiar with a Homeric usage as in *Od.* 4.566f. ζεφύροιο λιγὴν πνειοντος ἀήτας Ὀκεανὸς ἀνίησιν. In this Hebrew phrasal verb the noun can dispense with a possessive pronoun as in Isa 52:8 יְחַדְּרוּ קוֹל יְחָדִים.

6. Of course, lions could be speaking Lionish, which we humans have yet to learn.

7. Unlike LEH, GELS follows LSJ in distinguishing two homonyms, I *to belch out* and II *to roar*.

8. So clearly at Ps 103:21 σκύμνοι ὠρυόμενοι ἀρπάσαι 'young lions roaring to raven.'

cally related words in tandem can reveal something that might not be obvious when they are studied in isolation and independently of each other.

Another desideratum which future Septuagintalists must rise to the occasion to make it a reality is a proper syntax of the LXX Greek. Apart from occasional references to diverse details scattered in lexica and NT Greek grammars we have only an outline in Frederick C. Conybeare and St. G. Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn, 1905), and a handful of Einzeluntersuchungen such as Robert Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta: Ein Beitrag zur Hebraismenfrage und zur Syntax der Κοινή* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928), Trevor V. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001) and, of course, a number of significant works produced by the doyen of the Finnish LXX studies, Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1965) and many others, followed by studies undertaken by his distinguished students such as Aejmelaeus, Sollamo, the President of this congress, and their students. Whilst for the orthography and morphology Henry St. J. Thackeray's pioneering *A Grammar of the Old Testament Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) and Robert Helbing's *Grammatik der Septuaginta: Laut- und Wortlehre* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), the former in particular, could serve us reasonably well for some time to come, we still lack a comprehensive syntax, which is, together with a dictionary, of the utmost importance for exegesis of the LXX text. This gap is all the more deplorable, since for the related phases of Greek we have an excellent reference work in Mayser's grammar of the papyri of the Ptolemaic period and a number of excellent New Testament Greek grammars such as Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf, and Moulton-Turner.

The high standard and great importance of the works produced by scholars originating in this host country of our Congress is universally acknowledged. We all know, however, that all their studies relating to the LXX syntax have been undertaken from a well-defined, particular perspective: they have taken Hebrew as the starting point, investigating how a particular Hebrew form, whether a word or a construction, is translated into Greek. Some of their studies are not exactly concerned with syntax. Thus how a given Hebrew preposition is rendered in Greek is an issue not so much syntactic as lexical. Such differs little from the question with what Greek words the Hebrew substantive תֹּרָה is rendered in the LXX.

Another matter which needs to be noted here is that this translation-technique approach, by definition, leaves out LXX texts which are agreed to have been originally composed in Greek or texts whose Semitic original has not survived, and the amount of such texts accounts for a not small proportion

of the corpus, some 15%. By ignoring this proportion of the LXX corpus one cannot write a comprehensive syntax of its Greek.

There are two more fundamental issues which arise from the translation-technique approach and which need to be addressed by anyone intending to conduct a comprehensive investigation on the syntax of the LXX. Firstly, with this approach you are looking at, and analysing, syntactic phenomena of the LXX Greek with the eye of the Hebrew/Aramaic writer and speaker. Your grammatical categories and interests are determined and informed by the source language, not the target language for readers of which the translation was produced in the first place, and once produced, it was read, most of the time, as a Greek text, whatever its peculiarities and idiosyncrasies in parts of it where they are translated texts.

The second issue is closely related to the first. Grammatical categories of Hebrew/Aramaic do not entirely overlap those of Greek. As a consequence, even if one has produced a complete LXX syntax from the perspective of translation technique, such a syntax is bound to show not a few gaps, discontinuities and mismatches. The syntax and morphosyntax of the case in Greek is a very important chapter in any Greek syntax. However, Hebrew and Aramaic of the biblical period or early postbiblical period in the case of books such as Ben Sirach had almost totally lost the case endings. The same holds for the chapter on the verb moods in Greek. Both languages have four moods. The only exception is the Greek indicative, which almost entirely overlaps the simple suffix conjugation, *qatal*, not *w-qatal*, and the long Imperfect, the primitive *yaqtulu*. However, the Greek optative, though it is gradually dying out in the LXX Greek, in the translated texts in particular, corresponds to the short Imperfect, the primitive *yaqtul*, the so-called jussive in Hebrew/Aramaic only to a very marginal degree. In Hebrew/Aramaic the jussive is not used as an equivalent of *optativus potentialis* nor is it usable in indirect speech. The Greek subjunctive is far more varied in its usage than the cohortative, which is confined to the first person in Hebrew, has not preserved any corresponding form. The self-standing Hebrew cohortative corresponds to the hortative subjunctive in Greek. The Greek subjunctive is extensively used in subordinate clauses of all kinds, not to speak of its use in the negative command.

Whoever attempts to investigate an issue relating to the syntax of the LXX Greek by reading the text as a Greek text cannot obviously lose sight of the fact that most of the corpus is a translation from a heterogeneous source language. He needs to understand how the translator understood the Hebrew original and how and what of his understanding is reflected in the translation. The same consideration applies equally to lexical, semantic studies of the LXX Greek, but not its phonology or morphology. In these compartments of grammar the interference or influence of the source language is virtually

nil or minimal. By contrast, where meaning comes into the picture, interaction between the source language and the target language becomes a real issue. Thus a given LXX translator may have known and thought that Hebrew **בָּרִית** cannot be fully conveyed by **διαθήκη** in a particular case, but he may have concluded that it is a reasonable, adequate rendition for all sorts of reasons and have settled on it. In such a decision-making process he must have known that his potential readership was likely to understand the Greek noun in terms of the general context in which it occurs in the particular case and its usage in the contemporary Greek. Thus we cannot preclude the translation technique and the translator's perspective. However, the ultimate aim must be to describe how the contemporary reader, mostly with no knowledge of Hebrew or Aramaic, would have understood the translation and to relate the LXX usage to the contemporary Hellenistic Greek.

E. Tov, not a Finn, also investigated one syntactic aspect of the LXX Greek in terms of translation technique.<sup>9</sup> He studied how the well-known and typically<sup>10</sup> Hebrew syntagm, **קִטּוֹל קִטְלִי**, i.e., the inf. abs. followed or preceded by a finite verb of the same verbal lexeme, is rendered in the LXX. Tov identified six types of rendering and investigated their distribution among different LXX books. The different distribution patterns among different LXX books, the comparative frequency of these patterns within one book or translation unit, and possible reasons for choice of this or that pattern are all of great interest. The question, however, is what new and significant insights these results could have for our understanding of the various Greek syntagms used to render this Hebrew syntagm. If nearly all the patterns are attested among the five books of the Pentateuch, though with some variation among the books, the data thus obtained do not mark successive stages along the path of historical development of the LXX syntax, for one could assume that all the books of the Pentateuch were translated more or less about the same time. One of the six translation techniques involving the use of an adjective as in Amos 7:11 **גִּלְהָ יִגְלָה** > **αἰχμάλωτος ἀχθήσεται** or Isa 40:30 **בָּשׂוּל יִבְשֹׁל** > **ἀνίσχυες ἔσονται** teaches

9. Emanuel Tov, "Renderings of combinations of the infinitive absolute and finite verbs in the LXX - their nature and distribution," in *Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu ehren* (eds., David Fraenkel et al.: Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 64–73.

10. The first syntagm identified by Tov, said to be attested twice only, purports to be an exact replica of the underlying Hebrew syntagm. The first example, Josh 17:13 **וְהוֹרֵשׁ לָא הוֹרִישׁוּ** / **εσχολεθρεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐσχωλέθρευσαν** has some interesting variants in not a few witnesses, for instance the dat. **εσχολεθρεῦσει** or suchlike, for details see Max L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek* (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1931), 338. The second example is a wrong parsing by Tov of participles as infinitives.

us rather little on this Greek syntagm; there is nothing remarkable about it in terms of the general Greek usage. The same applies naturally to another of the patterns identified by Tov, namely a pattern in which only one verb form is used in Greek as in Gen 27:30  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא אֶת־יַעֲקֹב} > \text{καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἐξήλθεν}$ . The only thing that is of significance for the syntax of the LXX Greek is the pleonastic or paronomastic use of the participle often used to render the Hebrew syntagm in question. Examples are plentiful: e.g., Gen 22:17  $\text{כִּי בָרַךְ אֱבְרָהָם} > \text{ἢ μὴν εὐλογῶν εὐλόγησέ σέ}$ .<sup>11</sup> This appears to be one of the obvious cases of the LXX Greek syntax influenced by Hebrew. To investigate translation techniques of one translator or compare how different translators handled the same linguistic form in the source language has of course its intrinsic values and could reveal interesting facts. Results of such an investigation could have implications for textual criticism of the Hebrew/Aramaic Bible and that of the LXX. But such does not contribute to a description and analysis of the syntax of the LXX itself. The interesting fact from the perspective of translation technique<sup>12</sup> that where the Hebrew text uses a passive verb form, a noun either in the dative or accusative is preferred to another principal mode of translation, namely the use of the participle, must be seen against the fact that the syntagm with a noun also occurs all over the place<sup>13</sup> when the Hebrew verb is active. The question to be asked here from the perspective of Greek syntax is whether the choice of one Greek syntagm was meant to mark some functional opposition to the other syntagm.

Both Tov<sup>14</sup> and Sollamo<sup>15</sup> are agreed that one of the two most frequent ways of rendering the paronomastic Hebrew syntagm is the use of a cognate noun in the dative or, less frequently, in the accusative. For a syntactic analysis of the LXX Greek it is important to note that the same Greek syntagm is also used to translate a different Hebrew syntagm or syntagms. For instance, at Num 23:11 we find  $\text{בָּרַךְ בְּרַכְתָּ} > \text{εὐλόγηκας εὐλογίαν}$ , but apparently the same translator presents us with  $\text{ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπιθυμίαν}$ ,<sup>16</sup> which is a ren-

11. See Tov, "Renderings," 66–8; Franz Blass and Albert Debrunner, tr. and rev. by Robert W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1961), § 422.

12. Already noted by Thackeray: Henry St. J. Thackeray, "Renderings of the infinitive absolute in the LXX," *JTS* 9 (1908): 507–601, esp. 598.

13. Starting with Gen 2:17  $\text{θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖσθε} > \text{מוֹת תָּמוּתוֹן}$ .

14. See Tov, "Renderings," 65f.

15. Rajja Sollamo, "The LXX renderings of the infinitive absolute used with a paronymous finite verb in the Pentateuch," in *La Septuaginta en la Investigacion Contemporanea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* (ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Madrid, Instituto "Arias Montano," 1985), 101–13, esp. 105–7.

16. The same rendering has been taken over in the parallel context in Ps 105:14.

dering of הָתְּאֵאוֹ תְּאֵאוֹ. See also Zech 1:2 קָצַף יְהוָה עַל אֲבוֹתֵיכֶם קָצָף. Ὁργίσθη κύριος ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ὑμῶν ὀργὴν μεγάλην.<sup>17</sup> The same applies to the use of the dative: Ps 14:5 פָּחַדוּ פָּחַדוּ דָּדַי לִי. ἐδειλίασαν φόβῳ. In some of these cases the translator may have identified an inf. abs., but that is not possible in all the examples mentioned. The rendering through θανάτω in the frequently occurring collocation with מוֹת is said by Sollamo<sup>18</sup> to be well-suited to indicate capital sentence. However, apart from the fact that the same mode of rendering is chosen for active verb forms, it is scarcely a case of death sentence when the Philistines assure Samson with Judg 15:13 θανάτω οὐ θανατώσομέν σε (הָמָת לֹא נִמְתָּךְ) where the use of θανάτω is meant to underline a contrast with another mode of treatment, incarceration. Nor did Nathan pronounce death sentence on the still uncircumcised and hence unnamed prince, a victim of its parents' adultery: 2 Sam 12:14 θανάτω ἀποθανεῖται (מוֹת מוֹת). In other words it would be a wrong syntactic analysis to assign different syntactical values according to the grammatical structure of the source text.

One who would venture to close this gap in our knowledge of the LXX Greek by writing a comprehensive syntax of it must also beware of practical aspects. A well-coordinated and well-funded international team work is an option which would make it possible for a number of people to continue and apply the translation-technique approach to the vast number of still remaining issues and LXX books to be investigated. However, if a brave individual is to undertake this task, he might decide to eschew to conduct his own translation-technical research and to analyse the Greek text with only occasional reference to the Semitic original. I happen to be one such individual. Even in retirement I cannot predict how many more years my invisible master would graciously allow me to work on this new τάλαντον. My present intention is to attempt a thorough, comprehensive syntactic analysis of the Greek Pentateuch, and read through the rest of the LXX with lesser thoroughness, noting some features unattested in the Pentateuch and collecting examples which might be more illuminating and instructive than those noted in the Pentateuch. The result may not be exhaustive and comprehensive in its strict sense. A scholar or scholars much junior to me, who knows?, might arise twenty or thirty years later to revise and supplement it.

17. The plus (μεγάλην) suggests that the translator took the Hebrew syntagm as "emphatic." See also Prov 21:26 ἐπιθυμίας κακὰς for הִתְאָוֹת.

18. Sollamo, "The LXX renderings," 108.



# Jeremiah 38:31–34 (MT 31:31–34): The History of the Two Versions and Their Reception

Georg Walser

**Abstract:** Jeremiah 38:31–34 (MT 31:31–34) exists in two substantially different versions, one mainly preserved in Hebrew and one mainly preserved in Greek. Jeremiah 38:31–34 is also the longest quotation from the Old Testament in the New Testament. These two facts warrant a very interesting reception history for this text, which, of course, in a Hebrew speaking context, was used in its Hebrew version, while in a Greek speaking context the Greek version was used, and in a Latin speaking context both versions were used side by side. Moreover, the Greek version does not seem to be a rendering of an extant Hebrew version, but rather of another and more original Hebrew version, which is no longer extant. One of the most significant differences between the versions is the very rare use of the plural of νόμος in the Greek version (*leges* in the NT Latin), where the Hebrew version has תורה in the singular (*lex* in the OT Latin). The singular תורה apparently refers to the Torah in the Hebrew version, but to what does the plural of νόμος in the Greek version refer, and how do the different versions of the text affect the interpretations of the text in the early Jewish and Christian communities?

## 1. INTRODUCTION

While working on my Jeremiah commentary for the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series I came across a small but very interesting monograph by Adrian Schenker about Jer. 38:31–34. According to Schenker<sup>1</sup>

Die Verheißung eines neuen Bundes beim Propheten Jeremia in der Fassung der griechischen Bibel der Septuaginta wurde noch nie systematisch mit ihrer hebräischen Fassung verglichen, wenn man von einer ausgezeichnete-

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1. Adrian Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund und das Alte am alten: Jer 31 in der hebräischen und griechischen Bibel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 11.

ten, aber knappen Studie von Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, Louvain-La-Neuve, und einer in den entgegengesetzte Richtung zielenden Untersuchung von Bernard Renaud absieht.

Strangely enough, it seems as if Schenker is right, that the differences between the two versions only occasionally have been discussed before. This is even more surprising since there are substantial differences between the text of the Septuagint and the text of the Hebrew version, and that these differences appear to be caused *not* by the process of translation, but rather the text of the Septuagint is a translation of a different *Vorlage*, which appears to be older and more original than the version preserved in the Masoretic Hebrew text. It is also noticed by Schenker that both versions are found in most modern translations of the Bible, since Jeremiah is usually translated from the Hebrew text, while the quotation in Hebrews, which is the longest quotation in the NT, is a quotation from the Greek text. Equally interesting is the fact that the two versions are found side by side in the Latin text of the Vulgate.

The very rare interest in the different versions of this text has also been confirmed by a recent study of Barry Joslin, where he states: "Scholars do not frequently mention the LXX rendering of the singular תורה with the plural νόμους in Jeremiah 31:33, and of the few that do, even fewer offer suggestions as to the purpose behind the unusual alteration."<sup>2</sup> In the following ten lines or so, Joslin goes on citing Davies and Malone, who argue that "the plural form likely refers to the *specific* laws of the covenant." Without much of a discussion Joslin concludes that this is his opinion too. It comes as no surprise, then, that the book of Schenker is not found in the bibliography of Joslin.

## 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VERSIONS

Before turning to the literature subsequent to Jeremiah and to the interpretation of the difference between the versions as far as the law/laws are concerned, a short survey will show the most significant differences between the versions of the whole quotation in Hebrews. Here it should be noticed that the character of most of these differences appears to be of the kind that scribal errors or textual corruptions are quite unlikely, because the translation of Jeremiah is very literal, and still both versions make good sense. Thus, it has been argued that the *Vorlage* of Greek Jeremiah differed from the Hebrew text known today as the Masoretic Hebrew text. As is well-known, traces of such a Hebrew text have been found among the texts from Qumran.

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2. Barry Joslin, *Hebrews, Christ, and the Law: The Theology of the Mosaic Law in Hebrews 7:1–10:18* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 199.

The first difference is found in v. 32, and it is between MT **הפרו את־בריתי** “they broke my covenant” and LXX αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἐνέμειναν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ μου “they did not abide by my covenant.” Though the difference might seem rather insignificant, it nevertheless points to different versions of the text rather than changes on behalf of the translator.

The next difference is perhaps more striking than the previous one, and it is also found in v. 32. While MT has **ואנכי בעלתי בם** “though I was their husband” (NRSV), LXX has καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν “and I neglected them.”

The modification of the text changes the whole meaning of the text. According to the Masoretic text the covenant is broken by the Israelites, but it is not broken by God, who still is the master or husband of Israel. According to the Septuagint, on the other hand, the covenant was not kept by the Israelites, and God did not care for them.

The following difference is interesting, since it is often overlooked. It has been noticed that the perfect form of the Masoretic text **נתתי**, found in v. 33, almost without exception is rendered by future forms in modern translations and commentaries. According to Schenker,<sup>3</sup> there are three reasons for this rendering: first, it is an adjustment to the following parallel clause, which has the verb in imperfect, **אכתב**; second, the whole context suggests that it is a future event; third, the fact that Hebrew perfect forms sometimes refer to the future. However, Schenker calls this interpretation into doubt. According to Schenker,<sup>4</sup> it is not possible that **נתתי** refers to the future, since first, there is no semantic or syntactic indicator of future; second, there is no good reason to use two different verb forms to express the same meaning; third, the perfect form makes good sense in the context; fourth, several manuscripts have added a consecutive **ו** before **נתתי**, thus changing the meaning of the verb form from past to future. If this consecutive **ו** is secondary, it confirms that the readers had some problem to interpret the perfect form as referring to the future without the consecutive **ו**.

Interestingly enough, the Septuagint has **δώσω** for **נתתי**, and the future form **δώσω** looks like just another example of a rendering of **נתתי** on a par with modern renderings of the perfect form, i.e., adjusting tense to the context. However, according to Schenker,<sup>5</sup> **δώσω** is rather a rendering of an imperfect form of **נתן**, and there seem to be several reasons for assuming a *Vorlage* of the Septuagint different from the Masoretic Hebrew text, rather than assuming that the translator adjusted the tense to the context. First, Greek future forms

3. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 29.

4. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 28–30.

5. Schenker, *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 32–34.

are regularly renderings of Hebrew imperfect forms. This is true not only in these verses, but in the whole chapter, and in the whole book of Jeremiah. If δώσω would be a rendering of a perfect form, this would be an improbable exception. Second, and this is Schenker's main argument, this is not the only difference between the two versions here. In MT it is the law (singular), **אֶת־תּוֹרָתִי**, which is the object of the verb, while in LXX it is the laws (plural), νόμους μου, which are the object of the verb (for that difference, see below). Thus Schenker concludes: first, the Greek version is a literal rendering of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, which differs from the Masoretic Hebrew text; second, the two versions differ significantly from each other. It should also be noticed that there are no examples of past tense in any Greek manuscripts.

Schenker's interpretation of **נִתְּנִי** also has consequences for his interpretation of the close context, viz., the meaning of **קָרַב**. According to Schenker **קָרַב** can be interpreted in two ways, either it means "midst, among," i.e., it is a sociological term referring to a place within a group of people, or it can mean "middle, within," i.e., it is an anthropological term referring to a place within a person. The latter interpretation forms a good parallel to **לִב** in the following clause, but it requires that **נִתְּנִי** refers to the future, i.e., God says "I will put my law within them, and I will write it on their hearts" (NRSV). A meaning referring to the past is not possible, because if God has put the law within them, it is no longer possible to put it into their hearts. The first interpretation, on the other hand, only makes sense if **נִתְּנִי** refers to the past. The difference in meaning between the two versions is apparently founded on the assumption that Schenker is right that the perfect form **נִתְּנִי** should be taken in its common sense, denoting a past action. If this is right, the meaning of the Hebrew text is approximately: "in the past, at mount Sinai, God gave the Torah to be in the midst of (or among) the people, but in the future he will write the (same) Torah on their hearts."<sup>6</sup>

In the Septuagint εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν apparently is a rendering of **בְּקִרְבָּם**, and since the verb δώσω is in the future form, it makes good sense and forms a nice parallel with the following ἐπὶ καρδίας αὐτῶν. The meaning of the Greek text is approximately: "giving I will give my laws into their mind, and on their heart I will write them."

The last major difference between the two versions taken into consideration here is the difference between the law (singular), **אֶת־תּוֹרָתִי**, and the laws (plural), νόμους μου, which is also found in v. 33. Schenker has a short but detailed discussion about this difference and comes to the conclusion that

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6. Schenker *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 27.

νόμους μου is a rendering of the plural of תורה.<sup>7</sup> The reason for this conclusion is that it is very unlikely that someone would change a text with the very common singular of תורה into the extremely rare plural form, while it is equally likely that someone would change the extremely rare plural into the common singular. Thus he also draws the conclusion that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint was in the plural, and that it is more original than the version found in the Masoretic Hebrew text.

As regards the variation in the manuscripts, there are no variant readings in any Hebrew manuscripts, but in the Greek manuscripts there is quite a bit of variation between singular and plural. It should also be noticed that Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotian all have the singular.

As regards the difference in meaning, the plural νόμους can hardly refer to the Torah. Consequently, according to MT, the same Torah, which was given among the people at mount Sinai, will be written on the hearts of the people. According to the Septuagint version, on the other hand, a number of laws (maybe including the Torah or parts of the Torah), or perhaps the oral and written Torah will be written on the hearts of the people.

In the later Jewish and Christian material it is clear that both versions were used; one in the Jewish material, which was, what could have been expected, the Hebrew version, and in the Christian context, both version were used side by side. But how did the different versions affect the interpretation of the text?

### 3. EARLY JEWISH CONTEXT

To begin with, it can be noticed that there are surprisingly few quotations and allusions to the Jeremiah-text, given the fact that this is the only text in the OT that explicitly mentions a new testament/covenant.

In the intertestamental literature there are only very few references to the Jeremiah-text, none of which seems to make any use of the peculiarities of any of the versions of the text.

Strangely enough, there are no quotations from the Jeremiah-text in the texts from Qumran, which is surprising, since the new covenant is an important issue especially in the Damascus document. Unfortunately, there remain no manuscripts from the Jeremiah-text among the Biblical texts either.

Neither are there any quotations from the Jeremiah-text in Mishnah or in Talmud, but there are a number of quotations in the Midrashim. The first two are found in Midrasch Tanḥuma B. In the first one, 1.13, the whole paragraph

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7. Schenker *Das Neue am neuen Bund*, 33.

is concerned with the giving of the Torah, and the Jeremiah-text is used as a proof-text:

In this world I gave them the Torah, but only few individuals care about it. But in the World to Come I will teach it to all Israel, and they will never forget it, as it is said: "This is the Torah" etc. "No, this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says the Lord."

As expected, the quotation does have תורה in the singular, and it is clear that in the eyes of Rabbi Tanḥuma the text of Jeremiah refers to the Torah.

The second quotation from Midrasch Tanḥuma B, 2.12,<sup>8</sup> is concerned with the giving of tithes, and the quotation from Jeremiah is only quoted in passing:

For David said: "I delight to do your will, my God, and your law is in the midst of my bowels [Ps. 40:9]." R. Aḥa b. 'Ulla said: But is the Torah in the bowels?! Is it not written: "and I will write it on their hearts"?

Again it is clear that the quotation has תורה in the singular and that in the eyes of Rabbi Tanḥuma the text of Jeremiah refers to the Torah.

The following three quotations are from Midrasch Rabbah.<sup>9</sup> The first one is found in Ecclesiastes 2.1.1:

R. Hezekiah said in the name of R. Simon b. Zabdi: All the Torah which you will learn in this world is 'vanity' in comparison with Torah [which will be learnt] in the World to Come; because in this world a man learns Torah and forgets it, but with reference to the World to Come what is written there? "I will put My law in their inward parts."

As in the previous examples תורה is in the singular and refers to the Torah.

The following two examples are from the Song of Songs, and in the first the giving of the Torah is discussed:

"Our master, Moses, would that God might be revealed to us a second time! Would that He would kiss us with the kisses of his lips! Would that He would fix the knowledge of the Torah in our hearts as it was!" He replied to them:

8. This text is also discussed in Pesiḳta dē-Rab Kahāna, Piska 10.

9. The translations from Midrash Rabbah are from *Midrash Rabbah: Translated into English with Notes, Glossary and Indices under the Editorship of H. Freedman and Maurice Simon* (London: Soncino, 1983).

“This cannot be now, but it will be in the days to come,” as it says, “I will put My law in their inward parts and in their heart will I write it.”

Here, as in the previous examples, תורה is in the singular and it clearly refers to the Torah.

In the second example the quotation follows immediately on a quotation from Mal. 3:16:

“And the Lord hearkened and heard, and a book of remembrance was written before Him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon His name” “He heard [for them] and it was written”: this means that He writes it on their hearts, as it says, “In their heart I will write it”

Also here in the last example it is clear that the singular “it” refers to the Torah.

Consequently, as could have been expected the תורה in the singular mentioned in the Jeremiah-text is interpreted in the same way in all the examples, viz. as the Torah. This is, of course, not very surprising, since תורה in the singular usually is interpreted as referring to the Torah. And, if the Jeremiah-text ever existed in a Hebrew version with תורה in the plural, this does not seem to have been interpreted in the early Jewish context.

#### 4. EARLY CHURCH FATHERS

The results of the investigation of the Greek and Latin church fathers, on the other hand, are more differentiated. First, it should be noticed that the overwhelming majority of quotations are taken directly from the prophet Jeremiah and not from Hebrews, and this appears to be true both about the Greek and about the Latin fathers.

Second, there seem to be no indications whatsoever about any knowledge about the existence of different versions of this text. This is not very surprising, since access to the Hebrew version seems to have been very rare among the church fathers. One exception is, of course, Origen, but unfortunately, no such comments of Origen on the Jeremiah-text appear to have survived.

Third, as could have been expected, the Greek church fathers follow the LXX-version of the text, while the Latin fathers follow the LXX-version until the translation of Jerome, and, after the Vulgate came into existence, both versions appear to have been used side by side.

#### 5. GREEK CHURCH FATHERS

As far as the Greek fathers are concerned, the law or laws in the Jeremiah-text do not refer to the Torah. Instead they refer to the teaching of Jesus, and they

are put into the hearts of the people at the giving of the Spirit as described in Acts 2. In their numerous discussions of the law in the context of the Jeremiah-text, the Torah is referred to both in the singular and plural, Moses is the giver of both the law and the laws, and the law (or the laws) in the Jeremiah-text are referred to both in the singular and plural. e.g., Justin Martyr, just before quoting the Jeremiah-text, states:<sup>10</sup>

But now—for I have read that there shall be a final law, and a covenant, the chiefest of all, which it is now incumbent on all men to observe, as many as are seeking after the inheritance of God. For the law promulgated on Horeb is now old, and belongs to yourselves alone; but *this* is for all universally. Now, law placed against law has abrogated that which is before it, and a covenant which comes after in like manner has put an end to the previous one; and an eternal and final law—namely, Christ—has been given to us, and the covenant is trustworthy, after which there shall be no law, no commandment, no ordinance.

As can be seen the law is referred to in the singular, but it does not refer to the Torah. Instead it is a new law, viz., Christ.

Origen explicitly refers to the new covenant of Jeremiah in his commentary on Psalm 77, when he quotes Micah 4:2 “out of Zion shall go forth a law,” and he adds, “but not the one of Moses.”<sup>11</sup>

Eusebius quoting the Jeremiah-text also quotes Isaiah 2:3, on which he comments:<sup>12</sup>

This law going forth from Sion, different from the law enacted in the desert by Moses on Mount Sinai, what can it be but the word of the Gospel, “going forth from Sion” through our Saviour Jesus Christ, and going through all the nations?

Here it is clear that the law in the Jeremiah-text is not the same as the law of Moses, i.e., the Torah, but that both are referred to in the singular.

Cyril of Alexandria in his commentary on Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians<sup>13</sup> quotes the Jeremiah-text in the LXX-version, i.e., he has the law in

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10. *Dialogue with Trypho* 11.2. Translation from *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Transl. of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325. Vol. 1, The Apostolic Fathers, Justin Martyr, Irenæus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

11. *Fragmenta in Psalmos* 77.1.

12. *Demonstratio Evangelica* 1.4. Translation from *The Proof of the Gospel, Being the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius of Cæsarea* by W. J. Ferrar (London: SPCK, 1920).

13. *Fragmenta in sancti Pauli epistulam ii ad Corinthios* 331–332.



the plural, and the comment following the quotation makes it quite clear that the laws do not refer to the Torah:

For long ago holy Moses received a law as disciplinarian on tablets of stone  
... but our Lord, Jesus Christ, inscribes for us the sacred and divine laws on  
tablets of human, i.e., sensitive, hearts.

As can be seen the plural of law is used about that what is written in the hearts by Jesus up against the singular about the Torah, but again no point is made about the change in number in the context of the quotation.

Summing up the Greek church fathers, it can be seen that they always use the LXX-version of the text, which is not very unexpected, since this is the version found in both Jeremiah and in Hebrews. More surprising is the fact that they make no use of the plural of the text in their interpretation of the text. One reason for this could perhaps be that the plural of νόμος is far more common in the LXX-version of the OT than is the plural of תורה in the Hebrew version of the text.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the plural of νόμος was more easily connected with the Torah, and hence the plural in the Jeremiah-text did not imply any peculiar interpretation as would the plural of תורה. Anyhow, the Greek church fathers seem to agree that the laws do not refer to the Torah, but in one way or the other they refer to the teachings of Jesus.

## 6. LATIN CHURCH FATHERS

Among the Latin fathers the interpretation of the law/laws seems to be somewhat more differentiated than among the Greek fathers. Some fathers tend to interpret the law as referring to the Torah, while other fathers seem to have an interpretation which is closer to the interpretation of the Greek fathers, i.e., the law/laws refer to something different than the Torah, viz., the New Testament or parts of it.

Tertullian, e.g., when discussing the Jeremiah-text together with Is. 2:2–4 in *An Answer to the Jews*, interprets the law as “a new law, not such as He had already given to the fathers.”<sup>15</sup> and further:

14. The reason for this is the fact that νόμος is used as a rendering for several Hebrew terms not only תורה.

15. *An Answer to the Jews* 3. The translation follows *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Transl. of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325. Vol. 3, Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

the wont of the old law was to avenge itself by the vengeance of the sword, and to pluck out “eye for eye,” and to inflict retaliatory revenge for injury. But the new law’s wont was to point to clemency, and to convert to tranquillity the pristine ferocity of “swords” and “spears,”

In his fourth book against Marcion Tertullian,<sup>16</sup> again quoting the texts from Isaiah and Jeremiah, comments on the law: “some other law, that is,” “the new law of the gospel.”

Jerome seems to be of the same opinion as Tertullian about the law, and he presents it in a letter to Augustine:<sup>17</sup>

Instead of the grace of the law which has passed away, we have received the grace of the gospel which is abiding; and instead of the shadows and types of the old dispensation, the truth has come by Jesus Christ. Jeremiah also prophesied thus in God’s name: “Behold, the days come, says the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt.” Observe what the prophet says, not to Gentiles, who had not been partakers in any former covenant, but to the Jewish nation. He who has given them the law by Moses, promises in place of it the new covenant of the gospel, that they might no longer live in the oldness of the letter, but in the newness of the spirit.

As can be seen, the quotation from Jeremiah only covers the beginning of the Jeremiah-text, and thus includes none of the peculiarities of the versions. However, from the context both before and after it is very clear that for Jerome the law by Moses has no part in the new covenant, an opinion that might be one reason for the controversy with Augustine at this point.

For Augustine, on the other hand, the law, referred to either in the singular or plural, is always the same both in the new and the old covenant, viz. the Torah. Augustine never discusses another or new law, but for Augustine it is the same law, which by the aid of the Spirit is put into the hearts of the people. As a consequence of this putting the law into the heart of the people, the people not only are eager to do what is prescribed in the law, but this is also made possible by the aid of the Spirit. However, although the putting of the spirit makes the people eager to fulfil the law, and also enables them to fulfil it, because of the old nature, this is never realized. The following examples are

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16. Against Marcion 4.1.

17. Letter 112. Translation from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Ser. 2. Vol. 6, Letters and Select Works/St. Jerome* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).

taken from Augustine's work *On the Spirit and the Letter*, in which Augustine makes abundant use of the Jeremiah-text.<sup>18</sup> The first one is a comment made immediately before the first quotation from the Jeremiah-text:

[T]he reason we cannot be righteous without the grace of God is that he gave us the law, that he provided us with teaching, that he imposed the good commandments. For all that is undoubtedly the letter that kills, if the Spirit does not provide help. But when the life-giving Spirit is present, he makes us love the very same thing, now written within, which the law made us fear, when it was written exteriorly.

Thus, when the Jeremiah-text is introduced for the first time by Augustine, it is very clear that there is no change of law, but rather a change of ability to fulfil the law by the aid of the Spirit, and that the law that is fulfilled always refers to the Torah in one way or the other.

In the second one Augustine discusses the nature of the laws written in the hearts of the people:

What then are the laws of God that are written by God himself on our hearts but the very presence of the Holy Spirit? He is the finger of God; by his presence love is poured out in our hearts, the love which is the fulfilment of the law and the goal of the commandment. ... Now we are promised the good of the heart, the good of the mind, the good of the Spirit, that is, the intelligible good, when it says, Putting my laws in their mind, I will also write them in their hearts. By this he signified that they would not fear the law that strikes terror from outside, but that they would love the righteousness of the law that dwells within.

It is clear from the text that Augustine follows the LXX-version, both when he refers to the text and when he quotes it, but it is not totally clear whether he has been influenced by the plural of the LXX-version in his interpretation of the "laws" of the text. However, this does not seem to be the case, since he refers both to the external law and to the internal law in singular, and, as discussed above, these laws both appear to refer to the Torah in one way or the other. Anyhow, there is no discussion of the plural or singular of *lex*, or any indication that Augustine made any use of the plural in the LXX-version.

Summing up the Latin church fathers, it is clear that among the early Latin church fathers the LXX-version was used, but just as could be seen

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18. *On the Spirit and the Letter* 32 and 36. Translation from *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church. Ser. 1. Vol. 5, Anti-Pelagian Writings/St. Augustin* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978).

about the Greek church fathers, the peculiarity of this version does not seem to have affected the interpretation. Instead the singular and the plural of *lex* seem to have been used interchangeably. The reason for this could, of course, be the same as in the Greek-speaking context, viz., that the plural of *lex* is far more common in the *Vulgate* version of the OT than the plural of תורה in the Hebrew version. In any case, it is clear that the different interpretations of the law/laws, however different they may be, are not dependent on any of the versions of the Jeremiah-text.

## 6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summing up the material, it can be concluded that there exist two different versions of Jeremiah 38:31–34 (MT 31:31–34), one mainly preserved in a Hebrew version and in later translations of that Hebrew version, and one mainly in a Greek version and in translations of that Greek version. But although these versions actually differ distinctly from each other and though both versions were used in the early Jewish and Christian contexts, the different versions are almost never discussed or even alluded to, but the interpretations, how ever different they may be, do not appear to have their origin in different versions of the text. Instead it is rather the context in which the interpretation is made, that affects the interpretation, and though in some cases the peculiarities of one version could have been a decisive factor for the interpretation, this does not seem to be taken into account.

Interestingly enough, since modern translations of the Bible usually are translated from both Hebrew and Greek sources, both versions can be found side by side in most modern translations. Equally interesting, of course, is the fact that the perplexity about how to interpret the law in the Jeremiah-text does not seem to have decreased during the course of time. On the contrary, according to the investigation by Joslin about the later reception and interpretation of the Jeremiah-text in Hebrews by modern scholars, “the range of meaning for νόμος in this text could hardly be broader: from generic or spiritualized idea of ‘God’s will’ without correspondence to the Mosaic laws, to the whole of the written law, and even to the Decalogue specifically.”<sup>19</sup>

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19. Joslin, *Hebrews, Christ, and the Law*, 208–9.

# Le vocabulaire homilétique de Jr 1–20 comparé à 4 Rg 17,7–20

*Christian-Bernard Amphoux et Arnaud Sérandour*

**Abstract:** Les rapports littéraires entre Jérémie et d'autres livres bibliques sont nombreux. Mais l'un des plus étonnants lie 2 R 17:7–20 et Jérémie. La proximité dans le vocabulaire et les expressions est aussi remarquable en grec qu'en hébreu. Or, l'exégèse a repéré ce passage de 2 R comme le plus caractéristique du «style deutéronomiste», qui serait celui d'une école ayant contribué à la rédaction de la partie la plus ancienne de la Bible. Il semble que la proximité littéraire ainsi observée permette de conclure à l'identité des milieux de production littéraire; et la période grecque semble mieux convenir que la période perse.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Le livre de Jérémie a surtout été étudié, jusqu'ici, sous sa forme longue transmise en hébreu et dans les traductions faites sur l'hébreu. À côté de cette tradition du livre, il existe une forme courte attestée par une partie des manuscrits grecs et des versions faites sur le grec ; et il est convenu d'appeler cette forme la Septante (LXX) de Jérémie. Or, plusieurs études menées à la fin du xx<sup>e</sup> siècle concluent que la forme courte du livre est antérieure à la forme longue<sup>1</sup> ; et la forme longue en serait une révision datant de l'époque asmonéenne. Dans ces conditions, la forme courte de Jérémie LXX prend un intérêt nouveau, puisqu'on atteint par elle l'état le plus ancien de l'œuvre.

Au congrès de Ljubljana<sup>2</sup>, nous avons présenté une étude montrant que la forme courte de Jérémie se divise 1–20 / 21–52, alors que la forme longue est

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1. Voir : P. M. BOGAERT, « Le livre de Jérémie en perspective : les deux rédactions antiques selon les travaux en cours », *Revue biblique* 101, 1994, p. 363–406 ; et A. SCHENKER, « La rédaction longue du livre de Jérémie doit-elle être datée au temps des premiers Hasmonéens ? », *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 70, 1994, p. 281–293.

2. C.-B. AMPHOUX – A. SÉRANDOUR, « La composition de Jérémie LXX d'après les

communément divisée 1–25 / 26–52. Dans la forme courte, les deux parties correspondent aux périodes distinguées en début de livre (Jr 1,2–3), à savoir celle de l'inspiration de Jérémie, la « 13<sup>e</sup> année de Josias », soit – 626, et celle de la réalisation de ces paroles, au temps de Joakim et Sédécias, les fils de Josias, soit de – 608 à la prise de Jérusalem en – 586. La forme longue s'analyse autrement : la première partie (1–25) comprendrait l'essentiel du livre et la seconde lui ajouterait quelques annexes. Or, entre cette première partie et une série de livres bibliques comprenant le Deutéronome et la collection des Livres historiques (Josué, Juges, 1–2 Samuel, 1–2 Rois), un langage commun a été observé : Jr 1–20 ou 1–25 présente des analogies avec ce que l'exégèse attribue désormais à une « école deutéronomiste » (dtr), dont 2 R 17,7–20 est considéré comme l'un des passages les plus caractéristiques<sup>3</sup>.

La lecture en grec de 4 Rg (= 2 R) 17,7–20 montre que ce passage a non seulement un large vocabulaire commun avec Jr-LXX 1–20, mais encore bien des expressions et les principaux thèmes. Nous avons, dans ces conditions, entrepris l'analyse de ce passage, à la recherche du sens à donner à une si grande proximité d'écriture : s'agit-il d'un phénomène lié aux traductions en grec ? Ou faut-il aller jusqu'à attribuer les deux livres au même auteur ? Comment situer le milieu rédactionnel qui les produit ? Voici tout d'abord le texte grec de 4 Rg 17,7–20 et son analyse. Nous proposons ensuite une interprétation de sa proximité avec Jr LXX 1–20.

## 2. LE TEXTE DE 4 Rg 17,7–20

Voici le texte grec de 4 Rg 17,7–20, reproduit d'après l'éd. de A. Rahlfs. Pour en faciliter l'étude, nous avons séparé les versets et encadré les groupements de mots et expressions que l'on trouve également dans Jr LXX 1–20 :

7 ἡμάρτων οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀναγαγόντι  
αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν θεοὺς ἑτεροῦς

divisions du Codex Vaticanus (B) », dans M. K. H. PETERS (éd.), *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (IOSCS), Ljubljana, juillet 2007, Atlanta, 2008, p. 3–21.

3. Voir Th RÖMER, *La première histoire d'Israël. L'Ecole deutéronomiste à l'œuvre*, Le monde de la Bible 56, Genève, Labor et Fides, 2007 : « L'histoire parallèle des royaumes de Juda et d'Israël (...) s'achève en 2 R 17, avec la chute de Samarie et son commentaire dtr. 2 R 17,7–20 est le dernier discours structurant de HD : en l'absence d'un locuteur possible, c'est un commentaire anonyme de l'auteur dtr qui est inséré dans la forme originelle du passage entre les v. 1–6 et 21–23. Ce dernier discours qui offre de nombreux parallèles avec Jos 1 ; 23 ; Jg 2,6–3,6 ; 1 S 12 ; et 1 R 8 résume toute l'Histoire dtr », p. 129.

- 8 καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν τοῖς δικαίωμασιν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὧν ἔζηρεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὅσοι ἐποίησαν
- 9 καὶ ὅσοι ἠμφιέσαντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ λόγους οὐχ οὕτως κατὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑψηλὰ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ πύργου φυλασσόντων ἕως πόλεως ὀχυρᾶς
- 10 καὶ ἐστήλωσαν ἑαυτοῖς στήλας καὶ ἄλση ἐπὶ παντὶ βουνῷ ὑψηλῷ καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου ἀλσώδους
- 11 καὶ ἐθυμίασαν ἐκεῖ ἐν πάσιν ὑψηλοῖς καθὼς τὰ ἔθνη ἃ ἀπέκτισεν κύριος ἐκ προσώπου αὐτῶν καὶ ἐποίησαν κοινωνοὺς καὶ ἐχάραξαν τοῦ παροργίσει τὸν κύριον
- 12 καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς εἰδώλοις οἷς εἶπεν κύριος αὐτοῖς οὐ ποιήσετε τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κυρίῳ
- 13 καὶ διεμαρτύρατο κύριος ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἰουδᾷ ἐν χειρὶ παντῶν τῶν προφητῶν αὐτοῦ παντὸς ὁρῶντος λέγων ἀποστράφητε ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ φυλάξατε τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τὰ δικαιώματά μου καὶ πάντα τὸν νόμον ὃν ἐνετείλαμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν ὅσα ἀπέστειλα αὐτοῖς ἐν χειρὶ τῶν δούλων μου τῶν προφητῶν
- 14 καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐσκήρυναν τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν νῶτον τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν
- 15 καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ ὅσα διεμαρτύρατο αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ματαίων καὶ ἐματαιώθησαν καὶ ὀπίσω τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν περικύκλω αὐτῶν ὧν ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς τοῦ μὴ ποιῆσαι κατὰ ταῦτα
- 16 ἐγκατέλιπον τὰς ἐντολάς κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς χώνευμα δύο δαμάλεις καὶ ἐποίησαν ἄλση καὶ προσεκύνησαν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῷ Βαάλ
- 17 καὶ διήγον τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν ἐν πυρὶ καὶ ἐμαντεύοντο μαντείας καὶ οἰωνίζοντο καὶ ἐπράθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου παροργίσει αὐτόν
- 18 καὶ ἐθυμώθη κύριος σφόδρα ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἀπέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ὑπελείφθη πληὴν φυλὴ Ἰουδᾷ μονωτάτῃ
- 19 καὶ γε Ἰουδᾶς οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν τὰς ἐντολάς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τοῖς δικαίωμασιν Ἰσραὴλ οἷς ἐποίησαν
- 20 καὶ ἀπέωσαντο τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ σπέρματι Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἐσάλευσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοὺς ἐν χειρὶ διαρπαζόντων αὐτοὺς ἕως οὗ ἀπέρριπεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ.

Au total, plus de quinze expressions communes pour seulement 14 v. Commençons par l'examen des expressions communes, en les classant.

## 3. LES EXPRESSIONS COMMUNES À 4 RG (TM 2 R) 17,7–20 ET JR 1–20

## 3.1. LE CONTEXTE GÉNÉRAL

Ce passage de 2 R, qui semble s'insérer entre les v. 6 et 21 qui se font suite, rappelle d'une manière condensée l'attitude paradoxale du peuple à l'égard du dieu qui l'a choisi et protégé, à la manière d'un suzerain : le peuple se montre ingrat et s'expose ainsi au châtement de son dieu.

## 3.2. L'ACTION DE DIEU POUR LE PEUPLE

7b τω κυριω θεω αυτων τω αναγαγοντι αυτοους εκ γης Αιγυπτου<sup>2,6</sup>;  
7,22 (LXX); 11,4 (LXX); 16,14

8b ων εξηρεν κυριος απο προσωπου υιων Ισραηλ

11b καθως τα εθνη α απωκισεν κυριος εκ προσωπου αυτων

12b οις ειπεν κυριος αυτοις ου ποιησετε το ρημα τουτο κυριω

**13a** και διεμαρτυρατο κυριος εν τω Ισραηλ και εν τω Ιουδα

13b εν χειρι<sup>19,7(TM); 20,5(TM); 21,5(TM)</sup> παντων των προφητων αυτου

παντος ορωντος

18b και απεστησεν αυτοους απο του προσωπου αυτου

18c και ουκ υπελειφθη πλην φυλη Ιουδα μονωτατη

20b και εσαλευσεν αυτοους και εδωκεν αυτοους εν χειρι διαρπαζοντων αυτοους

20c εως ου απερριψεν αυτοους απο προσωπου αυτου<sup>7,15</sup>.

Au début et à la fin du passage, deux expressions caractérisent l'action de Dieu pour son peuple.

1) « (Le Seigneur leur Dieu) *qui les a fait monter du pays d'Egypte* », au début du passage, rappelle la sortie d'Egypte, racontée dans l'Exode, avant l'errance dans le désert qui va durer quarante ans. L'expression a un caractère libérateur, elle a de nombreuses attestations, dont quatre emplois dans la première partie de Jérémie (2,6 ; 7,22 ; 11,4 ; 16,14). Notons que l'hébreu présente un autre verbe (*y-ts-* au lieu de *-l-h*), en 7,22 et 11,4.

2) « *Jusqu'à ce qu'il les ait rejetés loin de sa face* » termine le passage par une menace ; la même expression se trouve au futur et au style direct en Jr 7,15 : ἀπορρίψω ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ προσώπου μου, « Je vous rejetterai loin de ma face » ; et le verbe ἀπορρίπτω est encore employé en 16,13 pour annoncer l'exil : ἀπορρίψω ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, « Je vous rejetterai loin de ce pays ». Ainsi, de la libération initiale à la menace finale, le propos directeur porte sur le comportement ingrat du peuple à l'égard de son dieu : nous sommes dans un contexte homilétique.



L'action de Dieu est protectrice (v. 8b), elle a écarté les nations menaçantes (v. 11b), mais elle passe aussi par l'obéissance à la parole de Dieu (v. 12), à l'écoute des prophètes (v. 13) ; puis est venue la sanction du peuple à cause de sa désobéissance, Dieu l'a délaissé (v. 18.20). La transgression de la loi prend toute son importance.

### 3.3. LA TRANSGRESSION DE LA LOI PAR LE PEUPLE

**7a** ἡμαρτον οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ<sup>2,26</sup> (LXX); 3,21; 16,14

**7c** καὶ ἐφοβήθησαν θεοὺς ἑτεροῦς

**8a** καὶ ἐπορευθήσαν τοῖς δικαιομασίν των ἐθνῶν

**8c** καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς Ἰσραὴλ ὅσοι ἐποίησαν

**9a** καὶ ὅσοι ἠμφιεσαντο οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ λόγους οὐχ οὕτως κατὰ κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν

**9b** καὶ ἠκοδομήσαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑψηλὰ<sup>19,5</sup>

**10a** καὶ ἐστηλῶσαν ἑαυτοῖς στηλὰς καὶ ἀλσὴ ἐπὶ παντὶ βουνῷ ὑψηλῷ<sup>2,20; 16,16</sup> et <sup>29,16</sup> (LXX)

**10b** καὶ ὑποκατὰ παντός ξύλου ἀλσῶδους<sup>3,6,13</sup>

**11a** καὶ ἐθύμισαν ἐκεῖ ἐν πασὶν ὑψηλοῖς

**12a** καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τοῖς εἰδωλοῖς

**14a** καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐσκήληρναν τὸν νότον αὐτῶν<sup>7,26</sup> (TM); 17,23 (TM); 19,15 (TM)

**14b** ὑπὲρ τοῦ νότου των πατέρων αὐτῶν

**15a** καὶ τὰ μαρτυρία αὐτοῦ ὅσα διεμαρτυράτο αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐφυλάξαν

**15b** καὶ ἐπορευθήσαν ὀπίσω των ματαίων καὶ ἐματαιώθησαν<sup>2,5</sup>

**15c** καὶ ὀπίσω των ἐθνῶν των περικυκλῶ αὐτῶν

**16a** ἐγκατέλιπον<sup>9,12</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτῶν

**16b** καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς χωνεῦμα δύο δαμαλῆς καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀλσὴ

**16c** καὶ προσεκύνησαν πασὴ τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῷ Βααλ

**17a** καὶ διηγόν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν<sup>14,16; 42,8</sup>

**17b** ἐν πυρὶ<sup>7,31; 19,5; 21,10; 28,32</sup>

**17c** καὶ ἐμαντεύοντο μαντείας καὶ οἰωνίζοντο

**17d** καὶ ἐπραθήσαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ πονηρὸν<sup>2,13; 3,5; 7,30; 18,10</sup> ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου

**19a** καὶ γὰρ Ἰουδᾶς οὐκ ἐφυλάξεν<sup>16,11</sup> τὰς ἐντολὰς κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτῶν

**19b** καὶ ἐπορευθήσαν ἐν τοῖς δικαιομασίν Ἰσραὴλ οἱς ἐποίησαν

**20a** καὶ ἀπεώσαντο τὸν κύριον ἐν παντὶ σπέρματι Ἰσραὴλ<sup>23,8</sup>

Dès le début du passage, il est question du péché du peuple contre son dieu : « Les fils d'Israël ont péché contre le Seigneur leur Dieu ... et ils ont craint d'autres dieux » (v. 7). Le ton est ainsi donné, le péché du peuple est avant tout l'idolâtrie ; et plusieurs expressions lient encore le passage de 4 Rg et Jérémie :

1) v. 9 : « *Ils se sont édifié des hauts lieux* » associe les mêmes mots que Jr 19,5 : ὠκοδόμησαν ὑψηλὰ τῇ Βαάλ, « ils ont édifié des hauts lieux à Baal » ;

2) v. 10 : « *sur toute colline élevée et sous tout bois sacré* » a plusieurs équivalents dans Jr : ἐπὶ πᾶν βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου κατασκίου, « sur toute colline élevée et sous tout bois ombreux » (2,20) ; ἐπὶ πᾶν ὄρος ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου ἀλσώδους, « sur toute montagne élevée et sous tout bois sacré » (3,6) ; ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου ἀλσώδους, « sous tout bois sacré » (3,13) ; ἐπάνω παντὸς ὄρους καὶ ἐπάνω παντὸς βουνοῦ « sur toute montagne et sur toute colline » (16,16) ;

3) v. 14 : « *Ils n'ont pas écouté et ils ont raidi leur dos plus que le dos de leurs pères* » correspond à Jr : οὐκ ἤκουσάν μου... καὶ ἐσκλήρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν, « Ils ne m'ont pas écouté... et ils ont raidi leur nuque plus que leurs pères » (7,26), le même mot hébreu 'r-p étant traduit par νῶτον, « dos », et par τράχηλος, « nuque » ; de même, καὶ ἐσκλήρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ ἀκουσαί μου, « ils ont raidi leur nuque plus que leurs pères pour ne pas m'entendre » (17,23) ; et encore, ἐσκλήρυναν τὸν τράχηλον αὐτῶν τοῦ μὴ εἰσακοῦειν τῶν λόγων μου, « ils ont raidi leur nuque sans obéir à mes paroles » (19,15) ;

4) v. 15 : « *Ils ont marché derrière les futilités et sont devenus futilés* » se retrouve mot pour mot en Jr 2,5 : ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω τῶν ματαίων καὶ ἐματαιώθησαν, « ils ont marché derrière les futilités et sont devenus futilés » ;

5) v. 16 : « *Ils ont abandonné les commandements du Seigneur leur dieu* » correspond à Jr 9,12 : διὰ τὸ ἐγκαταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸν νόμον μου, « parce qu'ils ont abandonné ma loi » ;

6) v. 17 : « *Leurs fils et leurs filles* » se retrouve en Jr 14,16 : καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτῶν, « et leurs femmes et leurs fils et leurs filles » ;

7) v. 17 : « *faire le mal aux yeux du Seigneur* » se retrouve en Jr 7,30 : ἐποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰουδᾶ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ, « Les fils de Juda ont fait le mal devant moi » ;

8) v. 19 : « *Judas n'a pas gardé les commandements du Seigneur leur dieu* » correspond à Jr 16,11 : οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ... τὸν νόμον μου οὐκ ἐφυλάξαντο, « vos pères ... n'ont pas gardé ma loi » ;

9) v. 20 : « *toute la descendance d'Israël* » se retrouve en Jr 23,8 : ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραὴλ, « toute la descendance d'Israël » (v. en fin de chap., dans la LXX).

Ainsi, la transgression est d'abord dans le fait de rendre un culte à plusieurs dieux, puis dans le non-respect de la loi, comme contrat de l'alliance avec Dieu. Mais le comportement à l'égard d'autrui n'est pas dit plus précisément, la loi rituelle non plus, l'accent est sur l'exclusivité du culte au Dieu du temple de Jérusalem, thème du chap. 10 occupant la position centrale de la première partie de Jr (1–20).

### 3.4. LA COLÈRE DE DIEU

11c και εποιησαν κοινωνους και εχαραξαν του παροργισαι τον κυριον  
 17e παροργισαι αυτον  
 18a και εθυμωθη κυριος σφοδρα εν τω Ισραηλ

La première conséquence de la transgression du peuple est d'irriter le Seigneur, et le passage le mentionne trois fois : « pour irriter le Seigneur » (v. 11), « (aux yeux du Seigneur) pour l'irriter » (v. 17), « le Seigneur s'est fortement emporté (à l'encontre d'Israël) » (v. 18). Pas d'expression commune avec Jr, mais on y trouve le même vocabulaire et la colère de Dieu a les mêmes causes.

### 3.5. LA CITÉ ET LA GUERRE

9c εν πασαις ταις πολεσιν αυτων<sup>5,6; 19,15</sup>  
 9d απο πυργου φυλασσοντων εως πολεως οχυρας<sup>1,18; 4,5; 5,17; 8,14</sup>

La deuxième conséquence de la transgression du peuple est la perte de la protection divine, qui expose le peuple à la guerre, qui apparaît discrètement ici, à travers la cité, surtout lorsqu'elle est fortifiée :

1) « (Ils se sont construits des lieux élevés) *dans toutes leurs cités* » (v. 9) est à rapprocher de Jr : *πάρδαλις ἐγρηγόρησεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν*, « Un léopard à veillé auprès de leurs cités » (5,6) ; *ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην... ἅπαντα τὰ κακὰ ἃ ἐλάλησα ἐπ' αὐτήν*, « J'amène sur cette cité... tout le malheur que j'ai prononcé contre elle » (19,15) ;

2) « (De la tour des gardes) *jusqu'à la cité fortifiée* » (v. 9) fait encore penser à Jr : *ὡς πόλιν ὀχυρὰν καὶ ὡς τεῖχος χαλκοῦν ὀχυρόν*, « comme une cité fortifiée et comme un rempart d'airain fortifié » (1,18) ; *εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς τειχίρεις*, « entrons dans les cités munies d'un rempart » (4,5) ; *ἀλοήσουσιν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυράς ὑμῶν* « ils frapperont vos cités fortifiées » (5,17) ; *εἰσέλθωμεν εἰς τὰς πόλεις τὰς ὀχυράς* « entrons dans les cités fortifiées » (8,14).

L'un des registres importants de Jr est le vocabulaire de la guerre, qui est seulement amorcé dans le passage de 4 Rg.

## 3.6. L'EXIGENCE DE LA LOI

13c λεγων αποστραφητε απο των οδων υμων των πονηρων<sup>18,11; 23,14</sup>  
(LXX); 25,5; 33,3

13d και φυλαξατε τας εντολας μου και τα δικαιωματα μου

13e και παντα τον νομον ον ενετειλαμην τοις πατρασιν υμων<sup>11,4; 17,22</sup>

13f οσα απεστειλα αυτοις εν χειρι των δουλων μου των προφητων<sup>7,25;</sup>  
25,4; 42,15; 51,4

15d ων ενετειλατο αυτοις του μη ποιησαι κατα ταυτα

Enfin, plusieurs expressions rappellent l'existence d'une loi à laquelle le peuple a obligation de se conformer :

1) « *Détournez-vous de vos chemins mauvais* » se retrouve en Jr 18,11 : αποστραφήτω δὴ ἕκαστος ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, « Que chacun se détourne de son chemin mauvais » ; l'expression est encore en 23,14 (l'hébreu n'a pas ici le mot « chemin ») : τοῦ μὴ ἀποστραφῆναι ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, « pour que chacun se détourne de son chemin mauvais », en 25,5 : ἀποστράφητε ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, « Détournez-vous chacun de votre chemin mauvais » ; et 33,3 : καὶ ἀποστραφήσονται ἕκαστος ἀπὸ τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς πονηρᾶς, « et chacun se détournera de son chemin mauvais » ;

2) « *Toute la loi que j'avais ordonnée à vos pères* » se retrouve en Jr : τῶν λόγων τῆς διαθήκης ἧς ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, « (les paroles de cette alliance) que j'avais ordonnée à vos pères » (11,3–4) ; τὰδε λέγει κύριος... ἀγιάσατε τὴν ἡμέραν τῶν σαββάτων καθὼς ἐνετειλάμην τοῖς πατράσιν ὑμῶν, « (Ainsi parle le Seigneur)... sanctifiez le jour du sabbat, comme je l'ai ordonné à vos pères » (17,22) ;

3) « (ce que je leur ai envoyé) *par la main de mes serviteurs les prophètes* » fait penser à Jr : ἐξαπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφήτας, « j'ai envoyé vers vous tous mes serviteurs les prophètes » (7,25) ; expression reprise : ἀπέστελλον πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς δούλους μου τοὺς προφήτας, « et j'envoyais vers vous mes serviteurs les prophètes » (25,4) ; ἀπέστειλα πρὸς ὑμᾶς πάντας τοὺς παῖδάς μου τοὺς προφήτας, « et j'ai envoyé vers vous mes servants les prophètes » (42,15).

Au total ce sont plus de quinze groupements de mots que l'on trouve à la fois dans notre passage de 4 Rg (2 R) et dans Jr, principalement la première partie du livre, chap. 1–20. Les correspondances sont dispersées dans Jr, il ne s'agit pas d'une citation, mais d'un vocabulaire commun. L'hébreu et le grec ont quelques différences, mais la correspondance est, au total, aussi forte dans les deux langues. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une proximité du seul milieu de traduction, elle concerne la rédaction même des passages comparés.

#### 4. LE VOCABULAIRE DE JR DANS 4 RG (TM 2 R) 17,7–20

Une enquête complémentaire a consisté à classer les mots de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20, selon qu'ils se trouvaient ou non également dans Jr. Nous avons mis à part les mots grammaticaux, dont certains sont constamment employés, et avons groupé les mots significatifs (verbes, noms, adjectifs et adverbes d'adjectifs), selon qu'ils sont ou non employés dans Jr. Voici le résultat de cette première enquête.

1) 31 mots grammaticaux (et locutions) sont communs à 4 Rg et Jr :

απο	<u>απο προσωπου</u>	<u>απο του προσωπου</u>	αυτος
γε δυο	εαυτου	εγω	
<u>εκ προσωπου</u>	εκει	εν	<u>εν χειρι</u>
επι	ετερος	εως	καθως
και	κατα	λεγων	μη
ο οπισω	ος	οσος	
ου	ουτος	ουτως	πας
πλην	σφοδρα	υπερ	

La plupart de ces mots sont d'un emploi trop répandu en grec pour que leur présence dans les deux livres soient significative. On note, cependant, les locutions utilisant les mots de « face » ou « main », liées au modèle hébreu. Dans Jr LXX, « main » s'emploie au pluriel si le complément qui suit est au pluriel, ce qui n'est pas le cas dans notre passage.

2) 47 mots significatifs sont communs à 4 Rg et Jr, en plus de ceux qui apparaissent dans les locutions communes :

ακουω	αλσος	αμαρτανω	αποικιζω
αποστελλω	απωθεω	αφιστημι	Βααλ
βασιλευς	δαμαλις	διαμαρτυρω	διαρπαζω
διδωμι	δυναμις	εγκαταλειπω	εθνος
ειδωλον	εντελλομαι	εντολη	εξαιρω
θεος	θυμιαω	θυμωω	Ιουδας
Ισραηλ	κυριος	λεγω	λογος
μαρτυριον	νομος	νωτον	ουρανος
παροργιζω	πιπρασκω	ποιεω	πορευω
προσκυνεω	προφητης	πυργος	ρημα
σαλευω	σκληρυνω	υπολειπω	υψηλος
φοβεομαι	φυλασσω	χωνευμα	

Ce sont en tout 25 verbes, 18 substantifs, 1 adjectif et 3 noms propres. Tous entrent dans le cadre homilétique, pour indiquer notamment : (1) Dieu, son peuple et les autres dieux (Baal, dieu, Juda, Israël, Seigneur, ciel) ; (2) la relation à Dieu (écouter, pécher, mépriser, sacrifier, faire (le mal), adorer, raidir (son dos / sa nuque), craindre, garder) ; (3) l'action de Dieu et ses sentiments (envoyer, donner, ordonner, s'irriter) ; (4) le sacré (bois (sacré), prophète, (lieu) élevé, métal fondu (des idoles)) ; (5) la guerre (arracher, force (armée), tour). Ces mots renforcent le lien entre notre passage et Jr.

3) 14 mots significatifs sont absents de Jr :

αμφιεννυμι	διαγω	δικαιωμα	κοινωνος
λατρευω	μαντεια	μαντευομαι	μονωτατος
οιωνιζομαι	περικυκλω	στηλη	στηλω
φυλη	χαρασσω		

En tout, 7 verbes, 4 substantifs, 2 adjectifs et 1 adverbe, appartenant au même vocabulaire, avec la « divination », les « décrets » divins ou ceux des païens, les « stèles » que l'on élève au lieu de culte, « rendre un culte »...

La disproportion entre les mots communs et ceux qui ne le sont pas confirme la proximité qui existe entre notre passage et Jr, spécialement pour la première partie et autant en hébreu qu'en grec. Le lien est plus fort que pour aucun autre passage des Livres historiques. Et nous allons, à présent, en examiner les conséquences.

## 5. LE MILIEU RÉDACTIONNEL

Les traits communs observés ne garantissent pas l'identité de l'auteur de Jr 1–20 et de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20 ; sur quelques points, les différences existent. Mais ils indiquent que le milieu rédactionnel est le même, dans l'espace et dans le temps ; et nous allons tenter de cerner ce milieu.

### 5.1. LE TEMPLE DE JÉRUSALEM

Le milieu commun de rédaction de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20 et Jr 1–20 est caractérisé par sa pratique de l'homélie adressée au peuple juif ; il s'agit, à l'évidence, du milieu sacerdotal du temple de Jérusalem, en un temps où le culte unique du dieu de ce temple est exigé du peuple. Les auteurs sont contemporains, ce sont des prédicateurs diffusant le même message, selon lequel la fidélité au dieu du temple protégera le peuple contre les assauts de l'ennemi, tandis que la désobéissance amènerait de graves malheurs.

Le destinataire de la prédication est bien caractérisé : les malheurs sont avant tout ceux que provoque la défaite militaire. Il ne s'agit pas de craindre un accident climatique ni les rigueurs d'une police politique ou religieuse, mais bien d'interpréter la guerre qui menace comme le châtement voulu par Dieu contre un peuple rebelle et de convaincre celui-ci de se soumettre au dieu représenté par son grand-prêtre, au nom duquel s'exprime le prédicateur.

Dans Jr, le vocabulaire militaire est plus développé, de même que la métaphore de la prostitution pour parler de l'idolâtrie, alors qu'elle n'est pas présente ici. Mais le propos fondamental reste le même : désobéir au dieu du temple entraînera la défaite militaire et ses lourdes conséquences. L'inspiration est la même, comme le reconnaît la tradition juive qui attribue à Jérémie la rédaction des livres des Rois. Mais le copiste est différent, à en juger par quelques traits peu nombreux, mais significatifs. De fait, Baruch est bien le scribe du livre de Jr, mais nul ne propose d'en faire aussi le scribe des livres des Rois.

## 5.2. LE TEMPS DE LA RÉDACTION

La question du temps de rédaction de Jr 1–20 et de notre passage de 4 Rg (2 R) est plus délicate. Le contexte (chap. 17) fait référence au temps d'Osée, le dernier roi d'Israël, avant la prise de Samarie, en – 722–721 ; et notre passage se présente comme une réflexion sur la ruine du royaume du nord, tandis que celui de la Judée continue d'exister. Jr 1–20 fait, au contraire, référence au temps de Josias, conformément à la rédaction datée dans le livre de la « quatrième année de Joakim » (Jr 43 [TM 36],1), soit en – 604, année où le roi de Babylone Nabuchodonosor entre en vainqueur à Jérusalem et en devient le suzerain, mettant fin à la dynastie assyrienne.

La réflexion de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20 se termine par une allusion à la défaite que Juda connaît à son tour, après avoir survécu au royaume du nord : la rédaction finale du passage est donc postérieure à la prise de Jérusalem en – 586, qui marque le début de la période exilique. De la même façon, Jr 21–52 raconte nombre d'événements postérieurs à la rédaction de – 604, jusqu'à la prise de Jérusalem et même au-delà, si bien que la rédaction finale du livre est aussi nécessairement postérieure à cet événement.

L'exégèse historico-critique a proposé de situer la rédaction de la forme longue de Jérémie à la période exilique ou à l'époque perse, soit en échelonnant cette rédaction du milieu du 6<sup>e</sup> siècle au début du 4<sup>e</sup>, de – 550 à – 400 environ<sup>4</sup>. Mais les dates proposées ignorent les données du livre lui-même.

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4. Th. RÖMER – J.-D. MACCHI – C. NIHAN (éd.), *Introduction à l'AT*, Monde de la Bible

La critique textuelle est venue compliquer la situation, en établissant que la forme courte du livre, attestée à Qumrân et transmise par sa version grecque, était un état antérieur à la forme longue transmise par l'hébreu et que celle-ci n'était pas antérieure à l'époque asmonéenne, autrement dit elle daterait de vers – 140, un peu après la version grecque probablement réalisée vers – 150. Cette donnée nouvelle étend la période de rédaction de Jérémie : la forme courte pourrait dater de l'époque grecque, qui commence avec Alexandre-le-Grand, vers – 330, mais sans aller au-delà d'Antiochos IV Epiphanes, qui dépose le grand-prêtre Onias en – 175 et profane le temple en – 167. La rédaction du modèle hébreu de la LXX de Jérémie trouve alors son *terminus ad quem*, les événements qui marquent cette limite ayant laissé des traces dans la forme longue qui sont absentes de la forme courte du livre<sup>5</sup>.

Quel est donc le moment le plus approprié pour fixer la rédaction finale de la forme courte de Jérémie ? Un indice a retenu notre attention : en Jr 25,1–3 sont réunies non seulement la date de l'inspiration de Jérémie et celle de la première mise par écrit, datées par la chronologie royale (« 13<sup>e</sup> année de Josias » et « 4<sup>e</sup> année de Joakim »), mais encore la durée qui les sépare : « 23 années », soit vingt-deux ans selon notre manière de compter, en ne considérant qu'une des bornes de l'intervalle. Pourquoi avoir précisé cette durée, que la chronologie royale suffit à indiquer ? Il se trouve qu'un seul changement de dynastie, dans la longue période envisagée, correspond exactement aux données de Jr 25,1–3 : il s'agit du passage de la dynastie lagide à la dynastie séleucide, à la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>6</sup>.

La période grecque est d'autant plus probable que par deux fois, on lit dans la forme courte de Jr de prendre garde à « l'épée grecque » (Jr LXX 26,16 ; 27,16 : art. cit. [n. 6], 28–30), ce qui ne fait pas sens avant l'époque grecque. Dans ces conditions, l'inspiration de Jérémie coïncide avec la mort de Ptolémée III, en – 221 ; la première mise par écrit, avec l'entrée victorieuse d'Antiochos III à Jérusalem, en – 199, vingt-deux ans plus tard ; et la rédaction finale se confond avec celle indiquée dans la LXX « la 8<sup>e</sup> année de Joakim » (Jr 43,9), soit quatre ans plus tard, en – 195. L'hébreu (TM 36,9) indique une autre année.

49, 2<sup>e</sup> éd., Genève, Labor et Fides, 2009, « Jérémie » (Th. RÖMER), « 2. Origine et formation », p. 429–435.

5. P. M. BOGAERT, « Jr 17,1–4 TM, oracle contre ou sur Juda propre au texte long... », dans Y. GOLDMAN – C. ÜHLINGER (éd.), *La double transmission du texte biblique*, OBO 179, Fribourg – Göttingen, 2001, p. 59–74.

6. C.-B. AMPHOUX – A. SÉRANDOUR, « La date de la forme courte de Jérémie », dans M. LOUBET – D. PRALON (éd.), *Eukarpa. Etudes sur la Bible et ses exégèses*, Mél. G. Dorival, t. 1, Paris, Cerf, 2011, p. 25–35.



A cette date, le livre a atteint sa forme courte, connue par le grec, dont la composition présente une particularité : elle associe une première partie (1–20) organisée selon la *proportion d'égalité* de part et d'autre de son chapitre central (10) et une deuxième partie (21–52) formant la *proportion du simple au double* de part et d'autre de sa section centrale, les oracles sur les nations (25<sup>14</sup>–32). Dans la première partie, la proportion est marquée par la répétition d'une formule, elle se superpose à la rédaction ; tandis que dans la deuxième partie, ce sont les indications des règnes qui servent à délimiter les sections, la composition fait partie de la rédaction<sup>7</sup>. Ainsi, la double proportion est liée à la deuxième rédaction du livre et elle vient d'une spéculation de la philosophie grecque, qui en fait la structure de « l'âme » du monde, opérant le lien entre le monde céleste et le monde terrestre ; en d'autres termes, la double proportion garantit le caractère inspiré du livre de Jérémie, elle lui donne le statut d'écriture sacrée<sup>8</sup>.

Or, la même double proportion lie les premiers livres de la Bible, plus précisément le Pentateuque (Gn – Ex – Lv – Nb – Dt) et les Livres historiques (Jo – Jg – **Ru** – 1–2 S – 1–2 R) : le Pentateuque est organisé selon la *proportion d'égalité* de part et d'autre du Lévitique, son livre central ; et les Livres historiques forment une collection organisée selon la *proportion du simple au double*, par rapport au point central occupé, dans la tradition grecque, par le livret de Ruth. Ainsi, le lien déjà remarqué entre Jérémie et ces livres appelés « HD » (histoire deutéronomiste) est aussi structurel : la forme courte de Jérémie présente une composition caractérisée par cette double proportion, qui lie également les premiers livres de la Bible.

## 6. LES DATES DE 4 RG (2 R) ET DE JÉRÉMIE

Le passage que nous avons examiné, qui s'insère dans le chap. 17 de 4 Rg (2 R), présente des liens avec Jr 1–20, et cela rend vraisemblable qu'il soit contemporain de la rédaction de Jr 1–20, que nous assimilons à la première rédaction de Jr, celle que le livre date de « la 4<sup>e</sup> année de Joakim » et que Jr 25,1–3 nous autorise à transposer en – 199. Le passage considéré s'ajoute alors, selon toute vraisemblance, à une rédaction de 2 R comprenant déjà les chap. 1–17 (sauf notre passage), mais pas encore la section des chap. 18–25 (voir n. 3), ce qui explique son insertion en position finale du livre antérieur. De plus, on trouve

7. Voir n. 2.

8. C.-B. AMPHOUX, « L'âme du monde du *Timée* de Platon : une composante de la rhétorique biblique », dans A. BALANSARD – G. DORIVAL – M. LOUBET (éd.), *Prolongements et renouvellements de la tradition classique*, Mél. D. Pralon, t. 2, Textes et documents de la Méditerranée antique et médiévale, Aix, PUP, 2011, p. 121–132.

en 2 R 18–25 deux dates qui semblent appartenir à un même système que celles de Jérémie 25,1–3 et qui se rattachent à la deuxième rédaction du livre, celle qui donne la forme courte.

#### 6.1. LA 18<sup>e</sup> ANNÉE DE JOSIAS

Le grand-prêtre mentionné, en 4 Rg (2 R) 22, est Helkias (Hilqiyahou), nom du père de Jérémie (Jr 1,1) et grand-prêtre au temps de Josias. Ce personnage prend toute son importance avec la découverte dans le temple d'un rouleau de la Torah, « la 18<sup>e</sup> année de Josias » (v. 3). Si l'on rapproche le dernier livre des Rois et Jérémie, cette découverte se fait cinq ans après l'inspiration de Jérémie. Comme celle-ci, il s'agit d'un événement littéraire ; et la même transposition aboutit à l'année – 216. Dans Jr, dès son inspiration (datée de « la 13<sup>e</sup> année de Josias »), le prophète exhorte le peuple à suivre la loi qui sert de contrat à l'alliance avec Dieu. Mais en 2 R, la loi est redécouverte seulement cinq ans plus tard : s'il y a compatibilité entre les deux livres, à quel état de la loi se réfère Jérémie ? On doit comprendre que l'événement littéraire de la 18<sup>e</sup> année de Josias n'est ni la rédaction de la loi ni la redécouverte d'un écrit perdu, mais une réédition de la loi, qui entraîne des transformations, peut-être liées à l'événement de la 13<sup>e</sup> année de Josias.

Passons à la période transposée de ces dates. A la fin du 3<sup>e</sup> siècle et au début du 2<sup>e</sup>, le grand-prêtre du temple de Jérusalem est Simon le Juste. Or, nous avons au moins un témoignage attestant que Simon le Juste est responsable de travaux dans le temple : on lit en Sir 50,1–2 :

Σίμων Ονίου υἱὸς ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας ὃς  
ἐν ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ὑπέρραψεν οἶκον καὶ ἐν  
ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἐστερέωσεν ναόν καὶ  
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐθεμελιώθη ὕψος διπλῆς  
ἀνάλημμα ὑψηλὸν περιβόλου ἱεροῦ.

Simon fils d'Onias, le grand-prêtre,  
qui de son vivant répara la maison,  
avait aussi en ses jours fortifié le  
temple ; et par lui fut fondée la hau-  
teur double, soubassement élevé de  
l'enceinte sacrée.

Ces mots demeurent mystérieux : qu'est-ce que la « hauteur double » ? Du moins s'appliquent-ils à des travaux architecturaux ou littéraires. Et c'est là que leur témoignage rejoint celui de 4 Rg (2 R) 22 : la découverte du grand-prêtre est à la fois architecturale et littéraire. La « hauteur double » est-elle une allusion au rassemblement du Pentateuque et des Livres historiques pour former un ensemble législatif et historique, selon une double proportion leur conférant le statut de lien entre Dieu et son peuple ? C'est une hypothèse que suggère le rapprochement de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20 avec Jr 1–20. Dans un premier temps, Jérémie a mis par écrit les paroles inspirées ; et quatre ans plus tard, il

en a fait un livre organisé selon une double proportion. De la même façon, plusieurs livres ont été d'abord écrits, puis ils ont été rassemblés avec une section finale nouvelle et organisés selon la même double proportion. Dans les deux opérations, il s'agit de donner par la structure un caractère d'écriture sacrée à un livre ou à une collection de plusieurs livres.

## 6.2. LA 14<sup>e</sup> ANNÉE D'EZÉCHIAS

Au début de la section 4 Rg (2 R) 18–25 figure le règne d'Ezéchias dont « la 14<sup>e</sup> année » (18,13) prend une importance particulière, encore renforcée par le fait que 2 R 18,13–20,19 est reproduit dans Esaïe pour y former les chap. 36–39. Pourquoi cette importance donnée à la 14<sup>e</sup> année d'Ezéchias ?

Dans la chronologie royale, elle précède la 18<sup>e</sup> année de Josias de 89 ans. Autrement dit, dans la transposition à laquelle nous avons abouti pour dater Jérémie, elle correspond à l'an – 305, qui est l'année de la fondation de la dynastie lagide, suzeraine de Jérusalem jusqu'en – 199. L'insistance sur cette date veut-elle dire qu'un événement littéraire important s'est produit cette année-là ? Faut-il y associer une précédente édition de la Torah ? Ou celle d'un autre livre ? Les deux dates données par cette section de 4 Rg (2 R), la 14<sup>e</sup> année d'Ezéchias et la 18<sup>e</sup> année de Josias, représentent-elles deux étapes majeures de la constitution de l'Écriture de référence du temple de Jérusalem : d'abord la Torah, sous une forme législative qui reste à définir ; puis le groupe Pentateuque + Livres historiques, jusqu'à la prise de Jérusalem, la forme étant structurée de manière à constituer une écriture sacrée ? On peut en formuler une hypothèse en s'appuyant sur le rapprochement entre un passage de 4 Rg (2 R) 17 et Jr 1–20 et entre la section finale de 4 Rg (2 R) et Jr 21–52, pour ce qui est des dates littéraires qu'on y trouve.

## 7. CONCLUSION

Entre la première partie de Jr LXX (1–20) et un passage du dernier livre des Règles de la Septante ou des Rois en hébreu, 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7–20, il existe une proximité littéraire remarquable qui permet de conclure non pas à une identité d'auteur, mais à un même milieu rédactionnel. Ce passage, qui semble interpolé dans son contexte immédiat, a déjà été repéré comme l'un des plus caractéristiques d'un style attribué par l'exégèse historico-critique à une « école deutéronomiste » (dtr) dont le travail daterait de l'époque perse, comme la rédaction de Jérémie, d'après l'examen de la forme longue transmise par l'hébreu.

Mais l'examen de la forme courte de Jérémie, transmise par la LXX, et la découverte récente que la forme longue en est une révision datant de l'époque

asmonéenne a ouvert d'autres possibilités de datation. La forme courte de Jr présente plusieurs traits caractéristiques de l'époque grecque. De plus, les deux stades de la rédaction signalés dans le livre (Jr TM 36 / LXX 43) forment un système avec la date de l'inspiration de Jérémie (Jr 25,1-3) qui suggère de transposer la rédaction au tout début de l'époque séleucide, en - 199, l'année même de la victoire d'Antiochos III, et en - 195, pour la forme courte. A la première date correspond l'essentiel de la prédication de Jérémie (1-20), développant les thèmes de 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7-20 ; et l'organisation du livre complet avec son système de dates serait contemporaine de la section finale du dernier livre des Règles ou des Rois (18-25).

D'autres livres de la Bible présentent des expressions communes avec Jr, mais elles sont en plus petit nombre ; et de nouvelles études devraient permettre de préciser s'il s'agit de liens de même nature avec le milieu rédactionnel du temple de Jérusalem que nous datons, pour Jr et 4 Rg (2 R) 17,7-20, du tournant des 3<sup>e</sup> et 2<sup>e</sup> siècles avant notre ère.

# Was LXX Pentateuch a Style-Setter for LXX Minor Prophets?

*Jennifer Dines*

**Abstract:** Although the vocabulary and syntax of LXX Pentateuch certainly influenced many subsequent translators, the question whether these were also influenced in the matter of style has not been much addressed. I will investigate whether the translator of the Minor Prophets took his cue for literary embellishments (alliteration, chiasm, and other verbal effects) from what he found in the Pentateuch. With no systematic treatments of style in either corpus as yet available, only a few preliminary suggestions can be made in a short paper, but I will endeavour to show that, while LXX Minor Prophets share many stylistic features with LXX Pentateuch, the later translation has some distinctive practices of its own.

## INTRODUCTION

It is now clear that vocabulary and syntax first occurring in the Greek Pentateuch sometimes influenced choices made by later translators.<sup>1</sup> The translation of the Minor Prophets (MP) is no exception.<sup>2</sup> This being so, we might wonder whether pentateuchal influence is discernible in other ways as well. Recent study has shown that the various translators (five for the Pentateuch, one for MP) attempt intermittently to reproduce some of their source texts' literary features—assonance, alliteration, rhyme and so on—either exactly or

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1. See E. Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy* (ed. P. Casetti et al., OBO 38; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1981), 577–92; repr. in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SVT 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183–94; J. Joosten, "The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; SBLSCS 55; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 197–205.

2. See T. Muraoka, "Introduction aux Douze Petits Prophètes," in *Les Douze Prophètes: Osée* (ed. E. Bons, J. Joosten, and S. Kessler; La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.1; Paris: Cerf, 2002), xiii–xvi.

equivalently.<sup>3</sup> This is interesting enough, as it shows them to be sensitive to stylistic effects and responsive to at least some of them, thereby going beyond a mere concern to reproduce the sense. Even more interesting is that they sometimes invent similar effects independently of the Hebrew.<sup>4</sup> The question whether the translator of MP took his cue from the Pentateuch in this respect is a challenging one, since no systematic treatment of literary style in either corpus has yet been attempted, and there are no agreed criteria by which comparisons might be made.<sup>5</sup> The present short study offers only a few tentative preliminary soundings.

“Style” is a broad term and is used here in a restricted sense. Such aspects of translation as “literal” and “free,” adherence to Hebrew word order, Semitic calques, and so on, are not addressed.<sup>6</sup> My focus is on some simple literary features: alliteration, rhyme, chiasm, repetition, variation, and other such staples of Greek and Hebrew composition alike. Three questions are considered. First, does LXX MP betray the influence of LXX Pentateuch in reproducing literary features already present in Hebrew? Secondly, did the example of LXX Pentateuch inspire the translator of MP to provide embellishments not already in the Hebrew? Finally, are there any features in MP for which LXX Pentateuch does not seem to have provided a precedent? In a short paper, it is not possible to work systematically through all the texts. What follows represents only modest soundings, much as an archaeologist might open up a site with some exploratory trenches. For the Pentateuch, I have looked at the opening chapters of Genesis (1:1–9:29), then—since the Pentateuch consists largely of narrative, of which there is little in MP—concentrated mainly on the

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3. See e.g. M. Harl et al., eds., *Les Douze Prophètes: Joël, Abdiou, Jonas, Naoum, Ambakoum, Sophonie* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 23.4–9; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 123–5 (Jonah); 174–77 (Nahum); 242–43; 246–48 (Habakkuk); 321 (Zephaniah).

4. Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 124 (Jonah). Further examples are given in section 2 of this paper. For the Pentateuch, see G. Dorival, ed., *Les Nombres* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 4; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 61.

5. The introductions in the *Bible d’Alexandrie* vary considerably in the amount of space devoted to style, perhaps reflecting different editorial interests. There is a brief section for Genesis in M. Harl, ed., *La Genèse* (La Bible d’Alexandrie 1; Paris: Cerf, 1986), 81–82; nothing for Exodus (A. Le Boulluec and P. Sandevour, eds., *L’Exode* [La Bible d’Alexandrie 2; Paris: Cerf, 1989]) or Deuteronomy (C. Dogniez and M. Harl, eds., *Le Deutéronome* [La Bible d’Alexandrie 5; Paris: Cerf, 1992]), while Leviticus (P. Harlé and D. Pralon, eds., *Le Lévitique* [La Bible d’Alexandrie 3; Paris: Cerf, 1988]) and Numbers (Dorival, *Les Nombres*) go into considerable detail. All editors, however, have some discussion of stylistic matters in the course of their commentaries.

6. They are amply covered by all the *Bible d’Alexandrie* editors in their introductions.

more poetic passages (especially Exod 15 and Deut 32<sup>7</sup>). For MP, which I take to be a single corpus, examples are drawn liberally from Amos, not because the other books contain less material, but because I have worked more extensively on Amos.<sup>8</sup> Examples from MP are examined first, followed by examples from the Pentateuch.

# 1. MATCHING OF LITERARY FEATURES ALREADY PRESENT IN HEBREW.

## 1.1. SOUND EFFECTS

1.1.1. **Hos 12:2.** The rendering of רעה רוח as πονηρόν πνεῦμα (understanding a different vocalization from that in MT) preserves the alliterative effect, though with a different consonant. The translator could have chosen κακόν instead of πονηρόν, as in **Amos 9:4, 10.**<sup>9</sup> Sound surely played a part.

1.1.2. **Amos 1:14.** Σεισθήσεται ... συντελείας reproduces the sibilants of סופה ... בסער. As the equivalence סער/σειώ is unusual in MP (occurring again only in **Hab 3:14**), sound as well as sense may have motivated the choice.

1.1.3. **Amos 2:13.** MT has several words with *ayin*: ... תעיק ... מעיק עמיר ... העגלה. LXX makes a new pattern with *kappa*: κυλίω ὑποκάτω ... κυλίζεται ... καλάμη. The choice of κυλίω for עיק is not obvious; again, sound may have been a factor as well as interpretation.

1.1.4. **Amos 6:11.** A clever matching of vowel sounds and rhyming endings is achieved with θλάσμασιν ... ῥάγμασιν (“with dents ... with rents”) for the unusual pair בקיעים ... רסיסים (“in bits ... in pieces”).

Similar effects occur in the Pentateuch.

1.1.5. **Gen 1:21.** Although full justice is not done to the Hebrew sound pattern in כל-עוף כנף, there is a simple alliteration in *pi*: πᾶν πετεινὸν πτερωτόν, where πετεινόν was not the inevitable choice.

1.1.6. **Gen 4:1.** The sound, if not the wordplay, of קניתי ... קין is reproduced with Καὶν ... ἐκτίσασθην.

7. For Exod 15 see D. L. Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 1–14. For Deut 32 see Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 320–41.

8. J. Dines, “Quelques effets stylistiques dans la Septante d’Amos” (paper presented to the Groupe de Recherche sur la Septante, Paris, 13 March 2009); idem, “Stylistic Invention and Rhetorical Purpose in the Book of the Twelve,” in *Et sapienter et eloquenter: Studies on Rhetorical and Stylistic Features of the Septuagint* (ed. E. Bons and Th. J. Kraus; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 23–48.

9. In Amos 5:13–15 πονηρός is used; in 6:3 רע is rendered by κακός.

1.1.7. **Deut 32:5**. A striking effect occurs here: μωμητά (“deserving reproach”) renders מומם (or whatever form of מום, “blemish” appeared in the *Vorlage*<sup>10</sup>). This is the only occurrence of the classical literary adjective in the LXX, although the alliterative pair μῶμος/מום has already occurred in **Deut 15:21**. As the Greek and Hebrew meanings do not exactly coincide, sound has doubtless influenced the choice.

In fact, there are a number of other striking poetic devices in **Deut 32**; for instance, **32:2** has four words meaning “rain” ending in -ος, not all of them obvious choices;<sup>11</sup> **32:11** uses cognates to create alliteration; **32:15** has three striking verbs with *pi* and rhyming endings; **32:23** has two prefixes in συν-; **32:39** has a two-fold ἴδετε instead of MT’s double אֲנִי.

## 1.2. PREFIXES AND PREPOSITIONS

Stylistic effects are frequently achieved by the use of prepositions and prepositional prefixes in various ways. A few examples out of many must suffice.

1.2.1. **Amos 2:9**. A closer, even rhyming, correspondence to ... ממעל מתחת is achieved with ἐπάνωθεν ... ὑποκάτωθεν. Similar effects occur in **Amos 8:8** and **Jonah 2:7**.

1.2.2. **Amos 9:11**. A run of four verbs compounded with ἀνα responds to, but goes beyond, the patterning already present in Hebrew.<sup>12</sup>

Again, similar procedures occur in the Pentateuch.

1.2.3. **Gen 6:5**. There is perhaps an acknowledgement of the striking effect of רע רק with the repeated preposition in ἐπιμελῶς ἐπί.<sup>13</sup>

1.2.4. **Deut 32:21**. Four subtly paired Hebrew verbs, ... קנאוני ... כעסוני ... אכעיסם ... אקניאם, are carefully matched: παρεζήλωσαν ... παρώργισαν ... παραζηλώσω ... παροργιῶ.<sup>14</sup>

10. Cf. Dogniez and Harl, *Le Deutéronome*, 323; T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 470–71. For problems in MT, see S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy* (3rd ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1902), 351–52.

11. See M. Harl, “Problèmes de traduction du Pentateuque de la Septante dans une langue moderne,” *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 1 (1996): 55.

12. See J. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 56. Bons, Joosten, and Kessler (*Les Douze Prophètes*, 45) note that the use of compound verbs is a marked feature in Hosea.

13. A different effect is created in **Gen 4:12** for וַיִּנָּח with στένων καὶ τρέμων.

14. I am grateful to James Aitken for this example.



### 1.3. COGNATE EXPRESSIONS

Effects are often gained in Hebrew by the use of cognates. They are widely reproduced in the LXX, even though they are not a prominent feature of Greek literary style.

1.3.1. **Amos 1:6.** The effect of **על־הגלותם גלות** is reproduced with **αἰχμαλωτεῦσαι ... αἰχμαλωσίαν**. A similar example occurs in **Amos 9:1** (although not in **9:14**).

1.3.2. **Joel 1:7.** A close match for **חשף חשפה** is achieved with **ἐρευνῶν ἐξερευνήσεν**, reinforced with the prefixed verb.

Pentateuchal precedents:

1.3.3. **Gen 1:11.** The first occurrence is **σπείρον σπέρμα** for **מזריע זרע**. The device is used frequently after this.

1.3.4. **Num 21:17.** Here **ἦσεν ... ἄσμα** reproduces **ישיר את־השירה**. In **Exod 15:1**, however, virtually the same Hebrew is rendered by that translator as **ἦσεν ... ὠδήν**; choosing a cognate was evidently not automatic.

1.3.5. **Deut 21:14.** The Hebrew is copied with **πράσει ... παθήσεται** for **מכר ... תמכרנך**.

### 1.4. WORDPLAY AND OTHER SPECIAL EFFECTS

Etymological wordplay, frequent in Hebrew, is inevitably lost for the most part in translation. This is the case in, for instance, **Amos 4:13; 6:6; 7:2; 8:1–2** and in **Gen 2:5, 7; 2:25–3:1; 49:16**. But there are some places where attempts are made to reproduce, or at least to compensate for, the Hebrew wordplay:

1.4.1. **Amos 5:5.** The translator was surely responding to the striking effect of **יגלה גלה גלגל** when he produced the grandiose phrase **αἰχμαλωτευομένη αἰχμαλωτευθήσεται**.

1.4.2. **Amos 4:8.** The impact of the short but colourful word **נעו** is perhaps being aimed at in a different way by the lengthy **συναθροισθήσονται**. A similar effect may be present in **Obad 19**.

There are precedents in the Pentateuch.

1.4.3. **Gen 3:20.** The translator rises to the challenge of **חי ... חוה** with **Ζωή ... ζώντων**, although the correspondence is dropped in **4:1, 25**.

1.4.4. **Gen 32:31.** The translator brings out the wordplay effectively, although in a different way from the Hebrew: **εἶδος θεοῦ· εἶδον γὰρ ... πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον** for **פנים אל־פנים ... פניאל כי ראיתי**.

1.4.5. **Gen 49:19.** The translator scores three out of four with **Γαδ πειρατήριον πειρατεύσει ... πειρατεύσει** for **גד גדוד יגדנו ... יגד**.

## 1.5. COMMENTS

Further examples could have been given under each heading, but enough have been provided to show that both corpora employ similar tactics in reproducing Hebrew literary features involving alliteration, cognate expressions and wordplay. Alliteration is sparse at the start of Genesis, more pronounced by the end of Deuteronomy and in MP.<sup>15</sup> The use of matching prefixes and prepositions and—especially—of cognate expressions is widespread in both corpora. The Pentateuch certainly provides precedents, but it is hard to know whether this should be called influence, or whether the effects result from the translator of MP responding independently in similar ways to rather obvious stylistic phenomena. Practices learned in standard Greek education by all the translators may also be a significant factor: even documentary papyri from the third and second centuries B.C.E. make use of alliteration and various other rhetorical devices.<sup>16</sup> Although very little is known about Jewish education, especially in the third century B.C.E., by the mid-second century B.C.E. (the putative date for the translation of MP), it would be surprising if a Greek-educated translator did not make use of such devices almost instinctively. On the other hand, some similarities, especially the use of alliterative compound verbs in Deut 32:31 and Amos 9:11, are quite striking and could point to awareness, and even emulation, on the part of the later translator.

## 2. NEW STYLISTIC EFFECTS NOT ALREADY PRESENT IN HEBREW

In some cases innovations may serve an exegetical purpose, but often the motivation seems primarily aesthetic.

## 2.1. SOUND EFFECTS

2.1.1. **Amos 3.14.** Here καὶ κατασκαφήσεται τὰ κέρατα creates alliteration with the repeated *kappa* for Hebrew's ונגדעו קרנות. While κέρατα is the obvious rendering of קרנות, κατασκάπτω, “throw down,” does not exactly match גג, “hack off.” Perhaps the translator did not know the unusual verb: in **Zech 11:10, 14** (the only other occurrences in MP), he chooses ἀπορρίπτω, “throw away.” This verb could have been used in 3:14, but the aural effect would have been less striking.

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15. Whether there are identifiable differences between the five pentateuchal translators in this respect remains to be seen.

16. As remarked by James Aitken in conversation.

2.1.2. **Amos 4:9.** Another new alliteration with *kappa* occurs through the choice of a compound verb: κατέφαγεν ἢ κάμπη for יאכל הגזם.

2.1.3. **Hab 3:2.** This is a particularly striking example: four successive lines end in -θήση, creating a strong rhyme-like effect not found in MT.

Pentateuchal precedents:

2.1.4. **Gen 1:14.** The addition of φαῦσιν (other nouns could have been chosen) creates an alliteration with φωστήρες. A similar example, where a plus results in alliteration, occurs in **9:20** (γεωργός reinforces γῆς). Independent alliteration, without a plus, occurs, for instance, in **1:30** (χόρτον χλωρόν for ירק עשב).

2.1.5. **Gen 2:10.** Word choices seem made to enhance an alliteration not present in MT with a repeated *pi*: πόταμος δὲ ἐκπορεύετο ... ποτίζειν τὸν παράδεισον for להשקות את־הגן ... ונהר יצא. Some of the equivalents are obvious, but with others the translator could have chosen otherwise: he sets the agenda for the יצא/ἐκπορεύομαι equivalence for the rest of the Pentateuch, although in the LXX as a whole the default rendering of יצא is ἐξέρχομαι, which could have been used in Gen 2:10, while παράδεισος, although apt, was not the only option for γ.

2.1.6. **Lev 11:35.** There is a pronounced alliteration here with *kappa*, not matching the Hebrew: κλίβανοι καὶ κυθρόποδες καθαيرهθήσονται for תנור ויכירים יחך. Κλίβανος is used for תנור in **Gen 15:17** and becomes the default equivalent, while καθαίρω for נחך occurs in **Exod 34:13**. But κυθρόπους, “pot” or “pot stand” is unusual, the Ionic form of χυτρόπους that occurs in Hesiod. The choice of this rare, archaic, and literary word is surely for special effect.

## 2.2. PREFIXES AND PREPOSITIONS

2.2.1. **Hos 4:14.** Here there is a striking run of words beginning with συν: συνεφύροντο ... συνίων ... συνεπλέκετο, for יפרדו ... יבין ... ילבט. While συνίω is an expected equivalent for בין, the other two verbs are not obvious choices: συμφύρω is very rare in the LXX (found only here and in **Ezek 22:6; Sir 12:14**), while פרד is more commonly rendered by verbs compounded with δια. The third verb, συμπλέκω, renders לכד only here. Both verbs seem to have been chosen to enhance the meaning by their sound.<sup>17</sup>

2.2.2. **Amos 4:1.** Not only are there matches for the rhyming endings of רצות ... עשקות but also a double κατα: καταδυναστευούσαι ... καταπατούσαι.

17. See Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Les Douze Prophètes*, 91–92.

2.2.3. **Jonah 2:7**. A neat antithesis results from different prefixes used with the same verb: κατέβην ... ἀναβήτω for ירדתי ... ותעל. A similar effect occurs in **Zech 8:10**.

Pentateuchal precedents:

2.2.4. **Gen 4:4**. With ἐπεῖδεν ἐπί the translator creates a pairing for Hebrew לָעַל ... וַיִּשָּׂא. Similar devices occur in **Num 12:8** (κατα) and **Deut 1:30** (προ).

2.2.5. **Gen 7:23**. A tighter relationship is achieved by repeating the same verb three times, with a repeated prefix: ἐξηλείψεν ... ἐξηλείφθησαν ... κατέλειφθη for וַיִּשְׁאֵר ... וַיִּמָּחוּ ... וַיִּמָּח. **Gen 9:11**, on the other hand, repeats the prefix κατα three times while varying the vocabulary to match the Hebrew.

### 2.3. COGNATE EXPRESSIONS

There is a marked tendency in both MP and Pentateuch to create new cognate pairings.

2.3.1. **Amos 1:3**. The translator creates a new literary effect (and a change of imagery) with ἔπριζον πρίσιον for דּוֹשֵׁם בַּחֲרִצּוֹת (“they sawed with saws” instead of “they threshed with sledges”).

2.3.2. **Amos 2:14**. Here ὁ κραταιός ... κρατήση makes a connection not found in Hebrew, which has יֵאֱמָךְ ... חֹזֶק.

2.3.3. **Amos 9:9**. An additional cognate adds to the effect of λικμῶ ... λικμᾶται ... λικμῶ, where the final λικμόν, “winnowing fan,” creates an echo absent from MT’s כַּבֵּרָה, “basket.”

2.3.4. **Joel 3:2**. The pairing of δούλους and δούλας for עֲבָדִים and שִׁפְחוֹת is particularly effective. Other new cognate pairs occur in **Mic 7:2** (ἐκθλίβουσιν ἐκθλιβῆ); **Joel 2:1, 15** (σαλπίσατε σάλπιγγι; cf. **Zech 9:14**); **Joel 4:4** (ἀνταπόδομα ... ἀνταποδίδοτε; cf. **Joel 4:7**; **Obad 15**; **Hab 1:17**).

Pentateuchal precedents:

2.3.5. **Gen 1:12**. The addition of κάρπιμον before καρπόν creates a balance with σπείρον σπέρμα. A similar effect occurs in **1:29**, also by means of a plus (σπόριμον).

2.3.6. **Gen 3:16**. A cognate pair, τέξη τέκνα is created for בָּנִים תִּלְדִּי. On the other hand, in **5:4** and thereafter בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת can only be rendered υἱοὺς καὶ θυγατέρας.

2.3.7. **Gen 2:4**. A verbal link is created with γενέσεως ... ἐγένετο for תּוֹלְדוֹת ... בְּהִבְרָאָה. This is rather effective.

2.3.8. **Gen 9:17**. The intimate relationship between noun and verb (further reinforced by the repeated prefix) is brought out with διαθήκης ... διεθέμην for **הַבְּרִית ... הַקִּימוֹתִי**.<sup>18</sup>

2.3.9. **Gen 9:27**. Although the wordplay with **לִיפַת ... יַפֶּת** cannot be reproduced, a telling link is created with κατοικήσάτω ... οἴκοις for **וַיִּשְׁכֵּן בְּאַהֲלֵי**. Similarly, in **Exod 15:4–5**, καταποντίζω (15:4) is echoed by πόντοι (15:5; the only occurrence of this noun in the LXX, so surely chosen for effect). **Lev 19:13** creates ὁ μισθὸς τοῦ μισθωτοῦ for **שְׂכִיר פְּעֹלָת שְׂכִיר** and **Deut 32:11** νοσσίαν ... νεοσσοῖς for **קָנוּ גֹזְלֵיוֹ**.

## 2.4. VARIATION

This device, whereby the same Hebrew word is rendered by two or more Greek words, has been widely identified in both LXX Pentateuch and LXX MP. It reflects one of the basic aims of Greek composition: to achieve an interesting and harmonious text. Sometimes there may be contextual or exegetical reasons for variation, but often the motivation appears to be primarily stylistic.<sup>19</sup>

2.4.1. **Hos 8:7–8**. καταφάγονται (8:7) and κατεπόθη (8:8) both render **בָּלַע**.

2.4.2. **Hos 11:10**. ἐρεύξεται and ὠρύσεται both render **שָׁאג**.

2.4.3. **Amos 2:11–12**. εἰς ἁγιασμόν (2:11) and ἡγιασμένους (2:12) both render **גִּזְרִים**.

2.4.4. **Amos 7:8; 8:2**. ὁράω and βλέπω render **רָאָה** (cf. **Hag 2:3; Zech 5:2**).

2.4.5. **Hag 1:5, 7**. τάξατε and θέσθε both render **שִׁימוּ**.<sup>20</sup>

Pentateuchal precedents:

2.4.6. **Gen 1:7**. **אֲשַׁר** becomes first ὁ ἦν then τοῦ before ὑποκάτω and ἐπάνω, respectively.

2.4.7. **Gen 6:17; 7:21**. ἀπέθανεν (6:17) and τελευτήσει (7:21) both render **גָּוַע**.

2.4.8. **Exod 15:6**. ἡ δεξία and ἡ δεξία σου χεῖρ both represent **יְמִינָךְ**.

2.4.9. **Lev 14:53**. καθαρὰ ἔσται and καθαρισθήσεται represent **טָהַר**.

18. Cf. **Hos 2:20; 10:4; 12:2**, where this pairing is adopted for **בְּרִית בְּרִית**.

19. For MP, see Dines, "Stylistic Invention," 24–34; Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 122–23 (Jonah); J. K. Palmer, "Not Made with Tracing Paper: Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cambridge, 2004), 32–33. For the Pentateuch, see J. A. L. Lee, "Translations of the Old Testament. 1. Greek," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.E.–A.D. 400* (ed. S. E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 775–83; Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 52–60.

20. See Muraoka, "Introduction," xix, for wider variation here.

## 2.5. COMMENTS

Examples of new sound-patterns, through alliteration, repetition of prefixes, cognate expressions, and variation are found in both Pentateuch and MP. Are the phenomena so marked in the Pentateuch that they must have set precedents for MP? The passages examined above certainly reveal the different translators working in similar ways.<sup>21</sup> The translator of MP could have taken his cue, and considered himself justified in his inventiveness, by what he found from the beginning of Genesis (the creative rendering in 1:2 of *וַיְהִי וַיִּבְרָא* by *ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος*<sup>22</sup>) to the end of Deuteronomy (the poetic effects in the Song of Moses in chapter 32<sup>23</sup>). The most likely direct influence seems to manifest itself in the marked tendency to create new expressions involving cognates, first seen in the Pentateuch and not an obvious Greek stylistic feature. But familiarity with Hebrew literature may have led to the practice independently, just as the habit of variation may have been almost second nature in any even moderately well-educated translator, trained from the start to value a text's rhythm and euphony.<sup>24</sup> Suffice it to say for the moment that there are no marked differences between Pentateuch and MP in this respect.

