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Melvin K. H. Peters
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Contents

ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AJP	*American Journal of Philology*
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum louvaniensium
BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden
BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta
BJGS	Bulletin of Judeo-Greek Studies
BK	*Bibel und Kirche*
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZ	*Biblische Zeitschrift*
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue biblique
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CCSG	Corpus Christianorum: Series graeca. Turnhout, 1977-
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953-
CIG	*Corpus inscriptionum graecarum.* Edited by A. Boeckh. 4 vols. Berlin, 1828-1877
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CPG	Clavis patrum graecorum. Edited by M. Geerard. 5 vols. Turnhout, 1974-1987
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903-
CSIC	Consejor Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas
DBSup	*Dictionnaire de la Bible: Supplément.* Edited by L. Pirot and A. Robert. Paris, 1928-
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EM	Emerita, Madrid
EPRO	Etudes preliminaries aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*

GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GLAJJ	Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism
GRBS	*Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Leiden, 1994-2000.
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HSCL	Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IGRR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas petinentes
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JE	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JNUL	Jewish National and University Library
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSM	Journal of Semitic Studies Monographs
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KST	Kleinere Sanskrit Texte
KTU	*Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit* Ed. M. Dietrich et al.
LNTS	Library of New Testament Studies
LSJ	Liddell, H., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
MSUAWG	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NAWG	*Nachrichten (von) der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NETS	*New English Translation of the Septuagint* Eds. Pietersma and Wright, 2007
NIDOTTE	*New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis

OCD	*Oxford Classical Dictionary*
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
OrChr	*Oriens christianus*
OTE	*Old Testament Essays*
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Ed. James H. Charlesworth. 2.vols. New York, 1983-1985.
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PG	Patrologia graeca
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RB	*Revue Biblique*
RBL	*Ruch biblijny i liturgiczny / Review of Biblical Literature*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
REJ	*Revue des études juives*
RevistB	*Revista bíblica*
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SEAug	Studia ephemeridis Augustinianum
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
TECC	Textos e estudios "Cardinal Cisneros"
ThWAT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*
ThWNT	*Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*
TIC Talk	Translation Information Clearinghouse (United Bible Societies)
TLG	Thesaurus linguae graecae
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
UaLG	Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins*
ZHB	Zeitschrift für hebräische Bibliographie

Introduction by the Editor

Septuagint Studies have been flourishing internationally in recent years. Several translation projects—into English, French, and German—have recently been completed or are on the verge of completion, with their accompanying commentary series in active preparation. Publications connected to these projects, both monographs and articles, have proliferated steadily, being produced by senior scholars and translators, and also by a talented group of younger academics. Conferences dedicated to Septuagint Studies have been arranged virtually every summer in the early years of this century. The current volume, by virtue of the size and scope of its contents, exemplifies the vitality of this discipline.

The twenty-five papers included here were presented at the thirteenth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies held in the beautiful city of Ljubljana, Slovenia on July 13–14, 2007, maintaining the long-standing tradition of IOSCS international proceedings appearing in print. They represent, with only a few omissions, the complete collection of papers read at the Congress. The articles cover a range of subjects with varying degrees of sophistication and specificity. That is to be expected in a volume of this kind. Some papers deal with narrowly focused textual matters, others with methodological issues involving the Septuagint or concerning the history and transmission of the Greek versions of the Bible. Some articles in the volume are connected logically, presented as they were in sequence or in a dedicated panel at the Congress.

For example, three papers—Boyd-Taylor on the evidence of Codex Ambrosianus as indicative of "The Greek Bible among Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages," de Lange on "Jewish Transmission of Greek Bible Versions," and Krivoruchko on "The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies"—are products of a project entitled the Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism, located in Cambridge, UK. That project, as represented by the papers published here, casts new light on the *history of the transmission* of the Greek version. Other papers address the relationship of the Septuagint to Greek writings and writers—"Dionysius and the *Letter of Aristeas*" (Scott), "Euripides und das Alte Testament Überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Horizont der Septuaginta" (Dafni), "Theodoret of Cyrus's Philological Remarks in His Commentary to Ezekiel" (Hauspie), and "Translation Equivalence in the Prologue to Greek Ben Sirach" (de Crom). Issues surrounding the *revisions and recensions* of the Septuagint are addressed in two papers, "Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions

of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and Kaige Recension)" (Kreuzer), and "Recension and Revision: Speaking the Same Language with Special Attention to Lucian and Kaige" (McLay). "The Translation of Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)" is the subject of another related paper (Law). The issue of translation and *translation studies* is addressed in still another pair of papers—"Translation Technique and Translation Studies: The Problem of Translation Universals" (Sollamo) and "Semantic Considerations and the Provenance of Translated Units" (Cook). More *general* papers deal with "Septuagint Textual Criticism and the Computer: 4 Maccabees as a Test Case" (Hiebert and Dykstra); "La composition de Jérémie LXX d'après les divisions du Codex Vaticanus (B)" (Amphoux and Serandour); "New Hexaplaric Data for the Book of Canticles as Discovered in the *Catenae*" (Ceulemans); "Quelques cas de disparition du thème de l'eau" (Dogniez); and "Translating the Greek Text of Jeremiah" (Walser).

The remaining papers deal with *textual issues* within various books in the Septuagint corpus: "Servant or Slave?: The Various Equivalents of Hebrew *'Ebed* in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch" (van der Kooij); "The Jerusalem Temple Seen in 2 Samuel according to the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint" (Hugo); "Bridge over Troubled Waters? The Γέφυρα in the Old Greek of Isaiah 37:25 and Contemporary Greek Sources" (van der Meer); "Cantique 2,17 dans d'Épitomé de Procope" (Auwers); "Special Problems in the Septuagint Text History of Ecclesiastes" (Gentry); "The Theology of Job as Revealed in His Replies to His Friends in the Septuagint Translation" (Cimosa and Bonney); "The Influence of the LXX Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms" (Joosten); and "Textvarianten in den Daniel-Legenden als Zeugnisse mündlicher Tradierung?" (Kellenberger).

The classifications listed above are fluid; some would arrange the articles in different ways and some articles might fit two categories. What is noteworthy however is the breadth and richness of the issues discussed here. Abstracts, all but three in English, precede every article so readers may gain a fuller understanding of the contents of the volume by perusing them. New for this volume is a List of Contributors that describes the authors and their professional locations and titles.

As was the case with the previous volume, I wish to thank all those authors who submitted their work in the specified format and in a timely manner, and even those who, unwittingly or deliberately, were recalcitrant. Because of my experience with volume XII, the production of this volume was made much easier, again with the cooperation and expertise of the excellent staff at SBL Publications. To them I offer many thanks. Finally, one colleague of mine, Luk van Rompay, has been a sounding board and resource for me in the editing of certain articles in this and the preceding Leiden volume. While I thank him for his expertise, friendship, and assistance in any number of ways, he is of course responsible for none of the limitations of this volume.

Durham, North Carolina
September 30, 2008

La composition de Jérémie lxx d'après les divisions du Codex Vaticanus (B)

Christian Amphoux et Arnaud Sérandour

Résumé: Le livre de Jérémie n'a pas une composition claire, à première vue : rassemblant les paroles de Dieu inspirées à Jérémie en mêlant les principaux thèmes et leur associant des récits sur la vie du prophète, sans suivre aucune chronologie, il donne le sentiment d'un livre fait pour l'usage liturgique, où il importe qu'à chaque lecture le message du livre tout entier apparaisse. Mais l'examen de la composition littéraire du livre, lu dans la forme courte transmise en grec (lxx), livre une organisation précise des matériaux, en partie présente aussi dans la forme longue, qui est celle à la fois de l'hébreu (tm) et de la Vulgate latine. Or, le Codex Vaticanus B, qui est le plus ancien témoin complet de Jérémie et qui en atteste la forme courte, présente un système de divisions qui conforte cette organisation sans lui correspondre tout à fait. Voici donc la composition de Jérémie lxx selon notre analyse littéraire et les convergences avec les divisions contenues dans ce manuscrit grec remarquable.

1. Les Divisions du Codex Vaticanus B

Le Codex Vaticanus est probablement la copie de la Bible grecque réalisée vers 340 sous les auspices d'Athanase, à la demande de l'empereur Constant[1]. Selon certains, ce serait un exemplaire de la Bible grecque copiée sous l'autorité d'Eusèbe de Césarée, à la demande de Constantin, vers 330, comme le Codex Sinaïticus[2]. Quoi qu'il en soit, il s'agit d'une des toutes premières bibles grecques copiées en un seul volume, et elle appartient clairement à la tradition alexandrine. C'est, de plus, le plus ancien témoin complet du livre de Jérémie, toutes langues confondues, puisqu'on ne conserve avant que de courts fragments hébreux ou grecs et le texte incomplet du Codex Sinaïticus.

Les divisions du Vaticanus ont été étudiées, pour l'épître de Jacques, par J. Duplacy[3]. Il ressort de cette étude que le Vaticanus a reçu un premier système de divisions au moment de sa copie, complété par un deuxième un peu plus tard

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1. Athanase d'Alexandrie, *Apologie à Constance*, 4.

2. Eusèbe de Césarée, *Vita Constantini*, 4,36.

3. J. Duplacy, « Les divisions du texte de l'Épître de Jacques dans B(03) du Nouveau Testament (Vatic. gr. 1209) », *Studies in NT Language and Text* [Mél G.D. Kilpatrick] (éd. J. K. Elliott;

(VIIe siècle, selon C. M. Martini[4]). Le premier système ne livre pas la composition la plus ancienne de l'œuvre, mais il s'inscrit déjà dans la tradition alexandrine, tandis que le système plus récent serait d'un type byzantin. Pour Jérémie, on peut distinguer trois systèmes. Deux d'entre eux sont numérotés et se recouvent largement : c'est ce que nous appellerons la division en *parties* ; en tout, Jérémie est divisé en 100 parties, qui forment un système de lectures ; la numérotation est double, l'une contemporaine de la copie, l'autre, avec des lettres plus grandes, postérieure de quelques siècles ; les quelques différences ne concernent que la fin du livre. Un autre système est formé de *paragraphes*, commençant par une lettre projetée en marge et divisés en *sous-paragraphes*, eux-mêmes séparés par un blanc dans le texte et un tiret interlinéaire (la *paragraphos*). C'est dans ce système que l'on trouve quelques indices de la composition ancienne de l'œuvre.

    Voici les divisions du Vaticanus pour Jérémie[5]. Nous signalons, en gras, l'emplacement d'éléments relevant de notre analyse : d'une part, les rois et les nations (soulignés) ; d'autre part, des formules (A, i), dont nous montrons ensuite le rôle dans la composition. Les lettres ou mots encadrés sont des éléments centraux.

Parties numérotées	Paragraphes et sous-paragraphes
1. 1,1–2,3 ;	§ 1,1–3 (**A** 1–3) ;
	§ 1,4–10 (**A** 4–6 / **i** 7–8 / **i** 9–10) ;
	§ 1,11–12 (**A** 11– **i** 12) ;
	§ 1,13–2,3 (**A** 13– **i** 14–17 / 18–19 / **i** 2–3) ;
2. 2,4–13 ;	§ 2,4–30 (**Ai** 4–13 /
3. 2,14–30 ;	14–17 / 18–30) ;
4. 2,31–3,5 ;	§ 2,31–3,5 (**Ai** 31–35a / 35b–37 / 1–5) ;
5. 3,6–20 :	§ 3,6–20 (**<u>Josias</u> i** 6–10 / **i** 11–13 / 14–16 / 17 / 18–20)
6. 3,21–25 :	§ 3,21–4,4 (21–25 / 4,1–2 **i** 3–4) ;
7. 4,1–9 ;	§ 4,5–18 (5–9 / 10–12a / 12b–13 / 14–18) ;
8. 4,10–13 ;	§ 4,19–26 (19–26) ;
9. 4,14–5,2 ;	§ 4,27–6,9 (**i** 27–5,2 / 3–13 / **i** 14–17 / 18–19 / 20–24 /
10. 5,3–24 ;	25–6,3 / 4–5 **i** 6–7 / 8 / **i** 9) ;

NovTSup 44; Leiden, Brill, 1976), 122–36 ; réimpr. J. Duplacy, *Études de critique textuelle du NT* (éd. J. Delobel; BETL 78, Leuven, Peeters, 1987), 169–83.

    4. C. M. Martini, *Novum Testamentum graecum ex codice Vat. gr. 1209 (Codex B)*, C. del Vaticano, 1968, introd., p. XIII.

    5. Pour les divisions de Jérémie, nous avons consulté l'éd. phototypique *Bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1209 ; Bibliorum sacrorum graecorum Codex Vaticanus B* (éd. P. Canart – P. M. Bogaert – S. Pisano; Rome, Istituto poligrafico e zecca dello stato, 25 déc. 1999), 1064–1127.

11. 5,25–6,15 ;   § 6,10–15 (**A** 10–15) ;

12. 6,16–30 ;   § 6,16–18 (**i** 16–18) ;

§ 6,19–30 (19/ 20/ **i** 21/ **i** 22–23/ 24/ 25–26/ 27–30)

13. 7,2–20 ;   § 7,2–20 (**Ai** 2–15 / 16–19 / **i** 20) ;

14. 7,21–8,3 ;   § 7,21–9,21 (**i** 21–28 / 29–31 / 32–8,3 /

15. 8,4–22 ;   <u>i</u> 4–5 / 6–7 / 8–10.13–14 / 15–20 / 21–23 / 9,1–5 /

16. 9,1–12 ;   **i** 6–10/ 11/ **i** 12–13/ **i** 14–15 **i** 16–18/ **A** 19–21)

17. 9,13–21 ;   § 9,22–25 (**i** 22–23 / 24–25) ;

18. 9,22–10,25 ;   § <u>10,1–25</u> (**Ai** 1–4.9.5–11 / 12–17 / **i** 18–21 / 22–25) ;

19. 11,1–17 ;   § 11,1–14 (**Ai** 1–5 / **i** 6 / **i** 9–10 / **i** 11–13 / 14) ;

20. 11,18–23 ;   § 11,15–23 (15–17 / 18–20 / **i** 21–23) ;

21. 12,1–6 ;   § 12,1–17 (1–4 / 5–6 /

22. 12,7–13 ;   7–9 / 10–13 / <u>i</u> 14–17) ;

23. 12,14–17 ;   § 13,1–14 (**i** 1–2 **A** 3–5 **A** 6–7/ **A** 8– **i** 9–11/ 12–**i**13–14)

24. 13,1–27 ;   § 13,15–27 (**A** 15–27) ;

25. 14,1–12 ;   § 14,1–16,18 (**A** 1–6 / 7–9 / **i** 10 / **i** 11–12 /

26. 14,13–18 ;   13 / **i** 14 / <u>i</u> 15–18 /

27. 14,19–15,9 ;   19–22 / **i** 15,1– **i** 2–4 / 5–9 / 10–14 / 15–18/

28. 15,10–16,18 ;   **i** 19–21/ 16,1–2 **i** 3–4/ **i** 5–8 **i** 9–13/ 14–18) ;

29. 16,19–17,18 ;   § 16,19–17,27 (19–21 / 17,5–10 / 11 / 12 / 13–18 /

30. 17,19–27 ;   **i** 19– **A** 20 / **i** 21–27) ;

31. 18,1–17 ;   § 18,1–20,6 (**A** 1–4 / **A** 5–10 / 11–12 / **i** 13–17 / 18 /

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33. 19,14–20,6 ;   14– **i** 15 / 20,1–3 / **i** 4–6) ;

34. 20,7–18 ;   § 20,7–18 (7–12 / 13 / 14–18).