### 3. ARE THERE ELEMENTS IN LXX MP FOR WHICH LXX PENTATEUCH DOES NOT PROVIDE A PRECEDENT?

While working on MP, I have been intrigued by places where the translator has gone beyond the simple effects so far surveyed, for instance in creating extended verbal alternations and circular or chiasmic structures, both within and across component books, the most elaborate example being Amos 1:3–2:6. It will be particularly interesting to see whether similar phenomena occur in the Pentateuch.

#### 3.1. AMOS 1:3–2:6 (THE “ORACLES AGAINST THE NATIONS”)

In this long pericope, several marked patterns are created:

1. an ABCB'A' pattern of Greek personal pronouns for the consistent Hebrew suffix *נִי*<sup>25</sup>

21. Even within the Pentateuch, translators seem to have borrowed from each other; see Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 48–60.

22. See J. Dines, “Imaging Creation: The Septuagint Translation of Gen 1:2,” *HeyJ* 36 (1995): 439–50.

23. See §1.1.7 above on Deut 32:5.

24. There seems to be rather little variation in the early chapters of Genesis.

2. an alternation between ἀνθ' ὧν and ἐνεκα for the consistent Hebrew conjunction **לְ**
3. another ABCB'A' pattern produced by variations in verb tense and mode different from what occurs in Hebrew.

On the other hand, the formulaic introduction to each “oracle” is reproduced unchanged. The result is a highly sophisticated combination of variation and repetition.<sup>25</sup>

Is there anything similar to this in the Pentateuch? Since precedents might be expected in some of the formulaic or repetitive passages that occur at intervals, I examined **Gen 1:1–2:3** (the first creation account), **5:1–32; 11:10–32; 36:1–43** (genealogies), and **18:23–32** (Abraham’s conversation with God); **Exod 21–23** (the Covenant Code); several passages in **Numbers** of a highly repetitive nature; and **Deut 27–28** (lists of curses and blessings). Nowhere did I find anything approaching the complexity of **Amos 1:3–2:4**.

This passage is, admittedly, an extreme case. There are, however, several other places in MP where lexical alternations and circular arrangements occur on a smaller scale. Are there precedents for these in the Pentateuch?

### 3.2. LEXICAL ALTERNATIONS<sup>26</sup>

3.2.1. **Hos 5:2–13:4**. There is a regular alternation between ἐγὼ δέ and καὶ ἐγὼ that does not correlate with the occurrences of וְאֲנִי and וְאֲנִי in MT and does not reflect differences in emphasis: for instance, δέ is not noticeably adversative in 13.4; on the other hand, καὶ has an adversative force in 5:12.

3.2.2. **Zech 2:9; 7:7; 12:2, 6; 14:14**. There is a small AABA'A' arrangement here, with κυκλόθεν ... κυκλόθεν ... κύκλῳ ... κυκλόθεν ... κυκλόθεν. The oddity is that, although κυκλόθεν is the normal rendering of סָבִיב (the word used each time), κύκλῳ is abnormal, a centrally placed variation.

3.2.3. **Hab 2:6–Zech 2:18**. There is regular alternation between the interjections οὐαὶ and ὦ, both representing וַיִּי, which binds together the books of Habakkuk, Haggai, and Zechariah. As in the previous example, no exegetical principle seems to be at work (οὐαὶ, the less commonly used term, often expresses disapproval as well as distress, but this nuance does not fit its appearances here particularly well).

3.2.4. In the Pentateuch I have found only a few rudimentary variations: between καὶ οὗτοι and οὗτοι δέ in **Gen 36:13–29**, and between υἱός and ὁ

25. For a full presentation, see Dines, “Stylistic Invention,” 34–37. For an earlier, and incomplete, analysis, see Dines, *The Septuagint*, 55–56.

26. More detail can be found in Dines, “Stylistic Invention,” 38–42.

τοῦ in **Num 10:14–27**,<sup>27</sup> which could be the beginnings of the practice found in MP. But the pentateuchal translators tend rather to regularize variation in Hebrew (so-called “harmonization”). In the census account in **Num 1:20–43**, for instance, varied prepositions are rendered by κατά, and in **Num 4:6–12** (the decoration of the tent), ὑακίνθινος renders alternating synonyms תחש and תכלת, as happens more extensively across **Exod 25–39**.

### 3.3. CIRCULAR/CHIASTIC ARRANGEMENTS

Strictly speaking, chiasm in ancient Greek rhetoric refers to a reversal pattern of the ABB'A' type (although more diverse forms were acknowledged). There is some debate as to whether the term should also be used for the—sometimes elaborate—devices common in Hebrew where there is a more circular kind of movement around some central point (ABCB'A' etc.). I follow Watson in using the term inclusively, rather than Meynet who suggests that “concentric construction” is preferable.<sup>28</sup>

Small triadic patterns of an ABA' type, distinct from what is found in MT, often occur in MP:

3.3.1. **Amos 2:14–15**. A threefold לא ימלט, “will not escape,” is rendered οὐ μὴ σώσῃ, οὐ μὴ διασώθῃ, οὐ μὴ σώσῃ with no change to the sense. In fact, this immediate triad could be seen as part of a more widely spaced alternation, since, when לא ימלט recurs in **9:1**, it is rendered οὐ μὴ διασώθῃ, resulting in an ABA'B' pattern for the book as a whole.

3.3.2. **Jonah 1:9, 13; 2:11**. In these three verses, יבשה, “dry land,” is rendered ξηράν, γῆν, ξηράν. There seems no reason other than a stylistic one for the variation. In 1:9, the context might perhaps have suggested **Gen 1:9–10**, where the equivalence יבשה/ξηρά occurs, but an allusion to Genesis is not obvious in 2:11.

3.3.3. **Hag 1:9, 10**. διὰ τοῦτο ... ἀνθ' ὧν (1:9) ... διὰ τοῦτο (1:10) render יען מה ... יען עֲלֵיכֶן.

3.3.4. **Zech 10:7**. The translator renders יגל ... ושִׁמְחו ... ושִׁמַּח by χαρήσεται ... εὐφρανθήσεται ... χαρήσεται. Here repetition and variation already present in Hebrew are reproduced differently, in the form of a small ABA' triad with rhymed verbal endings.

27. Already noted by Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 53–54.

28. W. G. E. Watson, “Chiastic Patterns in Biblical Hebrew Poetry,” in, ed., *Chiasmus in Antiquity* (ed. J. M. Welch; Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1981), 118–68; R. Meynet, “The Question at the Centre: A Specific Device of Rhetorical Argumentation in Scripture,” in *Rhetorical Argumentation in Biblical Texts* (ed. A. Eriksson, T. H. Olbricht, and W. Überlacker; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2002), 200–214.



3.3.5. **Amos 1:8; 5:15; 9:12.** The triad κατάλοιποι / περίλοιποι / κατάλοιποι, all rendering שְׁאֲרִית, “survivors,” appears to structure the beginning, middle and end of the book.

There are also examples of the “classic” ABB’A’ type:

3.3.6. **Zeph 2:3.** Where MT has three commands introduced by בְּקֶשׁוּ, LXX creates a chiasm out of the first two: ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον ... καὶ δικαιοσύνην ζητήσατε for בְּקֶשׁוּ יְהוָה ... בְּקֶשׁוּ, even though this means altering the Hebrew word order, normally followed closely by this translator.<sup>29</sup> Another example occurs in **Zech 1:9; 2:2, 4.**

In the pentateuchal passages so far investigated I have noticed only a few similar phenomena:

3.3.8. **Num 21:1, 23, 26.** In 21:1, וַיִּלָּחֶם, “he made war,” is rendered ἐπολέμησεν. In verse 23, the same Hebrew verb is rendered παρετάξατο, “he drew up his troops.” And in verse 26, נָלַחַם (*qatal* instead of *wayyiqtol*, but with no change of meaning) is rendered ἐπολέμησεν again. In fact, this ABA’ arrangement could also be seen as an ABB’A’, since παρετάξατο echoes παρατάξασθαι in verse 23, rendering לָקַרְתָּ (creating a verbal link absent in Hebrew).

3.3.9. **Num 14:6, 30, 38.** Verse 6 contains two personal names, each preceded by ὁ τοῦ, “son of,” while verse 38 has two names, each introduced by υἱός. Between these pairs, verse 30 has two names, the first introduced by υἱός, the second by ὁ τοῦ. This gives a sequence; ὁ τοῦ, ὁ τοῦ/υἱός, ὁ τοῦ / υἱός, υἱός (AA/BA/BB). Is this accidental? a little game? an attempt to structure a list?

3.3.10. **Num 9:17, 18, 22; 10:2.** An ABB’A’ chiasm occurs in these verses. Here there is alternation between ἵστασθαι and σκιάζειν, both rendering שָׁכַן, for the “settling down” and “resting” of the divine cloud during the desert marches. This results in ἔστη (9:17), σκιάζει (9:18), σκιαζούσης (9:22), and ἔστη (10:12). The ABB’A’ arrangement is further enhanced by the variation between σκιάζει and σκιαζούσης. Even if, as seems probable, theological considerations have contributed to the choice of vocabulary, artistic concerns are also clearly at play.<sup>30</sup>

29. The third בְּקֶשׁוּ clause is handled differently; see Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes*, 350.

30. See Dorival, *Les Nombres*, 60.

## CONCLUSION

In MP, poetic effects of various kinds are ubiquitous, sometimes reflecting the Hebrew, sometimes introduced by the translator. The latter evidently had some instincts—very irregularly applied—for creating a pleasing, as well as a mainly accurate translation; the importance of euphony and variety in a text is stressed in manuals of Greek rhetoric<sup>31</sup> and it is hard to imagine that these well-established norms did not affect his work, even if their realisation was only occasional. At the same time, he is clearly interested in reproducing and even creating stylistic effects stemming from Hebrew poetics. This is most evident in the presence of both simple and elaborate circular or chiasmic passages, and in the alternations of recurring synonymous terms, apparently to help establish rhythm and structure, and to make connections between different sections of text.

In the Pentateuch, all five translators are more or less sensitive to effects in the Hebrew. Spasmodically, they reproduce verbal assonances, poetic rhythms, variations, repetitions, and even, on occasion, wordplay. More importantly, they too sometimes create new poetic effects. The translator of MP—possibly more thoroughly educated than his predecessors—may not have needed the examples in the Pentateuch to invent his own embellishments, but he may have been already predisposed by their existence. From those hallowed texts, whether consciously or unconsciously, he could have taken his cue.

Where he does not seem to have found many precedents, is in the creation of extended alternating variations, and circular mini-structures. There are only a few, undeveloped hints in the Pentateuch, and I think—for the moment anyway—that these are insufficient to count as models. It seems to me a more Hebraic kind of aesthetic which appears from time to time in MP, interwoven with that “*souci naïf de faire du style*” in Greek, with which Paul Harlé characterises the Leviticus translator.<sup>32</sup>

The most interesting correspondences are with the book of Numbers. Perhaps this book was particularly attractive for the translator of MP, who may then have developed what he found there in embryo. Numbers, after all, has dramatic passages of a kind not found elsewhere in the Pentateuch involving prophets, especially Balaam (and including the reference to Gog in 24:7, important for **Amos 7:1**). There are even rudimentary oracles against nations (Moab in 21:29–30, Amalek in 24:20) which might have seemed germane. It is true that Deuteronomy contains the teaching about true and false proph-

31. See, e.g., G. O. Rowe, “Style,” in Porter, *Handbook*, 121–57.

32. Harlé and Pralon, *Le Lévitique*, 53.

ets in **18:15–22** (a problematic also reflected in MP<sup>33</sup>). But Numbers has the stories, told in poetic language and in a warlike context, that might well have attracted the translator of MP.<sup>34</sup>

All my findings and suggestions remain provisional until more rigorous and systematic work has been done on both MP and—especially—Pentateuch. For the moment, however, what emerges is that LXX Pentateuch and LXX MP share many poetic practices for which the Pentateuch provides the earliest examples, but that MP have, in places, more developed artistic arrangements on both a small and a large scale.<sup>35</sup>

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33. E.g., **Amos 2:11–12; 3:7–8; 7:12–15; Zech 13:2–6**.

34. It is striking that only Numbers in the Pentateuch uses the verb προφητεύω (three times in **11:25–27**). The noun προφήτης is more widely dispersed, occurring no less than 11 times in Deuteronomy.

35. It may be that other influences are waiting to be spotted: Psalms, perhaps, or Proverbs, not to mention the rest of the prophetic corpus; books where translational relationships still need sorting out.



## Speech in the Book of Judith

*Deborah Levine Gera*

**Abstract:** In recent years several scholars have attempted to overthrow the general consensus that the book of Judith was originally composed in Hebrew and have argued that the extant Septuagint version is not a translation, but was written in Greek. In this paper I would like to investigate the passages of speech found in Judith, from both a linguistic and literary perspective, in order to further illuminate the issue. There is little doubt that the work is composed in the style of the Septuagint, and clearly many biblical themes, plot elements, and characters underlie the book of Judith. At the same time, the passages of direct speech in Judith—the pronouncements, dialogues, and prayers—point to a writer well-versed in Greek and include a whole series of connectives, particulae, and syntactic constructions which are not found in the narrative sections. In addition, the speech sections of Judith are particularly rich in literary techniques, themes, and motifs which seem drawn from classical Greek writings. Judith's ironic exchanges with Holofernes are reminiscent of Greek tragedy, Achior's role as tragic warner seems taken from the pages of Herodotus, while Bagoas reminds us of the eunuchs of Ctesias. The speech sections of Judith are, it seems, less constrained by biblical precedent, and allow us a closer glimpse at the Greek elements of the work.

Until recently scholars were virtually unanimous in their belief that the book of Judith was originally written in Hebrew, and that the surviving Greek text is a translation from this original Hebrew. This still appears to be the majority view,<sup>1</sup> but an increasingly vocal minority of scholars argue that our text was written in Greek and is not a translation.<sup>2</sup> In this paper I shall focus on the passages of direct speech in the book of Judith in order to further illuminate the question of the original language of Judith. I shall be looking at the speech passages from two different perspectives, linguistic and literary. First I would like to show that many passages of direct speech in Judith are written in relatively fluent and idiomatic Greek, in comparison with the narrative portions of the work. At the same time, the speech sections of Judith are particularly

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1. See e.g. Otzen 2002, 137–141 and the sources cited by Corley 2008, 65–66.

2. Engel 1992; Rakel 2003, 34–40; Corley 2008; Joosten 2007.

rich in literary techniques, themes, and motifs which seem drawn from classical Greek writings, and in the second part of the paper I shall point to some Greek literary parallels with the dialogues and speeches in Judith. Finally, I shall try to connect the two perspectives and see what we can learn about the original language of Judith.

First, a brief summary of the general features of the Greek in Judith. No one, I think, would argue that Judith was written in classical Greek, and the style is, on the whole, that of the Septuagint. Thus over 40 percent of the book's verses begin with *καί* and a conjugated verb in the aorist, a construction which is meant to reflect the -vav consecutive in Hebrew.<sup>3</sup> While *καί* followed by an aorist indicative is, of course, a legitimate way to begin a sentence in Greek, it is the frequency of this construction in Judith which makes it seem Septuagintal. Greek connectives are sorely lacking: there is only one instance of *μὲν* ... *δὲ* ... in the book and *οὖν*, *γε* and *ἄρα* are not found at all. *γάρ* is relatively infrequent (used only 36 times), while *ὅτι* causale is more common and is found in some 42 verses. *δέ* is used as a connective between verses, i.e., is found in the second place in the verse only 35 times, and is found 45 times altogether. The prepositions used in Judith also seem to point to a translation from an original text in Hebrew. While the author does occasionally use Greek prepositions in the conventional, classical way, by far the most frequently used preposition is *ἐν* with the dative, which is found 223 times. This is taken as a telltale sign of translation from the Hebrew, reflecting expressions with an original *ב*, such as *בכח* (*ἐν* *ισχύι* Jdt. 2:5; 5:15 etc.) or *ביד* (*ἐν* *χειρί* Jdt. 2:12; 8:33; 9:2, 9, 10 etc.). Another Septuagintal construction particularly favored by our author is the very frequent use of the calque *πρόσωπον* "face" for expressions such as *לפני* and *מפני*.<sup>4</sup> A series of biblical expressions—"a month of days" (*ימים* *חדש* *μήνα* *ἡμερῶν* Jdt. 3:10), "all flesh" (*כל* *בשר* *πᾶσαν* *σάρκα* Jdt. 2:3), "from small to great" (*גדול* *ועד* *מקטן* *ἀπὸ* *μικροῦ* *ἕως* *μεγάλου* Jdt. 13:13), "very, very" (*מאד* *מאד* *σφόδρα* *σφόδρα* Jdt. 4:2), and "to strike with the mouth of a sword" (*לפי* *חרב* *ἐπάταξεν* ... *ἐν* *στόματι* *ρομφαίας* Jdt. 2:27)—appear quite literally in the Greek. Another recurring Hebrew idiom in Judith is the use of *בני* i.e. *בני* "sons" or "children of" as a means to describe an ethnic group, and we even find such neologisms as the sons of Canaan (Jdt. 5:3) and sons of Ishmael (2:23).<sup>5</sup>

3. Another 10 verses have *καί* with an imperfect. The statistics used throughout this paper are based on a search of Rahlfs 2006, using the Accordance program for biblical software, OakTree Software, [www.accordancebible.com](http://www.accordancebible.com).

4. See e.g. Jdt. 2:14; 3:3; 4:11 etc.

5. See Jdt. 1:6, 12; 2:23, 26; 4:1, 8; 5:1, 3, 5, 23; 6:1, 10, 14, 17; 7:1, 4, 6, 8, 10, 17–19, 24; 10:8, 19; 12:13; 14:2, 12; 15:3, 5, 7–8; 16:25.

The strong Septuagintal flavor of the text of Judith has been interpreted by scholars in very different ways. The traditional view holds that Judith generally reads like a translation from Hebrew simply because it *is* a translation from Hebrew. Indeed, the Hebrew tone of the text has led one scholar, Yehoshua Grintz, to produce “a full reconstruction of the book in its original Hebrew language”, a retroversion of the Greek text into biblical Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> A second view interprets the many expressions and constructions characteristic of the Septuagint found in Judith in precisely the opposite way, as an argument for the composition of the work in original Greek, albeit a non-classical, Septuagintal Greek. The phrases common to Judith and other Septuagint texts are thought to point to the work being deliberately composed in Septuagintal Greek, rather than its being a translation from the Hebrew. Greek, it is conjectured, was the native language of the author of Judith, who wrote in the style of the Septuagint, rather than in idiomatic Greek, in order to lend the work a biblical air.<sup>7</sup> Such an attempt to write in Septuagintal style would be in accordance with Greek literary tradition, where tragedians, for example, used Doric forms in choral odes or Hellenistic writers imitated Homer.<sup>8</sup> We are, it seems, asked by scholars to choose between a literal translation from Hebrew into Greek and an original Greek work written in the style of the Septuagint.

The situation, however, is even more complicated, for the author, or translator, strays, at times, from Septuagintal usages and writes idiomatic, even elegant Greek. Thus while some relative clauses are constructed quite awkwardly, there are, as Joosten notes, several elegant, embedded relative clauses as well.<sup>9</sup> The book of Judith also includes expressions and constructions which do not seem to have a Hebrew equivalent. The term πρόγνωσις, foreknowledge, is used twice in Judith (9:6, 11:19), but commentators agree that there is no equivalent Hebrew term.<sup>10</sup> A further problem arises from some of the feminine forms needed in a Hebrew version of Judith. The phrase πᾶσα γυνὴ Ἰσραὴλ is found only at Jdt. 15: 12 in the entire Septuagint, and it seems at first sight to be a female version of the biblical expression which is gener-

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6. Grintz 1957, i. For the methodological difficulties involved in such retroversions, see Davila 2005, 49–54.

7. See Davila 2005, 33–37 for a general discussion of the deliberate imitation of Septuagint style. Corley 2008 is the strongest proponent of this argument in relation to Judith. See the further references in n. 2 above; these scholars all note the use of the Septuagint, rather than the MT, in the biblical quotations and allusions of Judith, even when the Greek of the LXX differs considerably from the original Hebrew.

8. See Walser 2001, 2–3; Joosten 2007, \*163.

9. Joosten 2007, \*161–\*162.

10. See Engel 1992, 158. The lack of a Hebrew term does not, however, mean that the concept itself is not found in the Bible; see the discussion in Grintz 1957, 142–143.

ally translated πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ἰσραηλ.<sup>11</sup> However, the expression כל אשה ישראל cannot be used in Hebrew, and something like כל אשה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל or כל אשת יִשְׂרָאֵל is required, which would entail a different form of Greek. Nor are there any attested biblical Hebrew female forms for the adjectives used to describe Judith's piety (γυνὴ εὐσεβής εἰ 8:31; ἡ δούλη σου θεοσεβής ἐστίν 11:17). We would perhaps expect יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים and צְדִיקָה respectively, but these feminine forms are not found in the Bible.<sup>12</sup>

There are also wordplays or subtle variations in the Greek which cannot be retroverted to Hebrew. Thus in several passages, different compound forms of the same verbal root are used nicely in the Greek, but these forms cannot be translated to equal effect in Hebrew, which requires different verbs.<sup>13</sup> Another point worth noting is the relatively high number of future infinitives found in Judith, a feature again pointed out by Jan Joosten.<sup>14</sup> I would add that six of these future infinitives are found in what appears to be a Greek form of indirect speech, the nominative with infinitive construction, following the verbs εἶπεν and ἔφη. The outstanding instance is Jdt. 13: 3 καὶ εἶπεν Ἰουδίθ τῇ δούλῃ αὐτῆς στήναι ἔξω τοῦ κοιτῶνος αὐτῆς ... ἐξελεύσεσθαι γὰρ ἔφη ἐπὶ τὴν προσευχὴν αὐτῆς (Judith told her maid to stand outside of the bedchamber ... *for she said she would be going out to her prayers*). This construction seems to reflect Greek syntax rather than Hebrew and is quite rare in the Septuagint.<sup>15</sup>

In short, the Greek text of Judith is an intriguing blend of Septuagintal style and more idiomatic, even elegant Greek. It is clear that the person responsible for the Greek Judith—be he author or translator—was capable of writing well in Greek. Nonetheless, in my opinion, the available evidence does not allow us to decide between the two options of a translator whose native

11. See e.g. Judg. 20:11, 33; 2 Sam 16:18; 17:24.

12. εὐσεβής is found 34 times in the LXX, but only five times in translations of the MT, where it translates the words נָדִיב and צַדִּיק, but not in the feminine (Is 24:16; 26:7; 32:8; Prov 12:12; 13:19). The word θεοσεβής is found only 7 times in the Septuagint, but only four times in translations of the MT where it translates יִרְאָה אֱלֹהִים (Ex 18:21; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3), but it is used only of men, never of women. Cf. however Prov. 31: 30 יִרְאָה יְהוָה אִשָּׁה יִרְאָה (LXX γυνὴ γὰρ συνετὴ εὐλογεῖται, φόβον δὲ κυρίου αὕτη αἰνεῖτω).

13. See Jdt. 5:7–9, where Achior distinguishes carefully between temporary sojourns (παροικέω) and permanent residence (κατοικέω); the two parallel verbs in Hebrew are גָּר and יָשָׁב respectively; see Engel 1992, 158 and 167 n. 18. Compare too 13:1 καὶ Βαγώας συνέκλεισεν τὴν σκηνὴν ἔξωθεν καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν τοὺς παρεστῶτας and see further Soubigou 1949, 487.

14. Joosten 2007, \*161.

15. See too Jdt. 8:9, 11, 33 and compare the indirect threats of the enemy at Jdt. 16:4 with the direct speech of the enemy in the “original” verse underlying it, Ex. 15:9.



language was Greek and an author who occasionally lapsed, as it were, into good Greek, despite his attempts to write in a Hebraic style.

What can the passages of direct speech in Judith—the pronouncements, dialogues, speeches, and prayers—teach us about the original language of the work? For a start, these passages are written in livelier, more colloquial Greek and it seems that the author or translator distinguished in his mind between narrative and speech and felt that direct speech required a different kind of Greek. Thus the speech sections of Judith contain all the optative forms—optatives used to express wishes—and virtually all the uses of the subjunctive (37 out of 40) found in the work.<sup>16</sup> Many particles and connectives are found only in passages of direct speech. And so we find 25 of the 36 occurrences of γάρ, all 14 uses of δὴ, 17 out of 19 uses of ἀλλά, 5 of the 6 uses of ἄν, all 13 uses of ἐάν, the 2 uses of διό and the single instance of διόπερ, as well as the sole use of μὲν ... δέ....

The particles and phrases used by the author to enliven speech sections are again a blend of Septuagintal and ordinary Greek usage. καὶ νῦν is used 17 times, only in direct speech, to enliven and exhort; this seems a translation of the biblical idiom ועתה, although it is certainly possible in classical Greek. All eleven uses of ἰδοῦ (the regular Septuagint translation of the biblical הנה) are in passages of direct speech as well, and interestingly this is far from true of the use of הנה in the Bible. So too all 14 uses of δὴ are in direct speech, and in 12 of those instances δὴ comes immediately after an aorist imperative and consequently seems to represent the Hebrew כִּי which follows imperatives. Like כִּי, at times δὴ seems to mean “please”, while elsewhere it signals a more urgent command. In the remaining two instances δὴ is used as an intensifying particle and this is more in accord with classical Greek.<sup>17</sup>

The Greek of the speech sections is carefully composed and it is particularly interesting to look at the literary effects used in the prayers of Judith, where we plainly see the tension between biblical conventions and the desire to produce elegant Greek. At Jdt. 15:9, for instance we find Judith blessed in rhyming repetitive Greek σὺ ὕψωμα Ἱερουσαλημ, σὺ γαυρίαμα μέγα τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, σὺ καύχημα μέγα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν (“You are the exaltation of Jerusalem; you are the great pride of Israel; you are the great boast of our race.”) and Grintz is hard to put to reproduce the effect in his Hebrew retroversion. In Judith’s long prayer we find a chiasmic, poetic construction with internal

16. Optatives: Jdt. 7:24; 10:8; 13:20; 15:10. The subjunctives outside of speech passages are at Jdt. 3:8; 10:4; 15:4.

17. See Judith 5:3, 5, 21; 7:9; 8:11; 12:6, 11, 13, 17; 13:11; 14:1, 13 for δὴ with an aorist imperative; Jdt. 5:24; 12:18 are the two other instances. See too Walser 2001, 128–134, 161, on the use of δὴ in the Septuagint.

rhyiming and an artistic varying of the order of genitive and nominative in the five phrases.: ... ἀλλὰ ταπεινῶν εἰ θεός / ἐλαττόνων εἰ βοηθός / ἀντιλήπτωρ ἀσθενούντων / ἀπεγνωσμένων σκεπαστής / ἀπηλπισμένων σωτήρ ("For you are a God of the lowly; you are the helper of the inferior, the supporter of the weak, the shelter of the desperate, the savior of the hopeless" 9:11). This interplay between nominative and genitive cannot stem from the Hebrew, where the genitive cannot come first, as Engel has noted.<sup>18</sup>

The Greek version of Judith with its many synonyms, subtle echoes, and key words is, then, a literary creation its own right and the passages of speech which are particularly rich in particles and varied in syntax, make it plain that someone who knew Greek well—perhaps even thought in Greek—was responsible for the text of Judith as we have it. But that still does not solve the question of the original language and allow us to decide firmly between a Greek author and a Greek translator. As Anneli Aejmelaeus notes, when translating direct speech, the translators of the Pentateuch, particularly of Genesis, "frequently used free renderings that are otherwise rare in order to create more fluent Greek and a flavor of spoken language."<sup>19</sup> And I have tried to show elsewhere how even in the case of an undoubted Hebrew original, such as the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15, a translated poem can be rendered in cohesive and rhetorical Greek.<sup>20</sup>

We must then look outward, beyond the linguistic features of the text, in order to grapple with the question of the original language of the text and turn to some of the literary techniques, themes, and motifs found in the speech sections of Judith. While biblical themes, plot elements, and characters are a paramount influence on the book of Judith, there are Greek literary influences as well and these seem particularly prominent in the speech sections. Just as the passages of direct speech in Judith seem freer and less constrained linguistically by biblical or Septuagint usage, so too the *content* of these passages seems to be less restricted to biblical precedent and more readily associated with Greek literature. Some of the direct speech in Judith, such as the heroine's prayer (Jdt. 9:1–14) and her victory song (16:1–17) clearly belong to a more biblical context, and this is also true of the speech in which Judith criticizes the theological outlook of Uzziah (Jdt. 8:11–27), a passage which reminds us of the exchanges between Job and his friends. However, several speeches and dialogues are considerably less biblical and seem to belong to the world of Greek literature. Let us look at two such passages of direct speech in Judith.

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18. Engel 1992, 158.

19. Aejmelaeus 2007, 41.

20. Gera 2007.

Perhaps the outstanding instance in Judith of a Greek literary effect, rather than a biblical one, is the frequent use of dramatic irony. There are many places in which a character in Judith seems to be saying one thing, but is, in fact, saying another. Such irony can be deliberate—as often is the case when Judith is speaking—or a character's words can be inadvertently ambiguous, as happens once or twice with Holofernes (e.g. Jdt. 6:5–8; 11:3–4). This kind of dramatic irony—which requires direct speech and an exchange of words between two people—is particularly associated with Greek tragedy. We do find duplicitous, double-edged statements in the Bible, but there is nothing to equal the length and frequency of the ironic exchanges in Judith.<sup>21</sup>

Let us look briefly at the opening of the passage in which Judith presents herself to the Assyrian commander Holofernes as an emissary of God and promises to arrange to hand over the city of Bethulia to the Assyrians (11:5–6). “Accept the words of your servant, permit your maidservant to speak to you, and I will say nothing false to my lord this night. If you follow your maidservant's advice, God will bring the matter to successful conclusion with you and my lord will not fail in his undertakings.” The passage is a delight and virtually every word that Judith says to Holofernes is deceptive or ambiguous, and cannot be taken at face value. We the readers understand that Judith's “my lord” is God, not Holofernes, and that a “successful conclusion” means his death, but Holofernes does not. Here Judith is reminiscent, to my mind, of Aeschylus' Clytemnestra who hides her murderous intent towards Agamemnon under a barrage of deceptive and two-faced statements, whose true significance is only fully appreciated by Aeschylus' audience (Aes. *Agam.* 600–609). Clytemnestra proclaims herself a faithful wife anxious to welcome her honored husband upon his return from war, when in fact she has betrayed him and is about to kill him.

If the dramatic irony in Judith seems influenced by Greek tragedy, an even stronger influence on the book of Judith is the internationally circulating stock of stories related to the Persian empire—tales of arrogant kings and ferocious queens, omnipresent eunuchs and maids, courtiers and councils, as well as the monumental building projects and aggressive military campaigns undertaken by royal Persians. Our chief sources for such Persian stories are classical Greek writings, most notably the *History* of Herodotus and the *Persica* of Ctesias, and it is worth looking at the discussion between Holofernes and Achior in this context. The Assyrian military commander Holofernes is surprised by the Israelites' willingness to do battle and questions an Ammonite

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21. Moore 1985, 78–85 discusses many of the ironic passages in Judith. Zakovitch 2005, ch. 2, esp. 140–162 is a useful survey of ambiguity and irony in the Hebrew Bible.

leader, Achior, about the people and their ways. Achior briefly surveys the history of the Jews and then warns Holophernes about the God of Israelites who will not allow his people to suffer defeat, if they have done no wrong (5:1–24). Holophernes is enraged by the suggestion that there is a God to rival his king Nebuchadnezzar and has Achior forcibly expelled to a valley outside the Israelite town of Bethulia. Several commentators have compared this section of Judith to a single conversation in Herodotus, the exchange between the Persian ruler Xerxes and the exiled Spartan king Demaratus (Hdt. 7. 101–104),<sup>22</sup> but it is even more interesting to look at the discussion between Holophernes and Achior from a wider Herodotean perspective, for Herodotus includes several instances of a leader offered advice about the ways of a foreign people before going to war with them.<sup>23</sup> These Herodotean tales, taken collectively, include many of the motifs and themes found in Judith. Time and again, an adviser in Herodotus tries to dissuade an imperialistic king or commander from embarking on a war, just as Achior tries to dissuade Holophernes here. Generally the reasons given by Herodotean tragic warners for avoiding war concern the character of the people being attacked or the more general issue of the mutability of human fortune (or both).<sup>24</sup> The words of a tragic warner in Herodotus can be received with equanimity—for example king Xerxes simply laughs at Demaratus' description of the Spartans (Hdt. 7. 103)—but at times Herodotus' kings and generals become infuriated at the advice they are offered, just as Holophernes reacts here angrily to Achior's words.<sup>25</sup> In Herodotus, the wise adviser is often a minority voice, the sole figure to speak his mind and voice an unpopular view, while the others who participate in the discussion generally side against him, and this is true of Achior as well.<sup>26</sup> The unusual practices of an enemy are almost invariably a sign of their strength in Herodotus, and in parallel fashion, it is the Jews' unique quality in the book of Judith, their special relationship with God, which leads to their victory. It seems fair to say that the encounter between Holophernes and Achior has a Herodotean feel to it, in addition to the biblical influences on the episode. It is also worth noting just how important direct speech is in the exchange between Holophernes and Achior. Neither Holophernes' questions, nor Achior's answer, nor the angry reaction of Holophernes to the reply would

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22. See Schmitz 2004, 28–37 and the further references there.

23. Hdt. 1.71, 152–153; 4.127; 7. 209; 8.26. See Flory 1987, 81–118.

24. Hdt. 1.27, 206; 3.21; 4.83, 132; 7.10; 8.68. Lattimore 1939 is the classic study of the wise adviser in Herodotus.

25. Hdt. 3.36; 7.11.

26. Hdt. 1.206–207; 7.10; 8.68–69.

be as effective if they were reported only indirectly. Needless to say, all the exchanges in Herodotus are presented in direct, dramatic speech as well.

Let us look at the end of Achior's speech to Holofernes (Jdt. 5:20–21):

καὶ νῦν, δέσποτα κύριε, εἰ μὲν ἔστιν ἀγνόημα ἐν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ ἁμαρτάνουσιν εἰς τὸν θεὸν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπισκευόμεθα ὅτι ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς σκάνδαλον τοῦτο, καὶ ἀναβησόμεθα καὶ ἐκπολεμήσομεν αὐτούς· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνομία ἐν τῷ ἔθνει αὐτῶν, παρελθέτω δὴ ὁ κύριός μου, μήποτε ὑπερασπίσῃ ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐσόμεθα εἰς ὀνειδισμόν ἐναντίον πάσης τῆς γῆς.

"Now, my master and lord, if there is any unwitting error in this people and they sin against their God, let us find out their offense, and then we will go up and defeat them. But if there is no transgression in their nation, then let my lord pass them by, for fear that their Lord will defend them, and their God will protect them, and we shall be put to shame before the whole world."

The Greek here is relatively fluent and the polar presentation of the two alternatives, εἰ μὲν ... εἰ δ' ... is particularly noteworthy; this is the single use of μὲν ... δὲ ... in Judith. The tenor of Achior's words here is not dissimilar to the warning issued by a wise adviser in Herodotus, the captured Lydian king Croesus. When asked about the feasibility of a certain plan of attack, Croesus is the sole dissenting voice in the war council convened by Cyrus the Great, and like Achior he warns a powerful commander that the divine role in military successes and failures must be not ignored (Hdt. 1. 207).

Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις εἶναι καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴῃ πρῆγμα γνώμας ἐμὲ σοὶ ἀποφαίνεσθαι· εἰ δ' ἔγνωκας ὅτι ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἷς καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον μάθε ὥς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἐστὶ πρηγμάτων, περιφερόμενος δὲ οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυχεῖν.

"If you think that you and your men are immortal, there is little point in my telling you my opinion; but if you recognize that both you and the troops under your command are merely human, then the first thing I would tell you is that human life is like a revolving wheel and never allows the same man to continue long in prosperity."

An awareness of divine influence is a Herodotean motif, as well, of course, as being a Jewish one. While I would not argue for any direct influence of Croesus' words on Achior's speech, the tone and type of reasoning found in the two passages are quite similar. There are several further similarities between the

book of Judith and the Persian tales found in Herodotus and Ctesias—including the role played by the eunuch Bagoas, Holophernes' chief aide, and by Judith herself, a warrior woman—which deserve closer examination.

In conclusion, we can see that in the book of Judith, biblical influences, characters, and motifs are intertwined with elements taken from classical Greek literature, just as the language of the work combines Septuagintal Greek with a richer and more varied Greek style. This blend of Greek and biblical elements—in both content and language—is particularly apparent in the passages of direct speech. While the mixed linguistic features of the work can be attributed either to an original author *or* to a translator, this is not true of the work's content, which must, of course, go back to the author. It seems plain that Greek literature was part of the background or world of the author of Judith and influenced his composition. If we now return to our opening question—was the book of Judith originally written in Greek?—it is still impossible, I think, to resolve the question and come up with a clear cut, unambiguous answer. What is clear is that the *author* of Judith was well acquainted with Greek literature, in addition to having a thorough knowledge of the Bible. When deciding between a Hebrew original and a Greek original for the book of Judith, we must also decide between a Hebrew-speaking Jew who was conversant with Greek culture and a Greek-speaking Jew who was well acquainted with the Bible.

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## Some Remarks on the Codex Ambrosianus

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**Abstract:** The manuscript (F) has a great importance for the study of the Greek Bible, because it contains in its margins Greek glosses (called F<sup>b</sup>), as well as a lot of corrections towards the Masoretic text, apparently linked to the Jewish tradition of translations. Cameron Boyd-Taylor focused on this manuscript in the last IOSCS Congress in Ljubljana, particularly emphasizing some links between F<sup>b</sup> and Judeo-Greek glosses written in Hebrew manuscripts. The purpose of this paper is to examine some paleographical data concerning the codex and its history: its condition when it underwent a general restoration in the Middle Ages (eleventh–twelfth centuries); the principles this restoration was based on; some aspects of the “secondary text” of the second tabernacle account copied in fols. 52–55. The medieval work attests to the existence of a Greek Christian *milieu* where a great, and not so obvious, significance was ascribed to the *Hebraica Veritas*.

It is well known that the Codex Ambrosianus (F), one of the most important ancient uncial manuscripts of the Greek Bible,<sup>1</sup> contains in its margins a great number of variant readings, taken from different sources. One of these sources seems to be linked to the Jewish tradition of later biblical translations. In the last IOSCS Congress (Ljubljana, 2007), Cameron Boyd-Taylor showed some lexical matches with the marginal annotations of a Hebrew manuscript of the Former Prophets.<sup>2</sup> It is a curious and uncommon fact that a Christian manuscript gathers Jewish biblical material and that its Septuagintal text is modified according to it. Therefore a close examination of the codex itself could be helpful in determining the extent, if not the reason, for this quite

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1. Milan, Bibl. Ambr., A 147 inf. (Graecus 808): Aemidius Martini and Dominicus Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (1906; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1978), 904–5.

2. Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum 364\*. See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “The Greek Bible among Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages: The Evidence of Codex Ambrosianus,” in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Ljubljana, 2007* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 29–39.

surprising attitude. That is the aim of the present paper, although no definitive and certain conclusions have been reached.

The manuscript, which contains the biblical text from Gen 31:15 to Josh 12:12, was produced in the fifth century. We do not know where, but some analogies in the writing (a biblical majuscule of the later period<sup>3</sup>) could suggest Egypt as the place of origin.<sup>4</sup>

A relatively small number of hexaplaric readings were added in the large margins by the first scribes (probably two); they are generally ascribed to the Three translators by the usual *sigla* ακ(υλας), συ(μμαχος), θε(οδοσιων). An example can be found in Lev 18:21 (fol. 85v, col. 3, line 6), where the reading ακ συ θε τω μολοχ is recorded beside ἄρχοντι.<sup>5</sup>

Between the sixth and the seventh century, the manuscript underwent the first revision. It is worth noticing the addition written in the upper margin of fol. 40v by a majuscule hand (named F<sup>a</sup>) containing six verses, which translate Exod 28:23–28 of the Hebrew text (about the ‘breastplate’ λογείον of the high-priest) and which belongs to the hexaplaric recension.<sup>6</sup>

Later, in the Middle Ages, the manuscript was completely restored. The early ink was retraced without much care and some lost sheets (45, 52–55, 71, 191, 211) were replaced in a kind of *Perlschrift*. The writing can be paleo-

3. Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence: Le Monnier, 1967), 73. The writing appears similar to that of the *Codex Colberto-Sarravianus* (Leid. Voss. gr. 4° 8, Par. gr. 17, Petropol. gr. 3), copied in fifth-century Egypt according to L. F. Constantin von Tischendorf, *Fragmenta origeniana octateuchi editionis cum fragmentis evangeliorum graecis palimpsestis* (vol. 3 of *Monumenta sacra inedita: nova collectio*; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1860), xv.

4. For a larger description of the manuscript, see Antonius M. Ceriani, *Pentateuchi et Josue quae ex prima scriptura supersunt in cod. Ambrosiano Graeco saeculi fere 5.* (Milan: Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1864; vol. 3 of *Monumenta sacra et profana opera Collegii doctorum Ambrosianae*), vii–xxiii, and my paper “Per la storia dell’Esateuco Ambrosiano A 147 inf.,” *Aevum* 83 (2009): 299–339.

5. The LXX translates the proper name of the god Molech as a common name meaning “leader,” probably because of a different vocalization of the root מֶלֶךְ (the same as מֶלֶךְ, ‘king’). The reading of the Three is attested also in M’ 85-130(s nom)-321’(s nom)-344<sup>Lat</sup>Hes 1014 Tht Lev 179, as recorded in *Leviticus*, ed. John W. Wevers (Septuaginta, 2.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986). Throughout the paper, biblical verses are numbered according to *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936–); when distinction is needed, <sup>LXX</sup> will be put before the Greek numbering, and <sup>MT</sup> before the Hebrew one (according to K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977]).

6. The text appears, with slight differences, in mss M O<sup>767</sup> C<sup>n</sup> dnt 630 18 46 646 and in the ancient translations Aeth<sup>CR</sup> Arab Arm Syh.

graphically dated to the end of the eleventh century.<sup>7</sup> Accents were marked, but without regard for the length of vowels. A clear example can be found in fol. 13r, col. 2 (Exod 3:8), where the list of the peoples who live in Palestine is given in the genitive case (ending in -ων), with a circumflex accent on the diphthong αι (Χανααῖων, Χετταῖων, Ἀμορραῖων, etc.), instead of an acute one. This mistake proves either that the restorer was Greek-speaking (he never goes wrong in the accent position) but without a great grammatical competence, or that he was careless. He also reintroduced some itacistic mistakes previously corrected by the first scribe in the ancient text. His negligence was later amended by a coeval revisor, who corrected all the wrong accents in the manuscript and also restored the classical morphology in many cases where the Septuagint used a *koiné* form. Everywhere the verb εἶπαν, 'they said', occurs, an o is written above α to obtain the classical εἶπον. Similarly, the *koiné* form of the future of λαμβάνω, e.g., λήμψη or λήμψεται, is always deprived of μ. The ink is not distinguishable from the one used for the retracement; the restoration was probably a team-work within a single *milieu*.

Afterwards, a great number of marginal and interlineal notes were added. Three exegetical observations occur, two of them belonging to the *Catena in Exodum*;<sup>8</sup> the third one, from Cyril of Jerusalem,<sup>9</sup> does not appear in the *Catena* edited by Françoise Petit. It could have been chosen by the scholar himself, but it could also belong to an unknown or lost *exemplar* used by the restorers. At least ten lexical glosses are recorded, generally corresponding to those registered in ancient *lexica*. Among them, the adverb ἐβραϊστί appears twice: in Exod 2:3 (fol. 11v, col. 1) for θίβη: ἐβρα(ῖστί) θίβη κιβώτιον ἐκ βύβλου πλεκτὸν ὡς φοινικῶδ(ες);<sup>10</sup> in Num 3:47 (fol. 105v, col. 2) for σίκλος: ἐβραϊστί

7. The minuscule medieval hand is commonly named F<sup>b</sup>.

8. In Exod 19:16 (fol. 29r), ἡμέρα τῇ τρίτῃ is glossed with κυρίλλ(ου) ὁρθρου δὴ οὖν· καὶ ὡς ἡμέρα τρίτ(η) καταβέβηκεν ὁ μονογενής: from Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Exodum*, 3 (PG 69:504d–505a); cfr. Françoise Petit, *Fonds caténique ancien (Exode 15,22–40,32)* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 11; vol. 4 of *La chaîne sur l'Éxode*; Leuven: Peeters 1999–2001), 58. In the same verse, φωνή is glossed with τοῦτ' ἐστὶν δι' υἱοῦ· φωνὴ γὰρ καὶ λόγος τοῦ π(ατ)ρ(ὸ)ς ὁ υἱός: from Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione*, 7 (PG 68:489b); cf. Petit, 67.

9. In Exod 33:19 (fol. 48v) καλέσω is glossed with κύριος ὦν, ποῖον κ(ύριο)ν καλεῖ· βλέπεις ὅτι ἐπικεκαλυμμένος ἐδίδασκε τὸ εὐσεβὲς περὶ πατρός καὶ υἱοῦ διδασκα: from Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, X, 8, Wilhelm C. Reischl and Joseph Rupp, eds., *Opera* (2 vols.; 1848; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 1:270.

10. The gloss is the same as the one for θῆβις in the Cyril's lexicon owned by Isaac Vossius: see Henri Estienne, *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* (9 vols.; 1829–1865; repr., Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1954), 5:384.

ὁ σίκλος τὸ ἐξάγιον.<sup>11</sup> Most of the notes are variant readings, or *pluses* and *minuses* toward the Masoretic Text. Where do they come from?

(a) An uncertain number of them are exactly the ancient hexaplaric readings noted in the margins by the first scribes; some of them were rewritten in the medieval script, *sine nomine*, otherwise they even replaced the ancient majuscule text. It is quite difficult to see whether a previous note lies behind a medieval one; this is the reason why their number is uncertain. Exodus 25:2 (fol. 35v, col. 1) gives a clear example. Beside the Septuagintal text *καὶ λαβετε μοι* an old, hardly visible reading is recorded in brown ink: *σύ(μμαχος) τωσάν*; accents were marked by the black ink of the medieval restorer, who turned even the original text into *λαβέτωσάν μοι*.<sup>12</sup>

(b) A couple of variant readings are ascribed to τὸ ἐβραϊκόν. In Exod 4:25 (fol. 15r) a note in the lower margin gives a different translation of the Septuagintal sentence Ἔστη τὸ αἷμα τῆς περιτομῆς τοῦ παιδίου μου: τὸ ἐβρ(αϊκόν) νυμφίος αἵματος σύ μοι.<sup>13</sup> The same happens in Exod 15:27 (fol. 24v), where δώδεκα πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα στελέχη φοινίκων is glossed with the F<sup>b</sup> note τὸ ἐβραϊκόν ἰβ(ή) πηγαὶ ὑδάτων καὶ ὁ φοίνικες (later φοινικέες). The ascription does not refer to the Greek transcription of Hebrew words, nor to the Hebrew text itself. Could it be a trace of an extra-hexaplaric version? This hypothesis seems to be suggested also by an alternative translation of Deut 32:43 recorded beside the Septuagintal text (fol. 197v, col. 2) and not attested elsewhere: ἐβρ(αϊκόν) αἰνέσατε ἔθνη λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὅτι αἷμα δούλων αὐτοῦ ἐκδικήσει καὶ ἐκδικίαν ἀνταποδώσει τοῖς θλίβουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ.

(c) Three variant readings are ascribed to τὸ ἰουδαϊκόν. The phrase ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ράβδου αὐτοῦ (Gen 47:31; fol. 8v, col. 3, lines 10-12) is glossed with the F<sup>b</sup> note τὸ ἰουδ(αϊκόν) ἐπὶ προσκεφάλαιον τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ.<sup>14</sup> The Jewish translation reveals a difference in the vocalization of the Hebrew text,

11. Σίκλους, turned into κατὰ τὸν σίκλον by F<sup>b</sup>, is then glossed with διδραχμῶν (*sic*) ἦτοι ἐξάγιον in Exod 30:24 (fol. 44v, col. 2, line 31); cf. *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, ed. Fridericus Hultsch (2 vols.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1864), 1:268. For ἐξάγιον as a Byzantine unit of measure, see Erich Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Byzantisches Handbuch, 4; Munich: Beck, 1970), 183.

12. Symmachus' reading, also recorded in M, properly translates the Hebrew יְלִיקְוִי (MT).

13. This passage is problematical in Hebrew: see William H. C. Propp, *Exodus* (2 vols.; AB 2–2A; New York: Doubleday, 1999–2006), 1:189.

14. In ms 376 (*Escorialensis* Y. II. 5) a similar reading is ascribed to ο ἰουδας (ο ἰουδας λεγει οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀκροῦ τῆς ράβδου ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον τῆς κλίνης αὐτοῦ): see the third *apparatus* of Alan A. Brooke and Norman McLean, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* (4 vols.; 1917–1940; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

reading  $\eta\beta\mu$ , ‘bed’, where the LXX reads  $\eta\beta\sigma$ , ‘staff’. In Exod 16:31  $F^b$  records the readings  $\tau\omicron$   $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta(\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{o}\nu)$   $\kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon\delta\rho\omicron\kappa\omicron\kappa\omicron\upsilon$  (with a  $\rho$  marked upon  $\lambda$  by the same hand) beside the Septuagintal  $\omicron\varsigma$   $\sigma\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\mu\alpha$   $\kappa\omicron\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$   $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{o}\nu$  (fol. 26r, col. 1, lines 34–35), and  $\tau\omicron$   $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta(\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{o}\nu)$   $\omicron\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota$   $\alpha\kappa\alpha\pi(\nu\omicron\nu)$  beside  $\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\rho\iota\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\tau\iota$  (fol. 26r, col. 2, lines 2–3).<sup>15</sup> A *sine nomine*  $F^b$  note in Gen 43:11 finds a parallel in the margin of ms 56 (*Parisinus Gr.* 3, fol. 34r, line 14), where the same variant ( $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\delta\alpha\lambda\alpha$  *pro*  $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\upsilon\alpha$ ) is introduced by  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$   $\tau\omicron$   $\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\kappa\omega$ ;  $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\delta\alpha\lambda\alpha$  is also used in the Constantinople Pentateuch at this very verse.<sup>16</sup> Therefore not only ascribed notes, but also a number of *sine nomine* notes, are possibly related to the Jewish tradition of translations. This is moreover confirmed by the analogies with Judeo-Greek texts which have been previously mentioned.<sup>17</sup> Also the demotic feature of these readings proves a Jewish origin, because there is no evidence of the usage of the demotic Greek for biblical texts within a Christian *milieu* before the fifteenth-century Psalter contained in the codex *Vaticanus Gr.* 343 (written in 1450).<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, a link with the Jewish exegesis appears through a curious gloss in Exod 7:11 (“And then Pharaoh summoned the experts of Egypt and the sorcerers”<sup>19</sup>). After  $\varphi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (‘sorcerers’)  $F^b$  added  $\omicron\omega\acute{\nu}$   $\pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\eta\rho\chi\omicron\nu$   $\text{I}\alpha\nu\eta\eta\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\text{I}\alpha\mu\beta\rho\eta\varsigma$  (‘among whom Yannes and Yambres were the firsts’). It is true that Paul also referred to them in 2 Tim 3:8, and that they were well known to the Fathers, but a very similar phrase is found in the *Zohar* (II. 191a)<sup>20</sup> dealing with the “mixed multitude” mentioned in Exod 12:38. The text says: “They were all the magicians of Egypt, headed by Yunus e Yambrus (Aramaic  $\text{יִנוּס וְיַמְבְּרוּס}$ ).” Considering that the Hebrew word for ‘first’ has the same root as ‘head’, the analogy is quite

15. For a more thorough examination of these readings, see Alison Salvesen, “The Relationship of LXX and the Three in Exodus 1–24 to the Readings of  $F^b$ ,” in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions* (ed. N. de Lange, J. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 103–127, esp. 120–121 and 125.

16. The Constantinople Pentateuch is an edition of the Pentateuch and the five Scrolls printed in Constantinople in 1547 by Eliezer Soncino; it provides the Hebrew text between two synoptical translations written in Hebrew characters, the Judeo-Spanish and the Judeo-Greek one (the latter mentioned as Pent from here on).

17. See note 2.

18. *Codices Vaticani Graeci* (9 vols.; Rome, Polyglotta Vaticana 1923–), 2:18. See Hans G. Beck, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Byzantisches Handbuch, 2.3; Munich: Beck, 1971), 87. See also Natálio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 180.

19.  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\varphi\alpha\rho\alpha\omega$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\sigma\omicron\varphi\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$   $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\varphi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  ( $\text{A}\acute{\iota}\gamma\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omicron\upsilon$  *post*  $\varphi\alpha\rho\mu\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  *transposuit*  $F^b$ ).

20. The book of the *Zohar* was written in the thirteenth century, collecting earlier Jewish exegetical material.

remarkable. Probably the addition belongs to a rabbinic source shared with the book of *Zohar*. The gloss was eventually cancelled in F, because it is foreign to the biblical text.

Alterations of medieval annotations are also registered. Only few examples will be mentioned.

(a) A Hesychian gloss explains the meaning of λῶμα ('fringe'), the septuagintal word used for לֵוַי, in Exod 28:29 (MT 28:33; fol. 41r): τὸ εἰς τὸ κατώτερον μέρος τοῦ ἱματίου ἐπίβλημα, ἐκ βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κοκκίνου; then the very same hand wrote *supra lineam* τὸ ἄκρον ἢ ποδ(έα), which are probably two variants for λῶμα (ποδέα means 'the skirts of a garment'<sup>21</sup>; the plural ποδιες occurs in Pent).

(b) In Exod 28:35 (MT 28:39; fol. 41r, col. 3, line 2), the word κίδαριν, retraced as usual, is glossed in the margin with an explanation similar to the Suda's one<sup>22</sup> and then even cancelled and replaced with φακιόλιον, the normal F<sup>b</sup> translation of the Hebrew מַצְנֵפִים (LXX κίδαρις orμίτρα; see Exod 28:4 and 28:33).

Furthermore, quite often the currently visible annotations replace previous glosses written by the same or very similar medieval hand in a pale red-brown ink;<sup>23</sup> they seem to have been a sort of draft that preceded the whole restoration work. These draft-notes were normally retraced in a black ink, but sometimes they were also somehow modified, or erased before retracing, as in fol. 63r (this happens extensively in the book of Leviticus).

Given the variety of sources, what can be said about those passages where the MT has more verses than the LXX? I mean, for example, the long *pluses* of Exod LXX 35:17 and 40:25.<sup>24</sup> They give a text that is not identical to the hexa-

21. Evangelinus A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 900.

22. F<sup>b</sup>: ὕφασμα ἐκ τριχῶν περίθεμα κεφαλῆς, εἶδος καμηλαυκίου ὃ καὶ τῖαρα νοεῖται-φακιόλιον δὲ τινες [sic] ὀφάντου; cf. Ada Adler, ed., *Suidae Lexikon* (5 vols.; 1928–1938; repr., Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1989), 3:115.

23. This is clearly visible in fol. 35v, where the gloss ἀδήμ(ια), recorded beside ὑακίνθινα (Exod 25:5), lies upon an erased note.

24. Exod LXX 35:17 (fol. 51r, col. 1, line 16): καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον] + τοῦ ὀλοκαυτώματος καὶ τὸ κοσκινωτ(όν) τὸ χαλκοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἀναφορεῖς αὐτ(οῦ)· τὸν λουτήρα καὶ τὴν βάσιν αὐτ(οῦ)· καὶ τὰ ἱστία τῆς αὐλῆς· τοὺς στύλους αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς βά(σεις) αὐτῆς· καὶ τὸ ἐπίσπαστρον τῆς θύρας τῆς αὐλῆς, καὶ τοὺς πάλους τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τοὺς πασσάλους τῆς αὐλῆς· καὶ τὰ σχοιν(ία) αὐτ(ῶν), τὰ ἱμάτια τῆς ὑπουργίας τοῦ ὑπουργεῖν εἰς τὸ ἅγιον F<sup>b</sup>. Exod LXX 40:25 (fol. 59v, col. 1): καὶ ἐθυμίασεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ θυμίαμα τῆς συνθέσεως, ὃν τρόπον συνέταξεν κύριος τῷ Μωυσῇ] + καὶ ἔθηκε τὸ κατακάλυμμα τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ ὀλοκαυτώματος καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ τὸ δῶρον καθὰ συνέταξε κ(ύριος) τῷ Μωυσῇ καὶ ἔθηκε τὸν λουτήρα ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ

plaric one nor to the readings of any of the Three. What was their source? The question is even more noteworthy for what concerns chapters 35–40 of Exodus (the second tabernacle account), where the Septuagintal translation follows a different order from the MT, and moreover reduces some parts and cuts some others.<sup>25</sup> Only the hexaplaric version, written by Origen himself on the basis of his own revision of the first tabernacle account, follows the Hebrew order.<sup>26</sup> A great (and possibly not accidental) lacuna in the manuscript was filled, during the restoration, with the so-called F<sup>h</sup> text, which goes from Exod 36:3 to Exod <sup>MT</sup>39:19 (= <sup>LXX</sup>36:27).<sup>27</sup> This text seems to be the work of an *alter Origenes*; it follows the Masoretic order, but its adherence to the first tabernacle account is stronger and clashes sometimes with the MT. The following comparison speaks for itself:

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ἀνὰ μέσον τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐκεῖ ὕδωρ τοῦ νίπτεσθαι καὶ [νίψ]ουσιν αὐτ(οῦ) Μωσῆς καὶ Ἀαρὼν καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν σκην(ήν) τοῦ μαρτυρίου καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐγγίσει αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ νίψασθαι καθὰ συνέτ(αξε) κ(ύριο)ς τῷ [Μωυσῇ] F<sup>b</sup>.

25. For a detailed contribution on this topic, see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Septuagintal Translation Techniques – a Solution to the Problem of the Tabernacle Account”, in *On the trail of the Septuagint translators: collected essays* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 107–121; repr. from *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (Manchester 1990) (ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; Septuagint and Cognate Studies 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press 1990: 381–402).

26. See Detlef Fraenkel, “Die Quellen der asterisierten Zusätze im zweiten Tabernakelbericht Exod 35–40,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta* (eds. D. Fraenkel, Udo Quast and John W. Wevers; Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 140–186.

27. The external sheet of the involved *quaternio* had gone lost: fol. 45 was replaced, fols. 52–55 belong to an added *binio* containing Exod <sup>MT</sup>36:3–39:19.

28. I ignore the origin of this pronoun, absent both in the Hebrew and in the Greek text of the first tabernacle account

Exod <sup>MT</sup> 36:18 F <sup>h</sup>	Exod 26:11 F	Exod <sup>MT</sup> 36:18 (ed. Wevers)	Exod <sup>MT</sup> 36:18 BHS
καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτῇ <sup>28</sup> κρίκους χαλκοῦς πεντήκοντα καὶ συνῆψε τοὺς κρίκους ἐκ τῶν ἀγκύλων· καὶ συνῆψε τὰς δέρρεις καὶ ἐγένετο ἕν	καὶ ποιήσεις κρίκους χαλκοῦς πεντήκοντα· καὶ συνάψεις τοὺς κρίκους ἐκ τῶν ἀγκύλων καὶ συνάψεις τὰς δέρρεις καὶ ἔσται ἕν	καὶ ἐποίησεν κρίκους χαλκοῦς πεντήκοντα καὶ συνῆψεν τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ εἶναι μίαν	ויעש קרסי נחשת חמשים לחבר את-האהל להיות אחד

Some passages attest that there is a relation between some F<sup>b</sup> *pluses* in the first tabernacle account and F<sup>h</sup>. At Exod <sup>MT</sup>36:36 the F<sup>h</sup> text is καὶ ἔθηκε τὸ καταπέτασμα ὑπὸ κάτωθεν τῶν κρίκων. The first part (καὶ ἔθηκε τὸ καταπέτασμα) is the same as in Exod 26:33; the second part (ὑπὸ κάτωθεν τῶν κρίκων) is the text of a marginal note which substitutes ἐπὶ τοὺς στύλους (cancelled) in the same verse.<sup>29</sup> The whole sentence is completely absent in the Hebrew text of Exod 36:36, so it was eventually cancelled in F<sup>h</sup>. What does all this mean? On the basis of a larger comparison it can be excluded that the F<sup>h</sup> text was written by the medieval scholar on the basis of the F codex itself.<sup>30</sup> Thus, the reason why F<sup>b</sup> additions and variants appear incorporated in the F<sup>h</sup> text<sup>31</sup> could rather be that F<sup>h</sup> derives from the same source as F<sup>b</sup> notes. Is it the same as τὸ ἐβραϊκόν of Exod 16:31? The present knowledge of τὸ ἐβραϊκόν/ὁ ἐβραῖος is too vague to allow any hypothesis.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, the

29. The variant reading, not attested elsewhere, is a correct translation of the MT תחת הקרסים, 'under the clasps'; LXX depends on the (mis?)reading הקרשים, 'boards' (for קרש translated as στύλος cf. Exod 26:15.18.20 etc.), and possibly the preposition was turned from 'under' into 'over' to make sense; see Propp, *Exodus*, 2:333.

30. An example: compare F<sup>h</sup> καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐλαίας ἐκ τριχῶν αἰγείων σκέπειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς· ἕνδεκα δέρρεις ἐποίησεν αὐτάς (Exod <sup>MT</sup>36:14; fol. 52r, col. 2) with the parallel verse Exod 26:7 as attested in F καὶ ποιήσεις δέρρεις τριχίνας σκέπειν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς· ἕνδεκα δέρρεις ποιήσεις αὐτάς and with the Origen's translation (*Exodus*, ed. John W. Wevers; Septuaginta 2.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) καὶ ἐποίησεν δέρρεις τριχίνας σκέπην ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς· ἕνδεκα δέρρεις ἐποίησεν αὐτάς.

31. Not all the variant readings: demotic ones were apparently added later, both to F and to F<sup>h</sup>.

32. Furthermore, it is quite impossible to rely on the consistency of F<sup>b</sup>: in the pas-



F<sup>h</sup> version has a peculiar vocabulary. For instance, στέγος, ‘roof’, occurs in Exod <sup>MT</sup>37:26 (MT לל, here ‘top slab’, but generally ‘roof’); the parallel passage of Exod 30:3 has ἐσχάρα, ‘grid’; Origen used the word δῶμα (‘roof’, but here probably ‘top slab’), taken from the Three.<sup>33</sup> The reading differs also from the F<sup>b</sup> gloss ἡλιακόν, which means ‘something facing the sun’, therefore both ‘roof/terrace’<sup>34</sup> and ‘grid’.<sup>35</sup> This fact prevents us from linking the F<sup>h</sup> version to any extant recension of the first tabernacle account.

As for the demotic readings collected in the margins of F<sup>h</sup>, as well as for several deletions of parts of the text, they appear to belong to a revision of the whole passage, in order to conform the Greek text to the Masoretic one.

All these observations lead us to identify two stages in the annotation of the whole manuscript: the first one when the text was studied, that is, explained lexically in its difficult words and exegetically in its noteworthy passages, as well as ‘atticized’ and restored in its lost parts (included the great lacuna of the second tabernacle account); the second stage when the text was somehow compared to the Hebrew and corrected accordingly. But how could this comparison be? Probably the tool was the Jewish Greek demotic source<sup>36</sup> rather than the Hebrew text itself. Sometimes, in fact, interventions by F<sup>b</sup> are too inconsistent with regard to the Hebrew. The Septuagintal text of Exod 34:16 (καὶ λάβῃς τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῶν τοῖς υἱοῖς σου καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων σου δῶς τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκπορνεύσωσιν αἱ θυγατέρες σου ὀπίσω τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκπορνεύσωσιν τοὺς υἱοὺς σου ὀπίσω τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν, ‘and you should take from their daughters for your sons *and from your daughters you should give to their sons* and *your daughters go fornicating after their gods* and they lead your sons to fornicate after their gods’) is quite remarkably different from the Hebrew (“And you will take wives from among their daughters for

sages of Exod <sup>MT</sup>25:6 and <sup>MT</sup>35:8 (two identical verses in the Hebrew, both absent in the LXX) the F<sup>b</sup> translations are different from each other, as well as from the attested hexaplaric readings (Exod <sup>MT</sup>25:6 ἔλαιον εἰς καῦσιν· ἡδύσματα εἰς ἔλαιον τῆς ἀλοιφῆς· καὶ θυμίαμα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων F<sup>b</sup>; Exod <sup>MT</sup>35:8 καὶ ἔλαιον εἰς καῦσιν· καὶ ἀρώματα [εἰς ἔ]λαιον τοῦ χρίσματος· καὶ θυμίαμα τῶν ἡδυσμάτων F<sup>b</sup>).

33. See the *apparatus* at Exod 30:3. στέγος occurs only once in the LXX (Ep Jer 9), where it means ‘house’; it is moreover a *varia lectio* for τέγος.

34. Sophocles, *Lexicon*, 562, and Erich Trapp, *Lexikon zur Byzantinischen Gräzität besonders des 9.–12. Jahrhunderts* (6 vols.; Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994–), 4: 652, s.v. ἡλιακός.

35. Demetrios Demetrakos, *Mega lexikon holes tes hellenikes glosses* (9 vols.; Athens, Dem. Demetrakos–Dem. Rebezikas, 1958), 4:3246.

36. It cannot be stated whether this source was written in Hebrew characters, like other known Judeo-Greek documents: no peculiar feature of the marginal F<sup>b</sup> notes suggests it.

your sons, and *their* daughters who prostitute themselves to their gods will make your sons also prostitute themselves to their gods”). So that F<sup>b</sup> cancelled a Septuagintal phrase wanting in the MT (καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων σου δῶς τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῶν), but the Hebrew meaning is not restored soon afterwards, where the daughters are still σου (‘your’) instead of ‘their’. Furthermore, the second ἐκπορνεύσωσιν (‘they make – your sons – prostitute themselves’) is glossed with μακρύνουσι (‘they put – them – away’), as an exegetical explanation making a pun on the roots זנח/זנה. This fact could mean either that the scholar was careless, or that the Jewish-Greek material was not a continuous text but a fragmentary collection of translational glosses mixed with exegetical explanations. This last feature fits well both with the Judeo-Greek texts from the Cairo-Genizah documents<sup>37</sup> and with the recent hypothesis about the origin of the Constantinople Pentateuch.<sup>38</sup> It is to the same Jewish tradition, rather than to an only common source, that analogies between F<sup>b</sup> notes and Pent should be ascribed.<sup>39</sup>

The general aim of the scholar(s) working on the Ambrosianus must have been a strong desire to reach the *Hebraica Veritas* at first when the manuscript was retraced, and the Septuagintal text was modified on the basis of hexaplaric readings, and then, when even a “low” language as the demotic Greek of a Jewish source was used to revise the biblical text. It is still an open question what Byzantine Christian milieu could have such an interest and use such tools.

37. Nicholas R. M. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

38. Julia G. Krivoruchko, “The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies,” in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Ljubljana, 2007* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 255–276, suggests that “Greek CP was an example of an oral translation, or, [...] a ‘popular version’ (*laaz haam*) or a ‘common version’ (*laaz haolam*) normally recorded only in the form of glossaries.”

39. In the above-mentioned passage of Gen 47:31 (ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ) Pent translates ἰπὶ κορφῇ τοῦ κρεββατιοῦ: both words, for ‘pillow’ and for ‘bed’, are different from those belonging to the Jewish source of F<sup>b</sup>, although both depend on the Masoretic vocalization of מטה as ‘bed’ instead of ‘staff’.

# Greek Variants behind Coptic Readings in 1 Samuel 31?

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**Abstract:** The Septuagint of the last chapter of 1 Samuel, chapter 31, is witnessed by dozens of Greek manuscripts: uncials and cursives. For the Sahidic Coptic version there are three manuscripts: one of them is the only complete manuscript (M), another one is the most extensive fragmentary manuscript (A). The third one (B) preserves text from seven chapters but is difficult to characterize. The third manuscript has been described as a paraphrase or some sort of a chronicle. How does this manuscript compare with the two other Sahidic witnesses? And how does it compare with the Greek evidence? Are there features that would indicate a Greek *Vorlage* behind the readings differing from the other Sahidic witnesses? In this paper I will give an analysis of the readings of these manuscripts in 1 Samuel 31. The emphasis will be on the use of these Coptic witnesses in the textual criticism of the Greek text.

The Sahidic version of 1 Samuel was translated from the Septuagint (LXX) at the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, and it is therefore a daughter version of the LXX. The translation was made before most of the Greek manuscripts we have were written. Thus, if we could be able to decipher the source text of the Sahidic translation in its details, it would be an old and important witness in the textual criticism of the Greek text. Before citing Sahidic in the apparatus of the Greek text, there are many things to be taken into account. First, we have to find out how the translator worked. What kind of translation is the Sahidic version? Which features can be supposed to stem from the Greek and which from the translator? Greek and Coptic are of very different structure, and not all the details of the Greek text are perceivable in the Sahidic translation. Second, there is a long textual history not only on the Greek side but also on the Coptic side. One has to find out the differences between Sahidic witnesses and see which readings are original and which are secondary.

The original Sahidic translation can be compared to the Greek manuscripts in order to see what the source text of the translator was like. The original Sahidic is not the same as the original Greek, but this is one of the

main questions to be asked and answered during the study. Further, secondary readings found in the Sahidic text are not of secondary importance for the study of the Sahidic version. One has to find out what kinds of secondary readings there are. Do they come from a different Greek source text or do they represent inner-Sahidic variation and development? With the help of the secondary readings one might be able to see if there were revisional activities in the textual history of the Sahidic text according to some Greek text.

There is one complete Sahidic manuscript and dozens of fragments. The earliest fragments have been assigned to the fourth–fifth century. The complete manuscript, Sa<sup>M</sup>, is dated 892–893 in the colophon, and it belongs to the collections of The Morgan Library and Museum in New York.<sup>1</sup> It is one of the Hamouli-manuscripts that were found near Sohag. The most extensive fragmentary manuscripts are Sa<sup>A</sup> and Sa<sup>B</sup>. The fragments of Sa<sup>A</sup> cover one third of the book, and chapter 31 is complete.<sup>2</sup> These fragments are scattered around Europe and they have been published in different editions.<sup>3</sup> Sa<sup>A</sup> comes from the White Monastery and is assigned to the tenth–eleventh century. Sa<sup>B</sup> is represented by fragments from seven chapters, and chapter 31 is complete.<sup>4</sup> Like Sa<sup>A</sup>, this manuscript also comes from the White Monastery. It is assigned to the eleventh–twelfth century.<sup>5</sup>

There is one common tradition behind the Sahidic witnesses. In chapter 31 this is observable in the following passages:

καὶ κατακαίουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμβάνουσιν τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν καὶ  
θάπτουσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρουραν

ⲁⲗⲱ ⲁⲅⲣⲟⲕⲣⲟⲩ ⲉⲛⲓ ⲡⲓⲁ ⲉⲧⲙⲙⲁⲩⲥ ⲁⲅⲧⲟⲙⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲁ ⲧⲣⲓⲧⲱⲉ

All three Sahidic witnesses attest to a homoioarcton in the beginning of verse 13. There is no equivalent for the clause καὶ λαμβάνουσιν τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν, which was probably caused by a slip of eye from the first to the second καί. This easily happens since there are several verbs in 3.person plural with similar

1. Sa<sup>M</sup> has been edited by Drescher, *Coptic Version*.

2. 6:2–10; 6:11–10:3; 14:17–32; 17:31–44; 18:28–22:7; 22:21–23:14; 24:21–25:28; 28:16–30:1, 3–5; 30:5–24; 30:24–31:13.

3. Chapter 31 is published by Maspero (Maspero, *Fragments*, 158–159), and I have used his edition.

4. 16:2–18; 17:33–18:14; 19:1–5; 26:7–25; 28:3–25; 31:1–13.

5. The fragments of Sa<sup>B</sup> in chapter 31 are published by Maspero (Maspero, *Fragments*, 162–163) and again by Drescher (*Coptic Version*, 189–190). I have checked both editions, and in the case of disagreement I have followed Drescher.

endings. There are no such Greek variants, and this connects all three Sahidic witnesses together; they have a common ancestor. This also shows that no systematic, detailed revision has been made according to some Greek text.

In verse 31:1 both Sa<sup>M</sup> and Sa<sup>A</sup> render πίπτουσιν τραυματαί with two verbs, ρε ‘to fall’ and ὠῶσε ‘to wound, to smite.’ Sa<sup>M</sup> first reads a past tense of ρε and then a circumstantial of ὠῶσε, Sa<sup>A</sup> reads a past tense of ὠῶσε and then a past tense of ρε. The meaning in both Sahidic witnesses differs from that in Greek since Sahidic actually says that all the men of Israel were wounded and fell. The Greek says that “the wounded fell.”

In verse 31:4, Sa<sup>M</sup> adds that the armor-bearer did not want ἐμοῦγτῷ ‘to kill him,’ Sa<sup>A</sup> says the same, with the preposition, “ἐμοῦγτ ἐμμοῦ” and Sa<sup>B</sup> has its own wording ἐεν τοῦτῳ ἐξωῳ ἐμοῦγτῳ ‘to bring his hand upon him to kill him.’ In Greek, after ὁ αἶρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ, manuscript 44 reads σπάσαι τὴν ρομφαίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκκέντησαι αὐτόν ‘to draw his sword and pierce him.’ However, the reading of 44 differs so significantly from the wordings of the Sahidic witnesses that one cannot suppose a dependency between these additions, only a common interest to make the story clear and fluent.

# 1. EXAMPLES OF SAHIDIC VARIANTS

Next I will present variants found in chapter 31. I have only taken those that might have some bearing on the discussion. This means that not every variant found in the Sahidic manuscripts is discussed here.

**31:1** καὶ οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐπολέμουν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ ἄνδρες Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ προσώπου τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ πίπτουσιν τραυματαί ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ Γελβουε

Sa<sup>M</sup>    ναλλοφγλος Δε· ἀγπολγμει μῆ πιῆλ· ἀγω ηρωμε ηπιῆλ  
ἀγῶττι ρα προ νναλλοφγλος· ἀγρε ἐγωῶσε ρῆ πτοογ  
νκελβογε·

Sa<sup>A</sup>    ναλλοφγλος Δε ἀγπολεμει μῆ πιῆλ ἀγῶττι μεμετο εβολ  
νναλλοφγλος· ἀγωῶσε ἀγρε ρῆ πτοογ νκελβογε·

Sa<sup>B</sup>    ηηηκα ηαι α ναλλοφγλος πολγμει μῆ πιῆλ· α πλαος ῶττι ρι  
θη νναλλοφγλος

In the first clause Sa<sup>A</sup> accords with Sa<sup>M</sup> in reading with the conjunction Δε. When we look at the Greek manuscripts, there is one that reads the beginning οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι δέ. Should we now make a case out of this and maintain

that Sahidic is dependent on such a Greek reading, attested now only by ms 44? I am convinced that we should not. In Sahidic 1Sam, there are 2144 clauses where καί is used to connect clauses. The translator has rendered this 941 times with asyndeton, 707 times with αγω and 407 times with Δε.<sup>6</sup> It is a firm conclusion that καί was often rendered with Δε. Sa<sup>B</sup> formulates in its own way ΜΗΝΕΑ ΝΑΙ ‘after these’. This same expression is used in Sa<sup>B</sup> to begin a new pericope in 16:14, 18:6 and 28:4. In these passages, other Sahidic witnesses do not attest to this expression, neither is there such a Greek variant. This is one feature that makes Sa<sup>B</sup> look like a chronicle; there are pericopes that are loosely connected with an undefined temporal framework.

In the following clauses, Sa<sup>M</sup> explicitly says that the people of Israel fled in front of the Philistines. Approximately the same content is found in Sa<sup>A</sup> where it is said that they fled in front of the Philistines. Either the words αγω ηρωμε ηηηλ were left out on purpose, to abbreviate the text, or there was a skip of the eye from the first ηηηλ to the second. If there was a homoioteleuton, it could only occur on the Coptic side, not on the Greek side because of the word order. Sa<sup>B</sup> reads πλαος as subject without corresponding Greek variants. In what follows, Sa<sup>B</sup> leaves out the rest of this verse and the beginning of the next.

**31:2** καί τύπτουσιν ἀλλόφυλοι τὸν Ἰωναθαν καὶ τὸν Ἀμιναδαβ καὶ τὸν Μελχισα υἱοὺς Σαουλ

Sa<sup>M</sup> αγω ναλλοφυλος αγρωξ̄τ̄ νιωναθαν· μη̄ αμιναδαβ· μη̄ μελχισα· νωηρε νκαογλ·

Sa<sup>A</sup> αγρωξτ̄ νιωναθαν· μη̄ αμιναδαβ· μη̄ μελχισα· νωηρε νκαογλ·

Sa<sup>B</sup> αγμογογτ̄ νιωναθαν· πωηρε νκαογλ

Sa<sup>B</sup> seems to be on its own in this verse, telling only about Jonathan's death and with a more common verb than Sa<sup>MA</sup>. This same phenomenon is found in verses 6 and 8, where Greek and other Sahidic witnesses read “Saul and his three sons” but Sa<sup>B</sup> reads “Saul and his son Jonathan”. One can conclude that Sa<sup>B</sup> is interested in Saul and Jonathan but not in other sons and their destiny. It is fitting in a chronicle-like-story to concentrate on the main characters and diminish the role of the others.

6. Seventy times with other conjunctions, and nineteen times there is no equivalent for the clause.

In verse two, Sa<sup>B</sup> reads like Greek manuscripts B and 509 ‘son of Saul’ in the singular. But the entire sentence before these words differs considerably. Further, at least in this verse, Sa<sup>B</sup> is such a free translation that this apparent connection does not serve to argue for a dependency between Sa<sup>B</sup> and this Greek reading.

Sa<sup>A</sup> shortens the text by leaving out ἀγὼ ναλλοφγλος ‘and the Philistines’. In Greek, 44 and 381 leave out ‘the Philistines’ like this Sahidic manuscript. I do not see this as an argument for affiliation since Sa<sup>A</sup> omits also the conjunction unlike these two Greek manuscripts. In addition, a typical feature in Sa<sup>A</sup> is shortening, and omissions are found constantly without any Greek source text.

**31:9** καὶ ἀποστρέφουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξέδυσαν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ  
καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς γῆν ἄλλοφύλων κύκλῳ  
εὐαγγελίζοντες τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν

Lu καὶ ἀποκεφαλίζουσιν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκδιδύσκουσιν αὐτὸν τὰ  
σκεύη αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστέλλουσιν εἰς γῆν ἄλλοφύλων κύκλῳ  
εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν

Sa<sup>M</sup> ⲁⲓⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲱⲩ̅ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲕⲏⲕⲉ̅ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲩ ⲛⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲉⲕⲱⲧⲉ  
ⲧⲏⲣⲓ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲡⲕⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲗⲟⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲱⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲓⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅  
ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ̅

Sa<sup>A</sup> ⲁⲓⲡⲟⲟⲛⲉⲓ ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲱⲩ̅ ⲛ̅ⲛ̅ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲕⲏ̅ ⲁⲓⲕⲓ ⲛ̅ⲧⲓⲁⲡⲉ̅ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲩⲥ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲙ  
ⲡⲕⲱⲧⲉ ⲧⲓⲣⲓ̅ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲗⲟⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲧⲁⲱⲉⲟⲉⲓⲱ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲓⲉⲓⲁⲱⲗⲟⲛ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅  
ⲡⲉⲓⲙⲏⲏⲱⲉ̅

Sa<sup>B</sup> ⲁⲓⲃⲟⲱⲟⲩ ⲛ̅ⲛⲉⲓⲓⲟⲓⲧⲉ̅ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲛⲉⲓⲕⲉⲕⲉⲕⲏ̅ ⲙ̅ⲙⲓⲱⲉ̅ ⲁⲓⲭⲟⲟⲩⲥⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲓⲙ  
ⲡⲕⲁⲓ ⲛⲛⲁⲗⲗⲟⲫⲓⲗⲟⲥ̅

In the first clause Sa<sup>MA</sup> read with the verb ‘to turn’ whereas Sa<sup>B</sup> is the only manuscript that omits it. Sa<sup>B</sup> adds ‘their clothes and’ against other witnesses as well as an attribute ‘battle’ after ⲕⲉⲕⲉⲕⲏ. The numbers also differ in the beginning: Sa<sup>MA</sup> tell that “they took his equipment” but Sa<sup>B</sup> reads in plural “they took their clothes and their battle equipment.” In Greek, the d-group<sup>7</sup> reads ἐξέδυσαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ thus having something similar to the

7. *d* <sup>-106 125</sup>. These manuscripts are later than the Sahidic ones, dated to the thirteenth–fourteenth century.

reading of Sa<sup>B</sup>— two objects for the verb and a conjunction between them. However, the reading of Sa<sup>B</sup> is more accurate in saying that they stripped off their clothes. Sa<sup>B</sup> does not tell anything of the decapitation found in the d-group but continues directly to the sending of the clothes and equipment. I suppose that Sa<sup>B</sup> has its own wording in this sentence and is independent of any Greek source text. It is the only manuscript that omits the rest of the verse: κύκλω εὐαγγελίζοντες τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν.

After the equivalent of τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ Sa<sup>A</sup> presupposes the reading καὶ αποκοπτοῦσι την κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ found in uncials M and V and in numerous cursives<sup>8</sup> in Greek. The secondary nature of this phrase in the LXX becomes obvious in the way its place varies in the manuscripts and their margins. This clause is a hexaplaric approximation towards MT<sup>9</sup> and it is placed either before καὶ αποστρέφουσιν<sup>10</sup> or after τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ as in Sa<sup>A</sup> and M V together with the cursives.

My hypothesis is that the Old Greek translation was ἀποκεφαλίζουσιν, now found in M<sup>mg</sup> L<sup>-82</sup> f 554<sup>mg</sup>. The phrase καὶ αποστρέφουσιν ‘they turned’ is a mistake that happened very early since it has spread out widely in the manuscripts. Only the base text of the Lucianic recension has escaped this error. There is graphic similarity between these words. In addition to that, the use of the verb ἀποκεφαλίζουσιν meant that there is no need to mention the object since it is part of the verb. The erroneous form ἀποστρέφουσιν was also the source text of the Sahidic translator. Origen did not find an equivalent for the Hebrew reading ‘cut his head’ in his Greek text and added such. Thus a doublet found its way into Greek manuscripts that were compared to the Hexapla. Sa<sup>M</sup> attests to the OG reading in its corrupt form, whereas Sa<sup>A</sup> attests a doublet with the hexaplaric approximation and thus presupposes some kind of revision with Greek after the original translation.

Then the text tells of sending, and the thing(s) that was sent depends on the previous sentence. According to Sa<sup>A</sup> the head was sent; according to Sa<sup>M</sup> ‘they sent out ... proclaiming’ and thus Sa<sup>M</sup> seems to presuppose a Greek *Vorlage* without αὐτά.<sup>11</sup> Sa<sup>B</sup> reads ‘they sent them.’<sup>12</sup> The question is whether Sa<sup>B</sup> follows those Greek manuscripts that read with αὐτά.<sup>13</sup> It is, however,

8. M V 82 CII d h s t<sup>370</sup> v z 71 158 244 342 460 707<sup>mg</sup>.

9. ויכרתו את־ראשו.

10. Thus Greek ms 29.

11. Of the Greek manuscripts, only A B O CI 121 29 71 318 read with the word αὐτά, the rest don’t have it.

12. This refers to the equipment since the bodies are brought to the city in the next verse.

13. A B O CI 121 29 71 318 (against MT).



more probable that Sa<sup>B</sup> has the suffix because Coptic usually makes the object explicit with transitive verbs. This verb is also used intransitively, but according to Crum more rarely.<sup>14</sup>

**31:10** καὶ ἀνέθηκαν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἀσαρτεῖον καὶ τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ κατέπηξαν ἐν τῷ τείχει Βαιθσαν

Sa<sup>M</sup>    πεϣκκηγῆ δε ἀγκααγ̃ ρῖ πεγμα νειδωλον· ἀγω πεϣωμα·  
ἀγοβτῖ· ἐπισοβτ̃· νβετσαν·

Sa<sup>A</sup>    πεϣκεγη δε ἀγκααγ ρῖ πεγμα νειδωλον· ἀγω πϣωμα  
ἀγογοτβεβ εβολ ρῖ πσοβτ νβεθεεεμ·

Sa<sup>B</sup>    πσωμα δε νϣ̣ογλ μν κωναθαμ πεϣωρη· μν πεϣι ρα  
νεγσκεγη· ἀγιτογ̃ ερραι ετπολις· ἀγαωτογ̃ ἐπισοβτ  
νβγϣαμης·

Sa<sup>B</sup> differs from other witnesses by adding that the bodies were brought into the city. It seems that Sa<sup>B</sup> takes freedom with the text and tries to make the storyline concordant. In the previous verse Sa<sup>B</sup> had already told that their equipment was sent to the land of the Philistines. Thus, in the beginning of this verse, Sa<sup>B</sup> does not mention the equipment anymore, against Sa<sup>AM</sup> and most Greek witnesses. Only 246 leaves out the clause καὶ ἀνέθηκαν τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ Ἀσαρτεῖον, but it is best explained as a homoioarcton from the first to the second καὶ. There is no dependency in Sa<sup>B</sup> on this reading since the omission in Sa<sup>B</sup> begins already in the previous verse.

In the last sentence Sa<sup>M</sup> reads the verb ωϣτ/ ωβτ ‘to fix, nail’, which corresponds to καταπήγνυμι in Greek. Sa<sup>A</sup> has its own wording with the verb ογωτβ ‘to remove, transport’, thus reading: “They removed his body from the wall.” Sa<sup>A</sup> is obviously erroneous here since it is told in the next verse that the body is taken away from the wall, and to mention it here confuses the story line; the body is never fixed on the wall, only twice taken down from it. Sa<sup>A</sup> has many copying mistakes in other passages, and this sentence is best explained by an error from οβτῖ to ογοτβεβ; only a tiny slip between β and τ and an addition of ογ explain how the reading of Sa<sup>A</sup> came about. The last letter is q in Sa<sup>M</sup> but β in Sa<sup>A</sup>. This change, to read β in stead of q is a typical feature of Fayyumic dialect. Sa<sup>A</sup> comes from the White Monastery and we

14. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 793a.

know that many codices that were found in this monastery were produced in Fayoum.<sup>15</sup>

Sa<sup>B</sup> reads with the verb εἰωε ‘to hang, suspend’, which differs from ὠγτ ‘to nail’ in Sa<sup>M</sup>. The verb ὠγτ occurs only once in the Sahidic New Testament, to render προσηλώω ‘to nail’.<sup>16</sup> The verb εἰωε occurs in the Sahidic New Testament five times: twice for κρεμάννυμι ‘to hang’, twice for σταυρώω ‘to crucify’ and once for προσπήγνυμι ‘to nail to’.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the verb used in Sa<sup>B</sup> is a more common one, at least if one looks at the material found in the Sahidic New Testament. This fits well in the picture of Sa<sup>B</sup> as a chronicle-like story. The suffix of the verb is singular in Sa<sup>MA</sup> but plural in Sa<sup>B</sup>. Sa<sup>B</sup> continues on its own line with several bodies, without any Greek source.

The place is called βετσαμ in Sa<sup>M</sup> and βγῶσαμης in Sa<sup>B</sup>. βεῶλεεμ in Sa<sup>A</sup> in this verse can best be understood as resulting from a mistake from βγῶσαμης, since in verse 31:12 Sa<sup>A</sup> also attests to this form βγῶσαμης. This is a typical feature of Sa<sup>A</sup>: it is not logical in its readings. There are mistakes that affect each other, and one immediately observes them, but the copyist has not corrected them.

**31:6** καὶ ἀπέθανεν Σαουλ καὶ οἱ τρεῖς υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ αἵρων τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ (+ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ A O L<sup>-82</sup> CII<sup>-242</sup> s<sup>-130</sup>)

Sa<sup>M</sup> αγω σαογλ αqμογ μῃ πεqωomṭ nωhre· αγω πετqi nneqckeγh·  
αγω nκερωme τηρογ ετnῃμαq αqμογ

Sa<sup>A</sup> αγω σαογλ αqμογ μῃ πῃωomṭ nωhre αγω on πετqi  
nneqckeγh αqμογ· αγω nκερωme τηρογ ετ nῃμαq αqμογ

Sa<sup>B</sup> α σαογλ μογ μῃ ιωναθαμ πεqωhre· μῃ κεcnaγ nṭβα nρωme

In chapter 31 there are some hexaplaric and Lucianic readings that are attested in Sahidic and others that are not. In verse six the addition of καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ (A O L<sup>-82</sup> CII<sup>-242</sup> s<sup>-130</sup>) is found in Sa<sup>M</sup> and Sa<sup>A</sup>. Both of these Sahidic mss add ‘they died’ after the addition, without any Greek source, but they depend on a common Sahidic source text. The reading in Sa<sup>B</sup>

15. Takla, “Biblical Manuscripts”, 160–162.

16. Col. 2:14

17. Wilmet, *Concordance*, 242.

also attests to the addition of men, although it is re-formulated and reads ‘with Jonathan and 20,000 men’.

**31:8** καὶ ἔρχονται οἱ ἀλλόφυλοι ἐκδιδύσκειν τοὺς νεκροὺς καὶ εὐρίσκουσιν τὸν Σαουλ καὶ τοὺς τρεῖς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ πεπτωκότας ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Γελβουε

Sa<sup>M</sup> ἀγεί ḿσι ναλλοφγλος· ἀγβωϣ ḿνετḿοογτ· ἀγρε δε εσαογλ ḿḿ πεφωϣḿτ νωḿρε· εγραζτ̣· ρḿ πτοογ κκελβογε·

Sa<sup>A</sup> ἀγεί νσι ναλλοφγλο[ς· ἀγ]βωϣ ḿνετḿοογτ [ἀγρε] εσαογλ ḿḿ πῳϣο[ḿḿτ̣] νωḿρε εγραζτ ρḿ π[το]ογ κκελβογε·

In verse 31:8 the Lucianic text reads that Philistines came to strip the wounded (*L*<sup>-82</sup> *f*), but the Sahidic follows other Greek manuscripts that read that the Philistines came to strip the dead. In the same verse, Brooke&McLean cites Coptic with Lucianic manuscripts that attest to ἐν τῷ ὄρει (*L*<sup>-82</sup>), not ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη. Sahidic reads with the preposition ρḿ that is used to render both ἐν and ἐπὶ, and that should not be cited with either of the Greek readings, even though Sahidic reads mountain in the singular like Lucianic text.

## 2. CONCLUSION

To conclude with a short description of the Sahidic witnesses in 1Sam 31, the first point is that there is one common Sahidic tradition behind all these three witnesses. Otherwise it would be impossible to explain the extent of long uniform wordings and shared mistakes.

Sa<sup>M</sup> is to be seen as the most trustworthy of the Sahidic witnesses. Sa<sup>A</sup> is laden with omissions and copying mistakes. These features make its use in the textual criticism of the Greek text more complicated. There are some passages where Sa<sup>A</sup> contains additions that are based on a Greek *Vorlage*. For example in this chapter, especially in verse nine, there is a hexaplaric approximation; decapitation is added in Sa<sup>A</sup>. Sa<sup>B</sup> is perhaps best described as having indirect value in the textual criticism of the Greek text. It (Sa<sup>B</sup>) confirms the assumption that there was one Sahidic tradition, with its shared readings concordant with Sa<sup>AM</sup>. At the same time, it is evident that biblical stories were transmitted also in free form.

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# The Rendering of Toponyms in the LXX-Minor Prophets: An Indication of Alexandrian Provenance

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**Abstract:** The question of the date and place of origin for the Septuagint translations of the Prophets has been an issue in recent scholarly debate. In this paper I will investigate the rendering of geographical names and try to detect clues about the geographical setting of the translation of the Minor Prophets (MP). The Hebrew text of MP mentions names of places remote from the translator by both time and space. This means that any deviation in the rendering of the geographical names may be explained in various ways. The conclusions in the paper will relate to the following areas: (1) the translator's attitude toward the rendering of the names; (2) the influence on the translator; (3) the translator's knowledge of geography; (4) the translator's outlook/location. The general impression of the translator is that he shows careful concern for the rendering of the geographical names. When we look at what kind of names the translator transliterates or renders by a Greek form or name, and what kind of names he translates we find an interesting pattern: it appears that the translator is more familiar with names of places along the Palestinian/Syrian coastline than he is with Hebrew names of locations in Judea and Samaria. This may indicate an Alexandrian setting.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years the debate concerning the provenance of the Septuagint translations has been renewed, especially when it comes to the translations of the prophets and the writings. Several scholars leave open the possibility that the translations of these books were undertaken in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> It would be

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1. For example: Arie van der Kooij, "On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," *VT* 33 (1983); Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen, 1995) 34–45, (these studies in LXX-Psalms were, however, countered with an argument for an Egyptian setting by Albert Pietersma, "The Place of Origin of the Old Greek Psalter," in *The World of the Arameans I: Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul Eugène Dion*, ed. P. M. Michèle

wrong to say that these scholars support their arguments by hard evidence, simply because hard evidence is almost non-existent. In these matters we are all bound to deal with more and less convincing indications, collect them and weigh them against each other. In this paper I will discuss one issue which may provide us with another of these indications, namely the rendering of toponyms.

As with most of the disciplines within the field of Septuagint studies, the study of the toponyms in the Greek translations is bound up with many uncertainties. First we have to deal with text critical issues such as establishing the Old Greek reading and the Hebrew text behind it. Second, the Hebrew text of the Minor Prophets mentions names of places remote from the translator by both time and space. The places described in the books may no longer be as important as they once were, or perhaps they were too distant from the location of the translator for him to have knowledge of the place. Furthermore, some words may be interpreted as both proper and common nouns and it is not easy to determine which interpretation suits the context best. This means that any deviation between the Greek text and the Hebrew manuscripts we have in the rendering of the geographical names may be explained in various ways. Nevertheless, toponyms are usually very persistent against linguistic development in their respective languages, and also resistant to political and cultural changes, and this makes them suitable as indications of the location of the translator.

In this paper I will limit myself to the translation of the Minor Prophets and thus set as a premise that LXX-Minor Prophets is one translation unit. The unity of this translation was first argued for by H. St. J. Thackeray, later elaborated by Joseph Ziegler, and more recently also by Takamitsu Muraoka.<sup>2</sup>

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Daviau, John W. Wevers, and Michael Weigl [Sheffield, 2001]); Thomas Pola, "Von Juda zu Judas: Das theologische Proprium von Sach 14, 21–21 LXX," in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. M. Karrer, W. Kraus, and M. Meiser (Tübingen, 2008) 580; Johann Cook, "The Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation—Alexandria or Jerusalem as Context for Proverbs?" *JNSL* 19 (1993) 39; Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (Leiden, 1997) 326–327.

2. H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Prophetical Books," *JTS* 4 (1903) 578–585; Joseph Ziegler, "Die Einheit der Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch," in *Syllogie: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Septuaginta* (Göttingen, 1971) 29–42; Takamitsu Muraoka, "Is the Septuagint Amos VIII,12–IX,10 a Separate Unit?" *VT* 20 (1970) 496–500; Takamitsu Muraoka, "In Defence of the Unity of the Septuagint Minor Prophets," *AJBI* 15 (1989) 25–36; Takamitsu Muraoka, "Introduction aux Douze Petits Prophètes," in *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Les Douze Prophètes: Osée*, ed. Eberhard Bons; Jan Joosten & Stephan Kessler

A few scholars have raised their voices in defense of different translators, but their suggestions have not gained wide acceptance.<sup>3</sup>

My question is then simply: How does the translator of the Minor Prophets deal with the toponyms of Palestine? If he was located in Palestine, it would make sense that he had good knowledge of the places and toponyms in this area and regarded them as important. Now, I will argue in this paper that this is not the case and show that the translator does not have a particularly high awareness of places in Palestine. But first I will look briefly at the manner in which the translator deals with toponyms in general.

## 2. THE RENDERING OF TOPONYMS

The general impression one gets of the translator is that he shows careful concern for the rendering of the geographical names. The translator had several challenges in the rendering of the names and varied his approach throughout the translation. I will sort the approaches the translator used into three groups: transliterations, usage of Hellenized names, and translations of the Hebrew names.

### 2.1. TRANSLITERATION OF NAMES

Transliterations in this paper are defined by their indeclinable forms.<sup>4</sup> Forms that may appear as transliterations, but are declinable will be treated under the category of Hellenized names.

The translators of the LXX often transliterated names. The transliterations of one name may vary from one translator to another, but for many names it seems that one single form prevailed. This is the case for the translation of the Minor Prophets. The translator is consistent in his transliterations of the toponyms. He chooses one form and sticks to it throughout the translation. The names *בית אל*, *יזרעאל*, *מואב*, and *עקרון* are rendered consistently by respectively *Βαιθηλ*, *Ιεζραελ*, *Μωαβ*, and *Ακκαρων*. For other names which

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(Paris, 2002) ix–x; Armand Kaminka, “Studien zur Septuaginta an der Hand der zwölf kleinen Prophetenbücher,” *MGWJ* 72 (1928) 53–56.

3. Friedrich Baumgärtel and Johannes Herrmann, “Die Septuaginta zum Zwölfprophetenbuch das Werk zweier Übersetzer,” in *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Septuaginta* (Berlin, 1923) 32–38; C.R. Harrison, “The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX: A Reexamination of the Question,” *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) 55–72; George Howard, “Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos,” *VT* 20 (1970) 108–112.

4. H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Hildesheim, 2003 [1909]) 166.

occur only once in the translation it is of course impossible to say anything about consistency, but we should note that the forms we find in the LXX-Minor Prophets are almost all the forms most commonly used by the other translators.<sup>5</sup>

## 2.2. HELLENIZED NAMES

The group of Hellenized names includes names that are declinable in Greek. Thackeray claims that the Hellenized forms largely dominate the rendering of places in all of the Septuagint translations.<sup>6</sup> The translation of the MP is no exception and the translator again shows great consistency in his rendering and rarely uses alternative forms. This is perhaps best illustrated in the names where we find a certain diversity of renderings in the other translations. For the Hebrew אֲדוֹם we find the form Ἐδωμ quite frequently in the Septuagint translations, while the translator of the Minor Prophets chooses the form Ἰδυμαία. The same goes for אֲרָם, where we often find Ἀραμ in the Septuagint translations while the LXX-Minor Prophets has Συρία. A third example is found in the rendering of mount Tabor (תָּבוֹר) where we find several variants in the Septuagint translations, Θαβωρ, Γαιθβωρ, and Θαχχια, but the translator of the Minor Prophets chooses the Hellenized form Ἰταβύριον.

The translator also uses other Hellenized forms for places in Palestine and the surrounding areas. We find the use of Γαλιλαία (Galilee), Ἰορδάνης (Jordan), Καρμηλος (Carmel), Σαρεπτα (Zarephath), Σικιμα (Shechem), and Σαμαρείας (Samaria). An interesting case is the rendering of the area “Judea” where the translator prefers the Hellenized personal name Ἰούδας to the toponym Ἰουδαία, though the latter is also used.<sup>7</sup> This is, however, common in the Septuagint translations and also contemporary writers used Ἰούδας as a toponym which indicates that this was an accepted form.<sup>8</sup> In the rendering of גִּלְגָּל (Gilgal) we find an alternation in LXX-Minor Prophets between the declinable Γαλγαλα and the very similar, indeclinable Γαλγαλ. The same is the

5. Αδαμα for אֲדָמָה, Εφραθα for אֶפְרַתָּה, Βεελφεγωρ for בְּעֵל פְּעוֹר, Χωρηβ for חֹרֵב, Λαχis for לַחִישׁ, Μαδιαμ for מִדְיָן, Οδυλλαμ for עֲדֹלָם, and Σεβωιμ for צִבְיָאִים. However, LXX-Minor Prophets uses Εμαθ for חֶמֶת, while both Αιμαθ and Ημαθ are found more frequently in the other LXX-translations. Another example of this is LXX-MP's Μαχμας for מַכְמָס\*, while the form Μαχεμας is used more frequently elsewhere in the LXX-translations.

\*In Hos 9:6 of MT we find the adjective מְחֻמֵּד “pleasant, desirable thing” rendered by the Greek toponym Μαχμας, which probably stems from מַכְמָס in the Hebrew source text.

6. Thackeray, *Grammar*, 166.

7. Joel 4:20; Zech 12:2.

8. 2 Macc 1:10.



case for גִּלְעָד (Gilead) where we do find the indeclinable Γαλααδ<sup>9</sup> but more often the Hellenized form Γαλααδιτις.<sup>10</sup> In the LXX-translations we sometimes find the use of forms ending with -ιτις, which are typical for the Ptolemaic administration.<sup>11</sup> In the LXX-Minor Prophets we also find such a form in the rendering of בָּשָׁן (Bashan) where Βασανίτις is used consistently.<sup>12</sup> This stands in contrast to the most common form in the other LXX-translations which is Βασαν.

We should further note that the translator consistently uses the Hellenistic names for coastal cities like Ashdod (אַשְׁדּוֹד–Αζωτος), Askalon (אַשְׁקֶלֶן–Ασκαλων), Gaza (עֵזָה–Γαζα), and Tyre (צֹר–Τυρος). This is perhaps not very surprising since these forms are commonly used in all of the LXX-translations, but it nevertheless attests to the knowledge of coastal toponyms. An interest in remote places is clear when the translator rendered the Hebrew כַּפְתּוֹר by a place with a similar sounding name, καπτάδοκες.

For names of countries and large cities outside of Palestine the translator also uses Hellenized names. He uses Αἰθιοπίας for בּוּשׁ, Αἴγυπτος for מִצְרַיִם, Λίβανος for לְבָנוֹן, and Λιβυες for לְוִבִּים. He uses gentile forms Κρής for כְּרִיתִי and τὰ τέκνα τῶν Ἑλλήνων for the expression בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל. He uses Βαβυλών for בָּבֶל and also Δαμασκός for דְּמַשְׁק, Μέμφις for מֶנְיָ, and Νινευη for נִינְוָה.

### 2.3. TRANSLATION OF NAMES

Several of the Hebrew names are translated in the Greek text. There are various reasons why these names are translated and each translation has to be evaluated on its own terms. The Hebrew names are made from roots which are frequently used as verbs and common nouns and this makes the identification of the geographical names difficult. The identification of a toponym is not self-evident, but rather one of several possible interpretations.

We therefore find names that are sometimes transliterated and sometimes translated. We find בְּאֵר שֶׁבַע rendered by Βηρσαββε and φρέαρ τοῦ ὅρκου “well of the oath”, גַּת by Γεθ and ληνός “wine vat”, שְׁפִלָּה by Σεφηλα and

9. Hos 6:8; 12:12; Amos 1:3.

10. Amos 1:13; Obad 1:19; Mic 7:14; Zech 10:10. Outside of the LXX-MP we find the form Γαλααδιτις in LXX-Jos 13:11; 17:1; 2 Kgdms 2:9; LXX-1 Chr 26:31; LXX-Ezek 47:18. This is a small number compared to 84 occurrences of Γαλααδ.

11. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford, 1937) 241; Isac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (Tübingen, 2004) 236.

12. Amos 4:1; Mic 7:14; Nah 1:4; Zech 11:2.

πεδινός “flat, level”, נגב by Ναγεβ, νότος “south”, and ὄρεινός “mountainous,”<sup>13</sup> and finally תימן by Θαιμαν and νότος. A study of the occurrences of these different approaches shows that the translator was mindful of the context in which they occurred.<sup>14</sup> He did not simply transliterate these nouns, but he translated them when it suited the context.

Other names again were always translated and it is among these we find an interesting tendency. We find that many of the names which were translated are names in Palestine and even in Jerusalem. This seems to indicate a low awareness of names in this area and a closer look at these names will, in my opinion, confirm this notion.

In Hos 5:1 we find the name Mizpah (מצפה). This name is used for several places in ancient Israel. The most important of these is Mizpah of Benjamin which was inhabited through the Iron, Persian, and Hellenistic ages and served for a period of time as a sanctuary.<sup>15</sup> In the second century BCE it was still remembered as a former holy place by the Maccabees.<sup>16</sup> Another place bearing this name is Mizpah of Gilead. This is the place where Jacob made his oath with Laban,<sup>17</sup> and it is probably also the place referred to in the story of Jephthah’s vow.<sup>18</sup> The LXX-translators used a variety of transliterations for the name, though the most common is Μασσηφα.<sup>19</sup> In a few instances the place is translated according to the root צפ”ה into ἡ σκοπία “lookout-place.”

The text in Hos 5:1 has two parallel lines “for you have been a snare on Mizpah, and a net spread upon Tabor.” The identification of Mizpah as a toponym should be fairly obvious, but the translator does not render the word as such. Instead he translates: “because you have become a snare to the lookout (τῇ σκοπιᾷ) and like a net stretched over Itabyrion.” One should not too easily resort to the conclusion that the translator did not know the place, other interpretations or translation technical issues may have guided his translation, but at least we may say that the translator does not show much interest in the

13. We find the unexpected form ὄρεινός “mountainous” in Zech 7:7 where נגב occurs in a pair with שפלה meaning “lowland”. This contrast may explain the translation into ὄρεινός.

14. Muraoka, “Is the Septuagint Amos VIII,12–IX,10 a Separate Unit?” 497–498.

15. 1 Sam 7:5–12.

16. 1 Macc 3:46.

17. Gen 31:49.

18. Judg 10:17–11:40.

19. Variant forms: Μασσωχ (Jos 11:8), Μασφα (Jos 15:38; 18:26 (A); 2 Chr 16:6), Μασφε (Neh 3:19), Μασσημα (This may be due to a variant in the *Vorlage* Jos 18:26), and Μασσηφαθ (1 Sam 7:5ff.; 2 Kgs 25:23ff.)

name Tabor. This stands in sharp contrast to the meticulous approach he usually displays in his rendering of toponyms.

In Amos 6:13 we find the two names, Lo-devar and Karnaim. These were names of places probably located respectively in Gilead and Bashan. Some scholars have questioned whether these nouns should be understood as toponyms at all in this verse,<sup>20</sup> but they fit well the general outlook of Amos and the near textual context which is condemning the works of Samaria (6:1). Accordingly the NRSV translates the verse: “you who rejoice in Lo-debar (לֹא דִבָּר), who say, ‘Have we not by our own strength taken Karnaim (קַרְנַיִם) for ourselves?’” These places were not of minor importance and we know that Karnaim retained its position even in Hellenistic times. It is mentioned several times in 1 Macc 5:25, 43 (Καρναῖν) and 2 Macc 12:21, 26 (Καρνιον). The Greek translation of Amos 6:13, however, does not recognize any of these names, but resorts to the basic meaning of the Hebrew words לֹא דִבָּר “no word, nothing” and קַרְן “horn” in the rendering “you who rejoice at no word (ἐπ’ οὐδενὶ λόγῳ), who say, ‘have we not by our own strength possessed horns (κέρατα)’?”

Another name that attests to the same tendency of little awareness is the name Shittim (שִׁטִּים). This name probably refers to the place east of Jordan where the Israelites engaged in the Baal-Peor cult (Num 25:1–9). It is mentioned twice in the Minor Prophets, Joel 4:18 and Mic 6:5, both times rendered by σχοῖνος “reed, rush” in the Greek text. Since this rendering is repeated, there is no reason to assume that the deviation stems from the *Vorlage*. The Hebrew word שִׁטָּה means “acacia tree” and the translator may have based his translation on this word,<sup>21</sup> or he may have intended, according to James Aitken, “to convey how much water will arise, since reeds grow by the side of rivers”.<sup>22</sup>

בֵּית הָאֵצֶל in Mic 1:11 is translated into οἶκος ἐχόμενος αὐτῆς “a house next to her”.<sup>23</sup> The translation may indicate that the translator did not know the name and read the second part of the Hebrew compound as the preposi-

20. As reflected in JPS 1917: “Ye which rejoice in a thing of nought, which say, Have we not taken to us horns by our own strength?”

21. Wilhelm Rudolph, *Haggai-Sacharja 1–8—Sacharja 9–14—Maleachi* (Gütersloh, 1976) 78.

22. James K. Aitken, “Σχοῖνος in the Septuagint,” *VT* 50 (2000) 434. Both Rudolph and Aitken’s suggestions are preferable to Muraoka’s “a place-name or a mechanical rendering” (Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Louvain, 2002) 544).

23. NETS.

tion אֶצֶל.<sup>24</sup> A related name is אֶצֶל mentioned in Zech 14:5, which may be referring to the same place. From the context it appears to be a place in the vicinity of Jerusalem. The name is transliterated in the Greek text, but the manuscripts vary on the spelling of the name. Ιασολ, found in Codex Venetus, the Coptic Boharic translation and the majority of later manuscripts, is preferred by both Ralphs and Ziegler and reflects a pronunciation quite different from the Massoretic tradition.

Another place in the vicinity of Jerusalem is Maroth (מְרוֹת) mentioned in Mic 1:12. The first part of the verse goes: “For the inhabitants of Maroth (יוֹשְׁבֵי מְרוֹת) wait anxiously for good.” That this is referring to a place seems obvious, but the translator did not render the name, but instead read the root מֵרָר and translated by using ὁδύνη “pain, grief”; “Who has begun to act for the good for her that dwells in grief (κατοικοῦσῃ ὁδύνας).” The translation does make sense in the context, but the lack of awareness of the toponym is conspicuous.

In Zeph 1:10 and 11 we find several names of places within Jerusalem, none of them is transliterated or rendered by a Hellenistic name in the Greek translation. Verse 10 has the text: “And there shall be on that day, says the LORD, ‘the sound of a mournful cry from the Fish Gate (שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים), A wailing from the Second Quarter (הַמִּשְׁנָה), and a loud crashing from the hills.’”<sup>25</sup> The “Fish Gate” and the “Second Quarter” are both well known places in Jerusalem referred to in several of the other biblical books.<sup>26</sup> The Greek translator shows no sign of recognition in his translation when he uses ἀπὸ πύλης ἀποκεντούντων “from the gate of men slaying” and ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας “from the second.” Now, the translation “from the gate of men slaying” may not be the best indication of the translator’s unawareness of names in Jerusalem since it may well rely on a variant in its Hebrew source. Instead of שַׁעַר הַדָּגִים the text of the translator probably read שַׁעַר הַרְגִים “the gate of the killers” which would explain the Greek translation.<sup>27</sup> For the line, “from the second” it should be noted that it is a direct translation, however here the Hebrew word מִשְׁנָה was probably used as a proper name and a transliteration of this name is found in both 2 Kgs 22:14 and 2 Chr 34:22. It seems fair to assume that a translator situated in Jerusalem would have recognized both names.

Although the translations above arouse my suspicion, their individual force in an argument is little, since they may both be explained as linguis-

24. See Amos 2:8 for a similar translation of this preposition.

25. NRSV.

26. “Fish Gate”: 2 Chr 33:14; Neh 3:3; 12:39. “Second Quarter”: 2 Kgs 22:14 = 2 Chr 34:22; Neh 11:9.

27. Or שַׁעַר הַרְגִים as suggested by Kaminka, “Studien,” 249.

tic exegesis, but together they become more interesting since they attest to the same tendency. And when we read the next verse, Zeph 1:11, we find yet another name of a place in Jerusalem which is translated rather than transliterated. The expression *יְשִׁבֵי הַמִּכְתָּשׁ* “the inhabitants of the Mortar” is translated by *οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν κατακεκομμένην* “who inhabit the destroyed part.” In MT *הַמִּכְתָּשׁ* is a name of a place in Jerusalem.<sup>28</sup> This is evidently not what the translator had in mind when he used the participle *κατακεκομμένη* “being destroyed”. Instead of rendering this as a toponym the translator probably understood the word according to the Aramaic root *כִּת”ש* “to crush”.

### 3. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I will end this short paper by summarizing the findings presented above and suggest some interpretations of them. Firstly, the translator was mindful in the rendering of the geographical names. He did not work on a case by case basis, but consistently used the names he found best suited. This tendency is apparent in the manner he transliterated names. The same attentiveness is found in the way the translator deals with the nouns that may be understood both as toponyms and common nouns. It appears that the translator did not have any problem recognizing the double aspect of these words.

Secondly, the translator had fairly good knowledge of geography. We may assume this from the mindful use of Greek forms and Greek names where they were available. Especially illustrative is the use of Babylon for Shin’ar, and furthermore the use of *Ἰταβύριον*, *Κρής*, and *Σαμαρία* where we find a variety of forms in the other translations.

Thirdly, we find that the translator translated quite a number of names. These names are first and foremost Hebrew names and many among them are liable to be interpreted as common nouns or verbs. When we look at what kind of names the translator transliterates or renders by a Greek form or name, and what kind he translates we find an interesting pattern. It appears that the translator transcribed and used Greek names for names of places along the Palestinian/Syrian coastline. He furthermore shows knowledge of Crete and Kappadokia. The names he translates are almost all names of locations in Judea, Samaria and the surrounding areas. Since these are Hebrew names, they certainly are liable to be translated and some of these should not necessarily be taken as proper nouns. Nevertheless, the frequent use of translations of names in Judea and Samaria attests to the notion that the translator was not very conscious of the geographical names in this area. If the translator worked

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28. Hubert Irsigler, *Zefanja* (Freiburg, 2002) 150–152.

in Jerusalem or some other location in Palestine, this pattern is a bit hard to explain. On the other hand, if the translator was located in Alexandria, the findings are merely what we should expect. In Alexandria, being an important port in the eastern Mediterranean, it would only be natural that the translator had good knowledge of coastal cities on the shores and islands of this area. The villages and towns in Judea and Samaria were quite insignificant from an Alexandrian perspective.<sup>29</sup>

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# Ephraim Dwelt in Egypt: Egypt and Assyria in the Septuagint of Hosea

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**Abstract:** In several of the thirteen references to Egypt in Hosea the Greek translator has changed the time reference so Israel's experience in Egypt in the LXX is not future, as in the Hebrew text, but past, or already realized, from the perspective of the prophet Hosea. The thesis of this essay is that the translator of LXX-Hosea presents sinful Israel as dwelling in Egypt at the time of the prophet Hosea. The thesis is developed by a survey of the five passages that most clearly support it, an examination of two verses that appear to conflict with it, and then a brief summary of two passages that place Israel's experience in Assyria in the future from the time of the prophet. The differences from the Hebrew in LXX-Hosea with regard to Israel's experience in Egypt are analogous to the updating concerning Syria and Samaria in LXX-Amos and Jerusalem in LXX-Zechariah. This evidence supports the theory that there was one translator for the Twelve, who had an *ad hoc* agenda, which he developed in each book of the Twelve from the existing concerns in the Hebrew text before him.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In his study of “‘Egypt’ in the Septuagint Text of Hosea” Pisano found evidence that the text had been modified in an apparent systematic way in order to change the time frame of the references to Egypt, so that Israel's return to Egypt was placed in the past.<sup>1</sup> He suggested this could have been done for historical accuracy or to be a symbolic statement concerning Israel's situation at the time of Hosea. Some of Pisano's evidence for his view is debatable, and Joosten suggests the case he makes for his thesis is “flimsy.”<sup>2</sup> The recent

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1. Stephen Pisano, “‘Egypt’ in the Septuagint of Hosea,” in *Tradition of the Text* (ed. Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano; *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 109; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 301–8.

2. Jan Joosten, “Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea,” in *Intertextuality in*

commentary on Hosea in *La Bible D'Alexandrie* has continued the discussion of this issue.<sup>3</sup> This paper is an attempt to further the discussion of Israel's (or Ephraim's) relationship to Egypt in LXX-Hosea. In order to do that I will attempt to read LXX-Hosea as a document in its own right, considering the structure, themes, and theology of LXX-Hosea. I will also attempt to read the book as a translation from its Hebrew *Vorlage* and examine the translation technique employed in LXX-Hosea to show how such analysis gives evidence of the translator's concerns for this and related topics. This paper will summarize the evidence, and I will contend that the data corroborates and gives further support to one of Pisano's suggested interpretations: Because of Israel's idolatry and infidelity, the translator understood Israel to be dwelling in Egypt at the time of Hosea.

The main part of this study is a survey of seven of the thirteen passages where the word "Egypt" occurs in LXX-Hosea (2:15; 7:11, 16; 8:13; 9:3, 6; 11:1, 5, 11; 12:1, 9, 13; 13:4).<sup>4</sup> We would expect to find important evidence concerning the viewpoint and technique of the translator in passages in the LXX that differ from the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Several references to Egypt in LXX-Hosea are not important for our discussion because they are very literal renderings of the Hebrew (7:11; 12:13),<sup>5</sup> refer to the original Exodus from Egypt (2:15; 12:9, 13; 13:4), or refer to Israel sending emissaries and delegations to Assyria and Egypt for help and to try to make treaties in the time of Hosea's ministry (7:11; 12:1). After removing these passages, we have seven passages relating to Egypt in LXX-Hosea that give insight into the translator's unique understanding of Egypt in the book.

I will begin with five passages that most clearly support my thesis that in LXX-Hosea Israel has already returned to Egypt and is dwelling there in the time of the prophet Hosea. I hope that a survey of these passages will clarify my thesis. Then I will move to two passages that appear to conflict with my proposal and could be taken to mean that Israel will return to Egypt in a time still future to the prophet Hosea. And finally, I will present some other evi-

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*Ugarit and Israel* (ed. Johannes C. de Moor; Oudtestamentische Studiën 40; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 80.

3. Eberhard Bons, Jan Joosten, and Stephan Kessler, *Oseé (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.1; Paris: Cerf, 2002)*.

4. The verse numbers vary in the different versions of Hosea in chapters 2 and 12. The verse numbers here reflect the divisions in the Göttingen edition of the LXX (Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetæ* [vol. 13 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*; 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967]).

5. One could argue that literal renderings do contribute to our understanding of the translator, but since these verses are also included in the following categories that discussion is irrelevant here.

dence in Hosea that is relevant for the understanding of “Egypt” and “Assyria” in LXX-Hosea.

## 2. FIVE KEY “EGYPT” PASSAGES IN LXX-HOSEA

Hosea 8:13<sup>6</sup>

המה מצרים ישובו

(NRSV) Though they offer choice sacrifices, though they eat flesh, the LORD does not accept them. Now he will remember their iniquity, and punish their sins; they shall return to Egypt.

αὐτοὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέστρεψαν καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται

(NETS) Therefore, if they offer a sacrifice and eat flesh, the Lord will not accept these things. Now he will remember their injustices and punish their sins; they have returned to Egypt and will eat unclean things among the Assyrians.

Hosea 8:13 is in a context describing the punishment for Israel’s sins. In the Hebrew Israel’s return to Egypt at the end of 8:13 is clearly future, but in the LXX it is past, and in the LXX the return to Egypt could be understood logically to be part of the reason for Israel’s punishment (eating “unclean things among the Assyrians”).<sup>7</sup> It is also noteworthy that the LXX has a plus (addition or gloss) at the end of 8:13, which agrees exactly with the last clause in 9:3 (“and will eat unclean things among the Assyrians”). The presence of this clause in 9:3 (where it is in both the Hebrew and LXX) likely influenced the translator to add it in 8:13, and in these two verses it serves to connect Israel’s experience in Egypt (past) with that in Assyria (future). The “unclean food” the Israelites will eat in Assyria suggests captivity and subjection. The differences in the LXX from the Hebrew in this verse were not because of an obscure or difficult text; they apparently reflect the theology and beliefs of the translator.

6. The MT consonantal text and the Göttingen edition of the LXX will be used in this paper. The verses will be presented at the beginning of each section beginning with the MT and an English translation of it (NRSV or ESV), followed by the LXX text and the NETS rendering of it. Sometimes only what is judged to be the important part of the verse is presented.

7. Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, 125, note the change to past time in the LXX.

Hosea 9:3

לֹא יֵשְׁבוּ בָאָרֶץ יְהוָה וְשָׁב  
מִצְרַיִם וּבְאֶשׁוּר טֵמֵא יֹאכְלוּ

(NRSV) They shall not remain in the land of the LORD; but Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and in Assyria they shall eat unclean food.

οὐ κατώκησαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τοῦ κυρίου· κατώκησεν Εφραιμ εἰς Αἴγυπτον,  
καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται

(NETS) They did not settle in the land of the Lord; Ephraim settled in Egypt, and among the Assyrians they shall eat unclean things.

In the MT Hosea 9:3 has an exodus reversal theme.<sup>8</sup> The immediate context refers to the Lord's judgment of Israel for their idolatry and unfaithfulness to him, and because of that sin they will not remain in the land; instead Ephraim will return to Egypt in the future.<sup>9</sup> In the LXX the repetition of the verb κατοικέω in 9:3 serves to contrast what Israel did and did not do. In the first clause not to "dwell in the land of the Lord" seems to be a metaphorical expression, suggesting that they did not follow the Lord. Their sins have so reversed what the Lord wanted them to be and do that the land in which they dwell is no longer "the land of the Lord." Some suggest that the imagery of this verse means they still live in their own land physically, but they are living a mode of life like the Egyptians, and thus they have "settled in Egypt."<sup>10</sup> The first readers of the LXX may have understood this life in Egypt to be a reality in their times, literally living in Egypt, although in light of the future reference to Assyria which follows it, it is better to understand "settled in Egypt" as referring to a reality that already existed in the time of the prophet Hosea before the nation goes to Assyria.<sup>11</sup> The LXX rendering of this verse is related to the translation of 8:13 and 11:5, and in our analysis of 11:5 we will mention it again.

8. See A. A. MacIntosh, *Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1997), 342; see also Exod 14:13; Deut 26:28, and Lev 18:25 (where the land is spewing them out).

9. See Pisano, "Egypt"; and MacIntosh, *Hosea*, on the future time here and the sequence of verbs.

10. Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, 128; they also note the change to past time in the LXX (125).

11. Verse 4a continues the past time references to Ephraim's conduct, and then in 4b it switches to the future to describe food ("bread of defilement") again, which may be a metaphor for their captivity in Assyria.

Hosea 9:6

כי הנה הלכו משד מצרים  
תקבצם מן תקברם מחמד  
לכספם קמוש יירשם חוח  
באהליהם

(NRSV) For even if they escape destruction, Egypt shall gather them, Memphis shall bury them. Nettles shall possess their precious things of silver; thorns shall be in their tents.

διὰ τοῦτο ἰδοὺ πορεύσονται ἐκ ταλαιπωρίας Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐκδέξεται αὐτοὺς Μέμφις, καὶ θάψει αὐτοὺς Μαχμας· τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῶν ὄλεθρος κληρονομήσει, ἄκανθαι ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν

(NETS) Therefore, behold, they go from the wretchedness of Egypt, and Memphis will receive them, and Machmas will bury them. Destruction will inherit their silver; thorns shall be in their encampments.

In the Hebrew of 9:6 Egypt is going to receive Israel; Israel is going to go to Egypt, and they will be buried in Memphis. In the LXX they “will go” (future tense) out of the “wretchedness of Egypt” to be received in Memphis and buried in Michmash (Machmas), a valley north east of Jerusalem on the border of Judah and Benjamin. There are several issues involved in the LXX rendering of this verse, including the fact that the translator apparently did not know the word קמוש (3x in MT), meaning “nettles or thistles,” and he rendered it according to the context as “destruction” (ὄλεθρος). He also apparently did not know the word “precious possession” (מחמד; 13x in MT), and he rendered it as the similar sounding word “Michmas.” The Hebrew is difficult, and the translator compensated by making some word connections and contextual renderings and by finding a meaning that made sense with his worldview. What is important for our purposes is that in the LXX Israel is not gathered to Egypt in the future, as in the Hebrew. Instead Israel’s departure from Egypt is presented as future to the time of the prophet Hosea, consistent with the fact that they are already there.<sup>12</sup>

12. Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, do not discuss how the time elements in this verse might relate to the issue of when Israel goes to Egypt in LXX-Hosea.

Hosea 11:1

כי נער ישראל ואהבהו  
וממצרים קראתי לבני

(NRSV) When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son.

Διότι νήπιος Ισραηλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἠγάπησα αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ

(NETS) For Israel was an infant, and I loved him, and out of Egypt I recalled his children.

The changes the translator makes in this verse are small, and yet they are consistent with the changes we have seen so far in our survey of verses from Hosea.<sup>13</sup> In the Hebrew the Lord “called” his people out of Egypt at the time of the Exodus when Israel was an infant. In the LXX the infant status of Israel is characteristic of the nation and the Lord loves them in spite of it. Furthermore, as evidence of his love he “recalled” his children out of Egypt. The verb μετακαλέω is a very unusual rendering of the Hebrew verb קרא, which only occurs twice in the LXX, here and in the next verse, out of about 736 occurrences of the Hebrew verb.<sup>14</sup> The normal rendering of this Hebrew verb in the LXX is the simple form of the Greek verb. The translator is making a point; Israel had already returned to Egypt, and the Lord recalled them to himself in a way that corresponds with his original call at the time of the Exodus. He recalled them because of his love for them, and they kept returning to their idols (11:1–2). This minor difference appears to be a conscious adjustment of the meaning of the text by the translator.

Hosea 11:5

לא ישוב אל ארץ מצרים  
ואשור הוא מלכו כי מאנן  
לשוב

(NRSV) They shall return to the land of Egypt [ESV They shall not

13. Pisano does not address this verse.

14. The Greek verb only occurs 3x in the LXX.

return to the land of Egypt], and Assyria shall be their king, because they have refused to return to me.

κατόκησεν Εφραιμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Ἀσσοῦρ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ,  
ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἐπιστρέψαι

(NETS) Ephraim settled in Egypt, and Assour himself was his king, because they did not want to return.

There are several issues in this verse worth noting. First the English translations of the MT differ. The ESV has a negative statement in the first clause, and the NRSV is positive, apparently following the LXX. Some think the Septuagint translator read the negative (לֹא), which is at the beginning of 11:5 as the preposition לְ with a third, singular, masculine pronominal suffix (לוֹ).<sup>15</sup> The negative first clause of the Hebrew contradicts 8:13 and 9:3, both of which say Israel will return to Egypt.<sup>16</sup> The apparent contradiction in the Hebrew may have been the cause of some of the changes in the LXX. Second, in 9:3 (MT—“Ephraim shall return to Egypt”) and here in 11:5 (MT—“They shall not return to the land of Egypt”) the translator has rendered a form of “return” (שׁוּב) with the Greek verb “settle or dwell” (κατοικέω), reading the Hebrew as the verb שָׁב, when describing Israel’s relationship with Egypt. This is possibly a mistake in both places, since the forms are very similar.<sup>17</sup> But this rendering of שׁוּב only occurs these two times in LXX-Hosea, out of at least twenty-two occurrences of the Hebrew verb in the book.<sup>18</sup> In 9:3 it is possible that the translator was influenced by the clause “they did not settle in the land of the Lord” (with יָשַׁב) in 9:3a and employed the same verb in 9:3b. Thus in 9:3b he translated the Hebrew “Ephraim shall return to Egypt” as “Ephraim settled in Egypt.” He repeats this same statement in 11:5, again rendering שׁוּב as יָשַׁב.<sup>19</sup> It is also likely that the apparent contradiction in the Hebrew between 11:5 (not return to Egypt) and 8:13 and 9:3 (shall return to Egypt) influenced the

15. See MacIntosh, *Hosea*, 448, 450; thus the αὐτῷ at the end of 11:4 in the LXX.

16. The negative was probably the original reading of the MT; it is supported by 4Q82 f15 from Qumran. The different readings are responsible for the different English translations.

17. If the Hebrew orthography were defective the two forms would be the same.

18. Hosea 12:10 is apparently יָשַׁב (MacIntosh, *Hosea*, 499), although Accordance Software mistakenly takes it as שׁוּב; normally שׁוּב is rendered by ἐπιστρέφω, ἀναστρέφω, or a form of δίδωμι.

19. The LXX also renders the Hebrew phrase אֵל אֶרֶץ as “Ephraim” in 11:5, resulting in the exact same phrase as in 9:3; this further supports the influence of 9:3 on the LXX rendering of 11:5.

translator in his work on all of these verses.<sup>20</sup> Third, in 11:5 in the Hebrew Ephraim's return from Egypt is future, while in the LXX Ephraim's sojourn there is placed in the past.<sup>21</sup> Finally, it is worth noting that the second clause of 11:5 is verbless in both the Hebrew and LXX. Thus, in the Hebrew Assyrian domination could be present or future.<sup>22</sup> In the LXX it is difficult to know the exact time the translator has in mind for the second clause in 11:5. Pisano thinks future domination by Assyria is implied in the LXX.<sup>23</sup>

It is obvious that in 11:5 in the eyes of the translator Israel has settled in Egypt, and it should be emphasized that the Greek verb he chose to communicate this idea (κατοικέω) is a strong one that implies a settled condition. Furthermore, it is likely that in 11:5 the changes involved in going from "They shall not return to the land of Egypt" in the Hebrew to "Ephraim settled in the land of Egypt" in the LXX were made to harmonize the text, and it is unlikely they were a mistake. If they were a mistake, the mistake was apparently influenced by the translator's presuppositions and preunderstanding.

### 3. TWO PASSAGES THAT ARE PROBLEMATIC FOR MY THESIS

Two verses in LXX-Hosea, 7:16 and 11:11, might be used to question the thesis I have tried to develop thus far. We will now look at those two verses, to see if the rendering of them in the LXX is consistent with the thesis that in LXX-Hosea Israel is described as being in Egypt already in the time of the prophet Hosea.

Hosea 7:16

זו לעגם בארץ מצרים

(ESV) They return, but not upward; they are like a treacherous bow; their princes shall fall by the sword because of the insolence of their tongue. This shall be their derision in the land of Egypt.

20. See the discussion in Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, 143.

21. There is strong support for the Hebrew reading they will "not return to Egypt"; 4Q82 f15 supports it also.

22. MacIntosh, *Hosea*, 450, renders the second clause in 11:5 as present, but many translations take it as future, apparently following the preceding clause (ASV, NRSV, NIV, ESV). Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea* (Hermeneia Series; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 192, 200, renders it as a present tense, but thinks it refers to the coming supremacy of Shalmaneser V over Israel.

23. Pisano, "Egypt," 305.



ἀπεστράφησαν εἰς οὐθέν, ἐγένοντο ὡς τόξον ἐντεταμένον· πεσοῦνται  
ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ οἱ ἄρχοντες αὐτῶν δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν γλώσσης αὐτῶν·  
οὗτος ὁ φαλισμὸς αὐτῶν ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ

Hos. 7:16 (NETS) They have turned aside to nothing; they became like a tightly stretched bow; their rulers shall fall by the sword because of their undisciplined tongue. This will be their contempt in the land of Egypt.

In the LXX the first clause of 7:16 is very similar to 8:13,<sup>24</sup> which reads, “they have returned to Egypt and will eat unclean things among the Assyrians” (αὐτοὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπέστρεψαν καὶ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις ἀκάθαρτα φάγονται). In 8:13 the LXX employs the same verb (ἀποστρέφω with an εἰς clause in the predicate) as in 7:16. *La Bible D’Alexandrie* suggests both of these verses recall the same unfruitful diplomatic initiatives in Egypt (4 Kgdms 17:4).<sup>25</sup> Whether the verses refer to diplomatic initiatives or not, it is likely they have the same situation in mind. In 7:16 turning aside “to nothing” in the first clause probably refers to the futility of human effort.<sup>26</sup> The mention of “contempt in the land of Egypt” in the last clause of the verse may refer to the response to, or result of, diplomatic initiatives in Egypt.<sup>27</sup> The future tense, in the clause “their rulers shall fall by the sword,” makes most sense as a reference to the fall of Israel, which is future for the prophet. The time of the last non-verbal clause (“this will be their contempt in the land of Egypt”) is difficult to determine, but the preceding future tense, “will fall,” suggests it is also future.<sup>28</sup> However, if it is future to the time of the prophet Hosea, it could be understood to conflict with the verses surveyed above in which the translator presents Israel as

24. See the discussion of 8:13 above.

25. Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, 126.

26. *Ibid.*, 119.

27. It is hard to explain why the translator uses the passive voice of ἀποστρέφω here. There is no reason in the Hebrew for using this voice. The Hebrew has a Qal of שׁוּב. It may be that he wants to remove some of the blame from the people of Israel, but it is more likely that the passive should have the same sense as the active voice, as NETS and *La Bible D’Alexandrie* all understand it; this is also allowable for the passive voice according to LSJ 220; Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2009), 85, takes it as more of a passive, “to be transformed and become”; however, Muraoka’s rendering does not make much sense with the preposition (εἰς following the verb and with the parallel in 8:13).

28. So Bons, Joosten, and Kessler, *Oseé*, 119; cf. Pisano, “Egypt,” 302, who argues the aorist verbs in 7:16a support a past time for the final clause in 7:16.

already in Egypt from the perspective of the prophet. I would like to suggest some other more likely interpretations of the time in the last clause of 7:16.<sup>29</sup>

In its LXX context the most likely meaning of the last clause of 7:16, “this will be their contempt in the land of Egypt,” is that it refers to the prophet’s description of Israel’s situation after going to Egypt for help by sending emissaries there; i.e., they will not get help, only contempt. If the time reference of the last clause of 7:16 is future to or after Israel’s return to Egypt by sending emissaries there, that does not mean that Israel has not already returned there from the standpoint of the prophet, who is making this prediction. The reader of the LXX could see the contempt as future for Hosea, just like the falling of the rulers by the sword in the preceding clause is future, even if they have already returned to Egypt by sending emissaries there.

Second, it could be that the translator and his readers would understand that the last clause of 7:16 referred to the situation of the recipients (first readers) of the LXX. The noun “contempt” (φαυλισμός) occurs twice elsewhere in the LXX (Isa 28:11; 51:7), both times in the context of Jewish/Gentile relations, which would fit well with the situation of the readers of the LXX.<sup>30</sup> In this case the future contempt goes well beyond the original perspective of the prophet and is being fulfilled in the time of the recipients of LXX-Hosea, who perhaps understood their plight in Egypt as a further consequence of the sins of the nation. Third, the future contempt in the land of Egypt could be a result of Israel’s sins in the time of Hosea, which could have been understood as a return to Egypt. The judgment they experience as a result of their sins would then be the contempt they experience in the land of Egypt.

In summary, this verse seems to teach in context (“they have turned aside [returned] to nothing”) that Israel has turned away from the Lord to worthless and futile resources, and as a result their rulers will fall by the sword and they will experience contempt (repercussions of their unfaithfulness and sin). The repercussions of this sin, which are described as “contempt in the land of Egypt,” could refer to the rejection of the nation and their emissaries in Egypt. Or the “contempt” could refer to the fall of the nation and its leaders in the immediate future of the prophet because of their return to Egypt in their sins. Or it could also have application beyond the purview of the prophet to the translator and readers of the LXX in Egypt. So, even if the verbless clause at the end of 7:16 is future in the LXX, which Pisano disputes,<sup>31</sup> it does not contradict the clear statements elsewhere in LXX-Hosea that Israel has already

29. Pisano’s argument (“Egypt,” 302) is unconvincing here.

30. See Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 581; LSJ 1919. It would also be appropriate language for the previous understanding of this clause.

31. Pisano, “Egypt,” 302.

returned to Egypt and is dwelling there in the time of the prophet Hosea. In fact, it corresponds well with those statements.

Hosea 11:11

יחרדו כצפור ממצרים וכיונה  
מארץ אשור והושבתים על  
בתיהם נאם יהוה

(NRSV) They shall come trembling like birds from Egypt, and like doves from the land of Assyria; and I will return them to their homes, says the LORD.

καὶ ἐκστήσονται ὡς ὄρνεον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ὡς περιστερὰ ἐκ γῆς Ἀσσυρίων· καὶ ἀποκαταστήσω αὐτοὺς εἰς τοὺς οἴκους αὐτῶν, λέγει κύριος

(NETS) And they shall be amazed like a bird from Egypt and like a dove from the land of the Assyrians, and I will restore them to their homes, says the Lord.

This verse speaks of the return of Israel “to their homes.” Their experiences with Egypt and Assyria are both future in the Hebrew and in the LXX, which seems to contradict my thesis. However, it is important that the LXX is slightly different from the Hebrew. The Hebrew verb in the first clause (יחרד) has the sense “come with trembling” in 11:10 and 11.<sup>32</sup> Thus in the Hebrew Israel will “come trembling like a bird from Egypt.” In the LXX this verb is rendered with ἐξίστημι in 11:10 and 11. Thus in the LXX Israel will not come from Egypt in the future with trembling. Instead they will tremble or be amazed in the future, and their trembling or amazement will be like a bird from Egypt. Furthermore, with this rendering the point from which they return at the end of the verse is unstipulated, and it need not include Egypt; it could be only Assyria. Therefore, if the translator understood Israel already to be in Egypt in the past (from the perspective of the prophet), this verse does not contradict that understanding.<sup>33</sup>

32. This is when it is followed by נָחַם; see HALOT 350.

33. It should also be noted that the Hebrew verb does have the basic idea “to tremble,” so the LXX is not a bad translation. The translation is very literal, and yet the slight change in nuance removes Israel from any future departure from Egypt.

#### 4. TWO PASSAGES IN LXX-HOSEA THAT PLACE ISRAEL'S ASSYRIAN EXPERIENCE IN THE FUTURE

The renderings of the translator in two verses serve as examples of his interest in making Israel's experience with the Assyrians, or in Assyria, future (from the perspective of the prophet).<sup>34</sup>

Hosea 10:6

(NRSV) The thing itself shall be carried to Assyria as tribute to the great king. Ephraim shall be put to shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his idol (ויבוש ישראל מעצתו).

(NETS) And they carried him wrapped to the Assyrians as friendly gifts to King Iarim. Ephraim will accept with a gift, and Israel will be shamed by his counsel (καὶ αἰσχυνθήσεται Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῦ).

This verse describes the sending of Israel's "bull calf" (10:5) as tribute to the king of Assyria. In the Hebrew this will be a cause of shame for Israel. In the LXX Israel will be shamed by the counsel of the king of Assyria, suggesting more clearly than the Hebrew does that they will be under his dominion or in Assyria in the future.

Hosea 13:7

(NRSV) So I will become like a lion to them, like a leopard I will lurk beside the way (על דרך אשור).

(NETS) And I will become like a panther to them and like a leopard according to the way of the Assyrians (κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν Ἀσσυρίων).

In 13:7 of the Hebrew the prophet describes the Lord's judgment of Israel. The Lord will be like a wild animal that knows where to lurk along the way to attack and destroy its prey. In the LXX the way becomes "the way of the Assyrians," and the translation indicates that the Lord's judgment will take place

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34. See the discussion of 9:3 above, which also shows his interest in making Israel's experience with Assyria future. Also 5:13; 7:11; 8:9; 9:3; 11:5, 11; and 14:4 are consistent with Israel's going to Assyria being future for the prophet.

in the future on their way to Assyria. The LXX reading “Assyrians” in 13:7 is based on the verb **אָשׁוּר** (from the root **שׁוּר**), which the translator understood correctly in 14:9 [Eng 8]. It looks like he had Assyria on his mind in this verse, and he read the verb as its homograph, the proper noun “Assyria.” Perhaps the translator made a mistake, or perhaps he made a change to place Israel’s going to Assyria in the future from the perspective of the prophet. Either way, he sees Israel’s experience on the way to Assyria as future.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

We can draw several conclusions from this short study. First, Israel’s (or Ephraim’s) dwelling in Egypt, which in the Hebrew is a future punishment (8:13; 9:3; 11:5) for their sins (especially for the sin of seeking assistance from Egypt and Assyria rather than trusting in the Lord, 7:11; 12:1), is in the LXX a thing of the past from the perspective of the prophet Hosea. The differences between the Hebrew and Greek in the verses we have considered suggest, as Pisano contends, “the Greek text has undergone an almost systematic alteration in order to place this return to Egypt in the past.”<sup>35</sup> Second, it is not likely that this return to Egypt in LXX-Hosea involves the flight of some of the people of the Northern Kingdom to Egypt in the last years of the kingdom, because this would not reflect on the whole nation. Nor could it involve the Diaspora community in Egypt at the time the LXX was translated, because the exile to Assyria is always future in LXX-Hosea. Thus, it seems most likely that the “dwelling in Egypt” in LXX-Hosea is a “symbolic statement concerning Ephraim’s current situation at the time of Hosea’s writing.”<sup>36</sup> Ephraim’s infidelity had severed their relationship with the Lord (Hos 1–3), and they were not God’s people, but instead they had returned to a situation like their forefathers in Egypt.<sup>37</sup>

The theme of Israel returning to Egypt is common in Scripture. It sometimes describes a sinful response of trusting in Egypt or other nations for military support (Deut 17:16) or for security (Num 14:3–4; Acts 7:39), but it is also commonly used in contexts of Israel’s subjection to other nations (Neh 9:17, 36; Jer 34:13).<sup>38</sup> In Acts 7:39 Stephen says the fathers of the nation

35. Pisano, “Egypt,” 306.

36. Ibid.

37. This infidelity could involve diplomatic initiatives in Egypt (4 Kgdms 17:4); see above on 7:16.

38. Perhaps the most important passage describing Israel returning to Egypt is Num 14:3–4, which describes Israel in the wilderness questioning why the Lord brought them out of Egypt and desiring to return there. In Acts 7:39 Stephen describes the Israelites

of Israel returned to Egypt in their hearts when they rejected the Lord and refused to obey him in the wilderness.<sup>39</sup> Hosea sees the only solution for this attitude to be a return to the “wilderness” (2:14–15; or 16–17 LXX), like what occurred in the first coming out of Egypt. In further support of the thesis that in LXX-Hosea Israel is described as having returned to Egypt, LXX-Hosea consistently renders Beth-Aven or Bethel as “On” (4:15; 5:8; 10:5, 8; 12:5; cf. 10:15). This rendering would have connected Israel’s places of worship with the false worship in Egypt.<sup>40</sup>

It is interesting that in the Twelve the updating we have noticed with regard to Egypt occurs only in LXX-Hosea, whereas in LXX-Amos there is a tendency to update references to Syria and Samaria.<sup>41</sup> Palmer has observed much the same thing concerning Jerusalem in LXX-Zechariah.<sup>42</sup> Consistent with my study in LXX-Amos, Palmer’s work on LXX-Zechariah, and this study of LXX-Hosea it appears that the agenda of the translator of the Twelve was *ad hoc*, developing from the existing concerns in the Hebrew text, and thus we would not expect this translator to emphasize the same concerns or use exactly the same technique in LXX-Hosea he used in other books.<sup>43</sup> However, what is different in LXX-Hosea is the degree to which the translator felt free to vary from what was in his *Vorlage*. This may have been because of inconsistencies he sensed in his *Vorlage*, or it may have been because of theological concerns with his *Vorlage*. One wonders if he was not concerned to distance his generation from the judgment in Egypt predicted in the Hebrew of Hosea, and if possibly he understood a symbolic return to Egypt in the sins of the nation as a better and more desired alternative. This could help remove any stigma that his own generation might have felt concerning their presence in Egypt.<sup>44</sup> In most cases he found some warrant for his apparent beliefs and

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as returning to Egypt in their hearts. The theme is also important in Jeremiah where it describes the people of Judah desiring to flee to Egypt to avoid the Babylonians (see Jer 42:13–43:7; 34:8–22 connects going back to Egypt with slavery).

39. This is in the context of the making of the golden calf in Acts 7:37–42.

40. See the connection of Heliopolis and On in LXX-Gen 41:50 and LXX-Exod 1:11.

41. W. Edward Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos* (VTSup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 149–76.

42. James Karol Palmer, “‘Not Made with Tracing Paper’: Studies in the Septuagint of Zechariah.” (PhD. Diss., Cambridge University, 2004), 123–4.

43. See Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text*, 261–2, for evidence that the same translator translated the Twelve.

44. In his discussion of 11:5 MacIntosh (*Hosea*, 451), following ibn Ezra, mentions the intriguing idea that the return to Egypt may have constituted, “in the mind of those who wish to do so, a prelude to return to Yahweh’s land.” This idea finds support in the preceding

agenda in his source text, but in others his biases are clear to us. What is not always clear is his motivation.

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context in the LXX, which speaks of the Lord recalling Israel from Egypt (see the discussion above on 11:1).





# READINGS ATTRIBUTED TO “οἱ περὶ α’ AND/OR σ’” BY THEODORET OF CYRRHUS

*Reinhart Ceulemans*

**Abstract:** Occasionally Greek Christian authors and the margins of LXX and catena manuscripts attributed certain readings to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν, to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Σύμμαχον or to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν καὶ (τὸν) Σύμμαχον. These attributions, puzzling though they are, have received only little scholarly attention. Most of them can be found in the writings of Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The present paper is the first to list and discuss all of them. It first provides some background information on the possible meanings of the οἱ περὶ expression. Secondly, surveying previous interpretations of the attributions to οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’, it exposes the rather poor way in which editions of Hexaplaric readings have dealt with them. This paper’s third and largest part discusses all Hexaplaric readings of the οἱ περὶ type that are offered by Theodoret. On the basis of that research, the article’s conclusion provides some suggestions how future editions should treat these and other problematic data.

As is commonly acknowledged, the writings of Greek Christian authors constitute a very valuable corpus for the scholar who is critically involved with the various texts of the Greek Bible, not least the Hexaplaric versions. Then again, textual critics are also aware of the fact that those writings, although rich in offering data, often puzzle those who wish to put their data to concrete use and include them into a critical apparatus. Readings of Greek Bible versions these ancient authors offered are often presented in a manner that is vague and unclear.<sup>1</sup> Also in the Hexaplaric readings one encounters throughout the Fathers, such problems do occur.

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*Preliminary remarks.* Bible verses are always identified on the basis of their position in the Septuagint corpus, not in the Hebrew Bible. If possible, manuscripts are identified on the basis of the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen*’s reference survey: the abbreviation RA followed by a number refers to the corresponding entries in A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (MSU 2; Berlin: Weidmann, 1914) and/or the updated and expanded redaction by D. Fraenkel, *Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (Sep-

The present article deals with one specific type of Hexaplaric readings that are offered by Church Fathers and that are not very clear and therefore require some discussion. The readings in question are not just ascribed to α' or to σ', but to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν, to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Σύμμαχον or to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν καὶ (τὸν) Σύμμαχον.<sup>2</sup> In the light of the total amount of Hexaplaric readings offered in Greek Christian texts and documents (manuscripts and patristic and Byzantine writings), these particular ones are a very small minority. Nevertheless, they do require specific attention.

### 1. BACKGROUND

According to scholarly consensus, the Greek turn of phrase οἱ περὶ followed by an accusative of a proper name (e.g., οἱ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην) can have three different meanings, depending on how one interprets this expression.<sup>3</sup>

(1) In its *inclusive* sense, the expression denotes the person whose name is mentioned as well as his or her entourage. Οἱ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην are Socrates himself as well as his friends, relatives or the like (cf. *Socrates cum suis*). When the proper name in question refers to a person who is often mentioned in a

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tuaginta, Supplementum 1.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004). The sigla α', σ', and θ' are used to refer to the Hexaplaric (or 'minor') versions. The proper names of Ἀκύλας, Σύμμαχος and Θεοδοτίων are only spelled out when it is not clear whether Bible versions or persons are meant.

1. This observation not only relates to actual readings of Greek Bible versions. Also other data that could be of use to the textual critic and that are offered by patristic authors, are often difficult to work with. A well-known example is the notoriously unclear description of the Hexapla and the various versions it contains offered by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Church History* 6.16. The incongruity between this description and those offered by Epiphanius of Salamis (*Panarion* 64.3.5–7; *On Weights and Measures* 7 and 18) – which are also not unisonous amongst one another – only adds to the problems of interpretation.

2. In discussing the attributions to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον, the present author does not differentiate between presence and absence of the article in front of the proper name. The argumentation that was developed by J. D. Baggarly ("Hexaplaric Readings on Genesis 4:1 in the Ps.-Anastasian *Hexaemeron*," *OCP* 37 [1971]: 239) with respect to this point is not convincing. Moreover, most of their occurrences that are discussed in the present paper can only be consulted in uncritical editions, in which the presence or absence of an article cannot be taken to be certain.

3. The following overview relies on the clear summary provided by A. Cohen-Skalli, "Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον : le motif du « fondateur » dans le Fragment VII, 5 de la *Bibliothèque historique* de Diodore de Sicile," *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 81 (2007): 229–42. References to previous secondary literature, to standard grammars and to examples taken from Greek literature can be found there.

pair, together with another famous person, the expression can refer to that couple (e.g. οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον<sup>4</sup> are Romulus and Remus).

(2) Bearing a meaning of *exclusion*, οἱ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην can refer to only the persons around Socrates, excluding the philosopher himself. This significance is not undisputed, as S. Radt labeled it impossible.<sup>5</sup> This meaning indeed seems more rare than both other ones.

(3) *Periphrastically*, the particular turn of phrase can solemnly denote only the person who is mentioned by name, and no one else. This significance seems quite surprising, as it is remarkably distant from the literal translation of this expression one would be inclined to offer. It results from a semantic downplay of the words οἱ περὶ: to the author using this turn of phrase, the persons lying behind these words are so less important than him/her whose name is mentioned, that they are out of sight.<sup>6</sup> As a result, their presence in the turn of phrase (through the article οἱ) only stresses the importance of the person they surround. In this meaning, οἱ περὶ τὸν Σωκράτην basically means as much as ‘the famous Socrates.’

These three meanings tend to be discerned by scholars. In the specific case of the expressions οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον, however, matters are more complicated. The proper names of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion can refer to actual persons, as in the examples with Socrates given above, but they can also denote texts. This of course affects the interpretation of the οἱ περὶ expression. When the proper name in relation to which certain οἱ are mentioned, can either denote a person or a version, those οἱ can—at least in theory—also refer to either of both groups: persons or Bible versions. Both lines of reasoning can be recognized in some of the previous scholarly interpretations of the οἱ περὶ attributions.

## 2. PAST RESEARCH

A survey of previous scholarly interpretations of the expression οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον shows that virtually all of the possible interpretations of these expression one can think of, have been suggested.

Quite frequently, the turn of phrase has been interpreted as having an inclusive meaning. Some of the scholars who have done so, considered the expression to refer to actual persons; others believed it to denote Bible versions instead. The latter case would not seem very surprising, as elsewhere the

4. This is the example used by Cohen-Skalli, “Οἱ περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον”

5. S.L. Radt, “Noch einmal Aischylos, Niobe Fr. 162 N.<sup>2</sup> (278 M.),” *ZPE* 38 (1980): 48.

6. R. Gorman, “Οἱ περὶ τινα in Strabo,” *ZPE* 136 (2001): 205.

Hexaplaric versions are often referred to together (e.g., οἱ γ' or οἱ λ'). Consequently, one could image a turn of phrase such as οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν/Σύμμαχον to inclusively refer to α', σ' and θ' all at once. It is this line of reasoning that was followed by J.-N. Guinot in his translation of two occurrences of the expression οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν in a commentary of Theodoret of Cyrhus.<sup>7</sup> He translated them as '*Aquila et les autres interprètes*' and '*Aquila et les autres*.'<sup>8</sup>

Then again, one can also interpret the expression inclusively, but still reach a different meaning, namely if one thinks of the οἱ that are mentioned together with Aquila/Symmachus as persons and not as Bible versions. This line of reasoning lies behind N. de Lange's interpretation of the occurrence of the expression οἱ περὶ Ἀκύλαν in Origen's exegesis of Gen 4:8.<sup>9</sup> He translated this rendering as 'the school of Aquila' and suggested it could refer to a Greek midrash that was available to Origen, via a Rabbinic school of Aquila.

The interpretations of Guinot and de Lange agree in being of the inclusive kind, but differ in their identification of the οἱ, the former scholar having thought of them as versions, the latter as persons. Identifying the turn of phrase as having an inclusive meaning and the οἱ as referring to persons, was also done by R.C. Hill, in his translation of some of the οἱ περὶ occurrences in Theodoret. He rendered οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν as 'Aquila and his school' and οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν καὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον as 'Aquila and Symmachus and their followers.'<sup>10</sup> A similar situation occurs in the translation offered by M. Casevitz, C. Dogniez, and M. Harl of the expression οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν as used by Theodoret: '*l'entourage d'Aquila*.'<sup>11</sup> Unlike de Lange, those translators did not specify what they took the expression to mean concretely. Although they are mentioned in the translations, the οἱ are seemingly meaningless. Consequently, these translations seem to denote little, if anything, more than the

7. All of the passages from Theodoret that are mentioned in this section receive further treatment below.

8. Theodoret, *Commentary on Isaiah* (ed. and transl. J.-N. Guinot, 3 vols.; SC 276, 295, and 315; Paris: Cerf, 1980–1984), 1:327 and 3:53 respectively.

9. N.R.M. de Lange, *Origen and the Jews. Studies in Jewish-Christian Relations in Third-Century Palestine* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 25; Cambridge: University Press, 1976), 51–52. The fragment of Origen can be found in *La chaîne sur la Genèse* (ed. F. Petit, 4 vols.; TEG 1–4; Leuven: Peeters, 1991–1996), 2:no. 509.

10. See Theodoret, *Questions on the Octateuch* (ed. and transl. J.F. Petruccione and † R. C. Hill, 2 vols.; Library of Early Christianity 1–2; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 1:223 and 2:193. See also on 2:311 the translation 'Symmachus and his followers' for οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον.

11. *Les Douze Prophètes. 10–11 : Aggée, Zacharie* (transl. M. Casevitz, C. Dogniez, and M. Harl; La Bible d'Alexandrie 23.10–11; Paris: Cerf, 2007), 297.

versions of α’ and σ’ themselves. This comes close to a periphrastic interpretation, rather than an inclusive one.

Once, the turn of phrase with οἱ περὶ has received an exclusive interpretation. In his discussion of the expression οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον, as used by (Ps.-)Anastasius of Sinai in his *Hexaemeron* (12.4.6), J.D. Baggarly took it to refer to those Hexaplaric versions that are not σ’, i.e., to α’ and θ’.<sup>12</sup> This view supposes a very literal interpretation of the preposition περὶ: it is thought to refer to those columns around that of σ’ in the Hexapla.<sup>13</sup>

Apart from Guinot and Baggarly, none of the scholars mentioned in the survey provided above have really commented on the matter: their interpretations can only be deduced from oblique comments or translations of patristic writings. This illustrates the lack of study concerning this particular turn of phrase. Now, in a period of time when interest in a new and critical edition of Hexaplaric fragments is increasing, an examination of the readings that are attributed to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον could prove useful, in order to avoid misleading or even incorrect use of Hexaplaric data offered by the Greek Christian sources that are at our disposal.

This can be illustrated with an assessment of how previous editors of Hexaplaric fragments have treated the οἱ περὶ readings. After all, interesting though it is to observe how these particular readings have been interpreted by modern translators, it is more important to judge how they have been treated in editions of Hexaplaric readings. It is those editions that scholars have to turn to when studying the minor versions; a wrong treatment of the οἱ περὶ readings could distort the Hexaplaric data that have to be studied. Unfortunately, perusal of F. Field’s collection of Hexaplaric readings as well as of the second apparatus to the Göttingen editions of Isaiah, the Twelve Prophets and Exodus prepared by J. Ziegler and J.W. Wevers makes one observe that these scholars’ treatment of the οἱ περὶ readings is not really thought-through and sometimes even misleading.<sup>14</sup>

12. Baggarly, “Hexaplaric Readings on Genesis 4:1,” 238–41. See also his translation ‘other translators around Symmachus’ in Anast. Sin., *Hex.* (ed. and transl. C.A. Kuehn and J.D. Baggarly; OCA 278; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2007), 479.

13. This interpretation of Baggarly, if found to be correct, would be rather interesting, as it could shed light on the reception of the Hexapla. After all, according to his line of reasoning, patristic use of the expression οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον would imply that that particular Father still had access to a synopsis containing various columns. However, as the present author will argue elsewhere (see n. 23), this interpretation is not convincing.

14. *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (ed. F. Field; Oxford: Clarendon, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1964); *Duodecim prophetae* (ed. J. Ziegler; Septuaginta 13; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984); *Isaias* (ed. J. Ziegler; Septuaginta 14; Göttingen: Vanden-

As the following pages will show,<sup>15</sup> Field, Ziegler as well as Wevers tended to interpret the οἱ περὶ expression periphrastically, i.e., that οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον means as much as α' and/or σ' alone. This is the impression one gets from consulting their editions (Field) and apparatuses (Ziegler, Wevers).<sup>16</sup> Those editors apparently deemed their interpretation so obvious that they repeatedly did not even indicate the Father's use of the specific οἱ περὶ expression: without explanation or quotation of the patristic passage that provided a οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον reading, they just included that patristic source as a witness to α' and/or σ'.<sup>17</sup> Completely in contrast to all of this and departing from their usual pattern of assigning a periphrastic meaning to the expression in question, Field as well as Ziegler interpreted a single οἱ περὶ attribution inclusively (Mal 1:7, see below).

This contradiction forces the impression upon us that those editors' interpretation of the remarkable οἱ περὶ attributions is decided on an ad hoc basis, resulting in an inconsistency in their interpretations, which are not based upon sound analysis. This impression is enforced by the absence of any comment or remark explaining the reasons behind their interpretation of the οἱ περὶ attributions.

### 3. EXAMINATION OF THE οἱ περὶ ATTRIBUTIONS

Up to the present, no one has ever collected all of the known attestations of the particular attribution to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον. The

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hoeck & Ruprecht, 1939, repr. 1983); *Exodus* (ed. J.W. Wevers; Septuaginta 2.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). These editions have been singled out because of their relevance to the cases the present paper looks into.

15. For each of the οἱ περὶ readings that are discussed below, Field's and Ziegler's or Wevers' dealings with the reading in question are mentioned. Observe that none of them were included in the second apparatus to *The Old Testament in Greek*. Ed. A.E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H.St.J. Thackeray (†), 7 vols. (Cambridge: University Press; 1906–1940). (With regard to 4 Kgdms 23:11, they did mention the οἱ περὶ evidence of Procopius of Gaza and RA 85, which relies upon that of Theodoret. See n. 65.)

16. Other occasional remarks also point into this direction. In his preface, Field mentioned Theodoret of Cyrrhus' comment on Isa 9:6 in which he attributed a reading to οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν (mentioned below). Field discussed it as if it were a simple α' reading. Similarly, Ziegler's very concise presentation of Theodoret as a source for Hexaplaric readings of Isaiah hints at him having interpreted the οἱ περὶ attributions provided by this Father periphrastically. See *Origenis Hexaplorum* (ed. Field), xx and *Duodecim prophetae* (ed. Ziegler), 106.

17. In the following cases (which are all discussed below), one or more of the editors in question did not mention the οἱ περὶ attribution, but regarded the source that used that expression just as a witness to an α' and/or σ' reading: Exod 1,7 (Wevers); 21:6 (Wevers); Zech 9:1 (Field); Mal 3:8 (Field and Ziegler).

present author’s *TLG* searches<sup>18</sup> and consultation of patristic and biblical editions and apparatuses yielded 27 occurrences of the expression οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον.<sup>19</sup> Never is the οἱ περὶ expression used with the name of Theodotion. In chronological order, the sources that provide this type of readings are the following: Origen (1x); Epiphanius of Salamis (4x); Theodore of Mopsuestia (1x); Theodoret of Cyrrhus (16x); (Ps.-)Anastasius of Sinai (1x); 4x in other sources (i.e., two unidentified catena fragments and two notes in manuscript margins).<sup>20</sup> They are spread out over the Bible as follows: 5x Genesis; 2x Exodus; 1x Judges; 4x 4 Kingdoms; 10x Twelve Prophets; 2x Isaiah; 3x no particular book. The latter statistics show that the use of the expression with οἱ περὶ is not linked to one specific book but results from the particular wording used by a certain author or scribe. Consequently, it seems wise to look into each source separately.<sup>21</sup>

Very clearly, the richest source, the one that provided most of the οἱ περὶ readings, is Theodoret of Cyrrhus (393–466). A consultation of his writings yields 16 readings, which is more than half of all the evidence that can be found. Two of them can be found in his *Commentary on Isaiah*; three in his *Questions on the Octateuch*; two in his *Questions on Kingdoms and Chronicles*; nine in his *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets*.<sup>22</sup>

18. Consulted on the basis of the most recent online version: *TLG*®. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. A Digital Library of Greek Literature* (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>).

19. Searching for these particular attributions is complicated by various factors, a first one being the inaccessibility of substantial parts of the corpus of patristic exegesis (such as the catenae on the Psalms). Secondly, as said above (n. 17), editors such as Ziegler sometimes not even bothered to mention the οἱ περὶ attribution given by a Father or a manuscript. In sum, it is quite possible that in the future, other occurrences of the Hexaplaric οἱ περὶ readings might surface, that are unknown to the present author.

20. These numbers are subject to discussion, as shown by three observations. (1) One of the occurrences in Epiphanius’ writings is nearly identical to that in Theodore’s *Commentary on Matthew*. (2) One of both anonymous catena fragments is very close to Origen’s. (3) The present author did not count an occurrence in Procopius of Gaza and RA 85, which are believed to rely upon Theodoret (see below, n. 65).

21. A similar insight is also articulated and adhered to by R.B. ter Haar Romeny in his investigations into the identity of ὁ Ἐβραῖος and ὁ Σύρος. See his *A Syrian in Greek Dress. The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa’s Commentary on Genesis* (TEG 6; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 51 and “‘Quis Sit ὁ Σύρος’ Revisited,” in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments. Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th–3rd August 1994* (ed. A. Salvesen; TSAJ 58; Tübingen: Mohr, 1998), 370.

22. The reader will observe further on that the frequency of οἱ περὶ attributions increases remarkably towards the end of Theodoret’s *Comm. Twelve Proph.*: five readings are offered for Malachi and three for Zechariah. Could this have resulted from a change in

This predominance of readings in Theodoret's writings requires one to first tackle this corpus, and to only later turn to the readings offered in other patristic writings and LXX manuscripts. Therefore, the present article investigates the readings attributed to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον by Theodoret.<sup>23</sup> Of all of them, only those of the book of Isaiah have received any specific scholarly attention, as has been described in the previous section.

That previous section has revealed that past research has interpreted the expressions οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον rather differently, according to the three possible meanings listed in the present paper's opening section. Some scholars identified the οἱ in the οἱ περὶ expression as persons, others as Hexaplaric versions. At this point, before turning to the data themselves, the present author notes that in his opinion, the second of those options (i.e., considering the οἱ to be texts rather than persons) seems the most prudent one: when a Church Father and certainly a LXX or catena manuscript mentioned α'/Ἀκύλας or σ'/Σύμμαχος, he or it nearly always referred to versions rather than to the persons that are supposed to have authored them.<sup>24</sup> There are no reasons to suppose that this would have been different with respect to the readings ascribed to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον by Theodoret. This is shown by the verbs used by Theodoret to introduce the οἱ περὶ attributions. In one case (on Zech 1:8), one finds the verb προσαγορεύειν, and in another one (on Zech 13:1), no verb is used. In all other 14 cases, Theodoret used ἐρμηνεύειν when providing the οἱ περὶ reading, a standard verb that was used very often by Church Fathers when offering readings of the minor versions.

Furthermore, the context in which the οἱ περὶ readings are provided shows that Theodoret quoted them in the same way as he did with other Hexaplaric readings. More than once (e.g. Zech 9:1; Mal 3:8) he did nothing more than offering the οἱ περὶ reading: he did not use them for exegetical reflections.<sup>25</sup> For Zech 1:8, the reading that he attributed to οἱ περὶ τὸν

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Theodoret's source of Hexaplaric readings or from an abbreviating tendency in redacting his commentary (i.e., making use of one οἱ περὶ expression to summarize references to various minor versions)? Such hypotheses are too tentative to be useful. On Theodoret's redaction of his *Comm. Twelve Proph.*, see J.-N. Guinot, *Lexégèse de Théodoret de Cyr* (ThH 100; Paris: Beauchesne, 1995), *passim*.

23. The readings provided in other sources are listed and looked into by the present author in an article published in *Semitica et Classica* 4 (2011): 73–88.

24. One has to keep in mind that one of the main reasons for our limited knowledge of the persons behind the versions of α', σ' and θ' is the fact that Church Fathers provided only little information on them.

25. In those cases (e.g. Hos 12:4) where Theodoret did use the οἱ περὶ reading to elaborate upon an exegetical difference, the argumentation is developed on the basis of the read-



Ἀκύλαν καὶ Σύμμαχον, is a very rare word: this shows that Theodoret quoted a specific Hexaplaric reading, taken from one or more minor versions. In sum, in the present author’s view the readings ascribed by Theodoret to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον are always Hexaplaric ones. He does not believe there is any reason to assume, as de Lange did (see above), that any of the readings assigned to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον refer to a Greek midrash or a Jewish exegetical document belonging to the ‘school of Aquila and/or Symmachus.’ Throughout the following discussion, the οἱ περὶ readings are always considered to be Hexaplaric ones, which are to be included in an edition of Hexaplaric fragments.<sup>26</sup> In that sense, the present author’s starting assumption concurs with that of Field, Ziegler and Wevers. Unlike them, however, he believes that all of these readings offered by Theodoret need to be investigated before one can identify the attributions correctly.<sup>27</sup>

In order to do so, it seems best to start with the οἱ περὶ readings that are offered for those biblical verses, for which other Hexaplaric readings that allow comparison are preserved.<sup>28</sup>

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ing itself and its differences with the LXX text. Together with the observation that nearly all of the readings that Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον relate to plain biblical text (i.e., not to transliterations, to passages that tended to be used in anti-Jewish polemics etc.), this shows that Theodoret’s interest when quoting οἱ περὶ readings was a text-critical one.

26. Consequently, from this point onward, the proper names in the expressions οἱ περὶ (τὸν) Ἀκύλαν and/or (τὸν) Σύμμαχον will be replaced by the sigla α’ and σ’, which are moreover always used without any article (cf. ‘preliminary remarks’ and n. 2).

27. In investigating the οἱ περὶ readings offered by Theodoret, the present author *a priori* rejects none of the three possible meanings (i.e., periphrastic, inclusive, exclusive). Those passages in which Theodoret used the expression with οἱ περὶ in another context (i.e., not having anything to do with Bible versions) show that sometimes it seems to have a periphrastic meaning (see e.g. his *Church History* 3.4.6; *Epistle* 112 of the *Collectio Sirmondiana*; *Commentary on Psalm* 129,3), but that often the expression is used differently. Many of the occurrences of οἱ περὶ in his *Church Hist.* denote the followers or supporters of this or that person. Although it is sometimes impossible to tell whether those cases have an inclusive or an exclusive meaning (i.e., whether the person in question himself is included in this group or not: see e.g. *Church Hist.* 2.27.16 and 2.27.20), it is beyond doubt that it does not carry a periphrastic significance (i.e., it clearly refers to a group consisting of various individuals: see e.g. *Church Hist.* 2.4.1 or 2.29.1). Other examples (from different writings of Theodoret) confirm that he more than once used the οἱ περὶ expression inclusively (see e.g. *Comm. Isa.* 11.113 and 11.143; *On Holy Trinity* 26 bis).

28. Hexaplaric data are gleaned from *Origenis Hexaplorum* (ed. Field) and from the volumes that have appeared in *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931–). For Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms and 1–2 Chronicles, *The Old Testament in Greek* (ed. Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray) has also been consulted. Where extant, the evidence from

## 3.1. Οἱ περί WITH A PERIPHRASTIC MEANING?

At first sight, it seems as if the periphrastic interpretation, as generally supported by Field, Ziegler and Wevers seems to be the preferable one. This is the impression that forces itself upon us when analyzing some of the οἱ περί readings, as offered by Theodoret in his *Qu. Oct.* and *Qu. Kgdms. and Chr.*

(1) A first case is Theodoret's comment on Exod 1:7:

Πῶς νοητέον τὸ *χυδαῖοι ἐγένοντο*; Οὐχ ὥς τινες νενοήκασιν ὑβριστικῶς αὐτὸ τέθεικεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πλῆθος δεδήλωκεν. οὕτως γάρ φησιν, ἠὺζήθησαν, ὡς κατὰ πάσης ἐκείνης ἐκχεθῆναι τῆς γῆς. οὕτω καὶ οἱ **περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν** ἡρμήνευσαν (*Qu. 1 on Exod.*).<sup>29</sup>

In his comment on this verse, Theodoret did not explicitly ascribe a particular reading to οἱ περί α'. One has the impression, however, that he was thinking of the reading ἐχέοντο, which Procopius of Gaza later identified as a Hexaplaric reading for צריו (LXX χυδαῖοι ἐγένοντο).

The Hexaplaric data that are preserved for this Hebrew word are rather difficult to interpret. On the one hand, the Syro-Hexapla attributed the reading אצו to α'σ' (which Field retroverted as ἐξείρψαν) and אצו to θ' (Field: ἐξείρποσαν). According to various catena and LXX manuscripts, on the other hand, σ' read ἐξήρψαν and α'θ' ἐξήρποσαν.<sup>30</sup> As far as the σ' reading is concerned, the evidence offered by Procopius in his *Epitome on the Octateuch* ties in with that group of manuscripts.<sup>31</sup> To α', however, Procopius ascribed the reading ἐχέοντο.<sup>32</sup> It is precisely the latter reading Theodoret appeared to

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RA 943 is also taken into consideration when discussing Hexaplaric readings for the Twelve Prophets. References to Bible versions that are underlined denote retroversions from the Syro-Hexapla.

29. Greek text copied from Theodoret, *Qu. Oct.* (ed. N. Fernández Marcos and A. Sáenz-Badillos; TECC 17; Madrid: CSIC, 1979), 100. (For all of the passages from Theodoret's *Qu. Oct.* that are quoted throughout the present article, the revised edition by Petruccione [see the reference in n. 10] is identical to that of Fernández Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos, apart from slightly altered punctuation.)

30. Some of these manuscripts limit the attribution to α', not mentioning θ'. As a single witness, RA 108 ascribed ἐξείρποσαν (*pro* ἐξήρποσαν) to σ' and ἐξήρπον to θ'.

31. Despite its title, this work is in fact not one on the Octateuch, but on the Hep-tateuch, since Ruth is lacking. See *La chaîne sur l'Exode* (ed. F. Petit, 3 vols.; TEG 9–11; Leuven: Peeters, 1999–2001), 2:xxviii n. 95.

32. Cf. PG 87a:513. This fragment is not very reliable, since it is copied from the catena of Nicephorus (also called *Catena Lipsiensis*), which mingles parts of Procopius' text with others from a manuscript of catena type III on the Octateuch. See *La chaîne sur l'Exode* (ed.

have referred to. Consequently, the expression with οἱ περὶ seems to have a periphrastic significance, referring to α’ only. The same conclusion is drawn by Wevers (who did not even mention the οἱ περὶ expression!) and Field.

(2) Explaining Deut 10:17, Theodoret compared the LXX version of Exod 21:6 (προσάξει αὐτὸν [...] πρὸς τὸ κριτήριον; MT וְהִגִּישׁוּ [...] לֹא־הֵאֱלִהִים [...] to some Hexaplaric evidence:<sup>33</sup>

καὶ ἔνθα δὲ εἶπον οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἄξεις αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ κριτήριον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν καὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον ἄξεις αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἡρμήνευσαν, θεοὺς τοὺς κριτὰς ὀνομάσαντες (Qu. 8 on Deut., ed. Fernández Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos, 238).

The reading πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς for Exod 21:6 is attributed to α’σ’ in a catena fragment that Field, Wevers and their predecessors held to be Origen’s but that in fact is not identified.<sup>34</sup> Relying upon this fragment, Procopius gave the word θεοὺς as the α’σ’ reading in his *Epit. Oct.*<sup>35</sup> Other evidence has not been transmitted. Given the attribution that can be found in the catena fragment, it is very likely (though not certain) that Theodoret’s οἱ περὶ expression periphrastically referred to α’σ’. This conclusion was also reached by Wevers (who again did not inform the reader that Theodoret had in fact not ascribed the reading to α’σ’ but to οἱ περὶ α’ καὶ σ’!) and by Field.

Both these cases seem to lend support to the hypothesis that the οἱ περὶ attribution used by Theodoret to identify certain Hexaplaric readings has a periphrastic significance. Then again, other cases appear to counter this assumption.

### 3.2. Οἱ περὶ WITH AN INCLUSIVE MEANING?

In his *Comm. Isa.*, Theodoret twice introduced a reading as belonging to οἱ περὶ α’. The first of them (*Comm. Isa.* 3.848) offered Guinot a clue to interpret-

Petit), 2:xxvii n. 95. Then again, the α’ and σ’ readings Procopius offered have been checked by Wevers (see his *Exodus*, 21 and *app. I ad loc.*) against *Monacensis gr.* 358, which is the *Epitome*’s preferable witness (cf. *La chaîne sur l’Exode* [ed. Petit], 2:xxvii–xxix).

33. The present argument does not require us to enter into the differences between the LXX version quoted by Theodoret and the Old Greek text reconstructed by Wevers.

34. The fragment can be found in *La chaîne sur l’Exode* (ed. Petit), 3:no. 623.

35. For the Greek text, see *La chaîne sur l’Exode* (ed. Petit), 3:95. The Latin translation printed in PG 87a:615–16 only mentions α’ as the source of the reading *ad deos*, but this translation, made by Claudius Trasybulus in 1555, is of little value (cf. *La chaîne sur l’Exode* [ed. Petit], 2:xxviii n. 91).

ing Theodoret's use of the οἱ περί expression in both cases inclusively, namely, as a reference to α', σ' and θ' all at once.<sup>36</sup>

(3) In his discussion of Isa 9:6, Theodoret remarked the following:

Εἶτα τῶν ὀνομάτων τὸ μείζον· Θεὸς ἰσχυρός. Τοῦτο δὲ κακουργήσαν-  
τες οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός ἡρμήνευσαν· κεῖται δὲ παρὰ  
τῷ Ἑβραίῳ ἡλιγισμός, τὸ δὲ ἦλ θεὸς καὶ κατὰ τὴν τούτων ἑρμηνείαν·  
τὸ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς Ἑμμανουήλ κείμενον οὕτως ἡρμήνευσαν  
(*Comm. Isa.* 3.848, ed. Guinot, 1:326).

In showing how οἱ περί α' mistreated the name of God by translating גִּבּוֹר אֱלֹהִים with ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός in Isa 9:6,<sup>37</sup> Theodoret referred to their translation of עֲמֻנוֹ in Isa 8:10, namely μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός (LXX μεθ' ἡμῶν κύριος ὁ θεός). Remarkably, in his comment on the latter verse (*Comm. Isa.* 3.593), he assigned the very same reading (namely μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ὁ θεός for כִּי עֲמֻנוֹ) to οἱ γ'.<sup>38</sup> It is all but probable that it is this passage Theodoret refers to in his comment on Isa 9:6, since both remarks are only separated by ca. 250 lines. This observation invites us to interpret this reference to οἱ περί α' as being identical to οἱ γ'. Comparison with the Hexaplaric evidence provided by other sources shows that this is quite probable.<sup>39</sup> In conclusion, one could reason that the reading he ascribed to οἱ περί α' is an ad hoc combination of the readings of all of οἱ γ'.<sup>40</sup> This would contradict the periphrastic interpretation Field and Ziegler tended to adhere to. Indeed, one notices that both editors

36. Theodoret, *Comm. Isa.* (ed. Guinot), 1:46–47 n. 2.

37. The Old Greek contains no translation of גִּבּוֹר אֱלֹהִים, but in most of the manuscript tradition it is rendered as θεὸς ἰσχυρός. See *Isaias* (ed. Ziegler), *app. I ad loc.*

38. See Theodoret, *Comm. Isa.* 3.593 (ed. Guinot, 1:306): Σαφέστερον δὲ οἱ Τρεῖς ἡρμήνευσαν τὸ χώριον [sc. Isa 8:10]: Συναθροίσθητε λαοὶ καὶ ἡττᾶσθε, καὶ ἐνωτίσασθε πάντα τὰ πόρρωθεν τῆς γῆς, περιζώννυσθε καὶ ἡττᾶσθε καὶ πάλιν ζώννυσθε καὶ ἡττᾶσθε· βουλευέσθε βουλὴν καὶ διασκεδασθήσεται, λαλήσετε λόγον καὶ οὐ στησεται· μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ὁ θεός. Admittedly, LXX does not have Ἑμμανουήλ in its text, but Theodoret probably new εβρ' ἑμμανουήλ, a reading that was quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea. (Theodoret's Hexaplaric evidence is the only one available, apart from α' θ' ὅτι μεθ' ἡμῶν ἰσχυρός, offered by RA Q. For the present argument, it does not matter which of both sources –RA Q or Theodoret– is correct: it suffices to know that to Theodoret, οἱ γ' translated with μεθ' ἡμῶν γὰρ ὁ θεός.)

39. Eusebius and other sources that provided readings of individual Hexaplaric versions ascribed the reading ἰσχυρὸς δυνατός to α' as well as to σ' and ἰσχυρὸς δυναστής to θ'. For Theodoret's point, which argues for the necessity of translating גִּבּוֹר with θεός, the minor difference between δυνατός and δυναστής is unimportant.

40. This, in fact, is the interpretation that was formulated by Guinot (cf. n. 36).

struggled with this reading: they included Theodoret as a source separately from the other ones.<sup>41</sup>

(4) Another case, this time occurring in Theodoret’s *Comm. Twelve Proph.*, lends itself to being interpreted inclusively. In his comment on Hos 12:4, he elaborated on the differences between LXX and the other Greek versions and their consequences for one’s interpretation of the text:

Ἐκλαυσαν, καὶ ἐδεήθησάν μου, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ὡν ἡῤρόν με, καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐλάληθη πρὸς αὐτούς. Τοῦτο οἱ ἄλλοι ἐρμηνευταί, καὶ Ἀκύλας, καὶ Σύμμαχος, καὶ Θεοδοτίων, ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ εἰρημένον τεθείκασιν· Ἐκλαυσε, καὶ ἐδεήθη αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν Βαιθήλ ἡῤρεν αὐτόν. [...] Τοῦτο τοίνυν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν καὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον ἐρμηνεύσαντες παρεδήλωσαν, διδάσκοντες ὅτι ἐν τῇ Βαιθήλ [...] (PG 81:1616–17).

Opening this particular comment by providing Hexaplaric evidence, Theodoret quoted one reading and ascribed it to α’, σ’ and θ’ all at once, mentioning all of them by name.<sup>42</sup> Somewhat further in the same passage, he returned to this reading, but this time ascribing it to οἱ περὶ α’ καὶ σ’. Just as in the above mentioned example from the *Comm. Isa.*, Theodoret apparently used an expression with οἱ περὶ to refer to a reading that he himself had ascribed earlier to all of οἱ γ’.<sup>43</sup> In their editions, Field and Ziegler only included the attribution to οἱ γ’, ignoring the οἱ περὶ reprise.

In addition to both these cases, some other occurrences of the οἱ περὶ expression in Theodoret’s *Comm. Twelve Proph.* lend support to the hypothesis that it refers to all of οἱ γ’. In all of these occurrences, (a part of) the reading Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’, is ascribed to at least two of οἱ γ’ by another source (namely, the Syro-Hexapla, another Church Father, etc.).

(5) In his comment on Zech 1:8 (MT **יִמְצְאוּ**; LXX τῶν δύο ὁρέων), Theodoret provided the following reading:

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν καὶ Σύμμαχον, καὶ μυρσινεῶνας τὰ ὄρη προσηγορεύκασιν (PG 81:1881).

41. In the introduction to this edition, however, Field had interpreted this reference seemingly periphrastically (see n. 16).

42. This reading corresponds to MT **בְּכָה וַיִּתְחַנְּלֵי בֵּית־אֱלֹהִים יִמְצְאוּ** (LXX ἔκλαυσαν καὶ ἐδεήθησάν μου, ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Ὡν εὑρόσαν με). The attribution to α’σ’θ’ is in agreement with the evidence offered by the Syro-Hexapla, which ascribed one part of the reading to οἱ λ’ and another one to θ’.

43. Consequently, this passage was already mentioned by Guinot (see n. 36).

Μυρσινεών is a very rare lexeme that only occurs here as a common noun.<sup>44</sup> Being related to more frequent words such as μυρσίνη, which all denote ‘myrtle’ or the like, it is an appropriate translation for מִדְּהָ (‘myrtle, *Myrtus communis*,’ HALOT s.v.).<sup>45</sup> RA 86 and *Patmiacus, Monasterii Sancti Iohanni Theologi* 31 ascribed the same reading (but in the genitive case: μυρσινεώνων) to οἱ λ’.<sup>46</sup> Although this would seem to indicate that the οἱ περί expression here refers to οἱ γ’, Field nevertheless interpreted it periphrastically, as referring to α’σ’ only. Nor did Ziegler hold Theodoret’s attribution as being in agreement with that of both manuscripts mentioned above: he listed Theodoret’s attribution as one that is different from theirs.

(6) For Mal 1:7 (MT לְנִיחָם; LXX ἡλισγημένους), Theodoret offered a Hexaplaric reading μεμολυσμένους:

Τοὺς ἡλισγημένους οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν καὶ Σύμμαχον μεμολυσμένους ἡρμηνεύκασιν (PG 81:1965).

The very same reading is attributed to α’σ’θ’ in RA 86. Moreover, for the same verse, the Syro-Hexapla provided the reading مَبْحَ (retroverted as ἐμολύναμεν by Field) for מְלִיחָה (LXX ἡλισγήσαμεν) and attributed it to α’σ’θ’. Just as in the previous cases, comparison with the evidence transmitted by other sources forces the impression upon us that the οἱ περί reading has an inclusive meaning, referring to all of οἱ γ’ at once. In fact, for this case (contrarily to the previous ones), Field even listed Theodoret as a source for the α’σ’θ’ reading. Likewise, Ziegler did not hold the οἱ περί attribution to be in disagreement with the one to α’σ’θ’. In other words, both scholars allowed for interpreting the οἱ περί inclusively: in doing so, they both departed from their usual pattern (see above).

(7) Also for Mal 4:1, comparison with other sources is useful:

44. On the formation of μυρσινεών, see Aggée, *Zacharie* (transl. Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl), 223–224. The translation ‘myrtle-grove’, offered in LSF’s Revised Supplement s.v., is only based upon the Hexaplaric reading for Zech 1:8. The LXX translation with ὄρος, which one encounters not only in Zech 1:8 but also in Zech 1:10.11 for Hebrew הָרִים, may have resulted from a different reading of the same *Vorlage* (הָרִים/הַדְּסִים) or from assimilation to Zech 6:1. See Aggée, *Zacharie* (transl. Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl), 223–224.

45. This Hebrew word occurs only here and in Neh 8:15; Zech 1:10, 11; Isa 49:19; 55:13. For all of those verses, the only Hexaplaric evidence to have survived, is the reading σ’ μυρσίνη for Isa 55:13.

46. Both manuscripts draw from the same Hexaplaric source. See *Duodecim Prophetiae* (ed. Ziegler), 104–106.

Τοὺς δὲ ἀλλογενεῖς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ὑπερηφάνους ἡρμήνευσαν (PG 81:1984).

The reading ὑπερηφάνους (which translates Hebrew עֲדִי; LXX has ἀλλογενεῖς) is the only Hexaplaric evidence that is known for this verse. Yet it is worth observing that for Mal 3:15, the Syro-Hexapla attributed a reading ܠܥܠܡܐ (retroverted as ὑπερηφάνους by Field) to α’σ’θ’, which relates to the very same Hebrew *Vorlage* עֲדִי. Although this would seem to hint that the οἱ περὶ reading in Mal 4:1, too, should be understood inclusively, Field adhered to a periphrastic interpretation, ascribing the reading to α’.<sup>47</sup>

(8) In his comment on Mal 3:8, Theodoret provided a reasonably long reading that he ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ καὶ σ’:

Οἱ περὶ Ἀκύλαν καὶ Σύμμαχον τό, ἐπτερνίσασμέν σε οὕτως ἡρμήνευσαν· Μὴ ἀποστερήσει ἄνθρωπος Θεόν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς ἀποστερεῖτέ με; Καὶ εἶπατε· Ἐν τίνι ἀπεστερήσασμέν σε; (PG 81:1980–81).

This reading corresponds to Hebrew הִקְבַּע אִדָּם אֱלֹהִים כִּי אַתֶּם קִבְעִים אֹתִי (LXX εἰ πτερνιεῖ ἄνθρωπος θεόν; διότι ὑμεῖς πτερνίζετε με. καὶ ἐρεῖτε Ἐν τίνι ἐπτερνίσασμέν σε). Parts of it are also transmitted through the Syro-Hexapla, RA 86 and Jerome’s *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* (namely *Comm. Mal.* 3.270), which all ascribe them to α’σ’θ’. Apart from one minor difference, their evidence agrees with the corresponding parts of the reading Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ καὶ σ’.<sup>48</sup> Again one is inclined to interpret this attribution inclusively. Field and Ziegler, however, periphrastically attributed the reading to α’σ’: both scholars did not even mention that Theodoret in fact attributed the reading to οἱ περὶ α’ καὶ σ’ instead of to α’σ’.

In all of these cases, the reading Theodoret assigned to οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’ is almost or completely identical to the evidence attributed by other sources to at least two of οἱ γ’. This observation invites one (against Field and Ziegler) to perceive the οἱ περὶ attribution as used by Theodoret inclusively, namely as referring to all of οἱ γ’.

(9) This suggestion might be enforced by another passage from Theodoret’s *Comm. Twelve Proph.* In his comment on Zech 13:1, he provided a reading that does not completely match the evidence that is transmitted through other sources but still is quite similar to it:

47. Ziegler quoted the οἱ περὶ reading without providing any interpretation.

48. μή Tht ] εἰ Syh (ⲙⲏ) Hi (si) ; μῆτι 86.

Πᾶς τόπος διανοιγόμενος ἔσται τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβίδ καὶ τοῖς κατοικοῦσιν  
 Ἱερουσαλήμ, εἰς τὴν μετακίνησιν καὶ εἰς τὸν ῥαντισμόν. **Οἱ δὲ περὶ  
 τὸν Σύμμαχον,** Ἔσται, φησίν, ἀνοιγομένη πηγὴ τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβίδ (PG  
 81:1945).

The reading ἔσται ἀνοιγομένη πηγὴ τῷ οἴκῳ Δαβίδ that Theodoret offered corresponds to מקור נפתח לבית דויד (LXX πᾶς τόπος διανοιγόμενος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ Δαυίδ). Again, a comparison with the evidence provided by other sources proves interesting: RA 86 ascribed the reading πηγὴ διανοιγομένη to σ'θ' and (in this case in agreement with *Patmiacus* 31) φλὲψ ἀνοιγομένη to α'.<sup>49</sup> If one assumes that the PG text quoted above (which reprints the uncritical edition prepared by J.L. Schulze in 1769) is correct and that the reading ἀνοιγομένη is reliable, it would seem as if Theodoret combined the α' reading, on the one hand, and the σ'θ' reading, on the other hand, into a single reading that he attributed to οἱ περὶ σ'. This interpretation would tie in with the hypothesis that the οἱ περὶ attributions in fact refer to readings belonging to οἱ γ'. This example would show that, in combining α', σ' and θ' into one οἱ περὶ reading, Theodoret sacrificed their precise wording.<sup>50</sup> In contrast, Field and Ziegler did not link the οἱ περὶ reading to any of the other ones, but gave it separately without drawing any conclusions on the interpretation of the particular attribution.

### 3.3. MEANING UNCERTAIN

Both previous subsections showed that, on the basis of comparison with other Hexaplaric evidence, a periphrastic interpretation of the οἱ περὶ attribution offered by Theodoret is sometimes likely, but that often an inclusive one would be equally possible. In various other cases, the meaning is uncertain and comparison with other Hexaplaric readings is of no help.

(10) In his comment on Judg 1:15, Theodoret attributed two Hexaplaric readings to οἱ περὶ σ':

49. The εἰρ' provided by Cyril of Alexandria is not relevant to the discussion at hand.

50. Then again, if the wording of the PG edition would turn out to be unreliable, and if the simplex verb would be a *lectio faciliior* for a reading that originally contained a composite verb, the οἱ περὶ reading provided by Theodoret would in fact cover the σ'θ' reading transmitted by RA 86. In that case, the attribution to οἱ περὶ σ' would have a seemingly periphrastic significance. Keeping these observations in mind, the evidence of the present reading should be handled with care.



**Οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον** ἀρδεΐαν ὕδατος· καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ταπεινῶν, πεδινῶν ἡρμήνευσαν (*Qu. 3 on Judg.*, ed. Fernández Marcos and Sáenz-Badillos, 290).

The first of these readings translates Hebrew מִים לָגַל (LXX λύτρωσιν ὕδατος). For a part of it, namely לָגַל, other Hexaplaric evidence is transmitted by three LXX manuscripts: RA M and RA 54 ascribed the word κτήσιν to σ’. This reading is also provided by RA 58, but anonymously.<sup>51</sup> Also the second reading offered by Theodoret, replacing LXX ταπεινῶν (MT תִּתְחַת), can be held up to other evidence. Firstly, RA M, RA 54, and RA 85 attributed the reading κτήσιν ἐν ὑψηλοτέροις καὶ κτήσιν ἐν κοιλοτέροις to σ’ (for תַּא לִי־ע לָגַל תַּא תִּתְחַת לָגַל; LXX has τὴν λύτρωσιν μετεώρων καὶ τὴν λύτρωσιν ταπεινῶν). Again the same reading is provided anonymously by RA 58. In his *Epit. Oct.*, however, Procopius quoted a different σ’ reading: κτήσιν ἐν ὑψηλοτέροις, κτήσιν ἐν ταπεινοτέροις.<sup>52</sup> He also provided an α’ reading: τὴν Γολλάθ τὴν ἄνω, καὶ τὴν Γολλάθ τὴν κάτω.<sup>53</sup>

One can see that the readings Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ σ’ do not agree with the evidence other sources attributed to σ’. Nevertheless, Hill recently interpreted this οἱ περὶ reading quasi-periphrastically.<sup>54</sup> Earlier, Field had already supported a periphrastic interpretation, having held ἀρδεΐαν ὕδατος to be one of two possible σ’ readings, with the other alternative being κτήσιν. With the σ’ evidence for תִּתְחַת, he had done the same, juxtaposing two possible σ’ readings: πεδινῶν (i.e., Theodoret’s evidence) and ἐν κοιλοτέροις.<sup>55</sup> The question is whether this periphrastic interpretation is to be preferred. A glance at translation equivalences elsewhere in the preserved σ’ evidence informs one that he did not use πεδινός to translate תִּתְחַת. In fact, this would be (i.e., if one would agree with Field’s interpretation) the only occurrence of this adjective in the lexicon of σ’, who elsewhere translated תִּתְחַת with κατώτατος.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, this would be the only known attestation of the equivalence

51. The εἰς reading is irrelevant to the present argument.

52. PG 87a:1045. On the poor quality of this edition, see above, n. 32.

53. PG 87a:1045. RA 85 anonymously provided the same reading (but twice Γολγῶθ *pro* Γολλάθ).

54. See Theodoret, *Qu. Oct.* (ed. and transl. Petruccione and Hill), 2:311: “Symmachus and his followers.”

55. Field mentioned the reading provided by Procopius (ἐν ταπεινοτέροις) in a note (and not in the edited text).

56. Cf. Deut 32:22 σ’; Ps 138:15 σ’; Isa 44:23 οἱ λ’; Ezek 26:20 α’σ’θ’; 31:16 οἱ γ’. Similarly, σ’ used κατώτερος to translate תִּתְחַת: see Isa 22:9 and Ezek 41:7. For his translations of the preposition תִּתְחַת, see J.R. Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: CSIC, 1978), 207–208.

הלל-ἀρδεία in σ'.<sup>57</sup> These observations argue against the hypothesis that οἱ περὶ σ' would be equal to σ' for this biblical verse. Then again, it should be mentioned (a) that also the σ' readings transmitted by other sources are not strongly attested elsewhere in σ'<sup>58</sup> and (b) that the equivalences הלל-ἀρδεία and תחת-πεδινός do not occur in α' or θ' either. In conclusion: it is not very clear to which minor version(s) the οἱ περὶ attribution refers, but both the preservation of other σ' readings and the uniqueness of these equivalences in σ' make a periphrastic interpretation, as advanced by Field, rather unlikely.

(11) On 4 Kgdms 23:7, Theodoret commented enigmatically:

**οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν** τὸ καδησεῖμ οὕτως ἡρμήνευσαν, *Οὗ ἐποιοῦν ἐνδύματα τοῖς ἐκπορνεύουσιν ἀπὸ Κυρίου* (Qu. 55 on 4 Kgdms.).<sup>59</sup>

Seeing that he offered this particular information in his treatment of the question what the word καδησ(ε)ῖμ in this verse means, he introduced it with a reference to this transliteration, but the link between it and the οἱ περὶ α' reading is problematic. The reading that is offered departs to a considerable extent from this verse's Hebrew text. Moreover, other sources have transmitted other Hexaplaric readings. To α', the catena manuscript RA 243 ascribed the reading καὶ κατέλυσε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἐνδιηλλαγμένων οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου, οὗ αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον ἐκεῖ οἴκους τοῦ ἀλσώματος, which is by and large compatible with ויתן את־בת־הקדשים אשר בבית יהוה אשר הנשים ארגות שם בתים לְאִשְׁרָה (LXX καὶ καθεῖλεν τὸν οἶκον τῶν καδησεῖμ τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου, οὗ αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον ἐκεῖ χεττιῖν τῷ ἄλσει). For σ', the same manuscript provided the reading τὸν οἶκον τῶν τελετῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου, ὅπου αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον οἴκους τῷ περιβωμίῳ.<sup>60</sup> Both readings can also be found in the catena manuscript RA 57, which adds the following θ' reading: καὶ καθεῖλε τὸν οἶκον τῶν καδησεῖμ τῶν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ κυρίου, οὗ αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον ἐκεῖ βεθθειμ τῷ ἄλσει.<sup>61</sup> Although tradition has also transmitted some other readings (i.e., for εβρ' and ε') as well as some variant readings ascribed to α' by the

57. HRCS s.v. lists no other occurrences of the word ἀρδεία in σ'. The single occurrence of the verb ἀρδεῖν (HRCS s.v.) translates Hebrew שָׁקַח (Job 21:24).

58. For example: elsewhere σ' used κτήσις to translate ממכר (Deut 18:8), מקנה (Isa 30:23) and maybe קנין (Ps 103:24 οἱ ἄλλοι).

59. Text copied from Theodoret, *Qu. Kgdms. and Chr.* (ed. N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz; TECC 32; Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 239.

60. For both readings, the present author quotes the text as edited by Field. The precise wording of the manuscripts differs to some extent.

61. The individual word βεθθειμ is ascribed to θ' by RA 243.

Syro-Hexapla, it is the data that are quoted above that comprise the core of the Hexaplaric evidence preserved for this verse.

It is very clear, even at first sight, that the reading attributed by Theodoret to οἱ περὶ cannot be linked to any of the readings transmitted for α’, σ’ or θ’ nor to the Hebrew text. Nevertheless, there cannot be any doubt that Theodoret offered this reading as one that relates to 4 Kgdms 23:7, for the word καθησ(ε)ῖμ occurs nowhere else in the LXX corpus. There is also no reason to hold this reading to have midrashic provenance: it does not entail a further interpretation of the biblical text. Rather does it seem to be a free rewording of the Greek text, in which rephrased parts of the verse’s second half (τοῖς ἐκπορνεύουσιν ἀπὸ Κυρίου) are placed before the first one (οὗ ἐποίουσιν ἐνδύματα). Therefore one can only conclude, with Field, that his reading is quite obscure.<sup>62</sup> The chances it belonged to α’ are slim to none. Nevertheless, Field suggested it could have been part of a second α’ version:<sup>63</sup> this unsubstantiated hypothesis is a vain attempt to preserve a periphrastic interpretation of the οἱ περὶ attribution.

(12) Theodoret’s exegesis on 4 Kgdms 23:11 contains the following sentence:

Τὸ δὲ φαρουρίμ, τοῦ φρουροῦ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σύμμαχον ἡρμήνευσαν  
(*Qu. 56 on 4 Kgdms*, ed. Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz, 240).

The Hexaplaric reading offered by Theodoret translates Hebrew פָּרוּרִים (LXX φαρουρίμ), which is believed to be the only plural occurrence of the lexeme פָּרַבֵּר, a word that can only be found in 1 Chr 26:18 *bis* (LXX διαδεχομένους *bis*). Modern interpretations are not sure of the specific meaning of this problematic Hebrew word (see e.g. *HALOT* s.v. פָּרַבֵּר). Obviously, the LXX transliteration in 4 Kgdms 23:11 does little to solve this question, apart from illustrating that the translator, too, probably struggled with the word’s precise meaning. For all of these three occurrences, no other Hexaplaric evidence has survived than the reading quoted by Theodoret (but see RA 57 mentioned below).<sup>64</sup> The information he provided was later copied in a scholion that was edited under the name of Procopius.<sup>65</sup>

62. *Origenis Hexaplorum* (ed. Field), vol. 1, *ad loc.*: “*Theodoretus in dicto obscuro.*”

63. *Origenis Hexaplorum* (ed. Field), vol. 1, *ad loc.*: “*est alterius [...] Aquilae versionis.*”

64. Observe that the α’ fragment of 4 Kgdms 23:11–27 that was discovered in *Cantabrigiensis, Bibliothecae Universitatis T-S 12.184 et 20.50* only starts a few words after the one that would have translated פָּרוּרִים.

65. PG 87a:1200: Τὸ δὲ Φαρουρίμ, τοῦ φρουροῦ, παρέδωκαν οἱ περὶ Σύμμαχον. On the value of this edition, see n. 32. It is this reading that one also finds in the margins of LXX

The nouns φρουρός and φρούριον<sup>66</sup> and root-related words are not very frequently attested in the LXX corpus.<sup>67</sup> In the minor versions, only few occurrences are attested. As far as one can deduce from the scant evidence, σ' used this Greek root to translate several Hebrew ones.<sup>68</sup> Bearing all of this in mind, it is impossible to know to which minor version(s) the reading provided by Theodoret in fact belonged. The lack of clarity is reinforced by the reading one finds in catena manuscript RA 57, according to which φαρουρεῖμ κεῖται παρὰ πᾶσιν. This reading would seem to imply that σ' as well as the other minor versions read φαρουρ(ε)ῖμ, as LXX did. Nevertheless, Field interpreted periphrastically, having edited the reading as belonging to σ'.

(13) In one case, the evidence as it is provided by Theodoret and other sources even appears to contradict the hypothesis that the οἱ περὶ expression needs to be interpreted inclusively or periphrastically. In his comment on Mal 3:10 (MT **בזאת נא בחנוני**; LXX ἐπισκέψασθε δὴ ἐν τούτῳ), Theodoret included the following remark:

Τὸ γὰρ, Ἐπιστρέψατε ἐν τούτῳ, οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν Πειράσατε ἡρμηνεύκασι (PG 81:1981).

Remarkably, the evidence transmitted by other sources indicates that α' is not the version that contained the reading πειράσατε that Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ α'. According to the Syro-Hexapla (ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ, retroverted as πειράσατε δὴ με by Field) and RA 86 (πειράσατε δὴ μοι), the reading πειράσατε belongs to σ'. To α'θ', the Syro-Hexapla ascribed a different reading: ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ (Field: δοκιμάσατε δὴ με). Moreover, for a neighboring occurrence of the *qal* root of **בה** in Mal 3:15 (MT **בחנו אלהים**; LXX ἀντέστησαν θεῷ), the Syro-Hexapla similarly attributed ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ to α' (Field: ἐδοκίμασαν τὸν θεόν) and ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ to σ'θ' (Field: ἐπείρασαν τὸν θεόν). These observa-

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manuscript RA 85 (τοῦ φρουροῦ παρέδωκαν οἱ περὶ σ'), which undoubtedly relies upon Theodoret.

66. Observe that the manuscript tradition of Theodoret's text (ed. Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz, 249 *app.*) hesitated between both words.

67. The only Hebrew *Vorlage* that HRCS s.vv. identifies for φρουρά, φρουρεῖν, φρούρημα, φρούρησις, φρούριον and φρουρός is **נציר**, for φρουρά in 2 Kgdms 8:6.14; 2 Chr 18:13. In two of these cases, σ' translated similarly (see the overview provided in the following note). See also 2 Chr 17:2 α' (φρουρός–**נציר**).

68. Φρουρά (2 Kgdms 8:14) and φρουρός (2 Kgdms 8:6) for **נציר**; φρουρεῖν for **כלה** *qal* in Ps 87:9; φρούριος for **מצודה** (1 Chr 11:5) and **מצד** (Judg 6:2). Finally, for **בכה** in 2 Kgdms 5:24, φρούρησις has been transmitted in the catenae as the α'σ' reading (see also α' in 2 Kgdms 5:23 for the very same equivalence), but Barhebraeus instead attributed the transcription **ܡܠܟܐܝܬܐ** to σ' (*pace* Field).

tions would make one believe it to be possible that οἱ περὶ α’ exclusively refers to σ’θ’.

Clearly, a periphrastic interpretation, as advanced by Field as well as Ziegler, cannot hold. Both scholars believed the οἱ περὶ attribution to periphrastically denote a single minor version: not α’, but σ’. Absurdly euphemistically, Field listed Theodoret’s comment as witnessing to the σ’ reading and introduced it with the warning that the attribution was somewhat different.<sup>69</sup> Equally far-fetched, Ziegler, who saw ἱεροδουλεῖν as an equivalence that is typical to α’, suggested that the expression οἱ περὶ α’ should be corrected into οἱ περὶ σ’.<sup>70</sup> This hypothesis is incorrect and Ziegler’s conjecture unwarranted.<sup>71</sup> A periphrastic interpretation cannot hold.<sup>72</sup>

Also in those cases where no other Hexaplaric readings are transmitted to which the reading Theodoret ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’ can be compared, it is not clear how this attribution should be interpreted. They are three in number.

(14) In his exegesis of Isa 47:10, Theodoret wrote as follows:

Ἐνία τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὐ πορνείαν ἀλλὰ πονηρίαν ἔχει, οὕτω δὲ καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἡρμήνευσαν (*Comm. Isa.* 14.525, ed. Guinot, 3:52).

Although there is no other Hexaplaric evidence to compare to, Guinot assumed that Theodoret used the attribution to οἱ περὶ α’ to refer to all οἱ γ’ at once.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, the equivalence ἱεροδουλεῖν–πονηρία is frequently attested in all of οἱ γ’, but of course this observation need not imply that the οἱ περὶ has to be interpreted inclusively. A periphrastic interpretation would be equally possible. Ziegler did not decide on the matter.<sup>74</sup>

(15) Theodoret’s commentary on Zech 9:1 includes the following comment:

Λήμματα λόγου Κυρίου ἐν γῇ Ἀδράχ, καὶ Δαμασκὸς θυσία αὐτοῦ (οἱ δὲ

69. Origenis *Hexaplorum* (ed. Field), vol. 2, *ad loc.*: “paulo aliter Theodoret.”

70. J. Ziegler, “Beiträge zum griechischen Dodekapropheten,” *NAWG Philologisch-Historische Klasse* (1943): 379.

71. The evidence of RA 407, which copied Theodoret’s Hexaplaric reading (see below) and reads α’, indicates that Theodoret’s text read οἱ περὶ α’, not ... σ’.

72. Then again, it should be admitted that any support in favor of an inclusive interpretation would be equally problematic.

73. This he did in accordance with his interpretation of *Comm. Isa.* 3.848 (see n. 36).

74. Field did not mention Theodoret’s testimony.

περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν ἡρμήνευσαν, Καὶ ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἀνάπανσις αὐτοῦ)·  
ὅτι Κύριος ἐφορᾷ ἀνθρώπους (PG 81:1917).

A part of the reading καὶ ἐν Δαμασκῷ ἀνάπανσις αὐτοῦ for *מנחש מנחש* (LXX has καὶ Δαμασκοῦ θυσία αὐτοῦ)<sup>75</sup> has also been transmitted by RA 86, but without any attribution. Although it is possible to ascribe this reading to α' only, it could in fact have belonged to all of οἱ γ'. The equivalence ἀνάπανσις – *מנחש(1)* can be found elsewhere in α' (Isa 66:1; cf. also Exod 10:14; Isa 34:11; 57:2; Ezek 22:20). Then again, it could also have belonged to σ' or θ', who repeatedly use ἀνάπανσις or ἀναπαύειν to render the root *נח* (see Lev 1:9 α'σ'; Prov 14:33 α'θ'; Isa 57:2 σ'θ'; cf. also Ps 94:11 οἱ ἄλλοι).<sup>76</sup> In conclusion, an attribution to οἱ γ' (inclusive interpretation) is equally possible as one to α' only (periphrastic interpretation).<sup>77</sup> Field opted for the latter interpretation, without even indicating that Theodoret in fact ascribed the reading to οἱ περὶ α'.<sup>78</sup>

(16) Finally, for Mal 3:17, Theodoret provided the following reading for *על-בנו איש יחמל כאשר עליהם כחמלתי* (LXX αἰρετιῶ αὐτοὺς ὃν τρόπον αἰρετίζει ἄνθρωπος τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ):

Τὸ δὲ αἰρετιῶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀκύλαν, Φείσομαι, ἡρμηνεύκασιν ὡς  
φείδεται ἄνθρωπος τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ (PG 81:1984).

As far as one can tell, this reading either could belong to α', to all of οἱ γ' or could be a combination of several individual Hexaplaric readings: the lack of any other Hexaplaric evidence for this verse hinders a correct identification. Consequently, Ziegler limited himself to copying Theodoret's attribution. Field, however, interpreted it as referring to α' only.

#### 4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper is the first to have commented upon all of the Hexaplaric readings Theodoret attributed to οἱ περὶ α' and/or σ'. In order to unravel the meaning

75. The LXX translation probably resulted from a different (reading of the) *Vorlage*. Cf. Aggée, Zacharie (transl. Casevitz, Dogniez, and Harl), 297.

76. Observe, moreover, that RA 943 reads κατάπανσις for Zech 9:1.

77. The presence of the preposition ἐν offers no arguments in favor or against an attribution to α', on the one hand, or to οἱ γ', on the other hand. According to Ziegler ("Beiträge zum griechischen Dodekapropheton," 351), it probably results from a different *Vorlage* (i.e., *בדמשק*).