35. 21,1–22,9   § 21,1–22,30(<u>**Sédécias**</u> **A**1–3/**i**4–**i**7/**i**8–**A**11. **i**12/13–14

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37. 23,1–6   /<u>**A**</u>29–30) ;

38. 23,9–22   § 23,1–40.7–8 (1.**i**2–4/ 5–6/ 9–13/ 14/ **i**15/ **i**16–18/

39. 23,23–40.7–8   19–22 / 23–34 / 35–**i**38–40 / 7–8) ;

40. 24,1–10   § 24,1–10 (1–**i**3.**A**4.**i**5–**i**8–10) ;

41. 25,1–13   § 25,1–13 (Joach**i**m **A**1–2 / 3–7 / **i**8–13) ;

42. 25,14–19   § 25,14–20 (**Elam** 14 / **i**15–20) ;

43. 25,20–26,12   § 26,2–12 (**Egypte.1** 2 / 3–12) ;

44. 26,13–28   § 26,13–28 (**Egypte.2 A**13 / 14–25.27–28) ;

45. 27,1–7   § 27,1–28,58 (**Babylone A**1 / 2–3 / 4–7 /

46. 27,8–21   8–16 / 17 / **i**18–21 /

47. 27,22–32   22–27 / 28–30 / 31–32 /

48. 27,33–46   **i**33–40 / 41–44 / 45–46 /

49. 28,1–5   28,**i**1–2a / 2b–5 /

50. 28,6–14   6 / 7–14 /

51. 28,15–26   15–24 / 25–26 / 27–32.**i**33–35 /

52. 28,27–40   **i**36–40 / 41–44.49–53 / 54–57 / **i**58) ;

53. 28,41–58   § 28,59–64 (**A**59–60 / 61–64) ;

54. 28,59–29,7   § 29,1–7 (**Philistins i**1 / 2–7) ;

55. 29,8–23   § 29,8–23 (**Idumée i**8–12 / **i**13–14 / 15–20 /
                                        21–23) ;

56. 30,1–5   § 30,1–5 (**Ammon i**1–5) ;

57. 30,6–11   § 30,6–11 (**Kédar** 6a / **i**6b–11) ;

58. 30,12–16   § 30,12–16 (**Damas** 12–16) ;

59. 31,1–13   § 31,1–32,24 (**Moab i**1–11 / 12–13 /

60. 31,14–28   14–28 /

61. 31,29–44   29–39.**i**40–44 /

62. 32,1–17   **la coupe** 32,**i**1–**i**13.**i**14–17 /

63. 32,18–24   **i**18–24) ;

64. 33,1–24   § 33,1–34,22 (**Joachim A**1/ **i**2–3.**i**4–6/ 7–11/
                                        12–15/

65. 34,2–22   16/ 17–**i**18.19/ 20–24/

66. 35,1–17   **Séd**. (34,**i**2–4a/**i**4b–6.8–12.14–**i**16.18.**i**19–
                                        22)

67. 36,1–15   § 35,1–17 (**Séd**.1.**i**2–**A**7–9/10–11/**A**12.**i**13.
                                        i14/15.**i**16.17)

68. 36,21–37,3   § 36,1–32 (**A**1–**i**4–**i**8–**i**10–15/ **Séd**. **i**21–
                                        23/24–29/
                                        A30.**i**31.32)

69. 37,4–17   § 37,1–3 (**A**1/ **i**2–3)

70. 37,18–38,9   § 37,4–38,9 (**A**4.**i**5–7/ 8–9/ **i**12–14.16–17/

71. 38,10–20 (ᶜ38,10–14)   **i**18–21.23–24.38,1/ **i**2–**i**7–9)

72. 38,21–40 (ᶜ38, 15–20)   § 38,10–30 (**A**10–14/ **i**15/ **i**16–17/ 18–19/
                                        20/

73. 39,1–5   (ᶜ38,21–34)   21–28/ 29–30)

74. 39,6–15 (ᶜ38,35–40)   § 38,31–39,5 (31–34/35.**i**36.37/38–40/ **Séd**.
                                        39,**A**1–**i**3–5)

75. 39,16–25 (ᶜ39,1–25)   § 39,6–44 (**A**6–**i**14.**i**15/ 16–25/

76. 39,26–35   **A**26–**i**28–35 /

77. 39,36–44	**i**36–**i**42–44)
78. 40,1–13	§ 40,1–13 (**A**1.**i**2–**i**4–9 / **i**10–11 / **i**12–13)
79. 41,1–7	§ 41,1–7 (**Séd**. **A**1.**ii**2–**A**4a / **i**4b–7)
80. 41,8–22	§ 41,8–22 (**A**8–**A**12.**i**13–**i**17–22)
81. 42,1–11	§ 42,1–19 (**Joachim A**1 / 2–11 /
82. 42,12–19	**A**12.**i**13–16 / **i**17.**i**18.19) ;
83. 43,1–8	§ 43,1–8 (**Joa**. **A**1 / 2–3 / 4–7 / 8) ;
84. 43,9–26	§ 43,9–45,28 (**Joa**. 9–14a / 14b–15 / 16–25 /
	26 /
85. 43,27–44,5	**A**27–**i**29.**i**30.31 / 32 / **Sédécias** 44,1–4 / 5 /
86. 44,6–10	**A**6.**i**7–**i**9.10 /
87. 44,11–21 (ᶜ44,11–45,6)	11–21 /
88. 45,1–6 (ᶜ45,7–28)	45,1.**i**2.**i**3–6 /
89. 45,7–28 (ᶜ46,1–3.14)	7–16 / **i**17–18 / 19 / 20–23 / 24–28) ;
90. 46,1–3.14–18 (ᶜ46,15–18)	§ 46,1–3.14–18 (**Séd**. 1–3 / 14.**A**15.**i**16–18) ;
91. 47,1–16	§ 47,1–50,13 (**A**1–16 /
92. 48,1–10 (ᶜ48,1–49,6)	48,1–3 / 4–10 /
93. 48,11–49,6 (ᶜ49,7–18)	11–18 / 49,1–6 /
94. 49,7–18 (ᶜ49,19–50,7)	**A**7–**i**9–**Ai**15–**i**18 / **i**19–22 / 50,**A**1–7 /
95. 49,19–50,7 (ᶜ50,8–13)	**A**8–**i**10–13) ;
96. 50,8–13 (ᶜ51,1–14)	§ 51,1–30 (**A**1 / **i**2–**i**7–10 / **i**11–14 /
97. 51,1–14 (ᶜ51,15–30)	15–19 / 20–23 / **A**24–**i**25 / **A**26–**i**30) ;
98. 51,15–30 (ᶜ51,31–35)	§ 51,31–35 (**A**31 / **i**32–**i**34.35) ;
99. 51,31–52,11(ᶜ52,1–11)	§ 52,1–11 (1.4–11) ;
100. 52,12–34	§ 52,12–34 (12–14.16–27.31–34).

2. La Composition du Livre

À première vue, la disposition en paragraphes ne livre pas plus la composition de Jérémie que la division numérotée ; il faut lui ajouter une analyse de l'œuvre pour que son intérêt apparaisse.

La structure générale

Le livre de Jérémie commence par un titre (1,1) renvoyant à l'auteur :

Le propos de Dieu qui advint <u>sur Jérémie</u>, fils de Chelkias
l'un des prêtres qui habitait à Anathoth, dans le pays de Benjamin

et un sous-titre (1,2–3) qui distingue deux périodes fondamentales :

parole de Dieu qui advint <u>aux jours de Josias</u>, fils d'Amos, roi de Juda
la treizième année de son règne
et qui advint <u>aux jours de Joakim</u>, fils de Josias, roi de Juda
<u>jusqu'à la onzième année de Sédécias</u>, fils de Josias, roi de Juda

jusqu'à la prise de Jérusalem, au cinquième mois

La première partie est donc située au *temps de Josias*, la treizième année de son règne, soit en – 627–626, c'est-à-dire quarante ans avant la prise de Jérusalem par Nabuchodonosor, sur laquelle se termine le livre. Or, la mention de Josias figure une seule fois dans le livre après le sous-titre, en 3,6.

La deuxième partie est placée sous les *règnes de Joakim et Sédécias*, les deux fils de Josias, soit de la première année de l'un (– 608) jusqu'à la onzième de l'autre (– 586), qui voit la prise de Jérusalem par Nabuchodonosor. Or, les fils de Josias sont mentionnés alternativement, dans les chap. 21 à 51 : la division principale du livre se situe donc entre les chap. 20 et 21.

Si l'on considère les chapitres qui précèdent la mention de Josias comme un prologue et le chap. 52 comme un épilogue, on aboutit à la structure générale suivante :
- **Prologue** : chap. 1–2 (jusqu'à 3,5) ;
- **1. L'inspiration sous Josias** : chap. 3–20 (à partir de 3,6) ;
- **2. La réalisation sous Joakim et Sédécias** : chap. 21–51 ;
- **Epilogue** : chap. 52.

Cette composition vaut pour les deux formes du livre ; pourtant, ce n'est pas elle qui est choisie par l'exégèse, qui préfère opposer les chap. 1–25 et 26–52, sur la base de critères de contenu plutôt que des indices donnés par le livre. Cela dit, on éprouve une certaine difficulté à dépasser, par des indices formels, la distinction de ces deux grandes parties. En particulier, les chap. 3–20 semblent, à simple lecture, un tissu impénétrable, fait de propos et d'images répétés et mêlés : comment y voir une composition ? Les divisions du Vaticanus nous fournissent une indication essentielle : on observe que la division en paragraphes et sous-paragraphes s'appuie largement sur un formulaire qui annonce, introduit ou accompagne les paroles de Dieu. C'est donc par ce formulaire que nous allons, à présent, chercher à entrer plus avant dans la composition de Jérémie, en poursuivant notre analyse de la forme courte.

3. Le Formulaire de Jérémie

Le formulaire de Jérémie comprend des formules d'annonce (**A**) et des formules d'introduction (**i**). Il existe encore une troisième sorte de formules, qui apparaissent en incise à l'intérieur des oracles divins ; mais elles ne semblent jouer aucun rôle dans la composition de l'œuvre, à la différence des deux autres ; nous la laisserons donc de côté[6]. Voici les deux types de formules, dans la forme courte de Jérémie.

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6. Signalons simplement les occurrences de la formule incise *dit le Seigneur*, pour les chap. 1–20 : (1,8.15.17.19 ; 2,2.3.9.12.17. 19^2.22.29 ; 3,1.12.13.14.16.20 ; 4,9.17 ; 5,1.9.15.18.22. 29 ;

1) *Le prologue* comprend : (1) le titre et sous-titre du livre (1,1–3) ; (2) l'institution de Jérémie comme prêtre et prophète (1,4–2,3) ; (3) un oracle général, qui donne le thème du livre (2,4–3,5).

§   ¹Le propos de Dieu qui advint sur Jérémie (. . .)
      ²parole de Dieu qui advint (. . .)
      ³et advint
§   Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (1,4)
      Et le Seigneur m'a dit (1,7)
      Et le Seigneur m'a dit (1,9)
§   Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (1,11)
      Et le Seigneur m'a dit (1,12)
§   Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (1,13)
      Et le Seigneur m'a dit (1,14)
      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (2,2)
§   Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (2,4)
      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (2,4)
§   Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (2,31)
      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (2,31)

La division en paragraphes (§) du Vaticanus suit parfaitement la position des formules d'annonce (**A**). On note, d'autre part, que le début du chap. 2 (v. 2–3) prolonge le chap. 1, et que le début du chap. 3 (v. 1–5) prolonge le chap. 2 : le système des chapitres (latin) anticipe ainsi parfois la division attestée par le Vaticanus et représente, à notre avis, une division moins appropriée que celle du Vaticanus ; nous y reviendrons.

Le prologue est ainsi en deux sections (1,4–2,3 ; 2,4–3,5) ;

a) *la formule d'annonce* (**A**) change d'énoncé de l'une à l'autre, mais se réfère toujours à l'avènement de la Parole à Jérémie ; on compte en tout 6 occurrences de cette première formule, avec celle du titre, dont l'énoncé est encore différent ;

b) *la formule d'introduction* (**i**) change également d'énoncé d'une section à l'autre, et elle présente en tout 7 occurrences, avec en transition celle de 2,2 ; les occurrences forment ainsi, de part et d'autre d'une formule centrale, une *proportion du simple au double inversée*, dont nous allons reparler comme d'une caractéristique essentielle de la composition de Jérémie.

2) *Le temps de Josias* (chap. 3–20) contient un nombre abondant de formules, et nous les avons comptées, pour les chap. 1–20 : (a) *6 formules d'annonce* dans les chap. 1–2 ; *10*, dans les chap. 3–16 ; *et 4*, dans les chap. 17–20 ; soit au total

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6,12.15 ; 7,11.19.30.32 ; 8,13 ; 9,8.23.24 ; 13,25 ; 15,3.6 ; 16,1.11.14.16 ; 17,24 ; 19,6. 12). Elle est aussi fréquente dans la suite du livre.

20 **A** ; (b) *7 formules d'introduction* dans les chap. 1–2 ; *40*, dans les chap. 3–16 ; *et 8*, dans les chap. 17–20 ; soit au total 55 **i**. Dans la forme longue, ces nombres sont amplifiés d'une ou deux unités, ils semblent plus remarquables dans la forme courte. Autrement dit, le nombre des occurrences fait-il partie de l'écriture de la forme courte ?

La séquence des formules d'introduction (7 + 40 + 8) suggère la succession de trois temps : (1) *celui du shabbat*, lié au nombre 7, c'est-à-dire de la loi ; (2) *celui de l'épreuve*, liée au nombre 40, par référence au déluge et au désert ; (3) *celui du lendemain du shabbat*, lié au nombre 8, c'est-à-dire de la sortie de l'épreuve. Or, ces trois temps sont la base des paroles de Dieu dans tout le livre : (1) je vous ai donné ma loi ; (2) vous allez connaître l'épreuve, du fait de votre infidélité ; (3) mais vous connaîtrez ensuite une rémission. On a donc une rencontre entre les nombres liés au formulaire et le contenu des paroles du Dieu : s'agit-il d'une simple coïncidence ?

Venons-en au détail des chap. 3–20 (à partir de 3,6) : le nombre des formules d'introduction et la position de certaines formules d'annonce se confortent pour proposer une division en 4 sections des chap. 3–16, avec un chap. central (10), et un épilogue comprenant les chap. 17–20, répondant au prologue (1–2).