78. Ziegler mentioned the οἱ περὶ attribution without deciding on its meaning.

of those enigmatic attributions, the readings have been compared to other Hexaplaric data that are known for the verses in question and they have been examined from the point of view of what is known about the lexicon and translation technique of the Hexaplaric versions. Results are not unisonous: although some of the οἱ περὶ attributions seem to carry a periphrastic meaning (which is the one that previous editors of Hexaplaric fragments imposed upon virtually all of them), others could have an inclusive one, referring to all of οἱ γ’.<sup>79</sup> In many cases, the precise meaning is unknown.<sup>80</sup> In sum, this research shows that it is impossible to formulate a clear-cut conclusion.

This can be further illustrated by enumerating a few general arguments in favor of well as against an inclusive interpretation of some of the οἱ περὶ attributions.<sup>81</sup> Trying to understand why Field, Ziegler and Wevers almost never allowed for the possibility of an inclusive significance, which he thought to be as real as that of a periphrastic meaning,<sup>82</sup> the present author thought of three arguments against such an inclusive identification. For each of them, however, he could easily find a counter argument as well.

Firstly, in reprising parts of Theodoret’s exegesis, some later sources assigned a periphrastic (and not an inclusive) significance to some of the οἱ περὶ expressions. For example, a part of the reading for 4 Kgdms 23:7 Theodoret attributed to οἱ περὶ α’ reoccurs in Procopius’ *Epit. Oct.* The latter author, however, changed the attribution into α’.<sup>83</sup> Another example: all of the Hexa-

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79. Clear examples of a οἱ περὶ attribution with an exclusive meaning could not be found (with the possible isolated exception of Mal 3:10). In other words, the interpretation as advanced by Baggarly is not supported (cf. n. 13). Consequently, the present author does not believe the οἱ περὶ attributions as provided by Theodoret to shed any light on the Hexapla’s reception in Antioch.

80. See e.g. the case of 4 Kgdms 23:7, where the reading ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ seems to be a rather free re-wording of the Greek text.

81. By observing that some of the cases *could* have an inclusive meaning, the present author does not state as a fact that they do so: it is precisely his point that discussion over the precise identification is possible and that as a consequence a Hexaplaric edition needs to have a critical apparatus (see below).

82. This he thought on the basis of two observations. Firstly, as has been remarked above with the example of Socrates, the οἱ περὶ expression that carries a periphrastic meaning is a rather solemn way of emphasizing the importance of the person whose name is mentioned. It would seem rather surprising if a Church Father would want to refer to α’ and/or σ’ in such a way. Secondly, as the present author will argue elsewhere (see n. 23), some occurrences of the expression οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’ in other sources (i.e., not in Theodoret’s writings) favor an inclusive interpretation (e.g., RA 86<sup>mg</sup> *ad* Zech 13:7 and Epiphanius, *Weights and Meas.* 2 and 3).

83. Το δὲ Ἐν ᾧ αἱ γυναῖκες ὕφαινον Ἀκύλας οὕτως ἐρμήνευσεν· οὗ ἐποίουν ἐνδύματα τοῖς ἐκπορευέουσιν ἀπὸ κυρίου. Text quoted after *Autour de Théodoret de Cyr. La Collectio*

plaric readings for the Twelve Prophets offered by the ninth-century LXX manuscript RA 407 are taken from Theodoret's commentary.<sup>84</sup> In copying readings for Zech 9:1 and Mal 3:10, the scribe changed the attribution to οἱ περὶ α' that he found in Theodoret's text, into α'. This could be regarded as an argument in approval of Field's, Ziegler's, and Wevers' preference for a periphrastic interpretation. As a counter argument, however, one ought to keep in mind that the evidence of RA 407 is an interpretation as good as the next one. Theophylactus of Ochrid, who in his *Commentary on the Twelve Prophets* relied upon Theodoret just as RA 407 had done, rephrased the expression οἱ περὶ α' καὶ σ' for Hos 12:4 as οἱ ἄλλοι ἐρμηνευταί.<sup>85</sup> So also in Byzantium, the identification of the οἱ περὶ readings was problematic: they were not always interpreted periphrastically.<sup>86</sup>

Also a second argument can be countered. One could argue that the fact that the attributions to οἱ περὶ α', to οἱ περὶ σ' and to οἱ περὶ α' καὶ σ' are all attested pleads against the hypothesis that they all refer to οἱ γ'. Why would Theodoret have bothered to use different οἱ περὶ expressions if all served to refer to οἱ γ'? The variation that exists between the attributions to οἱ περὶ α' and/or σ' is an argument against the possibility of them having an inclusive meaning. It can easily be countered: if the οἱ περὶ expression is to be interpreted periphrastically, why would Theodoret have bothered to use this expression instead of a common attribution to α' and/or σ'? The difference between the usage of οἱ περὶ α', οἱ περὶ σ' and οἱ περὶ α' καὶ σ' is less remarkable and meaningful than the one between οἱ περὶ α' and/or σ', on the one hand, and α' and/or σ', on the other hand.

Thirdly, one could remark that it is possible that the οἱ περὶ attributions for Isa 9:6 and Hos 12:4, which offer the strongest evidence in favor of an

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Coisliniana sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règles. Le Commentaire sur les Règles de Procope de Gaza (ed. F. Petit; TEG 13; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 114 (transcription of *Monacensis* 358). The text can also be found in PG 87a:1200 (on which, see n. 32). The presence of this reading, ascribed to α', in the margins of LXX manuscript RA 85 is undoubtedly a borrowing from Procopius' text.

84. *Duodecim prophetarum* (ed. Ziegler), 107.

85. PG 126:776. Theophylactus (ca. 1050–after 1126) wrote a commentary on five of the Twelve Prophets, for which he relied upon Theodoret. See M. Cassin, "Théophylacte et Théodoret sur les douze prophètes," *Scriptorium* 62 (2008): 252–277 and M. Aus-sedat and M. Cassin, "Le prologue du *Commentaire sur les petits prophètes* de Théophylacte d'Achrida," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 68 (2010): 67–79. This also holds true for the Hexaplaric readings he offered: see *Duodecim prophetarum* (ed. Ziegler), 106.

86. Observe also n. 65, in which it is stated that, in copying the reading Theodoret had provided for 4 Kgdms 23:11, Procopius as well as RA 85 maintained the attribution to οἱ περὶ σ'.



inclusive interpretation, refer to only one (in the case of Isa 9:6) or two (Hos 12:4) of the minor versions instead of to all three of them. It is not because Theodoret first quoted all of οἱ γ’ that the οἱ περὶ reprise does the same: there he could have singled out one or two of them. Counter argument: although it is possible that the οἱ περὶ attributions Theodoret gave for both verses have a periphrastic instead of an inclusive meaning, it is not very likely. In the case of Isa 9:6, the polemical reasons he quoted the reading for, favor an inclusive interpretation. For Hos 12:4, an inclusive meaning is hinted at by the exegetical goal of opposing the text of LXX with that of the minor versions.

In addition to these three counter arguments, a fourth observation favors the possibility that at least some of the οἱ περὶ attributions could have an inclusive meaning: for none of the sixteen verses discussed above did Theodoret provide another Hexaplaric reading next to the one he ascribed to οἱ περὶ α’ and/or σ’. This could corroborate the assumption that all of the minor versions are already contained in that οἱ περὶ attribution.

Together with this enumeration of arguments as well as observations that counter them, the analysis of the sixteen cases given in the present paper’s third section shows that often it is impossible to impose a clear-cut interpretation upon a οἱ περὶ reading provided by Theodoret. These insights expose the unsatisfying treatment the οἱ περὶ readings received in previous editions of Hexaplaric fragments, which never commented upon their preference for a periphrastic interpretation and sometimes even did not clearly indicate which attribution was used by Theodoret<sup>87</sup> or manipulated the evidence to a misleading effect.<sup>88</sup> Even if all of the cases discussed above turn out to have a periphrastic meaning, editors should explain their reasons for interpreting them as such. The undeniable observation that for many of them, arguments in favor of a different (often inclusive) interpretation can also be articulated, shows that it is necessary for a future edition of Hexaplaric readings to have a critical apparatus that enables the reader to form his or her own judgment and to evaluate the editor’s choices.

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87. See above, n. 17.

88. See the example of Mal 3:10, discussed above.



# Θρησκεία, *Terra Incognita*, and *Terra Devastata*: Vocabulary and Theology of Symmachus

Michaël N. van der Meer

**Abstract:** The present paper explores the virtually unexplored territory (*terra incognita*) of the vocabulary and theology of Symmachus's Bible translation, particularly that of the book of Isaiah. After identification of the methodological pitfalls of discerning theology in an ancient Bible translation, particularly one that has been preserved in a rather fragmentary state, a number of particular 'Symmachian' renderings are discussed. First the political background of Symmachus's use of the Greek terms ἡρεμία and ὑπερμαχέω as key terms for a politics of quietism and compliance are discussed in the light of Symmachus's rendering καταβόσκησις of Isa 6:13, the prophecy of the *terra devastata*, are discussed. Second it is argued that Symmachus's use of the word θρησκεία which is explained on the basis of contemporary pagan Greek writings, expresses second century Jewish thought concerning the Temple cult.

## 1. SYMMACHUS'S BIBLE TRANSLATION: A *TERRA INCOGNITA*?

Out of the ancient Jewish translations of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, viz., Old Greek (third century B.C.E.–first century C.E.), Kaige-Theodotion (around the turn of the Christian era), Aquila (early second century C.E.), and Symmachus (late second century C.E.),<sup>1</sup> the one produced by Symmachus has probably suffered most from obliteration, both in Antiquity and Modernity. Whereas we have modern critical editions for most of the books of the Septuagint, we have to work from the splendid but also outdated compilation of Hexaplaric material made by Frederick Field between 1865 and 1875.<sup>2</sup> Although that edition

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1. See Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

2. Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875); see the introduction to the English translation of the prolegomena by Gérald Norton, *Frederick Fields*

was a monumental achievement in its own days, it now needs considerable revision in the light of the findings of new material found in the Greek biblical manuscripts,<sup>3</sup> Greek catenae,<sup>4</sup> Greek commentaries, and furthermore in Syriac<sup>5</sup> and Armenian translations.<sup>6</sup> Therefore a Hexapla institute has been installed to prepare a New Field for the twenty-first century.<sup>7</sup>

While we now have several research tools to study the vocabulary of the Septuagint, this is hardly the case for the Hexaplaric versions, in particular Symmachus's version. For example, we have a concordance for the Septuagint,<sup>8</sup>

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*Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (CahRB 62; Paris: Gabalda, 2005); and Timothy M. Law, "A History of Research on Origen's Hexapla: From Masius to the Hexapla Project," *BIOSCS* 40 (2007), 30–48.

3. Apart from the marginal readings in the Hexaplaric manuscripts and their Syriac translation (Syh) and references to Symmachus in patristic commentaries, we only have fragments of his translation of Psalm 22 in Cairo Genizah material and Psalms 68 and 80 (69 and 81 respectively according to the Hebrew and modern numberings of the Psalms) from a third or fourth century C.E. parchment found in the Fayum (now in the Austrian papyrus collection in Vienna).

4. Françoise Petit (ed.), *Catenae graecae in Genesim et in Exodum* 1–2 (CCSG 2, 15; Turnhout: Brepols, Leuven: University Press, 1977, 1986); Françoise Petit, *La chaîne sur la Genèse: édition intégrale* (Traditio exegetica graeca 1; Louvain: Peeters, 1992) and subsequent volumes in the same series.

5. Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts. Edited, Commented upon and Compared with the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1968); Arthur Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964* (CSCO 369 Subs. 45; Louvain: Peeters, 1975); Arthur Vööbus, *The Book of Isaiah in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of MS St. Mark 1 in Jerusalem with an Introduction* (CSCO 449 Subs. 68; Louvain: Peeters, 1983).

6. Claude E. Cox, *Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion in Armenia* (SBLSCS 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996).

7. Alison Salvesen (ed.), *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th–3rd August 1994* (TSAJ 58; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1998); Gérard J. Norton, "Collecting Data for a New Edition of the Fragments of the Hexapla," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. B.A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 251–262; Robert B. ter Haar Romeny and Peter Gentry, "Towards a New Collection of Hexaplaric Material for the Book of Genesis," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B.A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 285–299. See further: <http://www.hexapla.org/>.

8. HRCs, see further Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek ≈ Hebrew/Aramaic Two-Way Index to the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2010).

a word-list for Aquila,<sup>9</sup> lists for Kaige-Theodotion,<sup>10</sup> but no index for Symmachus as a whole. We have two recent main dictionaries on the Septuagint<sup>11</sup> and a number of modern translations of the Septuagint.<sup>12</sup> Yet, a dictionary for the later Greek translations, particularly the relatively free rendering of Symmachus remains a *desideratum*, even if it is a somewhat problematic *desideratum*, as Hauspie has shown.<sup>13</sup>

Fortunately we do have the beginnings for a lexicon on Symmachus thanks to the work done by Johan Lust. Thus far, a word-list for Symmachus's version of the Psalms has been published on the Internet and the first part of a similar list for Symmachus on Ezekiel.<sup>14</sup> These lists cover only a small part of Symmachus's version of the Hebrew Bible. Furthermore, they also require considerable semantic elaboration. The English glosses are usually taken from

9. Joseph Reider and Nigel Turner, *An Index to Aquila. Greek-Hebrew, Hebrew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence* (VTSup 12; Leiden: Brill, 1966).

10. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963); Kevin G. O'Connell, *The Theodotianic Revision of the Book of Exodus: A Contribution to the Study of the Early Transmission of the Old Testament in Greek* (HSM 3; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1972); Walter R. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments* (HSM 23; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1980); Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua* (HSM 28; Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1983).

11. Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003); Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters 2009).

12. E.g. the French *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series, further Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer (eds.) *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009); see also my reviews of these translations in *BIOCS* 41 (2008), 114–121, and 42 (2009), 111–119.

13. See, e.g., Johan Lust, "A Lexicon of the Three and the Transliterations in Ezekiel," in Salvesen, *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 274–301; Katrin Hauspie, "Methodological Issues Preliminary to a Lexicon of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion," *ETL* 81 (2005), 165–176.

14. The two word lists are pilot projects. They are available on the Internet only. For the list of Symmachus on the Psalms, see: Johan Lust, "A Lexicon of Symmachus' Special Vocabulary in His translation of the Psalms," [cited 18 January 2008]. Online: <http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol05/Lust2000.html>. For Ezekiel, see: Johan Lust and Silvio S. Scatolini Apostolo, "Greek-English Lexical Concordance of Variants in Symmachus' Ezekiel (in regard to the LXX). Part 1. A-I," [cited 18 January 2008]. Online: <http://www.geocities.com/silviosergio/symmachus.html>. The list includes only the first half of the Greek alphabet (A-I). These lists offer a concordance of the words attested for Symmachus together with the Septuagint and Hebrew (MT) parallels.

LSJ. There is no discussion of the particular meaning of the Greek words in the context of Symmachus' version, nor a comparison with contemporary external sources, such as other Greek writings from the second century C.E.

Thus, it is safe to say that the Greek translation made by Symmachus remains much of a *terra incognita*, even though we are in a much better position to appreciate his translation than was possible in the time of Field. Apart from the discoveries of Hexaplaric material mentioned above, there is also the commentary on Isaiah by Eusebius, which contains a wealth of Hexaplaric materials, particularly for the version of Symmachus. The commentary, from which in Field's time only small portions were known,<sup>15</sup> was rediscovered in the margins of manuscript Firenze, Bibl. Laur. XI.4 in 1934 by August Möhle from the Göttingen *Septuaginta-Unternehmen*.<sup>16</sup> The commentary has not completely been preserved, but we do have the larger part of it. It was published in 1975 by Joseph Ziegler.<sup>17</sup>

It is interesting to note that Eusebius quotes from Symmachus twice as often as from the other Greek versions (Old Greek, Theodotion and Aquila) together.<sup>18</sup> There is reason to believe that Eusebius had a special purpose for preferring Symmachus over the other translations *besides* his preference for his elegant Greek style.<sup>19</sup>

At first sight it might seem to be a daring enterprise to reconstruct ideology of a Bible translation that has been preserved so poorly. Nevertheless, the preserved fragments of Symmachus's rendering contain a comparatively large number of significant renderings. Yet, the purposes of Symmachus's translation have been studied over the last century only with an eye to the question: *Quis sit Symmachus?* Who could this Symmachus have been?<sup>20</sup>

15. PG 24 (1857), 77–526.

16. The Rahlfs number is 49. The manuscript dates from the eleventh century.

17. Joseph Ziegler, *Der Jesajakommentar* (vol. 9 of *Eusebius Werke*; GCS; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975).

18. See the index of Ziegler, *Jesajakommentar*.

19. See my article "Entre Léontopolis et Byzance. La version de Symmaque comme étape intermédiaire entre le Vieux Grec d'Isaïe et l'interprétation d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *Semita et Classica* 3 (2010), 67–83.

20. Thus the title of an article by Dominique Barthélemy, originally published in *CBQ* 36 (1974), 451–465, repr. in *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 21; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 307–321. The German title is taken from an article written by Moritz Heidenheim, "Wer war Symmachus?" in *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für evangelisch-theologische Forschung und Kritik* (Zürich) 3 (1867), 463–466, and from the discussion of the same issue in Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches. Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 221.

Whereas Abraham Geiger,<sup>21</sup> followed by Dominique Barthélemy, favored a Jewish background and the identification of a Symmachus with Sumkhos (סומכוס) son of Joseph, a pupil of rabbi Meir, known from the Talmud,<sup>22</sup> Hans Joachim Schoeps argued for a (Jewish-)Christian, Ebionite background on the basis of a remark made by Eusebius in his *Historia ecclesiastica* 6.17.<sup>23</sup> A somewhat intermediate position was defended already by Moritz Heidenheim, who took his cue from a statement made by church father Epiphanius in his work *De mensuris et ponderibus* 16, that Symmachus originally had a Samaritan background and was later converted to rabbinic Judaism (and recircumcised). A similar position is also defended by Arie van der Kooij.<sup>24</sup> While the latter scholar holds his view to be irreconcilable with that of Geiger and Barthélemy, Alison Salvesen thinks both views can be reconciled.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, the main emphasis in modern scholarship has been on the question of Symmachus's background. However, there has been little attention to Symmachus's aims and audience. Since his Greek translation does not display the literalistic tendencies known from the Theodotionic and Aquilaean traditions, Symmachus's version can not simply be understood as yet another attempt to bring a deviant Old Greek text in line with the established Hebrew text of the proto-Masoretic tradition. On the other hand, the relatively few fragments that we have do not lend support to the thesis that Symmachus revised the Greek versions of his predecessors purely for stylistic reasons either. As the detailed studies of Symmachus's translation technique by Busto Saiz,<sup>26</sup> González Luis,<sup>27</sup> Salvesen and Law<sup>28</sup> have made clear, his version cannot be classified as a com-

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21. Abraham Geiger, "Symmachus, der Übersetzer der Bibel," *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* (Breslau) 1 (1862), 39–64.

22. *y.Ber.* 2:1; *Erub.* 13b; *Naz.* 49b; *Qidd.* 52b; *B. Bat.* 12a.

23. Hans J. Schoeps, "Ebionitisches bei Symmachus," *ConBNT* 6 (1942); Hans J. Schoeps, "Mythologisches bei Symmachus," *Bib* 26 (1945), 100–111; Hans J. Schoeps, "Symmachus und der Midrasch," *Bib* 29 (1947), 31–51, repr. in *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1950), 82–119: "Symmachusstudien I–III."

24. Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 221–257; Arie van der Kooij, "Symmachus, de 'vertaler der Joden,'" *NedTT* 42 (1988), 1–20.

25. Alison Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSS Monograph Series 15; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), 283–297.

26. José R. Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: CSIC, 1978; 2nd ed. 1985).

27. José González Luis, "La versión de Símaco a los Profetas Mayores," (PhD diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1978).

28. Timothy M. Law, "The Translation of Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)," in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Ljubljana, 2007* (SBLSCS 55; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2008), 277–292.

pletely free Greek translation either. Apparently then, revision towards MT and stylistic clarity were not the only aims behind this Greek version.

It has been demonstrated frequently, particularly so for the Greek Pentateuch by Alison Salvesen, that Symmachus knew and used the work of his three predecessors: Old Greek, kaige-Theodotion, and Aquila. Symmachus regularly adopted the translation of these predecessors. Therefore, if he departed from their translations, it must have been for either stylistic or ideological reasons.

On the basis of a careful analysis of a number of Greek readings attributed to Symmachus particularly in the book of Isaiah, Van der Kooij has argued that more issues were at stake when Symmachus' version was produced. In his view, the version intended to support the authority, hermeneutics and politics of rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, to whom the compilation of the Mishna is attributed. In Van der Kooij's view, this figure is presented in Symmachus's version as the ideal teacher-messiah who will bring world-wide peace (Symm-Isa 9:5–6; 25:7–8).<sup>29</sup> The school around the Prince promoted compliance with Roman rule. It defined Judaism as a religion and example for the nations, rather than as a political entity. The alleged audience of the Greek translation by Symmachus supervised and sponsored by this school would have been the Jewish diaspora,<sup>30</sup> particularly in Northern Palestine and Asia Minor, where the version circulated.

Van der Kooij finds this ideology reflected in a number of distinctive "Symmachian" renderings in the book of Isaiah. In what follows I will explore a few of the items discussed already by Van der Kooij and try to pay due attention to the Greek connotations of the translation equivalents employed by Symmachus. Parallels with Greek literature outside the Bible-related Jewish writings are particularly useful in determining the meaning and purpose of Symmachus's renderings.

## 2. THE HOLY LAND AS *TERRA DEVASTATA*

Van der Kooij finds evidence for a rather quietist political attitude in Symmachus's version of Isaiah, as expressed by the Greek word ἡρεμία in Isa 28:12 and 30:15.<sup>31</sup>

29. Arie van der Kooij, "The Teacher Messiah and Worldwide Peace. Some Comments on Symmachus' Version of Isaiah 25:7–8," *JNSL* 24 (1998), 75–82.

30. Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 255: "Es könnte sein, dass R. Juda I. mittels dieser Übersetzung einen bestimmten Einfluss auf die griechisch-sprechende Diaspora geltend machen wollte."

31. Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 240.



Isa 30 :15

MT כי כה אמר אדני יהוה קדוש ישראל בשובה ונחת תושעון בהשקט  
ובבטחה תהיה גבורתכם ולא אביתם:

NRSV For thus said the Lord God, the Holy One of Israel: In returning and rest you shall be saved; in quietness and in trust shall be your strength. But you refused.

LXX Οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ· Ὅταν ἀποστραφεῖς στενάξης, τότε σωθήσῃ καὶ γνώσῃ ποῦ ἦσθα· ὅτε ἐπεποίθεις ἐπὶ τοῖς ματαίοις, ματαία ἢ ἰσχύς ὑμῶν ἐγενήθη. καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλεσθε ἀκούειν,

NETS Thus says the Lord, the Holy One of Israel: When you turn back and groan, then you realize where you were; when you placed your trust in vain things, your strength became vain. And you were not willing to hear.

σ' ἐν μετανοίᾳ καὶ ἀναπαύσει σωθήσεσθε· καὶ ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔσται ἡ δύναμις ὑμῶν. Eus 86

By repentance and quietude you will be saved ; and in tranquility and in hope is your strength.

In line with this rendering is the preference Symmachus displays for the word ὑπερμαχέω, “to wage war on behalf of”, e.g., in Isa 51:22:<sup>32</sup>

MT כה אמר אדניך יהוה ואלהיך יריב עמו הנה לקחתי מידך את כוס  
התרעלה את קבעת כוס חמתי לא תוסיפי לשותותה עוד

NRSV Thus says your Sovereign, the LORD, your God who pleads the cause of his people: See, I have taken from your hand the cup of staggering; you shall drink no more from the bowl of my wrath.

LXX οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ κρίνων τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ· Ἰδοὺ εἴληφα ἐκ τῆς χειρός σου τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδυ τοῦ θυμοῦ, καὶ οὐ προσθήσῃ ἔτι πιεῖν αὐτό·

32. Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 240–241.

NETS Thus says the Lord God, who judges his people: See, I have taken from your hand the cup of ruin, the goblet of wrath, and you shall not continue to drink it any longer

σ' τάδε λέγει ὁ δεσπότης σου· καὶ ὁ θεός σου ὑπερμαχήσει τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ. ἰδοὺ ἦρα ἀπὸ τῆς χειρός σου τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ σπαραγμοῦ, τὸν κρατῆρα τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θυμοῦ, οὐ προσθήσεις πιεῖν αὐτὸ ἔτι.  
Eus

Thus says your ruler: moreover your God shall wage battle for his people. See I took from your hand the cup of agony, the krater the cup of wrath; you will not continue to drink it any longer.

Whereas the word occurs in the Septuagint only in 1 Macc 16:3, 3, it is attested more frequently in Symmachus's version of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>33</sup> What is even more interesting, is the fact that we also find it in the work of Josephus, a near contemporary of Symmachus, who was also a Jew with great knowledge of both Greek and Hebrew, and propagated a comparable compliance and cooperation for the Jews, since God is the one whole will do the conquest, thus *Ant.* 3.309:

οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ὄρων τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἡσκηκόσιν ἐμποδὼν στήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ συμπροθυμουμένου καὶ *ὑπερμαχοῦντος* αὐτῶν.

For neither the height of the mountains nor the depth of the rivers would prove obstacles to the activities of men of tried valour, above all when God was seconding their ardour and *championing their cause*. (LCL)

This appeal to abstain from political and military activity is easily explained as a reaction to the catastrophes that befell Judah and Jerusalem. Hence it is interesting that Symmachus's version of the vision of Isaiah over Judah, Jerusalem and its Temple reflects a defloration in two steps:

MT ועוד בה עשריה ושבה והיתה לבער כאלה וכאלון אשר בשלכת  
מצבת במ זרע קדש מצבתה

33. HRCS 1410c: 1 Macc 16:3; 3 Macc 7:6; Symm-Deut 33:7; Symm-1 Reg 11:3; Symm-Ps 77(78):35; Symm-Isa 51:22; 63:1; Symm-Hos 10:6. The corresponding noun ὑπερμάχης occurs in Symm-Exod 12:11: ἐν ἐπείξει φασέχ ὑπερμάχης ἐστιν; ὑπέρμαχος: Wis 10:20; 16:17; and 2 Macc 8:36; 14:34.

- NRSV Even if a tenth part remain in it, it will be burned again, like a terebinth or an oak whose stump remains standing when it is felled. The holy seed is its stump.
- LXX καὶ ἔτι ἐπ’ αὐτῆς ἔστιν τὸ ἐπιδέκατον, καὶ πάλιν ἔσται εἰς προνομὴν ὡς τερέβινθος καὶ ὡς βάλανος ὅταν ἐκπέσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς θήκης αὐτῆς.
- NETS And still a tenth part is on it, and it will be plundered again, like a terebinth or an acorn tree when it falls from its station.
- σ’ καὶ πάλιν ἔσται εἰς καταβόσκησιν ὡς δρυὶς καὶ ὡς βάλανος, ἥτις ἀποβαλοῦσα ἵσταται μόνη Eus Tht 710
- And again it will be to kataboskèsis, like an oak and like an acorn tree, which after being cut off, stands alone.

Whereas the Old Greek stresses the motif of economic plunder (εἰς προνομὴν),<sup>34</sup> perhaps alluding to the Seleucid attempts to pillage the Temple of Jerusalem, Symmachus portrays Jerusalem as a tree that is chopped off again (πάλιν) and stands alone. Eusebius of Caesarea took this rendering as a reference to the events under Vespasianus and Titus and later under Hadrianus.<sup>35</sup>

What is interesting here is that the word καταβόσκησις, which occurs in Symmachus’s version as rendering for Hebrew *רָבַעַ* and as alternative for the Septuagintal rendering εἰς προνομὴν, has no other attestation in the whole corpus of Greek writings from Homer until the Byzantine period. The same is true for the related word βόσκησις attested in Symmachus’s version of Qoh 1:14 and 4:16.<sup>36</sup> The primary sense of the verb καταβόσκω is “to feed flocks upon or in a place”, i.e. an ἀγρόν, thus e.g. in LXX-Exod 22:5. In writings from the second and third century C.E., however, we find the sense of brutality related to the adjective βοσκηματώδης, for instance in Strabo’s description of the people from Corsica (*Geogr.* 5.2.7):

ὁπότεν γοῦν ὀρμήσωσιν οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοὶ καὶ προσπεσόντες τοῖς ἐρύμασι πολὺ πλῆθος ἔλωσι, τῶν ἀνδραπόδων

34. See Ronald L. Troxel, “Economic Plunder as a Leitmotif in LXX-Isaiah,” *Bib* 83 (2002), 375–391; Ronald L. Troxel, *LXX-Isaiah as Translation and Interpretation. The Strategies of the Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah* (JSJSup 124; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 201–209.

35. Eusebius *Comm. Isa.* 1.42; See also Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 244–245.

36. See also Eusebius *Comm. Ps.* (PG 23: 961, 964–965).

ὅρᾱν ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυμάζειν ὅσον ἐμφαίνεται τὸ θηριῶδες καὶ τὸ βοσκηματῶδες ἐν αὐτοῖς·

At any rate, whenever the Roman generals have made a sally, and, falling suddenly upon the strongholds, have taken a large number of the people as slaves, you can at Rome see, and marvel at, the extent to which the *nature of wild beasts*, as also that of *battling cattle*, is manifested in them. (LCL)

In the light of these examples it must be clear that Symmachus's version should not be assessed on the basis of its predecessors (not as literal as the Old Greek, Theodotion and Aquila), but deserves a study of its own. A study of the vocabulary of Symmachus, based on new findings and a critical evaluation of the material as envisaged by the Hexapla project, has much to offer not only for Greek philology and the history of biblical translation and interpretation, but also for the very histories of Formative rabbinical Judaism and Christianity. It is also clear that there are more questions to ask besides the question concerning the religious background of this translator. Just as important are his political and ideological opinions. Furthermore, it is worthwhile not only to look at the probably Jewish background of his translation, but also at the Greek language he uses. In many cases we find words and expressions that are not attested for the earlier Greek translations. In order to evaluate the Greek version of Symmachus, it is worthwhile to study his vocabulary in light of other Greek writings. It turns out that parallels often come up from writings from the so-called Second Sophist period, i.e. the time of the Roman Imperial supremacy.

### 3. THE HOLY LAND AS Θρησκεία

In order to clarify my position more clearly, I have chosen to study another typically Symmachian rendering, i.e. θρησκεία. Within the Greek Bible we find the word only in Wis 14:18.27; 4 Macc 5:7.13; Symm-Jer 3:19; Symm-Ezek 20:6.15; and Symm-Dan 2:46.<sup>37</sup> The use of the word in Symmachus's version of Jer 3:19 and Ezek 20:6, 15, is within the context of the description of the Promised Land as pleasant land (Jer 3:19 MT: אֶרֶץ חַמְדָּה, LXX: γῆν ἐκλεκτήν; Aquila and Symmachus: γῆν ἐπιθυμητήν) and jewel for the nations (thus Jer 3:19 MT: צִבִּי צְבָאוֹת גּוֹיִם). Apparently, the Greek translators had difficulties, either philological or ideological, in handling this expression. The

37. HRCS 655a–b. The reference to LXX-Sir 22:5 should be deleted on the basis of the new critical edition by Ziegler.



- LXX      ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἀντελαβόμεν τῇ χειρὶ μου αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐξαγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν γῆν, ἣν ἡτοίμασα αὐτοῖς, γῆν ῥέουσαν γάλα καὶ μέλι, κηρίον ἐστὶ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν.
- NETS    in that day I took hold of them with my hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt into the land that I prepared for them, a land flowing with milk and honey; it is a honeycomb beyond every land.
- θ'        κηρίον] δύναμις ἐστὶ πάσαις ταῖς γαίαις (= Field's retroversion from Syh ܟܗܪܝܢ ܩܨܠܠ ܡܕܢܐ ܪܠܐ ܕܝ)
- α'        κηρίον] στάσις
- σ'        κηρίον] ἥ ἐστὶ θρησκειά πάσαις ταῖς γαίαις (= Field's retroversion from Syh ܟܗܪܝܢ ܩܨܠܠ ܪܗܝܬܐ ܕܠܡܢ ܡܕܢܐ ,ܡ ܐ)

What is the meaning, association and implication of this remarkable Symmachian rendering? According to Barthélemy this rendering should be understood in the light of the narrative concerning Rabbi Meir who had commanded his pupils to bury him after his death on the shore. Since Meir lived in Asia Minor and had no opportunity to be buried in the land of Israel, he wanted his corpse to be as close in contact to the Holy Land, here by means of the water flowing from the shores of Asia Minor.<sup>38</sup> According to Van der Kooij, however, the translation should rather be understood in the light of the view of Yehuda ha-Nasi who held that the land of Israel has an exemplary status with respect to the other nations.<sup>39</sup>

Valid and fascinating as both explanations may be, they pay relatively little attention to the Greek diction as such but rather to the supposedly underlying rabbinical Hebrew and Aramaic traditions. When we take a closer look at the Greek word, its meaning and its attestations, a few remarks need to be made. With the exception of an isolated attestation of the cognate verb θρησκεύω in Aesop's Fables and Herodotus (2.64, describing the cultic practices of the Egyptians) and a few fragments from fourth century B.C.E. Greek historians, we find the word almost exclusively attested in the Roman period, the Wisdom of Solomon 11:15 and 14:17 and 4 Macc 5:7 being among the oldest attestations.<sup>40</sup> As Joseph van Herten in his Dutch dissertation from 1934 observed,

38. Barthélemy, "Qui est Symmaque?", 463.

39. Van der Kooij, *Alten Textzeugen*, 242–243, with reference to *Sipre* Deut 11:2.

40. Attestations of the verb θρησκεύω from literary sources apart from the biblical ones from the earliest attestations up to Eusebius of Caesarea (roughly in chronological order) are: Aesop, *Fab.* 89; Herodotus 2.64; Dinon, *Fragm.* 17 (FrGH 2.92) *apud* Athe-

the word functions in the texts from the first century C.E. onwards as formal equivalent for the Latin word “cultus”.<sup>41</sup> Most interesting in this respect is the use of the word by the Roman emperor Claudius (or a writer from his court) when he addresses the question of the riots between the people of Alexandria and the Jews living in that city as preserved in the famous London papyrus P.Lond. VI 1912, and urges the Alexandrians not to bother the Jews in anything τῶν πρὸς θρησκείαν αὐτοῖς νενομισμένων τοῦ θεοῦ, “anything ordered from the Deity to them pertaining to the cult”.

Interesting in this respect is Dio Cassius’s description of the Jewish cult in his *Roman Antiquities* 37.17.3, where he describes the capture of Palestine by Pomeius, in the year 63 B.C.E:

They are distinguished from the rest of mankind in practically every detail of life, and especially by the fact that they do not honour any of the usual gods, but show extreme reverence for one particular divinity. They never had any

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naeus, *Deipn.* 13.3 (epitome 2.2 page 100); *Sib. Or.* 5.77; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 1.76.3; 2.23.1; 2.67.2; Flavius Josephus, *J.W.* 2.158; 7.435; *Ant.* 2.270; 3.49; 6.148; 7.78; 8.127; 8.192; 8.227; 8.248; 8.337; 8.350; 9.27; 9.260; 9.289; 9.290; 10.63; 12.303; 13.73; 19.297; 19.311; 20.13; *Ag.Ap.* 1.261.3; Cornutus, *Nat. d.* 6.15; Thessalus Med. et Astrol., *De virtutibus herbarum* 1.25; 1 *Clement* 45.7; Ps.-Clem., *Homilies* 9.5.3; 10.22.4; Ps.-Clem., *Recognitiones*, 11.30.2; Plutarch, *Alex.* 2.8; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 299; *Iberica* 8; Aelius Herodianus, *Partitiones* 59; Marcus Cornelius Fronto, *Ad Marcum Caesarem et invicem epist.* 12.3; Nicomachus math., *Theologoumena arithmeticae* 66; Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Apotelesmatica* 2.3.45; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* 1.62; Antoninus Pius, *Epist. Ad commune Asiae* 18; Celsus 3.34b; 5.6; 5.34; 7.9; 8.15; 8.66; *Diogn.* 1.1; Phrynichus, *Praeparatio sophistica* 53; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 2.2; 2.35; Vettius Valens 5.2.; 7.1; Montanus, *Orac.* 18.36; Herodian 1.11.1; 4.2.11; 5.3.4; Cassius Dio, *Rom. Ant.* 37.17.3 [see below]; 42.34.2; 77[78].15.7; 78[79].31.1; 79[80].11.2; *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum* 113; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2.19.4; 2.22.3; 2.34.1; 2.38.5; 2.40; 10.91.1; *Strom.* 4.23.152; 4.25.158; 6.3.31; 6.9.77; 7.1.2; 7.9.52; Origen, *Cels.* 1.26; 3.34; 5.6; 5.9; 5.25; 5.34; 5.36; 7.9; 8.12; 8.13; 8.15; 8.66; *Philoc.* 22.1; *Test. Job* 2.2; *Corp. Herm.* 23.5; Diogenes Laertius, *Life of the Sophists* 6.101; Porphyry, *Christ. fragm.* 76; *Abst.* 2.34; 4.9; 9; 4.17; *Agalm.* 7.38; Hippolytus, *Haer.* 10.5.1; *Comm. Dan.* 1.20.3; Iamblichus, *Theologoumena arithmeticae* 66; Ps.-Justinus Martyr, *Quaestiones et responsiones ad orthodoxos* 454D; *Epist. Ad Diogn.* 495C; Themistius, *To Emperor Constantius* 49b; Julianus, *Epist.* 26; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. Ev.* 1.9.14; 2.3.29; 2.3.38; 2.6.10; 3.4.8; 3.4.9; 3.11.15; 3.11.18; 3.13.24; 4.11.1; 6.10.46; *Dem. Ev.* 1.6.66; 1.7.12; 3.3.10; 5.9.7; *Hist. eccl.* 2.13.7; 4.13.5; 9.10.10; 9.10.12; *Theoph. Fragm.* 12; *Onom.* 6.13; 66.6; 76.3; *Vit. Const.* 3.48.2; *Coet. Sanct.* 1.1; 18.2; 20.5.

41. Joseph C.A. van Herten, *Θρησκεία, Εὐλάβεια Ἰκέτης. Bijdragen tot de kennis der religieuze terminologie in het Grieksch* (Amsterdam: H.J. Paris, 1934). See also the excellent discussion of the lemma in Spicq (TLNT) and Muraoka (GELS<sup>3</sup>), where the meaning of the word is defined as “worship expressed through cultic rites”. Cognate Greek words from the same semantic domain are λατρεύω, προσκυνέω, θεραπεύω, σέβω, σεβίζω.

statue of him even in Jerusalem itself, but believing him to be unnamable and invisible, they *worship* him in the most extravagant fashion on earth (ποτε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις ἔσχον, ἄρρητον δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀειδῆ αὐτὸν νομίζοντες εἶναι περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων θρησκείουσι). They built to him a temple that was extremely large and beautiful, except in so far as it was open and roofless, and likewise dedicated to him the day called the day of Saturn, on which, among many other peculiar observances, they undertake no serious occupation. (LCL)

One wonders how well informed Cassius Dio was. He mentions a temple with an open roof, which was almost certainly a false description of the second Temple. Important for our lexical research is the fact that the word θρησκεία occurs in the context of identity markers. Dio Cassius describes what sets the Jewish cult apart from other cults.

The word θρησκεία was certainly not restricted to the Jewish cult. In fact it could apply to the cult of any group in honor of any divinity. The first-century C.E. Egyptian priest and Stoic philosopher Chaeremon made a distinction between cults common to all Egyptian priests and distinctive cults within Egyptian religion:

There are some of the *religious observances* that were common to all, but there were others which varied according to the class of priests and were proper to each individual god (Κοινὰ μὲν δὴ θρησκείαι τινες αὐται, κατὰ γένη δὲ τῶν ἱερέων διάφοροι).<sup>42</sup>

These examples must suffice to make clear that the word θρησκεία presupposes certain specific cultic actions.<sup>43</sup> When Symmachus employs this

42. Fragment 4 line 75. = frag. 10 in Pieter W. van der Horst, *Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher. The Fragments Collected and Translated with Explanatory Notes* (EPRO 101; Leiden: Brill, 1984), 20–21.

43. Other attestations besides the biblical sources in literary writings from the earliest sources up until Eusebius of Caesarea include (roughly in chronological order): Aristodemus, FrGH 2a, 104, F, fragm.1; *Sib. Or.* 8.394; 14.27; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Rom.* 2.63.2; Philo of Alexandria, *Worse* 21; *Flight* 41; *Spec. Laws* 1.315; *Embassy* 232; 298; Strabo, *Geogr.* 10.3.23; Antiochus Astrol., *Fragmenta apotelesmaticum* 11.2 page 110; Josephus, *J.W.* 1.146; 1.148, 148; 1.150; 2.10; 2.42; 2.198; 2.391; 2.414; 2.425; 2.456; 2.560; 4.218; 4.275; 4.324; 5.198; 5.199; 5.229; 6.100; 6.427; 6.442; 7.45; *Ant.* 1.222; 1.223; 1.224; 1.234; 1.316; 2.211; 4.61; 4.74; 4.306; 4.312; 5.98; 5.101; 5.112; 5.339; 6.18; 6.19; 6.90; 6.148; 7.341; 8.120; 8.225; 8.229; 8.239; 8.251; 8.256; 8.270; 8.279; 8.296; 8.395; 9.95; 9.99; 9.133; 9.138; 9.157; 9.273; 9.274; 10.44; 10.53; 11.9; 11.85; 11.120; 11.182; 11.212; 12.22; 12.253; 253; 12.269; 12.271; 12.320; 12.324; 12.364; 12.384; 13.66; 13.198; 13.199; 13.244; 15.51; 15.248; 16.2; 16.45; 16.115; 16.174; 17.214; 17.254; 18.287; 18.344; 18.349; 19.283; 19.284;



word, it must therefore refer to the Jewish cult in Jerusalem. In combination with the phrase *πάσαις ταῖς γαίαις*, it implies that the Temple cult was thought to be of value for other nations as well. Although the realities of the destroyed Temple would prove otherwise, there is enough evidence in the Targumim

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Ag. Ap. 1.224; 2.254; 1 Clement 45.7; 62.1; Ps.-Clement, *Homilies*, 1.13.4; 2.33.4; 5.27.7; 7.8.1; 7.12.2; 9.8.1; 9.19.3; 9.19.5; 9.20.2; 10.13.1; 10.23.1; 11.15.2; 11.28.1; 11.28.2; 11.33.5; 12.24.1; 13.4.1; 13.4.5; 13.5.4; 13.7.4; 15.2.3; 15.11.2; *Epist. De virginitate* 1.3.4; 1.4.1; *Ps-Clementina* (epitome delatera auctore Symeone Metaphrasta) 104; 165; 166; (epitome de gestis Petri praemetaphrastica) 102; 104; Chaeremon, *fragm.* 4 (3 times); Plutarch, *Conj. Praec.* 140D; *Fragm.* 190; Soranus, *Gynaeciorum* 1.4.4; 1.32.1; Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 12.25; Galen, *De compositione medicamentorum* 13, 325; *De theriaca ad Pisonem*, 14, 212; Lucian, *Sacr.* 10; Aelius Herodianus, *Partitiones* 59; *Acta Joannis* 3 (3 times); Nicomachus, *Introductio arithmetica* 1.3.7; Claudius Ptolemaeus, *Apotelesmatica* 2.3.47; 2.8.11; 2.9.17; *Acts of Paul and Thecla* 44; Antoninus Pius, *Epist. ad commune Asiae* 17; Celsus, 3.5; 3.17; 5.25; 8.68; *Diogn.* 3.2; *Epist. ecclesiarum apud Lugdunum et Viennam* 1.60; 1.63; Melito of Sardes, *Fragm.* 1.3; Theophilus, *Ad Autolyicum* 2.1; 2.6; 3.29; Vettius Valens, *Appendix* 1.6; Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos* 29.1; Chariton, *Chaer.* 7.6.6; Herodian 3.10.2; 3.11.4; 4.2.2; 4.8.7; 5.3.6; 5.3.9; 5.7.2; Cassius Dio, *Hist. Rom.* 26.87.1; 45.30.4; 49.22.5; *Acta Scillitanorum Martyrum* 113; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyr.* 3.220; 3.222; 3.226; *Math.* 9.49; 9.62; Aelian, *Nat. an.* 10.28; 12.5; Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* 2.39; *Strom.* 3.6.51; 6.1.1; 6.4.35; 6.14.110; 6.14.111; 6.15.123; Origen, *Cels.* 1.30; 2.8; 3.5; 3.17; 5.8; 5.25; 7.64; 7.69; 8.46; 8.68 (twice); *Philoc.* 22.1; *Fr. Ps.* 136.2; *Acta Justinii et Septem Sodalium* 2.4; Xenophon Scr. *Erot.*, *Ephe-siaca* 1.5.1; *Corp. Herm.* 23.5; *Martyrium Ignatii* 6.5; 7.1; 7.5 (twice); 8.1; Porphyry, *Vit. Pyth.* 14.7; *Abst.* 2.37; 4.6; 4.7 (twice); *Comm. Tim.* 2.28; *Philos. Orac.* 148; *Agalm.* 10; *Hist. philos.* 4; *Intro. in tetrabibulum Ptolemaei* 5.4, 219; Hippolytus, *Ben. Is. Jac.* 30; Iamblichus, *De vita Pyth.* 2.10; 4.19; 6.32; 28.137; *Protr.* 109; 111; 112; *De mysteriis* 1.11 (twice); 3.13; 3.20; 3.31; 5.15 (twice); 5.18 (twice); 5.20; 5.21; 5.26; Methodius, *Symposium* 8.10; Ps-Justin Martyr, *Cohortatio ad gentiles* 9D; 11D; 12C; 36C; *De monarchia* 103B; 103E; 104A; *Epist. ad Diogn.* 495D; *Expos. rectae fidei* 380A; *Quaest. et respons. ad orthodoxos* 436B; 476C; 481C; *Quaest. Christ. ad gentiles* 164A; 164E (twice); 165A; *Quaest. gentilium ad Christianos* 211B (twice); Themistius, 69C; Julian, *Epist.* 86; *Contra Galileos* 207; 208; Gregory of Nyssa, *In sanctum pascha* 9, 247; *Contra Eunomium* 1.1.463; 1.1.649; 2.1.284; 3.8.19; *De vita Mosis* 2.13; *Oratio catechetica magna* 18 (twice); *Inventio imaginis in Camulianis* 3; *De sancto Theodoro* 46, 737; 46, 776; *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi* 46, 901; 46, 945; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. Ev.* 2.6.20; 3.12.6; 4.17.2; 4.23.2; *Hist. eccl.* 1.4.13; 2.3.2; 2.17.3; 2.17.18; 3.27.2; 4.13.5; 4.26.8; 5.1.60; 5.1.63; 5.21.1; 6.12.1; 6.41.2; 8.17.9; 9.1.3; 9.1.5; 9.4.2; 9.7.7 (twice); 9.9a.1 (three times); 9.9a.2; 9.9a.3; 9.9a.5 (twice); 9.9a.6; 9.9a.8 (twice); 9.9a.9; 9.10.8; 9.10.9; 9.10.10 (twice); 9.10.12; 10.3.3; 10.5.2 (twice); 10.5.5 (twice); 10.5.6; 10.5.7; 10.5.8 (twice); 10.5.21; 10.5.22; 10.5.24; 10.6.1; 10.7.1 (twice); 10.7.2; *Dem. ev.* 1.1.7; 1.2.10; 1.6.13; 1.6.35; 1.6.63; 1.7.21; 2.3.53; 2.3.57; 2.3.106; 2.3.164; 4.7.4; 5.proem.20; 6.3.4; 6.13.24; 6.18.12; 6.18.20; 6.18.32; 6.18.40; 7.1.117; 8.proem.3; 9.9.5; 9.9.16; *Comm. Isa.* 2.36; 2.38; 2.43; 2.47; *Vita Const.* 2.67.1; 2.70.1; 2.71.2; 2.71.8; 3.17.2; 3.18.3; 3.18.5; 3.53.3; 3.54.4; 4.65.2; 4.9.1; 4.12.1; *Coet. Sanct.* 1.1; 11.6; 11.7; 16.2; 17.3 (twice); 19.1; 19.3; 23.1; 23.2; 25.3; *Ecl. Proph.* 190; *Quaest. ev.* 22, 904; *Comm. Ps.* 23, 724; 23, 1045; *Fragm. In Lucam* 24, 569.

and Mishnah to support the claim that in the second century and later there were Jewish circles who expected the Temple to be rebuilt and the Temple cult to be reinstalled.<sup>44</sup>

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

We have made some explorations in a virtually unexplored world, a *terra incognita*, that is the study of the vocabulary and theology of Symmachus's version of the Bible, in particular his version of the Major Prophets. We have discussed the terms ἡρεμία, ὑπερμαχέω, καταβόσκησις and θρησκειά, translations that are particular to Symmachus and which give insight in Symmachus's ideology and theology and which should be understood in light of the Roman destruction of the temple of Jerusalem and the land of Israel, rendering the holy land into a *terra devastata*. A study of the term θρησκειά made clear that for Symmachus as well as rabbinical authorities of his day, the Jewish cult was to be seen both as rather distinctive from, but at the same time beneficiary to all the earths. Perhaps what we witness here is one of the first formulations of Judaism solely in terms of religious rather than ethnic categories.

It is also clear that much more could and should be said. Translations are not produced in a cultural vacuum. Even though the translation is to a large extent bound to its parent text it is also bound to reflect the language, culture, theology and historical events of its time. To my mind, more than any other ancient Bible translation the Greek version of Symmachus reflects these influences. The job to discover them is not an easy one, since it requires not only text-critical work on the Hexaplaric fragments, but also philological work in the broadest sense of the word. With the available new tools, there is a whole new area of research waiting to be explored.

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44. See the discussion in Martin Goodman, *Rome and Jerusalem. The Clash of Ancient Civilizations* (London: Penguin, 2007), 445–511, esp. 499.

# Designing a New Septuagint Commentary: SBLCS and WATER

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**Abstract:** In conjunction with the preparation of the critical edition of the Old Greek version of 4 Maccabees for the Göttingen *Septuaginta* series and the writing of a commentary on Genesis for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS), we have been creating a database and user interface to facilitate work on these projects. This has been a several-staged undertaking that has now culminated in the construction of a web-based tool that permits the efficient handling of large amounts of data from numerous manuscripts and various kinds of research resources. Called the Web Application for Textual and Exegetical Research (WATER), it consists of a text module and a commentary module designed to aid in the preparation of critical editions of primary textual sources and to carry out the necessary linguistic and literary analysis of such texts for the writing of commentaries. We have previously reported on developments with respect to the text module. This presentation will focus on issues associated with the planning and design of SBLCS with the aid WATER and on the kinds of results that this kind of commentary project will yield for the book of Genesis.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

In 2005 the Society of Biblical Literature Research and Publications Committee entered into a collaborative partnership with the IOSCS to establish the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS). The rationale for this series, as articulated in the prospectus formulated by the planning committee (Albert Pietersma, Claude Cox, Moisés Silva, Benjamin Wright, David Aiken, and John Wevers) and posted on the IOSCS website, is as follows:

Since the early part of the twentieth century, the Septuaginta Unternehmen in Goettingen, Germany, has been systematically reassembling and reconstructing, from the heterogeneous textual evidence extant, the original

*form* of the Greek text of all the books of the Septuagint. No parallel effort for the entire corpus has as yet been undertaken to delineate the *meaning* of that same text as conveyed by the translators who produced it. That is to say, though other scholarly work has been undertaken with a focus on the Septuagint at various stages of its reception history or on the original meaning of individual books, a sustained effort, for the whole of the Septuagint, to understand the text at its point of inception remains, we believe, a desideratum.<sup>1</sup>

To address that perceived desideratum, the planning committee proposed that the SBLCS be based on five principles:

(1) 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.

(2) the principle of original meaning, which is understood to mean that although commentators may make use of reception history in an effort to ascertain what the Greek text meant at its point of inception and may from time to time digress to comment on secondary interpretations, the focus shall be on what is perceived to be the original meaning of the text.

(3) the principle of the parent text as arbiter of meaning, which 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.

(4) the principle of “translator’s intent,” which is understood to mean that, since the language of the translated text is the only accessible expression of “the translator’s mind,” the linguistic information—whatever its source—embedded in the Greek text shall form the sole basis of interpretation. Stated differently, 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.

(5) the principle of linguistic parsimony, which is understood to mean that, as a general rule, no words or constructions of translation-Greek shall be considered normal Greek, unless attested in non-translation writings.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/prospectus.html>.

2. Ibid.

We do not have the time to go into much more detail regarding these principles on this occasion. I<sup>3</sup> plan to do so in November in The Greek Bible section at the SBL conference in Atlanta in a paper provisionally entitled, "The Rationale for the Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint."

Guided by a roster of illustrious scholars on the board of advisors and an editorial board led by the joint-editors-in-chief, Benjamin Wright and Robert Hiebert, the SBLCS represents the next logical step in an undertaking to elucidate the meaning of the Greek text as it would have been perceived at its point of origin, following the publication in 2007 of *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), now in its second printing. Needless to say, this commentary project is an ambitious venture that will keep those who have signed on for it, many of whom also translated the books/units that they worked on for NETS, busy for some time to come.

Among the features that are to be included in the SBLCS series are detailed introductions to each book or translation unit that will deal with matters such as date, provenance, compositional unity, structure, literary and/or translational profile, themes, major concerns of the translator/author, textual relationship to the parent text (for translated books), state of the text, textual history, and printed editions, and that will include a bibliography. In the commentary itself, each pericope will be delineated and its essence summarized. In conjunction with the detailed verse-by-verse discussion, the Hebrew or Aramaic parent text (for translated books), the best available critically-reconstructed Greek text, and NETS will be cited, and relevant text-critical, lexicographical, grammatical, exegetical and intertextual matters will be dealt with.

In conjunction with my program of research, we have been developing a web-based tool that is designed to enable the efficient handling of large amounts of data from numerous manuscripts and various kinds of research resources. We call it the Web Application for Textual and Exegetical Research (WATER). It consists of a text module and a commentary module designed to aid in the preparation of critical editions of primary textual sources and to carry out the necessary linguistic and literary analysis of such texts for the writing of commentaries. Since my own research agenda involves preparing the critical edition of 4 Maccabees for the Göttingen Septuaginta series and writing the commentary on Genesis for the SBLCS series, a good deal of the work on WATER has been carried out with a view to facilitating those specific projects. But WATER is being designed in such a way that other projects like these could readily make use of this tool. In fact, at least two other SBLCS commentators are contributing to the cost of developing a module suited

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3. First-person references throughout are to Robert Hiebert.

specifically for their assignments. We have reported previously on developments with respect to the text module. The remainder of this presentation will focus on issues associated with the planning and design of SBLCS with the aid WATER, and we will provide examples of the kinds of results that are being generated in conjunction with the work on the Genesis commentary.

## 2. FEATURES OF THE WATER COMMENTARY MODULE

As we have discovered with regard to the construction of the critical text and apparatus of 4 Maccabees for the Göttingen Septuaginta series, the power of a well-designed database can be leveraged to great advantage for the preparation of my commentary on Genesis for the SBLCS series. This entails the creation of a commentary module within the existing framework of WATER that includes a searchable database with all the textual and bibliographical data that are relevant for this commentary. Additional functionalities that are being developed will greatly enhance our capacity to manage large, complex and multi-language data sets and that will facilitate the structuring of the commentary layout in accordance with the specifications of the prospectus. What is involved in this process is the redesign of the current WATER database to create seamless integration and interactivity between the already-created text module and the commentary module that is under development. This will include a reworking of the Graphical User Interface (GUI) for the text module and the creation and implementation of a GUI for the commentary module for which a prototype is complete and can now be demonstrated.

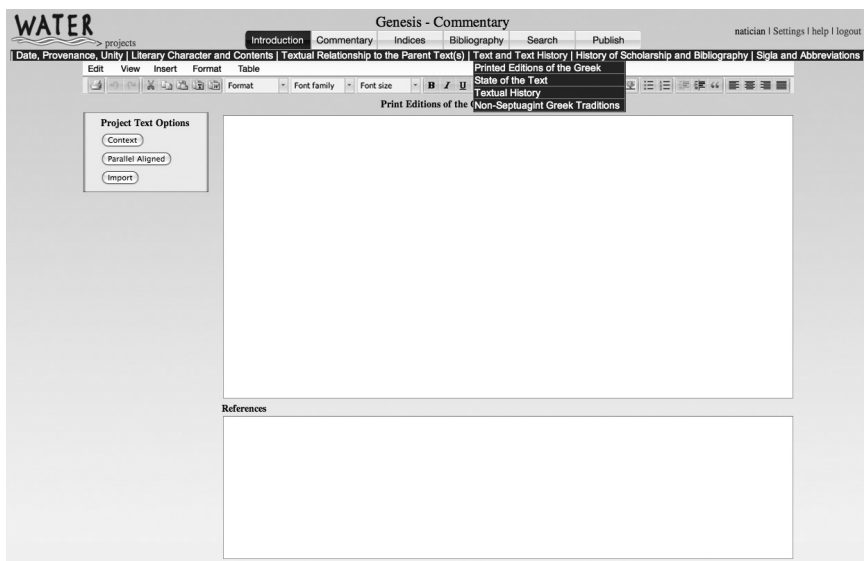
One accesses the database via the WATER home page and navigates to the specific project page in the commentary module—in this case, the Genesis project. There one makes a selection from the various tabs to reach the desired section on which one wishes to work. The tabs and sub-tabs correspond to specific sections of the commentary as laid out in the prospectus.



Each page accessed via a tab has a javascript WYSIWYG editor that allows one to control the formatting of the text.



The “Introduction” tab is the portal to the commentary’s introduction (see image below). On the web page is a subsidiary tab that constitutes the entry point to the “Text and Text History.” This includes one text field in which one can create a write-up, and another one in which the references are displayed. They will scroll together allowing for easy correlation between the two. Even though this layout gives the appearance of a text with footnotes, the references will appear as in-line citations in the print edition but could be switched to footnote format if desired. The references themselves are selected from the bibliographical database that is created as one works on the commentary. This database is accessible through the “Bibliography” tab and will track where references have been cited throughout the commentary and how many times they have been cited.



Under the “Commentary” tab is the link to the section in which the verse-by-verse commentary is written. But this is more than a space in which to enter that material. One also has access to notes that can be recorded while doing research and to the numerous Greek-Hebrew equivalences that have been compiled on the basis of detailed comparisons of the Septuagint text and its underlying Hebrew source text. Furthermore, one does not manually enter the Greek, Hebrew and NETS texts that appear at the top of the screen in this field, but they are imported via the WATER text module. These texts can be scrolled through to provide the necessary context for the commentary work.

Genesis - Commentary

Introduction | Commentary | Indices | Bibliography | Search | Publish

Pericope: 1.1 - 2.3 Verse:

OG 1 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν· 2 ἡ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκεύαστος, καὶ ὁ σκότος ἐπέναντι τοῦ φωτός· 3 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ θεός·

MT 1 בְּרֵאשִׁית בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת הָאָרֶץ 2 וְהָאָרֶץ הָיְתָה תוֹהוּ וָבֹהוּ וְעֹלָמִית חֹשֶׁךְ כָּסַף אֶת־אֱלֹהִים מִתְחַלֵּף עֲלֵיפָיו

NETS 1 In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth. 2 Yet the earth was invisible and unformed, and darkness was over the ab

WS AC

Commentary Entries

New Choose

Edit Delete

1.1

Ἐν - γῆν

Ἐν ἀρχῇ

ἐποίησεν

ὁ θεός

The Greek generic term for deity, θεός, occurs 280 times in Gen. In 139 of those contexts including this verse, it is the both singular and articulated counterpart to אלהים, a plural anarthrous form that is, however, modified by a singular finite verb, ברא, according to the vocalization preserved by the Masoretes. The fact that G has chosen to render אלהים this way makes it clear that he has made an intentional shift away from his source text. It has been suggested that this Hebrew term for Israel's deity signifies that "this God embodies all the deity there is" (Goldingay, Israel's Gospel, 76). The import of the articulated Greek replacement would seem to be that the god, i.e., God, is being signified.

When it comes to the actual work of writing the commentary, one first selects a segment of text ranging from a chapter to a single verse in length that is characterized by a reasonable degree of topical coherence. After introducing this segment in brief outline form ("Topical Outline" tab), one then proceeds to discuss smaller units such as verses and ultimately clauses, phrases or even individual words. Because the text citations are selected from the running texts at the top of the screen, they will be inserted into the commentary precisely where they need to be for the print edition. One concludes the commentary segment with a summation ("Summary" tab) that is as succinct as the introductory outline.

Edit View Insert Format Table

<< Back to Commentary

Word Study: ὁ θεός Select Another Word Study

θεός 280x in Genesis

θεός (= אלהים) 16x (1:2, 27, 3:5, 5:1, 9:6, 17:7, 8, 23:6, 28:41:38)

θεός (= אלהים) 1x (3:5)

θεός (= אלהים) 2x (21:33, 49:24(25))

θεός (= אלהים) 1x (15:4)

ὁ θεός (= אלהים) 139x (1:1, 3, 4, 4, 5, 6, 7[1], 8[1], 9, 10, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28[1], 29, 31, 2:2, 3, 3, 3:1, 3, 5, 4:2, 17, 26, 27, 17:3, 9, 15, 19, 22, 23, 19:29, 20:3, 13, 17[2], 12, 24:3, 3, 7[1], 12, 27, 42, 48, 25:11, 26:24, 27:20, 28, 23, 31:5, 7, 9, 16, 16, 24, 29, 42, 42, 53, 53, 32:2, 10, 10, 35:1[1], 9[1], 10, 11, 13, 15, 39:9, 40:8, 41:16, 39, 51, 2, 3[ὁ θεός - אלהים] 48:9, 11, 20, 21, 50:17, 19, 20)

ὁ θεός (= אלהים) 3x (16:13, 35:1[2], 3)

ὁ θεός (= אלהים) 1x (31:13)

εἰδὸς θεοῦ (= אלהים) 1x (32:30(31))

τὸ εἶδος τοῦ θεοῦ (= אלהים) 1x (32:31(32))

οἶκος θεοῦ (= אלהים) 2x (28:17, 22)

οἶκος θεοῦ (= אלהים) 1x (28:19)

ἐν τόπῳ θεοῦ (= אלהים) 1x (31:13)

ὁ θεός ὁ ὑψίστος (= אלהים) 4x (14:18, 19, 20, 22)



Since comments will often be based on the analysis of Greek and Hebrew equivalences, the commentator has the option of beginning such an investigation by clicking the “Word Study” (WS) button on the left. All the information recorded on this topic will be saved here for inclusion in a comprehensive database. When this investigation has been completed, the material that is needed can be added to the commentary field where further remarks can be introduced and conclusions stated. Information that is deemed to be extraneous to the commentary but that might be useful for a future project or publication may be recorded in the “Additional Comments” page that can be accessed via the button labeled AC.

At any point in the process one can access an overview page that shows the work that has been done anywhere in the commentary. This also allows for quick navigation to other comments. In addition, the “Search” tab provides powerful tools that will enable rapid search and retrieval of all sorts of content in the commentary.

### 3. PRACTICAL ADVANTAGES OF THE WATER COMMENTARY MODULE

In addition to the features of the WATER commentary module that are described above, there are a number of practical advantages to using it that are worth mentioning.

(a) Formatting modifications can be programmed to take place globally rather than having to be done manually. This includes changes in Hebrew and Greek fonts, switching between footnotes and parenthesized acknowledgment of sources within the body of the commentary, and the layout and placement of a bibliography.

(b) Commentators are able to collaborate easily with colleagues or research assistants without needing to use e-mail or other external forms of communication. Collaborators may be granted access to a commentator’s work through a secure member log-in so that they can add their contributions to the developing body of research. These contributions are marked and can be accepted or rejected by the commentator. A history of the contributions and changes to the commentary is automatically recorded so that one can go back and view it at any of the stages of its development.

(c) As the commentator arranges the Greek, Hebrew and English versions of the pericopes, verses, phrases and words in the commentary, a *de facto* parallel aligned text is created. This text can be developed as a module that is independent of the commentary for use in other types of projects.

(d) Collaboration with scholars working on other Septuagint books opens up the possibility of combining bibliographies and Greek-Hebrew equivalence lists in order to create master Bibliography and Word Study databases.

## 4. GENESIS AND THE WATER COMMENTARY MODULE

In the course of the SBLCS editorial committee's discussions regarding the implications of writing a commentary on the text of the Septuagint as produced rather than on the text as received, it has become apparent that the task of the commentator is essentially descriptive rather than primarily exegetical. That is to say, the focus is not so much on declaring what a text means as on facilitating understanding of the text as an historical fact. Thus the commentator asks what the linguistic significance is of choosing a particular Greek replacement of a Hebrew term, given our knowledge of the contemporaneous, historical *realia* of the Greek language.

To illustrate, one of the main tasks of a translator or a commentator on a text like the Septuagint is analyzing and understanding the significance of translation equivalents. In the book of Genesis, one of the first of these involves the terminology for the creator deity. As is well known, the Greek term that appears in Gen 1 is θεός, and its Hebrew counterpart is אֱלֹהִים. A search of OG Gen reveals that θεός occurs 280 times. In Gen 1.1, θεός is the articulated and singular counterpart to אֱלֹהִים, an anarthrous and plural form, called an honorific plural by B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor,<sup>4</sup> and a *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis maiestatis* in Gesenius's grammar.<sup>5</sup> This Hebrew term is, however, modified by a singular finite verb, בָּרָא, according to the vocalization preserved by the Masoretes. This equivalence (ὁ θεός–אֱלֹהִים) occurs 139x in Genesis. It is clear, therefore, that there are other possible translation counterparts to θεός. As it turns out, some of these involve אֱלֹהִים and include or lack articles for one or both of them, while others involve אֱל or even יְהוָה. These phenomena raise a number of questions with respect to the Greek translator's *modus operandi* in rendering his source text and/or what that source text might have been. In the case of Gen 1.1, the fact that the translator has chosen to use ὁ θεός as the counterpart to אֱלֹהִים makes it clear that he has made an intentional shift away from his *Vorlage*. In other words, the Hebrew author's distinctive plural form of the Hebrew generic term for deity without the article—a form that one theologian has suggested signifies that “this God embodies all the deity there is”<sup>6</sup>—has been replaced by the Greek translator with what all the standard Greek lexica document is the generic term for deity in the singular, but preceded by the article. The import of this shift would seem to be that *the* god, i.e., God, is being signified.

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4. IBHS §7.4.3b.

5. GKC §124g.

6. J. Goldingay, *Israel's Gospel* (vol. 1 of *Old Testament Theology*; Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 2003), 76.

How does the commentary module of WATER facilitate my work in this particular instance? As mentioned above, all the data concerning the Hebrew equivalents for θεός in Genesis may be saved in the database as a word study by pressing the WS button in the Commentary page. This information is then associated with the ὁ θεός-אלהים equivalence in Gen 1.1 where it first occurs, providing me with ready access to that material as I write my comment. When I encounter that same equivalence later in Gen, I can again press WS and add further information on this topic as needed.

In Gen 1.2, θεός occurs in the phrase πνεῦμα θεοῦ, which is the Greek translator's rendering of רוח אלהים. One immediately notices that θεός is anarthrous in this context. The word study investigation has revealed that the singular form of θεός without the article occurs as a counterpart to אלהים 18 times in Gen (two of those cases involve the οἶκος θεοῦ-בית אלהים equivalence). Furthermore, whereas the aforementioned ὁ θεός-אלהים equivalence occurs 32 times in the first pericope of my commentary (Gen 1.1-2.3), θεός-אלהים occurs only here and in one other place in chapter 1 (v. 27). And so the question arises as to the significance of the decision by the translator to depart from his default in only these two cases. The conclusion to which these phenomena appear to point is that the Greek translator has in mind the divine in an indefinite sense when employing anarthrous θεός as a counterpart to anarthrous אלהים, rather than specifically *the* god = God. Hence in Gen 1.2 I have rendered the above-mentioned Greek phrase "a divine wind" in NETS (the NRSV translates רוח אלהים as "a wind from God") and κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ in 1.27 as "according to divine image" (the NRSV has "in the image of God" for בצלם אלהים).

## 5. CONCLUSION

It has been the purpose of this paper to report on how the work of the forthcoming Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint (SBLCS) may be facilitated by means of the Web Application for Textual and Exegetical Research (WATER) that is currently in development. The marriage of traditional research methodologies and cutting-edge technology has the potential to revolutionize the way that biblical scholarship in general, and Septuagint scholarship in particular, will be conducted in the future.



# Writing a Commentary on the Septuagint

Dirk Büchner

**Abstract:** This paper highlights some issues encountered in commenting on *Leuitikon* 5–7. In these chapters in NETS some tricky moves were made to accommodate the translator's response to Hebrew idiom. I intend to present a procedure for how one deals with syntactical and lexical difficulties in the body of a commentary such as the SBLCS. Tribute will be paid to Karl Huber's *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus*, published in 1916. In addition, these chapters begin giving attention to the matter of impurity, and some remarks will be made about this topic, with reference to Theodor Wächter's *Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult*, published in 1910.

## 1. PREAMBLE

In contrast to the writing of a commentary on a composed biblical work, in which the commentator aims to bring the text of a book in the sacred canon, to a readership who wish to be furnished with philological, historical and theological information, the task of the SBLCS commentator is different. What the series editors ask commentators to feature about the material before them, is that it is in the first place the result of a sacred work rendered into a different language to serve a particular function for the audience that first received it. The central concern therefore is to ascertain what a translator may have intended by means of his product for that primary audience. This is in marked contrast to depicting what such a text would have conveyed to other audiences who may have read it as another piece of Greek composition. A limited analogy of such an audience would be a class studying nineteenth century literature who read a translation made by a Russian into English, of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*.

What I present below, is a selection from my historical and philological work on the legal cases found in *Leuitikon* 4 and 5. From it I have begun to discern some degree of intentionality found in the translator's operation (hereafter he will be referred to as G), but it is perhaps not the kind of inten-

tionality that is usually of use to commentators, who might like to get an overall or unified view of a writer-as-composer's artistry.

A starting point in determining a translator's mode of work would be to ascribe to him a set of imaginary decisions. Let me propose three levels on which such decision-making may have operated. On the cultural level, he may have been faced with a decision whether to accurately convey the cultural content of the Hebrew legal cases before him, so that it could function as recontextualized theology for a diaspora community, or whether to achieve a purpose that is not legal or theological in its focus. Next, on the syntax level, he may have decided upon one of two approaches. The first would be to represent Hebrew syntactical features by an exactly corresponding number of Greek morphemes, even at the risk of spoiling Greek idiom. The second would be to resist employing Hebraic-sounding Greek syntax and offer instead idiomatic Greek syntagms that may require a disproportionate quantity of morphemes, and so risk deviating from a goal of quantitative representation. Lastly, on the level of semantics, his decision-making may have lay between bringing across the semantic value of this or that Hebrew lexeme with a suitable Greek lexeme, versus not precisely conveying the Hebrew lexeme's semantic value but supplying instead a regularly expected Greek lexeme, and retaining a goal of matching word  $\aleph$  with word  $\alpha$ .

Let me now illustrate these choices by way of a selection from my commentary-in-progress.

## 2. CULTURAL MATTERS

In the legal case found in Leuitikon 5, I have had some difficulty identifying a deliberate intention by G to construct a lucid and precise legal precedent in Greek that corresponds on the cultural level to the Hebrew. Hence, my primary obligation to my own readership is to describe as carefully as I can, only how the Greek responds to the Hebrew. More astute legal minds can draw any subsequent conclusions from the data. I present below an abbreviated form of my commentary on the first three verses, beginning with the full verse in Hebrew and Greek followed by the NRSV and NETS, and after that introducing each discussion with the Greek lemma in question.

5:1

ונפש כי תחטא ושמעה קול אלה והוא עד או ראה או ידע אם לוא יגיד  
ונשא עונו

Ἐὰν δὲ ψυχὴ ἁμάρτη καὶ ἀκούσῃ φωνὴν ὀρκισμοῦ καὶ οὗτος μάρτυς  
(ἢ ἑώρακεν ἢ σύνοιδεν), ἐὰν μὴ ἀπαγγείλῃ, λήμψεται τὴν ἁμαρτίαν·

NRSV: “When any of you sin in that you have heard a public adjuration to testify and—though able to testify as one who has seen or learned of the matter—does not speak up, you are subject to punishment.”

NETS: “Now if a soul sins and hears a sound of oath-taking, and he is a witness or has seen it or knows of it; if he does not report the matter, he will assume the guilt.”

a. φωνήν ὀρκισμοῦ. The Heb evokes a shouted, public curse (HAL) or a public imprecation (against withholding testimony).<sup>1</sup> The Greek on the other hand, means rather neutrally, “the language of adjuration.” The noun ὀρκισμός refers to the act of adjuring someone, i.e., making someone swear an oath. It occurs only once more for אָלֵךְ, in Gen 34:41 where the Greek noun fits well, because we know what the adjuration was. Outside the LXX, a good sense of this noun and its cognate verb is provided by Plb. 6.33: οἱ χιλιάρχοι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πάντας ἐλευθέρους ὁμοῦ καὶ δούλους ὀρκίζουσι, καθ’ ἕνα ποιούμενοι τὸν ὀρκισμόν. ὁ δ’ ὄρκος ἐστὶ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς κλέψειν ... *the tribunes adjure all in the camp, whether slave or free, administering the oath individual by individual. The oath is to steal nothing from the camp ...* (my trans.). Notice that Plb. specifies what the oath is, i.e., not to steal. Though in the case of Lev 5 one is able to infer from the Heb context that the adjuration is made by a judge and that the unnamed oath is to testify, this is not implicit in the case of the Greek, and I find myself being deliberately careful not to be led by the Hebrew context, especially when G appears not to strive at meticulously conveying the information of what lies before him.

b. ἀπαγγεῖλη. Though the sense of אָגַד at this point is suggested as “give evidence in a tribunal” (HAL), this specialized meaning is not attested for the Greek verb, whose meaning is “to inform” (Mur)<sup>2</sup> or “report” (LSJ). So while the Hebrew context leaves little doubt that the adjuration is to the witness to testify, and that his offense is therefore refusal to testify, this is again not so readily apparent from the Greek. One imagines that G might have employed a verb such as μαρτυρέω and compounds, had he been intent on carefully bringing across the thought of the Hebrew.

c. λήμψεται τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. This expression, found also in v.17 is non-native; these two words are simply not associated with one another in Greek

1. Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York, London, Toronto, Sydney and Auckland: Doubleday, 1991), 292.

2. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 45.

literature, and so this is a case of a Greek word-combination made to function like a Hebrew expression. A more natural Greek alternative for being found culpable would be something of the order of καὶ ἄγος γενήσεται “and there will be guilt,” found in early Greek and as late as Hdt.<sup>3</sup>

So far, it appears as if G prefers to offer his readership Greek language items that are, in some way at least, present for each Hebrew language item, rather than to offer them a pedantically exact legal precedent or, had they so wished, one that clarifies the Hebrew which is itself a crux.<sup>4</sup> As a result, the sense of the Greek verse is somewhat different from the Hebrew and the ensuing legal precedent is unclear. The paratactic presentation of the actions suggests the following: The witness sins. He subsequently hears a second party extracting some oath from a third party. Of exactly what he is a witness that ought to be reported, we are not sure; perhaps it is the breaking of the oath by the third party. We are not able to infer on behalf of the Greek by way of the Hebrew, that the adjuration was made to the witness himself or that the offense was his refusal to testify under those conditions.

We skip over v. 2 and continue with v. 3:

או כי יגע בטמאת אדם לכל טמאתו אשר יטמא בה ונעלם ממנו והוא ידע ואשם

ἢ ἄψηται ἀπὸ ἀκαθαρσίας ἀνθρώπου, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀκαθαρσίας αὐτοῦ, ἥς ἂν ἀψάμενος μιανθῇ, καὶ ἔλαθεν αὐτόν, μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ γνῶ καὶ πλημμελήσῃ,

NRSV: “‘Or when you touch human uncleanness—any uncleanness by which one can become unclean—and are unaware of it, when you come to know it, you shall be guilty.’”

NETS: “‘or touches some uncleanness of a person, any of his uncleanness in which he be defiled by touching, and it escaped his notice, but later on comes to know it, and should be in error;’”

a. ἀνθρώπου. טמאת אדם is an inarticulate bound form expressing uncleanness found in (some) humans as opposed to animals. The use of ἀνθρωπιός or -ίος “suited to man” (LSJ) would have been preferable to convey the cor-

3. Compare Hdt. 6.91 and see Robert C. T. Parker, *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Early Greek Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 191: “Agos is here a spontaneous and automatic product of transgression.”

4. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 314.



responding idea in this case. G's equivalent would seem to express instead something more universally and perhaps unchangeably human, as in Pl. *Prt.* 322a: Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας *now that mankind had become a partaker of the divine lot* (my trans.).

b. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ γινῶ. Whatever the force of the Hebrew *qatal* clause, G clarifies it as subsequent action with his addition of μετὰ τοῦτο. This clarifying addition is worth keeping in mind when we have to decide whether or not consequence is expressed by the parataxis of the next clause.

c. καὶ πλημμελήσῃ. G continues to employ the subjunctive based on his reading of the Hebrew *weqatal*. The Hebrew future sequence is ambiguous – it could indicate the continuation of the condition or the start of the apodosis, but as far as G is concerned, we are still in the protasis. Hence NETS renders “and shall be in error.” The verb πλημμελέω is best understood to mean “and do wrong.” Here, as in 4:13, the verb has little to do with the Hebrew sense of “feeling, or attracting guilt.” Instead, it is reminiscent of a voluntary act of doing wrong, or doing something badly, or performing an act while being mistaken as to its propriety (see below). Furthermore, it appears as if this act of “doing wrong,” of “being mistaken” is not a consequence of the actions of touching but is a further legal blunder committed following the instance of knowing. In limited cases καὶ may mark a result<sup>5</sup> but I would argue that if μετὰ τοῦτο was used above to indicate subsequent action, we might have expected that G would have similarly employed a specific marker of consequence at this point.

5:4

או נפש כי תשבוע לבטא בשפתים להרע או להיטיב לכל אשר יבטא  
האדם בשבועה ונעלם ממנו והוא ידע ואשם לאחת מאלה

ἢ ψυχὴ, ἢ ἂν ὁμόση διαστέλλουσα τοῖς χεῖλεσιν κακοποιῆσαι ἢ καλῶς  
ποιῆσαι κατὰ πάντα, ὅσα ἐὰν διαστείλῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος μεθ' ὄρκου, καὶ  
λάθῃ αὐτὸν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, καὶ οὗτος γινῶ καὶ ἁμάρτη ἐν τι τούτων,

NRSV: “Or when any of you utter aloud a rash oath for a bad or a good purpose, whatever people utter in an oath, and are unaware of it, when you come to know it, you shall in any of these be guilty.”

5. H. W. Smyth and G. Messing, *Greek Grammar* (rev. ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, <sup>8</sup>1973), paragr 2874 and 2288.

NETS: “or a soul who swears, determining with his lips to do evil or to do good, in any way that the person may speak forcefully by an oath, and if it escapes the notice of his eyes and if he comes to know it and should sin in any one of these,”

a. διαστέλλουσα. The verb διαστέλλω is found, mostly with a direct object, in the meaning of “state precisely” (Muraoka), “distinguish,” “define precisely” or “command expressly” (LSJ). The latter also mention the absolute sense of “be distinctive,” which is the best fit in this context. This meaning is therefore quite the opposite of the Hebrew “speak rashly,” and recalls a premeditated or resolute act, as opposed to an oath made on the spur of the moment.

b. πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν. This clarifying prepositional phrase is missing from MT but frequently occurs elsewhere for **בֵּין עֵינַיִם**. It is fairly common in extra-biblical Greek, where it denotes what may be observed by paying careful attention. A fitting precedent from the legal world is this passage from D. *Arist.* 2.25:

Οὕτω δ’ ἂν ἀκριβέστατα συνθεωρήσαιτε τὸ τοῖς κειμένοις νόμοις πείθεσθαι ἡλικὸν ἀγαθὸν ἐστίν, καὶ τὸ καταφρονεῖν καὶ τὸ μὴ πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς ἡλικὸν κακόν, εἰ τὰ τ’ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀγαθὰ χωρὶς καὶ τὰ διὰ τῆς παρανομίας συμβαίνοντα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιησάμενοι θεωρήσαιτε

The surest way to realize the blessing of obedience to the established laws, and the curse of despising and disobeying them, is to put before your eyes and examine separately the advantages that you derive from the laws and the results of lawlessness.<sup>6</sup>

c. καὶ οὗτος γινῶ καὶ ἁμάρτη ἔν τι τούτων. G once again reads the Hebrew *vav* clauses not as introducing additional, or subsequent apodotes that lead the legal precedent to a close, but instead as continuing the protasis, i.e., as failures that precede the pronouncement of culpability requiring the penalty.

d. ἁμάρτη. The Hebrew verb **חָשַׁח** rendered by Mil as “feels guilt” (NRSV “shall be guilty”) is legally different from Greek “should sin.” By all appearances we have now a contrast between what is in Hebrew the attraction of guilt through knowledge, versus what is in Greek the further commission of sin following knowledge.

6. James H. Vince, *Demosthenes III* (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1968), 593.

The Greek condition thus far may be set out as follows:

- a. An oath to do good or evil (limited by whatever is governed by oaths), is made not rashly, but intentionally and with care,
  - b. but that action somehow escapes careful scrutiny.
  - c. Should the suppliant come to know and
  - d. should the suppliant subsequently sin in any one of these matters
- ...

Once again it seems more plausible to regard the act of sinning not as related to the foregoing actions, but to something that is committed following the moment of knowing. It is not clear that the act of knowing leads to the act of sinning.

To summarize: G decided that it was not vital to reproduce in Greek a closely matching version of the Hebrew legal case that might function theologically for a new community. Instead, he limited his activity to the linguistic level, and loosely substituted the Hebrew vocabulary with Greek vocabulary. The first condition (v.1) makes the person concerned appear more like a witness in a bystander's role rather than a witness called to testify in a court setting. The second condition (v.3) has a different legal emphasis through the extended use of the subjunctive. The resultant Greek precedent is more focused on wrongs committed rather than the matter of guilt attracted, or else the translator might have employed something like the expression ἐν τῷ ἁγῆϊ ἐνέχεσθαι found in Hdt 6.56.

Having noticed what G in all likelihood does not want to achieve, we need to propose what he does in fact achieve, and it is this: he fashions a Greek overlay for the Hebrew legal precedent that seems not to be intended as a replacement for it, but rather, as someone put it, a teaser to draw the reader to the Hebrew itself. Why else produce something that has so little legal function or force? And do we not expect of legal precedent to contain the most precise formulation?

### 3. SYNTACTICAL DESCRIPTION

In by far the bulk of the commentary, the reader will encounter close attention to the philological subject matter, with frequent citations from reference grammars. It is hoped that in this respect the commentary will be of most use to language students. We begin with partitive  $\eta$  when it functions as the predicate of a verb, and the Greek syntactical responses employed by G.

Leu 4:2

דבר אל בני ישראל לאמר נפש כי תחטא בשגגה מכל מצות יהוה אשר  
לא תעשינה ועשה מאחת מהנה

Λάλησον πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ λέγων Ψυχὴ ἕαν ἀμάρτη ἔναντι  
κυρίου ἀκουσίως ἀπὸ τῶν προσταγμάτων κυρίου, ὧν οὐ δεῖ ποιεῖν,  
καὶ ποιήσῃ ἓν τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν.

a. ἀπὸ τῶν προσταγμάτων. The partitive use of מִן here and later in the verse, implies the indefinite “any one of.”<sup>7</sup> G here responds with ἀπό which though having partitive force, 1) is not ordinarily found introducing the predicate of verbs, and 2) cannot be seen to express the indefinite. We have therefore rendered it instead as “regarding,” an extension of LSJ’s meaning no. 6, “from, by, or because of which a thing is done.” But consider now ἓν τι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν occurring at the end of the verse. In contrast to the foregoing, the Greek indefinite εἷς τις “any one (of)” is an excellent idiomatic response to מאחת. G thus opts against a consistent, or predictable way of giving account of a Hebrew syntactic feature. He offers in one verse two alternative ways of representing a Hebrew syntactic feature, which is intended to be of greater value than the former.

A second example of intentionality on the syntax level concerns further instances of rendering into Greek, certain Hebrew verbs that take prepositional phrases as object. Here I refer the reader back to the text of Leu 5:3 above:

b. ἄφηται ἀπό. While נָגַע takes an object in ב, ἄπτω takes its object in the genitive. G decides to respond to the two Hebrew prepositional phrases by two prepositional phrases in ἀπό. The first is for ב and NETS responds with the partitive meaning “some of.” The second is for the ל of לָכֵל, which is a marker of apposition—“that is, any...”<sup>8</sup> G by ἀπό πάσης indicates apposition, though in a more lifeless way through repetition, illustrated in NETS by “any of.”

c. ἔλαθεν αὐτόν. Here now G has before him נָעַל followed by מִן. In Leu 4:13 he faced the same situation (מַעֲיַן הַקֹּהֵל) and there opted for λανθάνω followed awkwardly by the prepositional phrase ἐξ ὀφθαλμῶν before τῆς

7. GKC, 119 w n. 2, Joüon, 133e, Karl Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Giessen: Töpelmann Verlag, 1916), 60. See also Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (AASF 237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1987), 166.

8. Bruce K. Waltke and Michael P. O'Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), §11.2.10.h.63

συναγωγῆς when a simple direct object in the accusative τὴν συναγωγὴν would have been sufficient. In the present instance he does in fact opt for the regular idiomatic usage of the verb plus acc. of pers. “escape his notice.”

A third example in which he achieves a similar purpose is the variation found in the many apodoses of chapter 5’s conditional sentences. Sometimes they are asyndetic, as in regular Greek, and sometimes they are introduced by apodotic καί, though the Hebrew never varies in its use of apodotic *vav*.

G, through what may seem a rather loose approach to reflecting Hebrew syntax, in fact prompts his reader to ask each time what exactly is being mapped by the Greek. Here I would suggest, is not variation for its own sake or as a result of uneven, episodic work with smaller chunks of text, although this was indeed how translators went about their business.<sup>9</sup> I think it is more appropriate to ascribe to G some intentionality. He draws the reader’s attention to Hebrew syntax by providing a variety of representations for it.

#### 4. LEXICAL STUDIES

The task of ascertaining what Greek words meant at the time of the production of the LXX Pentateuch and why exactly translators selected them, has been both time consuming and rewarding. In my experience this means paying attention to a word’s broadest possible attestation from prior to, and contemporaneous with, the LXX Pentateuch as well as from the reception history of the Pentateuch. For me that reception history begins with the later LXX books, and extends into early Christian literature. The question to ask in such searches, is whether a chosen Greek word is a suitable semantic counterpart for the Hebrew word with which it is matched. Sometimes the LXX’s equivalents are suitable, and sometimes they are not, which then requires some explanation from case to case. I have found the lexica of LEH<sup>10</sup> and Muraoka very useful, although we have occasional points of disagreement.

Since a commentary would be too bulky if it were to contain every detailed lexical study, I have decided to farm these out to the periodical literature.<sup>11</sup> Let me now briefly showcase the verb πλημμελέω and its cognate πλημμελεία, by

9. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), xi, and Soisalon-Soininen, *Syntax*, 29.

10. Johann Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

11. Dirk L. Büchner, “A Cultic Term (*hamartia*) in the Septuagint. Its Meaning and Use from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE until the New Testament,” *BIOSCS* 41 (2009): 1-17 and “Ἐξιλιάσθαι: Appeasing God in the Septuagint Pentateuch,” *JBL* 129, no. 2 (2010): 237-260.

providing a brief synopsis of the verb's attested meanings outside of Biblical Greek, for comparison to those of the Hebrew word **פָּשָׁע**:

#### 4.1. USED ABSOLUTELY

- a. *do something (seriously) wrong* (in this case, for dead Polynices to have deserved Creon's denial of burial),

E. *Ph.* 1655 (Antigone asking Creon): τί πλημμελήσας, τὸ μέρος εἰ μετήλθε γῆς; *What did he do wrong if he came for his portion of the land?* (my trans.)

- b. in apposition to κακουργέω implying *do wrong* or *go wrong*

Isoc. Panathenaicus. 223: καὶ τοὺς μὲν νομίμως καὶ καλῶς χρωμένους οἷς ἐμελέτησαν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πλημμελοῦντας καὶ κακουργοῦντας ψέγειν καὶ μισεῖν καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν *and when men make good use of the things which they have practised, they should praise and honor them, but when they go wrong and do evil they should censure and abhor them and guard themselves against their ways.*<sup>12</sup>

- c. used of pupils whose activity of (1) *turning out worse* (χείρων φαίνεσθαι) and (2) *becoming bad* (πονηρὸς γένεσθαι) by leaving good instructors for inferior ones, amounts to πλημμελεῖν—i.e. *making poor choices* or *going wrong*.

X. *Mem.* 1.2.27: τίς μὲν γὰρ αὐλητής, τίς δὲ κιθαριστής, τίς δὲ ἄλλος διδάσκαλος ἱκανοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς μαθητάς, ἐὰν πρὸς ἄλλους ἐλθόντες χείρους φανῶσιν, αἰτίαν ἔχει τούτου; τίς δὲ πατήρ, ἐὰν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνδιατρίβων τῷ σωφρονῇ, ὕστερον δὲ ἄλλῳ τῷ συγγενόμενος πονηρὸς γένηται, τὸν πρόσθεν αἰτιάται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσῳ ἂν παρὰ τῷ ὑστέρῳ χείρων φαίνεται, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν πρότερον; ἀλλ' οἷ γε πατέρες αὐτοὶ συνόντες τοῖς νιέσι, τῶν παιδῶν πλημμελούντων, οὐκ αἰτίαν ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σωφρονῶσιν. *For what teacher of flute, lyre, or anything else, after making his pupils proficient, is held to blame if they leave him for another master, and then turn out incompetent? What father, whose son bears a good character so long as he is with one master, but goes wrong after he has attached himself to another, throws the blame on the earlier teacher? Is it not true that the worse the boy turns out with the second, the higher is his father's*

12. George Norlin, *Isocrates II* (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1968), 509.

*praise for the first? Nay, fathers themselves, living with their sons, are not responsible for their boys' wrongdoing if they are themselves prudent men.*<sup>13</sup>

- d. Opp. καλῶς πράσσειν: *fail, do badly*

X. Mem. 3.4.12: οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελόμενοι χρῶνται ἢ οἷσπερ τὰ ἴδια οἰκονομοῦντες· οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καλῶς πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι ἀμφοτέρωθι πλημμελοῦσι. *For those who take charge of public affairs employ just the same men when they attend to their own; and those who understand how to employ them are successful directors of public and private concerns and those who do not, fail in both.*<sup>14</sup>

#### 4.2. WITH ACC. OF RESPECT

- a. *err (in terms of appropriate timing)*

Antipho 2.3.6: ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καιρὸν πλημμελήσας, οὐ τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν ἐκωλύθη *The lad, on the other hand, who mistook the moment at which the javelins were being picked up, was not prevented from making a hit.*<sup>15</sup>

- b. *offend against or trespass against*

Pl Lg. 943e: τῶν τε οὖν ἄλλων εὐλαβεῖσθαι πέρι πλημμελεῖν εἰς δίκην, διαφερόντως δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ὀπλῶν ἀποβολῆς, μὴ διαμαρτῶν τις ἄρα τῶν ἀναγρεκαίων ἀποβολῶν, ὡς αἰσχρὰς αὐτὰς εἰς ὄνειδος τιθεῖς, ἀναξίῳ ἀναξίας ἐπάγῃ δίκας *and he should beware also of trespassing against Justice in any matter, and especially in respect of loss of arms in battle, lest by mistakenly abusing such losses as shameful, when they are really unavoidable, he may bring undeserved charges against an undeserving man.*<sup>16</sup>

13. Edgar C. Marchant, *Xenophon IV* (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1968), 25.

14. Marchant, *Xenophon*, 189.

15. Kenneth J. Maidment, *Minor Attic Orators I* (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1968), 103.

16. Robert G. Bury, *Plato XI* (Loeb Classical Library; London: Heineman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1968), 483.

## 4.3. WITH PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE

a. *err* (concerning something)

Isoc. *Ant.* 292: συμφέρει γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων μὴ τὰς εὐτυχίας, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιμελείας εὐδοκιμεῖν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τύχῃ δεινοὶ γενόμενοι λέγειν οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν τύχωσιν, οὕτω χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις εἰώθασιν· οἱ δὲ φιλοσοφία καὶ λογισμῷ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην λαβόντες, οὐδὲν ἀσκέπτως λέγοντες, ἤττον περὶ τὰς πράξεις πλημμελοῦσιν *for it is well that in all activities, and most of all in the art of speaking, credit is won, not by gifts of fortune, but by efforts of study. For men who have been gifted with eloquence by nature and by fortune, are governed in what they say by chance, and not by any standard of what is best, whereas those who have gained this power by the study of philosophy and by the exercise of reason never speak without weighing their words, and so are less often in error as to a course of action.*<sup>17</sup>

b. *wrong someone*

Isoc. *Philippus* 37: αἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι καιροῖς εὐεργεσίαι λήθην ἐμποιοῦσι τῶν πρότερον ὑμῖν εἰς ἀλλήλους πεπλημμελημένων *for friendly acts in the present crisis will make you forget the wrongs which you have done each other in the past.*<sup>18</sup>

Here it may be appropriate to say something about the verb **ἁμάρταν**, for which G employs *πλημμελέω*. The Hebrew verb evokes the reaching of a state of obligation resulting from a realization of guilt. Jenni and Westermann provide for it the definition of “das Schuldpflichtigwerden,” and for the cognate noun “das Schuldverpflichtetsein” (emphasis original).<sup>19</sup> In contrast, its Greek equivalent, as we have seen, means “to err,” “do wrong,” “offend.” Although there is limited evidence for involuntary meanings, such as “be in error,” “be mistaken” in performing a certain act, or of “going wrong,” a sense that implies voluntary wrongdoing is more frequently in evidence.

Why exactly G decided upon this match is more difficult to answer, since a weighty Hebrew term such as “attracting guilt,” one assumes, would have been more carefully rendered. It is not. But for some reason the Pentateuch translators selected this verb to match the Hebrew verb. Therein I believe lies

17. Norlin, *Isocrates*, 347.

18. Norlin, *Isocrates*, 267.

19. *THAT*, 254.



the answer. It matches something in a reliable way, or becomes an expected representation of it. In this way then, the item represented is kept in view. That *πλημμελέω* ceased with time to be regarded as a suitable bearer of semantic and theological information for the LXX's receptor communities can be corroborated, though it is from silence. The verb and its cognate noun are virtually absent from the reception history of the LXX Pentateuch. Later translators and interpreters found other matches for the verb *ἁμαρτάνω* such as *ἀδικέω* or *ἁμαρτίαν ἔχειν*. For the concept of being guilty there is of course the adjective *ἔνοχος*. Philo uses *πλημμελέω* in the normal sense of doing wrong and injuring, and the verb and its noun are absent from the NT.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The main focus of a commentary on a translated text as conceptualized by its translator, is to hold up his language against that of his contemporaries, and describe his mode of work. He produced a translated text with the purpose of representing a parent text in an overtly contrived way. It was intended for an audience that would have recognized it as one that was constantly and intentionally doing just that.

Certainly G may be said to be lacking in concern for pedantry, and to have little regard for consistency, a goal that we moderns might expect of a work of composition. But this is too negative a verdict. He is very deliberate in representing the Hebrew tradition in creative ways that frequently take us by surprise. He manages still, to direct his reader's attention to the material behind his text, in other words, the material that is being represented. In the above presentation, we have noticed that the culture, syntax and semantic content of the Hebrew is most often kept in view. This suggests perhaps that the translator never envisaged that the Hebrew Torah would fade from collective memory or was in need of replacement by his translation.

Depicting such activity in step by step fashion has been surprisingly fruitful in yielding information that may be of value to the modern English reader.



# Some Peculiar Place Names in the LXX of Joshua

Seppo Sipilä

**Abstract:** The book of Joshua is especially rich in place names, because the middle part of the book includes the town lists with more than 300 names. Margolis among others has used these names while studying the textual history of the Greek version of the book. In this paper, I shall discuss on several peculiar name forms found in the Greek manuscripts and seek to explain their existence and place in the textual history. An example of a peculiar name comes from 15:29, where the MT reads יִי־ע and the OG Βακωκ. However, in some manuscripts we find Λαχεις, a totally different name.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The book of Joshua is especially rich in place names, because the middle part of the book includes the town lists with more than 300 names in them.<sup>1</sup> For a normal (western) Bible reader lists of names are probably boring,<sup>2</sup> because they do not contain information of easily recognizable significance. Already in the New Testament we can find a warning to avoid genealogies (Titus 3:9), and I suppose the same applies to the town lists.

However, from a scholarly point of view the name lists can turn out to be interesting and even useful. It is well-known that Max Margolis based his grouping of the Greek manuscripts in Joshua on the town lists.<sup>3</sup> The variants

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1. According to Magnus Ottoson, *Josuboken; En programskrift för davidisk restaura-tion* (Studia Biblica Upsaliensia 1; Uppsala, 1991), 161 the total number of town names in the book is 358. Out of these 198 appear only in our book.

2. Thus, Leonard Greenspoon, "The Book of Joshua—Part 1: Texts and Versions", *Currents in Biblical Research* 3.2 (2005), 235: "[T]his geographical material is an integral, if unexciting, part of the book".

3. See Max L. Margolis, "The Grouping of the Codices in the Greek Joshua: A Preliminary Notice" *JQR* 1 (1910/11), 259–63. For an appreciation of Margolis' method in using the names, see Leonard Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar* (SBL Centennial Publications 15; Scholars Press: Atlanta, 1987), 81–90.

in spelling of the names led him to realize the importance of names as a guide to grouping manuscripts into families and thus forming a basis for the creation of a critical text of the Greek translation.<sup>4</sup> From a more general perspective, the names raise several questions that scholars have now discussed for quite a long time. Where are the towns mentioned in the lists? Why does the book of Joshua have the lists? When did they find their way to the text? Where do they come from, and what might they mean in the present text?

The problems ancient translators faced were of a different nature. For a translator, names represent a special area of work. If the name has a meaning, should the translator translate the name or transliterate it? By looking at the names, the translator of Joshua occasionally did translate even the names. Thus, for Beth-shemesh he used Πόλις ἡλίου (15:10) and for Kiriath-sepher he used Πόλις γραμμάτων (15:16). However, in most cases our translator transliterated the names. Then the question is: How was that done? Did the translator use some fixed rules of transliteration or not? In our case, there is variation between different names. Thus, for Hebron our translator used Χεβρων employing χ for π, but for Hazor he used Ασωρ probably thinking that the *spiritus asper* would suffice for π.<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is unlikely that our translator used fixed transliteration schemes or a specific system while working with the Hebrew names.

For a scribe the basic issue in connection with names is, naturally, how to make sure that the transliteration is copied correctly.<sup>6</sup> This is a serious question, since we know that the copying process generated a lot of variants based on various mistakes. In some cases after a series of errors the name came to be spelled very differently from the original. As an example we may think of Josh 15:23, where Kadesh is spelled Ελε in ms 56.

## 2. CHAPTER 15 AS A SOURCE FOR PECULIAR NAMES

In this paper the examples discussed are derived from Chapter 15 of Joshua. This chapter contains two town lists, the common denominator being that

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4. This is also the main point of Alexander Sperber, *Septuagintaprobleme I* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen 3; Kohlhammer: Stuttgart, 1929). Whereas Margolis proceeded to produce an edition of the Greek Joshua, Sperber limited his efforts only to delineating the methodology.

5. For a convenient list of options employed by our translator, see Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué); Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes* (BA 6, Cerf: Paris, 1996), 72–89.

6. Cf. Greenspoon, *The Book of Joshua*, 235 according to whom it is not easy to think that anyone “except the most dedicated transcriber or transmitter” would have paid necessary attention to the correct spelling of names.

both lists describe the area traditionally belonging to the tribe of Judah.<sup>7</sup> The first list (15:1–12) describes the borders of the area and the second gives the (main) towns in the area.<sup>8</sup> It is certain, that the second list both in the MT and in the OG is corrupt, because counting of the names in the list does not match with the total number given in the list itself. Thus, the first section lists the towns in the Negev. According to the text, there should be 29 towns in this section, but in the MT the total is 35 and in the OG it is 30.<sup>9</sup> There are differences in details, too; in 15:24 the MT has Telem, but the OG has Mainan at the same place.

In general, we may then expect that there will be variants in the Greek manuscripts. Some variants are corruptions based on the spelling in the OG, others derive from efforts to make the Greek text closer to the MT and, naturally, there are some corruptions in the process of editing towards the MT or after it. My paper starts from the observation that sometimes it is very difficult to explain variants as coming either from the OG or from a Greek text edited towards the MT.

### 3. EXAMPLES OF PECULIAR NAMES IN CHAPTER 15

I have collected the cases presented here according to certain principles. First of all, I do not include any possible but non-extant names to the list. Only attested variants are discussed, as against commentaries and studies of the names, which also include theoretically possible names in the discussion.<sup>10</sup> Secondly, I assume that all the name forms are the result of rather simple processes. All the names selected can be explained as corruptions from one and only one form of a name, but sometimes one has to suppose a complex

7. For a recent discussion of chapter 15, see Jacobus Cornelis de Vos, *Das Los Judas; Über Entstehung und Ziele der Landbeschreibung in Josua 15* (Groningen, 2002).

8. The two lists do not agree on the details. Thus, e.g. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography* (Westminster: Philadelphia, 1967), 78–79 explains that the lists have different historical background. According to Aharoni the border list is based on the earlier Egyptian reality, but the town list on the later Salomonic reality.

9. See Volkmar Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT I/7; Mohr (Siebeck): Tübingen, 1994), 165–166. The additional problem is – as Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 298 note 49 points out – that we do not know anymore when several words represent one name or several names.

10. Max L. Margolis' edition of the Greek text is a well-known example of this. For a critique of the edition, see Cornelis den Hertog, *Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua* (Gießen, 1996), 27–28. Cf. also Sperber, *Septuagintaprobleme*, 57. Sperber laments the limited number of variants found in the edition by Holms and Parsons and says that "die Übergangslesarten von der einen Namensform zum andern in der Cambridge Ausgabe fehlten und daher ergänzt werden mußten."

chain of rare and unexpected errors, if one wants to uphold the view that the variation is based only on corruptions.<sup>11</sup> For methodological reasons I shall assume in this paper that the variation is by nature simple and easily explainable.

Thus, in 15:23 the OG reads Καδης. This was later changed according to the MT into Κεδες, which is the reading found in the majority of the Greek manuscripts. In ms N the final Σ was dropped creating a spelling Κεδε. This is possibly due to haplography, because E and Σ look the same in early uncial hands. In ms 56, however, the spelling is Ελε. This is developed from Κεδε after two corruptions. The initial letter K was perhaps also dropped by haplography, because K and E can look the same in the uncial hands. Also due to similarity between Δ and Λ the middle consonant became Λ.

If we accept these principles as a methodological starting point, we can see that occasionally the name forms found in the manuscripts have the *potential* to deviate from the OG and from any attempts to make the Greek closer to the MT. This feature makes the names peculiar. I have collected all the examples from Chapter 15 in the appendix to this paper. My list contains 36 cases, but in the rest of this paper I shall discuss only five of them in any detail.

For the names I shall give three variants, the first one is found in the MT, the second one occurs in the OG (as I think it is), and the last one is the peculiar name (pec.).

15:21

MT	לַאצַּבֶּר
OG	και Βαισελεηλ
pec.	Βαιθηρ

In order to derive the variant Βαιθηρ from the OG Βαισελεηλ one needs to assume a serious corruption whereby a part of the longer name form (perhaps ελε) disappeared. The corrected reading found in the majority of the manuscripts is Καβσηλ. If we claim this to be the form from which Βαιθηρ derives, again we need to assume some serious corruptions.

However, the same name appears as a variant reading in 15:59a, too. The commentaries suggest that Bether should be identified with the modern ruin

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11. I think de Vos's *Das Los Judas* is a good example of a study where complex corruptions are allowed and used. His conclusion (45) is therefore no surprise: "Die meisten griechischen Varianten können als Abweichungen erklärt werden und gehen nicht auf eine andere als die Vorlage des MT zurück."

Khirbet el-Yahud.<sup>12</sup> If this is the correct identification of the name, the variant in 15:21 is simply wrong. The section to which verse 21 belongs describes the area of the Negev, so the town near Jerusalem cannot be in this part of the list.

15:24

MT טלם  
OG Ματταν  
pec. Ταταχ

Margolis reconstructed the OG as Τατλαμ by combining the OG and the variant. According to him the form is simply based on the same consonants as found in the MT but differently vocalized. Margolis' explanation is perhaps to be understood in light of his efforts to see the Greek text as based on a Hebrew *Vorlage* very close to the MT. However, his explanation implies that some significant corruptions took place which changed Λ to N and M to X.<sup>13</sup>

The majority of the manuscripts read Τελεμ, which is a correction towards the MT. Because this is practically similar to Margolis' emendation, the same problems in explaining the variation as a result of corruption emerge.

Here again, the variant name is also found in 15:59a. Because this is not the only case of its kind, one may assume that the variants were intentionally changed to the forms that now appear. This, of course, means that the person(s) behind the changes did not understand the structure of the lists in a same way that our modern scholarship does, namely as reflections on an administrative division of the Judean area.<sup>14</sup>

15:29

MT עיים  
OG Βακωκ  
pec. Λαχεις

The variant is a well-known name, which also appears at another point of the list (15:39). Here again, it is difficult to imagine how the OG could be the basis of the variant. The correction towards the MT found in the manuscripts

12. Robert G. Boling, *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (AB 6; Doubleday, New York, 1982), 391 and Fritz, *Josua*, 167.

13. De Vos, *Das Los Judas*, 24 points out that it is not easy to explain how variation between N and Λ can happen (perhaps a copyist misread ΙΑ as N ?), but I think the variation between M and X is perhaps more difficult to understand.

14. See e.g. Fritz, *Josua*, 162.

is Ανεμ. It is equally difficult to imagine how this could be the basis for Lachish in the variant.

Some commentators point out that the name in the MT could be a corrupted dittography from the next name in the list, Ezem.<sup>15</sup> This explanation, if accepted, makes the case even more complicated. If the name in the MT is simply a copying error, why do we have a different name in the OG and yet another in the variant? It seems to me that during the transmission of the text several people made intentional changes to the text. The names found in the manuscripts are not simply the results of complicated errors.

15:51

MT	יָנִן
OG	Χαλου
pec.	Δαλαθ

Holon is one of the Levitical towns (Josh 21:15), but consideration of the spellings in the list of Levitical towns makes the picture more complicated, because in the OG the spelling in Chapter 21 is Γελλα. The variant Δαλαθ in 15:51 is not easily explained as a corruption from any other extant name forms for this town.

15:59a

MT	>
OG	Ταταμ
pec.	Ταναχ

In my last example a variant appears that is also found at another place in the list (15:24). Verse 15:59a contains names that do not appear in the MT. The normal explanation is that this section of the list is omitted from the MT because of a homoioteleuton.<sup>16</sup> Because of the variants in the Greek and difficulty in attaching them to any of the known Hebrew place names, Margolis replaced this name by a series of asterisks in his edition.<sup>17</sup>

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15. Fritz, *Josua*, 162. The basis of this claim is that the name does not appear in Josh. 19:3 which includes a part of the list of towns belonging to the tribe of Simeon “within the inheritance of the tribe of Judah”.

16. See e.g. Dominique Bathélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien testament* 1 (OBO 50/1; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1982), 44.

17. Margolis, *Joshua*, 317. His comment is laconic: “The corruptions defy emendation”.



This is a case where, I think, someone changed a place name that is unknown from any other source with another name that is also unknown. It is very difficult to understand why this should happen unless the editor knew something that we no longer know.

## 5. CONCLUSIONS

The examples discussed have one similarity that is important to note. The variants that I label here as “peculiar” almost all come from one specific group of Greek manuscripts (44 54 75 106 134). This group is in the older literature associated with the Lucianic recension or with the Antiochene text. I have earlier argued that the group does not represent the Lucianic text, and that the Lucianic text is most probably not extant in Joshua.<sup>18</sup> However, I think that we can understand the variants found in this group as a result of early editorial activity. If this is the case, there is a possibility that the forms we now find in these manuscripts are intended to be as they now are. This may be of importance for the understanding of the textual history of Joshua as a whole.

On a general level, one may note that we scholars, when discussing the name lists in Chapter 15, have *not* taken these peculiar names into account. This is probably because very often we are interested only in the relationship between the OG and the MT, and there is little room for anything like a third option in our way of operating. This is especially the case when we try, as we often do, to establish a common source for texts we currently work with. It is perhaps time to start to appreciate the variation.

I do not think it is a fruitful starting point to assume that there would have been only one form of the lists in ancient times. I prefer to think that the lists are similar to the narrative sections of the book of Joshua, and we know that in ancient times there were several different versions of the narratives. So why should there not also be different versions of the name lists?

If I am right in my observation and the peculiar names come neither from the OG nor from editorial processes intended to make the Greek text closer to the MT, I think two different explanations are possible. The names are either derived from very bad corruptions, or someone altered the lists using independent sources of information.

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18. Seppo Sipilä, “John Chrysostom and the Book of Joshua,” *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Cambridge 1995. Ed. by B.A. Taylor. SBLSCS 45. Atlanta, GE. 1997, 329–354, and “Theodoret of Chyrrus and the Book of Joshua. Theodoret’s *Quaestiones* Revisited”, *Textus* 19 (1998), 157–170.

Let me bypass the first alternative, which strikes me as a kind of a plan B alternative if other explanations do not work.<sup>19</sup> The second alternative, which assumes an otherwise unknown source of information is much more exiting. Such a source could be general knowledge about the real nature of affairs stated in the book. That is highly unlikely, because some of the third option names are clearly in a wrong place in the present list.

Perhaps, instead, someone had access to an older version of the text, where the names had been altered at a considerably earlier stage. This variant list then disappeared, leaving as our only source the peculiar names in some Greek manuscripts. If my understanding about these names is correct, then the activity that created the names should be connected with more general editorial activity in connection with the Greek text of Joshua.

This leads into some exciting questions concerning the name lists. Since there is more than one variant list, why was the original changed? Was there anything like the original in the first place? The variation between the OG and the MT is possible to connect with more general editorial processes that clearly have taken place during the history of the book, but what about the third list?

We have no way of knowing the answers today, but my point has been to show the complexity of the issue and to suggest some, hopefully, interesting perspectives on the complexities of the textual history of the book of Joshua. It seems to me that our ideas about this might have been too simple so far.

#### APPENDIX: PECULIAR PLACE NAMES IN JOSHUA 15

verse	MT	OG	Peculiar Name	Manuscripts
3	חצרון	Ασωρων	Αρνων	44 54 75 106 134
6	בית חגלה	Βαιθ Αγλααμ	Βαιθ Αραβα	52 57 130 344 85 509
9	>	>	Γαι	44 54 75 106 134 Arm La
10	שעיר	Ασσαρ	Ζαρεθαιρ	44 54 75 106 134

19. See also the claim in Aharoni, *Land of the Bible*, 104 "Therefore, it is clear that, in spite of the *great care* taken in transmitting the biblical text, *some errors* with regard to place names have crept in. This is especially true of place names mentioned only once or twice in the Bible whose occupation had already ceased in the preceding period" [emphasis mine].

11	הבעלה	επι λιβα	επι Βααλ	44 54 58 72 75 106 134 344 <sup>mg</sup> La
21	קבצאל	Καιβαισεληλ	Βαιθ Ηρ	44 54 75 106 134
22	קינה	Ικαμ	Ιαμνα	56 75 134
23	יתנן	Ιωναιν	Ιεθνα	44 52 53 57 85 106 130 344
24	טלם	Μαιναμ	Ταναχ	44 54 75 106 134
24	בעלות	Βαλμαιναν	Βαλααμ	W 44 54 75 106 134 La
26	אמם	Σην	Ασημ	44 54 75 106 134 La
27	חצר גדה	Σερει	Ασεργαδδα και Ιαριθ	44 106 134
28	חצר שועל	Χολασεωλα	Χορλαλ και Ασερσουλα	52 53 57 85 130 344
29	עיים	Βακωκ	Λαχεις	44 54 75 106
31	צקלג	Σεκελακ	Εσγλα	44 54 75 106 134
31	מדמנה	Μαχαρειμ	Μαχαθα	44 54 75 106 134
31	סנסנה	Σεθεννακ	Σεννα	44 54 75 106 134
33	אשנה	Ασσα	Οσσαλ	44 54 75 106 134 La
34	העינם	Μαιανει	Μα(ι)ανωθ	44 54 75 106 134
37	מגדל־גד	Μαγαδα Γαδ	Μαγαδαν Αγαδ	44 54 75 106 134
41	בית־דגון	Βαγαδιηλ	Βηθ Γαλιμ	44 54 75 106 134
42	לבנה	Λεμνα	Λοβνα	56 59 75
44	אכזיב	Ακιεζει	Αμισαι	52 53 57 85 130 344
44	>	Κεζειβ	Ζεν	52 53 57 85 130 344
48	יתיר	Ιεθερ	Ελθερ	52 53 57 85 130 344
50	ענים	Αισαμ	Ανιβ	G 15 19 108* 376

51	חלן	Χαλου	Δαλαθ	44 54 75 106 134
51	גלה	Χαννα	>	44 54 56 75 106 134
54	חמטה	Ευμα	Βεγμα	44 54 75 106 134
56	יקדעם	Ιαριεκαμ	Ιεβλα	44 54 75 106 134
59	בית־ענות	Βαιθ Αναμ	Βεθ Λααμιν	44 54 75 106 134
59a	>	Κουλον	Κωλαμ	19 44 54 75 106 134
59a	>	Ταταμ	Ταναχ	44 54 75 106 134 344 <sup>mg</sup>
59a	>	Μανοχω	Μαναχ	44 54 75 106 134 (Syh)
61	בית הערבה	Θαραβααμ	Θοδομορ	54 75
62	עין גדי	Ανκαδης	Γεβηρ	54 75 106 134

## ἄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ ψάλατε (Ps 97:4) : Présent vs aoriste dans les impératifs des Psaumes LXX

Philippe Le Moigne

**Abstract:** L'étude part de la constatation que tous les impératifs adressés à Dieu, dans la Septante des Psaumes, sont à l'aoriste, tandis que les autres (ceux qui s'adressent au peuple ou qui évoquent les impies, notamment), sont tantôt à l'aoriste tantôt au présent. On essaie définir des règles dans cette répartition; dans l'immense majorité des cas, et de manière surprenante, tout se passe comme si chaque verbe avait "son" thème verbal d'impératif, deux verbes de sens voisin pouvant ici s'opposer (par exemple 13:7 ἀγαλλιᾶσθω Ἰακωβ καὶ εὐφρανθήτω Ἰσραηλ, distribution constante). Mais on tente également de préciser quel rôle joue l'optatif dans l'expression de la modalité volitive; il semble, par exemple, être un substitut de l'impératif à la troisième personne quand le sujet est, au sens large, Dieu (alors qu'il existe bien d'autres impératifs à la troisième personne dans le corpus), suivant le modèle de 68:25 ἔκχεον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὀργὴν σου, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τῆς ὀργῆς σου καταλάβει αὐτούς. Il s'agit d'une étude multifactorielle tentant de prendre simultanément en compte le mode, le thème verbal (présent ou aoriste), la personne et la présence / absence d'une négation. On se propose bien plus d'établir une ébauche de description du fonctionnement du corpus grec que de renvoyer systématiquement au substrat hébreu. L'objectif est de rendre compte de tendances et de préciser les exceptions, en cherchant comment le sens a conditionné la *forme*.

« Le Seigneur a dit à mon Seigneur : Sièges à ma droite jusqu'à ce que j'ai fait de tes ennemis le tabouret de tes pieds »<sup>1</sup> ; le grec de ce psaume 109 (TM 110)<sup>2</sup> dit Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, avec un impératif présent<sup>3</sup> au lieu de l'impératif aoriste κάθισον que l'on a, par exemple, en 1 Règles (TM 3 Rois) 19:2. Pour-

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1. Nous remercions très vivement, pour leurs encouragements et leurs conseils, Anssi Voitila, Julien Du Bouchet et surtout Jan Joosten, sans qui cette étude n'aurait pas vu le jour.

2. Désormais, sauf indication contraire, nous recourons à la numérotation de la LXX.

3. Sur cette forme d'impératif du présent κάθημαι, voir H.St.J THACKERAY, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint*, Cambridge, 1909, réimpr. 1978, p. 272.

quoi a-t-on l'impératif présent pour l'action de s'asseoir, qui est *a priori* assez rapide ? Pourquoi la durée du procès importe-t-elle au traducteur ? En réalité, celui-ci ne fait ici que rendre le fait que le texte lui-même s'intéresse à la durée de cette station assise, puisque le groupe de l'impératif, Κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου, est immédiatement suivi d'une subordonnée indiquant la durée, dont le verbe est, comme on s'y attend, au subjonctif éventuel, ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου « jusqu'à ce que j'ai fait de tes ennemis, etc. » (ou encore : « en attendant que je fasse »). Le verbe, dans cet emploi, dans cette phrase, signifie donc non pas « s'asseoir » mais « être assis », et même « demeurer assis ».

Nous avons pris cet exemple inaugural, particulièrement célèbre, pour tenter de montrer que le traducteur des Psaumes (ou le groupe de traducteurs ; nous envisagerons le livre comme une unité) est sensible au choix du thème verbal lorsqu'il doit employer un verbe à l'impératif. Nous appelons « thème verbal » chacun des quatre radicaux que comprend un verbe non défectif dans la conjugaison du grec (présent, futur, aoriste, parfait). Nous préférons, avec d'autres, cette appellation de « thème verbal » plutôt que celle de « temps », car le « thème verbal » ne signifie pas seulement le temps, mais aussi l'aspect, selon des modalités complexes qui varient d'ailleurs selon les modes. En effet, si à l'indicatif, au participe et à l'infinitif le thème verbal peut servir à exprimer le temps (en même temps que l'aspect), cela est beaucoup moins vrai au subjonctif et à l'optatif (en dehors de l'optatif oblique), modes où prime l'expression de l'aspect. Le cas du sixième mode du grec, l'impératif, est finalement le plus simple, car le choix du thème verbal, à ce mode, prend exclusivement en compte l'aspect, sans aucune considération relative au temps. Employer un verbe à l'impératif aoriste, cela ne signifie pas — comme on le sait — demander à la personne à qui l'on s'adresse *d'avoir fait* l'action considérée, mais de la faire en tenant compte du sens du thème verbal « aoriste »

À ce sujet, nous pouvons citer ce que dit la syntaxe de Kühner-Gerth<sup>4</sup> :

Dem Wesen der beiden Aktionsarten entsprechend wird der Imperativ (im Verbote der Konjunktiv) des Aorists vorwiegend in Aufforderungen gebraucht, die sich auf einen bestimmten eben vorliegenden Einzelfall beziehen, wenn die Handlung als eine abgeschlossene mit einem Blick überschaut wird ; der Imperativ des Präsens dagegen zunächst in allgemeinen Vorschriften, sodann überall da, wo der Verlauf, die Dauer, die Art der Ausführung in den Vordergrund tritt, auf den wirklichen Abschluss aber keine Rücksicht genommen wird.

4. R. KUHNER & B. GERTH, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil : Satzlehre. Erster Band*, Darmstadt, 1966, § 389 C, p. 189.

De façon conforme à ce que sont les deux aspects, l'impératif (le subjonctif pour la défense) aoriste est utilisé surtout dans les ordres qui se rapportent à un cas particulier, déterminé, précisément actualisé, quand l'action est considérée comme une action délimitée, que l'on envisage d'un seul regard. L'impératif présent au contraire est utilisé dans des prescriptions générales ; par ailleurs, partout où le déroulement ou la durée de l'action, ou la manière dont elle est conduite passe au premier plan, et où, à l'inverse, on ne considère aucunement sa réalisation effective.

Voilà ce que dit la grammaire normative<sup>5</sup>. Qu'en est-il exactement de l'application, dans un livre de la LXX, de ce modèle, de ces normes ? Avant de répondre à la question, i.e. de se pencher sur les exemples, il importe de rappeler un élément, rappel qui doit nous éviter sinon de commettre un anachronisme, du moins de raisonner à l'envers. La règle régissant le choix entre aoriste et présent dans les impératifs, règle rappelé dans les termes avec lesquels elle est formulée dans la syntaxe de Kühner-Gerth, est bien entendu une règle *a posteriori* ; c'est une synthèse de constatations, non une loi qu'aurait suivie les auteurs. De plus, et ce point nous semble particulièrement intéressant, cette règle a été formulée à partir d'une enquête menée exclusivement auprès d'auteurs écrivant en grec classique (au sens large du terme, incluant les auteurs archaïques et les poètes de l'âge classique). La question que nous nous poserons est donc la suivante : est-ce que l'usage des auteurs de la LXX est, sur ce point précis, le même que celui des auteurs classiques ? Peut-on constater les mêmes emplois ou, au contraire, doit-on formuler d'autres règles, spécifiques du grec biblique ?

Nous n'envisagerons naturellement pas, ici, le cas de l'ensemble de la LXX. Nous avons choisi un livre pour exemple ; il s'agit du livre des psaumes. Pourquoi ? Tout simplement parce que, dans cette unité littéraire (sans même prendre parti sur la question de l'unicité éventuelle du traducteur), nous avons un nombre suffisant d'impératifs pour tenter d'établir des règles, sans pour autant être dépassé par la masse des données.

Nous allons procéder d'une manière simple, en formulant des règles (qui sont, nous le répétons, une synthèse, la constatation d'un usage dans le livre

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5. Les discussions se poursuivent sur les rapports délicats entre les valeurs aspectuelles (« Aspekt » ou « subjektive Aktionsart ») et temporelles des thèmes verbaux. Un état de la question se lit dans C.M.J. SICKING, « The Distribution of Aorist and Present Tense Stem Forms in Greek, Especially in the Imperative », *Glotta* LXIX (1991), p. 14–43 et 154–170, en particulier p. 14–17 ; voir également A. VOITILA, *Présent et imparfait de l'indicatif dans le Pentateuque grec*, Société d'exégèse de Finlande / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Helsinki / Göttingen, 2001, p. v-xix.

des Psaumes). Ces règles sont en réalité plutôt des usages majoritaires. Nous illustrerons à chaque fois d'exemples ces usages que nous tentons de dégager.

# 1. LES IMPÉRATIFS ADRESSÉS À DIEU À LA DEUXIÈME PERSONNE SONT À L'AORISTE

Prenons pour exemple initial un autre impératif, présent dans un des passages les plus célèbres du livre des Psaumes :

21:2 Ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι· Dieu, mon Dieu, prête attention  
ἵνα τί ἐγκατέλιπές με ; à moi ! Pourquoi m'as-tu abandonné ?

Il nous importe peu de constater que l'impératif πρόσχες μοι n'a aucun correspondant dans le TM<sup>6</sup>. Ce qui nous intéresse, c'est que cet impératif, adressé à Dieu, est à l'aoriste. On pourrait imaginer une interprétation fine de cette particularité ; l'ordre à l'aoriste serait le vecteur d'une invitation portant sur une situation donnée, ponctuelle, et cela nous conduirait à un contexte de « crise », de difficulté présente du psalmiste (puisque l'aide qu'il demande à Dieu est une aide présente, immédiate, exprimée à l'aoriste). La suite du demi-verset pourrait d'ailleurs confirmer cette direction dans l'interprétation : la « crise » est bien présente, puisque Dieu semble avoir abandonné le fidèle.

En réalité, il est inutile de proposer une interprétation de ce genre, ou alors il conviendrait de l'étendre à tous les impératifs adressés à Dieu, puisque ceux-ci sont presque toujours à l'aoriste. À une ou deux exceptions près seulement, il n'y a aucun impératif présent adressé à Dieu dans le livre des Psaumes, quel que soit le sens du verbe considéré. Il est inutile de multiplier ici les exemples puisqu'ils vont presque tous dans le même sens. Ainsi pour l'action du « salut », par exemple, nous avons, en deux versets consécutifs, quatre verbes différents<sup>7</sup>, toujours à l'aoriste :

58:2 Ἐξελού με ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου, ὁ Ἐloigne-moi de mes ennemis,  
θεός, Dieu,  
καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐπανιστανομένων ἐπ' et de ceux qui se dressent contre  
ἐμὲ λύτρωσαί με· moi protégé-moi ;

6. אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי לִמָּה עָזַבְתָּני « mon Dieu, mon Dieu, pourquoi m'as-tu abandonné ? »

7. Une telle succession d'impératifs n'est pas une rareté dans la LXX, qui se distingue là des usages ordinaires du grec non biblique ; voir C.M.J. Sicking, « The Distribution... », p. 155.



- |      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 58:3 | ῥῦσαί με ἐκ τῶν ἐργαζομένων<br>τὴν ἀνομίαν<br>καὶ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν αἱμάτων σῶσόν<br>με. | Délivre-moi de ceux qui prati-<br>quent l'iniquité<br>et des hommes de sang sauve-<br>moi. |
|------|--|--|

En dehors de ces quatre verbes, d'autres expressions se trouvent, toujours à l'aoriste :

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| 21:20 | μὴ μακρύνῃς τὴν βοήθειάν μου <sup>8</sup> | N'éloigne pas mon secours                              |
| 26:9  | βοηθός μου γενοῦ,                         | Deviens mon secours                                    |
| 70:2  | γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστὴν           | Sois pour moi un Dieu qui protège                      |
| 43:27 | βοήθησον ἡμῖν <sup>9</sup>                | Viens à notre secours                                  |
| 59:13 | δὸς ἡμῖν βοήθειαν ἐκ θλίψεως.             | Donne-nous un secours qui nous<br>ôte de l'affliction. |

Comme nous l'avons dit, il convient de généraliser cet emploi de l'aoriste à *tous* les impératifs adressés, à la deuxième personne du singulier, à Dieu. L'aoriste est toujours de mise, y compris pour des verbes, ou des actions, qui semblent sous-entendre la notion de durée ou de généralité, et exclure le caractère ponctuel de la demande ; ainsi dans cet exemple :<sup>10</sup>

- |      |   |   |
|------|---|---|
| 24:4 | τὰς ὁδοὺς σου, κύριε, γνώρισόν<br>μοι<br>καὶ τὰς τρίβους σου δίδαξόν με.                                | Fais-moi connaître, Seigneur, tes<br>voies,<br>Et enseigne-moi tes chemins ;  |
| 24:5 | ὁδήγησόν με ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειάν<br>σου<br>καὶ δίδαξόν με, ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς ὁ<br>σωτήρ μου... <sup>10</sup> | Montre-moi la voie qui mène à<br>ta vérité<br>Et sois celui qui m'enseigne,<br>car c'est toi qui es Dieu, mon<br>sauveur. |

Dans l'exemple suivant, le texte lui-même comporte une indication, διὰ παντός, qui semblerait commander l'impératif présent :

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| 68:24 | καὶ τὸν νῶτον αὐτῶν διὰ παντός<br>σύγκαμψον | et courbe leur dos, continuelle-<br>ment |
|-------|---|--|

8. Pour l'expression de la défense au subjonctif aoriste, cf. infra.

9. Cf. 69:6 ὁ θεός, βοήθησόν μοι.

10. Cf. encore 5:9 κατεύθυνον ἐνώπιόν μου τὴν ὁδόν σου « rends droite, devant moi, ta voie ».

On peut tenter de proposer une interprétation « théologique » de cet aoriste de l'impératif, conditionné non pas par le sens du verbe ou par le caractère non ponctuel de la demande, mais par le fait qu'il s'adresse à Dieu. L'impératif présent, rappelait la syntaxe de Kühner-Gerth citée en introduction, est utilisé dans des prescriptions générales. Or l'être humain ne saurait, sans blasphème, prétendre influencer durablement sur les actions de Dieu. Il est possible de prier, certes, de demander quelque chose à Dieu ; mais il est impossible d'avoir une « prise » stable sur la divinité, ce que pourrait sous-entendre l'usage, non attesté, de l'impératif présent.

Cet emploi du présent de l'impératif s'adressant à Dieu est en réalité la norme en dehors de la LXX, dans les prières juives ou chrétiennes<sup>11</sup> et même en grec classique ; comme l'écrit C.J. Ruijgh dans son étude sur l'emploi « inceptif » du thème verbal du présent, c'est-à-dire sur le fait que l'ordre à l'impératif présent exige en principe une réalisation instantanée<sup>12</sup> :

En effet, dans les supplications, y compris les prières adressées aux dieux, l'emploi du [thème verbal d'aoriste] est normal : le locuteur n'est pas en mesure de demander que la personne socialement supérieure ou le dieu commence immédiatement l'action en question, si urgente que soit la réalisation pour le suppliant. En effet, c'est à la personne de rang supérieur de décider s'il veut réaliser l'action et, si oui, à quel temps il la réalisera.

Ce qui est vrai de l'« ordre » positif l'est également de la défense ; de même que l'impératif est à l'aoriste, de même, on aura le subjonctif aoriste nié<sup>13</sup> :

39:18 ὁ θεός μου, μὴ χρονίσῃς. Mon Dieu, ne tarde pas.  
6:2 = μηδὲ τῇ ὀργῇ σου παιδεύσῃς με. Et ne me châtie pas dans ta colère.  
37:2

11. Voir par exemple H. LÖHR, *Studien zum frühchristlichen und frühjüdischen Gebet*, Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament (160), Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, 2003, p. 210.

12. « L'emploi 'inceptif' du thème du présent grec », *Mnemosyne*, XXXVIII 1–2 (1985), p. 1–61, cité p. 36 ; plus généralement, W.F. BAKKER, *The Greek Imperative. An investigation into the aspectual differences between the present and aorist imperatives in Greek prayer from Homer up to the present day*, Amsterdam, 1966.

13. On a une fois, dans l'ensemble du corpus, un impératif aoriste nié adressé à Dieu : 65:18 Ἀδικίαν εἰ ἐθεώρουν ἐν καρδίᾳ μου, μὴ εἰσακουσάτω κύριος « Si je voyais de l'injustice dans mon cœur, que le Seigneur ne prête pas l'oreille ». On sait qu'en principe la défense s'exprime, à l'aoriste, par le subjonctif nié et non l'impératif nié ; cependant les exceptions sont moins rares à la troisième personne qu'à la seconde (cf. KÜHNER-GERTH, *op. cit.*, Band 1, § 386, § 3, p. 237–238) ; C.J. Ruijgh, « L'emploi inceptif... », p. 29, corréle cette particularité aux relations pragmatiques existant entre l'allocutaire et la troisième personne.

54:2	καὶ μὴ ὑπερίδῃς τὴν δέησίν μου	Et ne néglige pas ma prière.
9:33	μὴ ἐπιλάβῃ τῶν πενήτων·	N'oublie pas les pauvres.
24:7	ἁμαρτίας νεότητός μου καὶ ἀγνοίας μου μὴ μνησθῇς·	Du péché de ma jeunesse et de mon ignorance n'aie pas de sou- venir.

En 58:12, dans *μὴ ἀποκτείνῃς αὐτούς* « ne les mets pas à mort », le verbe peut formellement être aussi bien au présent qu'à l'aoriste (la forme est ambiguë) ; mais il faudrait supposer qu'il s'agit, au présent, d'une exception et il n'est pas économique d'envisager une telle hypothèse ; l'analyse grammaticale du logiciel Accordance a, par exemple, bien compris qu'il s'agit d'un aoriste<sup>14</sup>. Mêmes remarques pour 26:9 *μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς ἐν ὀργῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ δούλου σου* « ne te détourne pas, dans ta colère, de ton esclave », à ceci près qu'Accordance, ici, interprète la forme comme un présent, ce qui, nous semble-t-il, n'est pas la meilleure solution<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. LORSQUE L'ON FAIT UNE PRIÈRE À DIEU À LA TROISIÈME PERSONNE, L'IMPÉRATIF ALTERNE AVEC L'OPTATIF

Il arrive que l'on trouve un impératif de troisième personne, adressé à Dieu ou à l'une de ses désignations métonymiques (cet impératif sera en conséquence toujours à l'aoriste, à une exception près, que nous allons envisager à la fin de ce parcours) :

67:2	Ἀναστήτω ὁ θεός <sup>16</sup>	Que Dieu se lève.
21:9	Ἦλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον, ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν <sup>17</sup> · σωσάτω αὐτόν <sup>18</sup> , ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.	Il a espéré dans le Seigneur : qu'il le délivre ! Qu'il le sauve ! Puisqu'il veut bien de lui...

14. D'autres verbes de sens analogue sont bien à l'aoriste (impératif ou subjonctif de défense) : 25:9 *μὴ συναπολέσῃς μετὰ ἀσεβῶν τὴν ψυχὴν μου* ; 53:7 *ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ἐξολέθρευσον αὐτούς*.

15. Accordance voit aussi un présent dans les quatre subjonctifs de défense *διαφθείρῃς* que l'on lit dans des titres de psaumes : *Εἰς τὸ τέλος· μὴ διαφθείρῃς* 56:1 ; 57:1 ; 58:1 ; 74:1. L'ambiguïté morphologique de la forme rejoint ici l'incertitude narrative.

16. Cf. 3:8 *ἀνάστα, κύριε* ; 7:7 *ἀνάστηθι, κύριε* ; 9:20,33 ; 16:13 ; 34:2, etc.

17. Cf. 6:5 *ῥῶσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου* (en tout 23 occurrences de *ῥῶσαι* ayant Dieu pour sujet).

18. Cf. 3:8 *σῶσόν με, ὁ θεός μου* (en tout 22 occurrences de *σῶσον* ayant Dieu pour sujet).

- 79:18 γενηθήτω ἡ χεὶρ σου ἐπ' ἄνδρα Que ta main soit sur l'homme de  
δεξιᾶς σου<sup>19</sup>. ta droite.

Mais plus souvent, à la troisième personne, l'optatif se substitue à l'impératif<sup>20</sup>. En voici quelques exemples :

- 11:4 ἐξολεθρεύσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ Puisse le Seigneur mener à leur  
χείλη τὰ δόλια<sup>21</sup>. perte toutes les lèvres qui trom-  
pent.  
16:2 ἐκ προσώπου σου τὸ κρίμα μου Puisse ton jugement sortir face à  
ἐξέλθοι<sup>22</sup>. toi.  
19:2 ἐπακούσαι σου κύριος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ Puisse le Seigneur entendre au  
θλίψεως<sup>23</sup>. jour de l'affliction.  
127:5 εὐλογῆσαι σε κύριος ἐκ Σιων<sup>24</sup>. Puisse le Seigneur te bénir depuis  
Sion.

On rencontre un verset où les deux modes se succèdent, à la troisième personne renvoyant à Dieu :<sup>25</sup>

- 19:4<sup>25</sup> μνησθεὶς πάσης θυσίας σου Puisse-t-il avoir mémoire de tout  
καὶ τὸ ὀλοκαύτωμά σου πιανάτω. sacrifice de toi,  
et qu'il couvre de graisse ton  
holocauste.

19. Cf. 30:3 γενοῦ μοι εἰς θεὸν ὑπερασπιστήν (= 70:3 ; cf. encore 26:9) ; cf. 118:76 γενηθήτω δὴ τὸ ἔλεός σου τοῦ παρακαλέσαι με ; 129:2 γενηθήτω τὰ ὦτά σου προσέχοντα εἰς τὴν φωνὴν τῆς δεήσεώς μου.

20. Sans qu'il s'agisse d'un « supplétisme » en fonction du verbe considéré. Pour chacun de nos exemples d'optatifs nous fournirons un exemple d'impératif à la deuxième personne du singulier, ayant Dieu pour sujet. Les exemples, à la troisième personne, de succession impératif / aoriste (ou l'inverse) relevés dans notre livre par J. JOOSTEN, « Rhetorical Ornamentation in the Septuagint : The case of grammatical variation » (à paraître dans un livre consacré au style de la LXX, édité par E. BONS et Th. KRAUS, FRLANT, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht), Psaumes 34:26 et 67:3, concernent des verbes au pluriel ayant des « humains » pour sujet.

21. Cf. 53:7 ἐν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ σου ἐξολέθρευσον αὐτούς.

22. Cf. 79:3 καὶ ἐλθὲ εἰς τὸ σῶσαι ἡμᾶς.

23. Cf. 64:6 ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν, ὁ θεὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν.

24. Cf. 27:9 καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου.

25. Il s'agit du seul verset où les deux modes à la troisième personne coexistent quand le sujet des deux verbes est Dieu. Pour une semblable succession avec d'autres sujets, cf. 34:26,27 ; 35:12, etc.

On trouve également un verset (mais un seul, nous semble-t-il) où, se rapportant à Dieu, l'impératif de la deuxième personne est continué par un optatif de la troisième :

68:25	ἐκχεον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὀργήν σου, καὶ ὁ θυμὸς τῆς ὀργῆς σου καταλάβοι αὐτούς.	Verse sur eux ta colère, Et que l'emportement de ta colère s'empare d'eux.
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### 3. LES IMPÉRATIFS RELATIFS AUX HUMAINS SONT À L'AORISTE OU À L'IMPÉRATIF

#### 3.1. TENDANCE GÉNÉRALE

Dans beaucoup de cas, la distribution semble dépendre du *verbe* considéré. Nous insistons sur la formulation que nous avons employée : il s'agit bien d'une distribution par *verbes*, et non par *sens*. Des verbes de sens très voisins peuvent ici se distinguer. Nous avons pris pour exemple, dans l'abstract, les verbes ἀγαλλιάσθαι « être dans l'allégresse » et εὐφραίνομαι « être dans la joie » ; ils sont coordonnés en 13:7, dans l'expression d'un parallélisme synonymique :

13:7	ἀγαλλιάσθω Ἰακωβ καὶ εὐφρανθήτω Ἰσραὴλ.	Que Jacob soit dans l'allégresse, et Israël, dans la joie.
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Au présent ἀγαλλιάσθω succède l'aoriste εὐφρανθήτω. Cette distribution est presque constante : il y a 14 occurrences de l'impératif de ἀγαλλιάσθαι dans les Psaumes, et elles sont toutes au présent<sup>26</sup>, alors même que l'aoriste de ce verbe est parfaitement attesté à l'indicatif<sup>27</sup> ; il y a 15 occurrences de l'impératif médio-passif de εὐφραίνομαι<sup>28</sup>, elles sont très majoritairement à l'aoriste<sup>29</sup>, alors même que le verbe, à d'autres modes, est bien attesté au présent dans le corpus<sup>30</sup>. Il n'y a qu'une seule occurrence de l'impératif présent :

26. Deuxième personne du pluriel : 2:11 ; 31:11 ; 32:1 ; 67:5 ; 80:2 ; 97:4 ; troisième personne du singulier : 13:7 ; 95:11 ; 96:1 ; troisième personne du pluriel : 47:12 ; 66:5 ; 67:4 ; 69:5 ; 149:2.

27. 15:9 ἡγαλλιάσατο ; 89:14 ἡγαλλιάσαμεθα ; 96:8 ἡγαλλιάσαντο.

28. Il y a une occurrence de l'impératif aoriste *actif*, se rapportant « normalement » à Dieu : 85:4 εὐφρανον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου « réjouis l'âme de ton esclave ».

29. Deuxième personne du pluriel : 31:11 ; 96:12 troisième personne du singulier : 13:7 ; 47:12 ; 85:11 ; 104:3 ; 149:2 ; troisième personne du pluriel : 5:12 ; 33:3 ; 66:5 ; 67:4 ; 68:33 ; 69:5 ; 96:1.

30. Indicatif : 45:5 εὐφραίνουσιν ; participe 18:9 = 42:4 εὐφραίνοντα ; 86:7 εὐφραينوμένων ; 125:3 εὐφραίνόμενοι.

- 95:11 εὐφραινέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί, καὶ Que les cieux soient dans la joie,  
ἀγαλλιᾶσθω ἡ γῆ. et que la terre soit dans l'allégresse.

On remarquera bien que ce qui conditionne la variation, en grec, n'est pas une quelconque différence dans le substrat hébreu (pour tant que celui-ci ait été identique à notre TM, bien entendu) ; notre présent déviant εὐφραινέσθωσαν corespond à יִשְׂמְחוּ, soit la même forme verbale que l'on a en 67:5 (LXX 66:5), où le grec a le « normal » εὐφρανθήτωσαν.

On peut encore penser aux quatre verbes présents en 97:4, citation que nous avons partiellement utilisée pour le titre de cette enquête :

- 97:4 ἀλαλάετε τῷ θεῷ, πᾶσα ἡ γῆ, Exultez pour Dieu, toute la terre,  
ᾄσατε καὶ ἀγαλλιᾶσθε καὶ Chantez, soyez dans l'allégresse,  
ψάλατε· chantez un psaume.

Le verset contient quatre impératifs ; nous venons de voir que l'impératif d'ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι est toujours au présent dans la LXX des Psaumes ; de manière parallèle, nos trois impératifs aoristes qui complètent le verset ne passent jamais au présent à un endroit quelconque du corpus<sup>31</sup> ; ce ne sont pourtant pas des indications de contexte ou de sens qui semblent commander la répartition<sup>32</sup>.

Là encore, comme nous avons pu le remarquer pour les impératifs (aoriste) adressés à Dieu, la présence de διὰ παντός ne conditionne pas nécessairement le présent :

- 104:4 ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον καὶ Cherchez le Seigneur et devenez  
κραταιώθητε, forts,  
ζητήσατε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ  
διὰ παντός. Cherchez sa face, continuellement.

31. ἀλαλάετε 46:2 ; 65:1 ; 80:2 ; 97:4,6 ; 99:1 ; ᾄσατε 32:3 ; 67:5,33 ; 95:1 *bis* ; 95:2 ; 97:1,4 ; 104:2 ; 136:3 ; 149:1 ; ἀσάτωσαν 137:5 ; ψάλατε 9:12 ; 29:5 ; 32:3-4 ; 46:7 *quater* ; 46:8 ; 65:2 ; 67:5,33-34 ; 97:4-5 ; 104:2 ; 134:3 ; 146:7 ; ψαλάτωσαν 65:4 *bis* ; 149:3.

32. La succession, dans la même phrase, du présent et de l'aoriste (ou l'inverse) de l'impératif fait partie des cas de variations grammaticales étudiées par J. Joosten (« Rhetorical Ornamentation... ») ; il conclut que « les deux formes [de présent et d'aoriste] se trouvent côte à côte, d'une manière qui fait penser que le traducteur se contentait de diversifier la grammaire pour être élégant » ; les exemples qu'il donne (Ex 1:16,22 ; Deut 4:9 ; Job 34:2 ; 1 Chron 16:31 ; Es 12:4 ; Jr 31:31 ; Ez 21:17) n'incluent pas le livre des Psaumes ; nous tâchons de montrer que, dans ce dernier corpus, il existe des usages largement majoritaires qui dépassent la simple *variatio* micro-contextuelle.

On peut aussi remarquer que cette distribution présent / aoriste, qui vaut pour les impératifs se rapportant à des humains, concerne parfois des impératifs que l'on trouve aussi à propos de Dieu — lesquels sont toujours, nous l'avons vu, à l'aoriste. On peut donc imaginer qu'un même verbe se trouve à l'impératif aoriste à propos de Dieu et à l'impératif présent à propos des humains. Le cas se présente ; ainsi, εὐλογεῖν est le plus souvent au présent quand le sujet représente des humains, et toujours à l'aoriste, « normalement », quand son sujet est Dieu ; on comparera

65:8<sup>33</sup> εὐλογεῖτε, ἔθνη, τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν. Bénissez, nations, notre Dieu

à

27:9	σῶσον τὸν λαόν σου καὶ εὐλόγησον τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ ποιῖμανον αὐτοὺς καὶ ἔπαρον αὐτοὺς ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος.	Sauve ton peuple et bénis ton héritage ; mène-les au pâturage et élève-les à jamais.
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Ou, pour un autre verbe, ὑψοῦν « exalter », on comparera

65:7 <sup>34</sup>	οἱ παραπικραίνοντες μὴ ὑψούσθωσαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς.	Que ceux qui exaspèrent ne s'exal- tent pas en eux-mêmes.
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à

20:14 <sup>35</sup>	ὑψώθητι, κύριε, ἐν τῇ δυνάμει σου.	Sois exalté, Seigneur, dans ta puissance <sup>36</sup> .
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Cependant, ce qui est vrai des impératifs ne l'est plus nécessairement à propos des autres modes volitifs. Ainsi, pour ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι, nous avons vu qu'à l'impératif il est toujours au présent ; au subjonctif de volonté et à l'optatif de souhait, en revanche, modes bien moins attestés par ailleurs, il figure à l'aoriste :

33. De même 67:27 ἐν ἐκκλησίαις εὐλογεῖτε τὸν θεόν ; 102:20–22 ; 133:1–2 ; εὐλόγει 102:1–2 ; 103:1,35 ; εὐλογεῖτω 144:21 ; mais εὐλογήσατε 95:2 ; 134:19 bis ; 134:20 bis ; εὐλογησάτωσαν 144:10.

34. De même 74:5 Μὴ ὑποῦτε κέρας ; 98:5,9 ὑποῦτε κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν ; une exception (impératif aoriste) : 106:32 ὑψασάτωσαν αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ λαοῦ.

35. De même 7:7 ; 56:6,12 ; 93:2 ; 107:6 ; ὑψωθήτω ἡ χεὶρ σου 9:33 ; ὑψωθήτω ὁ θεός 17:47 ; 88:14 ὑψωθήτω ἡ δεξιὰ σου.

36. Un autre exemple du même type : ἐκχέω « répandre, épancher » se lit à l'aoriste quand Dieu est le sujet (34:3 ; 68:25 ; 78:6) ; au présent quand le sujet est humain (61:9).

117:24 ἀγαλλιασώμεθα καὶ εὐφρανθῶμεν	Soyons dans l'allégresse et dans la joie.
34:27 = ἀγαλλιάσαιντο καὶ	Puissent-ils être dans l'allégresse et
39:17 εὐφρανθείησαν	dans la joie.

### 3.2. DIFFICULTÉS ET CONSTANTES RELATIVES

En outre, même en ce qui concerne le seul impératif il y a certains verbes qui résistent (si du moins on veut rester de bonne foi) à une lecture du type de celle que nous proposons aujourd'hui. Ainsi pour le même verbe φυλάσσω « garder, observer », dans le même psaume, pour la même personne verbale, à trois versets d'intervalle on trouve les deux thèmes verbaux<sup>37</sup> :

36:34 φύλαξον τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ	garde sa voie
36:37 φύλασσε ἀκακίαν	garde-toi du mal <sup>38</sup>

Pour κραταιοῦν (attesté seulement au moyen-passif : « se renforcer »), les premiers exemples semblent confirmer notre lecture : trois impératifs présents se rapportant (fût-ce métonymiquement) à des humains<sup>39</sup> sont suivis d'un impératif aoriste dont Dieu est (métonymiquement) le sujet<sup>40</sup>. Malheureusement pour la crédibilité de notre enquête, une dernière occurrence, concernant le peuple, est à l'aoriste<sup>41</sup>. Le verbe ἐξομολογεῖσθαι « reconnaître, confesser » présente 14 occurrences à l'impératif présent et 11 à l'impératif aoriste. Le comble de l'incohérence est atteint dans l'examen des deux versions du même texte, le psaume 69:2–6 traduisant un texte très proche de celui qui est rendu en 39:14–18. En particulier, on sera sensible aux différences observées en 39:17 vs 69:5 (pour le même TM, si ce n'est qu'il y a un waw non inversif avant la dernière forme verbale en 70:5 TM רִאמְרִי (40:17 TM רִאמְרִי) :

39:17 ἀγαλλιάσαιντο καὶ εὐφρανθείησαν ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντές σε, κύριε, καὶ εἰπάτωσαν διὰ παντός	Puissent tous ceux qui te cherchent avoir allégresse et joie en toi, Sei- gneur ; et qu'ils disent continuele- ment...
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37. Toutes les autres occurrences de l'impératif sont des φύλαξον dont le sujet est Dieu.

38. Littéralement : « garde l'absence de mal ».

39. 9:20 μὴ κραταιούσθω ἄνθρωπος ; 26:14 καὶ κραταιούσθω ἡ καρδία σου ; 30:25 καὶ κραταιούσθω ἡ καρδία ὑμῶν.

40. 88:14 κραταιωθήτω ἡ χεὶρ σου.

41. 104:4 ζητήσατε τὸν κύριον καὶ κραταιώθητε.



69:5	ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν καὶ εὐφρανθήτωσαν ἐπὶ σοὶ πάντες οἱ ζητοῦντές σε, καὶ λεγέτωσαν διὰ παντός	Que tous ceux qui te cherchent aient allégresse et joie en toi ; et qu'ils disent continuellement....
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À la variation sur les modes (deux optatifs initiaux en 39:17, contre deux impératifs en 69:5) s'ajoute une variation du thème verbal de l'impératif (présent λεγέτωσαν 69:5, contre aoriste εἰπάτωσαν 39:17), sans que rien ne puisse expliquer un tel changement, puisque nous sommes — par définition « massorétique » — dans des contextes strictement identiques.

Dans plusieurs cas cependant on peut proposer un critère de partage des thèmes verbaux d'impératifs au sein des occurrences d'un même verbe. Ainsi, pour αἰνεῖν « louer », à une exception près (21:24 aoriste αἰνέσατε), le présent correspond à des impératifs de la deuxième personne — du singulier (αἶνει : 145:1 ; 147:1) ou du pluriel (αἰνεῖτε : 99:4, etc. : 27 occurrences en tout) —, tandis que l'aoriste « prend en charge » les impératifs de la troisième personne — du singulier (αἰνεσάτω 150:6) ou du pluriel (αἰνεσάτωσαν 68:35 ; 106:32 ; 148:5,13 ; 149:3).

Par ailleurs et de manière plus générale, il semble qu'il se dessine une certaine tendance qui tend, en cas d'une attestation des deux thèmes verbaux pour le même verbe, à attribuer plutôt l'aoriste à l'expression de l'ordre positif et le présent à l'expression de la défense, de préférence donc au subjonctif aoriste nié<sup>42</sup>. On l'observe ainsi dans les exemples suivants<sup>43</sup> :

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42. On rencontre onze impératifs aoriste niés n'ayant pas Dieu pour sujet : 35:12 μὴ ἐλθέτω μοι ποὺς ὑπερηφανίας « que ne vienne pas contre moi le pied de l'orgueil » ; 68:28 καὶ μὴ εἰσελθέτωσαν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ σου « et qu'ils n'entrent pas dans ma justice » ; 73:21 μὴ ἀποστραφήτω τεταπεινωμένος κατησχυμένος « qu'il ne se détourne pas, humilié, plongé dans la confusion » ; 118:122 μὴ συκοφαντήσάτωσάν με ὑπερήφανοι « que les orgueilleux ne me dénoncent pas calomnieusement » ; 118:133 καὶ μὴ κατακυριεύσάτω μου πᾶσα ἀνομία « et qu'aucune iniquité ne s'empare de moi » ; 140:5 ἔλαιον δὲ ἁμαρτωλοῦ μὴ λιπανάτω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου « qu'il n'oigne pas ma tête de l'huile du pécheur » ; deux occurrences en 108:12 μὴ ὑπαρξάτω αὐτῷ ἀντιλήμπτωρ, μὴδὲ γενηθήτω οἰκτίρμων τοῖς ὀρφανοῖς αὐτοῦ « qu'ils ne dispose pas d'un protecteur, et que nul ne prenne pitié de ses orphelins » ; et pas moins de trois en 68:16 μὴ με καταποντισάτω καταγίγς ὕδατος, μὴδὲ καταπιέτω με βυθός, μὴδὲ συσχέτω ἐπ' ἐμὲ φρέαρ τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. Toutes ces occurrences sont à la troisième personne, de même que celle qui a Dieu pour sujet (voir *supra*).

43. Pour chaque verbe cité ici, nous donnons l'intégralité des occurrences n'ayant pas Dieu pour sujet.

— ἐπαίρω « lever, élever » ; impératif aoriste positif :

133:2	ἐν ταῖς νυξίν ἐπάρατε τὰς χεῖρας ὕμῶν εἰς τὰ ἅγια ;	Durant les nuits, levez vos mains vers le sanctuaire.
23:7, 9	καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι.	Et levez-vous, portes éternelles.

impératif présent nié :

74:6	μὴ ἐπαίρετε εἰς ὕψος τὸ κέρας ὕμῶν.	Ne levez pas vers les hauteurs votre corne.
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— ἐλπίζω « espérer » ; impératif aoriste positif :

4:6 <sup>44</sup>	ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ κύριον.	Espérez dans le Seigneur.
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impératif présent nié :

61:11	μὴ ἐλπίζετε ἐπὶ ἀδικίαν.	N'espérez pas dans l'injustice.
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— φοβεῖσθαι « craindre » ; impératif aoriste positif :

21:24	φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραὴλ	Qu'ils le craignent, toute la des- cendance d'Israël.
32:8	φοβηθήτω τὸν κύριον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ,	Que toute la terre craigne le Sei- gneur.
33:10	φοβήθητε τὸν κύριον, οἱ ἅγιοι αὐτοῦ,	Craignez le Seigneur, vous ses saints.
66:8	καὶ φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς.	Et que toutes les extrémités de la terre le craignent.

impératif présent nié :

48:17	μὴ φοβοῦ, ὅταν πλουτήσῃ ἄνθρωπος	Ne crains pas le moment où un homme devient riche.
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Il est possible que le choix de l'impératif présent nié soit induit par le sens précis que cette tournure peut présenter, l'idée d'une cessation de l'action. Ce

44. Autres impératifs aoristes, tous positifs : 9:11 καὶ ἐλπισάτωσαν ἐπὶ σὲ οἱ γινώσκοντες τὸ ὄνομά σου ; 36:3 ἔλπισον ἐπὶ κύριον ; 36:5 καὶ ἔλπισον ἐπ' αὐτόν ; 41:6,12 = 42:5 ἔλπισον ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν ; 61:9 ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν ; 129:6 = 130:3 ἐλπισάτω Ἰσραὴλ ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον.

sens convient bien à nos exemples ; on peut ainsi traduire avec précision 74:6 *μὴ ἐπαίρετε εἰς ὕψος* « cessez de lever vers les hauteurs » ; 61:11 *μὴ ἐλπίζετε ἐπὶ ἀδικίαν* « cessez d'espérer dans l'injustice » ; 48:17 *μὴ φοβοῦ* « cesse de craindre ».

Une autre particularité remarquable que l'on peut mettre en lumière dans notre enquête est le fait en apparence curieux que l'exclamation liturgique *αλληλουια* semble « commander » l'impératif présent. Plus précisément, quand un verset commence par *αλληλουια*<sup>45</sup>, le premier impératif qui suit est nécessairement au présent ; et ce, même si en d'autres occurrences de notre livre, on le trouve à l'aoriste :

- |                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 104:1 <sup>46</sup> | <i>Αλληλουια. Ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ</i> <sup>47</sup> .                                | Allélouia ! Confessez le Seigneur !                               |
| 147:1               | <i>Αλληλουια. Αγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου. Ἐπαίνει, Ἱερουσαλημ, τὸν κύριον</i> <sup>48</sup> . | Allélouia ! D'Aggée et de Zacharie. Loue, Jérusalem, le Seigneur. |

Là encore, nous rencontrons une exception :

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| 149:1 | <i>Αλληλουια. ᾄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ᾠσμα καινόν.</i> | Allélouia ! Chantez au Seigneur un chant nouveau ! |
|-------|---|--|

L'impératif du verbe ᾄδω, nous l'avons vu, est toujours à l'aoriste dans la LXX des Psaumes. Nous sommes donc en présence, en quelque sorte, d'un conflit de règles : celle qui veut le présent après *αλληλουια*, et celle qui veut l'aoriste de ᾄδω. Il fallait bien que l'une cède devant l'autre.

### 3.3. LE CAS DE ΕΙΝΑΙ

Le verbe εἶναι forme une exception au sein de l'emploi généralisé de l'aoriste dans les modalités volitives se rapportant à Dieu. En effet, on trouve deux catégories d'exemples attestant le présent de l'impératif ou de l'optatif avec Dieu (ou une désignation métonymique de celui-ci) pour sujet.

Les premiers exemples sont les suivants :

45. Mais non quand il finit par ce mot : 150:6 *πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν κύριον. αλληλουια* « Que tout souffle loue le Seigneur. Allélouia ».

46. = 105:1 ; 106:1 ; 117:1 ; 135:1.

47. Cf. en revanche 66:4 bis *ἐξομολογησάσθωσαν* (voir *supra*).

48. Cf. en revanche 116:1 *ἐπαινέσατε αὐτόν, πάντες οἱ λαοί*.

71:17	ἔστω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ· καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν.	Que le nom du Seigneur soit béni à jamais ; devant le soleil son nom demeu- rera ; Et en lui seront bénies toutes les tribus de la terre, Toutes les nations le proclameront bienheureux.
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On pourrait tenter de « sauver la théorie » en affirmant qu'en réalité, le verbe εἶναι n'est ici qu'un auxiliaire dans la construction périphrastique du verbe εὐλογεῖν, que l'on a sous la forme simple dans un autre stique du même verset. Quel que soit le mode (optatif, subjonctif, impératif...) les constructions périphrastiques, au parfait, se font toujours avec le verbe εἶναι au présent. On pourrait donc considérer que l'on ne doit pas prendre ici ce verbe dans son sens ; en conséquence, il ne s'agirait pas d'une véritable exception. Cependant, la forme normale, dans la langue grecque, de l'impératif parfait médio-passif est non analytique (type πεπαίδευσο, πεπαιδεύσθω) ; cette forme est attestée dans la LXX<sup>49</sup>. C'est l'impératif parfait *actif* qui est normalement sous forme analytique (πεπαιδευκώς ἴσθι).

Cependant, un autre emploi du présent de εἶναι nous met davantage sur la voie ; il s'agit de 112:2 :

112:2	εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος·	Puisse le nom du Seigneur être béni, À partir de maintenant et à jamais !
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On voit la proximité entre cet exemple et le précédent. Une citation plus large nous permettra de proposer une explication d'un autre type :

112:1	Ἀλληλουία. Αἰνεῖτε, παῖδες, κύριον, αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου·	Allélouia ! Louez, serviteurs, le Seigneur, louez le nom du Seigneur.
112:2	εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἔως τοῦ αἰῶνος·	Puisse le nom du Seigneur être béni, à partir de maintenant et à jamais !

49. La forme *y* est rare mais présente ; au passif : ἀπολελύσθωσαν 1 M 10:43 ; εἰρήσθω 2M 6:17 ; δεδηλώσθω 2M 7:42 ; παρείσθωσαν So 3:16 ; κεκλήσθω Es 4:1 ; au moyen : ἔρρωσθε 2 M 9:20 ; 11:21,28,33 ; 3 M 7:9.

112:3	ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ἡλίου μέχρι δυσμῶν αἰνεῖτε τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου.	Depuis le lever du soleil jusqu'au couchant louez le nom du Seigneur !
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Notre optatif déviant, εἴη, se trouve encadré par une invitation répétée à la louange, exprimée par des impératifs présents αἰνεῖτε, conformément à l'usage que nous avons tenté *supra* de définir. On remarquera que le verset 2 exprime la même idée : si le nom du Seigneur doit être béni, c'est le fait du peuple. On ne souhaite pas que Dieu fasse une action ; la modalité volitive n'a pas la même portée, ici, que lorsque l'on demande à Dieu de faire trébucher des ennemis<sup>50</sup>, de rétribuer des gens<sup>51</sup> ou de faire preuve de colère<sup>52</sup>. Il s'agit, dans εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον, d'une sorte d'inverse du « passif divin » ; l'action revient au peuple et peut donc être exprimée au présent. Il ne s'agirait donc que d'une exception apparente.

En revanche, cette hypothèse ne peut être mise en avant pour la deuxième catégorie d'emplois du verbe εἶναι à une modalité volitive. Il en existe deux exemples, dont voici le premier :

89:17	καὶ ἔστω ἡ λαμπρότης κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν κατεύθυνον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς.	Et que la splendeur du Seigneur notre Dieu soit sur nous, Et rends droites, pour nous, les œuvres de nos mains.
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Autant l'impératif de l'aoriste du second stique, κατεύθυνον, est conforme à l'usage général, autant le présent de ἔστω lui est contraire, sans que l'on puisse, cette fois-ci, s'appuyer sur une possible construction périphrastique ou sur le fait que le sujet logique serait l'assemblée des fidèles. Il s'agit d'une exception véritable, que l'on retrouve dans un second exemple :

103:31	ἦτω <sup>53</sup> ἡ δόξα κυρίου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα. εὐφρανθήσεται κύριος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ.	Que la gloire du Seigneur soit à jamais, Le Seigneur sera dans la joie à propos de ses œuvres.
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50. 16:13 ὑποσκέλισον αὐτούς.

51. 27:4 δὸς αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν.

52. 68:25 ἔκχεον ἐπ' αὐτούς τὴν ὀργήν σου.

53. Sur ἦτω = ἔστω, voir Thackeray, *op. cit.*, § 23.11, p. 257.

## 4. CONCLUSION

Nous avons tenté de dégager quelques règles. En réalité, il n'y a pas, ou il n'y a guère, d'usages absolus, sans exception. Tout ce que nous avons pu constater, ce sont des tendances, des usages majoritaires. Il n'est peut-être pas déplacé de penser que l'étendue du corpus représenté par le livre des Psaumes accorde un certain crédit pour ainsi dire « statistique » à ce qui a pu être proposé, que ce soit dans l'indication de principes de rédaction ou dans l'aveu d'impuissance dans l'établissement de règles.

Il conviendrait, dans une enquête élargie, de voir dans quelle mesure ces observations, opérées sur le livre des Psaumes, sont confirmées ou infirmées dans le reste de la LXX. Nous n'avons, pour la présente étude, pas mené d'enquête systématique ; quelques sondages aléatoires nous ont montré par exemple que ᾠδω est toujours à l'aoriste de l'impératif dans toute la LXX, de manière conforme à ce que l'on a pu constater dans les Psaumes (alors que son présent est parfaitement attesté, à de très nombreuses reprises, pour les autres modes) ; ou que εἶη, qui était le seul optatif présent de notre corpus, est également l'optatif présent le plus fréquent dans toute la LXX : sur 45 occurrences d'optatif présent, il y a 24 εἶη<sup>54</sup>. Si ces concordances étaient vérifiées sur une plus large échelle, on aurait alors affaire à « quelque chose de plus » qu'à la simple pratique du traducteur ou du groupe de traducteurs à qui nous devons les Psaumes ; peut-être à des « affinités » morpho-syntaxiques au sein de la langue grecque en général.

La difficulté la plus aiguë que nous ayons rencontrée est peut-être la coexistence, pour des verbes de sens très proche (cf. ἀγαλλιάσθω Ἰακωβ καὶ εὐφρανθήτω Ἰσραὴλ, 13:7, cité au début de notre troisième partie), de deux usages majoritaires opposés, l'un voulant l'aoriste de l'impératif, l'autre le présent. Tout se passe comme si l'aspect lexical du verbe (« subjektive Aktionsart ») interférait ici, de manière dominante, sur l'aspect grammatical du thème verbal (« objektive Aktionsart ») ; l'illustration de ce fait se trouverait, d'une manière qui n'est sans doute paradoxale qu'en apparence, dans l'exception voulant le présent de εἶναι γ compris dans des impératifs adressés à Dieu à la deuxième personne : dans un verbe « statique » comme celui-ci, le présent représente le terme neutre<sup>55</sup>. Le caractère supplétif de l' « aoriste »

54. Plus précisément : comme dans les Psaumes, dans tout le Pentateuque il y a un seul optatif présent, et il s'agit d'εἶη (Genèse 23:15). Allons plus loin : les optatifs « non-εἶη », à l'exception de Proverbes 25:26 *bis*, sont concentrés exclusivement dans deux livres : 4 Macabées et Job.

55. Nous reprenons ici l'analyse et le vocabulaire de C.J. Ruijgh, « L'emploi inceptif... », p. 29. Sur cette question, voir aussi T.V. EVANS, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pen-*

de εἶναι, en outre, a dû jouer un rôle dans la constitution de cette « exception ».

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*tateuch : Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 13–21, en part. 16–17.





# Die Rezeption der Septuaginta im entstehenden Christentum. Das Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt

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**Abstract:** Seit 2007 untersuchte ein Forschungsprojekt in Wuppertal die Rezeption der Septuaginta im frühen Christentum. Es erstellte eine Datenbank, prüfte besondere Phänomene der Handschriften und betrachtete die Zusammenhänge in der Textüberlieferung zwischen dem rezipierten Text in den frühchristlichen Schriften (Schwerpunkt Neues Testament) und dem zitierten Text in der Septuaginta. Der Vortrag fasst einige der Erträge zusammen: Viele frühchristliche Zitate bezeugen Nebenformen der Septuaginta-Überlieferung. Besondere Beachtung in den Handschriften verdienen die Entwicklung von Kennzeichnungen der Zitate (Diplé) und die Tätigkeit von Korrektoren. Bemerkenswert sind die unerwartet geringen Einflüsse zwischen Septuaginta-Text (Vorlage von Zitaten) und neutestamentlicher Überlieferung (zitierte Texte) in den Skriptorien bis zur Spätantike und dem frühen Mittelalter.

## 1. EINLEITUNG

Am Institut für Septuaginta und biblische Textforschung der Kirchlichen Hochschule Wuppertal/Bethel richtete die Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft 2007 ein Forschungsprojekt über die Zitate der Septuaginta im Neuen Testament ein. Ausgewählte Erträge seien kurz vorgestellt.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Eine Liste der bislang im Zusammenhang mit dem Projekt entstandenen Beiträge findet sich im Anhang. Weitere Angaben auf den Websites [www.septuaginta-nt.de](http://www.septuaginta-nt.de) und [www.kiho-wuppertal-bethel.de/institut\\_fuer\\_septuaginta\\_und\\_biblische\\_textforschung](http://www.kiho-wuppertal-bethel.de/institut_fuer_septuaginta_und_biblische_textforschung).

## 2. DIE TEXTGESCHICHTLICHE RELEVANZ DER NEUTESTAMENTLICHEN ZITATE

## 2.1. DER FORSCHUNGSWANDEL ZWISCHEN DEM FRÜHEN UND DEM SPÄTEN 20. JH.

Bis zum letzten Drittel des 20. Jh. herrschte beträchtliche Unklarheit darüber, wie Übereinstimmungen zwischen neutestamentlichen Zitaten und Septuaginta-Handschriften zu erklären seien, wenn der Wortlaut vom masoretischen Text abweicht und sich nicht in der gesamten Septuaginta-Überlieferung durchsetzt. Alfred Rahlfs vermutete in diesen Fällen in der Regel einen nachträglichen Einfluss des Neuen Testaments auf die Septuaginta-Überlieferung.<sup>2</sup> Die neutestamentliche Textkritik, am einflussreichsten Bruce M. Metzger, dagegen plädierte oft umgekehrt für sekundäre Einflüsse der Septuaginta auf die neutestamentlichen Handschriften.<sup>3</sup>

Die Thesen konnten konträrer nicht sein, trafen sich aber in einer Folge: Beide Male verloren die neutestamentlichen Zitate Bedeutung für die ältere Textgeschichte der Septuaginta. Die Texterschließungen der Septuaginta und des Neuen Testaments durften und sollten unabhängig voneinander erfolgen. In Deutschland fanden sie international hoch angesehene Zentren in Göttingen und Münster, deren Editionen sich von der Anlage der Apparate bis hin zu technischen Prioritäten unterscheiden; so arbeitet Göttingen nach wie vor maßgeblich auf Papier, weshalb ein zu den New Testament Transcripts vergleichbares Instrumentarium für die Septuaginta noch aussteht und eine Vernetzung der Daten zu den neutestamentlichen Zitaten mühsam gerät.

Die Handschriftenfunde und Handschrifteneditionen in der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jh. zwangen zu einer Korrektur der alten Positionen. Es misslang zunehmend, die behaupteten Einflüsse der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung auf die Septuaginta-Handschriften nachzuweisen. Das wurde seit

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2. Vgl. Alfred Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters, nebst einem Anhang, Griechische Psalterfragmente aus Oberägypten nach Abschriften von W. E. Crum* (Heft 2 von *Septuagintastudien I–III*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, <sup>2</sup>1965), 105(3)–360(256), bes. 227.325.327; ders., *Psalmi cum Odis* (Bd. 10 von *Septuaginta – auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931 [<sup>3</sup>1979]), 30f. und weitere Beiträge.

3. Er behauptete: „Frequently Old Testament quotations are enlarged from the Old Testament context, or are made to conform more closely to the Septuagint wording“, in *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration* (hg. von Bruce M. Metzger; New York: Oxford University Press, <sup>3</sup>1992), 197–198.

den Arbeiten von Robert Kraft<sup>4</sup> 1978 und Robert Hanhart<sup>5</sup> 1981 deutlich und zwang dazu, die neutestamentlichen Zitate differenziert in die Überlieferung der Schriften Israels einzuordnen. Dieser Forschungswandel führte zwar nicht zu einer institutionellen Zusammenarbeit der Textforschungsinstitute für Septuaginta und Neues Testament. Doch die Aufmerksamkeit aufeinander wuchs allmählich, vor allem in den letzten Jahren.

Die Wuppertaler Untersuchungen fügen sich hier ein. Sie bestätigen den notwendigen Wandel und unterstreichen: Die neutestamentlichen Zitate bilden ein wichtiges Zeugnis für die Septuaginta-Textgeschichte. Sie verdienen umso höhere Beachtung, weil Septuaginta-Handschriften, die der Bezeugung des Neuen Testaments voran gehen, nach wie vor rar sind.

## 2.2. BEISPIELE AUS DEM LIED DES MOSE DTN 32 / OD 2

TABELLE 1: DAS LIED DES MOSE UND HEBR 1,6 / DTN 32,43

Dtn <sup>MT</sup> 32,43	Dtn <sup>LXX</sup> 32,43 Wevers-Text	4QDtn <sup>q</sup>	Od 2,43 Rahlfs	Hebr 1,6
die Zeile fehlt in MT und Samari- tanus	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ	והשתחוּ לוֹ כָּל אֱלֹהִים	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ

Die große Mehrheit der neutestamentlichen Zitate bietet material bislang die Erstbezeugung der zitierten Texte. Umso willkommener ist es, wenn sich ein Zitat unmittelbar mit einem Qumranfragment vergleichen lässt. Beginnen wir deshalb bei diesem Text:

Der markanteste Fall, die schon von Timothy McLay und zuletzt von Gert Steyn<sup>6</sup> untersuchte Überlieferung von Dtn 32,43, bekräftigt die forschungs-

4. Robert A. Kraft, „Christian Transmission of Greek Jewish Scriptures: A Methodological Probe“, in *Paganisme, Judaïsme, Christianisme: Influences et affrontements dans le monde antique, Ouvrage publié avec le concours de l'Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg* (hg. von E. de Boccard; Paris: De Boccard, 1978), 207–226 = <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/other/journals/kraftpub/Transmission%20of%20Gk-Jewish%20Scriptures> (aufgerufen am 30.06.2010).

5. Robert Hanhart, „Das Neue Testament und die griechische Überlieferung des Judentums“, in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (hg. von F. Paschke u.a.; TU 125; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1981), 293–303.

6. Vgl. R. Timothy McLay, *Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand

geschichtlich skizzierte Linie (Tabelle 1). Im hebräischen Text von MT und Samaritanus fehlt die in Hebr 1,6 mit einer lediglich kleinen Differenz, nämlich ἄγγελοι statt υἱοί, zitierte Zeile der Septuaginta vollständig. Das ἄγγελοι aus dem Hebr entspricht dabei der Fassung in den Oden, und 4QDtn<sup>q</sup> bezeugt die Septuagintafassung mit einer Variante am Ende der Zeile (אלהים),<sup>7</sup> die beide Lesarten, υἱοί und ἄγγελοι θεοῦ, verständlich macht: Die unterschiedliche Übersetzung geht entweder auf eine etwas längere hebräische Vorlage zurück, die בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים enthielt – denn בְּנֵי wird in Dtn 32,8 vorab von den Haupthandschriften (A B F M) mit ἄγγελοι, vom alten Papyrus Fouad und anderen mit υἱοί übersetzt –, oder sie gibt אֱלֹהִים frei wieder, um die Gottesbezeichnung zu vermeiden; dann entspräche der Vorgang mit ἄγγελοι Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 96,7, wo wir προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ neben כָּל-אֱלֹהִים aus dem MT lesen.<sup>8</sup> Das Alter des hebräischen Grundtextes ist damit nicht entschieden – der Langtext dürfte jünger als die Vorlage für Samaritanus und MT ohne unsere Zeile sein –, aber unfraglich war der längere Text vorneutestamentlich vorhanden.

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Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 107–114; und Gert J. Steyn, „A Quest for the “Vorlage” of the “Song of Moses” (Deut 32) quotations in Hebrews,“ *Neotest.* 34 (2000): 263–272; Gert J. Steyn, *A Quest for the Assumed Septuagint Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011) z.St. und Schlusskapitel; vgl. auch Martin Karrer, „The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint“, in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (hg. von W. Kraus und G. Wooden; SBL.SCS 53; Atlanta: Soc. of Biblical Literature), 335–353, hier 349–353.

7. Text in DJD XIV, 141f.

8. Die Rekonstruktionen von Rahlfs und Wevers (LXX Gottingensis) differieren, doch viel spricht für älteres ἄγγελοι: Robert Hanhart, „Die Söhne Israels, die Söhne Gottes und die Engel in der Masora, in Qumran und in der Septuaginta“, in *Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments, Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik, Festschrift für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag* (hg. von C. Bultmann u.a.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 171–178, hier bes. 171–173.

TABELLE 2: DAS LIED DES MOSE UND RÖM 12,19 / HEBR 10,30

Dtn <sup>MT</sup> 32,35	Dtn <sup>LXX</sup> 32,35 / Od 2,35	Symmachus = Sy <sup>h</sup>	Röm 12,19 = Hebr 10,30
לִי נָקָם וְשֹׁלֵם	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδίκησεως ἀνταποδώσω	<u>mihi</u> <u>ultio</u>  <u>et retribuam</u> <sup>9</sup> (Rekonstruktion über das Lateini- sche)	ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω

Bleiben wir noch einen Augenblick bei Dtn 32, dem berühmten Mose-  
lied. Zur Beurteilung von 32,43 helfen die sogenannten jüngeren Übersetzun-  
gen nicht (sie sind nicht erhalten). Aber ein anderes neutestamentliches Zitat,  
Dtn 32,35 in Röm 12,19 und nochmals unserem Hebräerbrief (Hebr 10,30),  
entspricht der mit dem Namen des Symmachus verbundenen Fassung gegen  
Dtn<sup>LXX</sup> und Oden (ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω („mihi ultio et retri-  
buam“; Tabelle 2). So erlauben die überkommenen Dokumente eine vorsich-  
tige Hypothese zur Textgeschichte:

- MT und Samaritanus bieten uns den ältesten Text des Moselieds.
- Dtn<sup>LXX</sup> und Oden greifen auf eine hebräische Nebenfassung zurück; die griechische Grundübersetzung wird an einzelnen Stellen vielleicht von Ode 2 besser bewahrt.
- Der Hebr benützt eine teilweise den Oden, teilweise Symmachus nahestehende Fassung.

D.h. die dem neutestamentlichen Autor vertraute Textfassung des Mose-  
liedes enthält, charakteristisch für einen ungesteuerten Überlieferungspro-  
zess, alte und junge Lesarten. Die Eigentümlichkeit des neutestamentlichen  
Textes hilft uns vorzüglich bei der Erörterung der älteren wie der jüngeren  
Septuaginta-Textgeschichte.

9. Vgl. Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, Diss. (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 95.144.148.

## 2.3. BEISPIELE AUS DEM PSALTER

TABELLE 3: HEBR 10,5 / Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 39,7

Ps <sup>MT</sup> 40,7	Ps 39,7 <sup>LXX</sup> Hauptmanuskripte (B S A R Papyrus Bodmer XXIV) = Hebr 10,5	Ps 39,7 <sup>LXX</sup> Rahlfs (so die jüngeren Übersetzungen, La <sup>G</sup> Ga)
אֲזַנִּים כְּרִית לִי	σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι	ὠτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι

Die lange Geschichte der Textforschung und das Ineinander alter Textgrundlage und jüngerer Textfortschreibung in den Quellen des 1. Jh.s machen schwer, aufgrund der neutestamentlichen Zitate Korrekturen für den derzeitigen kritischen Septuagintatext durchzusetzen. Trotzdem muss mit der Möglichkeit gerechnet werden. Namentlich gilt das im Bereich des Psalters, dessen Edition Alfred Rahlfs früh erstellte (1931). Die Psalter-Handschriften haben sich inzwischen sehr vermehrt, unter anderem durch Papyrus Bodmer XXIV, den Rudolphe Kasser, Michel Testuz und Albert Pietersma wesentlich in der Forschung etabliert haben.<sup>10</sup> Dieser Papyrus aus dem 3./4. Jh., der von der Hexapla kaum beeinflusst zu sein scheint, unterstützt die in allen großen Handschriften (B S A R) und Hebr 10,5 vertretene Lesart σῶμα, „Leib“, in Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 39,7 gegen den hebräischen Text (Tabelle 3). Dem hebräischen Text entsprechen dagegen ausschließlich jüngere Übersetzungen, so dass der Vorschlag in der Luft liegt, σῶμα (ein griechisches totum pro parte) als Old Greek zu lesen und ὠτία, „Ohren“, einer hebraisierenden Revision zuzuweisen. Dieser Vorschlag ist notwendigerweise umstritten, auch und gerade in der IOSCS (durch die kritischen Beiträge von Karen Jobes und Gilles Dorival).<sup>11</sup> Es spricht aber viel dafür, dass die künftige Neuedition des Psalters durch das Göttinger Septuaginta-Unternehmen Rahlfs' Kriterien der Rekonstruktion

10. Rudolphe Kasser und Michel Testuz, *Psaumes XVII-CXVIII* (Bd. 24 von Papyrus Bodmer. Coligny-Genève: Fondation Martin Bodmer, 1967); Albert Pietersma, „The Edited Text of P. Bodmer XXIV“, *BASP* 17 (1980): 67–79 und weitere Beiträge.

11. Vgl. einerseits Karen H. Jobes und Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 195–199 und Christian-Bernard Amphoux und Gilles Dorival, „Des oreilles, tu m'as creusées“ ou „un corps, tu m'as ajusté“? À propos du Psaume 39 (40 TM), 7“, in *Philologia: Mélanges offerts à Michel Casevitz* (hg. von M. Casevitz; Lyon: Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, 2006), 315–327 (votierend für ὠτία); andererseits Ulrich Rüsen-Weinhold, *Der Septuaginta-Psalter im Neuen Testament: Eine textgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2004), 202 und Martin Karrer, „LXX Ps 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7“, in *Reception of the Psalms* (hg. von D. J. Human und G. J. Steyn; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2010 (Vorschlag σῶμα)).

dem erweiterten Handschriftenbestand anpassen und Entscheidungen gegen die griechischen Handschriften (wie sie in unserem Fall vorliegen) strikt reduzieren wird.<sup>12</sup>

TABELLE 4: HEBR 3,9 / Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 94,9

Ps <sup>MT</sup> 95,9	Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94,9 Rahlfs	Ps 94,9 <sup>LXX</sup> Papyrus Bodmer XXIV	Ps 94,9 <sup>LXX</sup> in Hebr 3,9
בחנוני גם־ראו פעלי	ἐδοκίμασαν καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου

Die Entscheidung hängt nicht zuletzt an der Bewertung des Papyrus Bodmer XXIV, der noch an anderer Stelle gewichtiges Licht auf den Text des Hebr wirft (Tabelle 4): Das hebräische בִּחְנוֹנִי in Ps 95,9 ist schwer wiederzugeben. Es ist von einem Verb abgeleitet (בָּחַן, „prüfen“), weshalb der Vaticanus und seine Begleithandschriften die Übersetzung ἐδοκίμασαν („sie prüften“) wählen und der Alexandrinus, seine Begleithandschriften sowie der lukianische Text auch das Suffix (ἐδοκίμασάν με, „sie prüften mich“) übertragen. Der Papyrus Bodmer XXIV vertritt dagegen wie das Zitat im Hebr (für das Rahlfs noch keine unterstützende Septuaginta-Handschrift fand) die substantivierte Alternative ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ („bei Prüfung“; erstmals beobachtet durch Robert Hiebert<sup>13</sup>). Die Nachahmung des hebräischen Stils „ב-ἐν“ passt vorzüglich zu einer jüdischen Revisionsarbeit um die Zeitenwende. So dürfte diese Variante zwar nicht ältester Text, aber vorneutestamentlich entstanden und vom neutestamentlichen Zitat wie dem Septuaginta-Papyrus bewahrt sein. Der Text des Hebr benützt bei den Psalmen eine textgeschichtlich hochrelevante Vorlage, wie immer der Einzelfall entschieden wird. Fraglich ist lediglich, wieweit sie unmittelbar das Old Greek zu sichern hilft.

12. Rahlfs hielt den sog. unterägyptischen, oberägyptischen und abendländischen Text für die alten Textgruppen des Psalters und vertrat, innerhalb dieser Textgruppen seien Lesarten zu bevorzugen, die mit dem MT übereinstimmen, wenn die Gruppen uneins seien, aber einzelne Zeugen – und seien es wie in unserem Fall allein Übersetzungen, gegen die griechischen Handschriften – mit dem MT gingen.

13. Robert J. V. Hiebert, *The „Syrohexaplaric“ Psalter* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 184.

### 3. BEOBACHTUNGEN AN DEN GROSSEN HANDSCHRIFTEN MIT SEPTUAGINTA UND NEUEM TESTAMENT

Ein zweites zentrales Interesse der Wuppertaler Forschungen erwies sich als nicht minder ertragreich: die materiale Untersuchung der großen, sog. biblischen Vollhandschriften auf Schreibeigentümlichkeiten und Korrekturprozesse. Ihre Erforschung ist durch das Faksimile des Vaticanus<sup>14</sup> und die digitale Edition des Sinaiticus<sup>15</sup> wesentlich erleichtert worden (eine analoge Aktualisierung der Edition von Alexandrinus und Codex Ephraemi ist in nächster Zeit zu erwarten). Die Wuppertaler Forschungen stellten vor allem zwei Sachverhalte heraus:

#### 3.1. ZITATMARKIERUNGEN UND TEXTÜBERLIEFERUNG

Das Christentum begann früh damit, das philologische Zeichen der Diplé zu benutzen, das seinen Namen von zwei aufeinander stoßenden Balken ableitet (> und ähnlich), zunächst in Handschriften aktueller Texte. Im ersten erhaltenen Beleg, kurz nach 200, diente es dem Verweis einer altkirchlichen Quelle auf das Neue Testament.<sup>16</sup>

Ein Jahrhundert später übertrugen Schreiber das Zeichen auf die Markierung der neutestamentlichen Zitate aus Israels heiligen Schriften. Wir konnten bislang kein Beispiel in einem Papyrus finden, der den biblischen Vollcodices vorausginge. Selbst wenn wir in Rechnung stellen, dass künftig einzelne neutestamentliche Papyri mit der Diplé auftauchen mögen, wird darum festzuhalten bleiben: Erst in den großen Codices des 4. und 5. Jh. gewinnt das Zeichen Gewicht, und auch dann noch ohne übergreifende Normierung und Standardisierung. Denn die Codices variieren die Schreibung des Zeichens und führen es nur unsystematisch in die neutestamentlichen Schriften ein.<sup>17</sup>

In einem sind sich die Codices einig, wenn sie das Zeichen setzen: Die Diplé tritt als Randmarginalie zu den Zeilen ab dem neutestamentlichen Zitatmarker hinzu und zwar inklusive dieses Markers (γέγραπται usw.). Demnach

14. *Novum Testamentum e Codice Vaticano Graeco 1209 (Codex B): tertia vice phototypice expressum* (CVS.MA 30; Città del Vaticano: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1968).

15. [www.codex-sinaiticus.net/de/manuscript.aspx](http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net/de/manuscript.aspx).

16. Im Irenäus-Papyrus P.Oxy 3.405; vgl. Ulrich Schmid, „Die Diplé: Einführung“, in *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament* (hg. von M. Karrer, S. Kreuzer und M. Sigismund; ANTF 43), 78.

17. Vgl. die einschlägigen Beiträge in: ANTF 43 a.a.O., zur Schreibung bes. 84–91 (bes. 84), 117–122.



gaben die neutestamentlichen Zitatformeln einen wesentlichen Anstoß zur Markierung mit der Diplé.

Ein zweiter Impuls ergab sich aus dem Allgemeinwissen um geläufige Schriftworte; denn vereinzelt tragen auch Zitate die Diplé, die von den neutestamentlichen Autoren nicht durch Zitatmarker eingeleitet wurden (s. im Vaticanus 1Kor 10,26 [Zitat aus Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 23,1] und Eph 6,2 [Zitat aus Ex 20,12 LXX], im Alexandrinus Eph 5,31 [Zitat aus Gen 2,24 LXX]). Eine Überprüfung der Zitate am zitierten Text besaß diesem Allgemeinwissen gegenüber nur sekundären Rang.

Dazu fügt sich, dass die Skriptorien zusätzlich zur Diplé in einem zweiten Marginal-Vorgang zwar an etlichen Stellen auch die Schrift nennen, aus der ihrer Ansicht nach das Zitat stammt, dass sie sich darin jedoch mehr als einmal irren. Charakteristisch fügt etwa das Skriptorium des Sinaiticus gleich auf der zweiten Seite des Mt (und damit am prominenten Anfang des Neuen Testaments im Codex) zwei Herkunftsbezeichnungen ein, die sich hinterfragen lassen: 2,6 weist es dem Jesajabuch statt Mi 5,1,3 zu (Marginalie ΗΣΑΙΟΥ neben der Diplé), und 2,15 verortet es bei Numeri statt Hos 11,1<sup>18</sup> (Marginalie ΕΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΙΣ neben der Diplé).<sup>19</sup> Beide Identifikationen sind interessanterweise in der Alten Kirche gut verankert. Bereits Origenes notiert, örtlich werde die Zuschreibung von Mt 2,15 an Num 24,8 bevorzugt,<sup>20</sup> und die Zuweisung von 2,6 an Jesaja wird in einer altitalischen Handschrift sogar Bestandteil des Textes selbst (it<sup>a</sup>: „per Esaiam prophetam dicentem“). Der Schreiber der Marginalie gibt also Wissen seiner Zeit wieder, ohne es an einer Handschrift der Septuaginta zu kontrollieren.

Bereits dieser Vorgang lässt die oben berichtete alte Forschungskontroverse über eine Priorität der Septuaginta oder umgekehrt des Neuen Testaments in der Textgeschichte der Zitate obsolet werden: Die Gestaltung der Diplés und Marginalien in den großen Handschriften beweist, dass die Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments um die Rezeption der Schriften Israels weiß, dass aber die Schreiber der Marginalien nach dem Allgemeinwissen ihrer Zeit verfahren und eine unmittelbare Kontrolle ihrer neutestamentlichen Marginalangaben an den korrespondierenden Septuagintaschriften nicht mit Priorität versehen.

Die an fast allen Zitaten zu machende Beobachtung, dass Zitat und zitierter Text selbst in den jeweiligen Handschriften in Kleinigkeiten abweichen, erklärt sich nun von selbst. Denn die großen Bibelhandschriften benützen die

18. Am nächsten steht das Zitat dem Aquilatext.

19. Abb. unter [www.codex-sinaiticus.de](http://www.codex-sinaiticus.de) z.St. verfügbar.

20. In Numeros Homilia XVII.6 (GCS 30, 165).

Vorlagen für ihren Septuaginta- und ihren neutestamentlichen Teil unabhängig voneinander. Diktat und Niederschrift der Skriptorien gleichen Septuaginta- und NT-Vorlage nicht zueinander ab, wie sich durchgängig nachweisen lässt. Nehmen wir die zitierten Verse aus dem letzten Abschnitt als Beispiel: Codex A enthält Od 2,43 und Hebr 1,6 und löscht weder in den Oden den Artikel *oi* vor *ἄγγελοι* noch ergänzt der Schreiber ihn im Hebräerbrief. A und B enthalten Dtn 32,35 und Röm 12,19, A außerdem Od 2,35 und Hebr 10,30, und an keiner Stelle gleichen die Handschriften Septuaginta (*ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως*) und Neues Testament (*ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις*<sup>21</sup> *ἐγώ*) aneinander an. B enthält Ps 94,9<sup>LXX</sup> und Hebr 3,9 und schreibt in Septuaginta *εἶδοσαν*, im NT *εἶδον*.

Fassen wir diesen Befund zusammen, ergibt sich: Die Textüberlieferung der Alten Kirche bewahrte die Septuaginta-Texte und den neutestamentlichen Text lange, jedenfalls bis zu den biblischen Vollhandschriften des 4. und 5. Jh., in beträchtlichem Maße unabhängig voneinander.

3.2. KORREKTURPROZESSE

Bislang befassten wir uns mit den ersten Händen der großen Handschriften. Wenden wir uns nun deren Korrektoren zu. Dazu ein Psalmzitat aus Hebr 3,9 im Sinaiticus als Beispiel:

TABELLE 5: HEBR 3,9 / PS 94,9<sup>LXX</sup> IN SINAITICUS CA (= KORREKTOR 2 DER KRITISCHEN NT-AUSGABE / NEW TESTAMENT TRANSCRIPTS)

Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94,9 S (prima manus)	Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94,9 S <sup>ca</sup>	vgl. Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94, A und lukianischer Text	Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94,9 in Hebr 3,9 ⲛ (prima manus)	Ps <sup>LXX</sup> 94,9 in Hebr 3,9 ⲛ <sup>ca</sup>
ἐδοκίμασαν καὶ ἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐδοκίμασάν με καὶ ἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐδοκίμασάν με καὶ (ε)ἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου	ἐδοκίμασάν με καὶ εἶδον τὰ ἔργα μου

Der bedeutendste Korrektor des Sinaiticus ist c2 = ca, tätig zwischen dem 5. und 7. Jh. Die Diskussion auf der Sinaiticuskonferenz 2009, die die digitalen Daten erstmals auswertete, gab ihm im Neuen Testament das Gewicht eines Zeugen erster Ordnung, weil er vorzügliche Korrekturvorlagen zu benutzen

21. Schreibung von ⲛ und A in Röm 12,19 und Hebr 10,30 (itazistisch): ἐκδικήσεις.

pfl egte.<sup>22</sup> Seine Vorlage für den Septuagintatext von Ps 94,9 lässt sich dank der Überlieferungsparallelen erkennen: Er verwendete eine Handschrift nahe zu A und lukianischem Text einer Überlieferungsgruppe, die von Rahlfs unterschätzt wurde, worauf Al Pietersma und andere aufmerksam machten (unter der jungen Rezension verbirgt sich oft eine ältere Vorlage).<sup>23</sup> Aus seiner Korrekturvorlage ergänzte der Korrektor das Pronomen *με* hinter *ἐδοκίμασαν*.<sup>24</sup>

Dieser Befund aber besagt zugleich: Der Korrektor benützte zur Überprüfung des Psalters eine andere Septuagintahandschrift und ließ den neutestamentlichen Zitattext außer Acht; sonst hätte er das Psalmwort aufgrund der ersten Hand von Hebr 3,9 S zu *ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ* ändern müssen. Das kleine Beispiel bestätigt damit (wie viele weitere in der Wuppertaler Datenbank dokumentierten Korrekturvorgänge an Psalter und Neuem Testament) bis in die byzantinische Zeit die schon notierte und entfaltete Erkenntnis des Forschungswandels seit den 1970er/1980er Jahren: Die neutestamentlichen Zitate beeinflussen den Septuagintatext nicht nennenswert.

Umgekehrt, für die Korrektur des Neuen Testaments, lässt sich dieser Sachverhalt nun allerdings nicht mehr in gleicher Weise behaupten. Der Korrektor passt den Hebr-Text nämlich an den Psalm an (in Ps und Hebr ist der gleiche Korrektor ca tätig). Er ändert *ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ* in Hebr 3,9 zu dem *ἐδοκίμασάν με*, das er im Psalm herstellt. Zugleich hält er eine Übereinstimmung in der semantisch nicht relevanten zweiten Variante *ἶδον* (Psalm) / *εἶδον* (Hebräerbrief) für unwesentlich; er duldet den itazistisch-stilistischen Unterschied. D.h. er wertet semantische Relevanzen in der Korrektur höher als stilistische.

Ziehen wir die Schlussfolgerung, so ergibt sich: Wo der Korrekturprozess in die neutestamentliche Überlieferung (namentlich von der Spätantike an) eingreift, dokumentiert er ein hohes Gewicht der Septuaginta-Lesarten.

22. Vgl. bes. den Beitrag von Klaus Wachtel auf der Sinaiticus-Konferenz, der zur Veröffentlichung ansteht.

23. Vgl. die Debatte von Albert Pietersma, „Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter“, VT 28 (1978): 66–72; ders., „The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter“, in: *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (hg. von A. Aejmelaeus und U. Quast; Göttingen: , 2000), 12–32, bes. 20f. bis Docherty, *The Use*, 127–129 (vgl. dies., „The Text Form of the OT Citations in Hebrews Chapter 1 and the Implications for the Study of the Septuagint“, NTS 55 (2009): 355–365).

24. In der vorangehenden Vershälfte bieten die Hauptzeugen *Ν/S*, A und B in Ps<sup>LXX</sup> und Hebr übereinstimmend *οὐ ἐπείρασάν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν*, der antiochenische Text des Psalms dagegen entsprechend zum MT *ἐπείρασάν με*. Korrektor ca trägt das *με* hinter *ἐπείρασάν* im Psalm und im Hebr nach, passt den Text beide Male also auch hier dem antiochenischen Text etwas stärker an. A ist gegenüber dieser Textform selbständiger als der Korrektor ca in unserem Vers.

Falls es – was nicht leicht festzustellen ist – unbeschadet der weitgehenden Selbständigkeit von neutestamentlicher und Septuaginta-Überlieferung zu Abgleichungen zwischen Septuaginta-Vorlagen und neutestamentlichen Zitaten kommt, dominiert in der Regel die Septuaginta.<sup>25</sup>

#### 4. DRITTE TEXTFORMEN UND DIE LEBENDIGKEIT DER TEXTGESCHICHTE

Mehrfach sind wir auf eine für die neutestamentliche Forschung wesentliche Differenzierung gestoßen: Die neutestamentlichen Autoren benützten die Texte der Septuaginta in ihnen zugänglichen Rollen (und mündlichen Überlieferungen). Der Grundtext der Übersetzung, das Old Greek, war in ihrer Zeit nicht vergessen, aber dank der lebendigen Textgeschichte umgeben von teils leicht, teils stärker fortentwickelten Textformen. Die neutestamentlichen Zitate werfen daher nicht zuletzt ein Licht auf Nebentexte zur Septuaginta, entstehende Septuaginta-Revisionen und jüngere Übersetzungen.

##### 4.1. TEXTFORMEN IM NEUEN TESTAMENT

Nennen wir knapp einige Beispiele für die Bandbreite der im Neuen Testament nachweisbaren Textformen:

- Der antiochenische Text ist in Röm 11,4 (LXX 3Kgt [1Kön] 19,18) und 2Kor 6,16 (Ez 37,27) vorausgesetzt. Ein zweites Wuppertaler Projekt (geleitet von Siegfried Kreuzer) widmet sich dem antiochenischen Text der Septuaginta und wird weitere Beispiele prüfen.
- An den kaige-Text erinnert Act 2,18, wenn es Joel 3,2 gegen das Old Greek mit dem stilbildenden Merkmal καί γε zitiert.

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25. Weitere Beispiele sind in Beiträgen aus dem Projekt besprochen, z.B. in Karrer, Schmid und Sigismund, „Das lukanische Doppelwerk“ 253–274 zu Lk 3,4 (und vgl. Lk 4,18). Freilich ist jedes einzelne Beispiel auf alternative Erklärungen zu prüfen. Nennen wir für die Komplexität des Vorgangs Mt 1,23: Dort war das Wort nach ὄνομα in der ersten Hand des Codex unlesbar; Korrektor S1 fügt αὐτοῦ gemäß LXX Jes 7,14 ein, aber er kann dazu neben dem Jes-Text des Sinaiticus (ὄνομα αὐτοῦ) eine neutestamentliche Vorlage, die dem Septuagintatext entsprach, benützt haben (zum Korrektor vgl. Herbert J. M. Milne und Theodore C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus* [London: British Museum, 1938], 65). Eindeutiger scheint der Sachverhalt in Röm 9,27: S1 passt das ὑπόλιμμα der ersten Hand an κατάλιμμα aus Jes 10,22 S an (unter Bewahrung des Itazismus). Allerdings ist selbst dort die LXX-Variante schon früh auch in der neutestamentlichen Überlieferung nachgewiesen (κατάλιμμα p<sup>46</sup>), so dass S1 doch einer alternativen neutestamentlichen Überlieferung folgen kann.

- Der Fortschreibung durch Symmachus entsprechen das erwähnte Zitat von Dtn 32,35 in Röm 12,19 und Hebr 10,30 sowie die semantisch relevanteste Abweichung im großen Zitat des Hebr über den neuen Bund nach Jer 38 (MT 31), συντελέσω in Hebr 8,8 (= Jer 38,31).
- Aus einer Nähe zum Aquila-Text ist die Anspielung von Apk 21,3 auf Jer 7,3 mit dem Verb σκηνοῦν (statt κατοικίζειν aus dem Septuaginta-Haupttext) zu erklären.
- Joh 19,37 / Apk 1,7 enthält Motive aus Sach 12,10ff. Theodotion und partiell Aquila.<sup>26</sup>
- Im Einzelfall kann ein neutestamentlicher Autor sogar mehrere Schriftfassungen nebeneinander gekannt und geschätzt haben. So korrespondiert die Wendung μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν in Apk 1,7 zu Dan 7,13 Θ, bedarf die Identifikation von Altem der Tage und Menschensohn in Apk 1,13f. dagegen des Textes von Dan<sup>LXX</sup> 7,13 (gegen Θ und MT).

Diese Beispiele unterstreichen eine zunächst nicht vom Neuen Testament, sondern von den Handschriftenfunden der Judäischen Wüste ausgehende Beobachtung der letzten Jahrzehnte: Die einstige Einordnung von Aquila, Theodotion und Symmachus als nachneutestamentliche Neuübersetzungen griff zu kurz. Vielmehr benützen diese sog. jüngeren Übersetzer Rezensionen, die um die Zeitenwende entstanden und teilweise schon von den neutestamentlichen Autoren benützt werden konnten (kaige, einen Vorläufer von Theodotion etc.).<sup>27</sup> Die das Neue Testament umgebende Epoche ist durch das „Phänomen einer lebendigen und dynamischen Tradition des Bibeltextes oder von Bibeltexten in mehreren Kulturbereichen nebeneinander“ (H.-J. Fabry)<sup>28</sup> zu charakterisieren.

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26. Diese Stelle wurde (neben 1Kor 15,54 / Jes 25,8) zu einem Schlüssel für die Diskussion um die Datierung Theodotions bzw. einen Theodotion-Vorläufer. Rahlfs kritisierte die Evidenz, aber ohne zureichende Gründe (vgl. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* [Leiden: Brill, 2000], 149 mit Anm. 28); Diskussionsstand bei Michael Labahn, „Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Verhältnisbestimmung im Spiegel von kreativer Intertextualität und Textentwicklungen“, in: *Die Johannes apokalypse: Kontexte - Konzepte - Rezeption* (hg. von J. Frey, J. A. Kelhoffer und F. Tóth; WUNT 287; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), § 3.4.3.

27. Vgl. Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), bes. 211–213.

28. Heinz-Josef Fabry, „Die griechischen Handschriften vom Toten Meer“, in: *Im*

TABELLE 6: BEZÜGE ZWISCHEN PHILO UND HEBR NACH GERT STEYN<sup>29</sup>

Philo	OT quotation	Hebrews reference	Cross-reference
Poster. 64; Leg. 1,2–3.6.16	Gen 2:2	Heb 4:4	
Leg. 3,79 DeCongr. 99 (Heb 7:3)	Gen 14:17–20	Heb 7:1–2, 4	1QapGn 22:14–17 (11QMelch) (1QLamech 22:14)
Leg. 3,87 (3:245)	Gen 21:12	Heb 11:18	TestAbr 8:5ff Rom 9:7
Leg. 3,203	Gen 22:16–17	Heb 6:13–14	
QuEx 2:36 (QuEx 2:47)	Exod 24:8	Heb 9:20	
Leg. 3,102	Exod 25:40	Heb 8:5	
Conf. 166	Deut 31:6	Heb 13:5	
Leg. 3,105 (Deut 32:35)	Deut 32:35–36	Heb 10:30	2Macc 7:6
Congr 177	Prov 3:11	Heb 12:5–6	

Dazu passen die Berührungen zu Philo, die Gert Steyn am Hebr untersuchte (seine Liste in Tabelle 6). Die Berührungen erlauben die Vermutung, dass entweder der Hebr in Alexandria geschrieben wurde oder – wahrscheinlicher – der Philo-Text des Pentateuchs (fast alle gemeinsamen Zitate gehören dorthin) einen im Mittelmeerraum des 1. Jh. sehr verbreiteten und deshalb vom ersten Christentum vorzugsweise benützten Pentateuchtext darbietet.

Um die Forschung zu dieser Fragestellung vorantreiben zu können, integriert das Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt die Philo-Parallelen in die Datenbank der neutestamentlichen Zitate und pflegt das zu Gert Steyn entstandene Forschungsnetzwerk.

## 5. SCHLUSS

Brechen wir ab und ziehen in aller Kürze Konsequenzen. Das Wuppertaler Forschungsprojekt über die Rezeption der Septuaginta und der zu ihr benach-

*Brennpunkt: die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* (hg. von ders. und U. Offerhaus; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 131–153, hier 153.

29. Tabelle zitiert aus Steyn, *Quest* (s. Anm. 6), Ergebnisabschnitt § 1.3.

barten frühjüdischen Textformen erwies – wie wir zu zeigen versuchten – eine beträchtliche Relevanz der neutestamentlichen Zitate und gelegentlich auch Anspielungen für die Textgeschichte von Israels Schriften sowie umgekehrt. In Anbetracht dessen wäre in Zukunft dreierlei zu wünschen:

1. Die Zusammenarbeit zwischen neutestamentlicher und Septuaginta-Textforschung sollte intensiviert werden. Beide Seiten gewinnen bei einer Zusammenarbeit wichtige Gesichtspunkte, um Lesarten zu beurteilen. Gelegentlich wird sich wahrscheinlich sogar eine Rekonstruktion des Ausgangstextes ändern.

2. Als Hilfe zur Weiterarbeit ist die Wuppertaler Datenbank über die neutestamentlichen Zitate aus der Schriftüberlieferung Israels gedacht. Diese Datenbank sollte in den nächsten Jahren ausgebaut werden, soweit die Mittel es erlauben. Namentlich sollten weitere Papyri, sog. jüngere Übersetzungen (nachfolgend zu ihrer Neuaufnahme im Hexapla-Projekt) und Parallelen zu den Zitaten in frühjüdischen Schriften und bei Kirchenvätern integriert werden, um die Linien der Textgeschichte präziser zu klären und zu dokumentieren.

3. In Zukunft werden elektronische Editionen zunehmend neben Editionen auf Papier treten. Solche elektronische Editionen können den dargebotenen Datenraum erweitern. Für die Erforschung des Neuen Testaments, der frühjüdischen und frühkirchlichen Literatur wäre es von hohem Reiz, wenn in diesem Rahmen neben der Rekonstruktion der Ausgangstexte von Septuaginta (Old Greek) und Neuem Testament auch die Rezeptionsgeschichte Beachtung fände und zentrale Stadien der Textentwicklung dokumentiert würden. Denn zweifellos verdient in der Auslegung stets der älteste herstellbare Text Priorität. Aber die Auslegung muss zugleich die Lebendigkeit der Rezeptionen würdigen. Die Wahrnehmung der textlichen Vielfalt und Entwicklungen in der Geschichte der Septuaginta verspricht eine nicht selten faszinierende Bereicherung der Erkenntnis.

## 6. LITERATURLISTE ZUM PROJEKT

Umfassendere Informationen ergeben sich aus den im Projekt entstandenen Veröffentlichungen:

Einen zusammenfassenden Bericht zum Arbeitsstand 2010 gibt:

Karrer, Martin, Kreuzer, Siegfried, und Sigismund, Marcus, Hg. *Von der Septuaginta zum Neuen Testament. Textgeschichtliche Erörterungen. Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung* 43. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010.

Die Publikation der seit 2006 in zweijährigem Turnus stattfindenden internationalen Wuppertaler Septuaginta-Kongresse erfolgte in:

- Karrer, Martin, Kraus, Wolfgang und Meiser, Martin, Hg. *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 219. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008.
- Kraus, Wolfgang, Karrer, Martin und Meiser, Martin, Hg. *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 252. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010.
- Kreuzer, Siegfried, Meiser, Martin und Sigismund, Marcus, Hg. *Die Septuaginta – Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 286, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

Projektmitarbeiter veröffentlichten folgende weitere Beiträge (die Beiträge in den genannten Sammelbänden sind nicht aufgeführt; weitere Beiträge sind im Erscheinen):

- Karrer, Martin, Schmid, Ulrich und Sigismund, Marcus, Hg. „Das lukanische Doppelwerk als Zeuge für den LXX-Text des Jesaja-Buches“, Seiten 253–274 in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. Hg. von H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn und M. Vervenne. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 224. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.
- Karrer, Martin. „Der Septuaginta-Text der frühen Christen“, in *Einleitung in die Septuaginta*. Handbuch zur Septuaginta 1, hg. von S. Kreuzer; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2013, im Erscheinen.
- Karrer, Martin. „Licht über dem Galiläa der Völker: Die Fortschreibung von Jes 9:1–2 in der LXX“, Seiten 33–53 in *Religion, Ethnicity and Identity in Ancient Galilee: A Region in Transition*. Hg. von J. Zangenberg, H.W. Attridge und D.B. Martin. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 210. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007.
- Karrer, Martin. „Ps 22 (MT 23): von der Septuaginta zur Eschatologisierung im frühen Christentum“, Seiten 130–148 in *La Septante en Allemagne et en France. Septuaginta Deutsch und La Bible d’Alexandrie*. Hg. von W. Kraus und O. Munnich. Orbis biblicus et orientalis 238. Fribourg: Acad. Press, 2009.
- Karrer, Martin. „Ps 39:7–10 in Hebrews 10:5–7“, Seiten 126–146 in *Reception of the Psalms*. Hg. von D.J. Human und G. Steyn. Library of Biblical Studies 527. New York/London: T&T Clark, 2010.