2.1 *Première section* (chap. 3–6, avec 1 **A** et 10 **i**) :

> *Et le Seigneur m'a dit* (3,6)
> *Et le Seigneur m'a dit* (3,11)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (4,3)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (4,27)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur tout puissant* (5,14)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (*des puissances*) (6,6)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (*des puissances*) (6,9)
> Et le propos du Seigneur leur advint (6,10)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (6,16)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (6,21)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (6,22)

La disposition des formules d'introduction suggère une nouvelle *proportion du simple au double inversée* : 6 + 1 + 3, la formule centrale (6,9) étant appuyée par une formule d'annonce (6,10). Dans le Vaticanus (B), cette section est en 8 paragraphes respectant les articulations principales de la section : (1) 6 **i**, dans les deux premiers paragraphes et dans le long paragraphe central ; (2) la formule centrale, à la fin du paragraphe central ; (3) 3 **i**, dans les deux derniers paragraphes.

2.2 *Deuxième section* (chap. 7–9 + 10a, avec 3 **A** et 10 **i**) :

> Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (7,2)

Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (*des puissances*) *dieu d'Israël* (7,3)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (7,20)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (*des puissances dieu d'Israël*) (7,21)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (8,4)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (*des puissances*) (9,6)
Et le Seigneur m'a dit (9,12)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (*des puissances*) *dieu d'Israël* (9,14)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (*des puissances*) (9,16)
Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (9,19)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (9,22)
Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (10,1)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (10,2)

Le nombre de 10 formules d'introduction inclut la première du chap. 10. La disposition des formules inverse la structure précédente en une *proportion du simple au double* : 3 + 1 + 6 ; (1) 3 formules d'introduction, au chap. 7 ; (2) 1 formule centrale, au début du chap. 8 ; (3) 6 formules d'introduction au chap. 9, en comprenant la première formule du chap. 10. La disposition des formules d'annonce souligne cette proportion, tandis que le Vaticanus masque cette composition, par un découpage différent.

2.3 *Troisième section* (chap. 10b + 11–13, avec 5 **A** et 10 **i**) :

Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (10,18)
La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie. Ecoutez… (11,1–2)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur dieu d'Israël (11,3)
Et le Seigneur m'a dit (11,6)
Et le Seigneur m'a dit (11,9)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (11,11)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (11,21)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (12,14)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (13,1)
Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (13,3)
Il advint… que le Seigneur me dit (13,6)
Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (13,8)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (13,9)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (13,13)
Ecoutez / le Seigneur a parlé (13,15)

Le nombre de 10 formules d'introduction est atteint en intégrant la dernière du chap. 10. Les formules d'introduction suggèrent à nouveau la *proportion du simple au double inversée* : 6 + 1 + 3 ; (1) 6 formules, au chap. 11 (+ 10b), avec une formule d'annonce ; (2) 1 formule centrale, au chap. 12 ; (3) 3 formules, au chap.

13, avec quatre formules d'annonce. La disposition des paragraphes du Vaticanus souligne cette composition, en subdivisant les chap. 11 et 13, de part et d'autre du chap. 12 qui tient en un seul paragraphe.

2.4 *Quatrième section* (chap. 14–16, jusqu'à 16,18, avec 1 **A** et 10 **i**) :

> Et il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (14,1)
> *Ainsi dit le Seigneur* (14,10)
> *Et le Seigneur m'a dit* (14,11)
> *Et le Seigneur m'a dit* (14,14)
> <u>*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur*</u> (14,15)
> *Et le Seigneur m'a dit* (15,1)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (15,2)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (15,19)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (16,3)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (16,5)
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (*des puissances*) *dieu d'Israël* (16,9)

Après une formule d'annonce qui commence la section, les formules d'introduction forment une nouvelle *proportion du simple au double* : 3 + 1 + 6 ; (1) 3 formules, au chap. 14 ; (2) 1 formule centrale, toujours au chap. 14 ; (3) 6 formules, aux chap. 15–16. Dans le Vaticanus, la section tient en un seul paragraphe, qui s'arrête en 16,18, rattachant 16,19–21 au paragraphe suivant, donc à la dernière section de l'ensemble (17–20). La division en parties numérotées confirme cette césure et rattache, de plus, la fin du chap. 14 (v. 19–22) au chap. 15 plutôt qu'à 14.

Dans ces quatre sections (3,6–16,18), on compte 10 formules d'annonce et 40 d'introduction. Les premières sont réparties irrégulièrement, mais elles sont au total en même nombre que dans le prologue (1–2) et l'épilogue (17–20) réunis ; de plus, le changement de section est marqué par une formule d'annonce (7,2 ; 11,1 ; 14,1) ; et il en est de même au chap. 10, qui occupe une position centrale. Les formules d'introduction sont disposées de manière égale dans les quatre sections, et elles soulignent le caractère central du chap. 10. C'est donc en lui qu'il faut chercher les thèmes dominants de la première partie du livre ; or, c'est précisément là que l'on trouve la première grande variante du livre, entre les v. 5 et 9 : l'enjeu de cette variation, qui oppose les deux formes du livre, est à lire comme une inflexion apportée à ce thème dominant.

2.5 *Epilogue* (16,19–20,18, avec 4 **A** et 8 **i**) :

> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (17,19) ;
> Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (17,20) ;
> *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (17,21) ;

La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (18,1) ;
Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (18,5) ;
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (18,13) ;
<u>*Alors le Seigneur m'a dit*</u> (19,1) ;
Ecoutez une parole du Seigneur (19,3) ;
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (des puissances) dieu d'Israël (19,3) ;
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (des puissances) (19,11) ;
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (des puissances) (19,15) ;
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (20,4).

La section commence comme un nouveau passage d'un groupe simple à un groupe double de formules ; mais le deuxième groupe est écourté. Et le nombre de formules ainsi obtenu introduit une inflexion vers l'espérance. Dans le Vaticanus, la section est divisée en trois paragraphes, dont le premier contient à lui seul le véritable épilogue (chap. 17), qui a ensuite des prolongements ; celui du milieu (18,1–20,6) réunit 6 des 8 formules et prend ainsi un caractère essentiel, fait pour attirer l'attention sur les images de destruction exprimées.

3) *Le temps des fils de Josias* (chap. 21–51) présente une organisation tout aussi remarquable, fondée sur l'alternance des rois, la place des oracles sur les nations et sur le formulaire, d'une manière différente. En voici le schéma général :
- 21–25a :   Sédécias (21–24) / Joakim (25a) ;
- 25b–32 :   <u>Elam, Egypte I, Egypte II</u> (25b–26) /
               Babylone (27–28) /
               <u>Philistins, Idumée, Ammon, Kédar, Damas, Moab</u> (29–31) ;
               oracle de la coupe (32) ;
- 33–41 :   Joakim (33) / Sédécias (34–41) ;
- 42–51 :   Joakim (42–43) / Sédécias (44–51)

En tout, quatre sections formant une vaste *proportion du simple au double* autour de la section centrale des oracles sur les nations (25b–32), elle-même construite selon cette proportion. Dans la forme longue, la section centrale se trouve en position finale, avec une autre organisation des oracles, seul l'oracle de la coupe demeure en cette position. Ainsi, une variante majeure oppose encore les deux formes de Jérémie, dont l'enjeu apparaît comme le sens attaché à la deuxième partie de l'œuvre.

3.1 *Première section* (chap. 21–25a) :

§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (21,1) **au temps de Sédécias**
     Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (21,4)
     ainsi parle le Seigneur (21,7, en incise)
     Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (21,8)

ÉCOUTEZ LA PAROLE DU SEIGNEUR (21,11)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (21,12)
|*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (22,1)
|ÉCOUTE UNE PAROLE DU SEIGNEUR (22,2) au roi (Sédécias)
|*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (22,3)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (22,6)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (22,11) sur Sellem fils de Josias
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (22,18) sur Joakim fils de Josias (et Jéchonias)
ÉCOUTE LA PAROLE DU SEIGNEUR (22,29)
§   *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (23,2)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (23,15)
Ainsi parle le Seigneur tout-puissant (23,16)
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (23,38)
§ |*Et le Seigneur me dit* (24,3)
|IL M'ADVINT UNE PAROLE DU SEIGNEUR (24,4)
|*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël* (24,5)
voici ce que dit le Seigneur (24,8, en incise)
§   LA PAROLE QUI ADVINT À JÉRÉMIE (25,1) **la 4e année de Joakim**
Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (25,8)

Au temps de Sédécias (chap. 21–24) succède celui de Joakim (25,1–13), par un ordre chronologique inversé qui place Joakim du côté du centre de la partie. Dans le Vaticanus, le temps de Sédécias est en 3 paragraphes (21–22 ; 23, 24) et celui de Joakim, en 1 seul (25,1–13). Les formules d'annonce marquent la composition : (1) au début du temps de Sédécias (21,1) et de Joakim (25,1) ; (2) dans le temps de Sédécias, en se combinant avec des formules d'introduction (22,1–3 et 24,3–5) ; au total, avec les paragraphes du Vaticanus, on aboutit à la division en chapitres de cette section.

Avec les fils de Josias, on est entré dans le temps de l'accomplissement des oracles inspirés à Jérémie au temps de Josias. La parole de Dieu annonce à tous un malheur imminent ; et l'allusion finale à l'écriture du livre, la quatrième année de Joakim, annonce le récit de la destruction de ce livre au chap. 43 ;

3.2 *Section centrale* (chap. 25b–32) :

§ **Elam** (25,14)   *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (25,15)
§ **Égypte I** (26,2)
§ **Égypte II** (26,13)
§ **Babylone** (27,1)   *Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (27,18)
                                      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (27,33)
                                      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (28,1)
                                      Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (28,33)

	Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (28,36)
	Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (28,58)
§	Parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (28,59)
§ **Philistins** (29,1)	*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (29,1)
§ **Idumée** (29,8)	*Voici ce que dit le Seigneur* (29,8)
	Voici ce que dit le Seigneur (29,13)
§ **Ammon** (30,1)	*Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur* (30,1)
§ **Kédar** (30,6)	*Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur* (30,6)
§ **Damas** (30,12)	
§ **Moab** (31,1)	*Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur* (31,1)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (31,40)
La coupe (32,1)	*Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël* (32,1)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur tout-puissant (32,13)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (32,14)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (32,18)

En tout, 10 oracles destinés aux autres nations (25b–31) et « l'oracle de la coupe » (32) qui leur sert de conclusion. La division en paragraphes du Vaticanus correspond à celle des oracles, distinguant simplement le « colophon » de l'oracle de Babylone par un deuxième paragraphe (28,59–64). L'oracle de la coupe est intégré au paragraphe sur Moab. La *proportion du simple au double* (3 + 1 + 6) présente : (1) 3 oracles sur les régions lointaines (Perse, Egypte I et II : 25b–26) ; (2) l'oracle central sur Babylone (27–28), de loin le plus long de tous ; (3) 6 oracles sur les régions voisines (Philistins, Idumée, Ammon, Kêdar, Damas, Moab : 29–31). Le dernier oracle (32) forme une conclusion et n'entre pas dans la structure.

Au début du chap. 30, la formule d'introduction passe du présent à l'aoriste, sans que le modèle hébreu change ; or, au chap. 29 près, c'est le moment où l'on entre dans le temps de la réalisation, après le point central représenté par l'oracle sur Babylone. Le changement de temps entre dans la structure : le châtiment est désormais en marche, inéluctablement.

3.3 *Troisième section* (chap. 33–41) :

§	Il advint cette parole du Seigneur **1ᵉ année de Joakim** (33,1)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (33,2)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (33,4)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (33,18)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (34,2) – **sous Sédécias, roi de Juda** (v. 3)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (34,4)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (34,16)
	Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (34,19)
§	*Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur* (35,2) – **4ᵉ année de Sédécias** (v. 1)
	écoutez la parole du Seigneur (35,7)

Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (35,12)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (35,13)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (35,14)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (35,16)
§   Voici les paroles du rouleau (36,1)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (36,4)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (36,8)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (36,10)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (36,21)
Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (36,30)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (36,31)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (36,32)
§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (37,1)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (37,2)
§   Voici les paroles que le Seigneur a prononcées (37,4)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (37,5)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (37,12)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (37,18)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (38,2)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (38,7)
§   Écoutez la parole du Seigneur (38,10)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (38,15)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (38,16)
§   *Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur* (38,36)
La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (39,1) **la 10ᵉ de Sédécias**
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (39,3)
§   Une parole du Seigneur advint donc sur Jérémie (39,6)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur tout-puissant (39,14)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (39,15)
Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (39,26)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (39,28)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (39,36)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (39,42)
§   Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (40,1)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (40,2)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (40,4)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (40,10)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur des puissances (40,12)
§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (41,1)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (41,2a)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (41,2b)
Écoute la parole du Seigneur (41,4a)
Ainsi parle le Seigneur (41,4b)

§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (41,8)
     Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (41,12)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (41,13)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (41,17)

La chronologie de Joakim (33) et Sédécias (34–41) est respectée, et elle met encore Joakim du côté du centre de la partie. La division du Vaticanus suit en général la disposition des formules d'annonce, qui ont encore un rôle de structure : les v. 37,1–3 où Dieu invite Jérémie à écrire les paroles qu'il lui inspire, contiennent la formule d'annonce centrale ; de part et d'autre, les 5 premières formules et les 10 dernières forment avec la formule centrale une nouvelle *proportion du simple au double* ; or, le nombre 5 est associé, dès le Pentateuque, à l'idée d'alliance ; c'est en particulier un nombre fréquemment employé dans la construction du coffre (ou de l'arche) d'alliance. Le nombre des formules a-t-il été choisi pour rappeler l'alliance entre Dieu et son peuple, au moment où celui-ci apprend que son châtiment est désormais inéluctable ?

3.4 *Quatrième section* (chap. 42–51) :

§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie **sous Joakim** (42,1)
     Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur (42,12)
     Ainsi parle le Seigneur (42,13)
     ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (42,17)
     ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (42,18)
§   Il m'advint une parole du Seigneur, **la 4ᵉ année de Joakim** (43,1)
§   Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (43,27) **la 8ᵉ de Joakim** (v. 9)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (43,29)
     ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (43,30)
     Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (44,6) **sous Sédécias** (v. 1)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (44,7)
     ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (44,9)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (45,2)
     ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (45,3)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (45,17)
§   à Jérémie il advint une parole du Seigneur **la 11ᵉ de Sédécias** (46,2.15)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (46,16)
§   La parole qui advint du Seigneur à Jérémie (47,1)
     il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (49,7)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (49,9)
     écoutez la parole du Seigneur (49,15)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (49,15)
     Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (49,18)

Ce qu'a dit le Seigneur (49,19)
Quand Jérémie eut fini de dire toutes les paroles du Seigneur (50,1)
Il advint une parole du Seigneur à Jérémie (50,8)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (50,10)
§ La parole qui advint à Jérémie (51,1)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (51,2)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur tout-puissant (51,7)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (51,11)
Écoutez la parole du Seigneur (51,24)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur, le Dieu d'Israël (51,25)
Écoutez la parole du Seigneur (51,26)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (51,30)
§ La parole qu'a dite Jérémie le prophète à Baruch (51,31)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (51,32)
Ainsi a parlé le Seigneur (51,34)

Le temps de Joakim (42–43) précède encore celui de Sédécias (44–51), pour s'achever par un retour au temps de l'écriture sous Joakim (51,31–35), traité au chap. 43. Le Vaticanus divise la section en 7 paragraphes, plaçant ainsi au centre le chap. 46 (réduit, dans la forme courte) ; le compte des formules d'annonce donne également au chap. 46 une place centrale, avec 5 formules d'annonce avant et 10 après, si l'on inclut celle du chap. 46, apportant une parole de salut, non pour Juda, mais pour l'Ethiopien. Ainsi, le nombre des formules fait encore penser au thème de l'alliance.