- Karrer, Martin. „The New Leaves of Sinaiticus Judges“, Seiten 600–617 in Kreuzer, Meiser, Sigismund. *Die Septuaginta - Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*. 2012 (op. cit.).
- Labahn, Michael. „Ausharren im Leben, um vom Baum des Lebens zu essen und ewig zu leben: Zur Textform und Auslegung der Paradiesgeschichte der Genesis in der Apokalypse des Johannes und deren Textgeschichte“, Seiten 291–316 in *Florilegium Lovaniense: Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. Hg. von H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn und M. Vervenne. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum theologicarum Lovaniensium 224. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008.
- Labahn, Michael. „Die Septuaginta und die Johannesapokalypse. Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Verhältnisbestimmung im Spiegel von kreativer Intertextualität und Textentwicklungen“, Seiten 149–190 in *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte - Konzepte - Rezeption*. Hg. von J. Frey, J. A. Kelhoffer und F. Tóth. Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 287, Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.
- Labahn, Michael.<sup>30</sup> Rezension von J. Hernández jr. *Scribal Habits and Theological Influences in the Apocalypse*. WUNT II 218. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006, in: EThL 83 (2007), 499–502.
- Schmid, Ulrich. Rezension von D. Jongkind, *Scribal Habits of Codex Sinaiticus*. TaS III 5, Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2007, in: Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies 41 (2008), 128–132.
- Schmid, Ulrich. „Scribes and Variants. Sociology and Typology“, Seiten 1–23 in *Textual Variation: Theological and Social Tendencies? Papers from the Fifth Birmingham Colloquium on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. Hg. von H. A. G. Houghton und D. C. Parker. TaS III 6. Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2009.

Einige Beiträge von Gastreferenten, die bei Workshops des Projekts vorgetragen und diskutiert wurden, werden an dritten Orten veröffentlicht. Genannt seien:

Kowalski, Beate. *Textkritik und Ezechielrezeption in der Offenbarung des Johannes*, im Erscheinen.

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30. Vgl. weiterhin Michael Labahn, Cornelis den Hertog und Thomas Pola. „Das Buch Deuteronomium (5. Mose)“, in *Septuaginta Deutsch. Erläuterungen*, Bd. 1. Hg. von M. Karrer und W. Kraus, Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2010, im Erscheinen.

Nagel, Peter. *Vetus Testamentum in Novo: Die koptischen Septuagintazitate im Neuen Testament*, im Erscheinen.

Wilk, Florian. *Das Zitat 1 Kor 2,9 und seine traditionsgeschichtlichen Kontexte*, im Erscheinen.

Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung stellt vor besondere Probleme, die in angrenzenden Beiträgen diskutiert wurden.<sup>31</sup>

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31. Genannt seien nur Martin Karrer, „Der Text der Johannesoffenbarung – Varianten und Theologie“, *Neotest.* 43 (2009): 373–398; und Martin Karrer. „Der Text der Johannesapokalypse“, in *Die Johannesapokalypse: Kontexte - Konzepte - Rezeption*. Hg. von J. Frey, J. A. Kelhoffer und F. Tóth; WUNT 287; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012.

# Old Testament and New Testament Versions of the Mosaic Law: The Intersection of Oral and Written Tradition

*Ulrich Schmid*

**Abstract:** The decalogue (esp. Ex 20:13–15; Dtn 5:17–19, cf. Mt 19:18; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20; Rom 13:9; James 2:11) and the Shema Israel (Dtn 6:5; cf. Jos 22:5; 2 Reg 23:25; Mt 22:36; Mk 12:30; Lk 10:27) are extant in several slightly different versions (MT, LXX, NT), solely judged on the basis of the critically reconstructed texts (BHS, LXX Gottingensis, NA 27). The situation is even more complicated, if we take the Greek manuscript tradition (LXX and NT) into consideration. The present contribution seeks to collect and sort the Greek evidence for the decalogue passages and discusses various explanations to account for the observable diversity.

The present study is about a passage from the Mosaic Law that has generated a considerable echo in the New Testament. Parts of the decalogue (Ex 20:13–15; Dtn 5:17–19) are referred to in the Synoptic Gospels (esp. Mt 19:18; Mk 10:19; Lk 18:20) but also in Paul (Rom 13:9) and even in the letter of James (2:11). This textual complexion has produced differences in the course of the tradition. The New Testament writers, e.g., are at variance when compared with one another and with their Old Testament source texts. And the question is, what caused these differences? Were the New Testament writers just sloppy? Or were they ingeniously reworking their sources? Or did they simply use different source texts? And what were their sources: another Gospel or the Old Testament? In the latter case we might even gain additional insights into different Old Testament versions. Not only New Testament writers generated differences in the course of the tradition. The scribes copying any of these passages could have contributed another share of differences, either additional ones or differences based on cross contamination likely to obscure our view on the course of the tradition. Eventually, as prominent Torah commandments, the mentioned passages from Exodus and Deuteronomy had been taught, recited

and probably memorised. Therefore, most certainly they involve issues of orality, if only as a curious riddle that might be impossible to solve.

All that comes to mind, almost naturally, if one starts to deal with the mentioned passages wondering about the differences they display. In this contribution I want to do two things. First of all, I would like to present a substantial study of the textual traditions of all of the passages involved. The aim is to find out what versions of these passages actually existed and of what kind these different versions really are. The intention is to identify those versions that are probably generated by the vagaries of textual transmission, as opposed to those that have a solid standing in the tradition. By that I hope to be able to identify stable or stabilised versions of these decalogue passages on the one hand, and more marginal ones on the other—the landmarks and the outliers.

Secondly, I would like to evaluate scholarly explanations for the variety in these decalogue passages. Among them the issue of orality of the decalogue versions is a challenging question. Therefore, special emphasis will be given to mapping the theoretical intersections that could have existed between the mentioned (Old and New Testament) decalogue passages and how the oral element might be fitted into such models. The evidence from the study of the textual traditions is intended to provide empirical background against which one might evaluate such models.

#### 1. THE TEXTUAL TRADITIONS OF THE BIBLICAL DECALOGUE PASSAGES<sup>1</sup>

According to the modern critical editions the text of said decalogue passages is as follows:

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1. A very useful companion for this research, even where I disagree, has been a recent study on this subject by Innocent Himbaza, *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du texte. Etudes des formes textuelles du Décalogue et leurs implications dans l'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 207, Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004). In addition I have consulted I. Himbaza, „Le Décalogue de Papyrus Nash, Philon, 4Qphyl G, 8Qphyl 3 et 4Qmez A“, *RevQ* 79, 2002, 411–428.

1.1. OLD TESTAMENT VERSIONS OF THE DECALOGUE (BHS, GÖLXX<sup>2</sup>)

Ex 20 (BHS)	Dtn 5 (BHS)	Ex 20 (GöLXX)	Dtn 5 (GöLXX)
13. לֹא תִרְצָח	17. לֹא תִרְצָח	13. ου μοιχευσεις	17. ου μοιχευσεις
14. לֹא תִנָּאֵף	18. וְלֹא תִנָּאֵף	14. ου κλεψεις	18. ου φονευσεις
15. לֹא תִגְנוֹב	19. וְלֹא תִגְנוֹב	15. ου φονευσεις	19. ου κλεψεις
16. לֹא תַעֲנֶה	20. וְלֹא תַעֲנֶה	16. ου ψευδομαρ- τυρησεις ...	20. ου ψευδομαρτυ- ρησεις ...
17. לֹא תִחַמֵּד	21. וְלֹא תִחַמֵּד	17. ουκ επιθυμη- σεις ...	21. ουκ επιθυμη- σεις ...

1.2. NEW TESTAMENT VERSIONS OF THE DECALOGUE (NA-27, ECM<sup>3</sup>)

Mt 10:18	Mk 10:19	Lk 18:20	Rom 13:9	James 2:11
ου φονευσεις	μη φονευσης	μη μοιχευσης	ου μοιχευσεις	μη μοιχευσης
ου μοιχευσεις	μη μοιχευσης	μη φονευσης	ου φονευσεις	... μη φονευ- σης
ου κλεψεις	μη κλεψης	μη κλεψης	ου κλεψεις	
ου ψευδομαρ- τυρησεις	μη ψευδο- μαρτυρησης	μη ψευδο- μαρτυρησης	ουκ επιθυμη- σεις	
	μη αποστερη- σης			

When comparing these versions, three major differences are detected: a) ου + verb in the indicative versus μη + verb in the subjunctive; b) the listing with or without copula; c) the sequence of the first three commandments in the lists. The first two differences are restricted to one part of the Bible only, i.e., a) is found in the NT, b) only in the Hebrew. The sequence aspect however transcends the boundaries of only one part of the Bible and puzzles any student of these passages. With regard to the first three commandments we have the following distinct sequences<sup>4</sup>:

2. *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum, Exodus* (1991, J. W. Wevers, adiuvante U. Quast); *Deuteronomy [Deuteronomium]* (1977, J. W. Wevers, adiuvante U. Quast). It is worth pointing out that this is also the text as given by Brooke-McLean, *The Old Testament in Greek* I/2 (1909) and I/3 (1911) and Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* I (1935).

3. NA-27 = Nestle-Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece* (27th ed, 1993) and ECM = *Novum Testamentum Graecum. Editio Critica Maior* IV/1 (Installemt 1: James, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997) give identical texts where they are both available.

4. For convenience sake we ignore difference a), thus concentrating on the basic mor-

“MT”: φονευσεις – μοιχευσεις – κλεψεις = Masoretic Text (Ex/Dtn),  
Mt and Mk

“GD”: μοιχευσεις – φονευσεις – κλεψεις = Greek Dtn, Lk, Rom James

“GE”: μοιχευσεις – κλεψεις – φονευσεις = Greek Ex

A few initial observations are in order. “GD” seems to be the most widespread and uncontroversial sequence, since it is attested in three different New Testament texts (Lk, Rom, James), representing three different corpora (Gospels, Pauline Letters and Catholic Letters), and also found in the Greek Pentateuch (Dtn). Moreover, “GD” is also attested in Philo, *De Decalogo* 36 and 51, which gives it an even broader basis in the Greek decalogue tradition, and in Papyrus Nash<sup>5</sup>, extending this Greek tradition into the Hebrew as well. This tradition has a traceable lineage and circulated widely both in Jewish and Early Christian circles.

The two other versions are in need of explanation. Apart from Ex 20 “GE” seems completely isolated. Although Himbaza affirms that Origen is a witness to the “GE” sequence, his reference to Field’s edition of the Hexapla is simply mistaken.<sup>6</sup> In other words, there appears to be no independent confirmation for the critically edited “GE” sequence. But the “MT” version raises questions too. It appears as the unchallenged Hebrew tradition in Ex 20 and Dtn 5 and even beyond. According to Himbaza, the “MT” sequence is found in the phylacteries and scrolls of Qumran referring to Exodus or Deuteronomy as well as in the Samaritan Pentateuch of both books and later Targumim.<sup>7</sup> At first sight the New Testament versions of “MT”, i.e., Mt and Mk, are safely backed-up by that host of witnesses. The problem is, however, that none of these witnesses is in Greek. In other words, Mt and Mk might be the oldest witnesses to “MT” in Greek. Should we assume then that Mark and/or Matthew accessed the Jewish scriptures in Hebrew? In this case we have additional evidence in a contemporary Greek Jewish writer from the first century CE, namely Flavius Josephus. In his decalogue paraphrase *Antiquitates* III 91–92 Josephus numbers the commandments, hence he aims at paraphrasing an extant list. His list clearly follows “MT”, but was it a Greek or a Hebrew list?

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phological units, and use the abbreviated designators in inverted commas in order to refer to the distinct sequences.

5. See Himbaza “Le Décalogue de Papyrus Nash”; idem, *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du texte*, 66–7.

6. Himbaza *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du texte*, 152, n. 155.

7. Himbaza *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du texte*, 51–66. 72–86.

### 1.3. OLD TESTAMENT TEXTUAL DATA<sup>8</sup>

Let us now turn to the LXX apparatuses for further evidence on Greek Old Testament versions of the decalogue. The Cambridge and especially Göttingen apparatuses provide the following:

- a. At Ex 20, support for the accepted “GE” sequence comes from B 82 f 120’ Sa only. Moreover, a larger part of the manuscripts (C’-422 125 n-127 30’ x) gives the “GD” sequence that we know from Greek Deuteronomy. The majority (A F M O’ rel), however, gives the “MT” sequence. In addition we find two individual manuscripts mentioned that give even more deviating sequences  
799: κλεψεις - φονευσεις - μοιχευσεις  
84: φονευσεις - κλεψεις - μοιχευσεις
- b. At Dtn 5, support for the accepted “GD” sequence comes from different manuscripts and groups, i.e., B V 963(vid) b d n-127 t 407’. The majority (A F M O’ rel), however, supports – again – the “MT” sequence.

We can immediately see that in both places the “MT” sequence not only is also present, but clearly the dominant version within the textual tradition of the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, Himbaza seems to have missed this point entirely.<sup>9</sup> At first sight this looks suspiciously like assimilation to the Hebrew model. Assimilations of that sort might be associated with revisional processes in the Hexaplaric tradition.<sup>10</sup> Assimilations to the Hebrew, however, started earlier than Origen as, e.g., the Kaige recension indicates. This in turn opens up the possibility that by the time of the Gospel writers (second half of the first century CE), there was already a Greek version of the LXX available that gave the “MT” order of commandments whether in the Deuteronomy version or in the Exodus version. Moreover, the fact that we find the “GD” sequence

8. Unless otherwise indicated, manuscript designations in this section refer to the nomenclatura used by the Göttingen LXX.

9. In Himbaza *Le Décalogue et l'histoire du texte*, 69, n. 98 referencing the Exodus passage we find only his mentioning of manuscripts that give the “GD” order. Neither the “MT” sequence nor the two other singular sequences are given. Himbaza (72, note 116) is clearly wrong by stating that „les mss de Dt sont unanimes pour l'ordre des v. 17–19.

10. This is the judgement of J.W. Wevers *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SCOS 30, Atlanta 1990, 314): „The majority text which follows the order of MT is undoubtedly a reordering by the hex recension.“

with the Exodus passage in a considerable number of manuscripts (C + cI as well as basically the n and x groups) is a clear indicator of the standing of this sequence within the tradition. What appears to be lacking, however, is support for the “GE” sequence with manuscripts at the Deuteronomy passage. It remains limited to Codex Vaticanus as the sole majuscule witness and only tiny support from its most notorious allies 82 f 120’ and Sa in Exodus.<sup>11</sup>

To sum up: In the Old Testament text traditions we have two solidly established versions, the “MT” and “GD” versions that have both attracted mutual harmonizations. In addition, we have a peripheral version, the “GE” sequence, which is restricted to few witnesses of Exodus. The same holds even more so true for the two singular (799 84) sequences at the Exodus passage. Despite admitting that the order “adopted here as Exod has very little ms support,” Wevers contends that the “B+ text cannot easily be explained as the product of textual revision, and so must be original.”<sup>12</sup> In my view this not only fails to take into account the fact that there are other factors than “textual revision” operative in the course of textual traditions. Moreover, it should have been a slightly unsettling observation that “GE”, despite being perceived as “original”, seems to have had no discernable impact on the Deuteronomy tradition.

In order to broaden our evidence, let us now look at the textual tradition of the Gospel parallels of the decalogue and at their dissemination.

#### 1.4. NEW TESTAMENT TEXTUAL DATA<sup>13</sup>

Regarding Rom 13:9 and James 2:11 none of the critical editions I have consulted flags any variation regarding the order of the commandments. Therefore, we can ignore those verses from here on and concentrate on the Gospel passages.

For this study I make use of material that has been collected at the Institut für neutestamentliche Textforschung (Münster).<sup>14</sup> It consists of a special edition of 14 larger textual units from the Synoptic Gospels. This study was con-

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11. The close textual affiliation between B and groups f and z (120’ = 120+407 is a sub group of z) is evident from the tables in J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU 21, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht, 1992) 81–93, esp. 93. In addition manuscript 82 is the single most closely affiliated manuscript to B in minority readings of B (see Wevers, *loc. cit.*, 93).

12. Wevers, *Text History*, 171.

13. Unless otherwise indicated the nomenclatura for manuscript designations in this section refer to the Gregory-Aland system, cf. K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des neuen Testaments* (ANTF 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Berlin-New York: deGruyter, 1994).

14. *Novum Testamentum Graecum Editio Critica Maior: Parallel Pericopes* (ed. Holger Strutwolf and Klaus Wachtel; Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2011)



ducted to complement the already published “Teststellen” collations for which all the available manuscripts of the Synoptic Gospels have been checked and profiled.<sup>15</sup> The special focus for the parallel pericopes was on the phenomenon of assimilation to parallel passages. Therefore larger units were selected. One such unit comprises Mt 19:16–22 and parallels. These units have been collated from 154 Greek manuscripts from the fourth to the 16th centuries. The manuscripts included have been selected on the basis of said “Teststellen” collations and represent samples from different levels of proximity to the textual mainstream as determined by the “Teststellen.”

#### 1.4.1. Matthew 19:18<sup>16</sup>

With regard to the order of commandments, we have only few variants. The vast majority just gives the “MT” sequence. There is but one minuscule (1446) that has the order as given by “GD” and one more (2786) with the order φονευσεις – κλεψεις – μοιχευσεις that we have already seen with LXX manuscript 84 at Ex 20. Finally, there are a couple of individual witnesses that skip either the second (61 555 740 979) or the third (579 1336) or even both of these elements, which in this case is scribe A of Codex Sinaiticus. However, an early hand from the scriptorium has added the missing commandments in the “MT” order. It is clear that none of these scattered readings with very limited support has a claim for wider circulation, let alone originality. It seems also far-fetched to claim interdependency of LXX 84 and NT 2786 at the point of identical sequence. Except for the clear mistake in Sinaiticus none of the readings has support in witnesses of the first millennium. As a result, the “MT” order of the commandments in Mt 19:18 is solidly established.

#### 1.4.2. Lk 18:20<sup>17</sup>

Similarly, the alternative “GD” order is firmly established in Lk 18:20. Here we have a group of 11 witnesses<sup>18</sup> giving the “MT” order, but none of them has a claim for antiquity, since conversely all the ancient authorities are unanimous. Again, we find a couple of the usual omissions: six manuscripts (044 0211 273

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15. *Text und Textwert der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. IV. Die synoptischen Evangelien: 1. Das Markusevangelium* (2 vols, ANTF 26–27, 1998); 2. *Das Matthäusevangelium* (2 vols, ANTF 28–29, 1999); 3. *Das Lukasevangelium* (2 vols, ANTF 30–31, 1999).

16. *Parallel Pericopes*, 94.

17. *Loc. Cit.*

18. 79 130 827 968 1012 1446 1451 1457 1593 2766 2786

1279 1506 1675) omitting the second and three (176\* 732 1273) omitting the third element. But the net result is impressive. The “GD” order of commandments is not only the reading of the witnesses from the first millennium but in all likelihood the “original” of the Gospel of Luke at this point. But even more interesting for our purposes are the two manuscripts (807 1337) that give the “GE” order. Obviously these two manuscripts have the same reading at Lk 18:20 as Codex Vaticanus etc., at Ex 20:13–15. Is this then additional support for a wider dissemination of this minority tradition from the Greek Old Testament? Manuscript 807 is a Gospel commentary manuscript of the Catena type from the 12th century, currently housed in the Library of the Parliament in Athens (shelf number 1). MS 1337 is a Gospel manuscript accompanied by the commentary of Theophylact. It has been dated to the 13th century and is currently found in the Saba monastery of the Orthodox Patriarchate in Jerusalem (shelf number 263). Both mss are extant in Lk and Mk and have been part of said published “Teststellen” project. For these two Gospels an average number of 1500 manuscripts have been collated at 250 test passages throughout these two Gospels. Besides the printed collation results there is a database version available.<sup>19</sup> The searches that I was able to perform on the two manuscripts yielded no positive results as far as textual kinship is concerned. In other words, these two manuscripts are textually unrelated. For all practical purposes, they must have acquired the “GE” sequence independently. How they have acquired that shared reading, we cannot tell, but it was certainly not part of a traceable literary-historical lineage. The reading just pops up here and there, with no shared common textual tradition. Before we draw further conclusions, let us look at the last passage.

#### 1.4.3. Mk 10:19<sup>20</sup>

This verse is a real challenge. I have counted a total of fifteen different versions with an additional 14 sub-variants. This has partly to do with the fact, that in Mark the sequence of commandments has a fifth element, namely *μη αποστερησης*, which adds a lot of potential for change of orders and omissions. The said element is neither part of the 10 commandments nor found in Mt or Lk, which undoubtedly also contributed to the unsettled textual state of Mk 10:19. Moreover, in contrast to the Matthean and Lukan parallels, this time the earliest authorities are split among various different readings. In

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19. Accessed in July 2010 under [http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT\\_PP/TT\\_Clusters.html](http://intf.uni-muenster.de/TT_PP/TT_Clusters.html)

20. *Parallel Pericopes*, 94–95.

order to facilitate comparison I have restricted the selection of variant readings to those that betray the order of the first three commandments and/or the omission of the fifth element μη αποστερησης.

TABLE 1

μη φονευσης		μη μοιχευσης	μη μοιχευσης
μη μοιχευσης	μη φονευσης	μη φονευσης	μη κλεψης
μη κλεψης	μη κλεψης	μη κλεψης	μη φονευσης
μη ψευδομαρτυρη- σης	μη ψευδομαρτυρη- σης	μη ψευδομαρτυρη- σης	μη ψευδομαρτυρ- ησης
μη αποστερησης	μη αποστερησης	μη αποστερησης	μη αποστερησης
01C 03C 04 61 184 348 555 829 892 1279 1528 1579 2726 2786	01*	02 022 038 043 0211 13 69C 79 124 157 346 Byz	740 1574

TABLE 2

μη φονευσης	μη μοιχευσης	μη μοιχευσης	
μη μοιχευσης	μη φονευσης	μη κλεψης	μη μοιχευσης
μη κλεψης	μη κλεψης	μη φονευσης	μη κλεψης
μη ψευδομαρτυ- ρησης	μη ψευδομαρτυ- ρησης	μη ψευδομαρτυ- ρησης	μη ψευδομαρτυ- ρησης
03* 037 044 16 579 752	017 032 041 042 28 69* 222 700 732C 788 ... (24 witnesses)	1338 1344	1 118 205 209 1582 2193*

Table 1 gives the main versions that keep the fifth element μη αποστερησης and table 2 those that omit it. In my view, the omission of this peculiar element is the clearest indicator for the secondary nature of these readings. It is much easier to explain why it has been omitted in the course of the textual tradition than the reverse. The omission also gives the best harmonistic fit with the Matthean and Lucan versions respectively. On the other hand, it seems much harder to tell, whether the “MT” or the “GD” version in the first table is the

version of the “original text” of Mark’s gospel. But solving this question is not a necessary part of the present investigation. Interestingly, again, in Table 1 we find two witnesses, 740 and 1574, attesting to the “GE” sequence that we know from the critically reconstructed text of Ex 20:13–15. Moreover, in the second table we find another pair (1338 and 1344) that also offers said sequence. To make a longer story short, neither of the two pairs nor any combination of the four reveals textual kinship between any of them in the Gospel of Mark at the test passages. By contrast, the six manuscripts testifying to the abbreviated sequence in the right column of table 2 are core members of a well-known and well-defined family of Gospel books called family 1.

To sum up: Again, we have little evidence for the “GE” sequence in the textual tradition of Mark 10:19. And, again, nothing in the texts of those few witnesses suggests that they ever formed something like a distinct tradition that solidly established itself by means of a shared profile of readings. Again, how they acquired this “GE” sequence is beyond our knowledge. But let us reason a little.

It seems unlikely that the four Markan and the two Lukan manuscripts inherited this “GE” sequence from a common New Testament tradition, for there is no evidence of such a tradition in the New Testament textual transmission that we have data for. It also seems unlikely that these manuscripts were independently influenced from the Old Testament, that is to say from the tradition behind the reconstructed text of Ex 20:13–15, for that tradition is so tiny and limited. Therefore, on purely literary-historical grounds, the easiest explanation for the New Testament evidence appears to be random individual textual corruption. Codex Sinaiticus (01) provides good illustrations of how it might have happened.

The image of folio 223b (including Mk 10:19) available on the Codex Sinaiticus website<sup>21</sup> shows that Scribe A after omitting said words corrected himself and squeezed the missing colon into the margin. At Mt 19:18<sup>22</sup> scribe A even omitted two colons. In this case another hand from the scriptorium (S1) supplied both of them in the space between the columns. It is fairly easy to imagine that scribes who had to copy such a corrected exemplar could end up having the marginal words added in different positions, which would then at times result in unusual sequences.

Having established a reasonable perspective for the developments of the New Testament texts under scrutiny, we now turn back to the Old Testament

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21. <http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net/de/manuscript.aspx?book=34&chapter=10&lid=de&side=r&verse=19&zoomSlider=0>

22. <http://www.codex-sinaiticus.net/de/manuscript.aspx?book=33&chapter=19&lid=de&side=r&verse=18&zoomSlider=0>

passages of the decalogue and look at the reasons that scholars give for the diversity of sequences and the mechanics they associate with the development of the texts.

## 2. CONTEXTS FOR DECALOGUE VARIATION

### 2.1. RATIONALISING DECALOGUE SEQUENCES

No doubt the human mind is bound to find explanations for what is at hand. In the case of differing decalogue sequences, Wevers is nevertheless slightly at a loss to explain “GE” (adultery-stealing-murder). He asks: “Was it due to an understanding of these commandments being ordered in an ascending order of criminality?”<sup>23</sup> The question is clearly not meant as a rhetorical one. Moreover, no answer is given. Perhaps Wevers sensed the inevitable anachronistic flavour of such an interpretation. One could easily argue the opposite on the basis of Philo’s interpretation of the second part of the decalogue that contains “commandments committed against men starting with adultery,” which is considered to be “the greatest of all violations of the law”...τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν [scil. πεντας] ἀναγραφάμενος περιέχουσιν ἀπαγορεύσεις τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ἀπὸ μοιχείας ἄρχεται, [122] μέγιστον ἀδικημάτων τοῦτ’ εἶναι ὑπολαβὼν (*de Decalogo* 121–122<sup>24</sup>). Philo interprets the position of adultery on top of the list of the second part of the decalogue as indicating it being the most severe of all the violations committed against men. The logic then would be that of a descending order of criminality directly opposing Wevers’ suggested logic. The interpretation given by Philo has clearly the advantage of reflecting a rationalisation of decalogue sequence from antiquity. Nevertheless it is a reflection *post festum*, which tries to make sense of a given sequence. It would be difficult to argue that Philo presents the reasoning for the redaction that is responsible for the “GD/GE” sequences.

Adrian Schenker in his “Die Reihenfolge der Gebote auf der zweiten Tafel. Zur Systematik des Dekalogs”<sup>25</sup> offers what appears to be the most comprehensive review of scholarly responses to the differing sequences. The main

23. Wevers, *Text History*, 171.

24. *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt IV* (ed. Leopold Cohn and Paul Wendland, Berlin: Reimer, 1902).

25. First published in *Das Gewicht der Gebote und die Möglichkeit der Kunst*. Krzysztof Kieślowski’s ‘Dekalog’-Filme als ethische Modelle (ed. Walter Lesch and Matthias Loretan; Studien zur theologischen Ethik 53, Freiburg i.Br.: Herder, 1993, 145–159), reprinted in A. Schenker, *Recht und Kult im Alten Testament. Achtzehn Studien* (OBO 172, Freiburg, Schweiz: Academic Press, 2000, 52–66).

result of his review is that most scholars simply ignored that issue. Schenker's own attempt to rationalise the textual data is based on perceiving all three different sequences ("MT", "GD", "GE") as equally valid witnesses to ancient, even canonical or official interpretations<sup>26</sup> of the decalogue. He then goes on explaining the three different logics of "GE", "GD" and "MT" as equally plausible deliberate arrangements.<sup>27</sup> The problem with this approach is that its success defeats its premises. Three equally plausible sequences of three variable elements within a series of ten are less likely than only one or two. Moreover, they appear somewhat arbitrary as long as the logics of the other three possible sequences have not been tested. Therefore, the problem is not that we lack successful rationalisations of different sequences. What raises suspicion is that we seem to have too many.

All these rationalisations —from Philo to Wevers and Schenker—are *post festum* and have in common that they take the texts they are based on as purposeful and deliberate creations. But this is exactly what begs the question. Textual traditions contain lots of errors and even readings that appear grammatically and logically sensible were often the result of simple mistakes.<sup>28</sup> Against Schenker's emphatic claim of canonical standing for the three different versions one may point to the noticeable difference in impact that these versions have created. "MT" and "GD" enjoyed extensive circulation as is evident from the Hebrew and Greek traditions of Deuteronomy and Exodus as well as from Philo, Josephus and the New Testament writers. Hence, one might interpret this as a powerful reception history of two "canonical" versions, according to Schenker's concept. "GE" on the contrary has not even created the slightest echo outside of the mentioned tiny portion of Exodus manuscripts. This is certainly a very different kind of "canonical" version when compared to the other two. The question may be asked, what concept of canonical standing should be associated with "GE", if hardly anybody has responded to it positively.

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26. Schenker, *Recht und Kult*, 63: "Finden sich Variationen, so haben sie für ihre Texte gleichsam kanonische Geltung, d.h. sie wurden von berufener und autorisierter Seite unter allgemeiner Billigung eingeführt oder anerkannt. [...] Die Verschiedenheit der Reihenfolge der drei in Frage stehenden Verbote der zweiten Tafel ist somit ein Zeugnis ältester (!) und 'offizieller' (!) Interpretation."

27. Schenker, *Recht und Kult*, 64–66.

28. For examples from other parts of the Biblical text tradition see U.B. Schmid, "Genealogy by Chance! On the significance of accidental variation (parallelism)," in *Studies in Stemmatology II* (ed Pieter van Reenen, August den Hollander and Margot van Mulken, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins 2004, 127–143).

Before we draw final conclusions, we have to consider another explanation offered by Himbaza. In commenting on the three different sequences “MT”, “GD” and “ED” as attested in the critically reconstructed editions of the Masoretic text, Greek Deuteronomy and Greek Exodus, Himbaza resorts to oral tradition as a potential explanation for the observable diversity.<sup>29</sup> Whereas Schenker placed much emphasis on concepts of authority and canonical standing behind the three different versions, Himbaza appears to be more informal and flexible by invoking the oral medium as a source for diversity. Unfortunately, I am slightly unclear about the precise concept that Himbaza is advocating. As far as I understand, he assumes that a plurality of forms existed orally and the transition into scripture happened to have fixed a number of them based on the then current rationalisations. These rationalisations should also be held responsible for any subsequent modifications. Does that entail the manuscript traditions, too?

The main question I have for Himbaza’s assessment is whether he sees the impact of the oral medium restricted to initial diversity, i.e., prior to the decalogue’s transition into scripture, or a matter of on going influence. In other words, is orality invoked in order to explain original, pre-writing diversity only, or original diversity and subsequent modifications as evidenced by the on going textual traditions of the decalogue passages. If the latter is also envisaged, some additional reflections seem to be needed. For example, is all the variation we encounter in the manuscripts in decalogue passages to be explained as due to oral influence, even the singular readings from LXX 84 and 799 at Ex 20? Or only the variation that reflects a selection of versions, e.g., the ones that are more prominently and multiply attested? If the latter, where do we draw the line and how do we select? Is the selection process largely informed by our modern abilities to successfully rationalise some of the versions? Or do we use traditional text critical tools as well? If the latter, how do we allow the New Testament evidence, we have just been looking at, to inform our analysis?

In order to aim at an integrated perspective on all of the versions, that includes the oral medium, I now try to map the Old Testament – New Testament relations for the decalogue passages under scrutiny.

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29. Himbaza *Le Décalogue et l’histoire du texte*, 153–4: “Pour tenter d’expliquer la raison de la différence de ces trois traditions textuelles, on peut penser que l’ordre de ces commandements était oralement variable. Sa fixation par écrit dans l’une ou l’autre tradition manuscrite, se serait alors basée sur l’interprétation qu’on pouvait en tirer. Cette interprétation aurait entraîné la modification dans un sens ou dans un autre.... Toujours est-il qu’il nous semble difficile de déterminer l’ordre le plus ancien.”

## 2.2 MAPPING OLD TESTAMENT–NEW TESTAMENT DECALOGUE RELATIONS

We start with a model that draws on the textual evidence and the potential interactions between the versions from a text based concept. In a second step we include concepts of oral influence into the picture. This is to reflect the fact that all our rationalisations, whether more traditionally text critical in nature or including the oral medium to explain differences, are ultimately driven by differences mediated in written sources.

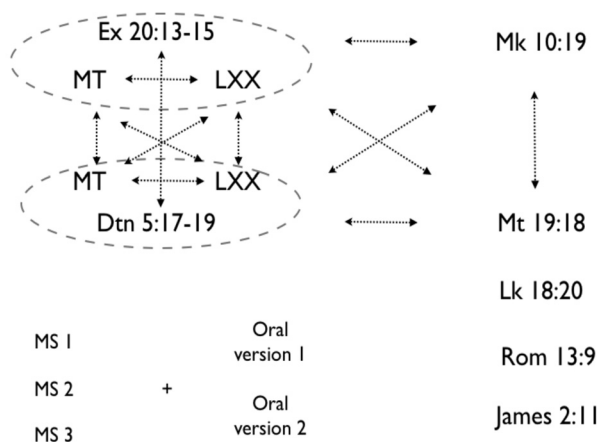
First of all we look at the basic constellation with the two decalogue versions of Exodus and Deuteronomy. In cases of differences between these versions, the two can interact in the course of the tradition. That is to say, part of the tradition could have kept the differences, but another part could have started to harmonise them. And this is of course a two-way ticket. The Exodus version could have been adapted to the Deuteronomy version and vice-versa. Now both these versions are extant in Hebrew and Greek incarnations. And these different incarnations can, of course, interact with each other in the course of the tradition. In the case of four different versions this gives us a total of six two-way relations between the four entities. Now Mt and Mk come into play. Theoretically, either one could have been using or checking against either of the two passages in either of their incarnations. In addition Mt could have been using Mk or, less likely but again theoretically possible, Mk could have been using Mt. But certainly, any of the subsequent scribes who had to copy Mk could have been influenced by Mt. The six entities involved give us the theoretical possibility of 120 two-way relations between them. If we added Luke, Paul and James, the potential contacts would exponentially multiply again. And if we added only three mss for each of the six or nine text passages in the two languages, the complexity of the potential interactions would get slightly beyond imagination, though not beyond calculation. As a result of this little exercise, we may gather that at least the theoretical interaction between parallel passages found in the Old and New Testaments can be quite complex at times.

## 2.3. MAPPING THE ORAL ASPECT OF THE DECALOGUE VARIATIONS AT HAND

And how would one add the issue of oral versions of these commandments to this picture? In my view there are three approaches that one could take. (1) Oral versions are just another layer on top of all the interaction we have just been looking at. And the result would be ever more complexity. (2) The level of complexity could be viewed as of a quality that casts severe doubts on the entire enterprise. The picture becomes too blurry, and we simply surrender our efforts to link individual versions literary-historically, while



## OT - NT Relations



ascribing the observable differences to a broad stream of—at least partially orally shaped and mediated—uncontrolled tradition. (3) One could also try to integrate oral versions into literary-historical analysis by viewing them as shaping the tradition in ways that may be perceived as stabilising factors. Oral tradition, especially if seen in the context of teaching or catechesis, is expected to channel and prioritise variation at least to some extent and with respect to some features. One such feature might probably be sequence in cases where we have lists of commandments or short memorable stichoi. Which of the mentioned approaches appears to be most suitable for the textual complexities at hand?

Fortunately, our survey of the actual textual traditions of the decalogue passages does not support the notion of insurmountable complexity nor encourages us to surrender to a broad and undifferentiated picture. As far as “MT” and “GD” are concerned, we have two solidly established versions of decalogue sequences, extant in Hebrew and Greek, attested by Jewish and Early Christian writers and mutually influencing the individual textual traditions of the Greek Biblical versions. From these data it is easily conceived that both versions were associated with considerable reputation and used and taught over some time, enjoying more than just limited dissemination. These two versions may serve as examples to illustrate the perseverance of different traditions, even with formative texts, when part of a living culture of teaching and learning. Without any doubt the oral medium has contributed to stabilise

and prioritise these versions and made them available to lots of communities and agents of the tradition. It is basically of secondary concern what processes effectively caused the cross-contamination in the textual traditions of the passages under discussion.

On the very other end of the spectrum we have individual witnesses like LXX 84 and 799 at Ex 20 or few NT manuscripts rearranging the order in similar ways or omitting individual commandments. None of these outliers suggests itself to be a suitable candidate for an “original” reading in any of the passages under review. In addition none of these outliers calls for oral tradition as an explanation for its existence. Quite to the contrary, the omission of individual commandments as found in some witnesses of Mt, Mk, and Lk and the corrections in Codex Sinaiticus at the Matthean and Markan passages give every reason to believe that simple scribal oversights, due to homoioteleuton, are the most likely reasons for any of these. This then offers a plausible scenario to explain the peripheral rearrangements when found in individual manuscripts as due to accidental processes in the course of omitting/overlooking individual commandments and reinserting them in unusual positions.

The real obstacle, as I see it, is, again, the “GE” sequence. Does the “GE” sequence call for oral tradition as an explanation for its existence? And if so, how should this oral tradition be perceived of? No doubt the “GE” sequence could initially go back to a locally taught version that was put into writing at some point. But is the concept of oral tradition useful to help in explaining its spread based on the traces of the “GE” sequence in our textual traditions? Under normal circumstances we tend to associate the “GE” presence in B 82 f 120’ and Sa in Exodus to a shared textual tradition that can be backed up from the lists compiled by Wevers.<sup>30</sup> It would hardly occur to us that oral tradition was instrumental for its presence in this constellation of witnesses. On the other hand the scattered occurrences of the “GE” sequence among few unrelated Gospel manuscripts may look more promising, if only because we lack any traceable literary-historical lineage. But then again, how should an oral tradition be conceived of that only pops up here and there in what appear to be completely isolated individual Gospel manuscripts? In my view appeal to oral tradition in such a scenario is not convincing either. The explanation for the scattered occurrences of the “GE” sequence in the textual tradition of Mk

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30. As already indicated, the close textual affiliation between B and groups f and z (120’ = 120+407 is a sub group of z) is evident from the tables in J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus* (MSU 21, Göttingen 1992) 81–93, esp. 93. In addition manuscript 82 is the single most closely affiliated manuscript to B in minority readings of B (see Wevers, *loc. cit.*, 93).

and Lk and illustrated by the example of Codex Sinaiticus scribe A's omissions as given above is still to be preferred. I have concluded that "GE" in the Gospel tradition was generated by simple transcriptional error: omission of a colon > subsequent marginal correction > wrong position of the marginal correction in subsequent copying process. If this is a convincing explanation for the New Testament occurrences of the "GE" sequence, it may apply to the Old Testament occurrences in Ex 20 as well. It just so happened that the corruption occurred early in the tradition (prior to Codex Vaticanus) and has enjoyed some (albeit very limited) circulation.

In essence our analysis boils down to a choice between two explanations. The "GE" sequence in Ex 20 is either the product of secondary accidental textual developments, as I am inclined to believe, or the result of a purposeful creation, which may have been initially formed or inspired by oral tradition. If it is the latter, it could have been born in writing at any point in the history of Greek Exodus with Codex Vaticanus as its date *post quem non*. I fail to see how appeal to oral tradition adds anything to strengthen this case. Upon closer inspection oral tradition is not useful to explain the distribution of the "GE" sequence as found in the textual traditions we have researched. Moreover, resorting to oral tradition in order to explain the existence of the "GE" sequence in Ex 20 has in my opinion the air of special pleading. This is especially true, if it serves to support the notion that "GE" is the "original" text of Exodus 20. In that capacity it only serves to uphold a text-critical analysis that narrowly focuses on concepts of "textual revision" rather than taking into account the viable explanation of textual corruption. Instead, oral tradition is invoked like a *deus ex machina* without taking into consideration the costs of the enterprise, which are considerable. On the one hand the concept of oral tradition that should explain variety in these decalogue passages is underdetermined, since, at least in Himbaza's analysis, it lacks a conceptual foundation. On the other hand the observable textual variety is overrated. Invoking oral tradition in this case works like a smoke grenade obscuring a rather sizeable textual problem.

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

The oral medium is difficult to include in textual analysis for all sorts of reasons, not the least being that oral traditions from antiquity are only accessible in writing. For the purposes of our example of differing lists of commandments, I have concluded that oral tradition is best understood as shaping, but also stabilising, forces in on going traditions. Therefore, it is probably most easily grasped from written versions that are multiply attested. When it comes to singularly or very rarely attested versions, we need to develop concepts that

can stand the test of traditional text critical reasoning from within a purely literary-historical perspective.

Hence, in the absence of compelling concepts of oral tradition that might give us reason to think differently, we should stick with the two solidly established versions “MT” and “GD”. The rest is best explained as secondary textual developments. Therefore, “GE” hardly qualifies as the Old Greek in Ex 20:13–15. For that we have to choose between “MT” and “GD”. In my opinion “GD” is the most likely candidate for the “original” text of Exodus. For one “GD” is not suspect of assimilation to the Hebrew text. Secondly, “GD” has prominent and early attestation in Greek Deuteronomy, Philo and Luke and Paul. And finally accepting “GD” as the original text of Greek Exodus has the advantage of explaining a feature that Himbaza has observed especially with Philo and Papyrus Nash, i.e., both these sources seem to be based on the Exodus version of the decalogue that has been “contaminated” with features from the Deuteronomy version.<sup>31</sup> The most obvious of these contaminations however is the “GD” sequence. If we adopt the “GD” sequence as original to the Greek Exodus version, the picture becomes much clearer and simpler, since a version of the decalogue that combined these features actually existed early on. Undoubtedly, this Greek version is based on an ancient Hebrew version deviating from the current Masoretic text of Exodus and Deuteronomy. And Papyrus Nash is probably a much closer witness to it than hitherto thought.<sup>32</sup> However, by the beginning of common era “MT” must have become the dominant proto-Masoretic version of the decalogue, at least in Palestine, judged by its strong and uncontested presence in Qumran. Therefore, a Greek version of “MT” could have been available to New Testament writers as well. The New Testament writers however still leave us with the puzzle of the unsettled text of Mk 10:19. But this is another story worth telling on another occasion.

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31. Himbaza, “Le Décalogue de Papyrus Nash,” Summary and esp. 419–23.

32. Papyrus Nash has also close affinities to the LXX version of the Shema Israel (Dtn 6:4); cf. Armin Lange, “Textual Standardisation in Egyptian Judaism,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Theologien, Einflüsse* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer; WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 50.

# A Comparison of the Septuagint Textual Form in the Torah Quotations Common to Philo of Alexandria and the Gospels of Mark and Matthew<sup>1</sup>

Gert J. Steyn

**Abstract:** It is the intention of this investigation to (a) present a survey of the text variations of the Torah quotations in the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, on the one hand, and to compare these variations with the Septuagint and Philo of Alexandria, on the other hand. Four such cases could be identified where the Torah quotations overlap between Mark, Matthew and Philo. These are compared by means of synoptic tables. The comparisons reveal that the most striking difference is the presence or absence of the personal pronoun (σου or αὐτοῦ). Mark's readings seem to be in general slightly closer—at least in these cases—to the LXX, whereas Matthew's readings tend to be closer to the readings of the same passages in the works of Philo. The study, furthermore, (b) discusses each of these identified differences in the light of the evidence contained in the available textual witnesses of the New Testament, LXX and Philo, before it finally (c) attempts to get closer to an answer on the nature of the LXX *Vorlage* that might have been used by Mark and by Matthew.

## 1. INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

Comparative studies on the quotations from the Torah in the NT seldom take cognizance of the *Corpus Philonicum*. These studies generally tend to compare the quotation mainly with the MT and LXX. Lately, and justifiably so at least, the Dead Sea Scrolls are also more and more included in such textual comparisons on the OT quotations in the NT. However, the place of the Hellenistic Jewish writer, Philo of Alexandria, alongside such textual comparisons remains often largely neglected. Similar to this oversight in NT comparisons,

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1. A research output from the Department of New Testament Studies at the University of Pretoria.

is the tendency to ignore these quotations in the NT where they overlap in Philo. This overlap of OT quotations between Philo and the NT is of importance in studies that occupy themselves with the text forms of the LXX that might possibly underlie these quotations. It is the intention of this paper then, to investigate the nature of the LXX text forms that underlie the quotations from the Torah where they overlap between the *Corpus Philonicum* and the Gospels of Mark and Matthew.

An interesting phenomenon was encountered during a recent study on the explicit quotations in the so-called Letter to the Hebrews.<sup>2</sup> The explicit quotations from the Torah—all very brief—were taken from Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy. These Torah quotations (including the longer quotation from Prov 3:11–12 in Heb 12:5–6) in Hebrews occurred already in the works of Philo, mainly in his *Leg.* 3. The text form of the quotations in Hebrews are the closest to those of Philo, with both Hebrews and Philo together deviating from the readings of the MT as well as from the LXX witnesses. This raises the question about a common Greek Version of the Torah that might have been used by both Philo and the unknown author of Hebrews and which shows some differences with the known reconstructed LXX text.

This investigation forms then part of a larger study that compares the text form of the OT quotations in the NT where they overlap with Philo. The investigation is being taken further in tidal waves through the NT. Some of the Pauline literature (Galatians)<sup>3</sup> and the Lukan literature (Luke-Acts)<sup>4</sup> were explored during other occasions. These NT books have to be complemented also by the rest of the NT corpus. Once all data have been surveyed, then one would be in a position to make more responsible observations about the LXX text form—at least of the Torah—that underlies these quotations.

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2. Cf. Gert J. Steyn, *A Quest for the Assumed LXX Vorlage of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011); Gert J. Steyn, "Torah Quotations common to Philo, Hebrews, Clemens Romanus and Justin Martyr: What is the common denominator?," in *The New Testament Interpreted: Essays in Honour of Bernard C. Lategan* (ed. C. Breytenbach, J. C. Thom and J. Punt: S.NT 124; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 135–151; Gert J. Steyn, "Deuteronomy in Hebrews," in *Deuteronomy in the New Testament* (ed. S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken: London: T & T Clark, 2007), 152–168; and Gert J. Steyn, "A Note on the Vorlage of the Citation in Heb 4,4," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 84 (2002): 43–50.

3. "Can we reconstruct an early text form of the LXX from the quotations of Philo of Alexandria and the New Testament? Torah Quotations overlapping in Philo and Galatians as a Test Case," in *Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte* (ed. S. Kreuzer, M. Meiser, and M. Sigismund: Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012), 444–64.

4. A seminar was led on this topic by the author at the University of Eastern Finland (Joensuu) during October 2010.

## 2. TORAH QUOTATIONS IN MARK AND MATTHEW THAT OVERLAP WITH PHILO

As another case study then, after that of Galatians, a choice has been made to focus here only on the Gospels according to Mark and Matthew, although cross references will be made to the other NT books where needed. There are four cases to be found where the Torah quotations overlap between Philo, Mark and Matthew.<sup>5</sup> In two of these cases, Mark quotes from the Decalogue (Exod 20:12 / 20:12–16; Deut 5:16 / 5:16–20). One of the cases belongs to the section on *Purity* in Mark 7:1–23<sup>6</sup> (*par.* Matt 15:1–20), whilst the other case belongs to that of *Affluence* in Mark 10:17–31 (*par.* Matt 19:16–30). The remaining two cases belong to the sections on *Marriage and Divorce* in Mark 10:1–12<sup>7</sup> (Mark 10:6; 10:7–8) where the author quotes from the Creation Narratives in Gen 1:27 and Gen 2:24 respectively. Contextually, Cases 1 and 4 are related through their quotations from the Decalogue and should actually be discussed together, although each has its own emphasis on the Decalogue in its Gospels reception.<sup>8</sup> The same applies to Cases 2 and 3, which should also be discussed together, as they also belong to the same passage on marriage and divorce and the third case just continues where the second case ends. Mark uses the quotation from Gen 2:24 in Case 3 (Mark 10:7–8, *par.* Matt 19:5) to explain the quotation from Gen 1:27 in Case 2 (Mark 10:6, *par.* Matt 19:4). However, for the purposes of this study on the similarities and differences of the underlying text form(s), not focusing on the reception and reinterpretation of the quotation in its new context, each of the four instances will be discussed individually. Each

5. For discussions of the quotations in Mark see Rikk E. Watts, “Mark,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 111–249, and for its parallels in Matthew see Craig L. Blomberg, “Matthew,” in *Commentary* (ed. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson), 1–109.

6. For a discussion on this section against the backdrop of the Law in Gospels, see William R.G. Loader, *Jesus’ Attitude towards the Law. A Study of the Gospels* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 71–9.

7. William R. G. Loader refers to the work of Klaus Berger, *Die Gesetzesauslegung Jesu: Ihr historischer Hintergrund im Judentum und im Alten Testament: Teil I: Markus und Parallelen* (WMANT 40; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1972), 575: “Berger argues that Mark 10:3–8 is possible only on the basis of the LXX text. He points to the treatment of divorce as an instruction, to οἱ δύο (‘the two’), which links Gen 2:24 to 1:27, and to the use of ἄνθρωπος (‘man’)” (*The Septuagint, Sexuality and the New Testament* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004], 80).

8. Cf. Maarten J. J. Menken: “The controversy on clean and unclean in Mt. 15.1–20 is basically a rewritten version of Mk 7.1–23” (“Deuteronomy in Matthew’s Gospel,” in *Deuteronomy in the NT* [ed. S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken], 42–62, here 33).

of the four cases from Mark's Gospel will thus now be synoptically compared with the Matthean, Septuagint and Philonic intertexts.

**Case 1.** The Quotations in Mark 7:10a and Matt 15:4a<sup>9</sup> Compared to the LXX (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16)<sup>10</sup> and Philo (*Det.* 52; *Spec.* 2. 261)

Several studies have been done on the order and structure of the commandments in the NT.<sup>11</sup> A fundamental weakness of some of these studies, however, remains the lack of comparisons with the Philonic literature.<sup>12</sup> Without repeating those discussions here, it is important to note that several versions of the Decalogue existed and that several versions survived in the textual traditions of the LXX and NT. Apart from the versions in Exod 20 and Deut 5 in the Hebrew and Greek, there are also differences amongst the Greek Uncials B,  $\aleph$  and A in this regard, especially with regard to the order of the commandments.<sup>13</sup> The different occurrences where commandments of the Decalogue are quoted in the NT seem to follow one of these versions.

LXX Exod 20:12	LXX Deut 5:16	Philo, <i>Det.</i> 52	Philo, <i>Spec.</i> 2.261
		διείρηται γὰρ ἄντικρυς καὶ σαφῶς οὕτως·	παρηγόρησεν εἰπών·
τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα,	τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, <u>ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατό</u> <u>σοι κύριος ὁ θεός</u>	τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα,	τίμα πατέρα καὶ μητέρα,
ἵνα εὖ σοι γέννηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος <u>γένῃ</u> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς <u>τῆς ἀγαθῆς</u>	σου, ἵνα, εὖ σοι γέννηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος <u>γένῃ</u> ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,	ἵνα, εὖ σοι γέννηται	ἵνα, εὖ σοι γέννηται καὶ ἵνα μακροχρόνιος <u>γένῃ</u>

9. This section has not survived in codex A.

10. Apart from Mark, Matthew, and Ephesians is Exod 20:12 / Deut 5:16 also quoted in Josephus *Ap.* 2:206, as well as in Philo *Det.* 52 and *Ps.*-Philo 11:9–10 (Bradley H. McLean, *Citations and Allusions to Jewish Scripture in Early Christian and Jewish Writings Through 180 C.E.* [Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992], 35).

11. Cf., for instance, Loader, *Septuagint*, 15–17; Gert J. Steyn, “Pretexts of the second table of the Decalogue and early Christian intertexts”, *Neot* 30/2 (1996): 451–64.

12. So, for instance, the study of Alfred Suhl on the quotations in Mark's Gospel: *Die Funktion der alttestamentlichen Zitate und Anspielungen im Markusevangelium* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1965).

13. See Steyn, *Pretexts*, 451–64.



Mark 7:10a	Matt 15:4a	Luke 18:20b	Eph 6:2–3
Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν· τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα σου καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα σου, <u>καί· ὁ κακολογῶν</u> <u>πατέρα ἢ μητέρα</u> <u>θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ.</u>	ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν· τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα, <u>καί· ὁ κακολογῶν</u> <u>πατέρα ἢ μητέρα</u> <u>θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ.</u>	τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα σου καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα	τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα σου καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα, <u>ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ</u> <u>πρώτη ἐν</u> <u>ἐπαγγελίᾳ,</u> ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται καὶ <u>ἔσῃ μακροχρόνιος ἐπὶ</u> τῆς γῆς.

The quotation in Mark 7:10a and Matt 15:4a concerns only the fifth commandment and belongs to the broader context of Mark 7:1–23 on purity and impurity. The first part of the quotation, the part that contains the commandment as such—without the consequences of the commandment—is largely the same in all eight texts above. Only Ephesians has an additional parenthetic remark here regarding the status of this commandment: ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐντολὴ πρώτη ἐν ἐπαγγελίᾳ. However, there are further interesting observations to be noted regarding the quotation as a whole.

With the exception of Philo's *Spec.*2. 261,<sup>14</sup> the *definite article* is present before πατέρα and μητέρα in all instances.

One striking difference is the use of the second person *personal pronoun* σου which is consistently reflected in both MT versions of the Decalogue (Exod 20:12 and Deut 5:16), not only after “father” (אב) but also after “mother” (אם). It is also present after πατέρα<sup>15</sup> in all the texts listed above, except for both Philonic versions (*Det.* 52; *Spec.* 2. 261) and for Matt 15:4a (also Matt 19:19),<sup>16</sup> although attempts were made by some manuscripts in Matt 15:4a to include it there as well.<sup>17</sup> It is also present after μητέρα, but only in LXX Deut 5:16 and in Mark 7:10a,<sup>18</sup> although some witnesses in the

14. It is also omitted by Clem II 240 and τόν only by 127\*.

15. So supported by the LXX witnesses A B\* F<sup>b</sup> 56\* 59. It (σου) is added also after μητέρα by rel = Sixt : cf. Deut 5:16. Its omission in this second instance in Exodus “is obvious from the context” (John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990], 313). Some LXX witnesses of Deuteronomy also omit it: 68’–120 Did 506 Or III 377.

16. Amongst the LXX witnesses, only minuscule 392 omits it in Exodus. It is omitted amongst the Deuteronomy witnesses only by Or III 377.

17. It is added in Matt 15:4a after πατέρα by C<sup>2</sup> K L N W Θ f<sup>13</sup> 33. 565. 579. 1241. 1424 pm it vg<sup>ww</sup> sy.

18. So also David S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels, and the Two-Document Hypothesis*, (SBL SCS 37; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 70. Maarten J. J.

Matthean<sup>19</sup> and Lukan<sup>20</sup> textual traditions included it as well. Gundry listed several reasons for the absence of the personal pronoun in Matt 15:4a. It might be that (a) the “differences between the NT texts in the possessive pronouns may be due to the catechetical use of this commandment”; or that (b) “the LXX often did not render the possessive pronoun, so that Mt may merely have omitted them”; or that (c) “the Hebrew text may sometimes have left suffixes to be implied”; or that (d) Matthew’s “omission may be stylistic, the definite articles half fulfilling the function of possessives”; or (e) influence “from the emphatic state of nouns in Galilean Aramaic is also possible.”<sup>21</sup> Gundry fails in his discussion, however, to include the Philonic literature, which also lacks the personal pronoun here. Menken, in turn, made an interesting observation. In a comparison of Matthew’s use of Markan material, Menken found that there were five instances where Matthew omitted the possessive genitive of the personal pronoun (where it is used with substantives denoting family members) and four instances where Matthew added it. He found, furthermore, that “Matthew is consistent ... in omitting possessive genitives of the personal pronoun after πατήρ and μητήρ wherever these two words occur in immediate conjunction.” Menken’s conclusion is then that this omission in Matthew “is best explained as a simple editorial retouching of the evangelist for stylistic reasons.”<sup>22</sup> In a footnote on the absence of the personal pronoun from the quotation in Philo *Det.* 52, Menken is of the opinion that “(A)lthough this might suggest the existence of a textual tradition, the editorial explanation remains the simplest one in the case of Matthew (and probably also for Philo).”<sup>23</sup>

The second part of the quotation, the part which deals with the *consequences of the commandment*, shows some interesting features. The two LXX

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Menken also confirms that “Mark’s text is in verbatim agreement with Deut 5,16 LXX, while in Exod 20,12 σου is found once only, after πατέρα” (*Matthew’s Bible. The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist* [Leuven: University Press, 2004], 206). Moyise agrees with this observation but mentions further: “However, the penalty text is more complicated and could suggest that Mark found both quotations in his source” (“Deuteronomy in Mark’s Gospel,” in *Deuteronomy in the NT* [ed. S. Moyise and M. J. J. Menken], 27–41, here 28).

19. Included after μητέρα in the Matthean textual tradition by N W 892. 1424. *pc* it sy<sup>s.c.p.</sup>

20. Included after μητέρα in the Lukan textual tradition by  $\aleph^{13}$  a b c vg<sup>mss</sup> sy<sup>s.c.p.</sup>

21. Cf. Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew’s Gospel* (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 12. So also Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 54.

22. Cf. Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 206–7. He continues: “A secondary motive may have been Matthew’s wish to enhance the parallelism between the two OT quotations in 15,4...”

23. Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 207.

versions (in contrast to the other commandments), as well as both Philonic versions and Ephesians, formulate the consequences in a positive statement, whereas the two Gospels present it in a negative statement. Matthew clearly followed Mark here, who was probably responsible for this formulation of the negative consequences if the commandment would not be obeyed.

The LXX and Philo all follow exactly the same reading in their version of *these consequences*, except for the expansion that is present only in the Deuteronomy versions in the middle of the section (ὃν τρόπον ἐντείλα τό σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, LXX Deut 5:16 and באשר צוך יהוה אלהיך, MT Deut 5:16).

Furthermore, the two LXX versions and the two Philonic versions all *contain the phrase* ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, which is absent in the Exod 20 version of the MT, but present in the Deut 5 version of the MT (למען יאריכן ימיד) as well as in the Nash Papyrus.<sup>24</sup> Only LXX Exod 20:12 has an added τῆς ἀγαθῆς at the end, which has no equivalent in the MT. The Ephesians-version is the only one amongst the four listed texts where the phrase is present that reads ἔση μακροχρόνιος instead of the ἵνα μακροχρόνιος of the two LXX versions and Philo's *Spec.* 2. 261.

Could it be that Mark (the oldest Gospel) probably followed the LXX versions of Exod 20 and Deut 5, whilst Matthew followed another LXX tradition, one that underlies the two Philonic texts (plus Luke and Ephesians only after μητέρα) where σου is absent? What complicates the matter is the fact that Philo predates the NT, on the one hand, whilst the existing manuscripts that contain the Philonic literature date fairly late, on the other hand.

**Case 2.** The Quotations in Mark 10:6 and Matt 19:4<sup>25</sup> Compared to the LXX (Gen 1:27c; 5:1b–2a)<sup>26</sup> and Philo (*Her.* 164, 231)

LXX Gen 1:27	LXX Gen 5:1b–2a	Philo, <i>Her.</i> 164	Philo, <i>Her.</i> 231
καὶ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν <u>ἄνθρωπον</u> , κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ	ἡ ἡμέρα ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν <u>Ἀδάμ</u> , κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ	ἐποίησε, γὰρ φησιν, ὁ θεὸς τὸν <u>ἄνθρωπον</u> , κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ	ἐποίησε, γὰρ φησιν, ὁ θεὸς τὸν <u>ἄνθρωπον</u> , <u>οὐχ</u> εἰκόνα θεοῦ, <u>ἀλλὰ</u> κατ' εἰκόνα

24. Wevers is of the opinion that this might be evidence of a Hebrew original (*Notes on Exodus*, 313).

25. This part did not survive in codex A.

26. Apart from Mark and Matthew, Gen 1:27c is also quoted in CD 4:21 and alluded to in 1 Tim 2:13, Jub 2:14 as well as in Philo *Opif.* 76 (McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 17–18).

ἐποίησεν αὐτούς.      ἐποίησεν αὐτούς      ἐποίησεν οὐκέτ'  
αὐτόν, ἀλλ' αὐτούς

Mark 10:6	Matt 19:4	Gal 3:28 ( <i>allusion</i> )
	οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι ὁ κτίσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς <sup>27</sup>	οὐκ ἔνι
ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς·	ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς;	ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ·

The quotation in Mark 10:6<sup>28</sup> belongs to the broader context of Mark 10:1–12 which deals with marriage and divorce.<sup>29</sup> Matthew found his quotation from Gen 1:27c via Mark.<sup>30</sup> The two NT Gospels and the two versions of Philo (*Her.* 164, 231) all follow the LXX Genesis reading by including the third person personal pronoun αὐτούς at the end of this brief quotation,<sup>31</sup> although some witnesses to Mark 10:6 made alterations there.<sup>32</sup> Gen 1:27b (i.e., not 1:27c under discussion here!) also ends with ἐποίησεν αὐτόν. It might seem at a first glance as if the αὐτούς (Hebrew **אֵלֶּם**) of Gen 1:27c is absent in Philo's *Her.* 164.<sup>33</sup> Neither were any attempts made in the textual tradition to change Philo's reading to be in agreement with the LXX and with the NT quotation. However, a contextual note is necessary here. Philo's exposition continues here immediately after the verbatim quoted words from Gen 1:27 with: οὐκέτ' αὐτόν, ἀλλ' αὐτούς ἐπιφέρει πληθυντικῶς. His reference to the difference between αὐτόν and αὐτούς at this point relates directly to this issue

27. Matthew added this phrase "to provide an explicit subject," but it is striking that he did not use ὁ θεός (New, *OT Quotations*, 51).

28. "V. 6 ff. dürften als Zitat zu verstehen sein, das Gen 1,27 ... und 2,24 ...—letzteres allerdings mit einer Auslassung, die viele Handschriften geflissentlich nachtragen—miteinander kombiniert, wobei auch Gen 2,24 natürlich als Gottesrede und nicht als Wort Adams aufgefaßt ist" (Suhl, *Funktion*, 74–75).

29. See Loader for a comparison of the MT and LXX texts within his comprehensive discussions on the interpretation of the Creation Stories, and especially Gen 1:17 in relation to sexuality (*Septuagint*, 27–30, 50–1, 57, etc).

30. Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 205.

31. "The change from αὐτόν in the middle clause to αὐτούς in the last raises the question (also for the Hebrew) whether the writer intended this equation of 'him' and 'them' to reflect on the εἰκόνα θεοῦ" (John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993], 15).

32. Some witnesses changed αὐτούς to ὁ θεός (D W pc it), whilst others added it all to αὐτούς ὁ θεός (A Θ Ψ<sup>f1</sup> lat sy).

33. Amongst the LXX witnesses, the phrase ἐποίησεν αὐτούς is omitted here by Bo<sup>L</sup> Lat<sup>MarVic</sup> C Arm I 64.

and emphatically comments on the fact that the quotation actually does not read the singular (αὐτόν), but the plural (αὐτούς).

Philo reads consistently ἄνθρωπον, (as does LXX Gen 1:27c), whereas only LXX Gen 5:1 has here Ἀδμ.<sup>34</sup> Another point to be noted in the synopsis of textual variants, is that the Papyri and codex Monacensis gr. 459 (thirteenth century), amongst the Philo witnesses, read ἄρσεν in *Her.* 164 instead of ἄρρεν by some others—the latter being present in a possible allusion to this text in *Opif.* 76. The change is also present amongst some LXX witnesses<sup>35</sup> in Gen 1:27c but absent in the textual tradition of Gen 5:2. None of the NT witnesses in any of the versions (Mark, Matt, Gal) testifies to any attempts that were made to change it there.

**Case 3.** The Quotations in Mark 10:7–8 and Matt 19:5 Compared to the LXX (Gen 2:24)<sup>36</sup> and Philo (*Leg.* 2. 49; *Gig.* 65)

LXX Gen 2:24 <sup>37</sup>	Philo, <i>Leg.</i> 2.49	Matt 19:5	Mark 10:6–8 <u>ἄρσεν καὶ</u> <u>θῆλυ ἐποίησεν</u> <u>αὐτούς</u>	Eph 5:31
ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ <sup>38</sup> καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.	ἐνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν	ἐνεκα τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα καὶ κολλη- θήσεται τῇ γυναικί αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.	ἔνεκεν τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν μητέρα [καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ], καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν·	ἀντὶ τούτου καταλείπει ἄνθρωπος [τὸν] πατέρα καὶ [τὴν]μητέρα καὶ προσκολλη- θήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

34. This has been changed here to ἄνθρωπον by the witness group *t* (46–74–76 (bis 421)–84–134–370 (bis 255) –799 (bis 368) 74' = 74 + 134 76' = 76 + 370).

35. Cf. minuscule 508 Or X 321s.

36. Apart from Mark and Matthew, Gen 2:24 is also quoted in 1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31; *Odes Sol.* 3:2; Theoph 2.21,28, as well as in Philo *Gig.* 65; *Leg.* 2. 49 (McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 19).

37. Apart from these places is Gen 2:24 also quoted in *Odes Sol.* 3:2 and Theoph 2.21, 28 (McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 19).

38. Om αὐτοῦ 907 Matt 19:5, Eph 5:31, DialAZ 20 Or I 322 X 321 La (sed hab Aug Gen ad litt VI 3 IX 19 Pel I 9 Chr V 942 1337 FirmMat Consult III 1).

Gig. 65

ἐγένοντο γὰρ οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν,

1 Cor 6:16

ἔσονται γάρ, φῆσιν, οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν.

Gen 2:24<sup>39</sup> is quoted twice in the known Philonic material (*Leg.* 2. 49; *Gig.* 65) and four times in the NT, where it occurs twice in the Pauline literature (1 Cor 6:16; Eph 5:31) and twice in the Gospels (Mark 10:7–8; Matt 19:5). Mark's version is a composite quotation that added the quote from Gen 1:27 (discussed in Case 2 above) just before this one of Gen 2:24—the latter which he uses to explain the former. Part of the quotation in Mark's version poses some difficulties, namely the phrase: καὶ προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.<sup>40</sup> Some important witnesses on Mark lack this phrase<sup>41</sup> and Nestlé-Aland's 26th edition also chose to exclude it. Mark's compilation of these two quotations and the fact that he uses the second to explain the first might be evidence in favour of its omission during the process of its Christian reception in this particular context.

The shortest of these quotations from Gen 2:24 are the quotations in 1 Cor 6:16 and Philo's *Gig.* 65. Given the γάρ here by Philo and the γάρ φῆσιν in 1 Cor 6:16,<sup>42</sup> they were probably both intended to be explicit references, rather than verbal quotations. Apart then from γάρ and γάρ φῆσιν here, the reading of this short reference is in complete agreement with the same phrase amongst all the texts listed here. The only other difference in this line is Philo's *Gig.* 65 which reads ἐγένοντο instead of ἔσονται, as all the other texts do. With regard to the longer version of the quotation, the following should be noted:

The LXX (Gen 2:24) and Mark 10:7–8 read the Ionic and Hellenistic ἔνεκεν, whilst Philo (*Leg.* 2. 49) and Matt 19:5 read the Attic ἔνεκα.<sup>43</sup> Only Ephesians (5:31) chooses a different term (ἀντί),<sup>44</sup> although it has semantically the same meaning. This is probably due to the hand of the NT author—as is the case with Matthew's κολληθήσεται τῇ γυναικί—which stand as isolated cases alongside Philo and each other.

39. See Loader for an interpretation of this quotation (*The Septuagint*, 39–43).

40. See also the discussion in New, *OT Quotations*, 82–83.

41. It is absent in  $\aleph$  B  $\Psi$  892\*. 2427 sy<sup>s</sup>. It is present in D W  $\Theta$  f<sup>13</sup> lat sy<sup>p,h</sup> co (A C L N  $\Delta$  f<sup>1</sup> 759 al: τη γυναικι).

42. Earle E. Ellis considers the parenthetic introductory formula, γάρ φῆσιν, probably as part of the quotation as such when he sees this quotation as "varying from the LXX," but later classifies this quotation as "in agreement with the LXX against the Hebrew" (*Paul's Use of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids, Baker Book House, 1957], 12, 150–1).

43. Cf. Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 16.

44. Witnesses of LXX Genesis that support ἀντί, include Chr passim Epiph I 460 III 93 Sev 482 Tht I 660.

Only the LXX (Gen 2:24) and Mark 10:6–8 include αὐτοῦ after τὸν πατέρα whilst it is absent in the texts of Philo, Matthew and Ephesians.<sup>45</sup> Amongst these, some witnesses of LXX Genesis also include it after τὴν μητέρα<sup>46</sup> (and so did the older LXX edition of Rahlfs). Also some witnesses in the Markan textual tradition included it after τὴν μητέρα.<sup>47</sup> Chances might be good that this agreement on its omission between the three versions (Philo, Matthew, Ephesians) might probably point to another text tradition that did not include αὐτοῦ as part of that text.

All the versions (LXX Gen 2:24; Philo *Leg.* 2. 49; Mark 10:7–8; Eph 5:31) have the reading προσκολληθήσεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα, except for Matt 19:5, which reads here κολληθήσεται<sup>48</sup> τῇ γυναίκε.<sup>49</sup> Some witnesses in the Markan textual tradition also read here τῇ γυναίκε.<sup>50</sup>

Given this information, it seems as if Mark is closer to the LXX<sup>51</sup> with the reading ἔνεκεν and the inclusion of αὐτοῦ. Ephesians and Matthew<sup>52</sup> seem somewhat closer to Philo's version (*Leg.* 2. 49) than to the LXX. Even more interesting is the fact that the Hebrew equivalent for οἱ δύο is lacking in the MT, but it is present in the LXX, Samaritan Pentateuch, Samaritan Targum, Targum Jonathan, the Old Palestinian Targum, OT Peshier, the Vulgate, and Philo.<sup>53</sup>

45. Witnesses of LXX Genesis that also omit it, include 907 DialAZ 20 Or I 322 X 321 La (sed hab Aug *Gen ad litt* VI 3 IX 19 *Pel* I 9 Chr V 942 1337 FirmMat *Consult* III 1).

46. Witnesses of LXX Genesis that also include it after μητέρα are: 911 <sup>Lat</sup>Aug *Gen ad litt* VI 3 IX 19 *Pel* I 9 Chr V 942 1337 FirmMat *Consult* III 1 rell = Ra. Its absence in the LXX and Mark is “somewhat uncertain” for Gundry, so that for him, it is “in no case ... necessary to see a deviation by Mk from the LXX” (*OT in St. Matthew*, 16).

47. It is included by 8 (D) 579. 1241 *pc* it *vg*<sup>mss</sup>.

48. Supported amongst the LXX Genesis witnesses only by Epiph I 460. Some witnesses in the Matthean textual tradition, however, also read here προσκολληθήσεται as the rest of the versions listed here. These are: 8 C K L Z Γ Δ <sup>f</sup> 33. 565. 579. 700. 892. 1241. 1424 *pm*.

49. Some LXX Genesis witnesses also follow this reading: A 77<sup>c</sup> 344<sup>mg</sup> 121–424 31' Chr VI 428 VIII 607 Epiph I 460 II 228 450 III 470 Tht II 89 La (sed hab Aug *Gen ad litt* IX 1).

50. Apart from witnesses that lack this phrase as it appears in the LXX and others that have it present, a third group read here only τῇ γυναίκε: A C L N D <sup>f</sup> 759 *al*.

51. Similar Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 16; Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 208.

52. According to Menken, the differences between Mark and Matthew “can be explained as editorial modifications by Matthew for stylistic reasons” (*Matthew's Bible*, 209).

53. Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 35; Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 16–17.

**Case 4.** The Quotations in Mark 7:10a, Mark 10:19, Matt 15:4a and Matt 19:18–19 Compared to the LXX (Exod 20:12–16; Deut 5:16–20)<sup>54</sup> and Philo (*Det.* 52; *Spec.* 2. 261)<sup>55 56</sup>

LXX Exod 20:12–16 <sup>55</sup>	LXX <sup>B</sup> Deut 5:16–20 <sup>56</sup>	Philo, <i>Det.</i> 52	Philo, <i>Spec.</i> 2. 261
τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα σου καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα,	τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα σου καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα σου, <u>ὃν τρόπον ἐνετεί-</u> <u>λατό σοι κύριος</u> <u>ὁ θεός σου,</u>	τίμα <u>τὸν</u> πατέρα καὶ <u>τὴν</u> μητέρα,	τίμα πατέρα καὶ μητέρα,
ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρό- νιος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς <u>τῆς ἀγαθῆς,</u> ἥς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρή- σεις κατὰ τοῦ πλη- σίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.	ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρό- νιος γένη ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἥς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ ψευδομαρτυρή- σεις κατὰ τοῦ πλη- σίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.	ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται	ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται, καὶ ἵνα μακροχρό- νιος γένη
Mark 7:10a	Matt 15:4a	Mark 10:19 <sup>57</sup>	Matt 19:18–19 <sup>58</sup>
Μωϋσῆς γὰρ εἶπεν·	ὁ γὰρ θεὸς εἶπεν·	τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας· <u>μὴ φονεύσης,</u> <u>μὴ μοιχεύσης,</u> <u>μὴ κλέψης, μὴ</u> <u>ψευδομαρτυρήσης,</u> <u>μὴ ἀποστερήσης,</u>	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν. <sup>59</sup> <u>τὸ οὐ φονεύσεις,</u> <u>οὐ μοιχεύσεις,</u> <u>οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ ψευ-</u> <u>δομαρτυρήσεις,</u>

54. The sections on the Decalogue (Exod 20; Deut 5) are not present in codex Sinaiticus. Apart from Mark and Matthew, Exod 20:12–16 / Deut 5:16–20 is also quoted in Ps.-Philo 11:9–12 (McLean, *Citations and Allusions*, 35).

55. Exod 20:12–16 is not available in codex **Σ**.

56. Also Deut 5:16–20 is not available in codex **Σ**.

57. Codex **Σ** has the following order in Mark 10:19: μη φονεύσης, μη κλεψης, μη ψευδομαρτυρησης, μη αποστερησης, τιμα τον πα σου και την μητερα σου. Codex A has the following order here: μη μοιχευσης, μη φονευσης, μη κλεψης, μη ψευδομαρτυρησης.

58. Codex **Σ** has the following order in Matt 19:18–19: το ου φονευσεις ου ψευδομαρτυρησεις τιμα τον πα και την μρα.

59. Codex B reads here εφη.



τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα σου, καὶ· ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ.	τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ· ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτῳ.	τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα.	τίμα τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.
Rom 13:9 <sup>60</sup> [= LXX <sup>B</sup> Deut 5]	Luke 18:20 [= LXX <sup>B</sup> Deut 5]	Jas 2:11 [= LXX <sup>B</sup> Deut 5]	LXX <sup>A</sup> Deut 5:17–20
οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις,	τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας· μὴ μοιχεύσης, μὴ φονεύσης, μὴ κλέψης, μὴ ψευδομαρτυρήσης, τίμα τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τὴν μητέρα	ὁ γὰρ εἰπών· μὴ μοιχεύσης, εἶπεν καὶ μὴ φονεύσης	οὐ φονεύσεις. οὐ μοιχεύσεις. οὐ κλέψεις. οὐ ψευ- δομαρτυρήσεις
οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις, καὶ εἴ τις ἐτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαι- οῦται [ἐν τῷ] ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.			

Gundry begins his discussion of this quotation in Matthew's Gospel with the statement that "This quotation presents almost insoluble textual problems, doubtless because of its catechetical use."<sup>61</sup> The following differences should be noted between the two LXX, two Philonic, two Markan and two Matthean versions,<sup>62</sup> as well as those versions in Romans, Luke and James:

60. Codex A reads here as follows: ... OU[...] (the rest missing due to a folded page, but assumed to be μοιχευσεις)

ΟΥΦΟΝΕΥΣΕΙΣΟΥΚΛΕΨΕ[...]

ΟΥΚΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΣΚΑΙΕ[...]

61. Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 17. See Gundry's table and discussion on the catechetical use of the Decalogue on pp. 18–19. Stendahl already indicated that this text was well known through the catechetical and liturgical traditions (*School of St. Matthew*, 146). New, too, reckons that "When so common a text is in question, the possibility that the text of the gospels did not come directly from the Bible but from liturgical or catechetical forms used in synagogue/church, must not be overlooked" (*OT Quotations*, 70–1).

62. Matthew made a number of changes to the Markan text in Matt 19:16ff. See Suhl for a discussion of these: "Durch die Änderung ist bei Matthäus das Gesetz zu einer dur-

Both versions of Mark (7:10a; 10:19), as well as both versions of Matthew (15:4a; 19:18–19), and Philo's *Det.* 52 follow the LXX readings (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16) by including *the definite articles* before πατέρα and μητέρα. It is absent, however, only in Philo's *Spec.* 2. 261.<sup>63</sup>

Both Markan versions (7:10a; 10:19) follow the LXX readings (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16) by including the second person *personal pronoun* σου after πατέρα. The version of LXX Deut 5:16 and Mark 7:10a (and elsewhere amongst some witnesses of Mark 10:19<sup>64</sup> and Luke 18:20)<sup>65</sup> also include it for a second time, i.e., after μητέρα.<sup>66</sup> It is altogether absent, however, in both Matthean versions (15:4a;<sup>67</sup> 19:18–19)<sup>68</sup> as well as in both Philonic versions (*Det.* 52; *Spec.* 2. 261).

The *relative phrase*, ὃν τρόπον ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος ὁ θεός σου, is to be found only in the Deuteronomy version of the LXX and not present in any of the other versions. The *adjectival expansion*, τῆς ἀγαθῆς, is to be found only in the Exodus version of the LXX.<sup>69</sup>

Apart from the fifth commandment (honouring father and mother), *four more commandments* from the Decalogue are also listed in Mark 10:19 and Matt 19:18–19, with a fifth one (μὴ ἀποστερήσης)<sup>70</sup> added only in Mark 10:19

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chaus verpflichtenden Norm geworden. Markus dagegen läßt deutlich ein Nicht-Genüge-Finden am Gesetz erkennen" (*Funktion*, 78).

63. Also absent amongst the LXX Deuteronomy witnesses in Clem II 240, whereas minuscule 127\* omits only τόν.

64. It is included after μητέρα in Mark 10:19 by  $\aleph^*$  C N W  $\Theta$  28. 565. 2427. 2542 *al* it  $\text{vg}^{\text{mss}} \text{sy}^{\text{s.p.}}$ .

65. It is included after μητέρα in Luke 18:20 by  $\aleph^{\text{f13}}$  a b c  $\text{vg}^{\text{mss}} \text{sy}^{\text{s.c.p.}}$ .

66. It is also included amongst the LXX Exodus witnesses by rell = Sixt . New is of the opinion that "the text of Deuteronomy likely was the source of the gospel citation. Common wording and usage elsewhere favor the LXX as source" (*OT Quotations*, 70).

67. Some Matthean witnesses, however, include it after πατέρα: C<sup>2</sup> K L N W  $\Theta$   $\text{f}^{13}$  33. 565. 579. 1241. 1424 *pm* it  $\text{vg}^{\text{ww}} \text{sy}$ , and some witnesses also include it after μητέρα: N W 892. 1424 *pc* it  $\text{sy}^{\text{s.c.p.}}$ .

68. Menken reckons that "This omission removes Matthew's quotation from its Old Testament sources (both Hebrew text and LXX), but it is in line with Matthew's style: Matthew is consistent in omitting possessive genitives of the personal pronoun after 'father' and 'mother' wherever these two words occur in immediate conjunction" ("Deuteronomy in Matthew," 53). New also assumes that the omission in Matthew is perhaps due to stylistic reasons (*OT Quotations*, 71)

69. It is also omitted, however, amongst the witnesses of LXX Exodus by 15 Bas II 500 Did 73 *Hiob* 154.19 (sed hab *Eccl* 170.3 *Ps* 197.31) Isid 1293 Or IV 47 *Eph* 568 569 Theoph 222 <sup>Lat</sup>Hi *Eph* 3 Aeth<sup>C</sup> Arab Syh = .

70. This is added in smaller print in the margin of codex B in Mark 10:19 by the corrector of a possible second hand. Although many scholars view the addition here as replacement for eighth, ninth, or tenth commandments, Emerson B. Powery pointed out

in the margin of codex B.<sup>71</sup> The omission of this fifth one in Mark is strongly attested in the textual tradition<sup>72</sup> and it might indeed have been absent in the original version when compared to the LXX versions of Exodus and Deuteronomy, as well as that of Matthew and Luke.<sup>73</sup> Romans only provides three (μοιχεύω—φονεύω—κλέπτω) of the four,<sup>74</sup> but replaces the fourth with another one (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις) which is only to be found in Rom 13:9 and later in the Didache. The remaining occurrences of the quotation in Mark (7:10a) and Matthew (15:4a), as well as the two occurrences in Philo do not provide such a list and offer a shorter quotation.

The order of these commandments differs: The order followed in the LXX versions is largely the same,<sup>75</sup> except for an interchange of two commandments between them: Exodus has ἀτίμα πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, <sup>β</sup>μοιχεύω, <sup>γ</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>δ</sup>φονεύω, <sup>ε</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω and Deuteronomy ἀτίμα πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα, <sup>β</sup>μοιχεύω, <sup>δ</sup>φονεύω, <sup>γ</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>ε</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω—the latter order which is also found in Luke 18:20, Rom 13:9, Jas 2:11<sup>76</sup> and in codex A of Mark 10:19. The Gospels (Mark and Matthew), however, follow a different order than the LXX (Exod 20 and codex B of Deut 5) here, although an identical order amongst themselves.<sup>77</sup> Mark 10:19<sup>78</sup> (codex B) and Matt

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that it “fits in exceptionally well with the thrust of the story” (*Jesus Reads Scripture. The Function of Jesus’ Use of Scripture in the Synoptic Gospels* [Leiden: Brill, 2003], 54–5).

71. This exact wording also occurs in Sir 4:1 and similar in some manuscripts of Deut 24:14. See Moyses for a discussion on the latter (“Deuteronomy in Mark” 32).

72. It is omitted by B\* K W Δ Ψ <sup>1</sup>13 28. 579. 700. 2542 *al* vg<sup>ms</sup> syr<sup>s</sup>; Cl.

73. Cf. Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 17–18. He asks: “Could not μὴ πορνείας be a doublet for μὴ μοιχείας, perhaps suggested by Mk 7:21, for which room has been made by the omission of μὴ φονεύσης? Note that ‘murder’ is not omitted in Mk 7:21.”

74. Some witnesses in the Matthean textual tradition included the missing ψευδομαρτυρέω, namely  $\aleph$  (P) 048. 81. 104. 365. (1505). 1506 *pm* a b vg<sup>cl</sup> (sy<sup>h</sup>) bo.

75. Other orders amongst the Exodus LXX witnesses are κλέψεις, φονεύσεις, μοιχεύσεις (minuscule 799); μοιχεύσεις, φονεύσεις, κλέψεις (C<sup>2</sup>–422 125 n–<sup>127</sup> 30’ x = the same order as LXX Deut); φονεύσεις, κλέψεις, μοιχεύσεις (minuscule 84). Wevers pointed to this unsettled order in the Exodus tradition. “The majority text which follows the order of MT is undoubtedly a reordering of the hex recension” (Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 314).

76. Some witnesses in James’ text tradition alter the order and read here φονεύω—μοιχεύω (C 614. 630. 945. 1241. 1505. 1739. 1852. 2464 *al sed*).

77. “As for the sequence of the commandments, Matthew obviously depends on Mark: both have the commandment to honour one’s father and mother at the end of the series, and for the rest, they follow the order that is also found in, amongst others, the MT, LXX A, and Josephus, *Ant.* 3.92. In this respect, the only difference between Matthew and Mark is that Matthew omits the commandment ‘you shall not defraud’. The omission is easily understood: this commandment is not found in the Decalogue” (Menken, *Matthew’s Bible*, 211).

78. There are, however, some alternative orders in the textual tradition of Mark 10:19:

19:18–19 have <sup>d</sup>φονεύω, <sup>b</sup>μοιχεύω, <sup>c</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>e</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω, <sup>a</sup>τίμα πατέρα καὶ τὴν μητέρα.<sup>79</sup> If it is assumed that Mark (codex B) and Luke (plus James) preserved here the original, as Gundry suggested, then the order μοιχεύω—φονεύω (as in the Deuteronomy version) should probably be preferred as the original, based on the evidence of codex A and others,<sup>80</sup> and confirmed by the fact that codex A “has this order *against* its own order in the OT.”<sup>81</sup> Both the *order* and the *modus* of the commandments in Matt 19:18 agree with that of MT Exod 20:13–16, LXX<sup>A</sup> Deut 5:17–21 and with *Didache* 2.2–7 (<sup>d</sup>φονεύω, <sup>b</sup>μοιχεύω, <sup>c</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>e</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω).<sup>82</sup> This is also the same order as found in Mark 10:19 although the *modus* differs.

The *grammatical modus* of these commandments also differ. Mark 10:19 (codex B), Luke 18:20<sup>83</sup> and Jas 2:11 all use the construction μή + subjunctive, whilst the reconstructed LXX versions of Exod 20 and Deut 5, as well as Matt 19:18–19, Rom 13:9 and also *Didache* 2, all use οὐ+ future indicative. It seems thus, at first sight, as if one could explain *the order* of Matthew’s version of these commandments from his use of Mark (codex B) as a source, which

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A W Θ <sup>f</sup>13 lat sy<sup>h</sup>; Cl all read here <sup>c</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>e</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω, <sup>d</sup>φονεύω, <sup>b</sup>μοιχεύω. The original of codex **8** supports the order <sup>d</sup>φονεύω, <sup>b</sup>μοιχεύω and <sup>f</sup>1 <sup>pc</sup> (sy<sup>P</sup>) the order <sup>c</sup>κλέπτω, <sup>e</sup>ψευδομαρτυρέω, whilst D (Γ <sup>pc</sup>) k have the interesting addition of μοιχεύω which is followed by πορνεύω.

79. Moyise reckons that the transposition of the fifth commandment after the others in Mark’s Gospel can be linked to its reinterpretation in the NT context, “perhaps to prepare for the man’s response that he has kept the commandments ‘since his youth.’” “On the other hand, if he were to obey Jesus’ command to give all his riches to the poor, he would likewise not be able to do anything for his parents” (“Deuteronomy in Mark,” 32).

80. So also W Θ <sup>f</sup>13 28 lat Cl.

81. Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 17. He furthermore, argues that “LXX<sup>A</sup> has always been suspected of assimilation to the NT; and the case for assimilation here is especially strong, since the Chester Beatty Pap. 963, *not* as usual, agrees with B against A F. If then Mt has not followed the order of his Greek OT, his change to οὐ with the future indicative is a partial reminiscence of the LXX or a literal rendering of the Hebrew or both” (*OT in St. Matthew*, 19).

82. *Didache* 2.2 includes also ἐπιθυμίσεις—which is absent in Matt 19:18–19, but present in the same position in Rom 13:9. It also includes an additional number of commandments. As the *Didache* inverts ἐπιθυμίσεις and ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, the order is thus not identical to that of LXX<sup>A</sup> Deut 5 and MT Exod 20. Cf. also Michele Murray, *Playing a Jewish Game. Gentile Christian Judaizing in the First and Second Centuries C.E.* (Studies in Christianity and Judaism 13; Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2004), 166.

83. Cf. Gundry: “Probably the Marcan text which could be the source of Lk is likely to be original, especially since Lk shares Mk’s unusual μή with the subjunctive” (*OT in St. Matthew*, 17). Interesting to note here, however, is that codex D (a e) also follow the mode οὐ + future indicative.

agrees with the MT and especially with LXX<sup>A</sup> of Deut 5, but differs from both the reconstructed LXX Exod 20 and Deut 5 (LXX<sup>B</sup>). His choice for the *grammatical modus* is, however, probably the result of his knowledge of the LXX versions.<sup>84</sup> Menken pointed to three considerations that have to be taken into account here:

(a) The Decalogue must have been an extremely familiar OT passage. It circulated in many different forms, and was no doubt known by heart by early Jews and early Christians. (b) The wording of a categoric prohibition by means of οὐ and a future indicative is not unknown in classical Greek; it is frequently found in the LXX, where it is a literal translation of the underlying Hebrew idiom (al + future). It occurs in the LXX also outside the Decalogue (see, e.g., Exod 22,20.22; Lev 2,11; Deut 19,14; 23,22); Matthew makes use of it, not only in OT quotations (see 4,7; 5,21.27.33), but elsewhere as well (6,5; 20,26 diff. Mark 10,43). (c) Matthew may have intended 'to balance more precisely the negative commandments with the positive commandment which the evangelist adds here, the wording of which corresponds exactly both with the MT and with the LXX of Lev 19,18. The conclusion has to be that Matthew simply adapted Mark's wording of the commandments to a wording with which he was familiar and which suited him here.'<sup>85</sup>

For Menken, then, Matthew's familiarity of the wording of the commandments "cannot be tied to a specific form of the OT text."<sup>86</sup> For Gundry, the answer should be sought in a similar direction, namely in the various forms which the Decalogue took in catechetical use.<sup>87</sup> Steyn argued a few years ago that another aspect should also be noted, namely the mutual differences amongst the LXX versions of Exodus and Deuteronomy in at least codices A and B.<sup>88</sup> Especially the difference in sequence between LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> in Deut 5 is significant in order to understand the differences in sequence of the commandments by the different NT authors.

Two versions regarding the consequences of the commandments are to be found. The first set appears in Mark 7:10a and Matt 15:4a with the statement: καὶ ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω. The second set

84. So understood by Stendahl, *School of St. Matthew*, 63; Joachim Gnllka, *Das Matthäusevangelium 2. Kommentar zu Kap. 14,1–28,20 und Einleitungsfragen* (HTKNT 1/2; Freiburg: Herder, 1988), 162, 164; Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus 3: Mt 18–25* (EKKNT 1/3; Zürich: Benzinger, 2002), 122.

85. Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 211–12.

86. Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 212.

87. Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 18.

88. Steyn, "Pretexts," 451–64.

is to be found in Rom 13:9 with a longer statement (καὶ εἴ τις ἑτέρα ἐντολή, ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἀνακεφαλαιοῦται [ἐν τῷ]· ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν) and Matt 19:18–19 with only the latter part of this statement (καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν).

### 3. CONCLUSION

The four cases studied here represent only a limited picture of the overlap of quotations between Philo and the NT and unless all data has been investigated, it would be irresponsible to formulate any conclusions on a different LXX text form that might underlie the quotations in Philo and the NT. The conclusions that are drawn from this study are thus preliminary and represent only the small section of Markan quotations and their parallels that overlap with the same quotations in Philo. Nonetheless, the following observations were noted:

*Case 1:* (Exod 20:12 and Deut 5:16 in Mark 7:10 and Matt 15:4). Regarding the *first part of the quotation*, it was noted that Mark is closer to the LXX version of Deut 5:16 by including σου twice. Matthew is closer to Philo (*Det.* 52) by omitting σου. Luke and Ephesians are closer to the LXX version of Exod 20:12 by including σου once. In the second part of the quotation, Philo and Ephesians are closer to the versions of Exod 20 and Deut 5 by formulating the consequences of the commandments in a positive statement. Matthew follows Mark on the latter's own formulation of the consequences in a negative statement which is absent in the LXX.

*Case 2:* (Gen 1:27; 5:1–2 in Mark 10:6 and Matt 19:4). Philo presents longer quotations and closely follows the LXX here in his formulation. There is nothing notable regarding another possible text form in this case.

*Case 3:* (Gen 2:24 in Mark 10:7–8 and Matt 19:5). Philo (*Leg.* II, 49), Mark, Matthew and Ephesians all present a longer version of the quotation, whereas Philo's *Gig.* 65 and 1 Cor 6:16 have a single line reference to this text. Mark's reading is identical to that of the LXX with the use of the Ionic and Hellenistic ἔνεκεν plus the inclusion of αὐτοῦ. Matthew (and Ephesians) are closer to Philo's *Leg.* II, 49 with the Attic ἔνεκα and the omission of αὐτοῦ.

*Case 4:* (Exod 20:12–16; Deut 5:16–20 in Mark 10:19 and Matt 19:18–19). Philo has in this case twice a short version of the quotation, which is identical to the LXX versions (except for the article in *Spec.* II, 261). Regarding the *order of the commandments* listed in this quotation, the NT versions (Mark 10, Matt 19, Luke 18) move the fifth commandment (honour your father and mother) further down after the brief list of the sixth to the ninth commandments. Mark 10 and Matt 19 do not follow the order of either LXX Exod 20 or that of Deut 5 in their list of commands 6–9. Matthew's order is the same as

that of Mark, which he used as his source. Matthew's version did not survive in codex A, but Mark's version, however, is different here in codex A and follows the order of Deut 5 (LXX<sup>B</sup>). The order of Deut 5 (LXX<sup>B</sup>) is also followed by the other NT versions, namely, Rom 13, Luke 18 and Jas 2. With regard to the *grammatical case of the commandments*, only the versions of Mark, Luke and James use μή plus subjunctive instead of the LXX Exod 20 and Deut 5, as well as the rest of the versions, that all use οὐ plus future indicative. The move of the fifth commandment and the use of the μή-option is thus just present in the Christian tradition.

The comparisons have shown that one of the most striking differences is the presence or absence of the personal pronoun (σου or αὐτοῦ). Mark's readings seem to be in general slightly closer, at least in these cases, to the LXX, whereas Matthew's readings tend to be closer to the readings of the same passages in the works of Philo of Alexandria. Matthew probably used Mark as a source in these cases, finding the quotations discussed above, via his Markan source.<sup>89</sup> But whereas the Markan version of the quotations under discussion remains closer to our known LXX text form, the Matthean versions very often differ from Mark<sup>90</sup> and seem to be closer to Philo. The differences are most probably due to the editorial hand of Matthew, as Menken argued,<sup>91</sup> but what would be the *reason* for these differences in the four cases above and in the light of Philo's readings? If these were merely due to stylistic reasons, then how does one explain the close affinity with the readings in Philo? Could it be possible that (some of) the Matthean editorial changes were made on the basis of Matthew's knowledge of another text form, i.e., one which was closer to that of Philo?

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89. So similarly, Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 280. "In these quotations, Matthew made minor editorial changes, in the same manner as he modified the rest of these sources."

90. "Mt strays somewhat from both Mk and the LXX in 15:4a; 19:5, 18, 19; 22:32, 37; 26:31" (Gundry, *OT in St. Matthew*, 148).

91. Attention has already been drawn to Menken's conclusion that "There are no reasons to assume that he adapted the textual form of these borrowed quotations to the LXX" (*Matthew's Bible*, 280–1).





# The Non-dependence of the Psalms Translator in Relation to the Translators of the Pentateuch

*Staffan Olofsson*

**Abstract:** There seems to be an unanimous opinion among LXX scholars that the counterparts used by the translators of the later LXX books were influenced by the first translated part of the Septuagint, that is, the Pentateuch. I concur with this evaluation, but I will try to present a more nuanced picture by emphasizing instances where the equivalents in the Psalms differ from the vocabulary of the Pentateuch, sometimes in isolation, and sometimes in company with other LXX translators. This is true for a few cases where the kaige group uses the Old Greek text of the Psalms. The Psalter has in these cases taken over the function of the Pentateuch, since the vocabulary of the Psalter rather than that of the Pentateuch is employed. Occasionally equivalents of terms related to sin and sinners in the Psalms diverge from their counterparts in the Pentateuch. The same is true for a few words related to hope. Although most of the words employed in contrast to the Pentateuch are devoid of theological connotations, certain terms connected with the law and with hope and expectation are favorite words in the Psalms.

Although the Septuagint in itself cannot be seen as an expression of a unified interpretive tradition, there are nevertheless unifying features. It can be taken as a given among LXX scholars that the translators of the later LXX books were influenced by the first translated part of the Septuagint, i.e., the Pentateuch. This also applies to the book of Psalms. I concur with this evaluation.<sup>1</sup> This is part of the broader assumption that an equivalent chosen in a LXX book is sometimes based on the authority of a previous translation unit, rather than the religious train of thought of the translator. The translators usually aim at a more systematic rendering—as well as a more literal one.<sup>2</sup>

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1. S. Olofsson, *The LXX Version—A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*, ConBOT 30, Stockholm 1990, 26–28.

2. S.P. Brock, “To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation.”

But I will try to present a more nuanced picture by discussing some issues concerning criteria for dependence, which have been much neglected in previous research, and emphasizing some cases where the counterpart in the book of Psalms differs from the vocabulary of the Pentateuch, sometimes in isolation, and sometimes in company with other LXX translators. I will focus on the relation between the book of Psalms and the Pentateuch in my article.

It is obvious that certain uniformity in the Septuagint as a whole exists that causes the different books to be included within the same cover. Thus, the rendering of central theological terms, like *ברית* translated by *διαθήκη*, *תורה* by *νόμος*, *גר* by *προσέλυτος* and *שלום* translated by *εἰρήνη* is clearly a unifying trait.<sup>3</sup> However, many of these equivalents may have been chosen independent from the influence of the translations of the Pentateuch.

It is easy to find examples that the language of the Psalms is dependent on the vocabulary of the Pentateuch. However, in certain respects the impression can be misleading, since no contrary evidence has been produced. For example, there has not been much discussion regarding the cases where a clear independence in relation to the Pentateuch can be seen. Although the lexical choices in the Psalter are often dependent on the vocabulary of the Pentateuch, this is not always the case. In certain respects, the differences are manifest. Here one may cite the book of F. Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, where he emphasizes regarding the book of Psalms that “Gegenüber dem Pentateuch kann ihr Sprachgebrauch abweichen.”<sup>4</sup>

An influential study related to the dependence of the Pentateuch is Tov's article “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the other Books,”<sup>5</sup> where statistics supporting the connection between

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*Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, SCS 33, G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars, eds., Atlanta 1992, 325–26.

3. The vocabulary of the LXX includes a large element of stereotyping, so that words that are used at the beginning come to be used throughout. J. Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?”, *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 118, M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen, eds., Leuven 2003, 528.

4. F. Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*. *Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum*, Münsteraner Judaistische Studien 9, Münster 2001, 75.

5. E. Tov, “The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the Translation of the other Books,” *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy. Études Bibliques offertes à l'occasion de son 60<sup>e</sup> Anniversaire*, OBO 38, Freiburg, Göttingen 1981, 577–592.

the lexical choice of counterparts in the Pentateuch and the choice of vocabulary in other LXX books are presented.<sup>6</sup>

Tov's discussion distinguishes between four levels of influence.

1. The vocabulary of the Greek Pentateuch was perpetuated in the translation of the later books
2. The Greek Pentateuch served as a lexicon for later translators
3. Quotations from and allusions to passages in the Hebrew Pentateuch were phrased in the Greek in a manner identical with the translation of Pentateuchal passages in the LXX of the Pentateuch.
4. The contents of the Greek Pentateuch often influenced the wording of later translators on an exegetical level.

My study is related to only the first of these levels. It is not self-evident to speak about a relation between the Psalter and the Pentateuch as a whole, because the translations of the Pentateuch are not themselves homogeneous. A. Aejmelaeus, among others, has shown it is probable that at least five different translators were involved in the activity, one for each book.<sup>7</sup> Tov argues that there is an entity that can be called "the vocabulary of the Pentateuch,"<sup>8</sup> although he admits, "each book was rendered by a different translator."<sup>9</sup> He discusses mainly "agreements which are not obvious."<sup>10</sup>

That there exists some sort of dependence between the translation of the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms can be shown by citations and allusions in the Psalter to texts of the Pentateuch,<sup>11</sup> as well as in the interpretation of certain difficult words and phrases, where the translator may have used the Pentateuch for elucidating difficult words.<sup>12</sup> It is also probable that the con-

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6. The article is described by J. Barr as "the fullest discussion to have been published so far". Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch," 524.

7. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis*.

8. Tov, "Impact," 579.

9. Tov, "Impact," 579.

10. Tov, "Impact," 579.

11. Concerning allusions to the Pentateuch and intertextual exegesis in LXX Psalms, see e.g., Num 35:33 and Ps 106:38, Num 23:3, 5 and Ps 106:28 (Tov, "Impact"), Exod 28:32 and Ps 133:2, Num 25:13 and Ps 106:30, Gen 12:3 and Ps 72:17, Gen 18:23 and Ps 28:3. J. Joosten, "The Impact of the Greek Pentateuch on the Septuagint on Psalms", *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, ed. M. K. H. Peters, Ljubljana, 2007, 201–204. The references to scriptural passages are always given according to the numbering in the MT.

12. See e.g., the examples presented by Joosten "The Impact of the Greek Pentateuch,"

tents of the Greek Pentateuch in some cases have influenced the wording of later translators on an exegetical level. The impact may also concern that the vocabulary of the Greek Pentateuch was perpetuated in the translation of the later books.

However, this influence can hardly be said to comprise the book of Psalms in its entirety. It is hard to demonstrate this kind of dependence, since the translator may have used what he regarded as the most natural counterparts to the Hebrew terms concerned and thus he was not directly dependent on the Pentateuch translation, although he in many cases used the same counterparts.<sup>13</sup>

Another possibility must be mentioned: that there already existed a substantial amount of Hebrew-Greek equivalents at the disposal of the translators of the Pentateuch—some sort of standard equivalents.<sup>14</sup> In that case, it may be better to speak about an indirect dependence, since the translator of the Psalms was not dependent on a vocabulary invented by the translator of the Pentateuch. However, it is not possible to explain all the similarities between the Greek Psalms and the Pentateuch in this way.<sup>15</sup>

I would like to show that dependence and independence between the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms as regards vocabulary is a very complicated issue, which must take into account several aspects of the text of both of the books in order to present a nuanced picture of the impact the translators of the Pentateuch made.

Some of the examples from Tov's article show convincingly dependence between the Pentateuch and other books of the LXX. Tov has many examples that show that equivalences in common with LXX as a whole abound, including the book of Psalms, e.g., ברית διαθήκη, ראשית ἀπαρχή, מזבח θυσιαστήριον, ארון κιβωτόν, שרת piel λειτουργεῖν with cognates, אשם πλημμέλεια, השח hitp. προσκυνεῖν, שמעון רמפτόν, בכור (בכר) πρωτότοκος, and עדע συναγωγή.

He has also put forward equivalences that mainly occur in the book of Psalms and sometimes also in a few other books of more uncommon

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198–201, e.g., Gen 33:13 and Ps 78:71, Gen 31:10, and Ps 51:7, Gen 5:22 and Ps 116:9, Num 22:20 and Ps 38:21, Exod 5:8, 17 and Ps 46:11, Gen 49:14 and Ps 68:14, Gen 34:30 and Ps 105:12, Num 25:3, 5 and Ps 106:28, Lev 5:4; Num 30:7 and Ps 106:33, Num 35:33 and Ps 106:38. See also the more cautious approach presented in Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", 541. For further bibliographical material related to this issue, see Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", 523 n. 4.

13. See e.g. the discussion in Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", *passim*.

14. See e.g., Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", 540–41.

15. Joosten, "The Impact of the Greek Pentateuch," 200–201.

words, e.g., מְבוֹל κατακλυσμός, מַן מαννα or μαν, עֶרֶב κυνόμυια, שָׁלוֹ ὀρτυγομήτρα, רָקִיעַ στερέωμα, עֶזְרָא ὕσσωπος, אֶרֶץ אֲפִים, טֶרֶה ἔπαυλις, צִידָה (צדה) ἐπισιτισμός, and חִבּוּרָה μώλωψ.