Au total, l'ensemble des chap. 21–51 est organisé en une vaste *proportion du simple au double*. Les oracles sur les nations et les formules d'annonce renforcent cette proportion, dont il s'agit d'expliquer la signification, après la première partie organisée en une relation d'égalité autour des oracles centraux du chap. 10.

4) *L'épilogue* (chap. 52) vient conclure le livre par le récit de la prise de Jérusalem, qui termine les livres historiques (4 Rg 25), et le rétablissement de Joakim (v. 31–34) par le successeur de Nabuchodonosor. La catastrophe finale de l'histoire du passé s'ouvre ainsi sur une période nouvelle, où la rémission est possible, à l'instar de celle de Joakim, le roi légitime après Josias, mais elle n'est pas plus assurée que le sort de l'autre fils de Josias, Sédécias, qui avait pris le pouvoir sans légitimité.

4. La Signification des Proportions

On ne saurait conclure sur la composition de la forme courte de Jérémie sans montrer qu'un lien l'unit à la culture grecque. La relation d'égalité qui régit la première partie et la proportion du simple au double qui régit la seconde ne sont pas indépendantes : elles ont comme origine commune le lien que Platon a imaginé,

dans le *Timée*, pour unir le monde divin spirituel et le monde créé matériel : l'âme du monde, qui a la structure de l'octave. Autrement dit, le lien qui permet aux deux mondes d'être unis en une même cohérence est réglé par deux relations, l'une d'égalité et l'autre du simple au double, la première correspondant à la quinte et la deuxième, à la quarte[7]. Il semble qu'il y ait là une clé pour comprendre le sens que les Juifs hellénisés avaient donné à leur Ecriture : faire le lien entre Dieu et son peuple.

La forme longue estompe les proportions : le nombre accru des formules de la première partie rend moins nette la position centrale du chap. 10 ; et le déplacement des oracles sur les nations introduit une idée nouvelle qui atténue la proportion du simple au double, en plaçant ces oracles en fin de livre, avec l'oracle principal sur Babylone en fin de groupe. Tout se passe donc comme s'il s'agissait, dans la forme longue, d'effacer ce lien avec la culture grecque, mais sans y parvenir tout à fait, ce qui renforce le sentiment que c'est bien la forme longue qui révise la forme courte traduite en grec.

La forme courte, en revanche, s'inscrit dans un corpus qui ajoute à ces deux relations une troisième, la proportion du simple au double inversée, que l'on trouve déjà dans la première partie en alternance avec la proportion du simple au double, par la disposition des formules d'introduction. Cette proportion lie les livres selon leur nombre et leur longueur, de part et d'autre des Lamentations, dans le groupe des livres prophétiques. Et la longueur des livres dans le Vaticanus en donne une idée précise[8].

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7. Voici le passage important du *Timée* : « Pour ce qui est de l'âme, [Dieu] la plaça au centre du monde, puis l'étendit à travers toutes ses parties et même en dehors, de sorte que le corps en fut enveloppé » (34b) ; « de la réalité indivisible et toujours identique et de celle qui s'exprime dans les corps, sujette au devenir et divisible, il a tiré par ce mélange une troisième forme intermédiaire de réalité » (35a). Platon reprend une idée pythagoricienne qui lui vient de Philolaos de Crotone : « L'expression de moyenne [ou médiété] harmonique viendrait du fait qu'elle se retrouve dans toutes les harmonies géométriques. [Ainsi] le cube est une harmonie géométrique parce qu'il se trouve harmonisé selon les trois dimensions, car il est le produit d'un nombre multiplié trois fois par lui-même (. . .). Le nombre des arêtes d'un cube est 12, celui des angles 8 et celui des faces 6. Et c'est un fait que 8 est la moyenne harmonique entre 6 et 12. » (Nicomaque de Gérase, cité par D. Delattre à propos de Philolaos, dans *Les Présocratiques*, La Pléiade, Paris, Gallimard, 1988, p. 499–500). Entre les notes extrêmes de l'octave qui ont un rapport du simple au double, la quinte correspond à la moyenne arithmétique et la quarte, à la moyenne harmonique. Si l'on ramène à 6 et 12 les notes extrêmes de l'octave, la quarte a une fréquence de 8 et la quinte, de 9.

8. Voici les chiffres qui montrent que, dans le Codex Vaticanus (B), le rapport de longueur des livres du groupe des Prophètes est du simple au double inversé, de part et d'autre des Lamentations : Baruch occupe 6 p. (1227–1232) / la Lettre de Jérémie, 3 (1240–1242) ; Esaïe et Jérémie, 61 + 63 (1003–1063 et 1064–1126) / Ezéchiel, 63 (1143–1205) ; enfin, les Douze, 57 p. (945 à 1001) / Daniel, 28 (1206 à 1233), y compris les parties propres au Daniel grec, « Suzanne » (au début) et « Bel et le dragon » (à la fin).

La forme longue, en revanche, s'inscrit dans un corpus plus simple, régi par la relation d'égalité entre Isaïe et Jérémie / Ezéchiel et les Douze, le point central correspondant à la place qu'occupent les Lamentations dans la LXX ; mais cette relation est estompée par l'absence du livret central, dans le canon pharisien. Ce qui est étrange, c'est que ces livres prophétiques sont précédés, dans le corpus des Prophètes du canon pharisien, par un groupe dans lequel on reconnaît la proportion du simple au double, entre Josué et Juges / 1–2 Samuel et 1–2 Rois, le point central correspondant à la place de Ruth dans la LXX, mais absent de ce canon. L'association des deux relations semble avoir également été estompée.

Ces proportions existent-elles dans d'autres livres que Jérémie ? Nous n'avons pas encore mené cette enquête. Mais il est clair qu'elle se trouve favorisée dans la tradition grecque et en partie effacée dans le canon pharisien que nous transmet la tradition hébraïque.

5. Conclusion

Les divisions du Codex Vaticanus B mettent en valeur le formulaire du livre et le rôle déterminant des formules dans la composition du livre. Elles contredisent l'exégèse critique actuelle du livre qui place la césure principale du livre entre les chapitres 25 et 26. Une telle division repose sur une critique littéraire qui élimine *a priori* et arbitrairement comme adventices les annonces de salut qui émaillent la première partie du livre. Or, aux chap. 17–20, oracles de malheur et de salut concourent à annoncer la transmutation future de la Jérusalem impie du temps des rois en ville sainte à la fin du temps de la colère. Cette promesse introduit adéquatement celles relatives à la Nouvelle Alliance de la 2e partie.

D'autre part, le formulaire met en lumière la centralité du chap. 10 au sein de la 1re partie, celle de l'oracle contre Babylone dans la seconde. De la sorte, consonant avec tous les livres prophétiques, le livre de Jérémie affirme que Yahwé n'est pas seulement le seigneur local dont le trône est à Jérusalem, mais le roi de l'univers qui a ordonné le cosmos selon ses décrets. Une fois les rois impies chassés de Jérusalem par le Grand Roi de Babylone et lorsque ce dernier, à son tour, aura été renversé par revirement de la colère divine, Jérusalem sera exaltée et Jérusalem, devenue ville sainte au pouvoir d'une lignée de prêtres fidèles, deviendra le lieu de la domination universelle du Grand Dieu du ciel *pantôcrator*.

La composition de la forme courte milite en faveur de l'hypothèse de la priorité de la forme courte sur la forme longue (TM) qui apparaît, quant à elle, comme une réédition de la première. S'il en va ainsi, l'étude de la forme courte doit éclairer et renouveler la compréhesion et l'exégèse de la forme longue. Celle que nous avons menée plus haut ne prétend pas donner le dernier mot sur la question. Elle voudrait plutôt faire acte de pionnière et encourager tous ceux qui s'intéressent au livre de Jérémie à poursuivre dans cette voie en comparant de très près la composition de l'une et l'autre formes. L'étude qui précède doit être considérée comme une hypothèse de structuration de la forme courte qui mérite d'être

approfondie aux fins de validation et chacune des petites unités qui composent l'ensemble doit être discutée quant au détail de son économie et aux principes de sa structure.

Cantique 2,17 dans l'Épitomé de Procope

Jean-Marie Auwers

Résumé: L'*Épitomé* de Procope de Gaza sur le Cantique des cantiques (6e s.) est un instrument de travail exégétique qui, face aux difficultés du texte biblique, déploie un choix d'interprétations documentées par des citations patristiques. Ct 2,17 donne une bonne idée de l'intérêt du caténiste pour la lettre du texte. Les développements allégoriques eux-mêmes sont appuyés sur des options prises au niveau du sens littéral, options qui méritent d'être examinées par le septantiste du 21e siècle. On voit ici comment les lecteurs anciens ont essayé de tirer parti des apories du Cantique LXX.

La tradition massorétique et la tradition grecque découpent différemment les deux derniers versets du chapitre 2 du Cantique des cantiques. Dans le TM nous lisons:

<div dir="rtl">

2,16 דודי לי ואני לו הרעה בשושנים :
2,17 עד שיפוח היום ונסו הצללים
סב דמה־לך דודי לצבי או לעפר האילים
על־הרי בתר :

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(16) Mon aimé est à moi, et moi à lui,
qui fait paître parmi les lis.

(17) Avant que souffle le jour et que s'enfuient les ombres,
reviens![1] Rends-toi semblable, mon aimé, à une gazelle ou à un faon de biches

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1. La majorité des commentateurs pensent que, par l'impératif סב, la jeune femme invite son aimé (supposé absent puisqu'il fait paître son troupeau parmi les lis) à revenir auprès d'elle au moment opportun. Cf. W. Rudoplh, *Das Buch Ruth, Das Hohe Lied, Die Klagelieder* (KAT 17; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1962), 135; A. Robert, R.-J. Tournay, et A. Feuillet, *Le Cantique des Cantiques: Traduction et Commentaire* (Études Bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1963), 127–28; (W. Dommershausen) and G. Krinetzki, *Ester, Hoheslied* (NEB 2; Würburg: Echter, 1980), 13–14; T. Longman III, *Song of Songs* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 126; G. Barbiero, *Cantico dei Cantici* (I Libri Biblici 24; Milano: Paoline, 2004), 118-119. D'autres comprennent au contraire qu'il doit partir loin d'elle; cf. D. Lys, *Le plus beau chant de la création* (Lectio Divina 51; Paris: Cerf, 1968), 133. G. Ravasi, *Il Cantico dei Cantici* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 1992), 270 traduit littérale-ment "volgiti" et commente: "In quel gesto si vuole anche far balenare il movimento agile del capriolo a cui subito dopo si fa riferimento, ma non si esclude anche un sottile ammiccamento alla scena del 'divano' di 1,12". O. Keel, *Das Hohelied* (Zürcher Bibelkommentar, AT 18; Zürich:

sur les montagnes de Beter.[2]

La tradition grecque rattache Ct 2,17a à ce qui précède. Elle présente donc le découpage suivant:

> Ἀδελφιδός μου ἐμοί, κἀγὼ αὐτῷ,
> ὁ ποιμαίνων ἐν τοῖς κρίνοις,
> ἕως οὗ διαπνεύσῃ ἡ ἡμέρα καὶ κινηθῶσιν αἱ σκιαί.
> Ἀπόστρεψον, ὁμοιώθητι σύ, ἀδελφιδέ μου,
> τῷ δόρκωνι (var.: τῇ δορκάδι) ἢ νεβρῷ ἐλάφων
> ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τῶν κοιλωμάτων.

(16–17a)   Mon frérot[3] est à moi, et moi à lui,
           qui fait paître parmi les lis
           jusqu'à ce que souffle le jour et se déplacent les ombres.
(17b–d)   Détourne-toi (?), rends-toi semblable, mon frérot,
           au chevreuil[4] ou à un faon de biches
           sur les montagnes des cavités.

Ce découpage est commun à l'ensemble de la tradition grecque,[5] mais il est particulièrement visible dans les chaînes où le texte biblique est réparti en lemmes. Dans l'*Épitomé* de Procope,[6] le lemme correspondant à Ct 2,17b–d est com-

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Theologischer Verlag, 1986), 110 se demande si les deux impératifs ne forment pas un hendiadys au sens de "Sois toujours le même".

2. Cette expression est une des énigmes les plus célèbres du Cantique. Voir l'inventaire des interprétations dans G. Ravasi, *Il Cantico dei Cantici*, 271–73 et G. Barbiero, *Cantico dei Cantici*, 119–20.

3. En traduisant ἀδελφιδός par "bien-aimé", comme on le fait habituellement, on perd un effet d'écho propre au grec: la jeune femme appelle son aimé ἀδελφιδός μου, comme celui-ci l'appelle ἀδελφή μου (Ct 4,9.10.12; 5,1.2). Il n'y a pas de raison de refuser de traduire mot ἀδελφιδός par un terme de parenté sous prétexte qu'il est employé comme désignation affectueuse de l'être aimé.

4. L'hésitation entre τῷ δόρκωνι et τῇ δορκάδι (cf. J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 150–51) se retrouve dans les scholies de l'*Épitomé*. Nous traduisons conventionnellement le substantif masculin par "chevreuil" et le substantif féminin par "gazelle".

5. Cf. J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys. Text and Interpretation of Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witness* (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 149–50.

6. L'*Épitomé* a été imprimé par A. Mai en 1837 *(Classici Auctores*, t. IX [Roma, 1837], 257–430) d'après un manuscrit très corrompu du 16e siècle, où les citations patristiques sont trop souvent non attribuées ou mal attribuées. C'est ce texte peu fiable qui a été reproduit par Migne dans la Patrologia Graeca (*PG* 17, 253–288 pour les seuls extraits d'Origène et *PG* 87/2, 1545–1753 pour le reste de l'*Épitomé*) et qui est accessible dans le *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Une édition critique de l'*Épitomé sur le Cantique*, préparée par J.-M. Auwers en collaboration

menté par cinq scholies, qui proposent diverses interprétations de l'impératif ἀπόστρεψον et de l'expression τὰ ὄρη τῶν κοιλωμάτων.

Dans la première scholie, tirée des *Homélies sur le Cantique* de Grégoire de Nysse, le verbe est pris dans son sens transitif:

> Scholie n° 132 (Grégoire): Détourne le fardeau des maux (ἀπόστρεψον τῶν κακῶν τὴν φοράν). Aie le regard de la gazelle (ὡς δορκάς), toi qui vois les désirs des hommes, fais disparaître (ἀφάνισον) le germe de la malice, comme le faon des biches qui détruit la race du serpent. Car tu vois les creux (τὰ κοῖλα) de la vie humaine; tout ce qui s'élève contre la vérité est un gouffre et non une montagne, une cavité (κοίλωμα) et non une hauteur. Elle veut dire: si donc tu accours vers eux, tout ravin de cette sorte sera comblé et toute montagne de cette sorte sera abaissée (cf. Lc 3, 5; Is 40, 4).

Grégoire prend ἀποστρέφειν au sens de "écarter", "détourner" et sous-entend comme complément d'objet direct les "ombres" du stique précédent (Ct 2,17a), qu'il interprète comme une manifestation du mal. Ceci est confirmé par la suite du commentaire, où ἀφάνισον "fais disparaître" est donné comme un équivalent de ἀπόστρεψον.[7]

La scholie suivante, tirée de Nil d'Ancyre, est très intéressante:

> Scholie n° 133 (Nil): Alors qu'elle a déjà dit: "Mon frérot est semblable au chevreuil etc." [= "Mon frérot est semblable au chevreuil ou au faon des biches sur les montagnes de Baithèl" (Ct 2,9)], comment peut-elle redire maintenant: "retourne" (ἀπόστρεψον), non "sur les montagnes de Baithèl" (Ct 2,9), mais "sur les montagnes des cavités" (Ct 2,17), d'une part en répétant ce qui a déjà eu lieu, d'autre part en l'exhortant à recommencer au mode impératif? En fait, peut-être les déterminatifs différents des montagnes sur lesquelles il est résolvent-ils la difficulté. Car elle a dit plus haut: "sur les montagnes de Baithèl" (v. 9), et ici: "sur les montagnes des cavités". Sans doute la première expression désigne-t-elle le lieu terrestre et l'autre l'Hadès à cause de la cavité, si bien que le texte s'exprime ainsi. En effet, elle dit déjà: tu as été semblable, époux, au chevreuil et (καὶ) au faon des biches sur les montagnes de Baithèl, quand tu as dispensé tes bienfaits à ceux d'ici-bas et leur as soumis les puissances ennemies; et elle poursuit: même ceux qui sont prisonniers dans le lieu souterrain, du fait que la mort règne sur tout, ont joui de ton bienfait. Va donc (ἴθι) et, comme une biche qui les a fait lever, détruis par ton odorat les puissances qui dominent là.

Nil prend le verbe ἀποστρέφειν comme un intransitif et lui rattache directement les derniers du mots du verset. Il comprend: "Retourne (. . .) sur les montagnes

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avec M.-G. Guérard, paraîtra prochainement dans la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus christianorum*. Dans l'attente, voir *PG* 87/2, 1613B–1616A et *PG* 17, 265CD (ou, mieux, *PG* 13,197D–200A).

7. On peut remarquer, au passage, que Grégoire lisait dans son texte biblique la leçon τῇ δορκάδι (au lieu de τῷ δόρκωνι).

des cavités". D'ailleurs, plus loin dans le commentaire, Nil donne ἴθι ("va") comme équivalent de ἀπόστρεψον. Nil donne au verbe ἀποστρέφειν le sens très précis de "retourner au lieu où l'on est venu", "retourner sur ses pas". Son problème est alors de comprendre comment, si l'époux est venu des montagnes de Baithèl (v. 9), l'épouse peut lui demander de retourner sur les montagnes des cavités.

Voici à présent la scholie mise sous le nom d'Origène:

> Scholie n° 134 (Origène): Les paroles qui précèdent (= Ct 2,16), l'épouse les a dites aux jeunes filles; ces paroles-ci elle les dit à l'époux, en sorte que celui-ci assume une ressemblance adaptée à la circonstance qui se présente, tantôt avec le chevreuil à cause de sa perspicacité, tantôt avec le faon des cerfs, parce qu'il détruit la race des serpents. Et pour qu'il fasse cela sur les montagnes des cavités, elle lui dit: Détourne-toi de ta subsistance dans la forme de Dieu (ἀπόστρεψον ἐκ τοῦ ἐν μορφῇ ὑπάρχειν θεοῦ, cf. Ph 2,6) et assume notre condition par amour pour moi en séjournant parmi les hommes, dont la plupart vivent dans les cavités en raison de leur malice. Les montagnes des cavités, ce sont les justes qui l'emportent sur les mauvais. Le Verbe qui s'est détourné (ἀποστρέψας) s'assimile donc à un chevreuil chez ceux qui s'adonnent à la contemplation, mais à un faon des cerfs chez ceux qui sont plus actifs et qui détruisent les puissances ennemies: "ou au chevreuil" est une disjonction non exclusive.[8] Théodotion dit: "sur les montagnes des parfums à brûler", ne signifiant par là rien moins que les saints.

Origène interprète lui aussi ἀπόστρεψον comme un intransitif, mais il donne au verbe le sens de "se détourner de quelque chose". Dans l'interprétation d'Origène, il s'agit, pour le Verbe, de se détourner de la condition divine. Origène donne explicitement à la conjonction ἤ une valeur de disjonction alternative: l'époux du Cantique n'est pas ou bien un chevreuil ou bien un faon (comme s'il ne pouvait pas être les deux); il est, selon les cas, tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre, voire les deux. Pour Grégoire et Nil, il possède simultanément les qualités de l'un et l'autre

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8. L'adjectif παραδιαζευκτικός qualifie une disjonction non exclusive. Cf. V. Bécares Botas, *Diccionario de terminología gramatical griega* (Acta Salmanticensia. Artes dicendi; Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1985), 289: "conjunción subdisyunctiva. Son ἤ, ἤτοι, ἠέ, las disyunctivas no excluyentes, conmutables con las copulativas". Dans son *Traité des conjonctions*, Apollonios Dyscole donne comme exemple de παραδιαζευκτικὴ σύνδεσμος le groupe de mots ἤ νέος ἠὲ παλαιός dans un vers de l'Iliade (Ξ 108), où Agamemnon invite l'homme qui donnera un meilleur avis que lui à se montrer en public, qu'il soit jeune ou qu'il soit vieux, ὥστε ἤ τὸ ἕν αἰτεῖ ἤ τὰ δύα "si bien qu'il postule une seule chose ou les deux" (*De disiunctivis*, éd. R. Schneider, *Grammatici Graeci*, II II 1 [Leipzig: Teubner, 1878], 219, l. 12–23 ou *Traité des conjonctions* [éd et trad. par C. Dalimier, Histoire des doctrines de l'Antiquité classique 23; Paris: Vrin, 2001], 80–81 et 263–64 pour le commentaire). Pour Apollonius, "les conjonctions dites subdisjonctives peuvent d'une part assumer une seule chose (ce qui est le propre de la disjonctive), d'une part assumer à la fois une chose et et d'autres choses en même temps (ce qui est le propre de la disjonctive)" (éd. R. Schneider, p. 220, l. 19–22; trad. C. Dalimier, p. 83).

animal (scholie n° 133: "tu as été semblable, époux, au chevreuil et [καὶ] au faon des biches").

La scholie mise sous le nom de Philon de Carpasia documente elle aussi ἀπόστρεψον au sens de "se détourner de":

> Scholie n° 135 (Philon): Détourne-toi (ἀπόστρεψον) des Juifs (pour aller) vers les Nations. (L'épouse) appelle les justes "montagnes" en raison de leur hauteur, mais "des cavités" en raison de leur humilité.

La dernière scholie est attribuée à Cyrille d'Alexandrie:

> Scholie n° 136 (Cyrille): Elle demande à l'époux qu'il élimine (ἀπαλεῖψαι) la Synagogue stérile et qu'il vienne vers ceux qui avaient jadis l'âme creuse, humiliée et idolâtre et qui montent vers la hauteur céleste.

Les premiers mots de la scholie montrent que Cyrille d'Alexandrie, comme Grégoire, interprète ἀπόστρεψον comme un verbe transitif: "Écarte" (les Juifs) est interprété comme une demande de les éliminer (ἀπαλεῖψαι).[9]

Que voulait dire le traducteur grec par l'étrange expression τὰ ὄρη τῶν κοιλωμάτων? Comment la comprenait-il? Là encore, l'*Épitomé* documente plusieurs interprétations. Pour Grégoire de Nysse (scholie n° 132), le texte évoque "tout ce qui s'élève contre la vérité" et qui est en fait un gouffre plutôt qu'une montagne. L'expression désignerait donc des montagnes faites de cavités, c.-à-d. des fausses montagnes. Nil d'Ancyre (scholie n° 133) explique que l'expression "désigne sans doute . . . l'Hadès à cause de la cavité" (ἀπὸ τῆς κοιλότητος); Nil semble donc avoir interprété le génitif comme l'équivalent d'un adjectif qualificatif: les montagnes des cavités seraient donc les montagnes caves. Dans la scholie n° 134 Origène commente: "Les montagnes des cavités, ce sont les justes qui l'emportent sur les mauvais". Origène comprend τὰ ὄρη τῶν κοιλωμάτων comme désignant les montagnes qui surplombent les cavités. Philon de Carpasia (scholie n° 135) voit ici une désignation des justes que leur hauteur (morale ou spirituelle) permet d'appeler "montagnes", et leur humilité "cavités". Pour Philon, τὰ ὄρη τῶν κοιλωμάτων désigne des montagnes qui sont en même temps des cavités selon le point de vue que l'on adopte.

Ce verset donne une bonne idée du but poursuivi par le caténiste: il s'agit d'ouvrir largement le spectre de l'interprétation du texte biblique. En rassemblant un florilège de citations exégétiques, Procope a créé un instrument de travail qui déploie les virtualités de sens du texte biblique et en permet une lecture polysémique jusque dans le détail, en faisant état des divergences dans l'interprétation de chaque passage – de manière succincte, en éliminant les excursus où les

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9. A. Mai a imprimé ἀπολεῖψαι (cf. *PG* 87/2, 1616A), mais cette leçon est mal attestée dans la tradition manuscrite.

commentateurs anciens égarent parfois leur lecteur. La juxtaposition des divers commentaires fournit un tableau contrasté de l'exégèse du Cantique entre le troisième et le cinquième siècle et fait voir la part d'originalité de chaque commentateur. Dans sa diversité, une chaîne comme l'*Épitomé sur le Cantique* reflète fidèlement la culture biblique de son époque.

Le septantiste du 21e siècle ne sera guère convaincu pas les développements allégoriques auxquels le verset a donné lieu chez les Pères. Mais il faut bien voir que ces élucubrations reposent sur des options prises au niveau du sens littéral, selon qu'on interprète ἀποστρέφειν comme un verbe transitif ou comme un verbe intransitif (au sens de "se détourner de" ou de "retourner d'où on vient"). On remarque qu'aucun des auteurs cités dans l'*Épitomé* n'a compris le verbe au sens de "se retourner pour revenir", ce qui est, selon la majorité des commentateurs, le sens de l'hébreu סבב dans ce contexte.[10]

L'intérêt de l'exégèse ancienne pour le septantiste est peut-être précisément de le confronter à des commentateurs qui n'ont pas la même précompréhension du texte grec. Comme nous avons en mémoire le texte hébreu (ou une traduction réalisée à partir de l'hébreu), nous avons spontanément tendance à projeter sur le grec le sens de l'hébreu – ou plus exactement ce que nous avons compris du texte hébreu et qui n'est pas nécessairement ce que le traducteur grec comprenait. Notre précompréhension du texte grec est le texte hébreu. Il en allait tout autrement pour les anciens commentateurs grecs, dont la plupart n'avaient plus accès – du moins un accès aisé – à l'hébreu. Ils lisaient la Septante avec d'autres yeux et, de ce fait, ils nous offrent des suggestions exégétiques que nous n'aurions jamais imaginées par nous-mêmes, ce qui nous contraint à relire et à réévaluer le texte biblique.

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10. Voir ci-dessus n. 1.

The Greek Bible among Jews and Christians in the Middle Ages: The Evidence of Codex Ambrosianus

Cameron Boyd-Taylor

Abstract: It has long been suspected that marginalia written in a cursive script in the fifth-century uncial manuscript Codex Ambrosianus were drawn from Jewish sources. What has never been entirely clear is the provenance of these readings. In his seminal paper of 1924, "Échos du judéo-hellénisme (étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs)," David S. Blondheim located them in an ongoing tradition of Jewish biblical translation extending through the Middle Ages, a position reiterated by both John William Wevers and Natalio Fernández Marcos. Evidence in support of Blondheim's hypothesis has recently come to light through the analysis of Greek glosses in Hebrew characters found in medieval Jewish texts, material that is being gathered together by the Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism project in Cambridge (GBBJ). Drawing upon the GBBJ corpus, I will argue the case for viewing the marginalia of Ambrosianus against the background of Jewish Greek translations circulating in the Byzantine period. It is likely that Ambrosianus is a repository of various sources, both ancient and medieval, Jewish and Christian. As such, it challenges certain assumptions, both about the Jewish reception of Greek scriptural versions, and about the degree of contact between Jewish and Christian tradition in the early Middle Ages.

Codex Ambrosianus is a fragmentary Octateuch from the Ambrosian Library in Milan.[1] Like many other medieval Christian manuscripts, it may be likened to an archaeological tell in which various layers of material have accumulated over time. What distinguishes Ambrosianus is the story these layers have to tell—the likelihood that they attest to the ongoing use of Greek biblical versions by Jews in late antiquity. It is therefore a key document for the Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism project in Cambridge, the goal of which is to gather together all such evidence and begin the work of its historical and exegetical assessment. Although the project is still in its early stages, reading the margins of Codex Ambrosianus against the background of this corpus has already proven quite illuminating, as I hope to demonstrate in the present study.

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1. Milano, Bibl. Ambr., S. P. 51 (formerly A. 147 inf.). The manuscript is commonly known as Codex Ambrosianus.

1. Codex Ambrosianus

Ambrosianus, referred to by the siglum F in Rahlfs's *Verzeichnis*, is an uncial manuscript, perhaps of Italian origin, written on what has been described as the finest and whitest vellum.[2] Like Vaticanus, the text is set out in three columns, with thirty-five lines in each column. The first hand has been dated to the fifth century.[3] A particularly interesting feature is the presence of frequent punctuation, accents and breathings, in which respect Ambrosianus stands alone among the early uncials. The remains of the manuscript consist of extensive fragments of the Octateuch, from Gen 31:15 through Josh 12:12. The color of the ink changes after Deuteronomy with the remainder of the fragments appearing to be in a slightly different hand from the first, suggesting that the manuscript was the work of two scribes, one responsible for the Pentateuch and the other for Joshua. Yet it is likely that their work was contemporary, as the quire numbers appear to have been added by the first scribe throughout.[4] A collation of F was made for the edition of Holmes-Parsons, though according to H. B. Swete it was undertaken with "lamentable want of care."[5] In 1864 A. M. Ceriani remedied this situation by producing a critical edition of the text together with the corrections of the first hand, a preface and an introduction.[6] The manuscript was later collated by Paul de Lagarde and its readings included in the critical apparatus of the editions of Swete, Rahlfs, Brooke-McLean, Margolis, and Wevers, for which it was recollated.