Many of the examples from Tov's article are compelling, but he has often chosen unusual equivalents with fewer problems involved and thus they cannot be generalized to give a complete picture of the degree of dependence between the vocabulary of the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms. When applied to more frequent words one must be more cautious, because there are seldom consistent equivalents used, neither within the Pentateuch nor in the other books.<sup>16</sup>

The statistics presented in Tov's article are not complete and no clear criteria for the dependence are given. Thus often the equivalent chosen is not the main counterpart in the Pentateuch nor in the book of Psalms, and sometimes the dependence can only be demonstrated in relation to a certain book in the Pentateuch and can hardly be employed for a discussion as to the relation with the Pentateuch translation as a whole.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, one must examine if the Hebrew word is used with the same meaning in both the Pentateuch and in the book that is dependent on the Pentateuch. The phrase of which the word is part of is also of importance for the evaluation of dependence or independence in the book of Psalms. Although not all of Tov's examples are persuasive and I could have used these as the point of departure for my investigation, I have instead chosen to present my own examples of independence and discuss criteria with them as point of departure.

I assume that few scholars would contest that there is also a specific vocabulary related to the individual translator, which e.g., Tov clearly recognizes "Within the present context it should be stressed that each individual translator developed his own translation vocabulary."<sup>18</sup> While the impact of the vocabulary in the Pentateuch on the books of the Septuagint has been studied, there are hardly any investigations of equivalents that show independence from that vocabulary. Although the lexical choices in the Psalter are often dependent on the vocabulary of the Pentateuch, this is not always the case.

It could be argued that if the translator of the book of Psalms was familiar with the translations of the Pentateuch and dependent on them, any diver-

16. Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", 528–30.

17. See e.g., Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", *passim*.

18. Tov, "Impact", 580.

gence of the equivalents used in the Psalter is based on a conscious choice. This makes them important.

I would claim that there are some interesting examples of independence from the Pentateuch in the choice of vocabulary in the book of Psalms, not least cases related to the so-called kaige group. In my study of the relation between the kaige group and the OG text of the Psalter I found that in cases where the kaige group uses the OG text of the Psalms the counterpart often differs from the vocabulary of the Pentateuch. However, I only noted the difference statistically and did not investigate the examples more thoroughly.

[T]he rendering in the Book of Psalms, where the kaige group uses it, often stands in contrast to the vocabulary of the Pentateuch. The Psalter seems in these cases to have taken over the function of the Pentateuch, since the vocabulary of the Psalter rather than that of the Pentateuch is employed.<sup>19</sup>

I will discuss criteria for dependence as well as independence and show cases where the translator has chosen not to employ the vocabulary of the Pentateuch at all or only partly employ it. No comprehensive statistical overview of differences in vocabulary between the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms will be given. This would be too superficial I imagine. I intend to focus on a few examples of independence modified by definite criteria which I deem inadmissible, to give an accurate picture of the relationship between the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms.

Then I shall go on, and conduct a more thorough investigation, discuss, and modify the degree of independence by using simple criteria related to the texts involved. In order to ascertain dependence or independence between the equivalents involved, one ought to take into account several factors of influence, e.g. the context, the genre, the phrase in which the term occurs, the denotation of the word in both Hebrew and Greek, and the text critical situation.

The examples that I presented in my book were  $\sqrt{\text{ישר}}$  translated by εὐθύς with cognates (Pentateuch  $\text{יָשָׁר}$  mainly ἀρεστός), לֵין by ἀλίζειν (Pentateuch as a rule κοιμᾶν), חרב by ῥομφαία (Pentateuch different equivalents, mainly φόνος, μάχαιρα, πόλεμος), גבור by δυνατός (Pentateuch mainly γίγας, once

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19. S. Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis. Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*. Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 57. Winona Lake, Indiana, Eisenbrauns, 2009, 169.

ισχυρός), לעולם by εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Pentateuch often εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, but also other variants with αἰῶν),<sup>20</sup> and אסף niph'al translated by συνάγειν.<sup>21</sup>

I will scrutinise the examples one by one, although in a different order.

√ישר is translated by εὐθύς with cognates in the book of Psalms (יָשָׁר εὐθύς 18x, εὐθής 4x, εὐθύτης 3x, יָשָׁר εὐθύς 1x, εὐθύτης 1x, מִישׁוֹר εὐθύς 2x, εὐθύτης 3x, מִיָּרִים εὐθύς 1x, εὐθύτης 6x, יָשָׁר piel κατορθοῦν 1x, hiphil κατευθύνειν 1x),<sup>22</sup> but in the Pentateuch יָשָׁר is mainly rendered by ἀρεστός.<sup>23</sup> However, when one encounters deviations one must be cautious, since the counterpart of a certain Hebrew phrase may influence the difference. Although the divergence is striking, the main reason for the use of ἀρεστός in the Pentateuch may be the frequent occurrence of the idiom God/Yahweh עֲשֵׂה הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי עֲשֵׂה “do what is right (in God’s sight)”. This phrase does not occur at all in the book of Psalms. See e.g., Exod 15:26.

He said, “If you will listen carefully to the voice of the LORD your God, and do what is right in his sight (וְהַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי תַעֲשֶׂה), καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ποιήσης), and give heed to his commandments and keep all his statutes, I will not bring upon you any of the diseases that I brought upon the Egyptians; for I am the LORD who heals you.” (Exod 15:26 NRSV)

More or less the same expression and the same translation is found in Deut 6:18; 12:25, 28; 13:18; 21:9 and יָשָׁר is in all these cases rendered by ἀρεστός. Furthermore, it is astonishing that apart from the Pentateuch, these expressions are *always* translated by εὐθύς with cognates.<sup>24</sup>

To do what is right (רָשִׁי) in the eyes of (יַנִּיעַב) God/Yahweh

καὶ τὰ ἀρεστὰ ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ ποιήσης (Exod 15:26)  
 τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ (1 Kgs 11:33)  
 καὶ ποιήσης τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ (1 Kgs 11:38)

20. Since the difference is not obvious I refrain from discussing this counterpart.

21. S. Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis. Collected Essays on the Septuagint Version*. Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series 57. Winona Lake, Indiana, Eisenbrauns, 2009, 169.

22. The exact statistics with scriptural passages can be found in Olofsson, *Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis*, 161.

23. Ex 15:26; Deut 6:18; 12:8, 25, 28; 13:19; 21:9. יָשָׁר is rendered by δίκαιος in Num 23:10 and by ὅσιος in Deut 32:4.

24. 1 Kgs 11:33, 38; 15:5, 11; 2 Kgs 12:3; 2 Chr 14:1; 20:32; 24:2; 25:2; 26:4; 27:2; 28:1; 29:2; 31:20; 34:2. 1 Kgs 14:8 has no counterpart in the LXX and most of 1 Kgs 16:28, including τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου, lack counterpart in MT.

ὡς ἐποίησεν Δαυιδ τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (1 Kgs 15:5)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν Ασα τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (1 Kgs 15:11)  
τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (1 Kgs 22:43)  
ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου (2 Kgs 10:30)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωας τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Kgs 12:3)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (2 Kgs 14:3)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (2 Kgs 15:3)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (2 Kgs 15:34)  
καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου θεοῦ αὐτοῦ (2 Kgs 16:2)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (2 Kgs 18:3)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου (2 Kgs 22:2)  
τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 20:32)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰωας τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 24:2)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 25:2)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 26:4)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 27:2)  
καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου ‘ (2 Chr 28:1)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον κυρίου (2 Chr 29:2)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ εὐθὲς ἐναντίον κυρίου (2 Chr 34:2)  
ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν μου (Jer 41:15 MT 34:15)

To do what is right and good (רְשִׁיחַ בּוֹטָהוּ) in the eyes of (יָנִיעַב) God/Yahweh

καὶ ποιήσεις τὸ ἀρεστὸν καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐναντίον κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ  
ὑμῶν (Deut 6:18)

To do what is good and right (רְשִׁיחַו בּוֹטָה) in the eyes of (יָנִיעַב) / in front of  
(יִנְפַל) God/Yahweh

ἐὰν ποιήσης τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν (MT only הִישָׁר) ἐναντίον  
(בְּעֵינֵי) κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου (Deut 12:25)  
ἐὰν ποιήσης τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον (בְּעֵינֵי) κυρίου τοῦ  
θεοῦ σου (Deut 12:28)  
ποιεῖν τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντίον (בְּעֵינֵי) κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ σου  
(Deut 13:19)  
ἐὰν ποιήσης τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐναντι (בְּעֵינֵי) κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ  
σου (Deut 21:9)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ εὐθὲς ἐνώπιον (בְּעֵינֵי) κυρίου θεοῦ  
αὐτοῦ (2 Chr 14:1)  
καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ εὐθὲς ἐναντίον (לְפָנֵי) τοῦ κυρίου θεοῦ  
αὐτοῦ (2 Chr 31:20)



It is not only the phrase to do what is right in the eyes of God/Yahweh that is rendered consistently in the Pentateuch, it is also to do right in another person's eyes or in one's own eyes. See Gen 16:6 "Do to her that which is good in thine eyes (עֲשֵׂי-לָהּ הַטּוֹב בְּעֵינֶיךָ, χρῶ αὐτῇ ὡς ἂν σοι ἀρεστὸν) (ASV) and Deut 12:8 "You shall not do at all what we are doing here today, every man doing whatever is right in his own eyes (אִישׁ כְּלִי-הַיֶּשֶׁר בְּעֵינָיו, ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ) (NASB). The same pattern emerges here; יֵשֶׁר is consistently translated by εὐθύς with cognates,<sup>25</sup> in contrast to the rendering in the Pentateuch, ἀρεστός.

χρῶ αὐτῇ ὡς ἂν σοι ἀρεστὸν (Gen 16:6)  
 ἕκαστος τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ (Deut 12:8)  
 ἕκαστος τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐποiei (Judg 21:25)  
 ὅτι εὐθὲς σὺ καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς μου (1 Sam 29:6)  
 καὶ εὐθὲς ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Ἀβεσσαλωμ (2 Sam 17:4)  
 ὅτι τότε τὸ εὐθὲς ἦν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου (2 Sam 19:7)  
 καὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ εὐθὲς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ (2 Sam 19:19)  
 τοῦ ποιῆσαι οὕτως ὅτι εὐθὲς ὁ λόγος ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ  
 (1 Chr 13:4)

There is thus a conspicuous differentiation between the translators of the Pentateuch and the non-Pentateuchal LXX translators in this regard. The LXX translators were obviously discontent with the rendering in the Pentateuch. Thus, although the translator of the Psalter may have chosen his translation independently, it is more probable that he has been influenced by other LXX translators, rather than the translators of the Pentateuch, since יֵשֶׁר is never translated by ἀρεστός by the non-Pentateuchal LXX translators,<sup>26</sup> whether it occurs in the idiom in question or not, and יֵשֶׁר is sometimes rendered by εὐθύς with cognates in other books than the book of Psalms, even when it is not part of the expressions under consideration.<sup>27</sup>

גִּבּוֹר "is used of a person, animal, or thing that possesses the kind of power that surpasses ordinary strength and is capable of accomplishing a great feat."<sup>28</sup>

25. Judg 21:25; 1 Sam 29:6; 2 Sam 17:4; 2 Sam 19:7, 19; 1 Chr 13:4. There is at least one exception, עֲשֵׂי-לָהּ כְּטוֹב וְכִי-יֵשֶׁר בְּעֵינֶיכֶם translated by ποιήσατέ μοι ὡς συμφέρει καὶ ὡς βέλτιον ὑμῖν (Jer 33:14, MT 26:14).

26. ἀρεστός is a rendering of רָצוֹן, בָּחַר, רָעוּת, טוֹב, and שְׂרִירוּת in non-Pentateuchal passages.

27. 1 Sam 12:23; 2 Kgs 10:15; Ezra 8:21; Neh 9:13; Prov 20:11; 28:10; 29:10.

28. R. Wakely, "גִּבּוֹר," NIDOTTE 1, 810.

גבור is as a rule translated by δυνατός (δυνατός), and occasionally by γίγας in LXX Psalms,<sup>29</sup> while גבור in the Pentateuch is mainly rendered by γίγας Gen 6:4; 10:8, 9 (2x), and once ισχυρός Deut 10:17. However the choice of γίγας in the Pentateuch may have been influenced by the fact that the reference is always to primeval heroes in Genesis, which is not the case in the book of Psalms (Gen 6:4; 10:8, 9).

The Nephilim were on the earth (הנפילים היו בארץ) οἱ δὲ γίγαντες ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) in those days—and also afterward—when the sons of God went in to the daughters of humans, who bore children to them. These were the heroes that were of old, (אשר מעולם המה הגברים) ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν οἱ γίγαντες οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος) warriors of renown. (NRSV Gen 6:4)

Cush became the father of Nimrod; he was the first on earth to become a mighty warrior (הוא החל להיות גבר בארץ) οὗτος ἦρξατο εἶναι γίγας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). He was a mighty hunter (גבור ציד) γίγας κυνηγός) before the LORD; therefore it is said, “Like Nimrod a mighty hunter (גבור ציד) γίγας κυνηγός) before the LORD.” (NRSV Gen 10:8, 9)

גבר is translated by ισχυρός in Deut 10:17 since it is here used as an adjective that refers to God in Hebrew and Greek “For the LORD your God is God of gods and Lord of lords, the great God, mighty (ισχυρός) and awesome”.

γίγας is also an equivalent taken over by many of the later LXX translators. That some LXX translators employ γίγας for other Hebrew words, which are connected with inhabitants of the netherworld or refer to heroes from the past (רפאים and נפילים), illustrates the connotation of the word. רפאים “shades, departed spirits, inhabitants of the netherworld” is translated by γίγας (Job 26:5; Prov 21:16; Isa 14:9.<sup>30</sup> and the same is true for נפילים “giants” (Gen 6:4; Num 13:33 2x). נפילים only occurs three times in the MT and it is always translated by γίγας in the LXX. רפאים in Isa 26:14; 26:19; Ps 88:11 “occur in parallelism or close association with מתים, the dead, while in Prov 2:18 they are in parallelism with מות, death ... in Isa 14:9 and Prov 9:18 ... the רפאים

29. δυνατός 24:8 (2x); 45:4, 6; 52:3; 78:65; 89:20; 103:20; 112:2; 120:4; 127:4. δυνατός in 45:6 evidently reflects גבור in the Vorlage of the LXX-Psalms. It is translated by γίγας in 19:6 and 33:16.

30. M.L. Brown, “רפאים,” NIDOTTE 3, 1173. However, the etymology of רפאים is unclear and different theories compete. Idem, 1174–76. See e.g., Brown, “רפאים,” for an detailed description of both the denotation and connotation of רפאים in the Hebrew, idem. 1176–78, and in *versiones*. Brown, “רפאים,” 1179. רפאים may in Prov 21:16, where it is translated by γίγας, refer to the company of the shades/dead. See E. Carpenter, “קהל,” NIDOTTE 3, 890.

are associated with **שְׁאוֹל**, the *grave/netherworld* ... the immediate context of Job 26:5 (viz., 26:6) relates the **רְפָאִים** to **שְׁאוֹל** and **אֲבִדוֹן**.<sup>31</sup> This illustrates the denotation and connotation of **רְפָאִים** in some books. However, the LXX sometimes, Ps 87 (88):11 and Isa 26:14, “renders MT **רְפָאִים** with *λατρός*, as if reading **רְפָאִים**.”<sup>32</sup> It is true that *γίγας* also occurs without reference to the giants in the primeval world in the LXX.<sup>33</sup>

The choice of *γίγας* in Ps 19:6, may have been influenced by the strong religio-historical context, with its reference to the sun as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber. The use of *γίγας*, instead of *δυνατός*, in Ps 33:16 may be accounted for by strive for variation, since *δύναμις* renders **חֵיל** in the same verse. *δυνατός* is, however, much more common in the LXX, e.g., in Joshua, Judges, 1, 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, 1, 2 Chronicles and thus the translator of the book of Psalms was more influenced by other LXX translators than the translator of Genesis. The translator also distanced himself from the counterpart *γίγας* in Isaiah and Ezekiel, if we suppose that the prophets were translated before the Psalter. Thus, since **גִּבּוֹר** does not refer to giants in the primeval world or inhabitants of the netherworld in the Psalter the specific denotation in the Pentateuch, may have influenced the statistics.

**קָסָה** in niphal is always translated by *συνάγειν* in the book of Psalms.<sup>34</sup> If we compare **קָסָה** niphal in the Psalms and in the Pentateuch there are obvious differences, not only between the Psalms and the Pentateuch, but also between different books of the Pentateuch. **קָסָה** niphal is mainly rendered by *συνάγειν* in Genesis,<sup>35</sup> and sometimes by *προστίθῃμι*.<sup>36</sup> However, it is, apart from Exod 32:26 and Num 11:22, never rendered by *συνάγειν* in the other books of the Pentateuch, although **קָסָה** niphal not seldom occurs.<sup>37</sup> **קָסָה** niphal is translated by *προστίθῃμι, εἰσέλθῃν, συνέρχεσθαι, ἀπέρχεσθαι, καταφεύγειν, καθαρίζῃν*.<sup>38</sup>

**קָסָה** qal has, however, almost a new equivalent in every occurrence in the book of Psalms, *συναπολλύναι, προσλαμβάνειν, συνάγειν, καταπαύειν,*

31. Brown, “**רְפָאִים**,” NIDOTTE 3, 1176.

32. Brown, “**רְפָאִים**,” NIDOTTE 3, 1179.

33. Isa 3:2; 13:3; 49:24, 25; Ezek 32:12, 27; 39:18, 20.

34. 35:15 (2x); 47:10; 104:22.

35. Gen 29:3, 7, 8; 34:30; 49:1, 29, 33.

36. 25:8, 17; 35:29

37. Exod 9:19; 32:26; Lev 26:25; Num 11:22, 30; 12:14, 15; 20:24, 26; 27:13 (2x); 31:2; Deut 32:50 (2x).

38. *προστίθῃμι* Num 20:24, 26; 27:13 (2x); 31:2; Deut 32:50 (2x), *εἰσέλθῃν* Exod 9:19, *συνέρχεσθαι* Exod 32:26; Num 11:22, *ἀπέρχεσθαι* Num 11:30; 12:14, *καταφεύγειν* Lev 26:25, *καθαρίζῃν* Num 12:15.

ἀνταναίρειν.<sup>39</sup> The rendering of **הסא** qal in the Pentateuch stands in contrast to the book of Psalms. While **הסא** niph'al is rendered in a consistent way in the Septuagint Psalms, but not **הסא** qal, it is the other way around in the Pentateuch. **הסא** qal is mostly rendered by συνάγειν.<sup>40</sup> Other equivalents sporadically occur.<sup>41</sup>

Thus the rendering of **הסא** niph'al in the Psalter may be connected to Genesis, but it is independent from the other books in the Pentateuch and the equivalents of **הסא** qal in the Psalter is independent from the vocabulary in the Pentateuch. συνάγειν is the most frequent rendering of **הסא** outside the book of Psalms. συνάγειν is counterpart to as many as 50 different Hebrew words in LXX as a whole. It may then be regarded as a favourite word in LXX.

This example clearly shows that if dependence or independence of a certain book of the Pentateuch can be shown, it cannot be transferred to the Pentateuch as a whole.<sup>42</sup> It should not be excluded that the rendering of **הסא** niph'al in the Psalter is based on the counterpart in Genesis, but the equivalent is independent from the other books in the Pentateuch and **הסא** qal is independent from the vocabulary in the Pentateuch. However, the counterpart συνάγειν, chosen for **הסא** in niph'al in the book of Psalms is the same as is used for **הסא** qal in the Pentateuch.

It is important to be aware of the different stems of a verb in order to make a trustworthy presentation and the different equivalents within the Psalter ought to be taken into account when one argues for an independent rendering in the Psalter in relation to the Pentateuch.

In the next example the deviation in the Psalter is more pronounced. **לָן** "spend the night" occurs 6 times in LXX Psalms, 5 times in qal and once in hithpael.<sup>43</sup> It is always rendered by αὐλίζειν in LXX Psalms,<sup>44</sup> but as a rule by κοιμᾶν in the Pentateuch,<sup>45</sup> sometimes by καταλύειν,<sup>46</sup> but never by αὐλίζειν.

39. συναπολλύναι 26:9, προσλαμβάνειν 27:10, συνάγειν 39:7; 50:5, καταπαύειν 85:4, ἀνταναίρειν 104:29.

40. Gen 6:21; 29:22; Exod 3:16; 4:29; 23:10; Lev 25:3, 20; Num 11:16; 24, 32 (2x); 19:9, 10; 21:16, 23; Deut 16:13; 22:2.

41. ἀφελείν Gen 30:23, ἔχαιρειν Gen 49:33, εἰσφέρειν Deut 11:14; 28:38, τίθημι Gen 42:17, συναγωγή Exod 23:16, συντελείν Lev 23:39.

42. See e.g., the pertinent discussion and the examples in Barr, "The Greek Pentateuch", 528–29.

43. Qal 25:13; 30:6; 49:13; 55:8; 59:16, hithpael 91:1.

44. 25:13; 30:6; 55:8; 91:1.

45. Gen 24:54; 28:11; 31:54; 32:14, 22; Exod 16:2; 23:18; 34:25; Lev 19:13; Deut 16:4; 21:23.

46. Gen 19:2; 24:23, 25; Num 22:8.

αὐλίζειν never occurs in the Pentateuch! It is hard to see a semantic difference between the use of לָיַן in the Pentateuch and the book of Psalms. See e.g., Gen 32:14, 22 and Ps 55:8.

And he lodged there that night (שָׁם בַּלַּיְלָה וַיֵּלֶן, καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖ τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην), and took of that which he had with him a present for Esau his brother. (Gen 32:14 ASV)

So the present passed over before him: and he himself lodged that night (וְהוּא לֵן בַּלַּיְלָה־הַהוּא, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκοιμήθη τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην) in the company. (Gen 32:22 ASV)

Lo, then would I wander far off, I would lodge in the wilderness (אֵלַיִן בַּמִּדְבָּר, καὶ ἠὐλίσθην ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ). (Ps 55:8 ASV)

On the other hand, לָיַן is often translated by αὐλίζειν in other parts of the LXX,<sup>47</sup> but seldom by κοιμᾶν.<sup>48</sup> Some of the passages translated by αὐλίζειν outside the Pentateuch are comparable to similar passages rendered by κοιμᾶν in the Pentateuch. See, for example, Gen 32:14; 32:22 compared with 2 Sam 19:8 (אִשׁ אֶתֵּךְ הַלַּיְלָה, εἰ αὐλίσθήσεται ἀνὴρ μετὰ σοῦ τὴν νύκτα ταύτην); and Ruth 3:13 (לַיְלִי הַלַּיְלָה, αὐλίσθητι τὴν νύκτα). Thus the translator of the book of Psalms is here congruent with the other LXX books rather than the Pentateuch. It is probable that the LXX translators consciously have chosen to depart from the lexical choice made in the Pentateuch.

Another example concerns a word that has been stereotypically rendered in the Psalter but not in the Pentateuch. It is the word חֶרֶב, “flint, dagger, sword”, which is with one exception translated by ῥομφαία in the Psalter.<sup>49</sup> In Ps 57:5 it is translated by μάχαιρα. It occurs in the sharp swords phrase חֶרֶב חֶרֶב, where חֶרֶב is a metaphor.

I lie down among lions that greedily devour human prey; their teeth are spears and arrows, their tongues sharp swords (חֶרֶב חֶרֶב, μάχαιρα ὀξεῖα). (NRSV)

47. Judg 19:6, 7, 10, 11, 13; Ruth 1:16 (2x); 3:13; 2 Sam 12:16; 17:16; 19:8; 1 Esdr 9:2; Neh 4:16; 13:20; 13:21; Prov 19:23; Song 1:13; 7:12; Job 19:4; 29:19; 31:32; 39:27; 41:14.

48. Josh 6:11; Job 39:9; Isa 1:21; 21:13; 65:4.

49. 7:13; 17:13; 22:21; 37:14, 15; 44:4, 7; 45:4; 59:8; 63:11; 64:4; 76:4; 78:62, 64; 89:44; 144:10; 149:6.

It is hard to see a reason for the choice of equivalent here, since μάχαιρα as well as ῥομφαία denotes a literal sword as well as a sword in metaphorical sense, although μάχαιρα is more often used metaphorically than ῥομφαία in the LXX, ῥομφαία is often used metaphorically in the book of Psalms.<sup>50</sup> The counterpart may have been influenced by Isa 49:2, where the same phrase (חֶרֶב חֲדָה) in a metaphorical sense appears with the same Greek counterpart (μάχαιρα ὀξεία).<sup>51</sup> In the Pentateuch different equivalents of חֶרֶב occur, mainly μάχαιρα,<sup>52</sup> but sometimes ῥομφαία,<sup>53</sup> πόλεμος,<sup>54</sup> φόνος,<sup>55</sup> ἐκ χειρὸς (Exod 18:4 translating מִחֶרֶב), and ἐγχειρίδιον (Exod 20:25).<sup>56</sup>

The stereotypical translation in the Psalter is unusual, as a rule the LXX translator varies between ῥομφαία and μάχαιρα, e.g., Joshua, Judges, and Ezekiel. But it is not unique, in e.g., 1 Sam ῥομφαία is the exclusive rendering and in Isaiah μάχαιρα (with Isa 66:16 as an exception), and in Jeremiah μάχαιρα clearly dominates. As a matter of fact, ῥομφαία is preferred rather than μάχαιρα in most of the other LXX books, although in some books they are equally common. Since μάχαιρα refers to a relatively short sword (or even dagger) used for cutting and stabbing,<sup>57</sup> while ῥομφαία refers to a large, broad sword used for both cutting and piercing,<sup>58</sup> the size of the sword may have influenced the occasional rendering by ῥομφαία. Thus, it sometimes refers to the sword of an angel, Gen 3:24; Josh 5:13; 1 Chr 21:30, or God, Num 22:23; Isa 66:16. However, the same is true for μάχαιρα.<sup>59</sup>

50. ῥομφαία is often used metaphorically in the book of Psalms.

51. In Ezek 5:1 the same phrase has been translated ῥομφαίαν ὀξεῖαν, which is the rendering that one would have expected in LXX Psalms.

52. Gen 27:40; 31:26; 34:25, 26; 48:22; Exod 15:9; 17:13; 22:23; Lev 26:8, 25, 33; Num 14:43; 21:24; 22:29, 31; Deut 13:16; 20:13; 32:25, 41, 42; 33:29.

53. Gen 3:24; Exod 5:21; 32:27; Num 22:23; 31:8.

54. Lev 26:6, 36, 37; Num 14:3; 20:18. The rendering here is free even compared to modern standards, e.g., it is closest to the counterparts found in e.g., TEV. No comparable equivalents are employed in the Psalter. Otherwise πόλεμος is used in Job 5:15 and as an addition in Josh 10:11 (בַּחֶרֶב, μαχαίρα ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ).

55. Exod 5:3; Lev 26:7; Deut 28:22.

56. חֶרֶב has no counterpart in Num 19:16.

57. Nida, Louw, "μάχαιρα". Regarding μάχαιρα as a knife for circumcision, see e.g., Judg 5:2–3; 21:42 (no counterpart in MT); 24:31 (no counterpart in MT). W. Michaelis, "μάχαιρα," TDNT 4, 525.

58. Nida, Louw, "ῥομφαία".

59. μάχαιρα more often than ῥομφαία denotes God's sword. See Exod 22:23; Lev 26:25, 33; Num 22:31; Deut 32:41, 42; Isa 27:1; 31:8; 34:5, 6; 41:2; Jer 12:2; 47:6 LXX, 29:6 MT. That the same translator has employed both of the words in similar contexts and the oscillation between μάχαιρα and ῥομφαία in LXX Mss in e.g., Judg 8:20; 9:54; 19:29; Jer 14:18

I will discuss a few additional examples. מהר “to hasten” and מהרה “quickly” are always translated by ταχύνειν with cognates in LXX Psalms.<sup>60</sup> In Genesis and Exodus σπεύδειν is mainly employed for מהר piel,<sup>61</sup> or cognates as κατασπεύδειν (Exod 10:16), σπουδή (12:33), although ταρασσειν once appears (Gen 43:30). The difference is however not total since ταχύνειν occurs a few times,<sup>62</sup> as well as the cognate ταχύς.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, when מהר occurs as an adverb or an adjective it is always translated by cognates of ταχύνειν.<sup>64</sup> Three times מהר appears without counterpart (Deut 4:26; 9:3, 16). מהרה is translated by τάχος (Deut 17:11).

σπεύδειν with cognates is thus a much more common rendering of the verb מהר “to hasten” in the LXX Pentateuch than ταχύνειν with cognates. The translator of the book of Psalms appears to have made a choice of his own, although the difference is one of degree.

Common words related to hope in the book of Psalms, e.g., ἐλπίς translating חַסֵּד and ἐλπίζειν rendering the verbs בָּטַח, חָסָה and יָחַל do not occur at all in the Pentateuch. ἐλπίς is found only once, Deut 24:15 (הוּא נִשְׂא אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ), ἔχει τὴν ἐλπίδα) and ἐλπίζειν in Gen 4:26 (יָחַל), although חַסֵּד occurs in Gen 34:25 (ἀσφαλῶς); Lev 25:18 (πεποιθότες), 19 (πεποιθότες); 26:5 (ἀσφαλεία), and Deut 12:10 (ἀσφαλεία), יָחַל in Gen 8:12 (ἐπέχειν), and חָסָה in Deut 32:37 (πείθειν).

Could this choice of equivalent depend on the fact that it is God who is invoked in LXX Psalms, but not in the Pentateuch? This cannot not be excluded, since the verbs in Gen 8:12; 34:25; Lev 25:18, 19; 26:5; Deut 12:10; 32:37 are not related to God, although Deut 32:37 refers to the trust in foreign gods.

In any case, there seems to be a certain predilection for using ἐλπίζειν in the book of Psalms, in contrast to similar expressions in other books in the LXX, to describe the relation to God in terms of faith and trust. Thus ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζειν are mostly reserved for cases where God is the one who is trusted

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may suggest that the difference in meaning should not be exaggerated. See also Michaelis, “μάχαιρα,” 530 n. 4.

60. מהר piel 69:18; 79:8; 102:3; 106:13; 143:7, מהרה 31:3; 37:2 147:15. That מהר sometimes occurs in the phrase מהר ענני (Ps 69:18; 102:3; 143:7), a phrase that does not occur outside the book of Psalms, has not influenced the counterpart employed.

61. Gen 18:6 (2x), 7; 19:22; 24:18, 20, 46; 44:11; 45:9; Exod 34:8.

62. Gen 18:7; 41:32; 45:13; Exod 2:18.

63. Gen 27:20; Exod 32:8.

64. ταχύς Exod 32:8; Deut 9:12 (2°); 11:17; 28:20, τάχος Deut 7:4, 22; 9:12 (1°).

in LXX Psalms,<sup>65</sup> while the Hebrew counterparts in the Pentateuch do not relate to hope in God. Phrases with **בטח**, **חסה** and **יחל** relating to the trust in God are as a rule rendered by ἐλπίζειν in LXX Psalms in contrast to other non-Pentateuchal books of the LXX. See the presentation below.

## יחל

### Book of Psalms

הוחילי לאלהים	με ἔλπισον ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν (Ps 42:6, 12; 43:5)
כי־לך יהוה הוחלתי	ὅτι ἐπὶ σοί κύριε ἤλπισα (Ps 38:16)
הוחלתי נפשי לאדני	ἤλπισεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον (Ps 130:5)
הוחלתי נפשי לאדני	ἤλπισεν ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον (Ps 130:6)

### Non-Pentateuchal books

מה־אוחיל ליהוה עוד	τί ὑπομείνω τῷ κυρίῳ ἔτι (2 Kgs 6:33)
אוחילה לאלהי ישעי	ὑπομενῶ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτήρῳ μου (Mic 7:7)

## בטח

### Book of Psalms

ובטחו אל־יהוה	καὶ ἐλπίσατε ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 4:6)
כי־המלך בטח ביהוה	ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζει ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 21:8)
וביהוה בטחתי	καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐλπίζων (Ps 26:1)
ואני עליך בטחתי יהוה	ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ σὲ ἤλπισα κύριε (Ps 31:15)
ואני אל־יהוה בטחתי	ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἤλπισα (Ps 31:7)
והבוטח ביהוה חסד יסובבנו	τὸν δὲ ἐλπίζοντα ἐπὶ κύριον ἔλεος κυκλώσει (Ps 32:10)
בטח ביהוה	ἔλπισον ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 37:3)
ויבטחו ביהוה	καὶ ἐλπιούσιν ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 40:4)
בטחתי בחסד־אלהים	ἤλπισα ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ (Ps 52:10)
בטח ביהוה	ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 112:7)

65. There are some exceptions, e.g., Ps 41:10; 44:7; 62:11; 118:9.



ישראל בטח ביהוה	οἶκος Ἰσραηλ ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 115:9)
בית אהרן בטחו ביהוה	οἶκος Ἰσραηλ ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 115:10)
יראי יהוה בטחו ביהוה	οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν κύριον ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ κύριον (Ps 115:11)
טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח באדם	ἀγαθὸν πεποιθῆναι ἐπὶ κύριον ἢ πεποιθῆναι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον (Ps 118:8)
טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח בנדיבים	ἀγαθὸν ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ κύριον ἢ ἐλπίζειν ἐπ' ἄρχοντας (Ps 118:9)
הבטחים ביהוה כהר־ציון	οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπὶ κύριον ὡς ὄρος Σιών (Ps 125:1)
Non-Pentateuchal books	
ביהוה אלהי־ישראל בטח	ἐν κυρίῳ θεῷ Ἰσραηλ ἤλπισεν (2 Kgs 18:5)
אליהוה אלהינו בטחנו	ἐπὶ κύριον θεὸν πεποιθάμεν (2 Kgs 18:22)
בטחו ביהוה עדי־עד יבטח בשם יהוה	ἤλπισαν κύριε ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος (Isa 26:4) πεποιθατε ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου (Isa 50:10)
אשר יבטח ביהוה בטח אליהוה בכל־לבך	ὃς πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ (Jer 17:7) ἴσθι πεποithῶς ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ ἐπὶ θεῷ (Prov 3:5)
ימצא־טוב ובוטח ביהוה	εὕρετῆς ἀγαθῶν πεποithῶς δὲ ἐπὶ θεῷ (Prov 16:20)
ובוטח על־יהוה ידשן	ὃς δὲ πέποιθεν ἐπὶ κύριον ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἔσται (Prov 28:25)
ובוטח ביהוה ישגב	ὃς δὲ πέποιθεν ἐπὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ σωθήσεται (Prov 29:25)
ביהוה לא בטחה	ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐπεποithει (Zeph 3:2)
חסה	
Book of Psalms	
ביהוה חסיתי	ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ πέποιθα (Ps 11:1)
בך יהוה חסיתי	ἐπὶ σοί κύριε ἤλπισα (Ps 31:2)
ישמח צדיק ביהוה וחסה בו	εὐφρανθήσεται δίκαιος ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ ἐλπιεῖ ἐπ' αὐτόν (Ps 64:11)

בְּיְהוָה חֲסִיתִי	ὁ θεός ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα (Ps 71:1)
טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח באדם	ἀγαθὸν πεποιθῆναι ἐπὶ κύριον ἢ πεποιθῆναι ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον (Ps 118:8)
טוב לחסות ביהוה מבטח בנדיבים	ἀγαθὸν ἐλπίζειν ἐπὶ κύριον ἢ ἐλπίζειν ἐπ' ἄρχοντας (Ps 118:9)

## Non-Pentateuchal books

אלהי צורי אכסה-בו	ὁ θεός μου φύλαξ ἔσται μου πεποιθώς ἔσομαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ (2 Sam 22:3)
וחסו בשם יהוה:	καὶ εὐλαβηθήσονται ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος κυρίου (Zeph 3:12)

## CONCLUSIONS

Criteria for evaluating different degrees of dependence between the Pentateuch and other books in the Septuagint are largely lacking and independence from the Pentateuch must be investigated as well as dependence. Some of the criteria that I mentioned are applicable to the examples under discussion.

a. One must take into account not only the equivalent to a specific Hebrew word that is common between the Pentateuch and the Psalms (מָהַר *piel*), but also other cognates, e.g., מָהַר as an adverb or an adjective, e.g., מָהַר “to hasten” rendered by σπεύδειν in the Pentateuch and מָהַר as an adverb or adjective translated by ταχύς or τάχος

b. If dependence of a certain book of the Pentateuch can be shown it cannot be transferred to the Pentateuch as a whole, e.g., אָסַף in niphal translated by συνάγειν is in accord with Genesis but not the other books of the Pentateuch

c. One must ascertain that the Hebrew word is used in the same sense in all the statistics, e.g., אָסַף in niphal and in qal

d. The denotation of the Hebrew word may influence the rendering, e.g., גָּבוֹר translated by δυνατός or γίγας

e. One must take into account if the word occurs in a Hebrew phrase, e.g., יָשַׁר translated by εὐθύς with cognates in LXX Psalms and in LXX as a whole and by ἀρεστός in the Pentateuch

f. The translator of the book of Psalms may have chosen a different equivalent from the one found in the Pentateuch, an equivalent that dominates in the other books of the Septuagint, e.g., לַיְלָה “spend the night” translated by αὐλιζειν and גָּבוֹר rendered by rendered by δυνατός, יָשַׁר translated by εὐθύς with cognates

g. The equivalents in the book of Psalms are stereotypically rendered in contrast to the Pentateuch, e.g., **הַרְבֵּה** translated by ῥομφαία

h. The deviation in the choice of equivalents is seldom without exceptions. Thus the degree to which the book of Psalms adheres to the equivalent in the Psalter ought to be taken into account, e.g., **מָהַר** piel is sometimes translated by ταχύνειν in the Pentateuch, although the main equivalent is σπεύδειν with cognates

i. The use in a secular or in a religious context can influence the counterparts e.g., ἐλπίς and ἐλπίζειν



## Les *Odes* ajoutées au Psautier dans la Septante comme actes de langage<sup>1</sup>

Cécile Dogniez

**Résumé** : La collection des *Odes* jointes au Psautier dans l'*Alexandrinus* regroupe des pièces tirées de l'Ancien Testament et du Nouveau Testament. Nous nous proposons d'analyser ces cantiques—odes, hymnes ou prières—prononcés par des grandes figures de la Bible. Nous les envisagerons comme des “actes de langage” possédant, à ce titre, une forme, un contenu et une motivation bien spécifiques.

Dans son édition de la Septante<sup>2</sup>, A. Rahlfs fait suivre les Psaumes d'un recueil auquel il donne le titre d'*Odes*<sup>3</sup>. Cette collection<sup>4</sup> est composée de quatorze odes dont neuf sont en usage dans l'Eglise grecque. Ces quatorze odes figurent dans l'*Alexandrinus*, mais dans un ordre différent<sup>5</sup> de celui de Rahlfs. Ce

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1. La présente étude a son origine dans le projet de recherche sur *Le recueil des Odes et Prières joint au Psautier de la LXX* dirigé par M. Harl, en collaboration avec M. Casevitz, B. Meynadier et A. Pietrobelli. Ph. Le Moigne nous a fait l'amitié de relire notre texte avec une acuité dont nous ne saurions dire tout ce que nous lui devons.

2. A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum, vol. X, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979.

3. Dans son édition de la Septante en un volume, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, Editio minor, Stuttgart, 1935, 1979, juste avant les Odes, on lit dans l'apparat “Inscriptionem ὠδαι ego addidi; non est in mss”.

4. A. Rahlfs suit l'ordre du manuscrit minuscule 55 (Vaticane, 10<sup>e</sup> s.) : 1) *Nouem Odae ecclesiae graecae* : 1 (Ex 15:1–19) ; 2 (Dt 32:1–43) ; 3 (I R 2:1–10) ; 4 (Hab 3:2–19) ; 5 (Is 26:9–20) ; 6 (Jon 2:3–10) ; 7 (Dan 3:26–45) ; 8 (Dan 3:52–88) ; 9 (Lc 1:46–55. 68–79) ; 2) *Odae aliae* : 10 (Is 5:1–9) ; 11 (Is 38:10–20) ; 12 (Prière de Manassé) ; 13 (Lc 2:29–32) ; 14 (Hymne du matin).

5. Dans l'*Alexandrinus*, les odes se suivent ainsi : 1 (Ex 15:1–19) ; 2 (Dt 32:1–43) ; 3 (I R 2:1–10) ; 4 (Is 26:9–20) ; 5 (Jon 2:3–10) ; 6 (Hab 3:2–19) ; 7 (Is 38:10–20) ; 8 (Prière de Manassé) ; 9 (Dan 3:26–45) ; 10 (Dan 3:52–88) ; 11 (Lc 1:46–55) ; 12 (Lc 2:29–32) ; 13 (Lc 1:68–79) ; 14 (Hymne du matin). Par rapport à l'ordre adopté par A. Rahlfs, la prière d'Isaïe (Is 26:9–20) arrive en quatrième position, avant celles de Jonas et d'Habacuc, suivies de celle d'Ezéchias qui occupe seulement la onzième place chez Rahlfs. La prière de Manassé,

manuscrit en onciale du 5<sup>e</sup> siècle constitue un témoin d'une extrême importance pour notre corpus puisqu'il est le premier manuscrit grec de la Bible qui offre cette collection à la suite des 151 Psaumes. En effet ces odes sont absentes du *Sinaiticus* et du *Vaticanus*, pourtant antérieurs à l'*Alexandrinus*. Mais, à la suite de l'*Alexandrinus*, nombreux seront les manuscrits de la Bible grecque et du Psautier qui témoigneront de cette même pratique éditoriale, qui a sans doute son origine dans un usage liturgique ancien.

L'*Alexandrinus* comporte, après le Psautier, lui-même précédé de plusieurs éléments dont deux textes chrétiens—la lettre d'Athanase d'Alexandrie à Marcellinus ainsi que les Ὑποθέσεις d'Eusèbe de Césarée—neuf odes, prières et hymnes tirés de l'Ancien Testament, trois prières extraites de l'Evangile de Luc et deux odes absentes des livres bibliques<sup>6</sup>. Chaque ode porte un titre et reçoit un numéro d'ordre dans la marge du manuscrit en onciale et l'ensemble se termine par un colophon bicolore : ωδαι ιδ', "quatorze odes".

Nous n'étudierons pas ici le problème de la constitution de ce corpus<sup>7</sup>, qui est sans doute une création chrétienne témoignant d'une tradition liturgique, probablement en cours au 5<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais en un lieu qui reste difficile à préciser<sup>8</sup>. En effet même si la tradition rabbinique atteste des listes de chants<sup>9</sup>, nous ne possédons aucun manuscrit des psaumes en hébreu comportant à

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occupe le huitième rang, et non le douzième ; la prière de Marie mère de Dieu est séparée de celle de Zacharie par celle de Syméon, tandis que chez Rahlfs les deux premiers textes tirés de Luc (Lc 1:46–55. 68–79) se suivent sous le seul numéro 9, le troisième portant le numéro 13. Enfin l'ode d'Isaïe 5:1–9 qui porte le numéro 10 chez Rahlfs n'apparaît pas dans l'*Alexandrinus*.

6. La Prière de Manassé, qui ne se trouve pas dans la Bible mais renvoie à 2 Ch 33:12–13 nous précisant que Manassé a prié lorsqu'il était retenu captif à Babylone, est un écrit composé par un Juif hellénisé entre le 1<sup>er</sup> s. avant notre ère et le 1<sup>er</sup> après notre ère. L'Hymne du Matin, quant à lui, nommé parfois aussi le *Gloria* (Ode 14), reprend en son début l'acclamation placée dans la bouche des anges en Lc 2:14.

7. Cf. H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden in Christlichen Altertum", *Biblica* 30, 1949, p. 28–65 ; 239–272 ; 433–452 ; 479–500.

8. Nous possédons en effet très peu d'indices pour préciser l'origine de l'*Alexandrinus*. Déjà selon F.C. Burkitt ("Codex 'Alexandrinus'", *Journal of Theological Studies* 11, 1910, p. 603–606), ce ne serait pas Alexandrie mais Constantinople. Et plus récemment—nous remercions A. Pietrobelli de nous avoir fourni cette référence—S. McKendrick ("The Codex Alexandrinus : Or the Dangers of Being a Named Manuscript", in S. McKendrick et O. A. O'Sullivan [eds.], *The Bible as a Book : The Transmission of the Greek Text*, Londres, 2003, p. 1–16) a proposé une origine éphésienne.

9. Sur la tradition juive de dix chants dans la littérature rabbinique, voir par exemple J. L. Kugel, "Is There But One Song?", *Biblica* 63, 1982, p. 329–350 ; F. Manns, "Une tradition juive dans les commentaires du Cantique des Cantiques d'Origène", *Antonianum* 65, 1995, p. 3–22.

sa suite une série d'odes. Nous ne nous intéresserons pas non plus à l'usage liturgique<sup>10</sup> de ces chants au cours des siècles. Laissant délibérément de côté ces deux questions, nous envisagerons cette collection comme un ensemble cohérent d'actes de langage<sup>11</sup> aux formes écrites variées mais présentant toutes un "air de famille" qui tient à leur intention commune.

# 1. L'EXISTENCE AUTONOME DES ODES

Rappelons tout d'abord que si, à l'exception de la Prière de Manassé et de l'Hymne du matin, la plupart des cantiques sont extraits de livres bibliques de l'Ancien ou du Nouveau Testament, tout porte à croire que ces pièces ont le plus souvent eu une existence autonome avant leur insertion, plus tardive, dans chacun des livres bibliques<sup>12</sup> : une telle remarque est valable tant, dans leur original hébreu, pour les odes de Moïse, la prière d'Anne, et celles des deux petits prophètes, Jonas et Habacuc, par exemple, que pour les hymnes lucaniens dénommés en latin le *Magnificat*, le *Benedictus* et le *Nunc dimittis*. Enchâssé dans une composition narrative ou prophétique qui n'est pas son lieu d'origine et datant d'une époque souvent différente, le cantique donne assurément au récit ou à la prophétie biblique une dimension totalement nouvelle qui en réoriente la portée et en modifie la temporalité mais, inversement, détachée de son cadre biblique, l'ode retrouve sa fonction initiale d'acte de langage anonyme à visée atemporelle et universelle.

10. Sur la liturgie, voir, par exemple, J. Mearns, *The Canticles of the Christian Church Eastern and Western in Early and Medieval Times*, Cambridge, 1914 ; H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden in Christlichen Altertum", *Biblica* 30, 1949 ; R. Taft, *La liturgie des heures en Orient et en Occident. Origine et sens de l'office divin*, *Mysteria* 2, 1991 ; P. Bernard, "La dialectique entre l'hymnodie et la psalmodie, des origines à la fin du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle : bilan des connaissances et essai d'interprétation", *Rivista Internazionale di Musica Sacra* 25, 2005, p. 11–163.

11. L'acte de langage peut ici être défini comme un moyen mis en œuvre par le locuteur pour modifier une situation par des mots ; par ce moyen, il cherche à informer, remercier, louer, promettre, proclamer, demander, convaincre etc. son interlocuteur. Sur ce *speech act*—selon l'expression introduite par J. Searle puis reprise par J.L. Austin (voir note 21)—en tant qu'énoncé qui est aussi un acte et pas seulement un énoncé qui décrit quelque chose, voir par exemple l'article "Actes de langage", dans B. Cassin (éd.), *Vocabulaire européen des philosophies*, Paris, 2004, p. 11–21.

12. Sur l'insertion de psaumes dans la littérature narrative et prophétique de la Bible hébraïque, voir par exemple les travaux de J. W. Watts, *Psalm and Story: Inset Hymns in Hebrew Narrative*, JSOTSup 139, Sheffield, 1992 ; "The Comparative Study of Inset Hymns", *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, P. W. Flint, P. D. Miller (éds.), *Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2005, p. 288–309.

## 2. LES TITRES

Dans l'*Alexandrinus*, chacune des pièces reçoit un titre, en majorité celui de prière, προσευχή. C'est le cas pour les textes mis sous le nom d'Anna, d'Isaïe, de Jonas, d'Habacuc, d'Ezéchias, de Manassé, d'Azarias, de Marie, de Syméon et de Zacharie, c'est-à-dire pour dix odes sur les quatorze. Les deux textes attribués à Moïse sont appelés ᾠδή et seules deux pièces portent le titre de ὕμνος : l'Hymne des trois enfants et l'Hymne du matin. Nous pouvons donc affirmer que nous avons, dans l'ensemble, affaire à un recueil de prières, même si, traditionnellement, c'est le terme "ode", au sens de "pièce chantée", qui désigne la collection<sup>13</sup>. Il est du reste fort difficile de définir les critères selon lesquels tel texte entre dans une catégorie plutôt que dans une autre et il semble bien que les mots "prière", "ode" et "hymne" soient utilisés de manière générale et interchangeable<sup>14</sup>.

## 3. LE LOCUTEUR

En tant que prières, ces textes sont des paroles, des actes de langage inscrits dans un univers religieux comme signes de la relation de l'homme au divin. Dans le texte même des odes, le nom du locuteur, celui ou celle qui prononce la prière, n'est précisé que dans les titres ajoutés dans l'*Alexandrinus*, sauf pour l'Hymne du matin qui demeure anonyme : il s'agit de Moïse pour les deux premières odes, de deux femmes, Anna, mère de Samuel, et Marie, mère de Jésus, dont les prières se répondent en écho<sup>15</sup> ; les autres locuteurs sont les

13. En réalité, dans le recueil des odes extraites de l'Ancien Testament, seule la prière d'Habacuc comporte le mot προσευχή dans son texte ; au sein de la Bible, le nom ou le verbe προσεύχομαι figurent dans les versets qui précèdent le texte retenu en tant qu'ode, en Jon 2:2, en 1 Sam 1:10.12 ; en Is 38:9 ; en Dan 3:24.25 ; le terme ᾠδή est bien présent en Ex 15:1, alors qu'il est absent de Dt 32:1–43 mais figure au verset précédent, en Dt 31:30 ; le verbe ὑμνέω se lit en Dan 3:51.

14. Sur l'acception également très large des trois termes "psaume", "hymne" et "cantique" dans la tradition judéo-chrétienne, voir par exemple A.A.R. Bastiaensen, "*Psalmi, hymni and cantica in early Jewish-Christian tradition*", E. Livingstone (éd.), *Studia Patristica* 21, Leuven/Louvain, 1987, p. 15–26.

15. La parole de Marie, en Lc 1:48 "parce qu'il a jeté les yeux sur l'humiliation de sa servante" (ὅτι ἐπέβλεψεν ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ) n'est pas sans rappeler celle d'Anna lors de sa première prière, en 1 Sam 1:11 "Si tu veux bien jeter les yeux sur l'humiliation de ta servante (ἐὰν ἐπιβλέπων ἐπιβλέψῃς ἐπὶ τὴν ταπείνωσιν τῆς δούλης σου)". Mais dans les odes elles-mêmes, les rapprochements thématiques (la joie du salut ; la force ; l'arrogance) ou lexicaux ("saint", ἅγιος, "les puissants", δυναστοί/δυνάσται ; "les affamés", πεινῶντες ; "le riche", πλούσιος, "le trône", θρόνος) sont nombreux.



prophètes Isaïe, Jonas, Habacuc, Daniel et ses compagnons, deux personnages historiques, les rois Ezéchias et Manassé et, enfin, deux hommes contemporains de Jésus, le juste Syméon et Zacharie, le père de Jean Baptiste.

Composées non par des personnes quelconques ni de simples individus mais par de grandes figures bibliques ou plus exactement mises dans leur bouche et acquérant par là une autorité certaine, ces prières, dès l'instant où elles se matérialisent dans un livre, réunies ici en l'occurrence dans le recueil des odes, cessent d'être individuelles, ou personnelles, pour devenir un discours rituel universel, susceptible d'être adopté par tout un chacun qui, désireux de prier, les réactive en tant qu'un acte de parole en face de Dieu. L'individu approprie ainsi à ses sentiments personnels un acte de langage dont il n'était pas à l'origine l'auteur.

#### 4. L'ALLOCUTAIRE

Tandis que le locuteur des odes, celui qui prie en faisant siens les cantiques bibliques, se distingue de l'inventeur de la prière—"je" devient un "autre"—, le destinataire, quant à lui, demeure Dieu. Se définissant comme une adresse à Dieu—il y a assurément prière dès lors que nous sommes en présence d'un texte qui mentionne expressément une puissance religieuse—, chacune des quatorze odes nomme explicitement l'interlocuteur divin. Celui-ci est uniformément appelé θεός ou κύριος, sauf dans la prière de Syméon, le *Nunc dimittis*, où Dieu apparaît uniquement sous le nom de δεσπότης (une appellation que l'on retrouve en Ode 9:37). L'allocutaire reçoit, parfois, d'autres appellations plus précises, comme "le Dieu de mon père" (Ode 1:2 ; Ode 10:52), "le Très-Haut" (Ode 2:8 ; Ode 8:7 ; Ode 13:76), "Seigneur tout-puissant", "Dieu de nos pères, d'Abraham, d'Isaac et de Jacob" (Ode 8:1), "Dieu des justes" (Ode 8:8) ; "Dieu de nos pères" (Ode 9:26), "le Puissant" (Ode 11:49), "le Dieu d'Israël" (Ode 13:68), "Dieu, père tout-puissant, Seigneur, fils unique, Jésus-Christ" (Ode 14:10).

On remarque toutefois que la nomination de Dieu ne se situe pas nécessairement au début de la prière ; de même, le recours au vocatif κύριε, "Seigneur" (l'un des procédés rhétoriques les plus fréquents pour s'adresser à Dieu, ou plus précisément pour implorer sa présence et non sa parole qui ne peut être convoquée<sup>16</sup>), apparaît rarement en début de prière<sup>17</sup> et seulement dans

16. Comme le souligne O. Boulnois, "Quand la réponse précède la demande. La dialectique paradoxale de la prière chrétienne", *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 211, 1994, p. 167–186, sp. p. 177.

17. Le vocatif κύριε se trouve en tête de la prière seulement pour les Odes 6, 8, 9, 10 mais on le lit à plusieurs reprises ailleurs dans le texte.

les énoncés en “tu”. Outre qu’elle évoque parfois l’aspect sous lequel Dieu s’est lui-même manifesté aux hommes, c’est-à-dire en tant que père, cette nomination de Dieu énonce le plus souvent sa majesté, sa transcendance. Tous ces textes qui s’adressent à Dieu sont donc bien des discours religieux, soit comme conversation avec Dieu, soit comme expression d’un cœur pieux sur la personne de Dieu. Ce sont là des actes de langage qui ont Dieu comme allocutaire mais aussi comme objet.

## 5. LE MODE D’ÉNONCIATION

Il importe également d’examiner le mode d’énonciation de ces paroles, de ces prières adressées à quelqu’un par quelqu’un, afin de préciser quelles sont ces voix qui produisent de tels actes de langage ; majoritairement—c’est-à-dire pour les huit premières odes ainsi que pour les Odes 11 et 12—ce sont des prières individuelles qui s’affirment en “je”, alternant en quelques cas—pour les Odes 1 et 4—avec un “nous” collectif. Les Odes 9, 10, 13 et 14 sont des prières communautaires en “nous”. À l’origine expression personnelle d’un individu s’associant parfois à la communauté juive ou chrétienne à laquelle il appartient, le texte proposé à la prière dans le recueil peut aisément être réutilisé dans toute relation de dialogue avec Dieu, par appropriation du “je” ou du “nous”, quelle que soit l’identité de celui ou ceux qui, la première fois, l’ont exprimé.

Dans la mesure où ces discours en “je” ou en “nous” s’adressent majoritairement à Dieu en faisant usage de la 2<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier, “tu”, nous sommes en présence d’un second marqueur d’énonciation que l’on trouve dans toutes les odes<sup>18</sup>, à l’exception des Odes 2, 11 et 13 qui parlent du Seigneur à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier. Certaines prières, comme celles d’Anna (Ode 3), d’Habacuc (Ode 6) et d’Ezéchias (Ode 7) mêlent le “tu” et le “il”. Lorsque les verbes sont essentiellement à la 3<sup>e</sup> personne du singulier et généralement au passé, le texte de telles prières efface d’une certaine façon les indices d’énonciation : on ne sait plus très bien qui parle à qui, les événements semblent se raconter d’eux-mêmes.

## 6. LES ODES COMME ACTES DE LANGAGE AUX MULTIPLES FONCTIONS

Les prières ou odes de ce recueil revêtent en outre des formes variées et remplissent les rôles les plus divers : on retrouve là le caractère “protéiforme” de la

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18. Le cantique de Syméon (Ode 12) est la seule des odes lucaniennes où le personnage s’adresse directement à Dieu.

prière, cher à Marcel Mauss<sup>19</sup>. Il faut donc envisager ces odes comme des actes de langage pouvant cumuler plusieurs fonctions.

### 6.1. ODE 1 (EXODE 15:1–19)

Par exemple, comme l'indique la phrase initiale Ἀισωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται, “Chantons au Seigneur, car glorieusement il s'est couvert de gloire”, la première ode de Moïse est un chant de victoire à la gloire de Dieu parce que “les chars de pharaon et sa force armée, il les a engloutis dans la mer”. Mais elle est aussi une action de grâces<sup>20</sup> parce que Dieu “a été mon défenseur et protecteur, il m'a sauvé” (Ode 1:2) et en même temps c'est une célébration de la magnificence de Dieu, “admirable dans [ses] actes glorieux, faiseur de prodiges” (v. 11). En effet l'emploi des verbes de louange tels que Ἀισωμεν, “chantons” (v. 1), δοξάσω, “je glorifierai”, et ὑψώσω, “j'exalterai” (v. 2), sont de véritables actes déclaratifs.

Nous référant ici à la célèbre formule d'Austin<sup>21</sup>, “Quand dire c'est faire”, on peut affirmer en effet que la louange dans cette ode, représentée par les verbes qui l'expriment, se voit conférer sur le champ une existence par la déclaration même de cette louange. Dans un tel acte de langage, le mot et la réalité ne font qu'un et coïncident, même s'il n'y a pas en grec de correspondance temporelle immédiate ; en effet le mode verbal utilisé en grec est le futur alors que dans le texte original hébreu il s'agit de l'inaccompli, souvent traduit par un présent. En réalité, le temps de la prière est anhistorique car l'énoncé se déploie dans le présent malgré sa tension vers l'avenir, le discours de la prière gommant en quelque sorte les oppositions entre le passé, le présent et le futur. Quoi qu'il en soit, en grec, la prière transforme en désir, en souhait pour le locuteur, ce qui est déjà effectif pour l'allocutaire.

Par ces mots de louange, le locuteur remercie Dieu, lui adresse un éloge et lui exprime son sentiment : l'événement à proprement parler est créé par les formules prononcées par celui qui communique ainsi avec Dieu, que ce soit

19. *La Prière*, Paris, 1909, p. 5.

20. Sur le classement des *Psaumes* selon leur genre littéraire (louange, plainte, action de grâces, bénédiction, confession, etc.), voir en particulier H. Gunkel, J. Begrich, *Einleitung in die Psalmen. Die Gattungen der religiösen Lyrik Israels*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1933. Pour plus de bibliographie sur ce sujet, voir par exemple D. J. A. Clines, “Psalm Research since 1955 : II. The Literary Genres”, *Tyndale Bulletin* 20, 1969, p. 105–125. Voir aussi E. Lipinski, “Psaumes. I - Formes et genres littéraires”, *DBSup* 9, 1979, col. 1–125.

21. J.L. Austin, *Quand dire c'est faire*, Paris, 1979 (trad. fr. de *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*. J. O. Urmson (ed.), Oxford, Clarendon, 1962). Aristote avait déjà noté (*De Interpretatione* 17a 4) le statut spécifique de la prière qui “est un discours, mais n'est ni vraie ni fausse”.

Moïse ou celui, quel qu'il soit, qui reprend les paroles de ce dernier. Ainsi les trois verbes sur lesquels s'ouvre cette Ode 1 ne disent pas seulement quelque chose, ici en l'occurrence, la louange de Dieu, ils acquièrent une dimension performative : ils exécutent l'acte tout en le nommant. Le chant de victoire de Moïse est une prière d'action de grâces qui signifie la louange, la proclame, l'actualise et la fait exister.

#### 6.2. ODE 2 (DEUTÉRONOME 32:1–43)

La deuxième Ode de Moïse, en son début, se présente comme un acte de langage différent, qui a encore un autre but. Le locuteur fait une déclaration que les multiples marqueurs linguistiques désignent explicitement comme un acte assertif : faisant suite au verbe λαλήσω, “je parlerai” (v. 1), les phrases προσδοκάσθω ὡς ὑετὸς τὸ ἀπόφθεγμά μου, “Que soit attendue comme pluie ma proclamation”, et καταβήτω ὡς δρόσος τὰ ῥήματά μου, “Que descendent comme rosée mes paroles” (v. 2), qui empruntent pareillement leur poésie à des phénomènes naturels, sont même redondantes. Et le discours, outre une invocation à Dieu avec louanges aux v. 3 et 4, devient alors un acte informatif qui énonce en une longue description les hauts faits de Dieu à l'égard de son peuple. Il s'agit bien sûr de l'histoire passée du peuple d'Israël mais, dès lors qu'il n'est pas totalement étranger à tout ce savoir et qu'il partage avec cette communauté un certain nombre de références culturelles qui le concernent, tout locuteur disant ou chantant ce texte comme prière ou tout lecteur le lisant n'a aucun mal à se l'approprier *hic et nunc* et l'énoncé devient l'exécution même de l'acte, de la prière : la narration historique répétée dans la prière rend présente pour l'orant l'histoire des origines dont il est à la fois auteur et acteur<sup>22</sup> face à Dieu qu'il invoque.

#### 6.3. ODE 3 (1 SAMUEL 2:1–10)

La troisième ode (la Prière d'Anna) peut être analysée comme un acte de langage expressif ; ainsi du verset 2 :

οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς κύριος,  
καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν δίκαιος ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν·  
οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος πλὴν σοῦ

22. Sur l'orant comme auteur et acteur du récit des origines qu'il relate dans la prière, voir O. Boulnois, “Quand la réponse précède la demande...” (voir note 16), p. 179.

Il n'est de saint comme le Seigneur,  
 Il n'est de juste comme notre Dieu ;  
 Il n'est de saint sinon toi.

Sous une forme au rythme bien frappé qui présente Dieu comme unique et singulier, ce verset énonce des paroles de gratitude, d'estime et de félicitations à Dieu. Cependant une telle reconnaissance ne se formule pas sans raison mais pour le bien que Dieu a fait ; et le locuteur d'affirmer d'emblée au verset 1 :

Ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν κυρίῳ,  
 ὑψώθη κέρασ μου ἐν θεῷ μου·  
 ἐπλατύνθη ἐπ' ἐχθροὺς τὸ στόμα μου,  
 ἠὺφράνθην ἐν σωτηρίᾳ σου.

Mon cœur a été fortifié par le Seigneur,  
 Ma corne a été élevée par mon Dieu ;  
 Ma bouche s'est grand ouverte contre mes ennemis,  
 Je me suis réjoui du salut qui vient de toi.

Le lecteur familier du récit biblique de la naissance de Samuel reconnaît dans ces mots la prière de remerciement d'Anna, la femme stérile devenue mère. Toutefois l'évocation demeure suffisamment vague pour que tout locuteur puisse utiliser cet acte de langage en référence à sa propre expérience pour communiquer à Dieu sa reconnaissance.

#### 6.4. ODE 5 (JONAS 2:3–10)

L'Ode 5 (la Prière de Jonas), définie par son contenu propositionnel comme un acte de remerciement de la part de Jonas pour avoir échappé à une situation de détresse extrême (Ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν μου, "J'ai crié dans ma détresse vers le Seigneur mon Dieu"), se présente aussi sous une autre forme. Sur la fin (v. 10), la prière cesse d'être le cri d'un sentiment et l'énoncé devient un acte de langage promissif, en ce sens que le dernier verset formule au futur une promesse et un vœu :

ἐγὼ δὲ μετὰ φωνῆς αἰνέσεως καὶ ἑξομολογήσεως θύσω σοι·  
 ὅσα ἠὺξάμην, ἀποδώσω σοι εἰς σωτηρίαν μου τῷ κυρίῳ.

Mais moi, avec la voix de la louange et de l'action de grâces, je t'offrirai un sacrifice.

Tous les vœux que j'ai faits, je m'en acquitterai auprès de toi pour mon salut, Seigneur.

Il ne s'agit donc plus seulement, cette fois, d'énoncer des louanges au Dieu bienfaiteur en guise de remerciement, mais aussi de formuler un vœu<sup>23</sup>. Pour l'orant qui s'approprie cette prière qui constitue en quelque sorte comme un "fragment"<sup>24</sup> de religion, peu importe la vérité des faits historiques et qu'il y ait accomplissement réel ou non du vœu d'une offrande, seul compte l'énoncé religieux qui a pour fondement une des émotions humaines les plus intenses, ici la souffrance, et qui exprime l'engagement du croyant vis-à-vis de Dieu.

#### 6.5. ODE 6 (HABACUC 3:1-19)

L'Ode 6 (Prière d'Habacuc) occupe un statut à part dans ce corpus ; à l'exception d'une proclamation du Seigneur pour ses œuvres, en initiale et en finale de la prière, il s'agit d'un poème théophanique qui relate la venue du Seigneur, accompagnée d'un séisme provoquant souffrances et terreur, mais aussi la victoire du Seigneur et le salut de son peuple. En réalité, cette prière narrative sur les hauts faits guerriers du Seigneur s'apparente à l'Ode 1 (Ex 15:1-19) qui est également un chant de victoire dans lequel on retrouve les mêmes motifs de la force (ισχύος en Ex 6 et en Ha 4) et de la colère (θυμός en Ex 8 et Ha 8) divines, la lutte contre les nations ennemies, le tremblement (τρόμος en Ex 15.16 et Ha 16), la mer (θάλασσα en Ex 1.10 et Ha 8.15), les douleurs (ώδινες/ώδίνω en Ex 14 et Ha 10) et le salut (σωτηρία/σωτήρ en Ex 2 et Ha 18). Ce sont là deux prières qui narrent les actions de Dieu mais, réappropriée par l'orant, cette geste devient une nouvelle promesse de salut.

#### 6.6. ODE 7 (ISAÏE 38:10-20), ODE 8 (PRIÈRE DE MANASSÉ)

L'Ode 7 (Prière d'Ezéchias,) et l'Ode 8 (Prière de Manassé), toutes deux, à l'origine, des psaumes royaux chantés par deux rois successifs, Ezéchias, puis son fils Manassé, l'un au sortir de sa maladie, l'autre après s'être repenti de ses fautes, sont des prières de louange. Elles s'achèvent pareillement sur une promesse de louange et de bénédiction perpétuelle adressée à celui qui donne le salut. Les verbes promissifs qui engagent le locuteur dans un rapport d'obligation vis-à-vis de l'allocutaire sont de même nature ; on lit au v. 20 de

23. Pour d'autres prières d'action de grâces accompagnées d'une formule de vœu, voir par exemple les Psaumes 66:13.15 ; 116:17.18.

24. Nous empruntons la formule à M. Mauss, *La Prière*, p. 19.

l'Ode 7 : καὶ οὐ παύσομαι εὐλογῶν σε μετὰ ψαλτηρίου πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς μου, “et je ne cesserai de te bénir au son de la harpe tous les jours de ma vie”, et au v. 15 de l'Ode 8 : καὶ αἰνέσω σε διὰ παντὸς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ζωῆς μου, “et je te louerai sans cesse tous les jours de ma vie”.

Cependant, ces mêmes prières contiennent en leur début des énoncés assertifs : la première, l'Ode 7, a recours à deux reprises au verbe εἶπα, “j'ai dit”, aux v. 10 et 11 pour évoquer un état de détresse, un cri de lamentation, tout à fait personnel—Dieu n'est pas mis en scène—en un langage aux comparaisons éminemment poétiques ; on lit ainsi aux v. 12–13 :

ἐξέλιπον ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου,  
κατέλιπον τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου·  
ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ  
ὥσπερ ὁ καταλύων σκηνὴν πῆξας·  
τὸ πνεῦμά μου παρ' ἐμοὶ ἐγένετο  
ὥς ἰσθὸς ἐρίθου ἐγγιζούσης ἐκτεμεῖν.  
13 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ παρεδόθην ἕως πρωὶ ὡς λέοντι.

J'ai déserté ma parenté,  
J'ai abandonné le reste de ma vie ;  
C'est sorti, parti loin de moi,  
Comme on défait la tente que l'on a dressée ;  
Mon souffle est devenu en moi  
Comme la chaîne dont la tisseuse s'apprête à couper le fil.  
13 Ce jour-là, j'ai été livré jusqu'au matin comme à un lion.

L'autre prière, l'Ode 8, s'ouvre également sur un énoncé assertif aux v. 1 à 8 ; ce n'est plus une parole de lamentation mais un éloge adressé au style direct à Dieu qui décrit avec un lyrisme grandiloquent et appuyé sa puissance et sa miséricorde. L'expressivité de ce discours, due à l'accumulation en particulier des verbes d'actions ὁ ποιήσας ... ὁ πεδήσας ... ὁ κλείσας ... καὶ σφραγισάμενος (“toi qui as fait ... qui as entravé ... qui as fermé ... et as scellé”) et à la multiplicité des qualificatifs φοβερῶ καὶ ἐνδόξῳ ... ἄστεκτος ... ἀνυπόστατος ... ἀμέτρητόν τε καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστον ... εὐσπλαγχνος, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος (“terrible et illustre ... indissimulable ... irrésistible ... incommensurable et indécelable ... bienveillant, longanime et miséricordieux”), qui évoquent les exploits et les qualités de Dieu, a un effet contraignant et est destinée à renforcer l'efficacité de la demande de pardon (v. 13) : cette louange en tant qu'acte de langage qui vise à s'attirer les faveurs du destinataire, en l'occurrence ici à obtenir la clémence pour les péchés, précède en toute logique la confession itérative des péchés formulée elle aussi de façon poétique tout au long des v. 9 à 12.

Les assertions imagées telles que ἡμαρτον ὑπὲρ ἀριθμὸν ψάμμου θαλάσσης, “mes péchés sont plus nombreux que le sable de la mer” (v. 9), ou κατακαμπτόμενος πολλῶ δεσμῶ σιδήρου, “je suis courbé comme une chaîne de fer trop lourde” (v. 10), ou encore κλίνω γόνυ καρδίας δεόμενος τῆς παρὰ σοῦ χρηστότητος, “je fléchis le genou du cœur en implorant la bonté qui vient de toi” (v. 11), donnent elles aussi une valeur intensive à la double demande de pardon au v. 13 :

αἰτοῦμαι δεόμενός σου  
Ἄνες μοι, κύριε, ἄνες μοι

Je te le demande en t’implorant :  
Pardonne-moi, Seigneur, pardonne-moi.

Prononcées par n’importe quelle âme soucieuse de converser avec Dieu, ces deux odes cessent d’être des paroles royales pour devenir des énonciations personnelles traduisant toutes sortes de situations, la détresse, la supplication, le repentir ou la simple louange : la prière d’autrui qui combine en elle cette diversité d’actes de langage devient mienne et je deviens moi-même l’auteur de ces énoncés religieux. Acteur à nouveau d’un contrat avec Dieu, je réactualise ainsi l’alliance divine à travers les actes de paroles multiformes mais savamment composés des grandes figures bibliques.

#### 6.7. ODE 9 (DANIEL 3:26–45)

L’Ode 9, composée de la prière prononcée par Azarias, avant ou après que les trois jeunes gens ont été jetés dans la fournaise (Dn 3:24b. 25), est une parole de requête aux accents désespérés : le verbe à l’impératif ἐξελοῦ ἡμᾶς, “délivre-nous”, au v. 43 et les optatifs ἐντραπήσαν et καταισχυνθείσαν, “Qu’ils soient couverts d’opprobre ... qu’ils rougissent de honte”, appliqués aux ennemis, au v. 44, sont explicitement des marqueurs illocutionnaires à valeur de demande. Le locuteur désire ardemment que l’allocutionnaire intervienne en sa faveur. Mais la prière ne devient supplique que parce qu’elle est d’abord confession nationale. L’acte de langage énoncé par un “nous” qui représente la communauté est ici majoritairement (v. 28–38) un aveu des fautes de la nation, initié par la proposition ὅτι ἡμάρτομεν καὶ ἠνομήσαμεν ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ σοῦ, “Car nous avons fauté et commis l’iniquité de nous éloigner de toi” (v. 29).

Après cette confession des péchés, dans un vif souhait de voir Dieu intervenir et sans doute afin d’augmenter la force contraignante ou persuasive de sa supplique, l’orant ne manque pas de terminer sa prière sur une formule de louange à la gloire du Dieu unique (v. 45 ... σὺ εἶ μόνος κύριος ὁ θεὸς



καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐφ’ ὅλην τὴν οἰκουμένην, “... c’est toi, le Seigneur Dieu, seul et glorieux sur toute la terre”) qui fait en quelque sorte inclusion avec l’*incipit* de l’ode (v. 26), un acte illocutoire de bénédiction dont l’énoncé religieux réalise l’activité tout en la désignant :

Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,  
καὶ αἰνετὸν καὶ δεδοξασμένον τὸ ὄνομά σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας,

Sois béni, Seigneur, Dieu de nos pères !  
Que ton nom soit loué et glorifié, pour les siècles.

Ici encore, l’action coïncide avec la parole énoncée. Ainsi les différents actes de langage de cette Ode 9 ressortissent à de multiples fonctions, bénédiction, confession des péchés, supplique et louange, autant de formes de discours rituel qui dépassent largement la situation du jeune martyr qui offre sa vie à Dieu en sacrifice (v. 29–40) et qui peuvent aisément être réutilisées par une communauté ou un individu souhaitant communiquer à Dieu ces mêmes expériences au cours d’une relation dialogale.

#### 6.8. ODE 10 (DANIEL 3:52–88)

Outre cette alternance de significations possibles, la prière peut parfois formuler un seul et même discours. Il en va ainsi de l’Ode 10, nommée Hymne des trois enfants, qui comprend tout au long de ses 36 versets un acte de parole unique—la bénédiction—, énoncé à l’aide de verbes performatifs se présentant sous diverses formes : Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, “Sois béni”, au v. 52 ; εὐλογημένος εἶ, “tu es béni”, aux v. 53.54.55.56 ; aux versets suivants, εὐλογεῖτε, “bénissez”, employé 30 fois, est un verbe déclaratif. Une telle prière en forme de litanie au contenu répétitif constitue un acte de langage bien spécifique en ce sens qu’il perd en quelque sorte sa fonction communicative ; mais, en dépit de cette mort pour ainsi dire du langage, la prière demeure et sa force voire son efficacité en sont accrues par l’expressivité même de ses répétitions et de son rythme, l’une des caractéristiques essentielles de toute prière.

#### 6.9. ODE 12 (LUC 2:29–32)

L’Ode 12, nommée Prière de Syméon, surprend tant par sa brièveté que par l’étrangeté et le caractère flou de son unique phrase propositionnelle. Dans cet acte de langage il ne s’agit pas à proprement parler d’une demande mais d’une louange informative : après les mots énigmatiques de l’adresse liminaire à Dieu nommé ici “maître”—Νῦν ἀπολύεις τὸν δοῦλόν σου, δέσποτα,

κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμά σου ἐν εἰρήνῃ, “À présent tu libères ton esclave, maître, selon ta parole, dans la paix” —, la parole louangeuse est elle-même information sur l’action salvifique de Dieu à l’égard d’Israël et sur sa préparation au salut pour les nations : ὅτι εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου, ὃ ἡτοίμασας κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν, “parce que mes yeux ont vu ton salut, que tu as préparé face à tous les peuples”. Il est toutefois indéniable que ce petit texte évoque deux thèmes centraux dans tout ce corpus d’odes : la paix et le salut.

## 7. LE CONTEXTE ÉNONCIATIF

Même si ces quatorze odes ne constituent en aucune façon un livre mais demeurent une collection de textes tous indépendants les uns des autres, nous venons de voir qu’elles partagent néanmoins une même forme de prière, si différente soit-elle d’un énoncé à l’autre. Mais, par ailleurs, tous ces actes de langage ont un autre trait commun, leur contexte énonciatif aux configurations stables et récurrentes. En effet, un certain nombre d’idées, de notions qui portent sur le monde en général et dans lesquelles celui qui appartient à la même communauté peut se reconnaître, reviennent à l’identique à travers toutes ces paroles, sinon avec la même fréquence, du moins toujours avec la même prégnance.

Par exemple, le motif de la **paix**, εἰρήνη, n’est pas présent en tant que demande dans l’ensemble des odes mais seulement dans l’Ode 4 (Is 26:12 : κύριε ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, εἰρήνην δὸς ἡμῖν, “Seigneur, notre Dieu, donne-nous la paix”). En revanche, dans les trois dernières odes du corpus, c’est un thème majeur fortement mis en relief par la situation du mot au sein de la prière, en initiale ou en finale. Syméon, comme nous venons de le voir dans l’Ode 12 (Lc 2:29), en est le bénéficiaire, tandis que Zacharie dans l’Ode 13 en annonce la réalisation à la fin de son cantique (Lc 1:79 : ... τοῦ κατευθῆναι τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν εἰς ὁδὸν εἰρήνης, “... pour diriger nos pas sur un chemin de paix”). Dans l’Ode 14 (Hymne du matin ou *Gloria* = Lc 2:14), ce sont les premiers mots de l’acclamation des anges : Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη, “Gloire à Dieu dans les hauteurs suprêmes et paix sur la terre”. Or la paix, outre qu’elle est au cœur de l’espérance messianique tant chez les Juifs que chez les chrétiens<sup>25</sup>, est intrinsèque à toute l’humanité et demeure le bien par excellence requis en chaque prière.

Le motif du **salut** est uniformément développé dans toutes les odes sauf dans l’Ode 10 (Hymne des trois enfants). Néanmoins l’acte d’énonciation se

25. Cf. par exemple Is 57:19 repris en Eph 2:17 ; Is 66:12 ; Jr 33:6 ; Ez 37:26.

présente rarement sous la forme d'une demande<sup>26</sup> mais plutôt sur le mode d'une narration<sup>27</sup>. Outre l'invocation performative, "Dieu sauveur"<sup>28</sup>, qui réitère et actualise la célébration du salut divin, le récit du salut constitue en effet la trame de la prière en général et d'une certaine façon en renouvelle l'histoire, en effaçant les oppositions entre les temps, passé, présent et futur<sup>29</sup>. En le racontant, la prière promulgue à chaque fois le salut. L'acte de langage, dans ce cas encore, a pleinement son statut performatif.

Il faudrait encore étudier plus en détail l'un des thèmes lyriques par excellence de la prière, à savoir la **mort**. Souvent, c'est ce motif qui donne au texte son caractère émotif et spectaculaire. Ainsi, l'Ode 7 (Prière d'Ezéchias) s'ouvre sur une double assertion aux accents tragiques et dont la variation des métaphores poétiques décline sur plusieurs tons ce thème unique de la mort :

10 Ἐγὼ εἶπα Ἐν τῷ ὕψει τῶν ἡμερῶν μου  
πορεύσομαι ἐν πύλαις ἄδου  
καταλείψω τὰ ἔτη τὰ ἐπίλοιπα.  
11 εἶπα Οὐκέτι μὴ ἴδω τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,  
οὐ μὴ ἴδω ἄνθρωπον μετὰ κατοικούντων.  
12 ἐξέλιπον ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας μου,  
κατέλιπον τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ζωῆς μου·  
ἐξῆλθεν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ...

10 Moi, j'ai dit : Au sommet de mes jours,

26. Sauf dans l'Ode 5 (Prière de Jonas), au verset final "tous les vœux que j'ai faits, je m'en acquitterai auprès de toi pour mon salut, Seigneur (ὅσα ἠὲξάμην, ἀποδώσω σοι εἰς σωτηρίαν μου τῷ κυρίῳ)". Dans l'Ode 13:76-77 (Prière de Zacharie) l'énoncé sur le salut est plutôt promissif : "tu marcheras ... pour donner la connaissance du salut à son peuple (προπορεύση ... τοῦ δοῦναι γνώσιν σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ)".

27. Voir en particulier les énoncés au passé dans l'Ode 1:2 ("il m'a sauvé", ... ἐγένετό μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν). Ode 1:13 ("ton peuple que voici, que tu as délivré", τὸν λαόν σου τοῦτον, ὃν ἐλυτρώσω) ; Ode 6:13 ("tu es sorti pour le salut de ton peuple pour sauver tes oints", ἐξῆλθες εἰς σωτηρίαν λαοῦ σου τοῦ σῶσαι τοὺς χριστοὺς σου) ; Ode 12:30 ("mes yeux ont vu ton salut", εἶδον οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου τὸ σωτήριόν σου) ; Ode 13:69.71 ("Et il a suscité la corne de notre salut ... un salut qui nous délivre de nos ennemis", καὶ ἤγειρεν κέρας σωτηρίας ἡμῖν... σωτηρίαν ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν).

28. Voir par exemple la nomination θεὸς σωτήρ en Ode 2:15 ; 6:18 ; 11:47. Dans l'Ode 7:19, on lit l'appellation κύριε τῆς σωτηρίας μου. Et au v. 11 de la même ode (= Is 38:11), l'expression "le salut de Dieu", τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, constitue un "plus" par rapport au TM du livre d'*Isaïe*.

29. Ce trait remarquable où passé et futur se confondent se lit par exemple dans l'Ode 13, aux versets 69.71 et 76.

Je passerai par les portes de l'Hadès,  
 J'abandonnerai les années qui me restent.  
 11 J'ai dit : Non, je ne verrai plus le salut de Dieu sur la terre,  
 Je ne verrai pas d'humain parmi les habitants.  
 12 J'ai déserté ma parenté,  
 J'ai abandonné le reste de ma vie.  
 C'est sorti, parti loin de moi...

Dans d'autres odes, la mort est l'objet même de la supplique ; par exemple dans l'Ode 5 au v. 7 (Prière de Jonas) :

κατέβην εἰς γῆν, ἧς οἱ μοχλοὶ αὐτῆς κάτοχοι αἰώνιοι,  
 καὶ ἀναβήτω φθορᾶς ἡ ζωὴ μου.

J'ai accosté une terre dont les verrous sont fermés pour l'éternité,  
 Que ma vie se relève de la corruption.

On a là une image explicite qui définit avec force la mort, tandis que le désir de vivre reçoit une étrange formulation. On retrouve par trois fois cette même supplication à échapper à un funeste destin dans l'Ode 8 (Prière de Manassé) au v. 13 :

μὴ συναπολέσης με ταῖς ἀνομίαις μου  
 μηδὲ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα μηνίσας<sup>30</sup> τηρήσης τὰ κακά μοι  
 μηδὲ καταδικάσης με ἐν τοῖς κατωτάτοις τῆς γῆς

Ne me fais pas périr à cause de mes iniquités,  
 Et ne garde pas rancune pour l'éternité en scrutant mes méfaits,  
 Et ne me condamne pas dans les profondeurs de la terre.

Le passage de la mort à la vie est même une forme de discours essentielle dans les prières ; ainsi lit-on dans l'Ode 3 (Prière d'Anna) au v. 6 : κύριος θανατοῖ καὶ ζωογονεῖ, "le Seigneur fait mourir, et il fait vivre" ; ou dans l'Ode 4 (Prière d'Isaïe), au v. 19 : ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν

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30. Sur le choix dans cette prière d'anciens mots d'usage homérique ou empruntés à la tragédie, comme μηνίω, voir l'étude d'A. Passoni Dell'Acqua, "La Prière de Manassé. Une fantaisie linguistique pour chanter la miséricorde de Dieu", J. Joosten, Ph. Le Moigne (éds.), *L'apport de la Septante aux études sur l'Antiquité*, Lectio divina, Paris, 2005, p. 221–268, sp. 237.

τοῖς μνημείοις, “les morts se relèveront, ceux qui sont dans les tombeaux se réveilleront”.

Parmi les autres idées qui reviennent avec une certaine récurrence tout au long de ce recueil de prières, citons encore le thème des **ennemis** ; ils sont nommés ἐχθροί<sup>31</sup> ou ὑπεναντίοι<sup>32</sup> ; et la terminologie qui décrit le combat que Dieu leur livre est d’une violence toute biblique<sup>33</sup>.

Outre les termes de **justice**<sup>34</sup> et de **miséricorde**<sup>35</sup> qui définissent la conduite de Dieu à l’égard de son peuple dans de nombreuses odes, deux autres notions clés, la **lumière**<sup>36</sup>, présente en particulier dans les odes tirées du Nouveau Testament, et l’**alliance**<sup>37</sup>, marquent fortement le recueil, même si leur énonciation se fait rare.

## 8. CONCLUSION

En nous inspirant de la théorie austinienne des *speech acts*, nous avons essayé d’analyser les odes ajoutées au Psautier comme une collection d’actes de langage, qui disent à Dieu sa louange—celle de sa nature et de ses œuvres—et la font exister, mais qui expriment en même temps l’expérience privée d’un individu. Nous espérons avoir montré que celui qui partage certaines affinités avec la communauté chrétienne peut à tout instant s’appliquer à lui-même cette prière—qui est toujours pour ainsi dire une prière de salut—et se l’approprier comme un texte de dévotion personnelle, de génération en génération<sup>38</sup>. En effet la structure non linéaire de ce corpus des Odes, la liberté de son langage poétique font écho aux multiples passions. Or ces actes de langage aux multiples visées disent l’indicible, l’angoisse et la souffrance, mais aussi la joie et l’exultation, et fournissent à tout cœur ému, un instant sans voix, un langage

31. Ode 1:6 ; Ode 2:27.31.41.43 ; Ode 3:1 ; Ode 9:32 ; Ode 13:71.

32. Ode 1:7 ; Ode 2:27 ; Ode 4:11.

33. Voir par exemple dans l’Ode 1 les verbes “broyer”, θραύω (v. 6), “briser”, συντρίβω, et “dévorer comme de la paille”, κατεσθίω ὡς καλάμην (v. 7).

34. Sur la justice (δικαιοσύνη/δίκαιος), voir Ode 1:13 ; Ode 2:4 ; Ode 3:2. 10 ; Ode 4:9.10 ; Ode 7:19 ; Ode 9:27 ; Ode 13:75.

35. Sur la miséricorde (ἐλεημοσύνη/ἐλεός), voir Ode 6:2 ; Ode 7:18 ; Ode 8:6.14 ; 9:35.38.42 ; Ode 11:50.54 ; Ode 13:72. 78 ; Ode 14:45.

36. Sur la lumière (φῶς), voir Ode 4:9 ; Ode 6:4.11 ; Ode 10:72 ; Ode 12:32 ; Ode 13:78.79 ; Ode 14:45.

37. Sur l’alliance (διαθήκη), voir Ode 9:34 ; Ode 13:72.

38. Sur cette même fonction des *Hodayot* à Qumrân, voir par exemple J.J. Collins, “Amazing Grace : The Transformation of the Thanksgiving Hymn at Qumran”, H. W. Attridge, M. E. Fassler (éds.), *Psalms in Community. Jewish and Christian Textual, Liturgical, and Artistic Traditions*, Brill, Leiden, Boston, 2004, p. 75–85, sp. 85.

à la puissance émotive et poétique toute trouvée lors d'une adresse à Dieu. Répétés et mimés, les mots de ces prières deviennent une partie de nous-mêmes, car les Odes, tout comme Calvin le dit du livre des *Psaumes*, sont "une anatomie de toutes les parties de l'âme"<sup>39</sup>.

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39. Préface au *Commentaire sur les Psaumes*.

# The Septuagint's Fidelity to Its *Vorlage* in Greek Patristic Thought

Edmon L. Gallagher

**Abstract:** The status of the Septuagint as the Bible of the early church has obscured the level to which the fathers esteemed the original Hebrew text. Indeed, modern studies of the role of the Greek Bible in the church of the patristic age frequently assert that Christians rejected the Hebrew Bible as scripture, even to the extent of declaring the Septuagint inspired in its deviations from the Hebrew. This paper disputes such judgments. Careful study of the relevant patristic passages on the Septuagint shows that Christians generally took great pains to establish the Septuagint as the surest access to the original Hebrew text. Variants between the Septuagint and the Minor Versions could be explained by textual corruption in the Septuagint manuscript tradition, similar corruption in the Hebrew tradition, or anti-Christian bias on the part of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Only very rarely did a father propose that the Seventy translators deliberately altered the biblical text. In fact, such a suggestion did not become part of any father's general textual theory before Augustine, and his views may be explained as a direct reaction to the work of Jerome. It turns out that the Hebrew Bible loomed large in patristic imagination, and even Augustine came to attribute great authority to it.

Biblical exegesis during the patristic period entailed little concern for the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. The Septuagint penetrated the consciousness of Christians to the extent that they treated it as the original text and constructed elaborate interpretations on the basis of it, without thought to the underlying Hebrew. Indeed, the fathers justified such use of this translation by claiming that it was inspired in its own right, and they formulated an array of arguments to substantiate this claim.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the fathers were

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1. On the LXX in the church of the patristic age, see Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 289–320; Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 1–40; Abraham Wasserstein and David J. Wasserstein, *The Legend of*

constantly aware that their Old Testament was, in fact, a translation,<sup>2</sup> and the relationship between the Greek and Hebrew texts proved to be an enduring problem for many of them. Augustine famously conceded the existence of numerous and substantial divergences between the LXX and its *Vorlage* and attributed these differences to the work of the Holy Spirit (Civ. 18.42–44), a view that has found some support among modern proponents of the theological value of the LXX.<sup>3</sup> Scholars have sometimes thought that Augustine's view may be indicative of the earlier patristic view, especially in the belief that a substantive gap separates the Greek Bible from the Hebrew Bible. About the biblical text in the church of the patristic age, Mogens Müller has written: "The Hebrew Bible text was devalued or even rejected, either because it was taken to be a forgery, or because it was the Jewish Bible. Since the Septuagint was considered to be inspired, there was no need to vindicate it in relation to the wording of the Hebrew text."<sup>4</sup>

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*the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 95–131. On the inspiration of the LXX, see Heinrich Karpp, "‘Prophet’ oder ‘Dolmetscher’? Die Geltung der Septuaginta in der Alten Kirche," in *Vom Umgang der Kirche mit der Heiligen Schrift: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1983), 128–50; repr. from *Festschrift für Günther Dehn: zum 75. Geburtstag am 18. April 1957 dargebracht von der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn* (ed. Wilhelm Schneemelcher; Neukirchen: Kreis Moers, 1957), 103–17; Pierre Benoit, "L'inspiration des Septante d'après les Pères," in *L'homme devant Dieu: mélanges offerts au père Henri de Lubac* (3 vols.; Théologie 56–58; Paris: Aubier, 1963–64), 1.169–87; Mogens Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (JSOTSup 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996). For an analysis of the patristic arguments used on behalf of the inspiration of the LXX, see esp. Kamesar, *Jerome*, 28–34. On the entire theme, see now Edmon L. Gallagher, *Hebrew Scripture in Patristic Biblical Theory: Canon, Language, Text* (VCSup 114; Leiden: Brill, 2012), ch. 5.

2. Jerome's comment that even "learned men" (*diserti homines*) are unaware that the scriptures have been translated from Hebrew (*Chron.*, praef.) cannot implicate the fathers who constantly speak of the Seventy(-two) "translators" (ἐρμηνευταί, *interpretes*). For this statement from Jerome, cf. the edition by Rudolf Helm, *Eusebius Werke VII: Die Chronik des Hieronymus* (GCS 47; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), p. 3, lines 14–15; and see Megan Hale Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 47.

3. Benoit, "L'inspiration," 185, where he calls Augustine's "double inspiration" position "une vue singulièrement profonde et vraie." See also Dominique Barthélemy, "La place de la Septante dans l'Église," in *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 111–26 (119–20); repr. from *Aux grands carrefours de la révélation et de l'exégèse de l'Ancien Testament* (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1967), 13–28.

4. Müller, *First Bible*, 78; this is at the conclusion of Müller's investigation of patristic views that he labels "Graeca Veritas," pp. 68–78.



However, it is not at all clear that Greek authors maintained this position. The one father that seems to give the most explicit support to this view is Epiphanius, whose complex comments merit an extended discussion (see below). On the whole, the fathers denied that their Greek Bible diverged at all from the original Hebrew, so that we must respond to Müller by saying that the fathers consistently sought to vindicate the LXX in relation to the wording of the Hebrew text. We will see that some of their arguments for establishing the authority of the LXX work only by uniting the Greek with the Hebrew. Indeed, it was commonly believed that God inspired the Seventy translators specifically for the purpose of rendering an accurate translation of the original Hebrew scriptures. We will briefly survey the opinions of the second-century fathers and the manner in which Origen's work altered the debate, and then we will investigate the views of the Greek fathers who followed Origen.

Patristic writers of the second century adopted Philo's view (*Mos.* 2.35–40) that the LXX corresponded perfectly with the Hebrew text; they, therefore, felt compelled to demonstrate the superiority of the LXX over against the translations recently produced by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.<sup>5</sup> These fathers did not thereby impugn the Hebrew text current among the Jews, but rather these Christians accused the newer Jewish translators of willfully altering the Hebrew text in their renderings. Both Justin (*Dial.* 68.7; 71) and Irenaeus (*Haer.* 3.21.1–4) assert that the LXX version of Isaiah 7:14, with its translation *παρθένος*, more accurately reflects the original Hebrew prophecy, while the alternative wording *νεάνις* is a mistranslation. In the minds of these second-century fathers, the LXX and the Hebrew text stood together as witnesses against competing versions.

Origen's textual work made it difficult to accept unchanged the position of the second-century fathers. Whereas Irenaeus and Justin assumed that the received form of the LXX corresponded with the received form of the Hebrew Bible, Origen showed that the LXX diverged often from the Hebrew text current in his day. Nevertheless, many Christians after Origen continued to echo arguments for the LXX's inspiration that imply that it is the most accurate translation. The fathers of this period argued that, on the one hand, the translation that preceded Christ would not exhibit bias for or against the Christian message, and, on the other hand, the agreement of seventy(-two) translators trumps that of three, especially when those three do not always agree among

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5. See the survey of the "legend of the Septuagint" in patristic literature in Wasserstein and Wasserstein, *Legend*, 95–131. Many of the sources in their original languages were collected by Paul Wendland, ed., *Aristeae ad Philocratem Epistula cum ceteris de origine versionis LXX interpretum testimoniis* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1900), 121–66 (Jewish testimonia on pp. 87–121).

themselves.<sup>6</sup> These two arguments, the early date of the translation and the agreement of the translators, demonstrate that the Seventy sages deserve more respect and trust as faithful and accurate translators than do the Three; that is, the LXX matches the Hebrew text more closely. Moreover, the fathers not infrequently charged the Three with distorting the OT, which again implies that the Hebrew text will not correspond to the newer translations.<sup>7</sup> Christians between Origen and Jerome did not claim that the Seventy translators altered the text to suit the Christian message.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, this idea would have directly contradicted the two usual arguments for the authority of the LXX.<sup>9</sup>

We see, then, that the fathers in our period continued to uphold the LXX's fidelity to the Hebrew text, but they also had to grapple with the evidence for textual divergence which Origen compiled. Below we will analyze the views of a few of the Greek fathers who attempted to reconcile these notions. A brief examination will demonstrate that Eusebius of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Theodoret of Cyrus found a solution to this problem by assuming that either the LXX or the Hebrew had become corrupt. In the minds of these fathers, the original LXX accurately reflected the original Hebrew text, and the current deviations between these texts should be explained as either intentional or unintentional alterations during the course of transmission. On the other hand, a detailed investigation of Epiphanius' views will show that he generally attempted to minimize the divergences between Greek and Hebrew, assessing these as mere stylistic variations, while also reaffirming the traditional argument that the LXX and Hebrew texts agree against the newer translations.

Eusebius of Caesarea involved himself in promulgating the Hexaplaric recension of the LXX.<sup>10</sup> This did not lead him to accord any great authority to the Hebrew text; he actually argues against such a position in his *Chronicon*,

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6. Both arguments appear in Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 5.2; Theodoret, *Comm. Is.* 7:14. For the first argument, cf. also Hilary, *Tract. Ps.* 2.3; for the second, Epiphanius, *Mens.* 17; Augustine, *Ep.* 28.2.

7. Cf. Chrysostom, *Hom. Matt.* 5.2; Theodoret, *Comm. Is.* 7:14; for references in Epiphanius, see the discussion below.

8. Origen had occasionally made this claim; see Kamesar, *Jerome*, 14–15.

9. Origen himself did not rely on these usual proofs for the LXX's authority. He establishes the authority of the church's Bible by appealing to tradition as guided by Providence (*Ep. Afr.* 8–9); see Müller, *First Bible*, 82. Here I use the paragraph numbering of Nicholas de Lange, ed., *Origène, La Lettre à Africanus sur l'histoire de Suzanne*, in *Origène, Philocalie, 1–20: Sur les Écritures* (ed. Marguerite Harl; SC 302; Paris: Cerf, 1983), 469–578.

10. Cf. Jerome, *Praef. Paralip.* (*iuxta Hebr.*) 10–12, and the sources collected by Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 8–9 n. 19; and see Pierre Nautin, *Origène: Sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: Beuchesne, 1977), 354–58.

in which he bases his chronological calculations on the figures reported in the LXX rather than those in the Hebrew text. However, Eusebius' arguments do not serve to drive a wedge between the LXX and its *Vorlage*; rather, Eusebius suspects that the current Hebrew text transmits numbers at variance with the LXX due to falsification perpetrated by the Jews.<sup>11</sup> The original Hebrew corresponded to the text one now reads in the LXX, as confirmed occasionally by reference to the Samaritan Pentateuch.<sup>12</sup> Eusebius concludes that the LXX should be followed because it "was translated from ancient and uncorrupted copies of the Hebrew" ("aus alten und fehlerlosen Vorlagen der Hebräer übersetzt worden ist").<sup>13</sup>

The view of Gregory of Nyssa lines up well with that of Eusebius—it is not so much that the Three have distorted the Hebrew text as that the Hebrew text itself has become corrupt. The LXX testifies to an earlier and more authentic form of the Hebrew. Gregory reveals this position in his treatise *In inscripciones psalmorum*, where he includes a section (2.8–9) on psalms lacking superscriptions. He lists twelve psalms for which the Hebrew lacks a superscription present in Gregory's copy of the LXX.<sup>14</sup> He gives the reason at the beginning

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11. See p. 40 (lines 13–20) of the edition by Josef Karst, *Eusebius Werke V: Die Chronik, aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (GCS 20; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1911). The text of the *Chronicon* has been preserved complete only in Armenian, which translation Karst has rendered into German. On the history of research into this Armenian translation, and the present state of its text, see Armenuhi Drost-Abgarjan, "Ein neuer Fund zur armenischen Version der Eusebios-Chronik," in *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik* (ed. Martin Wallraff; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 255–62.

12. *Chron.*, ed. Karst, p. 44, lines 20–23.

13. *Chron.*, ed. Karst, p. 45, lines 13–15. See C. P. Bammel, "Die Hexapla des Origenes: Die Hebraica Veritas im Streit der Meinungen," *Aug* 28 (1988): 125–49 (134). On the other hand, Veltri (over)interprets certain statements by Eusebius so as to position him as a forerunner of Jerome with an emphasis on the Hebrew text even to the point of reducing the authority of the LXX; see *Libraries, Translations, and 'Canonic' Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila, and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 54–56. On the contrary, Eusebius makes plain in this passage of the *Chronicon* that the LXX retains its authority as the church's OT.

14. The twelve psalms are, according to the LXX numbering, 32, 42, 70, 73, 90, 92–96, 98, 103. For this list, see McDonough's edition in Jacob McDonough and Paul Alexander, eds., *In inscriptiones Psalmorum, In sextum Psalmum, In ecclesiasten homiliae* (GNO 5; Leiden: Brill, 1962), 93.15–24. (Page and line numbers for this treatise will be cited according to this edition.) Psalm 73 (Heb. 74) does have a superscription in Hebrew and Greek; Gregory includes it in his initial list, but he omits it from his later discussion of these individual psalms. There is some other confusion in his discussion, as in his treating the first verse of Ps. 32 (Heb. 33) as if it were the superscription (94.4ff.). Ronald E. Heine proposes that Gregory was working from a list of psalms without superscriptions in Hebrew and did

of *Inscript. Psal.* 2.8. After mentioning that some psalms lack superscriptions in both Hebrew and Greek, he writes:

τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς [sc. ψαλμοῖς] ἐπιγραφαὶ μὲν εἰσιν ἐκκλησιαστικαὶ τε καὶ μυστικαὶ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸ μυστήριον ἡμῶν εὐσεβείας σημαντικαί, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οὐκ εἰσὶ κατὰ τὴν γεγεννημένην ἐν τῷ Εὐαγγελίῳ κατ' αὐτῶν κατηγορίαν, "Ὅτι δόγμα ἔθεντο, Εἴ τις ὁμολογήσει τὸν Χριστόν, ἀποσυνάγωγος γένηται. ὅσας τοίνυν ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ἐπιγραφῶν κατενόησαν ἔνδειξιν τινα περιέχειν τοῦ μυστηρίου, ταύτας οὐ παρεδέξαντο. (91.27–92.4)

In the rest, however, the inscriptions are ecclesiastical and mystical and indicative of the piety related to our mystery. But these do not exist for the Hebrews in accordance with that charge made against them in the Gospel, that they established a precept that *if anyone should confess the Christ, 'he should be put out of the synagogue'* [John 9:22]. They, therefore, have not accepted those inscriptions which they perceive to contain some indication of the mystery.<sup>15</sup>

Gregory then discusses the superscriptions present in the Greek Psalter without a corresponding superscription in the Hebrew text. Interpreting messianically these Greek superscriptions, he accuses the "Hebrews" of not accepting them because they also understand their messianic import. That he considers the Hebrew text corrupt in these passages is evident from the two times he charges the Jews with "silencing" (σιγάω) these superscriptions (95.23; 103.6). In other words, Gregory does not regard these superscriptions as the inspired invention of the Seventy translators, but rather he considers them faithful translations of the original Hebrew superscriptions, now absent from that text because of Jewish "unbelief" (ἄπιστία; 93.14) and "willful misunderstanding" (ἄγνωμοσύνη; 94.2).

In his *Commentary on the Psalms*, Theodoret of Cyrus observes the same differences in the Psalter's superscriptions between the Greek and Hebrew texts, but he usually concludes that the LXX itself has become corrupt through its transmission. The Seventy translators did not add superscriptions but were careful to transmit only what they found in their Hebrew *Vorlage*. This is clear from the very first psalm, where Theodoret finds in his local text the heading, "without a superscription among the Hebrews" (ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις),

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not bother to verify his information; see Heine's translation of this work, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms: Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 145 n. 85.