The text has undergone at least two stages of correction, and the margins contain various readings, notes, and scholia. The correctors may be distinguished on the basis of their script—those appearing in a small uncial script are collectively designated F[a], while those in cursive script are grouped together as F[b].[7] The latter body of glosses, dating perhaps to the ninth century, are at once the most numerous and the most interesting. They clearly involve more than one hand, but efforts to distinguish them on palaeographical grounds have thus far met with little success.

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2. Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1914), 125.

3. Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, (rev. R. R. Ottley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 136.

4. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 193.

5. Swete, *Introduction*, 136.

6. A. M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim bibliothecae Ambrosianae tom. III.* (Milan: J. B. Pogliani, 1864).

7. John W. Wevers, "A Secondary Text in Codex Ambrosianus of the Greek Exodus," in *Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (ed. R. Gryson; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 36–37.

The glosses of F^b will be the focus of my paper. As David Gooding has observed, this material represents a veritable miscellany of late readings.[8] Due to their Hebraizing tendency they have long been viewed by textual critics as being in part Hexaplaric, and collated accordingly. In the book of Exodus, where F^b records a text in parallel with material under the asterisk, it has been treated as a principal witness to the Hexaplaric text. Yet closer examination of its lexicon has necessitated a rethinking of any straightforward dependence of F^b upon Origen.[9]

It happens that much of the lexical stock in F^b is not attested in our Hexaplaric sources. In fact, it is of a decidedly medieval cast, and very often colloquial. At the same time there are striking textual agreements between F^b and the Constantinople Pentateuch, a Jewish Greek version written in Hebrew characters, and printed in 1547. The potential significance of these agreements in both idiom and lexicon was first fully appreciated by D. S. Blondheim, who recognized that F^b might represent an intermediate stage in the medieval Jewish tradition presumably underlying the Constantinople text.[10] Taking up Blondheim's suggestion, John William Wevers documented the relationship between the two, and discovered that F^b and the Constantinople Pentateuch agree with one another in a greater proportion of cases than either does with the Hexaplaric versions.[11] Of course, this tendency might simply be due to the fact that both texts share a similar translation technique. Natalio Fernández Marcos points out, however, that the two witnesses very often use the same translation equivalent for Hebrew words with very different synonyms in Greek, which suggests that their many agreements might well arise from a common underlying source.[12]

It is possible, then, that some of the cursive correctors of Codex Ambrosianus, although undoubtedly Christian, were conversant with Jewish tradition.[13] That such a tradition existed among Greek-speaking Jews in the Middle Ages, that it was known to at least some Christians, and that it was recorded on the margins of a biblical manuscript, is indeed a provocative hypothesis, but one, I would suggest, that finds support in a growing body of evidence. I shall pres-

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8. David W. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus* (Text and Studies, New Series, 6; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).

9. In this respect, it is interesting to note that while the majority of F^b readings are anonymous, at Gen 47:31 and Exod 16:31 they are attributed to τὸ ἰουδ[αϊκόν].

10. David S. Blondheim, "Échos du judéo-hellénisme (étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs)," *REJ* 78 (1924): 1–14, here 5. The significance of F^b was brought to Blondheim's attention by M. L. Margolis in a personal communication.

11. John W. Wevers, ed., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum. 2/1. Exodus; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991).

12. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible*, (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Brill: Leiden, 2000), 183.

13. Blondheim, "Échos du judéo-hellénisme," 5.

ently discuss five intriguing agreements between F^b and two bilingual Jewish manuscripts from Cambridge—taken together they make a persuasive case for the relationship between Codex Ambrosianus and the Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism.

Before turning to the texts, a caveat is in order. David Gooding's description of F^b as a miscellany remains apt. It is a collection not only of late readings but of ancient ones as well, and while a case can be made for the independence of much of this material from earlier Christian tradition, some of it has almost undoubtedly come down through Hexaplaric channels. At the same time, as the work of Nicholas de Lange has shown, there is good reason to believe that Byzantine Jewish tradition had itself preserved ancient readings.[14] For this reason, when F^b shares a reading with a medieval Jewish text that is also attested for one of the Three, sound methodology requires that we suspend judgement on its evidential value, at least until the relationship of F^b with the Hexapla is better understood. But this area of uncertainty, while admittedly posing a challenge to any critical assessment of F^b, does not, I think, seriously affect the present study. Of the glosses I discuss, Hexaplaric influence may be ruled out in most instances.

It would, of course, be less than prudent to assume that the Hexapla was the only source of non-Septuagint variants within Christian tradition. In the wake of Origen's great achievement, learned Christians began to take an unprecedented interest in the form of the Hebrew parent, especially in Antioch. Eusebius of Emesa, for one, appears to have made significant use in his exegesis of information gleaned from informants.[15] One must therefore allow for the possibility that some F^b readings stem from patristic sources, even if the likelihood is not very great.

2. An Early Hebrew Manuscript from Byzantium

Fitzwilliam Museum 364*, is an annotated manuscript of the Former Prophets, extant from Josh 3:10 to 2 Kgs 25:15. Given the similarities between this manuscript and others of possible Byzantine origin, as well as the presence of a Greek note in a twelfth-century hand, Judith Olszowy-Schlanger has suggested that it was written in the Byzantine world sometime during the eleventh or twelfth century.[16]

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14. Nicholas de Lange, "La tradition des «révisions juives» au moyen âge: les fragments hébraïques de la Geniza du Caire," in *"Selon les Septante," Hommage à Marguerite Harl* (ed. G. Dorival and O. Munnich; Paris, 1995), 133–43.

15. See R. Bas Ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 47–64.

16. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, "An Early Hebrew Manuscript from Byzantium," in *Zutot 2002* (ed. S. Berger, M. Brocke, and I. Zwiep; Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003), 155.

One hundred and twenty-three Greek glosses have been written into the margins in Hebrew characters.[17] Some of these cannot be much later than the codex itself, since they were evidently written by the hand of the massorete.[18] The Greek is medieval, mostly colloquial. The rationale underlying the glosses is not always transparent. For some passages the obscurity or ambiguity of the Hebrew was undoubtedly a factor, but this is by no means the case in every instance. The source of the glosses is likewise unclear. It is conceivable that they were merely *ad hoc*, though on balance this seems unlikely given that some of them appear to stem from the ancient versions. We are most likely dealing with a tradition of some sort, and it is thus interesting to find two agreements between the Fitzwilliam bible and F^b.

Joshua 10:4

The first agreement occurs at Josh 10:4, where the lemma is the Hiphil perfect of שלם. The context is the rallying call of Adoni-zedek to the Amorite kings to make war on Gideon, for "it has made peace with Joshua and with the Israelites" (כי השלימה את יהושע ואת בני ישראל). The precise sense of שלם in this verse is difficult to determine. Aware that the Hebrew verb admits a wide range of uses, the tendency of the ancient translators is to render it contextually. No exception in this respect, Greek Joshua supplies the verb αὐτομολέω here, construing it with πρός in the sense "to desert or defect to," thereby introducing into the narrative the idea of a breach in solidarity, perhaps even betrayal, on the part of Gideon.

The Fitzwilliam Bible glosses שלם with אֵרְנִפְשֶׁן, that is, εἰρήνευσεν.[19] The Greek verb, which means "make peace," nicely captures the etymology of the Hebrew lemma, at least as this was understood in antiquity. It is interesting, therefore, that where F reads αὐτομόλησαν, an F^b corrector supplies εἰρήνευσαν, for he is clearly drawing upon a source that had knowledge of the Hebrew source text.

Yet given both the etymological basis of this particular rendering, and its occurrence elsewhere in the ancient versions (a total of about nineteen times in the Septuagint corpus), the reading of F^b may well stem from an early recension and have thus come down through Christian channels. While the Cambridge Septuagint does not record any variants for this passage, there is every possibility that the gloss is Hexaplaric, as the match is well attested for Aquila in other contexts. So, at least in this instance, one is unable to draw any sure conclusions from the agreement between these two medieval witnesses.

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17. Nicholas de Lange, "The Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam Museum Bible," in Berger, Brocke, and Zwiep, *Zutot 2002*, 138.

18. Olszowy-Schlanger, "An Early Hebrew Manuscript," 149.

19. De Lange, "Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam," 145.

JOSHUA 10:19

The second shared reading occurs at Joshua 10:19. The lemma is the Piel denominative זנב, which probably means "to cut off the tail."[20] Here the imperative is used in a military context. When informed that the five Amorite kings have fled and hidden themselves in a cave, Joshua orders his men to post a guard, but not to remain themselves. "Pursue your enemies, and attack them from the rear (רדפו אחרי איביכם וזנבתם אותם)!" The rare Hebrew usage is rendered by the Septuagint periphrastically, καὶ καταλάβετε τὴν οὐραγίαν, "take the rear!" But an F[b] corrector has introduced the gloss, καὶ οὐραδοκοπήσετε αὐτούς. The Greek verb means literally "snip off their tails," so once again the F[b] rendering turns out to be etymologically motivated, presupposing knowledge of the Hebrew source. The very same gloss is to be found in the Fitzwilliam Bible, which reads קָאוּרְדוֹקוֹפִישֶׁתֶן אַפְטוּש, that is, καὶ οὐραδοκοπήσετεν αὐτούς. As Nicholas de Lange has observed, the Greek word is so rare that the coincidence can hardly be accidental.[21] And here we can safely rule out the Hexapla as F[b]'s source, as the evidence would suggest that the Three all translated the Hebrew source with some form of διώκω construed with an adverbial, with the Hexaplaric text following Theodotion.[22] In this instance, the F[b] corrector is almost undoubtedly drawing upon a contemporary Jewish source.

3. Scholia on the Pentateuch

I now turn to a manuscript recovered from the Cairo Genizah that contains a series of philological and exegetical notes on the first two books of the Pentateuch, grouped according to liturgical readings.[23] Eight leaves of parchment are extant, comprising an almost complete quire. The manuscript may on general grounds be dated to the classic period of the Genizah, and hence to sometime between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[24]

The use of Greek is strictly limited to glosses on the biblical text, and, I should add, is quite sparing. There are thirty Greek glosses in all. Twenty-five of these are written in Hebrew characters, of which all but one occur in the main body of the text. As in the case of the Fitzwilliam bible, it is difficult to determine why the scholiast switches to Greek when he does. Nor, for that matter, can the source of the glosses be identified, but it is tempting to think that the scholiast

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20. Cf. the substantive form זנב, "tail."

21. De Lange, "Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam," 146.

22. See the critical apparatus of Alan England Brooke and Norman McLean, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909).

23. The manuscript has been edited by Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Tubingen: Mohr, 1996), 85–116 .

24. Ibid., vii.

had recourse to a tradition of some sort. There are three agreements between the scholiast and F[b], all involving glosses written in Hebrew letters within the main body of the text.

Genesis 49:11

The first agreement occurs in the context of Jacob's blessing. Here the lemma is שרקה, a *hapax legomenon*. At Gen 49:11 Jacob speaks of prosperous days ahead for Judah, a time of great abundance. "Binding his foal to the vine (אסרי לגפן עירה), and his donkey's colt to the choicest vine (ולשרקה בני אתנו)." This picture of prosperity is thus expressed in a couplet, in which גפן "vine" is used in parallel with שרקה. While the meaning of the latter is disputed by lexicographers, the adjectival form evidently connotes redness, and was used (through metonymy) as a substantive denoting choice grape vines.[25] This is the most probable meaning of שרקה, at least in the present context.

It is not unlikely that the translator of the Old Greek inferred the meaning of שרקה on the basis of the Hebrew parallelism.[26] The Septuagint renders it by the word ἕλιξ, a poetic form, which in classical Greek is used in reference to anything with a spiral shape. Used in parallel with ἄμπελος, it must denote the tendril of a vine.[27]

The Jewish scholiast glosses the Hebrew lemma by the Greek word קליכַּרְפוֹס, that is, καλλίκαρπος, "rich in fruit."[28] For his part, an F[b] corrector supplies the very same word where the first hand of the uncial reads ἕλικι. There can be little doubt that the reading is based on knowledge of the Hebrew source. Unfortunately there are no readings attested for the Three in this instance, which makes it difficult to establish F[b]'s independence from the Hexapla. The word is attested in the required sense as early as the fourth century B.C.E., so it was undoubtedly ready to hand.[29] It is worth noting also that at Jer 2:21, the Old Greek renders the adjective שרקה by the phrase ἄμπελον καρποφόρον. So the idea that the substantive might pertain to the fruit of the vine was not unknown to the ancient translators. Yet, even so, the exact agreement between F[b] and the scholiast is not uninteresting.

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25. The adjectival form שרקם apparently carries the sense "reddish brown" at Zech 1:8. The substantive שרקה is used in reference to choice grape vines at Isa 5:2 and Jer 2:21. At Isa 16:8 it likely refers to clusters of grapes.

26. See John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 827.

27. Cf. Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 1320–1321: οἰνάνθας γάνος ἀμπέλου, / βότρυος ἕλικα παυσίπονον. "And the joy of the young vines smiling, and the tendril of grapes care-beuiling."

28. De Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, 101.

29. E.g., Euripides, *Bacchae*, 108.

Another line of reasoning, admittedly tenuous, favors the idea that F^b is independent of the Hexapla here. When F^b gives a reading attested in one of our Hexaplaric sources, the attribution is almost always to Aquila. What, one may ask, is the likelihood that Aquila would have rendered שרקה by καλλίκαρπος? At Zech 1:8 the gloss ξανθός is attributed to Aquila for the adjective שרק. The Greek word denotes various shades of yellow. All else being equal, Aquila would be expected to provide a match for the substantive congruent with his handling of the adjective. But if Aquila can be ruled out as a source, the likelihood that F^b is drawing upon a contemporary Jewish source increases significantly. The possibility that the gloss was originally drawn from one of the other Hexaplaric versions remains, but the probability is not great.

GENESIS 49:27

The second agreement also occurs within Jacob's blessing. The lemma is עד, evidently a substantive in this context carrying the sense "booty *or* prey." At Gen 49:27 Benjamin's future is predicted through imagery evocative of military conquest and victory. Like Judah, he is likened to a vicious predator, but here the idea is expressed more vividly. "In the morning he will devour his booty (בבקר יאכל עד); in the evening he will divide the spoils (ולערב יחלק שלל)." The Jewish scholiast cites this occurrence of עד as a parallel to its use at Gen 49:10.

The form עד carries the sense "booty" rarely, and it is unlikely that it was recognized by any of the Septuagint translators. In the present context, the translator of the Old Greek evidently read the form as an adverbial (i.e., עוֹד), matching it with ἔτι.[30] F^b, however, supplies the accusative form of the Latin loan-word πραῖδα, "booty *or* plunder" (Latin *praeda* = Greek λεία). The same word is used by the medieval Jewish scholiast, who glosses the Hebrew lemma with פְּרֵדָא, that is, πραῖδα.[31] It seems likely then that F^b is drawing from a Jewish source. Once again there are no Hexaplaric readings extant, so the influence of the Three cannot be excluded. Yet given that πραῖδα is not attested in Greek until the fourth century C.E., it is probably safe to infer that the reading of F^b is post-Hexaplaric.[32] There is also indirect evidence in favor of this conclusion.