15. Translation by Heine, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise*, 143.

which he takes to be a note appended by the Seventy translators themselves to indicate their fidelity to their source text (PG 80.865b–c; cf. Ps. 32 [LXX], PG 80.1093b).<sup>16</sup> However, at Ps. 70 (LXX; PG 80.1417a–b) he again finds this note, but here it follows a superscription that Theodoret considers irreconcilable with the Bible. Therefore, here the note “without a superscription among the Hebrews” must be an admission from a later interpolator that he has invented a title. This is the explanation Theodoret continues to advocate as he dismisses the superscriptions at Ps. 90 (LXX; PG 80.1608b) and following. He confirms at Ps. 92 (LXX; PG 80.1624a) that the Hexapla lacks both the superscription and the note conveying the absence of a superscription in Hebrew.<sup>17</sup> That Theodoret conceived of the original Hebrew and LXX as equivalent is clear from his comment at Ps. 93 (LXX; PG 80.1629b–c): Δῆλον, ὡς τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ἄλλοι τινὲς τεθείκασι, καὶ οὐτε ὁ προφήτης, οὐτε οἱ τοῦτον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρμηνεύσαντες (“It is clear that some others have inserted the superscription, not the prophet or the original translators.”).<sup>18</sup> The text of the “prophet” (i.e. David)<sup>19</sup> and the original translators (i.e. the LXX) would have agreed in omitting the spurious

16. Theodoret finds the note ἀνεπίγραφος παρ’ Ἑβραίοις several times in his copy of the LXX; cf. his comments at Ps. 2; 32; 42; 70; 90; 92–96; 98; 99. Cf. also Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis* (Septuaginta 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931). Rahlfs does report that some Lucianic manuscripts and other sources contain the note as indicated by Theodoret; see the apparatus of Rahlfs’ edition at Ps. 2 (p. 81); 32 (p. 127); 70 (p. 196); etc. Rahlfs gives no indication that any manuscript contains the note at Ps. 1 (p. 81).

17. Theodoret’s references to the Hexapla are collected by Jean-Noël Guinot, “La fortune des *Hexaples* d’Origène aux IV<sup>e</sup> et V<sup>e</sup> siècles en milieu antiochien,” in *Origeniana Sexta: Origène et la Bible/Origen and the Bible* (ed. Gilles Dorival and Alain Le Boulluec; Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 215–25 (219 n. 22). Guinot says of Theodoret’s use of the Hexapla, “il ne semble pas non plus avoir consulté cet ouvrage à Césarée, et il n’en connaît peut-être guère plus que le nom. En tout cas, dans ses commentaires, ‘l’Hexaple’ paraît désigner le texte de la Septante hexaplaire plutôt que la synopse d’Origène” (219). Guinot notes (219 n. 24) that Theodoret always uses the term “Hexapla” in the singular (τὸ Ἑξαπλοῦν) and he seems to access its readings through commentaries, such as those by Eusebius of Caesarea (220–225), as indicated even in our passage (Ps. 92, LXX; PG 80.1624a): Τὸ Ἀνεπίγραφος παρ’ Ἑβραίοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Ἑξαπλῷ, οὐτε παρ’ Εὐσεβίῳ.

18. Cf. also Ps. 95 (LXX), PG 80.1644c–d; Ps. 96 (LXX), PG 80.1652b. For another translation of this passage, see Robert C. Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Psalms* (2 vols.; FOTC 101–102; Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 2.117. Hill translates οἱ [...] ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐρμηνεύσαντες as “those commenting on it [i.e., the psalm] from the beginning” (similarly at vol. 2.127 for Ps. 95). However, the context demands that the reference be to the Seventy translators, and so the rendering should be, “the original translators.”

19. Theodoret cautiously sides with those who affirm Davidic authorship of all the psalms; cf. *Comm. Ps.* praef. (PG 80.861c–d) and at Ps. 74 (LXX; PG 80.1441b–c).

superscriptions. Theodoret's comment here agrees with his characterization of the LXX elsewhere as slavishly following the Hebrew text (τῇ γὰρ Ἑβραίων γλώττῃ δουλεύσαντες οἱ Ἑβδομήκοντα).<sup>20</sup>

Epiphanius of Salamis stands apart from the Greek fathers we have just examined. In the first place, he is one of a handful of patristic authors who gained a reputation for linguistic competence in multiple languages, including Hebrew.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, Epiphanius pursues a different explanation to account for the divergences between the Hebrew text and the LXX. Nevertheless, in harmony with the majority of Greek fathers, Epiphanius strongly advocated the authority of the LXX within the church, and, like Eusebius, he attributed some differences between the church's Bible and that of the Jews to intentional corruption in the synagogue. However, this explanation constitutes a relatively minor component of his overall theory. A proper understanding of this theory requires a detailed discussion due to the length and nature of Epiphanius' treatment of the differences between the LXX and Hebrew text.

Epiphanius presents an extensive introduction to the Greek versions of the OT in the opening part of his *De mensuris et ponderibus*.<sup>22</sup> He first discusses the critical signs that appear in manuscripts of the Hexaplaric LXX, especially the asterisk (*Mens.* 2) and obelus (*Mens.* 3; 6). He informs his readers that Origen used these symbols to represent quantitative differences between the LXX and the Hebrew text, the latter being reflected in Aquila and Symmachus, and "occasionally" (σπανίως; *Mens.* 2, line 17) Theodotion, at least with regard to passages under asterisk. Epiphanius is clearly at pains in this discussion to acquit the Seventy of altering the biblical text. This he does by emphasizing several key points that we will examine in detail: (1) the asterisked passages, representing omissions in the LXX vis-à-vis the Hebrew, are

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20. *Comm. in Cant.* 3:6 (PG 81.120a); see Jean-Noël Guinot, "Théodoret de Cyr: une lecture critique de la Septante," in *Κατὰ τοὺς ο' – Selon les Septante: trente études sur la Bible grecque des Septante en hommage à Marguerite Harl* (ed. Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munich; Paris: Cerf, 1995), 393–407 (esp. p. 396).

21. Cf. Jerome, *Ruf.* 2.22; 3.6; but Jürgen Dummer is very skeptical of Epiphanius' knowledge of Hebrew and Aramaic; see "Die Sprachkenntnisse des Epiphanius," in *Philologia Sacra et Profana: ausgewählte Beiträge zur Antike und zu ihrer Wirkungsgeschichte* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), 29–72, esp. 35–47; repr. from *Die Araber in der alten Welt* (ed. Franz Altheim and Ruth Stiehl; vol. 5.1; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1968), 392–435.

22. I have used the edition by Elia D. Moutsoula, "Τὸ «Περὶ μέτρων καὶ σταθμῶν» ἔργον Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Σαλαμίνος," *Theologia* 44 (1973): 157–200; indications of line numbers in the present context refer to this edition. I have also consulted the English translation of the Syriac text found in James E. Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935). For references to other editions of Epiphanius' work, see Veltri, *Libraries*, 59–60 n. 116.

superfluous, (2) the obelized passages, being additions in the LXX vis-à-vis the Hebrew, are explanatory, (3) all such differences are too minor to affect the meaning of a passage, and (4) the agreement among the LXX translators, and between their work and the Hebrew text, was confirmed at Ptolemy's court.

With regard to the passages under asterisk, Epiphanius asserts repeatedly in *Mens.* 2 that the content omitted by the LXX is superfluous. For example, at *Mens.* 2 (lines 18–20), we read, οἱ δὲ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο ἑρμηνευταὶ παρήκαν καὶ οὐχ ἡρμήνευσαν, ὡς δισσολογουμένων τῶν τοιούτων λογίων καὶ ὡς ἐκ περισσοῦ ἀναγινωσκομένων (“The Seventy-two translators omitted it and did not translate it, because such expressions are repetitious and superfluous to read.”). Indeed, the word *περισσός* appears five times (lines 19–20, 41, 45, 48, 51) in this context to describe these passages, while *δισσολογία* and its cognates appears three times (lines 19, 28, 51) and *δευτερολογία* once (line 38). To bear out this point, Epiphanius takes an example from Gen. 5:5, where he says that Adam's age is listed in the Hebrew text (and Aquila) as *τριάκοντα ἔτος καὶ ἑννακόσια ἔτος* (lines 23–24), while the LXX has only *τριάκοντα καὶ ἑννακόσια ἔτη* (line 31). In the opinion of Epiphanius, the LXX reading conforms to good Greek style—it displays “smoothness” (*λειότης*; line 30) and “clarity” (*τρανότης*; line 28)—while Aquila's more literal rendering exhibits “tiresome repetition” (*βόμβησις*; line 30)<sup>23</sup> and “harshness” (*κακοφωνία*; line 41). This does not mean that Epiphanius thinks that the Hebrew text itself is harsh and redundant, for he understands that Hebrew style is not the same as Greek style.

οὔτε ἑλλιπές τι ποιήσαντες τῷ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τρανότητα κατέστησαν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὅπερ ἐν μὲν τῇ ἑβραϊδὶ οὐ δύναται διὰ τῆς συντομίας λέγεσθαι οὕτως, ὡς οἱ ἑβδομήκοντα δύο λέγουσιν (*Mens.* 2; lines 31–34).

And having made nothing defective in word, on the contrary they even established the reading with a view to clarity, although in Hebrew it cannot be said as concisely as the Seventy-two have done.

Epiphanius regards this example from Gen. 5:5 to be representative of the asterisked material, for he introduces it with the assurance that readers will understand similar passages from this one minor instance.<sup>24</sup> He is also careful to point out that none of the material omitted by the LXX is heretical (κατὰ

23. Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, ed., *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 301 s.v., where our passage is cited.

24. Cf. *Mens.* 2, lines 20–21: λεκτέον διὰ βραχείας λέξεως εἰς τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς μιᾶς λέξεως περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σε γινῶναι.

τῆς πίστεως; line 50). Epiphanius thus characterizes the omissions in the LXX vis-à-vis the Hebrew as semantically irrelevant and intended only to conform the biblical text to Greek style. He effectively denies that the asterisked passages represent real omissions in the LXX.

For the obelized passages, Epiphanius follows a similar tack. The LXX added these words not to change the meaning of the biblical text, but to make it more clear.

Ἀφ' ἐαυτῶν γὰρ οἱ ἐβδομήκοντα δύο ἐρμηνευταὶ ταύτας τὰς λέξεις προσέθηκαν, οὐκ εἰς μάτην, ἀλλὰ μάλλον εἰς ὠφέλειαν. Ταῖς γὰρ ἑλληνικαῖς ἐχούσαις λέξεσι προστεθεικότες εἰς σαφήνειαν τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν παρήγαγον, ὥσθ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἁμοίρους αὐτοὺς γεγενῆσθαι πνεύματος ἁγίου. Ὡν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν χρεία δισσολογεῖν παρήκαν· ὅπου δὲ χωλὸν ἐδόκει τὸ ῥῆμα εἶναι εἰς ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταφερόμενον, ἐκεῖ τὴν προσθήκην ἐποιήσαντο. (*Mens.* 3; lines 68–74)

For the Seventy-two translators added these expressions from themselves, not without purpose, but rather usefully. For having added to these defective expressions, they brought the reading to clarity, with the result that we suppose them to have been not lacking the Holy Spirit. For they avoided all unnecessary repetition. But where a word seemed to be lame when translated into the Greek language, there they made an addition.

At this point Epiphanius is concerned that his readers might find fault (μέμψιν ἐπάγειν; line 75) with the LXX, so he provides a report of LXX origins designed to assure his readers of the translation's divine nature (*Mens.* 3–6). We will consider his account of the translation legend below. When Epiphanius returns to his discussion of the obelus (*Mens.* 6, line 157), he takes an example from Ps. 140:1 (LXX; 141:1 in Heb.). Epiphanius says that the Hebrew verse ends with the words πρόσχες τῇ φωνῇ (line 164), which he describes as “lame” (χωλός; line 165).<sup>25</sup> The Seventy added the words τῆς δεῆσεώς μου, thus making the line “not lame” (ἀχώλωτος; line 166). In view

25. Epiphanius does not reveal how he is accessing the Hebrew text of this psalm; on this question, see Dummer, “Sprachkenntnisse,” 40–41. The reading Epiphanius presents for the Hebrew text does not exactly conform to the MT, which has קוּלִי הַאֲזִינָה. Aquila's text would presumably reflect the pronominal suffix on קוּלִי, but no Hexaplaric evidence for this verse appears in Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt: Veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1875), 2.296.



of the solution offered by the LXX, the description of the Hebrew reading as “lame” probably means that the expression is somehow ambiguous because it does not clarify the nature of the “voice”. Indeed, later Epiphanius will say that the purpose of the additions made by the LXX was “for clarity of expression” (σαφηνείας ἔνεκα τοῦ λόγου; *Mens.* 17, lines 465–66). In light of his earlier discussion concerning the asterisked passages, where the redundancy of the literal Greek translation was not considered poor Hebrew style, it is likely that Epiphanius conceives of the ambiguity in Ps. 140:1 not as a component of the Hebrew text itself but only of its literal translation into Greek.<sup>26</sup> Such an understanding is also indicated in the above quotation from *Mens.* 3 where he says that a certain passage may be “lame” when it is translated into Greek (εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον μεταφερόμενος; lines 73–74). Therefore, Epiphanius probably thinks that the Hebrew text is perfectly clear to Hebrew speakers but its translation into Greek requires some clarifying words. He concludes that all the additions made by the Seventy, all the passages under obelus, were intended “for literary style and for assistance” (εἰς φράσιν καὶ ὠφέλειαν; line 171). Again, Epiphanius intends this example from Ps. 140:1 to be understood as representative of all obelized passages.<sup>27</sup> In this way, for Epiphanius, the LXX represents an inspired interpretation of the Hebrew text for the church.

It will be clear from this presentation that Epiphanius does not think that the Seventy translators made any substantial changes to the biblical text. The changes he identifies were necessary either for Greek style as opposed to Hebrew style, or to clarify Hebrew expressions that would be ambiguous in Greek. His account of the translation legend confirms that he deemed the LXX an accurate rendering of the Hebrew text. In *Mens.* 3–6, Epiphanius presents an elaborate version of this legend: seventy-two translators worked in pairs separated into thirty-six rooms, each pair translating the twenty-two books of the Jewish scriptures. At the completion of their task, each pair of translators brought their translation to King Ptolemy. Comparison among the thirty-six translations revealed no disagreement.<sup>28</sup>

26. Alternatively, Hilary of Poitiers (*Tract. Ps.* 2.2) notes that ambiguity in the Hebrew text results from the lack of written vowels. See Adam Kamesar, “Hilary of Poitiers, Judeo-Christianity, and the Origins of the LXX: A Translation of *Tractatus super Psalmos* 2.2–3 with Introduction and Commentary,” *VC* 59 (2005): 264–285 (280).

27. Cf. *Mens.* 6, lines 169–70: Ἐπίστηθι τοῖνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχυτάτου λόγου τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν προσθήκην πανταχοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν κειμένοις.

28. Or, at least, not much disagreement. It is allowed that some pairs of translators used synonyms instead of exactly the same words. Epiphanius explains Origen's use of the lemniscus and hypolemniscus in his Hexaplaric text as marking such deviations among the original pairs of translators (cf. *Mens.* 8, lines 204–25; *Mens.* 17, lines 477–82). Contrast

Καὶ ὅπου μὲν προσέθεντο λόγον πάντες ὁμοῦ προσέθεντο, ὅπου δὲ ἀφείλοντο πάντες ἐπ' ἴσης ἀφείλοντο. Καὶ ὧν μὲν ἀφείλοντο οὐκ ἔστι χρεία, ὧν δὲ προσέθεντο ἔστι χρεία. (*Mens.* 6; lines 155–57)

And wherever they added a word, they all added it together, and wherever they omitted something, they all equally omitted it. And the things they omitted were unnecessary, but the things they added were necessary.

Here again Epiphanius says that the Seventy translators made certain changes in the biblical text, and he says that these changes correspond to “necessity” (χρεία; cf. *Mens.* 17, lines 465, 468). As we have seen, Epiphanius conceives of this necessity as related to the transfer of the Hebrew idiom into the Greek language. These changes, consisting of only insignificant details as Epiphanius represents them, either clarified the sense of a Hebrew phrase or deleted what would be perceived by Greek speakers to be redundant. That Epiphanius does not envision any alterations regarding the message of the Bible is clear when in the same context he depicts the comparison of translations as including the Hebrew text without any disagreement being found (*Mens.* 6; lines 149–52).

From this analysis of Epiphanius’ statements, we can conclude that he did not think that the Seventy translators were inspired to change the content of the biblical text. This conclusion challenges the views of some scholars. Half a century ago, Heinrich Karpp pitted Epiphanius’ desire to minimize the differences between the texts, a desire we have noticed repeatedly in our study, against the passage just quoted from *Mens.* 6 emphasizing the additions and subtractions made by the Seventy; Karpp saw here a contradiction.<sup>29</sup> More recently, Müller has claimed that Epiphanius “admitted to some discrepancies between the Greek translation and the Hebrew text which were not owing to later corrections.”<sup>30</sup> Both Karpp and Müller have assumed that *Mens.* 6 refers to changes in the content of the Bible, but our study has made it clear that Epiphanius does not, in fact, admit “to some discrepancies between the Greek

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Augustine, *Civ.* 18.42: *in nullo verbo, quod idem significaret et tantumdem valeret, vel in verborum ordine, alter ab altero discreparet.*

29. Karpp, “‘Prophet’ oder ‘Dolmetscher,’” 138.

30. Müller, *First Bible*, 78. Giuseppe Veltri also emphasizes the idea of “changes” in Epiphanius’ account; see, e.g., “The Septuagint in Disgrace: Some Notes on the Stories on Ptolemy in Rabbinic and Medieval Judaism,” in *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions: Studies in Their Use in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (ed. Nicholas de Lange, Julia G. Krivoruchko, and Cameron Boyd-Taylor; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 142–154 (143). Veltri thinks that Epiphanius’ version of the “changed LXX” influenced the rabbinic tradition of the changes made for “King Talmai” (cf. *b. Meg.* 9a–b).

translation and the Hebrew text.” On the contrary, he spends a good deal of time and effort absolving the Seventy of the charge of changing the biblical text. His discussion of the very minor changes we have examined only shows that he knows something about the business of translating, that no translation worth its salt can be absolutely literal (*contra* Philo, *Mos.* 2.40). Aquila’s excessive literalness provides the prime example of what not to do, in Epiphanius’ view (*Mens.* 2, lines 35–45). That he spends so much time downplaying the changes made by the LXX, describing them as merely stylistic and explanatory, and characterizing them as exceedingly minor details insignificant for meaning, shows that he and his readers could hardly tolerate any difference between the Hebrew and LXX. Epiphanius further emphasizes the close relationship between the two texts by including the Hebrew text among those compared at Ptolemy’s court, where no disagreement was found. Epiphanius does not see the LXX and the Hebrew text as essentially different but as essentially the same.

Epiphanius does recognize that the disagreements between the LXX and the other Greek versions extend to more passages than he has so far discussed. These are cases in which the three Jewish versions have misrepresented the meaning of the Hebrew. He says that Aquila intended to distort messianic prophecies (*Mens.* 15, lines 414–18) and that Symmachus intended to distort the passages relevant to the Samaritans (*Mens.* 16, lines 445–47). He does not say that Theodotion had evil motives, but rather that Theodotion usually agreed with the LXX. Nevertheless, he may imply a criticism of Theodotion in saying that this translator worked alone (ἰδίως), unlike the Seventy (*Mens.* 17, line 454).<sup>31</sup> He does lump all three of these translators together, contrasting them with the Seventy. Whereas these three disagree among themselves, the miraculous agreement of the Seventy ensured the “truth” (ἡ ἀλήθεια) of their translation (*Mens.* 17, line 458). It is obvious that this type of disagreement between the LXX and the Three entails no disagreement between the LXX and Hebrew; like Justin and Irenaeus before him, Epiphanius thinks that the LXX and Hebrew agree against the Three, whose translations distort the original text. Epiphanius does not say whether he has confirmed this assumption by referring to the Hebrew text directly, although this seems altogether unlikely. Rather, he probably assumed the correctness of his hypothesis based on his characterizing the Three as distorters whereas the Seventy translators enjoyed the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Since both of these points were long-held

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31. This observation is made by Alison Salvesen, “A Convergence of the Ways? The Judaizing of Christian Scripture by Origen and Jerome,” in *The Ways that Never Parted: Jews and Christians in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages* (ed. Adam H. Becker and Annette Yoshiko Reed; TSAJ 95; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 2003), 233–58 (247).

Christian views, Epiphanius probably felt no need to confirm them. In any case, Epiphanius presents the view that the LXX translation represents most accurately the Hebrew text.

The four Greek fathers whose views we have examined each judged the LXX translation to be a Providentially-provided Greek rendering of the original Hebrew text. While Eusebius, Gregory, and Theodoret used the idea of textual corruption to reconcile their traditional belief in the accuracy of the LXX with Origen's demonstration of variation between the translation and the current Hebrew text, Epiphanius simply denied the existence of real variants between the Greek and Hebrew, echoing rather the old argument that the Three had distorted the Hebrew Bible. Despite these differences, all four of these fathers did defend, sometimes vehemently, the position that the Seventy translators accurately rendered their source text. They do not serve as direct forerunners to Augustine's view of a double biblical text because they understood the content of the original LXX and of the original Hebrew text to be fundamentally identical.

# Using Patristic Evidence: A Question of Methodology in the Textual Criticism of the LXX

*Tuukka Kauhanen*

**Abstract:** Much attention has been paid in biblical textual criticism to identifying and classifying patristic quotations. As a result there are good criteria to decide when to use or not to use an alleged quotation as a witness for the biblical text. However, little has been written by textual scholars about how to deal with the actual readings. Can they be used like the MSS or do they require special treatment? In this paper I wish to demonstrate that linguistic preferences of the Fathers or the translators of their works have to be taken into account in order to make a sound assessment of the critical value of their readings. Several readings in quotations from 1 Samuel by Josephus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian will be analyzed in order to demonstrate that this approach may give considerable weight to a reading—or make the scholar very dubious about the critical value of the Father’s text.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Working on my doctoral thesis<sup>1</sup> concerning the proto-Lucianic problem in 1 Samuel, I began more and more to think that the solution to the problem lies in the biblical quotations of the early Church Fathers<sup>2</sup> (Hippolytus, Irenaeus, Tertullian, and Cyprian). A substantial part of my forthcoming thesis will consist of meticulous analysis of these quotations. Many problems have arisen during this work.

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1. Tuukka Kauhanen, “The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel” (Ph.D. diss., University of Helsinki, forthcoming).

2. I use the term ‘Church Father’ in its broad text-historical sense including all ancient Christian authors—regardless of their subsequent status in any denomination. Josephus is not included in the term, but most considerations concerning the use of the Church Fathers’ quotations in biblical textual criticism apply to him as well.

- (1) What is the nature of the quotation? Is it a word-for-word *citation*, an *adaptation* to the specific needs of the author, or an *allusion* with little verbal correspondence with the biblical text?
- (2) If the quotations are in Latin, there is the possibility that readings from the Latin Bible versions have influenced the author (or the translator) or the copyists of the work. In order to control this factor, the Father's readings must be compared with all the available Latin material for the biblical text in question.
- (3) Tertullian and Cyprian wrote in Latin, and all of Irenaeus' quotations from 1 Samuel have survived only in Latin and Armenian translations. Often the requirements of the target language or the preferred usage of the translator make an agreement between the Father's text and certain Greek readings seem doubtful.
- (4) The biblical quotations in the Fathers' text are very susceptible to contamination from the Bible text familiar to the copyists.

Despite the problems involved, the biblical quotations of the Church Fathers are a very valuable witness to the Bible text—they just need to be used correctly. My impression is that the 'using' aspect is a less treated topic in patristic scholarship. As a sort of preamble I would like to introduce an article dealing with the *identification* of the citations. After that I will present my ideas on how to further develop the methodology in *using* patristic evidence in LXX textual studies.

## 2. PREAMBLE: HOW TO IDENTIFY QUOTATIONS

Building upon the work of scholars such as Gordon Fee, Bart Ehrman, and Michael Holmes,<sup>3</sup> Carroll D. Osburn, the retired Carmichael-Walling Distinguished Professor of New Testament Language and Literature at Abilene Christian University, has suggested a classification for the patristic quotations:<sup>4</sup>

*Citation.* A verbally exact quotation, whether it corresponds entirely (for very brief instances) or largely (for longer instances), and

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3. Gordon D. Fee, "Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Bib* 52 (1971): 357–394; Bart Ehrman, Gordon Fee and Michael Holmes, *The Text of the Fourth Gospel in the Writings of Origen* (NTGF [= New Testament in the Greek Fathers] 3; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992).

4. Carroll D. Osburn, "Methodology in Identifying Patristic Citations in NT Textual Criticism," in *NovT* 47:4 (2005): 313–343; esp. 318.

whether made from a text or from memory, often having an introduction and always having an explicit or implicit cue to the reader that it is intended as a deliberate citation.

*Adaptation.* A quotation from a recognizable text, often without an introductory formula, in which much of the lexical and syntactical structure of the text is preserved and woven unobtrusively into the patristic context, reflecting intent to cite, but which is adapted to the patristic context and/or syntax in less important portions of the text.

*Allusion.* A reference to the content of a certain biblical passage in which some verbal or motif correspondence is present, but reflecting intent to give only the gist of the text rather than to cite.

*Reminiscence.* A clear reference to a particular biblical text, but lacking significant verbal content and reflecting no intent to cite; an echo of a biblical text that has little or no sustained verbal correspondence to the text.

*Locution.* The use of biblical language in a more general way that cannot be identified with a specific text.

To these I would like to add a category *paraphrase*, which can be seen as a special case between Osburn's *allusion* and *reminiscence*. In a *paraphrase* the writer intends to reproduce most of the content of the passage (rather than just the "gist" as in *allusion*), but in his own words. It is more than "an echo" (as in *reminiscence*) but still "has little or no sustained verbal correspondence to the text." All of Josephus' references to the biblical narrative in *Jewish Antiquities* go under this category.

The reading of a quotation is naturally most trustworthy if the quotation can be classified as a *citation*. In the case of an *adaptation*, parts of the text may reflect the exact wording of a Bible MS used by the Father, but the needs of the context of the quotation have to be taken into account. *Allusions*, *paraphrases*, and *reminiscences* may be useful in evaluating whether the author knew some passage or not, occasionally even which lexical variant most likely lies behind his reading, but extreme caution should be exercised.

Osburn presents several examples in which parts of the Father's quotation must be discarded as unreliable. The following considerations can lead to this conclusion:

(1) If an accurate *citation* is brief and only implicit, it may simply be a question of *patristic terminology*. This means that the author chooses to use certain terminology about a certain issue regardless of his Bible text.<sup>5</sup>

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5. For an example, see Osburn, "Methodology," 325.

Common patristic terminology may also be woven into the composition in a way that resembles *locution*: the use of Christian phraseology brings to mind a specific Bible passage, but its inaccuracy and general nature render it useless from the text-critical point of view.<sup>6</sup>

(2) A partial omission within an accurate *citation* against the biblical manuscripts should be considered a “patristic solecism” and discarded.<sup>7</sup> I prefer to term this kind of instances as the Father’s *special readings*.

(3) If an accurate *citation* contains an “incidental transposition of a phrase or term that does not affect the meaning of the text” *the transposition* should generally be discarded while *the wording* of the text may be accepted as accurate.<sup>8</sup>

(4) Within a quotation that is partly accurate but partly *adapted*, there is the possibility that the Father has quoted word for word only the essential part but given only the gist of the remainder. Osburn quotes Walter C. Kaiser: “The only point at which the text cited need be totally authentic ... is where that word or limited word-set *on which the argument hinges* in those passages ... is for the purpose of authoritatively supporting the doctrine, practice, or view being presented.”<sup>9</sup>

(5) There may be theological motivation behind an *adaptation*, e.g., the author may transpose sentences in order to emphasize the more important part of the text.<sup>10</sup>

(6) A special form of adaptation is *conflation* in which several texts are combined either due to poor memory or intentionally for rhetorical purposes. Conflations cannot be rejected off-hand, but they need especially careful scrutiny.<sup>11</sup>

(7) Even if introduced by a citation formula, the quotation may still be merely an *allusion*. Especially if the text is well known to the reader the for-

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6. Osburn, “Methodology,” 340–341.

7. Osburn, “Methodology,” 325.

8. Osburn, “Methodology,” 326.

9. Osburn, “Methodology,” 332; Walter C. Kaiser, *The Uses of the Old Testament in the New* (Chicago: Moody, 1985), 5. Hugh A. G. Houghton, “‘Flattening’ in Latin Biblical Citations,” in *Studia Patristica* 45 (ed. J. Baun et al.; Louvain: Peeters, 2010) describes a special form of adaptation, ‘flattening’: “Certain alterations are characteristic of citations made from memory. This process ... may be described as ‘flattening’... a flattened form is shorter, easier to memorise and concentrates on a single aspect of the biblical text, the more clearly to illustrate an argument.” See also Houghton’s monograph *Augustine’s Text of John: Patristic Citations and Latin Gospel Manuscripts* (Oxford Early Christian Studies; New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 68–70.

10. Osburn, “Methodology,” 333–334.

11. Osburn, “Methodology,” 334–335.



mula may denote that the following is the basic idea of what is written in the Bible, not the exact wording of a certain passage.<sup>12</sup>

(8) If the Father quotes the text in two or more different forms, often the longer form reflects the Father's actual text and the shorter form(s) is/are abbreviated.<sup>13</sup>

### 3. HOW TO USE QUOTATIONS

Osburn concludes:

[E]ven when discriminate use is made of a critically-edited patristic text, simple verbal precision in a patristic quotation is sometimes insufficient basis for including it in determining the reading of a Father's biblical exemplar.... Each citation should be read in its patristic context in order to determine more precisely *how the text is actually used* and in what way it probably reflects a text known to the Father.<sup>14</sup>

The aspect I find so fascinating in Osburn's conclusion is the question of "how the text is actually used" by the Father. Osburn provides many valuable considerations relating to the context and theology of the Father's quotations. I would like to develop this kind of methodology further with considerations relating to the linguistic preferences of the Fathers. While these rarely affect the classification of the quotation, they may have a great impact on the critical process of determining which reading the Father most likely attests.

The linguistic preferences of the Church Fathers is a topic rarely dealt with in text-critical studies.<sup>15</sup> Of course, in patristic scholarship this is a fairly well covered area.<sup>16</sup> The linguistic preferences of the author are an important aspect, especially in considering possible Greek readings underlying the quotations by the Latin authors Tertullian and Cyprian and in the Latin translation of Irenaeus' *Against Heresies*. Josephus, although his work is preserved in Greek in its entirety, needs special treatment because of the paraphrastic nature of his quotations.

12. Osburn, "Methodology," 337.

13. Osburn, "Methodology," 341; Gordon D. Fee, "The Use of Greek Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism," *ANRW* 26:1 (1992), 256–262.

14. Osburn, "Methodology," 342–343; emphasis mine.

15. To my current knowledge only the recent article by Hugh A. G. Houghton (see above n. 9) deals with the 'using' aspect in connection with biblical textual criticism.

16. E.g., the several dissertations published in *The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1922–1971).

How does one gather data for this kind of study? For Josephus there is a complete concordance<sup>17</sup> and for Irenaeus a Latin-Greek index,<sup>18</sup> but for Tertullian and Cyprian one has to resort to hand work with biblical concordances and Scripture indexes. Working this way, of course, is time-consuming, but I hope to be able to demonstrate that it is often worthwhile.

In the following examples I will first give a piece of text by the ancient author with a translation, then a few words of context from *BHS* and Rahlfs with a translation of the LXX, and, finally, a small apparatus for the relevant reading in Rahlfs' text.

Josephus, *Ant.* 6.152 Σαούλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουήλον ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοῖδος καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὀλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ὀρμῆς ἀπιέναι τὸν Σαμουήλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον.<sup>19</sup>

But then Saul was so desirous to retain Samuel, that he took hold of his cloak, and because the vehemence of Samuel's departure made the motion to be violent, the cloak was rent. (Whiston<sup>20</sup>)

1 Sam 15:27 לִיְעַמ־הַנָּחַל רִחַץ καὶ ἐκράτησεν Σαουλ τοῦ περυγίου τῆς διπλοῖδος αὐτοῦ

Saoul caught hold of the wing of his double cloak ... (NETS)<sup>21</sup>

ἐκράτησεν] ἐπελάβετο (απ. 82–93\*) *L*<sup>22</sup>; ἐλλαμβάνεται Jos *Ant.* 6.152

17. Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, ed., *The Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus: Study Edition* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2002 [original print: 5 vols., 1968–83]).

18. The second volume of Bruno Reynders, ed., *Lexique comparé du texte grec et des versions latine, arménienne et syriaque de l'«Adversus haereses» de Saint Irénée I–II. Introduction. Index des mots grecs, arméniens et syriaques* (CSCO 141–142: Subsidia, tome 5–6; Louvain, 1963).

19. B. Niese, ed., *Flavii Iosephi opera* (4 vols; Berlin: Weidmann, 1885–1892, repr. 1955).

20. William Whiston, trans., *The Wars of the Jews by Flavius Josephus* (London: Dent, 1928). H. St. J. Thackeray et al., *Josephus* (10 vols; Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926–1965): “Then Saul, seeking to detain Samuel, laid hold upon his mantle and, since Samuel was hastening to be gone, pulled it so violently that he rent the garment in twain.”

21. NETS = *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright; Oxford University Press, 2009). Online: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition>.

22. *L* = 19–82–93–108–127 = *boc*<sub>2</sub>*e*<sub>2</sub> in Brooke-McLean.

In his *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, Ulrich suggests that Josephus imitates the *L*-reading ἐπελάβετο “(Saul) laid hold of” rather than the reading ἐκράτησεν (B and the majority) in choosing the verb ἐλλαμβάνω ‘seize hold of.’<sup>23</sup> This is not, however, the only explanation for the contact. The verb κρατέω has many meanings, but Rengstorf’s concordance informs us that in Josephus’ vocabulary the verb is strongly connected with the notion ‘to have power.’<sup>24</sup> When Josephus uses it in the meaning ‘to get hold of’ the context is clearly that of arresting or gaining something:

*Ant.* 7.235 φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀψαλώμου κρατήσαντας ἦντιβόλει

He also implored them to spare his son Absalom, if they were victorious (Thackeray)<sup>25</sup>

*Ant.* 13.25 μὴ δυναμένων κρατῆσαι τοῦ Ἰωνάθου

they were not able to seize upon Jonathan (Whiston)

*J. W.* 4.529 πλείστης ἐκράτησε λείας

he got possession of a great deal of prey (Whiston)

This usage points to the conclusion that Josephus has chosen a verb other than κρατέω when the meaning is simply ‘to grab.’ Moreover, Sebastian Brock suggests that “[o]bjection was taken, independently in Jos and *L*, to κρατέω which should properly refer to a state, not (as here) an action.”<sup>26</sup> For these reasons there is no need to suppose any contact between the readings in Josephus and *L*.

Josephus, *Ant.* 6.153 τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως [αὐτοῦ] διασχισθῆναι φήσαντος

23. Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 175.

24. See the definition of κρατέω in Rengstorf, *Concordance* 1:1071 [2:525].

25. Whiston does not have a correspondence to κρατήσαντας: “and he begged of them to spare the young man Absalom, lest some mischief should befall himself.”

26. Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of 1 Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9; Turin: Silvio Zamorani, 1996), 274.

Upon which the prophet said, that after the same manner should the kingdom be rent from him (Whiston)<sup>27</sup>

1 Sam 15:29 וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִשְׁקֹר וְלֹא יִנָּח וְיִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא יִשְׁקֹר וְלֹא יִנָּח  
 Ισραηλ εἰς δύο καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσει

And Israel will be divided in two, and he will not turn back or change his mind (NETS)

διαρεθήσεται] σχισθήσεται L 554<sup>mg</sup> La<sup>M</sup> Tert Marc. 2,24,7;  
 διασχισθῆναι Jos Ant. 6.153

Josephus uses the verb διασχίζω to describe the splitting of the kingdom into Judah and Israel, and *L* has the same verb without prefix. As in the previous occasion, the question is more likely one of Josephus' preferred vocabulary than actual textual contact with *L*. While Josephus uses διαρέω in all its usual senses, he never applies the word to the division of the kingdom.<sup>28</sup> Josephus actually seems to have his own special pattern in the vocabulary of the prophetic signs or revelations that are connected with the division of the kingdom. Contrast the following excerpts from the LXX to Josephus' formulations of the same events:

1 Sam 15:27, 28, 29 “and he tore it (διαρρήγνυμι)... The Lord tore (διαρρήγνυμι) the kingdom ... and Israel will be divided (διαρέω B rel; σχίζω L 554<sup>mg</sup>) in two” (NETS)

Cf. Jos Ant. 6.152, 153: “the cloak was rent (διασχίζω)... the kingdom be rent (διασχίζω) from him” (Whiston)

1 Kgs 11:11, 30[28], 31[29] “tearing I will tear (διαρρήγνυμι) your kingdom ... tore it [Ieroboam's garment] (διαρρήγνυμι)... I am about to tear (ρήγνυμι) the kingdom” (NETS)

Cf. Jos Ant. 8:207: “he rent (σχίζω) the garment.... this is the will of God; he will part (σχίζω) the dominion of Solomon” (Whiston)

27. Thackeray: “Whereat the prophet said that even so had his kingdom been rent from him.”

28. Rengstorf, *Concordance* 1:451–452.

This observation makes the agreement in the main verb σχίζω in 15:29 seem only apparent: Josephus departs completely from the LXX vocabulary—as he frequently does—and uses his own.<sup>29</sup>

Irenaeus, *Haer.* 4,26,4 *Testis Dominus, et testis Christus ejus in die hac quoniam non invenistis in manu mea nihil.*<sup>30</sup>

The Lord is witness, and his Christ is witness in this day that you have not found anything in my hand. (trans. mine)

1 Sam 12:5 הוזה היום משוחו ועד καὶ μάρτυς χριστὸς αὐτοῦ σήμερον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ

and his anointed is witness in this very day (NETS; lit. “today in this day”)

σήμερον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ Cyril, *Comm. Jo.*1,716] ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέρᾳ 489; ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 509; σήμερον ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ 98–731 56–246 55 245 318; ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ *L* 29 707 Iren *Haer.* 4,26,4 Greg *Reg.* 5,27 (*in die hac* = *Vg.*); > 379

The majority of the LXX witnesses have the pleonastic expression σήμερον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ—whether that is the original Greek reading is an interesting question but not relevant to my point on Irenaeus. The pleonastic expression is so odd in Greek that even if Irenaeus had it in his LXX text he hardly would have included both σήμερον and ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ in his text; even though he is generally very accurate in his biblical quotations, he does make small adaptations. Moreover, the Latin translator of Irenaeus’ work was at least as prone as the author to shorten the expression: *hodie in die hac* (or the words in whatever order) is non-existent in Latin.<sup>31</sup> Accordingly, Irenaeus very likely attests the minus of σήμερον but that does not necessarily have to originate with his copy of the LXX.

29. It must be emphasized that these considerations in no way *prove* any lack of dependence between the readings of Josephus and *L*—they only make it likely that Josephus may have had either reading in his LXX text.

30. Adelin Rousseau et al., eds., *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les Hérésies. Livre IV. Tome I: Introduction, notes justificatives, tables. Tome II: Texte et traduction* (SC 100:1–2; Paris: Cerf, 1965).

31. It is not found in the Library of Latin Texts (used via Brepolis: <http://apps.brepolis.net/BrepolisPortal>).

What is more interesting here is the word-order. The stylistically better, “classical,” word-order in this expression in both Greek and Latin is to have ‘this’ before the word ‘day.’ The order *in die hac* (*/hoc*<sup>32</sup>) is attested only 40 times in Latin texts and 28 of them are from the Vulgate or from a biblical quotation. Irenaeus’ translator uses this word order only in this instance, whereas the expression *in hac die* is found twice (*Haer.* 3,14,3; 4,8,2).<sup>33</sup> Two instances against one do not, of course, tell anything about Irenaeus’ or the translator’s preferred usage, but the two instances definitely show that Irenaeus or the translator did not avoid the classical word order. Therefore it seems that the word order in the Greek exemplar of Irenaeus’ Latin translator was indeed ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ (*L* 29 707); if the Greek text was ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ (B and majority),<sup>34</sup> he would have had no reason whatsoever to depart from the expected word order *in hac die*.

Generally one should not argue anything about the Greek word order on the basis of the word order in a Latin translation,<sup>35</sup> but the above considerations show that in this case the rule does not apply.

Tertullian, *Fug.* 2,7 *Et abscessit, inquit, spiritus domini a saule, et con-*  
*cutiebat eum spiritus nequam a domino et suffocabat eum.*<sup>36</sup>

“And,” [the Scripture] says, “the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul and a bad spirit from the Lord disturbed him and suffocated him.”  
(trans. mine)

1 Sam 16:14 יהוה מאת רוח־רעה ובעתתו רוח־רעא καὶ ἔπνιγεν αὐτὸν πνεῦμα  
πονηρὸν παρὰ κυρίου (+ καὶ ἔπνιγεν αὐτόν *L*)

and an evil spirit from the Lord tormented him (NETS) + and tormented him (trans. mine)

32. The word *dies* is masculine in the plural and sometimes treated as such in the singular also.

33. These are not biblical quotations. To be sure, in these passages the expression *in hac die* does not mean strictly ‘today’ but rather refers to the Sabbath on which Jesus healed the crippled woman (Luke 13:10–17).

34. As suggested by the reconstruction of Irenaeus’ Greek text in the edition. No comment is given by the editor in “*notes justificatives*” of the introduction volume (SC 100:1).

35. Bonifatius Fischer, “Limitations of Latin in Representing Greek,” in *The Early Versions of the New Testament* (by Bruce M. Metzger; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 369.

36. *De fuga in persecutione* (ed. J. J. Thierry; CCSL 2 [1954], 1133–1155).

καὶ ἔπνιγεν Tht 1 Reg. 564] pr καὶ συνέχει αὐτόν 158; καὶ συνεῖχεν L<sup>-108mg</sup> 509 Tht Schol. 37; *concutiebat* Tert Fug. 2,7; *comprehendit* La<sup>M</sup> Aug Div. qu aest. Simpl. 2,1,4 Spec. 29 Euch Comm. Reg. 50:1066d

Hexaplaric: ἔπνιγεν] α' (> 243) ἐθάμβει 243–731(s nom); σ' συνεῖχεν 243–731(s nom) 554

16:14 κυρίου = MT] + καὶ ἔπνιγεν αὐτόν L<sup>37</sup>; + *et suffocabat eum* La<sup>M</sup> Aug Div. qu aest. Simpl. 2,1,4 Spec. 29 Euch Comm. Reg. 50:1066d Tert Fug. 2,7

Does Tertullian's *concutio* 'to shake, disturb, to put in fear or anxiety, to terrify' reflect the Greek verb πνίγω 'to choke, strangle, vex, torment' in the majority of the LXX witnesses or συνέχω 'to keep together, occupy, detain' in the Lucianic text? The opinions of scholars differ. Henri Voogd supposed that Tertullian attests συνέχω.<sup>38</sup> The meaning of *concutio*, however, is closer to πνίγω. Moreover, the Latin witnesses that in all likelihood follow the Lucianic text (La<sup>M</sup>, Augustine, and Eucherius), have the verb *comprehendo* 'to lay hold of something on all sides; to take or catch hold of, seize, grasp' for συνέχω. Voogd's argument is likely based on the consideration that since Tertullian uses *suffoco* as a rendering for πνίγω at the end of the verse, *concutio* should reflect another verb—συνέχω. That would, however, presuppose that Tertullian was not familiar with the meaning of συνέχω and this appears not to be the case. He quotes two biblical passages containing the verb and gives a good rendering in both instances:

Mic 7:18 καὶ οὐ συνέσχευ εἰς μαρτύριον ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ

Marc. 4,10,2 *et non tenuit in testimonium iram suam* (*teneo* 'to hold, keep, have, grasp, hold fast')

Jer 2:13 οἱ οὐ δυνήσονται ὕδωρ συνέχειν

Adv. Jud. 13,13–14 *qui non potuerunt aquam continere* (*contineo* 'to hold together, bound, limit, comprise, enclose, surround, environ')

37. There is a parablepsis in 509 from κυρίου to the same word in verse 15. If its exemplar attested the plus as well as συνεῖχεν for ἔπνιγεν, it has vanished together with the major part of verse 15.

38. Henri Voogd, "A Critical and Comparative Study of the Old Latin Texts of the First Book of Samuel" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1947), 27.

Therefore I find it more likely that Brock is right in stating that “*concutiebat* hardly represents συνεῖχεν,”<sup>39</sup> that συνεῖχεν is derived from Symmachus and that in *L* the original translation καὶ ἐπνίγεν αὐτόν is displaced to the end of the verse.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, there is no actual agreement between Tertullian and *L* in the first verb but only in having the plus at the end of the verse—which is a problem of its own.

Cyprian, *Test.* 1,17 *et erit, qui remanserit in domo tua*<sup>41</sup>

“And it shall be: [he] who shall remain in your house” (trans. mine)

1 Sam 2:36 כל־הנותר בביתך והיה καὶ ἔσται ὁ περισσεύων ἐν οἴκῳ σου

And it shall be; he who is left in your house (NETS)

ὁ περισσεύων; *qui superaverit* Aug *Civ.* 17,5 *Gloss. Bibl.*; *qui supererit* La<sup>M</sup>] pr πᾶς A 247–376 *L* 44–74–106–107–120–125–134–610 554 = MT; pr υπολελυμμενος 799; ὁ ὑπολελειμμένος M V L 98–379–731 29 71 158 318 554<sup>mg</sup> 707; *qui remanserit* Cyp *Test.* 1,17 = Vg.; *qui permanserit* Somn. *Ner.* 11,3

There are two competing Greek verbs (περισσεύω and ὑπολείπω) and two Latin verbs (*supero* and *remaneo/permaneo*) respectively. Which corresponds to which? The two Greek verbs have a slightly different function: ὑπολείπω pass. means ‘to stay behind’ while περισσεύω is rather ‘to be left over.’<sup>42</sup> In Cyprian’s biblical quotations, the most common equivalent for περισσεύω and its cognate words is *abundo* ‘to overflow, to abound’ (and its cognates) and a few other words, but not the verb *remaneo* ‘to stay, to remain.’<sup>43</sup> In the pres-

39. Brock, *Recensions*, 196, 197.

40. Brock, *Recensions*, 154, 291–292. Brock also notes that “πνίγω was objected to by the Atticists” referring to Moeris, *Atticista* α,125: ἄγχειν Ἀττικοί· πνίγειν Ἕλληνες.

41. *Ad Quirinum testimonia adversus Judaeos* (ed. R. Weber; CCL 3 [1972], 3–179).

42. See LSJ.

43. The cases are: περισσόν (Matt 5:37) *abundantius* (*Test.* 3,12); ἐκ... τοῦ περισσεύματος (Matt 12:34) *de abundantia* (*Epistulae* 59,3); ἐκ τοῦ περισσεύοντος (Luke 21:4) *ex eo quod abundant* (*Eleem.* 15); περισσεύομεν (1 Cor 8:8) *abundabimus* (*Test.* 3,60); περισσευμα (2 Cor 8:14) *abundantia* (*Test.* 3,1 [2 times]); περισσεύουσα (2 Cor 9:12) *abundabit* (*Eleem.* 9), *abundavit* (*Test.* 3,1); περισσά (Eccl 7:16) *plus quam oportet* (*Test.* 3,53); περισσότερον (Luke 12:48) *plus* (*Unit. eccl.* 21). The data is compiled by comparing the index of Cyprian’s biblical quotations in *Biblia Patristica* with the concordance entries for περισσ-, (υπο)λειπω, and (υπο)λειμμι- in Hatch-Redpath and Kurt Aland, ed., *Vollständige Konkordanz*



ent context, however, *abundo* would hardly be an appropriate word—the verb *supero* ‘to be left over, to remain’ in Augustine, *Glossarium Biblicum*, and La<sup>M</sup> is a much better rendering for περισσεύω in this context (see my apparatus in which these witnesses are cited in support of περισσεύω.) If Cyprian had the Greek verb περισσεύω in his exemplar, why did he not choose *supero* as a rendering?<sup>44</sup> This makes one suspicious. Moreover, *remaneo* appears once (apart from the present case) as an equivalent for ὑπολείπω:

*Test. 1,2 et remansi ego solitarius*

1 Kgs 19:10 וְאֵת אֲנִי לְבַדִּי וְאֵת הַיָּם וְאֵת הַבְּרִיָּה καὶ ὑπολείμμαι (no variants with another verb in Brooke-McLean) ἐγὼ μονώτατος

Based on these considerations I am inclined to think that Cyprian really attests the reading ὑπολειμμένος.<sup>45</sup> This is actually what Voogd, Fischer, and Brock state in their studies without elaboration.<sup>46</sup> I feel, however, that my methodology is a useful control for cases like this that some might be ready to accept as agreements immediately.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

It has long been recognized that, despite the problems involved, patristic quotations of the Bible are of great value in studying the history of the text—even in reconstructing the original text. Much methodological work has been done on how to identify and classify different types of quotations. In this paper I have tried to demonstrate that a textual critic can also benefit from considerations of details relating to the linguistic preferences of the Fathers. Such details can include:

- (1) The author’s preferred meaning for some words, e.g., in Josephus’ vocabulary the verb κρατέω is strongly connected with the notion ‘to have power.’

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zum griechischen Neuen Testament: unter Zugrundelegung aller modernen kritischen Textausgaben und des Textus receptus (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983).

44. As can be expected, *supero* belongs to Cyprian’s vocabulary, e.g.: *superest Test. 3,11; 3,16; superfuerunt Test. 3,20.*

45. In my thesis I will suggest that this is also the original reading.

46. Voogd, “Critical and Comparative Study,” 34; Bonifatius Fischer, “Lukian-Lesarten in der Vetus-Latina der vier Königsbücher,” *Studia Anselmiana* 27/28 (1951), 172; and Brock, *Recensions*, 195.

- (2) The author's preferred vocabulary for certain themes, e.g., Josephus prefers the verb σχίζω or διασχίζω for the division of the kingdom of Solomon.
- (3) How a Latin author or translator may adapt the Greek text according to the needs of the Latin language, e.g., even if Irenaeus had quoted the Greek expression 'on this day' as σήμερον ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, the Latin translator of his work was prone not to produce any equivalent for σήμερον.
- (4) Which equivalents the Latin authors generally prefer for certain Greek words, e.g., since Tertullian gives the good renderings *teneo* and *contineo* for συνέχω in other contexts it seems that συνέχω is not the Greek word that lies behind his verb *concutio* in 1 Sam 16:14.

I hope this paper may contribute to the methodological discussion on using patristic evidence, especially in proceeding from *identification* of the quotations, through *how the biblical text is used by the Father*, to *how the scholar should use the quotation* in biblical textual criticism.

# Hebrew Bible(s) and Greek Witnesses? A First Look at the Makeup of 2 Kings for the *Oxford Hebrew Bible*<sup>1</sup>

*Andrés Piquer Otero*

**Abstract:** One of the usual objections raised at the confection of an eclectic edition of the Hebrew Bible is the problem derived of the main non-Masoretic source (barring Qumran testimonies, usually in a fragmentary state), that is, the Septuagint, being a translation of a Hebrew original. This gives room for different types of objections, mostly centered around the scholars' capacity of rendering an accurate retroversion of the Greek into its Hebrew *Vorlage* and the determination of what Greek variants constitute witnesses of a different underlying Hebrew or are rather the creation of the ancient translators themselves. To this one has to add the concrete choices of typography and orthography taken in the eclectic text itself. All these issues and objections are in a good measure familiar to any textual criticism enterprise, biblical or not. Relevant as it is to engage in a discussion on the philosophy of a critical edition and the nature of the text we are producing or re-creating, this paper will focus on larger textual units (whole clauses or paragraphs) that constitute meaningful differences of redaction between the MT and Septuagint texts of 2 Kings. If these cases can be shown to hint at two different editions of the Hebrew book (as the two-column presentation in the OHB proposes), then we have a very particular set of materials to contribute to the discussion on *Vorlage* issues. After presenting particular cases, I hope to contribute to an assessment of the advantages of making the text of ancient redactions available in a Bible edition versus the elusiveness of Hebrew retroversion.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

This presentation will focus on issues related to the *Oxford Hebrew Bible* edition of 2 Kings (henceforth OHB), given the importance that the *Vorlage* of

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1. The research and redaction of this paper have been conducted within the general framework of the National Research Project "Edición electrónica polígota—sinóptica de 1-2Reyes", funded by the Spanish Ministerio de Investigación, Ciencia e Innovación, and directed by Prof. Julio Treballe Barrera.

the LXX text has for several of the biblical books which seem to present two texts or “redactions,” as it is the case in some of the Former Prophets. I will not deal here with some of the most recent criticism leveled at the OHB project,<sup>2</sup> which is grounded, for the most part, on the treatment of “accidentals”<sup>3</sup> and concerns about the production of a “heterogeneous” text, given that these issues have already been discussed by other editors (including myself) in other past and forthcoming presentations or publications.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the important issues related to the project which I would like to examine here, not as a criticism, but as a reflection on the challenges involved, seem to have been notoriously overlooked. I am presenting them in this forum, even though OHB is a Hebrew edition, as the LXX text (or texts) play a key role in the scholarly discussion and inquiry on one of the project’s main aspects—the production (when extant materials warrant it) of a two-column critical text reflecting the aforementioned two “editions.” I will not dwell either on the difficulties inherent in the reconstruction of a Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX—another usual criticism leveled at OHB<sup>5</sup>—as all editors are quite aware of them when dealing with the text. Rather, accepting that in quite a few cases we are able to propose an acceptable *Vorlage* of LXX which constitutes a variant when compared to MT, the problem remains to decide what to do with it, that is, within the philological framework of the text and the methodology of an eclectic edition.

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2. Hugh G. M. Williamson, “Do We Need a New Bible? Reflections on the Proposed Oxford Hebrew Bible,” *Biblica* 90 (2009), 153–75.

3. For the concept of “accidentals” in the scenario of textual criticism of the Old Testament, see Ronald S. Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition,” *VT* 58 (2008), 324–51, 343–346. Hendel’s proposal espouses W. W. Greg’s concept of copy-text, as he himself comments at large. See Walter W. Greg, “The Rationale of Copy-Text,” *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–51), 19–36.

4. Ronald S. Hendel, “Reflections on a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible. A Reply to H.G.M. Williamson” [forthcoming]; Corrado Martone, “All the Bibles We Need. The Impact of the Qumran Evidence on Biblical Lower Criticism,” (paper presented at the Meeting of the *International Organization for Qumran Studies* (IOQS). Helsinki. August 2010); Andrés Piquer Otero, “What Text to Edit? The Oxford Hebrew Bible Edition of 2Kgs 17,” in *After Qumran: Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts. The Historical Books*. Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium. ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelyn, F. García Martínez. Leuven: Peeters, 2012, 227–243; Andrés Piquer Otero, “Biblia(s) hebreas y testimonios griegos. La Septuaginta en la edición de 2Reyes de la *Oxford Hebrew Bible*,” (paper presented at the VIII Simposio de la Asociación Española de Estudios Hebreos y Judíos. Segovia, June 10th–11th 2010.)

5. Williamson, “Do We Need a New Bible?” 167–170.

## 2. VARIANTS AND EDITIONS

This will be my main topic: to approach critically the problem that LXX *Vorlage* variants offer in this particular sense:

1. When can a given variant be affiliated with a particular “edition?”
2. Could it be the case that we will end up handling heterogeneous readings which only agree in their divergence from (proto-)MT?
3. Can, therefore, all (meaningful) variants be relied upon equally in order to define the “textual history” which is proposed as one of OHB’s goals?<sup>6</sup>

These issues—and even just our capacity to pose them—derive in a good measure from the critical assessment of the history of the LXX texts which underwent a *kaì γε* recension,<sup>7</sup> such as Samuel-Kings—my main personal concern as editor of 2Kings. In those instances, when we are able to reconstruct an Old Greek text<sup>8</sup> which supposed a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* which was then revised according to a proto-MT form, we can talk of two Hebrew “editions” in the most literal and traditional sense of the word. Even if the fullest textual documentation (quantitatively speaking) of this situation comes from the Greek text-types, it is echoing the convergence or clash of two Hebrew texts also, one used by the OG translator, one by the *kaì γε* editors.<sup>9</sup>

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6. Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible”, 334.

7. A constant in Septuagint Studies and in biblical textual criticism at large, especially since the seminal Dominique Barthélemy., *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du text des fragments du Dodécapropheton, trouvés dans le desert de Juda, precede d'une etude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien*. SVT 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963.)

8. The importance of the Lucianic text and its contacts and agreements with other witnesses, like the Old Latin and Josephus, have been in the scene for well over a century. Some “vorlucianisches Gut” is already accepted in Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher*. Septuaginta Studien 3 (Göttingen, 1911), 291 n. 5. See also Samuel R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*. International Theological Library (Edinburgh, 1913[2nd ed]), lxxvi–lxxx; Henry St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1925), 85. More recently, Emanuel Tov, “Lucian and Proto-Lucian: Towards a New Solution of the Problem”, *RB* 79 (1972), 101–113.

9. A comparison between the prospective *Vorlage* of a reconstructed Old Greek text and Qumran witnesses plays a basic role in this line of research. See, e.g. Cross’ and Ulrich’s work on the proto-Lucianic recension compared with the Hebrew of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in Frank Moore Cross, Donald W. Parry, *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4, XII. 1–2 Samuel* DJD 17 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 25. See also Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Jose-*

Even though this scenario has been key in highlighting the textual plurality of biblical books around the change of the era, it also highlights problems, which the scholar should be aware of when conceiving working hypotheses for the diachronic relationship between editions or textual types.

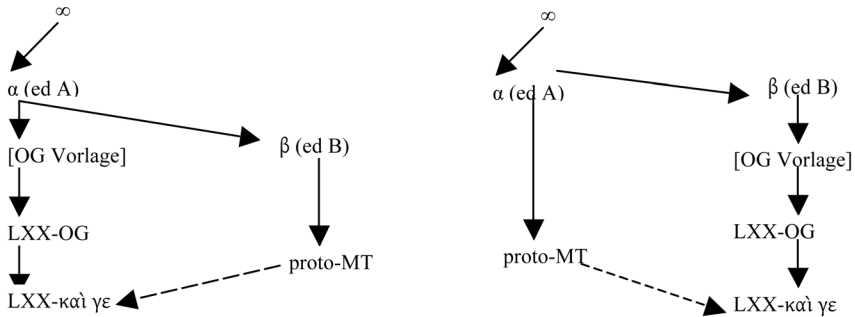
1. In Greek, OG is evidently older, whereas the καὶ γε version (and of course, other recensional and philo-MT texts) is later;
2. In Hebrew, on the other hand, this view cannot be a systematically-applied *a priori*.

That is to say, a text like the *Vorlage* of OG could contain more recent readings or features, whereas proto-MT could in some instances have preserved older textual elements. This requires us to carefully discuss and determine what we exactly mean when we talk about “editions” (A and B) in the *Oxford Hebrew Bible*. Are we facing true “editions” / “recensions” with the particular kind of parameters which would define them (a more or less defined temporal framework; systematic-programmatic character; and a measure of ideological intent)? Or are we rather creating abstract intermediate stages in the history of the text (i.e.,  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  in classic stemmatics) by proceeding to attribute most older readings to edition A, and most revised/later ones to B, thereby creating a text-critical construct (a valid option, but different from an “edition” in the normal sense)?

If we were to define this scenery in terms of stemmatics, OHB would present, for Samuel-Kings, either of these two models, according to the editor’s assessment of OG *Vorlage* vs. proto-MT evidence:

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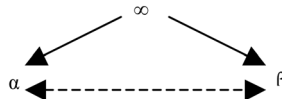
*phus.* HSM 19 (Missoula MT: Scholars, 1978); Eugene Ulrich., “The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran”, in *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel. 1980 Proceedings IOSCS, Vienna.* (ed. E. Tov, Jerusalem: Academion, 1980), 121–165; Adrian Schenker, *Älteste Textesgeschichte der Königsbücher: Die hebräische Vorlage der ursprünglichen Septuaginta als älteste Textform der Königsbücher.* OBO 199 (Fribourg – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004); Schenker, A., “Die Textgeschichte der Königsbücher und ihre Konsequenzen für die Textgeschichte der hebräischen Bibel, illustriert am Beispiel von 2Kön 23:1–3”, in *Congress Volume. Leiden 2004* (SVT 109) (ed. A. Lemaire, Leiden – Boston MA: Brill, 2006), 65–80; Julio Trebolle Barrera, “From the ‘Old Latin’ through the ‘Old Greek’ to the ‘Old Hebrew’ (2Kings 10:23–25)”, *Textus* 11 (1984), 17–36; Andrés Piquer Otero, Pablo Torijano Morales, Julio Trebolle Barrera, “Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions. The Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latin, Armenian and Georgian Versions in III-IV Regnorum”, in *Translating a Translation. The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism.* BETL 213 (ed. H. Ausloos, J. Cook et al. Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 251–281.



Certainly, one of the strongest pieces of evidence in favor of OHB multiple-edition presentation, as repeatedly noted in its *Philosophy of Edition*,<sup>10</sup> is, together with LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Qumran evidence. Nevertheless, the manuscript situation of Qumran should, at the same time, cast some caution on our enterprise, given:

1. The existence of clearly “mixed” texts;
2. The mere presence in a single spot/library of so many different textual traditions/types.<sup>11</sup>

By this I mean that it is quite probable that most of our texts were indeed “mixed” to a certain degree, and that would imply cross-influence in a considerable number of situations:

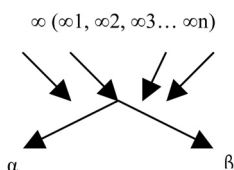


The conclusion is that, though we can study the textual history of single readings, it is quite more complicated to determine, in a systematic way, the relative antiquity of A and B, α and β.

10. Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible”, 326–327.

11. For textual plurality in Qumran, see Emmanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible. An Introduction* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1997<sup>2</sup>), 191; 114–117; 313–349; Eugene Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions: Reflections towards a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text”, in *Current Research and Technological Development on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judaean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995*. STDJ 20 (ed. D. Parry, and S. D. Ricks, Leiden-New York-Köln: Brill, 1996), 78–105.

This situation is further aggravated by another methodological and theoretical problem—the application of the concepts of “archetypes” and “originals” to the biblical books.<sup>12</sup> The critic runs into cases which lie on the borderline between textual, literary, and redaction criticism, especially when dealing with variants which involve difference of placement, arrangement insertion and/or exclusion of literary units. These cases again raise the issue of “editions”, as they present a conundrum for the editor: the textual traditions exhibit traces and hints of different usages of ancient units and sources. The scenario thus would be not so much that of a single textual original to which the stemma approaches/derives from, but a fuzzier network of “original sources” (more or less distinct literary units).



In this sense, it is, again, possible to reconstruct—at least partially—different particular textual layouts in different locations. The problem still remains to place them in a textual history of the book in question (and hence in an eclectic edition). As it would be inaccurate to posit the existence of a single “original” (in the spirit of author-bound classical literature), again we are faced with the quandary of assessing the antiquity, motivations and history of a single variant—even if these variants are longer textual units—in a scenario where textual traditions may have been mixed fairly early. In other words, a textual witness (*Vorlage* of LXX or proto-MT) may have preserved an earlier layout in some of these macro-structural instances, and a later one in others.

All the considerations above lead, in my opinion, to an important methodological conclusion. In a project such as OHB, it is highly problematic to devise a two-column presentation (which does reflect, in a good measure, the historical reality of textual plurality at the change of era period—with one column representing the *Vorlage* of LXX and the other a proto-MT—) and, at the same time, to define a chronological relationship between these two edition columns, while simultaneously striving to determine the earliest form of a given lemma available to us—the final aim of an eclectic edition. The fact

12. The problem is laid out and discussed in Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible”, 329–335.



that the number of cases in which the relationship between “editions” A and B and older versus more recent readings is not straightforward and systematic, should perhaps lead us to produce a more neutral presentation of the materials.

1. A two-column presentation of editions A and B when sources allow us to propose a double edition of the text (for the historical books, that would mean basically OG *Vorlage* and proto-MT), but without implying a global diachronic/historical relationship for the editions as a whole (that is, A older than B or B deriving from A).

2. Historical (and hence diachronic) evaluation of meaningful variants first on an individual basis, to be explained in the lemma entry in the text-critical commentary (and when possible in the apparatus). Of course, some of these single variant readings respond to a same principle (e.g., theological, re-structuring literary layout) and hence they should be grouped and commented upon together, both in the introductory essays and perhaps in a new kind of paragraph which editors should consider: literary/redactional section/unit commentary.

### 3. A PRACTICAL SAMPLE: THE CASE OF CHRONOLOGIES IN 2 KINGS 1–3

After these considerations on the placement of the *Vorlage* of the LXX and the possible classification of the variants it offers in the framework of an eclectic edition, I would like to conclude this presentation with an illustrative case, focusing on the different chronologies in 2Kgs 1–3. I find it an ideal case for discussion of the problems outlined above, because it combines: (1) variants that involve larger sections of text and redactional layout; and (2) evidence of cross-influence or mixing of different texts (proto-M and *Vorlage* of OG). The bulk of the textual landscape of Jehoram of Israel’s regnal formula and Ahaziah’s death formula and his synchrony with the kings of Judah has been discussed in detail in Shenkel’s classic work.<sup>13</sup> Here I will try to offer a reflection on how, in this particular instance, the information provided has an impact in our vision of a critical edition of the text of 2 Kings. The chronologies of *Kings* constitute complex cogworks,<sup>14</sup> and I will just focus on a distinct instance—the regnal-synchrony units of 2Kgs 1:17b; LXX 1:18a-d; and 3:1–3.

13. James D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Harvard MA : Harvard University Press 1968), 68–78. See also J. Maxwell Miller, “Another Look at the Chronology of the Divided Monarchy”, *JBL* 86 (1967), 276–288.

14. For a general introduction to the problema, see Mordechai Cogan, *I Kings*. Anchor Bible 10 (New York-Toronto-Sydney-Auckland: Doubleday, 1988), 100–103; for recent dis-

After Ahaziah of Israel's demise and the customary "And the rest of Ahaziah's deeds..." formula in 2Kgs 1:18, all LXX manuscripts include a plus which constitutes a duplicate of 3:1–3, Jehoram of Israel's regnal formula. I have marked in color the main divergences between the two parallel Greek passages, using continuous underlines for the OG features in 3:1–3 and discontinuous underlines for differences which can be related to a different Hebrew *Vorlage* in 1:18a-d, according to Shenkel's detailed analysis.<sup>15</sup> The data are quite clear in indicating that the regnal formula at the end of 1:18 represents the Old Greek text, both in contents and in placement, that is, OG vs. *καὶ γε* seem to have taken different choices in the introduction of the chronological materials before or after the prophetic narrative of Elijah's ascension which, together with Elisha's first miracle, makes up the totality of 2Kgs 2. The *καὶ γε* character of the LXX 3:1–3 text, and the agreement there between LXX and (proto)-MT, also indicate that a philo-M text took the option of placing the formula *after* the prophetic episode.

#### JEHORAM'S REGNAL FORMULA IN LXX AND MT

LXX 1:18a-d	LXX 3:1-3	MT 3:1-3
καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Ἀχααβ	καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Ἀχααβ	וַיהוֹרָם בֶּן־אַחָאָב
<u>βασιλεύει</u>	ἐβασίλευσεν	מֶלֶךְ
ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ	ἐν Ἰσραηλ	עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
ἐν Σαμαρεία		בְּשִׁמְרוֹן
ἔτη δέκα δύο		
ἐν ἔτει	ἐν ἔτει	בְּשָׁנָה
ὀκτωκαιδεκάτω	ὀκτωκαιδεκάτω	שְׁמֹנֶה עָשָׂר
Ἰωσαφατ	Ἰωσαφατ	לְיִהוֹשָׁפָט
<u>βασιλέως</u> Ἰουδα	βασιλεῖ Ἰουδα	מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה
	καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν	וַיִּמְלֹךְ
	δώδεκα ἔτη	שְׁתֵּים־עָשָׂר שָׁנָה:
καὶ ἐποίησεν	καὶ ἐποίησεν	וַיַּעַשׂ
τὸ πονηρὸν	τὸ πονηρὸν	הָרָע
ἐνώπιον κυρίου	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου	בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
πλὴν οὐχ ὡς	πλὴν οὐχ ὡς	רַק לֹא

cussion on approaches to chronology at large, see M. Christine Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom* (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005.)

15. Shenkel, *Chronology*, 70–72. I refer to his work and bibliography thereof for classification of the evidence as OG vs. *καὶ γε* and I will not engage into a minute discussion of the different variants, which would take this paper away from its main purpose.

οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ	ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ	כְּאִבּוֹ
οὐδὲ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ	καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ	וּכְאִמּוֹ
καὶ ἀπέστησεν	καὶ μετέστησεν	וַיָּסֶר
τὰς στήλας	τὰς στήλας	אֶת־מַצֵּבֹת
τοῦ Βααλ	τοῦ Βααλ	הַבַּעַל
ἃς ἐποίησεν	ἃς ἐποίησεν	אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה
ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ	ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ	אָבִיו:
καὶ συνέτριψεν αὐτάς		
πλήν ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις	πλήν ἐν τῇ ἀμαρτία	רַק בְּחַטָּאוֹת
οἴκου Ιεροβοαμ	Ιεροβοαμ	יִרְבְּעָם
	υἱοῦ Ναβατ	בֶּן־נָבַט
ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν	ὃς ἐξήμαρτεν	אֲשֶׁר־הִחֲטִי־אֵל
τὸν Ισραηλ	τὸν Ισραηλ	אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל
ἐκολλήθη	ἐκολλήθη	דָּבַק
οὐκ ἀπέστη	οὐκ ἀπέστη	לֹא־סָר
ἀπ' αὐτῶν	ἀπ' αὐτῆς	מִמֶּנָּה:
καὶ ἐθυμώθη		
ὁργῇ κύριος		
εἰς τὸν οἶκον Αἰααβ		

These initial data have to be further explained and completed by a more detailed look at the Greek manuscripts in 1:18a–d. The Lucianic text of 1:18a includes an important variant regarding the chronological synchrony between kings of Israel and Judah:

2Kgs 1:18a LXX<sup>L</sup>

καὶ Ἰωράμ υἱὸς Ἀχαάβ  
 βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ  
 ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ  
 ἔτη δέκα δύο·  
 ἐν ᾗ δεινέρω  
 τοῦ Ἰωράμ υἱοῦ  
 Ἰωσαφάτ  
 βασιλέως Ἰούδα

2Kgs 1:18a LXX<sup>B</sup>

καὶ Ἰωραμ υἱὸς Αἰααβ  
 βασιλεύει ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ  
 ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ  
 ἔτη δέκα δύο  
 ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔτι καιδεκάτω  
 Ἰωσαφάτ  
 βασιλέως Ἰουδα

Here the Lucianic text is following the Old Greek chronology in the synchronism,<sup>16</sup> continuing the evidence from previous sections based on the different options between OG *Vorlage* and proto-MT in the synchrony

16. Shenkel, *Chronology*, 71.

of Jehoshaphat of Judah with the kings of Israel.<sup>17</sup> If the available evidence ended here, we would be facing two different textual forms, so the labor for the crafter of an edition such as OHB would be more or less clear: the eclectic text would have to reflect the differences between text-types in both contents and structure, and here it would be appropriate to use a two-column presentation.<sup>18</sup>

“Edition” x 1:18

...  
הָלוֹא־הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי  
הַיָּמִים לְמֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:  
וַיְהִי בֶן אַחָאֵב מֶלֶךְ עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל  
בְּשִׁמְרוֹן שְׁתֵּים עָשָׂרָה שָׁנָה בַּשָּׁנָה  
שְׁתֵּים לַיהוֹרָם בֶּן יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה

“Edition” y 1:18

...  
הָלוֹא־הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי  
הַיָּמִים לְמֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל:

The addition in “edition x” reflects the variant placement of the regnal formula and the chronology of the OG *Vorlage*. In all likelihood, it would continue with the Dtr materials of 1:18b-d, but this first verse will suffice for the present discussion.

Things become more complicated when choosing what to do, speaking in terms of a critical edition, with 3:1–3. From the point of view of redaction history, the hypothesis of LXX 1:18a-d and 3:1–3 constituting a duplicate is tenable and even likely. Nevertheless, the whole Greek tradition includes 3:1–3<sup>19</sup> and therefore excluding it from one of the “editions” would constitute a textual conjecture, originated in the Septuagint (it would not belong to the OG, as doublets usually reflect one OG + one *kai ye* reading) and then transferred to its *Vorlage* as an editable text-type. Two options are possible: either to defer to the copy-text (MT) given the lack of variants regarding this passage and include 3:1–3, noting in the commentary the strong chances of it being a duplicated editorial element when compared to 1:18a ff.; or to omit 3:1–3 in the text of the proposed variant “edition.” The second choice is more satisfactory from the point of view of an eclectic critical text. Nevertheless, it has to be understood that, by doing so, we are: (1) reconstructing a text that is not necessarily (though hypothetically) OG, hence identifying OG *Vorlage* with “edition x” cannot be done in a mechanical or systematic way; (2) crossing

17. Shenkel, *Chronology*, 22–60.

18. I have used x and y to avoid any notions of chronological relationship between them. Also, “edition” appears between quotation marks to indicate that perhaps we would be speaking more properly of textual stages  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  as outlined in the previous section.

19. Manuscript 71 omits vv. 2–3 but includes v. 1, with the regnal formula.

the boundary line between textual and literary criticism, as we are inferring a textual stage prior to the witnesses by analyzing the interplay between literary units and their overarching layout (dynamics of insertion between prophetic narratives and chronological regnal data<sup>20</sup>).

By this I do not mean the option is not valid or desirable, but that we are at the limits of the concept of “edition” and perhaps it would be more accurate to speak of an instance of a different “stage” of edition history, indeed attested, albeit obliquely, by the sources. We cannot just project one of the stages (formula at 1:18a) to an earlier “edition” just because the OG *Vorlage* is, in principle, an earlier source.<sup>21</sup>

I will finish the study of my sample with an element which is probably even more crucial for understanding the nuances we have to tackle in an edition: it is the MT materials in 2Kgs 1:17b:

MT	LXX Hexaplaric	
	LXX <sup>L</sup> 22	LXX codd. 121 376
וַיָּמָת	καὶ ἀπέθανεν	καὶ ἀπέθανεν
	Ὁχοζείας	
כְּדָבַר יְהוָה	κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου	κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα Κυρίου
אֲשֶׁר־דִּבֶּר	ὃ ἐλάλησεν	ὃ ἐλάλησεν
אֵלָיו	Ἡλίας,	Ἡλίας,
וַיִּמָּלֶךְ יְהוֹרָם	καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰωράμ	καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἰωράμ
	ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὁοζείου	ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὁοζείου
תַּחֲתָיו פ	ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ,	ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ,
בְּשָׁנָת שְׁתַּיִם		ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ
לְיְהוֹרָם		τῷ Ἰωράμ

20. The relationship between prophetic narratives and regnal formulae positioning was commented already in Benzinger, I, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament 9), Freiburg-Leipzig-Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1899, 128.

21. This is not to say that one necessarily has to assume that the OG materials are a (misguided) attempt to fix the Hebrew chronology and therefore secondary. For a distinct example of this opinion (and a criticism of Shenkel’s views) see Edwin R. Thiele, “Corregencies and Overlapping Reigns among the Hebrew Kings”, *JBL* 93 (1974), 174–200, 188–190. The situation is far more complicated and, at any rate, one should apply a measure of scholarly prudence to the dating of the texts.

22. The same reading appears in Georgian codex O, in an almost literal translation, და მეფობდა იორამ ძმად ოქოზიასის მის წილ რამეთუ არა ესჳა მას ძმ. The Georgian codex should probably be understood as further Lucianic evidence, given that the shape of the clause is more similar to codices 19 82 93 108 127 than to 121 and 376. This same affinity would rule out direct influence from philo-MT non-LXX versions.

בְּנֵי־יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה	υἱοῦ Ἰωσαφάτ βασιλεῖς Ἰουδα
כִּי לֹא־הָיָה לוֹ בֶּן׃	ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῷ υἱός.

In this case, the Septuagint materials are in all likelihood Hexaplaric.<sup>23</sup> The agreement between manuscripts 121 376 and the Lucianic codices is remarkable, as is the asterisk notation in codex 127, so these Greek witnesses should be interpreted as additional sources of the Hebrew text-type represented by MT.<sup>24</sup> Again, we face here important problems of structure and contents:

1. MT contains chronological data in agreement with the “Old Greek chronology”, בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתַּיִם לַיהוֹרָם בְּנֵי־יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה, clearly attested in the Lucianic form of the notice in LXX 1:18a: ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰωρὰμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσαφάτ βασιλέως Ἰούδα. There is also agreement in introducing the synchrony unit before the beginning of chapter 2, as it is the case in LXX<sup>BL</sup>.
2. A proto-MT reading (the whole of verse 17b) which somehow did not make it into the καὶ γε recension of the Septuagint.

These two facts are both a clear manifestation of the plurality of text-forms, even within Masoretic and philo-Masoretic sources;<sup>25</sup> at the same time they

23. Shenkel *Chronology*, 73–74.

24. The omission of ἐν ἔτει δευτέρῳ τῷ Ἰωρὰμ υἱοῦ Ἰωσαφάτ βασιλεῖς Ἰούδα in the Lucianic manuscripts due in all likelihood to the presence of that same chronological datum in 1:18a, thus it would be a Lucianic smoothening of the inserted Hexaplaric text to avoid redundancy. See Shenkel, *op. cit.*, 74.

25. The “alien” nature of the materials has been noted by most commentators; see e.g. Burney, C.F., *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings*. Eugene OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004 (reprint of the Cambridge 1903 edition), 263–264 and the general study in xli–xliv; James A. Montgomery and Henry S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical on the Books of Kings*. The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), 351; Mordechai Cogan and Hayim Tadmor, *II Kings*. The Anchor Bible 11 (New York–Toronto–Sydney–Auckland: Doubleday, 1988), 27. This last commentary, besides noting the relationship between the MT verse and “an alternate chronological system preserved for the most part in Lucianic manuscripts of the LXX”—something remarkable in a work notable for a dearth of references to the Greek text—also notes the masoretic notation of the *pisqā’ bē ’emša’ pāsûq* as further evidence of its “intrusive nature.” Nevertheless, a good amount of research has focused in preserving the integrity of MT by proposing systems of co-regencies between consecutive kings to explain the overlaps. Many of them share a comparative approach by presenting cases of co-regencies in other monarchies of the Ancient Near East (mainly Egypt.) See, among others, Thiele, “Corregencies”, 186–190; Edward Ball, “The Co-Regency of David and Solomon (1 Kings 1)”, VT 27/3 (1977), 268–279. For a general out-

should give us pause in the process of determining “editions” through *systematic* projection of the history of the Septuagint. In this sense, Shenkel’s explanation of MT 1:17b is revealing: he considers it a case of proto-MT addition included in the text *after* the *kai ye* recension was completed.<sup>26</sup> Though that is a possible scenario (and certainly it is likely that the *kai ye* recension knew a Hebrew text without verse 17b), it places too much stress in a diachronic sequence of the Hebrew texts based on the development of the Septuagint and its revisions. The fact is that two chronological models circulated at some point. OG bases itself in one of those; *kai ye* in the other, but this does not invalidate the possibility of other texts (“mixed”, if you wish) being present in the landscape. MT here could be attesting such a kind of text in a typical redactional crossroads, the placement of chronological and regnal formulae framing “loose” prophetic narratives (chapter 2).<sup>27</sup>

From the point of view of the modern editor of the Hebrew book, this case is thus hard to pin down to a chronological sequence of “editions,” as both systems of chronology could be equally “earlier” or “later.” Plurality is here more important than diachrony and prospective derivation between “editions.” In the OHB arena, we would be probably dealing with an “edition” with chronology *x*, and formulae placements before chapter 2 (attested by the match between OG and MT); against it, the form implied by the *kai ye* recension (chronology *y* and placement of the formulae after chapter 2).

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line of the problem, see Cogan, *I Kings*, 102–103. More recently, see Gershon Galil, “Dates and Calendars in Kings”, in *The Books of Kings. Sources, Composition, Historiography and Reception* (ed. B. Halpern and A. Lemaire; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 427–444, a paradigmatic work both in its straightforward acceptance of the co-regency hypothesis and the exclusively usage of MT. Actual evidence for co-regency is rather tenuous and its application to the complex problem of chronologies could lead to a circular argument or to assumptions ultimately resulting in an apology of MT, intended or not (see M. Christine Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom* [Winona Lake IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005], 5.) Furthermore, regardless of the factual substance of the co-regency argument (or lack thereof), such co-regency is not explained at all in the text. Hence, from the point of view of the textual structure and redaction, the datum of v. 17 would in any case constitute an irregularity with the general framework of MT, and an irregularity whose agreement with OG requires explanation,

26. Shenkel, *Chronology*, 74.

27. The importance of the interplay between literary units in the process of redaction of the book has already been noted in Montgomery and Gehman, *Kings*, 351: “The intrusion of v.c was due to the concern for giving a regnal dating to II.2, the events of which must forsooth have happened after Ahaziah’s death. But the Hebrew interpolator has followed an independent chronology and contradicted the datum of 3:1.”

## 4. CONCLUSIONS

This last point shows the pitfalls of pegging down one Hebrew edition (in OHB parlance) to a single textual source (OG or MT), even after cleaning up scribal errors, later contaminations and other “minor” issues. Our witnesses are not likely to be “pure specimens”, and decisions have to be taken on a case by case basis. The 2-column synoptic model (with associated apparatus) is indeed an ideal vehicle for reconstructing this multiplicity (as far as our materials avail), but not from a traditional tree/stemma paradigm. That does not imply that at times there are not chronological relationships, and traceable modifications of one text in the other, which are to be included and commented in the edition. Rather, it implies that our knowledge of the textual landscape in the period around the turn of the era is far from perfect. There is no need to reconsider the Lagardian models of textual history or abandon the idea of producing an edition which reflects textual stages. On the other hand, we should apply some Kantian moderation to our endeavour and remember that we are dealing with *phenomena* here (the surviving textual materials available to us), whereas *the* textual history of the Former Prophets would surely fall, from our angle, in the realm of *noumena*. Within that sphere of phenomena, an eclectic edition is desirable and much needed. Its methodological aim should be to illustrate, precisely, the already-discussed plurality (perhaps without the ballast of archetypal concerns) of the Hebrew Bible vis à vis its progression towards a fixed text.



## LES MOTS וְתִהְיֶה סִכְנָת DANS 1 ROIS 1,2

Jean Koulagna

**Résumé :** Cet article présente un exemple commenté de l'étude et des choix textuels de l'*Oxford Hebrew Bible*. Il vise à montrer comment, dans le processus de sa stabilisation, le Texte Massorétique a, par moments, pu être révisé pour des raisons diverses, et que d'anciennes versions, en particulier grecques, ont pu conserver une leçon plus ancienne. Pour le cas de 1 Rois 1,2 qui fait l'objet de la présente étude, les mots וְתִהְיֶה סִכְנָת, présents dans le TM et absents du texte antiochien, sont secondaires et importés du v. 4, vraisemblablement pour des raisons morales et pour ménager l'image de David.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ עֲבָדָיו יִבְקֶשׁוּ לְאֹדְנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ נַעֲרָה בַּתּוֹלָה  
וְעַמְדָּה לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְתִהְיֶה סִכְנָת וְשִׁכְבָּה בַּחִיקָךְ וְחִם  
לְאֹדְנִי הַמֶּלֶךְ:

### 1. PRÉLIMINAIRES EN GUISE D'INTRODUCTION

Au début de cette présentation, il convient de situer notre réflexion dans le contexte qui l'a suscitée. L'objet de la présente communication se situe dans le contexte de l'édition du texte hébreu du Premier livre des Rois dans le cadre du projet dénommé *Oxford Hebrew Bible* (OHB), initié et dirigé par Ronald Hendel, Université de Californie, Berkeley. Des projets d'édition diplomatique de la bible hébraïque en cours existent : le *Hebrew University Bible* (HUB), fondé depuis 1955, qui édite la bible sur la base du Codex d'Alep, et la *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (BHQ), révision de la *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) initiée depuis 1995 et reproduisant le Codex de Leningrad. Adrian Schenker a qualifié le premier comme *editio critica maior* et la seconde comme *editio critica minor*.<sup>1</sup>

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1. A. Schenker, "Eine Neuausgabe der Biblia Hebraica," *ZAH* 9 (1996), 59.

Je reprends ici en substance la présentation que fait Hendel de l'OHB.<sup>2</sup> L'OHB est un projet d'édition éclectique, c.-à-d. une édition pourvue d'un appareil critique qui présente des éléments justifiant les décisions éditoriales, et qui se veut un complément aux éditions diplomatiques existantes et en cours. Une situation analogue existe déjà dans les études de la Septante, avec une *editio critica minor*, celle de Rahlfs, une *editio critica maior*, connue comme l'édition de Cambridge, et une *editio critica maior* éclectique en cours, qui est l'édition de Göttingen. Une *editio critica maior* de la bible hébraïque pourrait être extrêmement utile pour l'étude de l'histoire du texte de la bible hébraïque.

Une telle édition exige certes que ses éditeurs exercent pleinement leur jugement critique concernant les lectures variantes et les problèmes textuels de la bible hébraïque, imposant ainsi leurs conclusions au lecteur.<sup>3</sup> De plus, l'utilisation des versions, en particulier de la Septante pour la critique textuelle, pose le problème de l'incertitude de la rétroversion du texte grec en sa *Vorlage* hébraïque.<sup>4</sup>

Mais dans la plupart des livres de la bible hébraïque, la technique de traduction est discernable, ce qui permet un minimum de confiance dans plusieurs rétroversions, même si cette confiance varie en fonction de la littéralité de chaque traduction. Dans tous les cas, l'édition éclectique a l'avantage de faire porter à l'éditeur le fardeau des décisions et des analyses qui sont ensuite disponibles pour le débat, le raffinement et la critique, ce qui est le processus normal de toute recherche.

## 2. UNE ADDITION BASÉE SUR LE V. 4

Ce contexte général étant précisé, revenons sur le passage qui fait l'objet de cette étude, à savoir 1 R 1,2. Le récit de 1 R 1,1–4 présente un roi David vieilli et malade et constitue en quelque sorte le prologue de l'histoire immédiate de

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2. R. Hendel, "The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition," *VT* 58 (2008), 324–351; Id., "Reflections on a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible: A Reply to H.G.M. Williamson" (à paraître). Williamson a exprimé ses doutes par rapport à cette édition éclectique dans "Do We Need a New Bible? Reflections on the Proposed Oxford Hebrew Bible," *Biblica* 90 (2009), 153–175.

3. Contrairement aux éditions diplomatiques existantes qui laissent souvent les décisions au lecteur, qui est en général étranger à la discipline de critique textuelle.

4. Cf. E. Tov, *The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, (JBS 8, Jerusalem, Simor, 1997), 20–24; M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism: The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint," *Textus* 3, 132 ; J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, (MSU 15, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

la transition (1 R 1–2), avec la course à la succession qui met en compétition Adoniyah, l'aîné des fils vivants de David, et Salomon, son demi-frère. Parce que le vieux roi n'est plus en mesure de se réchauffer malgré les couvertures dont on le couvre (v. 1), ses serviteurs proposent de lui trouver une jeune femme pour s'occuper de lui et le réchauffer (v. 2). Le problème qui se pose ici touche à la place et à l'importance de la jeune femme auprès du roi, d'autant qu'elle se trouvera au cœur des enjeux de la lutte de succession d'une part, et de l'intrigue narrative d'autre part. Mon propos se limitera cependant au niveau textuel, pour tenter de comprendre un ajout (ou une omission) et les raisons qui l'ont éventuellement motivé.

À ce niveau strictement textuel, on constate que dans le texte antiochien (ci-après G<sup>L</sup>), considéré comme un des témoins du Vieux grec,<sup>5</sup> l'équivalent des mots וְתִהְיֶה לוֹ סִכְנַת (« et elle le soignera », litt. « et elle sera pour lui une servante ») manque. Ce problème n'a visiblement pas beaucoup attiré l'attention des commentateurs. Aucun des commentaires récents auxquels nous avons eu accès ne l'a, en effet, abordé. Seuls Bernhard Stade et Fridrich Schwally l'abordent dans leur édition critique de 1 Rois (1904) dans la série critique « The Sacred Books of the Old Testament ».<sup>6</sup>

On ne trouve pas de raison paléographique, exégétique ou théologique pouvant justifier ou expliquer que le traducteur ait omis un élément présent dans sa *Vorlage*. Il reste donc à penser que G<sup>L</sup> reproduit un modèle hébreu commun, éventuellement antérieur au TM, et on peut envisager le scénario d'après lequel les trois mots auraient été ajoutés tardivement dans le TM.<sup>7</sup>

En plus du témoignage de G<sup>L</sup>, d'autres arguments en faveur d'un tel scénario peuvent être évoqués. D'une part, dans le TM, on a l'impression qu'il y a une surcharge des fonctions assignées à la jeune femme. Dans leur édition critique mentionnée ci-dessus, Stade et Schwally omettent la section וְעַמְדָּה לְפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְתִהְיֶה לוֹ סִכְנַת (« elle se tiendra devant le roi et le soignera »). Selon eux, les serviteurs ne seraient pas intéressés par le statut officiel de la jeune femme, mais plutôt par ses actions.<sup>8</sup> Il n'est pourtant pas nécessaire d'envisager

5. Cf. E. Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian. Toward a New Solution of the Problem," *RB* 74 (1972), 101–113; P.-M. Bogaert, "La Septante," *DBS* 12 (1996), 593.

6. B. Stade & F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings*, (SBOT 9, Leipzig, Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1904).

7. En observant le texte de Flavius Josèphe (*Ant.* 7,343), qui insiste comme le texte *kaigé* sur l'idée de réchauffer le roi, on peut tout de même se demander s'il n'y a pas une affinité avec G<sup>L</sup>. Malgré sa reformulation très libre, on remarque en effet l'absence d'un équivalent de וְתִהְיֶה לוֹ סִכְנַת. Cela peut être un indice que Josèphe dépend d'un texte apparenté à celui reflété par G<sup>L</sup>.

8. *Ibid.*, 60.

l'omission de **לפני המלך ועמדה** pour cette raison, étant donné qu'elle n'est attestée par aucun témoin textuel. En revanche, on voit bien que la définition des tâches de la jeune femme que font les serviteurs au v. 2 correspond en général, surtout en ce qui concerne les mots qui nous préoccupent, à la description que fait le narrateur de ses actions au v. 4. Il y affirme qu'« elle soigna le roi » (**ותהי** **למלך סכנת**). Il paraît donc possible qu'il y ait eu une assimilation, consciente ou accidentelle, de cette description du v. 4 dans le v. 2.

D'autre part, la succession des formes verbales dans le discours des serviteurs n'a pas de parallèle : le jussif « qu'on cherche » (**יבקשו**) est suivi par un *weqatal* (inaccompli inversé **ועמדה**), puis par un *w*-jussif (**ותהי**) et encore par un *weqatal* (**ושכבה**). On se retrouve avec le schéma. **יבקשו ... ועמדה ... ותהי ... ושכבה**. S'il est courant dans le TM de faire suivre le jussif par un inaccompli inversé (par ex. Gn 1,14 ; 41,34),<sup>9</sup> il est par contre inhabituel de revenir ensuite à un jussif. C'est ce qui rend le troisième élément (**ותהי**) de la séquence quelque peu suspecte. Cela indique qu'il ne faisait pas partie du texte au départ et renforce l'hypothèse selon laquelle il aurait été importé du v. 4, avec un réaménagement local consistant à remplacer **למלך** par **לו**. En clair, le témoignage de G<sup>L</sup> et la construction syntaxique du v. 2 militent en faveur d'une addition postérieure des mots **ותהי לו סכנת** dans le TM.

### 3. UNE ADDITION VISIBLEMENT MOTIVÉE

Mais on peut bien se demander ce qui a pu motiver cette addition. S'agit-il d'une simple harmonisation inconsciente du v. 2 sur le v. 4, ou y a-t-il par exemple une reformulation théologique ? Et s'il s'agit d'une reformulation, quelle en est la motivation ? Les traductions du mot **סכנת** dans les versions anciennes permettent d'émettre une hypothèse.

Dans les vv. 2 et 4, le texte du Codex Vaticanus (ci-après G<sup>B</sup>, issu ici de la révision *kaigé*) et la Vulgate le traduisent respectivement par *θάλπουσα* et *foveat* (du verbe *fovere*), qui soulignent l'idée de « réchauffer » évoquée au v. 1 et reprise dans les vv. 2. G<sup>L</sup>, lui, le rend au v. 4 par *σύγκοιτος*, mettant en avant celle de « (se) coucher avec ». Le texte syriaque de la Peschitta le traduit par **ܫܡܫܬܐ**, de la racine verbale **ܫܡܫ** (*shemash*) qui exprime l'idée de service, tandis que le Targum lui préfère **ܐܒܪܝܬܐ** qui souligne celle de la proximité.

Dans le TM, le mot **סכנת** est le participe actif féminin du verbe **סכן**. Au qal, il exprime l'idée de « servir », d'« être au service de » ou encore d'« être

9. D'autres formes volitives suivies par le *weqatal* à travers la bible hébraïque : Gn 19,2 ; 27,43–44 ; Ex 12,32 ; 1 S 16,17 ; 2 S 13,5 ; Jg 19,19 ; 1 R 2,31. Voir A. Shulman, "The Function of the 'Jussive' and 'Indicative' Imperfect Forms in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *ZAH* 13 (2000), 168–180.

utile à », et au hiphil, celle de proximité, de familiarité, ou tout simplement d'une habitude (cf. Nb 22,30) ou de réconciliation (Jb 22,21). C'est le sens suggéré par le Targum. Cette idée trouve des parallèles dans la littérature orientale ancienne. C'est notamment le cas dans une inscription phénicienne du Liban (le sceau d'Obadyahu) datant approximativement du 8<sup>e</sup> s. avant notre ère, où il est fait mention d'un « *soken* de la ville, serviteur de Hiram, roi de Sidon » (CIS I.i,5). Ce sens apparaît dans Es 22,15 où Shevna est « établi » (סִכְנָן) sur le palais.

Les mots utilisés dans les versions grecques semblent éloignés sémantiquement de ceux que l'on vient de voir. L'accent y porte visiblement sur le contact physique de la jeune femme avec le roi, créant une saturation avec l'idée de « coucher dans ton sein » (κοιμηθῆσαι μετ' αὐτοῦ). Le mot θάλπουσα, du verbe θάλπω ou θαλπιάω (« être chaud », « s'échauffer » ou, au sens actif, « réchauffer », « garder au chaud », cf. Liddel-Scott, p. 783), indique qu'Abishag doit, pour réchauffer le roi, partager sa couche. À ce sujet, de nombreux commentateurs<sup>10</sup> ont mis ce détail en relation avec une croyance primitive, connue par ailleurs dans la médecine hellénistique antique, selon laquelle la vigueur et la force d'une jeune personne pourrait être communiquée à une vieille personne par le contact physique. C'est ce qu'indique Flavius Josèphe lorsqu'il substitue à la recommandation des serviteurs du roi une prescription médicale (*Ant.* 7,343) : « Ses médecins se réunirent et furent d'avis qu'on choisisse dans le pays une belle vierge pour coucher avec le roi ; la jeune fille le réchaufferait, ce qui l'aiderait à lutter contre le froid ».<sup>11</sup>

En traduisant סִכְנָת par σύγκοιτος, G<sup>L</sup> semble aller plus loin. Il évoque clairement une relation intime entre la jeune femme et le vieux roi et indique qu'elle est sa concubine ; ce qui conduit les traducteurs de la TOB à rendre וְהָיָה לוֹ סִכְנָת par « elle lui tiendrait lieu de femme ».<sup>12</sup> Une telle interprétation pose à son tour un nouveau problème, puisque le v. 4 affirme que « le roi ne la connut point ». Pour M.J. Mulder, ce mot סִכְנָת, qui est ici en forme féminine, doit signifier autre chose que « soignante » ou « assistante ».<sup>13</sup> Il sig-

10. Entre autres, J. Rawson Lumby, *The First Book of Kings*, Cambridge, University Press, 1890) 2; J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings. A Commentary*, (ICC, Philadelphia, Westminster, 1964), 77; J. Robinson, *The First Book of Kings*, (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972), 24, n. 2, 4; J.T. Walsh, *1 Kings*, (Berit Olam, Collegeville, The Order of Saint Benedict, 1996), 5–6.

11. Traduction d'E. Nodet, *Flavius Josèphe III : Les Antiquités juives*, (Paris, Cerf, 2001).

12. Cela fait d'Abishag un personnage dont la présence constitue un enjeu politique, expliquant la demande d'Adoniyah de la prendre en mariage et justifiant l'élimination de ce dernier par Salomon (1 R 2,23–25).

13. Flavius Josèphe, en *Ant.* 7,344, parle de la virginité d'Abishag qu'il justifie par une

nifie d'une certaine manière que la fille devait prendre la place de la vieille reine, en particulier dans les domaines où Batshéba, à cause de son âge, n'était plus en mesure de satisfaire les exigences attendues d'une reine en ce temps-là. C'est pourquoi la jeune femme devait être belle et fertile, car elle allait occuper une haute position dans la cour.<sup>14</sup>

L'ajout de l'expression : « elle le soignera » dans le TM peut s'expliquer par une volonté de corriger la tendance représentée par les traditions grecques, en particulier G<sup>L</sup> et Josèphe, à donner une orientation sexuelle au rôle d'Abishag auprès du vieux David.

Mais si cette piste permet de comprendre les enjeux des événements racontés dans 1 R 1–2 au plan narratif, elle n'explique pas l'importation des données du v. 4 dans le v. 2. Un autre élément culturel, qui n'apparaît pas en surface, peut être considéré, à savoir la pudeur en matière de sexualité.<sup>15</sup> L'absence de la précision de la fonction de la jeune femme au v. 2 fait que le v. 4 prenne une connotation sexuelle excessive contraire à cette pudeur traditionnelle.

L'importation de ces trois mots : ותהי־לו סכנת (n'est donc probablement pas accidentelle. L'éditeur du TM semble avoir essayé de protéger la pudeur et la dignité d'un roi qui, pour la tradition biblique, était devenu un symbole. Ainsi, il aurait tenté de corriger l'interprétation hellénistique en expliquant que si Abishag a partagé la couche du roi David sans que celui-ci la connût sexuellement, c'est bien parce qu'elle était là pour le soigner et non parce que le roi était sexuellement impuissant comme l'affirme par exemple Josèphe. L'accent porterait alors sur le but de la venue de la jeune femme plutôt que sur une justification dégradante de l'impotence physique du roi, même si le texte affirme clairement qu'il était vieux.

En outre, même l'expression ושכבה בחיק (« et elle couchera dans ton sein ») n'oriente pas forcément vers l'idée de la sexualité. Dans le TM, l'expression [ב]חיק שכב, très rare par ailleurs, renvoie avant tout à la proximité affectueuse, sans connotation sexuelle (cf. 1 R 3,20 ; 2 S 12,3), excepté

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impuissance sexuelle de David due à sa vieillesse, expliquant aussi du même coup son impossibilité légale à gouverner, s'écartant ainsi de TM et LXX qui se contentent de dire qu'Abishag soignait ou réchauffait le roi et couchait dans son sein. La lecture de Josèphe apparaît ainsi comme un compromis entre G<sup>L</sup> et TM/LXX.

14. J. Gray, *1 and 2 Kings*; M.J. Mulder, *1 Kings*, Vol. 1: *1 Kings 1–11*, (HCOT, Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 34. Voir aussi R.D. Nelson, *First and Second Kings*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1987), 16; W. Brueggemann *1 and 2 Kings. A Commentary*, Macon GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 2000), 12.

15. Il est vrai que le livre du Cantique des cantiques célèbre clairement l'amour sensuel. Il est aussi vrai que l'histoire deutéronomiste n'a pas hésité à raconter l'aventure de David avec Batshéba (2 S 11,2–5). Mais il ne semble pas y avoir, dans le contexte de cette transition, un intérêt à rapprocher cette histoire de jeunesse avec la vieillesse de David.

peut-être en Mi 7,5 (où la Septante le rend par σύγκοιτος). La sexualité est plus souvent exprimée par l'expression אֵת שִׁכְבָּהּ ou שִׁכְבָּהּ עִם. Il y a donc visiblement un refus d'établir un lien entre cette vieillesse de David et une quelconque incapacité sexuelle.<sup>16</sup> À ce niveau, le texte primitif préservé par G<sup>L</sup> a donc sans doute été corrigé.<sup>17</sup>

Par la suite, le réviseur *kaigé*, qui tente de corriger le Vieux grec sur la base du TM, ne semble pas avoir bien saisi le sens du mot סִכְנַת, pas plus d'ailleurs que G<sup>L</sup>, d'autant plus que ce mot, tel qu'il apparaît ici au féminin, n'est attesté nulle part ailleurs dans la bible hébraïque. Au masculin, il apparaît uniquement dans Es 22,15 où il désigne un haut fonctionnaire (cf. plus haut), et est rendu dans la Septante par ταμίας (« intendant », « gestionnaire »). Le réviseur *kaigé* l'a traduit par θάλπουσα (dans les deux versets), insistant sur l'idée de soigner le roi en le réchauffant, ce qui nous ramène vers le sens médical antique.

#### 4. EN GUISE DE CONCLUSION

Au terme de cette étude, quelques remarques s'imposent. Premièrement, en dépit du respect dont les scribes ont entouré le texte biblique dans la famille massorétique, celui-ci a pu, vers les dernières étapes de son évolution, connaître des retouches. Les anciennes versions, grecques en particulier, peuvent garder les traces d'une leçon plus ancienne. Deuxièmement, à l'intérieur des versions grecques, le texte antiochien représente fréquemment le Vieux grec, parallèlement à celui préservé par le Codex Vaticanus.<sup>18</sup> Cela est particulièrement visible dans les parties qui ont subi la révision *kaigé*. Troisièmement, le registre lexical peut créer une confusion et donner lieu à des glissements sémantiques.

Le problème posé par les mots וְהִי־לוֹ סִכְנַת dans le TM illustre assez bien cette situation. L'analyse du contexte narratif et des données grammaticales nous a montré que la précision du rôle d'Abishag comme « soignante »

16. Le malaise face à l'impuissance sexuelle présumée de David s'est prolongé dans la littérature rabbinique postérieure. La Mishna a développé une tradition apologétique autour de cette question. Elle raconte que David aurait refusé de prendre Abishag pour femme au motif que la loi lui ne permettait pas d'avoir plus de dix-huit femmes. Devant l'insistance d'Abishag qui évoque l'impuissance du roi, celui-ci aurait fait venir Bathshéba et lui aurait ainsi donné la preuve de sa virilité (<sup>b</sup>*Sanhedrin* 2,4).

17. À ce sujet, voir les théories d'A. Schenker sur la relation entre le TM et la Septante dans *Septante et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2-14*, (CRB 48, Paris: Gabalda 2000), spéc. 149-155.

18. Il y a parfois une interprénétration des deux, y compris dans les sections ayant subi la révision *kaigé*.

du vieux roi, au v. 2, est une addition postérieure issue du v. 4. Cette addition est visiblement destinée à corriger la tradition préservée par l'ancienne version grecque, elle-même représentée ici par le texte antiochien, et qui tend à donner beaucoup d'importance à la sexualité de David et à l'histoire de sa succession.

En important les données du v. 4, le « réviseur » du TM atténue cette tendance, tente de protéger la pudeur du roi, et rejette finalement le texte hébreu reflété par le Vieux grec. À son tour, le réviseur *kaigé*, qui éprouve quelque difficulté à comprendre le sens du mot סכנת, contourne la difficulté en mettant l'accent sur la problématique annoncée au v. 1, à savoir le besoin pour le roi de se chauffer. D'où la traduction de סכנת par θάλπουσα.



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