As it happens, Jerome takes up the lemma in his *Quaestiones Hebraice in Genesim*, and glosses it by the Latin word *praedum*, which he carries over into the Vulgate.[33] As Alison Salvesen observes, when Jerome remarks on the meaning

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30. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 835. Wevers notes that for בבקר the Septuagint has an accusative showing extent of time, which fits well with ἔτι.

31. Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, 101.

32. It occurs in the *Epistola Encyclica* of Athanasius, dated to around 356 C.E.

33. Jerome, *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 72 (Paul de Lagarde, ed., [Leipzig,1868]; Turnhout: Brepols, 1959).

of a Hebrew word in contrast to the interpretation of the Septuagint, the Hebrew to which he refers is generally his independent understanding of the text.[34] If a reading from the Three is relevant, he generally cites it; here there is no citation. It is quite possible that the Three followed the Septuagint and construed the form temporally. Jerome's silence, while proving nothing, increases the likelihood that the gloss in Fᵇ comes directly from a Jewish source.[35]

Exodus 18:2

The third agreement is at Exod 18:2, where the Hebrew text makes reference to the שלוחים of Zipporah, Moses's wife. Again we are dealing with a poorly attested word, this item occurring but three times in the Hebrew bible. At 1 Kgs 9:16 it denotes the gift of a vanquished city (Gezer), given by Pharaoh to his daughter, Solomon's wife, perhaps a dowry; at Mic 1:14 it likewise refers to gifts of some sort. On the assumption that the word is etymologically associated with שלח, "send," these are often said to be parting gifts. At Exod 18:2, however, the phrase שלוחיה has traditionally been taken to mean "her sending away *or* dismissal," that is, the sending away of Zipporah by Moses.[36] Here the narrative context is the meeting of Moses and Jethro at Sinai. Hence, on this reading, the verse must be referring back to an event anterior to that meeting.[37] "After Moses had sent away his wife Zipporah, his father-in-law Jethro took her back, along with their two sons (ויקח יתרו חתן משה את צפרה אשת משה אחר שלוחיה)."[38]

The verse evidently serves to explain Zipporah's presence in Midian.[39] It is often inferred that Moses left his wife behind in the safety of Midian rather than take her with him to Egypt.[40] Conversely, the reference might be to Moses's

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34. Alison Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph 15 (Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), 280.

35. Ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian*, 447, raises the possiblity that a source used by Eusebius of Emesa (presumably a Jewish informant) gave the word προνομή, "a foraging," as a rendering of עד in Gen 47:27.

36. William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 1–18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 629.

37. Perhaps the event recorded at Exod 18:2.

38. Brevard Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 320, notes that the syntax of this sentence is difficult. The use of the pluperfect to avoid the difficulty in chronology, while consistent with a long-standing exegetical tradition, is questionable. As Childs points out, the imperfect consecutive cannot designate an earlier period of time in this manner.

39. Cf. Josephus, *A.J.* 1.63, where Jethro comes out alone and is welcomed by Moses together with his wife and chidren, implying that they had remained together.

40. So John I. Durham, *Exodus* (WBC 3; Waco: Word Books, 1987), 239. This interpretation is found in the halakic midrash to Exodus. See Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael, which speaks of Moses returning his wife to her father to keep her from the Egyptian danger. See Israel Drazin, *Targum Onkelos to Exodus* (New York: Ktav, 1990), 181.

divorce of Zipporah, her "dismissal" (after fulfilling the commandment to procreate), as certain Rabbinic authorities inferred.[41] The larger Pentateuchal narrative is certainly patient of such an interpretation—after all, Moses takes another wife in Num 12:1—and it is possible that the Old Greek understands שלוחים in this sense too, for it refers to Zipporah's ἄφεσις, her "letting go *or* dismissal," a word that carries the sense divorce in Plutarch and elsewhere.[42]

The Jewish scholiast glosses שלוחים by the Greek word פריקיאון, that is, προικίον, "dowry."[43] The warrant he gives is the parallel at Mic 1:14, which he also cites. While there can be no certainty here, it is reasonable to infer that he is drawing on an exegetical tradition that, in light of the Micah parallel, understands the text in reference to the return of Zipporah's dowry.[44] Variations on this interpretation are attested in a number of medieval Jewish commentaries.[45]

There are two F[b] variants for ἄφεσις, both of which presuppose the same understanding of the Hebrew source: F[b1] renders אחר שלוחיה by μετὰ τὴν προῖκα; F[b2] renders it by the plural, μετὰ τὴν προῖκας. Here the influence of the Three can be ruled out. Aquila's rendering of שלוחים at Exod 18:2 is etymological. He supplies the plural of the noun ἐξαποστολή, meaning "sending away, expulsion."[46] Symmachus, it would seem, followed the LXX. We don't know what Theodotion had, but since there is no indication of F[b] ever adopting a gloss from Theodotion, we can discount him. The gloss almost certainly derives from a Jewish source. There is no indication in the Patristic literature that Christian exegetes understood the text in this manner.[47]

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41. E.g., R. Joshua in Mekilta de Rabbi Ishmael. See Propp, *Exodus*, 629.

42. Alain Le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevoir, *L'Exode* (La Bible D'Alexandrie; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989), 193. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 275, admits that ἄφεσις is the technical term for divorce, but maintains that this cannot be meant here. The rendering might indeed be etymological, which is clearly the case in the Old Greek version of Mic 1:14.

43. De Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, 11.

44. This likely reflects the juridical norm in Byzantine Judaism.

45. These include most notably Abraham ibn Ezra, an itinerant Jewish commentator and poet, ca. 1089–1164 C.E., and Rashbam R. Samuel ben Meir, a French Jewish commentator on the Bible and Talmud, ca. 1080–1174 C.E. Yet the function of the dowry is unclear in both texts. See H. Norman Strickman and Arthur M. Silver, eds., *Ibn Ezra's Commentary on the Pentateuch: Exodus (Shemot)* (New York: Menorah Publishing Company, 1996), 347; and Martin I. Lockshin, ed., *Rashbam's Commentary on Exodus: An Annotated Translation* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 190.

46. Cf. 3 Mac 4:4.

47. "Les Pères mettent ce « renvoi » de Sepphôra en relation avec Ex 4, 20.24–27, selon une lecture attestée à date ancienne en milieu juif et qui se retrouve encore chez Rachi. Ils l'associent aussi au thème de la chasteté de Moïse après sa vocation, en conformité avec une exégèse rabbinque de Ex 3,5…" Boulluec et Sandevoir, *L'Exode*, 193.

4. The Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism

Having surveyed the agreements between F[b] and two medieval Jewish documents, let me stress that my objective has not been to document a textual relationship between them. Given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it would be very difficult to establish specific lines of transmission. Rather, what I have attempted to establish is the likelihood that F[b] draws upon Byzantine Jewish sources of one kind or another. To the extent that I have been successful, the result is of considerable significance, for it points to a hitherto unexpected connection between Jewish and Christian transmission of the Greek Bible in the Middle Ages.

Given the existence of such Jewish-Christian connections, it would be surprising if Codex Ambrosianus proved to be the only manuscript affected. As it happens, there are indications that other medieval Christian manuscripts of the Septuagint contain readings stemming from contemporary Jewish sources.[48] As John William Wevers has remarked, the margins of more than a few Septuagint manuscripts would repay close study.[49] The task for scholarship is not only to document these readings but also to contextualize them. This is one of the key aims of the AHRC Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism project. Our hope is that further windows will be opened on the reception of the Greek Bible among Jews and Christians in the Byzantine world.

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48. Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 183.
49. Personal communication, May 2006.

New Hexaplaric Data for the Book of Canticles as Discovered in the *Catenae*

Reinhart Ceulemans

Abstract: Ever since the publication of Field's edition of the *Hexapla* (1875), several new editions of patristic sources and *catenae* have become available. Some of these contain better readings and even previously unknown material from Origenes' *Hexapla*. Against this background, the *catenae* are specifically valuable as a source for Hexaplaric data concerning the book of Canticles. *Catena Procopii*, for example, contains a lot of Greek fragments of Origenes' commentary, hitherto only preserved in Latin paraphrases. Evidently the philological comments that Origenes provides are of great use when conducting a text-critical research into the book of Canticles. In addition to his comments to certain Hexaplaric variants, he also offers readings that are different (e.g., Cant 7:1) or new (e.g., Cant 7:2) compared to the ones printed in Field. Findings such as these call for an evaluation of Field's consultation of the catenaric data. This paper shows that his use of them was very limited and indirect. These observations stress the relevance of the *catenae* when preparing a "Field for the twenty-first century."

1. Introduction

When preparing a "Field for the twenty-first century," one cannot possibly neglect the Greek *catenae*. These exegetical chains[1] make up a very vast and rich source,

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1. Introductions to the genre of the *catenae* can be found in Robert Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," *DBSup* 1 (1928): 1084–1233; Gilles Dorival, "Des commentaires de l'Écriture aux chaînes," in *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible* (ed. C. Mondésert; Bible de tous les temps 1; Paris: Beauchesne, 1984), 360–86; idem, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques, *Revue des Études Byzantines* 43 (1985): 209–26; idem, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Psaumes: Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire. Tome 1* (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents 43; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 1–98; Sandro Leanza, "La letteratura esegetica in frammenti: la tradizione catenaria," *Aug* 37 (1997): 25–36; idem, "Problemi di ecdotica catenaria," in *Metodologie della ricerca sulla tarda antichità. Atti del Primo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi* (ed. A. Garzya; Collectanea 2; Napoli: M. D'Auria Edi-

which contains a lot of Hexaplaric information.[2] Moreover, ever since the publication of Frederick Field's edition of the *Hexapla* (1875),[3] new editions of the *catenae* have become available. Some of these contain better readings and even previously unknown material from Origenes' *Hexapla*. Against this background, this paper investigates the specific value of the *catenae* as a source for Hexaplaric data concerning the book of Canticles, and demonstrates how poorly the previous editions of the Hexaplaric materials of this book incorporated the catenaric manuscript evidence. A number of exegetical chains and a great deal of important manuscripts were not consulted by Field nor by his predecessors.

More than once scholars have demonstrated the value of the *catenae* as a major source for finding Hexaplaric readings.[4] Since for the book of Canticles Field listed but three non-*catena* codices (161, 248, 252) which contain marginal

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tore, 1989), 247–66; idem, "L'esegesi biblica cristiana antica: scolii e catene," in *Esegesi, parafrasi e compilazione in età tardoantica: Atti del Terzo Convegno dell'Associazione di Studi Tardoantichi* (ed. C. Moreschini; Collectanea 9; Napoli: M. D'Auria Editore, 1995), 203–27; Christos Th. Krikonès, Συλλογαὶ Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ἑρμηνευτικαὶ, σειραί *(catenae)* (Thessaloniki: University Studio Press, 1990); and, most recently, Carmelo Curti and Maria A. Barbàra, "Greek Exegetical Catenae," in *Patrology: The Eastern Fathers from the Council of Chalcedon (451) to John of Damascus († 750)* (ed. A. Di Berardino; trans. A. Walford; Institutum Patristicum Augustinianum; Cambridge: James Clarke, 2006), 605–54.

2. *Pace* Gerard 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: Society of Biblical Literature, 1997), 251–62 and R. B. ter Haar Romeny and Peter J. 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: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 285–98.

3. Origenes, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari, concinnavit, emendavit, et multis partibus auxit* F. Field (Oxford: Clarendon, 1875; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964).

4. See, e.g., Adrian Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke: Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62* (OBO 8; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975); idem, *Psalmen in den Hexapla. Erste kritische und vollständige Ausgabe der hexaplarischen Fragmente auf dem Rande der Handschrift Ottobianus graecus zu den Ps 24–32* (Studi e testi 295; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1982); Erich Klostermann, *Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik* (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1895), 47–74; Gilles Dorival, "L'apport des chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des *Hexaples* d'Origène (à propos du Psaume 118)," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 4 (1974): 45–74; Antonio Labate, "L'apporto della catena Hauniense sull'Ecclesiaste per il testo delle versioni greche di Simmaco e della LXX," *RivistB* 35 (1987): 57–61; Jean-Marie van Cangh, "Nouveaux fragments hexaplaires: Commentaire sur Isaïe d'Eusèbe de Césarée (*Cod. Laur.; Plut., XI, 4*)," *RB* 78 (1971): 384–90 (and "Addendum," *RB* 79 [1972]: 76). One should also bear in mind that the most important manuscript evidence for our knowledge of the *Hexapla*, 1098 (*Milan. Ambrosianus O.39 sup.*), was a part of a *catena*.

readings of the Greek minor versions, one is certainly forced to take the *catenae* into consideration when doing any Hexaplaric research. With regard to Canticles, five main groups of *catenae* can be discerned, supplemented by some other fragmentary types:[5] type A (*CPG* C80) containing major parts of the commentaries of Gregorius Nyssenus and Nilus Ancyranus; type B (*catena Trium Patrum*; *CPG* C81) including scholia of Gregorius, Nilus and (?) Maximus Confessor (B[1]), supplemented with the poetical exegesis of Michael Psellus (B[2]); type C (ἐπιτομή or *catena Procopii*; *CPG* C82) which occupies a central position, compiling the exegesis of some ten writers from the third-sixth century (among whom Origenes), thus bringing together more than 350 years of Canticles exegesis in some 360 pericopes; type D (*catena Polychronii*; *CPG* C83); and E (*catena Ps.-Eusebii*; *CPG* C84). In addition there are a number of manuscripts containing other catenaric material.

When one consults the introductions to the editions of the Hexaplaric materials by Field and his most important predecessor, Bernard de Montfaucon (Bernardus Montefalconius),[6] it is clear that they both made very little use of this catenaric evidence. The latter used one manuscript of *catena Polychronii* (*Cod. Reg. 1890 = Paris. Bibl. Nat. 151 = 560*);[7] one manuscript of the B[1] recension of *catena Trium Patrum* (*Cod. Reg. 2435 = Paris. Bibl. Nat. 152 = 561*);[8] and three codices of *catena Procopii* (cf. *infra*). Field himself consulted not a single catenaric manuscript[9] (but consider the use of Mai and PG, cf. *infra*). Exegetical chains like

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5. Useful information on the Canticles *catenae* can be found in *CPG*, C 80–C 87; Georgius Karo and Iohannes Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Philologisch-historische Klasse* (1902): 312–19; Devreesse, "Chaînes exégétiques grecques," 1158–61; and Curti and Barbàra, "Greek Exegetical Catenae," 628–31. The most extensive descriptions are provided by the very useful work of Michael Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Catenen* (Theologische Studien der Leo-Gesellschaft 4; Wien: von Mayer, 1902). One should also consult the articles and editions by Auwers, Guérard and Barbàra referred to *infra*.

6. Origenes, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt, multis partibus auctiora, quam a Flaminio Nobilio et Joanne Drusio edita fuerint. Ex manuscriptis et ex libris editis eruit et notis illustravit* B. de Montfaucon (Paris: Apud Ludovicum Gubrin, viduam Joannis Boudot et Carolum Robustel, 1713). Reprint in PG 15–16[3].

7. Cf. Hans Lietzmann and Hermann Usener, *Catenen. Mitteilungen über ihre Geschichte und handschriftliche Überlieferung* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1897), 57 and Faulhaber, *Hohelied-Catenen*, 42; Karo and Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," 313.

8. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-Catenen*, 15–16; Lietzmann and Usener, *Catenen*, 57; this manuscript is not listed in Karo and Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," 317–18.

9. With Gerard J. Norton and Carmen Hardin, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena to* Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta: *Translated and Annotated* (CahRB 62; Paris: Gabalda, 2005), 10, one should consider that Field's "ability to add new manuscript evidence was limited by his age and physical isolation in Norfolk."

that of Ps.-Eusebius, B² *Trium Patrum* and the fragmentary types are completely ignored. As a consequence the present editions of *Hexapla* Canticles feature a significant hiatus: a considerable amount of patristic exegesis (that can be of use when doing text-critical research) was either not consulted at all (Nilus Ancyranus, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Eusebius Caesariensis etc.) or in a very limited way (e.g., Origenes).

2. ORIGENES IN THE *Catenae*

This paper only considers the exegesis of Origenes, as it is transmitted in the *catenae*. If one bears in mind that Origenes alone is responsible for the text-critical mastodon which is the *Hexapla*, and that he superseded himself in his commentary on the book of Canticles,[10] one would have high hopes for the text-critical value of his exegesis. Hieronymus himself confirms these hopes, for he explicitly states in the introduction to his translation of Origenes' homilies on Canticles, that the latter made use of LXX, α', σ', θ' and ε':[11]

> *nam decem voluminibus explicitis, quae ad viginti usque versuum milia paene perveniunt, primum septuaginta interpretes, deinde Aquilam, Symmachum, Theodotionem et ad extremum quintam editionem, quam in Actio litore invenisse se scribit, ita magnifice aperteque disseruit.*

> *Because in ten arranged volumes that added up to almost twenty thousand verses, [Origenes] considered in a so splendid and clear way firstly LXX, then α', σ' and θ' and finally ε', which he had found on the shores of Actium, so he writes.*[12]

Origenes indeed seems to have had a huge interest in Canticles, which he developed in an extended exegetical corpus: a small commentary in his youth, another commentary in ten books, and two sermons. Those works, which could be a major source for the textual critic, are unfortunately almost completely lost. Except for a fragment in the *Philocalia* (*CPG* 1434) and some fragments in the *catenae*, all Origenian exegesis in Greek is lost. The translations by Hieronymus and Rufinus (*CPG* 1432–1433), of the homilies and the commentary respectively, are of little use. The bulk of the text critical considerations, which must have made out a con-

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10. Cf. Hieronymus' remark in his *Prologus in Origenis homilias in Canticum Canticorum* (*CPG* 1432): *Origenes, cum in ceteris libris omnes vicerit, in Cantico Canticorum ipse se vicit.* Latin text copied from Origenes, *Werke. Achter Band: Homilien zu Samuel I, zum Hohelied und zu den Propheten, Kommentar zum Hohelied, in Rufins und Hieronymus' Übersetzungen* (ed. W. A. Baehrens; GCS 33; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1925), 26 (reprinted in Origenes, *Homélies sur le Cantique des Cantiques* [ed. O. Rousseau; second ed.; SC 37bis; Paris: Cerf, 1966], 62).

11. Hieronymus, *Prologus in Origenis homilias*. Latin text copied from Origenes, *Werke* (ed. Baehrens), 26 (reprinted in Origenes, *Homélies* [ed. Rousseau], 62).

12. Unless indicated otherwise, all provisional translations are the author's.

siderable part of the original Greek text, has disappeared in the Latin versions, especially that of Rufinus, which is a paraphrase rather than a reliable translation.[13] The few Greek fragments of the commentary that can be recovered, are found in the *catenae*, especially in that of Procopius Gazaeus.

As said before, within the five main groups of Canticles *catenae*, the chain of Procopius (sixth century) occupies a central position. In anticipation of the critical edition of this *catena*,[14] a critical edition of the Greek catenaric fragments of Origenes' commentary (hitherto only preserved in Latin paraphrases) has already been published.[15] Evidently the philological comments which Origenes provides (88 fragments in Barbàra's edition) are of great use for doing text-critical research into the book of Canticles. In addition to his comments to certain Hexaplaric variants, he also offers readings that are different or new compared to the ones printed in Field.

3. Field's Use of the Catenaric data

Field too regrets the loss of the Greek Origenian exegesis. In the introduction to his edition of the Hexaplaric fragments of Canticles, he writes that Origenes' commentary is a useful source. Subsequently, Field draws attention to the loss of the text-critical notes in the Latin translations, particularly that of Rufinus. The latter has altered and shortened (*recocti et coarctati*, thus Field) the exegesis in such manner, that one would look for the readings of the ancient Greek translators to whom Hieronymus refers in vain: it is beyond doubt that Rufinus has deleted all of these variants. Regarding the original text, Field denotes that parts

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13. For many years the primary edition was Origenes, *Werke* (ed. Baehrens), 26–241, that is reprinted and adjusted in: Origenes, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques. Texte de la version latine de Rufin* (ed. L. Brésard, H. Crouzel, and M. Borret; SC 375–376; Paris; Cerf, 1991–1992).

14. Procopius Gazaeus, *Epitome in Canticum canticorum* (ed. J.-M. Auwers; CCSG; Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming). My thanks are due to Prof. Auwers, for his helpful advice and for his willingness to communicate me his data.

15. Origenes, *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici. Testi in lingua greca. Introduzione, testo, traduzione e commento* (ed. M. A. Barbàra; Biblioteca patristica 42; Bologna: Dehoniane, 2005). See also Maria A. Barbàra, "Per una riedizione dei frammenti di Origene sul Cantico," in *Letture cristiane dei Libri Sapienziali: XX Incontro di studiosi della antichità cristiana, 9–11 maggio 1991* (ed. F. Bolgiani, A. Tuilier, and F. García Bazán; SEAug 37; Roma: Institutum Patristicum Augstinianum, 1992), 349–66; idem, "Progetto di edizione critica dei frammenti di Origene sul *Cantico*. Spoglio delle catene e stato delle richerche," *Annali di Storia dell'esegesi* 10 (1993): 439–50; idem, "Su un frammento catenario di Origene dalle *homiliae in Canticum canticorum*," in *Origene e l'alessandrinismo cappadoce (III–IV secolo). Atti del V Convegno del Gruppo Italiano di ricerca su «Origene e la tradizione alessandrina» (Bari, 20–22 settembre 2000)* (ed. M. Girardi and M. Marin, Quaderni di «Vetera Christianorum» 28; Bari: Edipuglia, 2002), 45–47.

of it are preserved in the *catena* of Procopius:[16]

> *Graeci archetypi [sc. Origenis commentarii in Canticum Canticorum] selectas portiones, quae Aquilae et ceterorum lectiones nonnullas exhibent, in opere suo supra memorato servavit Procopius; ex quo ea quae ad Origenem pertinent recudenda suscepit J.P. Migne in* Supplemento ad Origenis Exegetica *[…], praemonens: 'Haec scholia, qualia ab illustrissimo Maio exscripta sunt, ipsi nos protulimus, mendis scilicet non semel insanabilibus deturpata'.*

> *Selected fragments of the Greek archetype (viz. of Origenes' commentary), which exhibit various readings of α' and the other revisions, were used by Procopius in (his epitome) referred to above. Of this latter work the Origenian excerpts were reprinted by Migne, who expressed this warning: 'I printed these scholia, which, although they are edited by the most esteemed Mai, are infested with errors, not seldom incurable ones'.*

In his quotation Field denounces the numerous "incurable" errors in the *editio princeps* of *catena Procopii* by Angelo Mai (1837), who used but one, moreover late and inferior manuscript which often provides wrong attributions, viz. 688 (*Vat. gr. 1442*).[17] Most of the edition of *catena Procopii* by Mai was reprinted in PG 87²:1545–1753; in this reprint the footnotes contain references to *Brux. 30B* (*Brux. 3895–3896*).[18] The Origenian exegesis of the edition by Mai was reprinted in PG 17:253–288.[19] It is the first page of the latter reprint that contains Migne's

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16. Origenes, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (ed. Field), 2:409–10.

17. Angelo Mai, *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum series* (Roma: Typis Vaticanis, 1837), 9:257–430. 688 is a late (sixteenth century) and poor manuscript often providing wrong attributions. Cf. Jean-Marie Auwers, "Ct 2,1 au miroir de la chaîne de Procope," *ETL* 79 (2003): 329–46 (329 n. 1). Barbàra ("Progetto di edizione critica dei frammenti," 439–40 n. 3 and 447) says that Mai did not only use 688, but consulted to a lesser degree other manuscripts from the same family as well, viz. *Ottob. gr. 124–125* and 447 (*Ambros. C 267*). In the preface to her edition, I do not find these assertions repeated. Either way, these other manuscripts too are some of the worst witnesses to *catena Procopii* (see, e.g., Barbàra, "Per una riedizione," 350–51).

18. On the first page of this volume there is, besides the edition of Mai and the manuscript from Brussels, also reference to *Cod[ex] Ms. archiepiscopi Tolosani, Caroli de Montchal*. This is codex 562 (*Paris. gr. 153*). The actual influence of this manuscript however is very low. Cf. Marie-Gabrielle Guérard, "Procope de Gaza, *Épitomé sur le Cantique des cantiques*: les trois plus anciens témoins, *Paris. Gr.* 153, 154, 172," *Byzantion* 73 (2003): 9–59 (9–10 n. 5).

19. The Origenian fragments of this edition were already partially edited in Origenes, *Opera omnia quae graece vel latine tantum exstant et ejus nomine circumferuntur, Ex variis Editionibus, et Codicibus manu exaratis, Gallicanis, Italicis, Germanicis et Anglicis collecta, recensita, latine versa, atque annotationibus illustrata, cum copiosis indicibus, vita Auctoris, et multis dissertationibus. Tomus tertius* (ed. C. Delarue; Paris: Joannes Debure, 1740). These fragments are reprinted in PG 13:197–216.

footnote, quoted by Field. To these Origenian parts of the *catena*, the reprint added no extra manuscript evidence.

When reading the introduction to Field, one can deduce that his use of *catena Procopii* for his edition of the Hexaplaric fragments, was limited to PG 17 (= reprint of the Mai edition, *ex* 688) on the one hand, and the collection by de Montfaucon on the other. Although Field explicitly refers to the poor quality of Mai's edition, by quoting the comment by Migne, he did not add other manuscript evidence, nor did he seem to have consulted PG 13 (reprint of Delarue). Field does not seem to have used the Migne reprint of *catena Procopii* (PG 87²); as a consequence one cannot consider *Brux. 30B* as a source of Field. The sources of the English scholar for the Greek Origenian Canticles exegesis are thus limited to 688 and the work of his predecessor.

For his 1713 edition, de Montfaucon claims to have used three codices which offer (parts of) the text of the Procopius *catena*: *Cod. Reg. 1990²*, *Cod. Reg. 2436* and *Cod. Reg. 2940*, which can now be identified as 562 (*Paris. Bibl. Nat. 153*),[20] 563 (*Paris. Bibl. Nat. 154*)[21] and 571 (*Paris. Bibl. Nat. 172*)[22] respectively.

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20. A parchment manuscript from the twelfth century that contains among other exegetical fragments the *catena* of Procopius on Canticles (ff. 1–59). In his preface, de Montfaucon notes that it is *Procopii*, with which he probably means *Procopii commentarius in Cantica*, as he describes it in Bernardus de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova: Ubi, quae innumeris pene Manuscriptorum Bibliothecis continentur, ad quodvis Literaturae genus spectantia & notatu digna, describuntur & indicantur* (Paris: Briasson, 1739), 2:905b. Cf. Guérard, "Procope de Gaza," 12–15; Faulhaber, *Hohelied-Catenen*, 21. According to Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (MSU 2; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914), 315; Lietzmann and Usener, *Catenen*, 57 it could also have originated in the eleventh century.

21. A paper manuscript from the thirteenth century. Ff. 1–124v contain the *catena* of Procopius on Canticles (starting from Cant 1,3). The title is missing, but the subscript is the same as in 562. According to Guérard, "Procope de Gaza," 15–17 and Jean-Marie Auwers, *Regards croisés sur le Cantique des cantiques. Manuscrits de l'Épitomé de Procope*; http://www.hecc.ucl.ac.be/canticum/Mss3.html (access 2007/10/29) it is a thirteenth-century manuscript. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 203; Karo and Lietzmann, "Catenarum graecarum catalogus," 315 and Lietzmann and Usener, *Catenen*, 57 place its origin in the twelfth century. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-Catenen*, 21–22 gives a twelfth–thirteenth century dating.

22. A paper manuscript, written in 1490–1500, of which ff. 1–126r contain Procopius' *catena* on Canticles. This codex offers a text comparable to that of 562 and 563. It is clear however, that all three of these manuscripts are independent from one another. Sović considers *Vat. gr. 1442* (688) to be of the same family as 571. Whether this is correct or not, it is true that the latter manuscript contains a number of texts which can be found but in 688, the manuscript used by Angelo Mai in his edition. In copying de Montfaucon's sources, Field links this manuscript to the edition by Mai. However, it was not 571, but 688 which Mai edited. Cf. Antun Sović, "Animadversiones de Nili Monachi Commentario in Canticum Canticorum reconstruendo," *Bib* 2 (1921): 48.

These three codices are the best witnesses to *catena Procopii*.[23] However, one can raise doubts as to the extent in which de Montfaucon actually made use of these sources. When looking at his collection one gets the impression that he did not consult the catenaric manuscripts very thoroughly. In this regard, the observation that he does not list Origenes as one of his sources, is telling.[24] Moreover the absence of a critical apparatus and clear references[25] to the evidence hamper any insight into the precise extent of de Montfaucon's use of the catenaric data. Two examples suffice to illustrate its indirect and limited character.

Due to the lower quality of the edition of the *catena* of Procopius by Angelo Mai, which was Field's only means of access to this exegetical chain (since de Montfaucon did not make great use of the three manuscripts mentioned *supra*), one can conclude that Field's edition is in need of reworking, viz. by means of a new recourse to the manuscripts. It is a great help that, at this moment, one can make use of the edition by Barbàra of the Greek fragments of Origenes' exegesis, as preserved in the *catena Procopii*.[26]

de Montfaucon	Field
- *Reg. 1990²* = 562 - *Reg. 2436* = 563 - *Reg 2940* = 571	- collection by de Montfaucon - edition by Mai *ex* 688 - Origenes: reprint by PG 17 = Mai *ex* 688

4. NEW HEXAPLARIC DATA

As a manner of random check, this paper examines Origenes' commentary

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23. This is commonly asserted in the bibliography from the previous notes.

24. Field lists *Origene[s] in Cantica, et Ejusdem Philocalia* as a source consulted by de Montfaucon. I did not find this, however, in the latter's edition.

25. The way in which both scholars refer to their sources is rather vague; moreover Field often copies the references of his predecessor. For example, when de Montfaucon refers to *unus Regius*, one does not know what manuscript he is actually talking about; it could be 560, 562, 561, 563 or 571. When he mentions *unus Regius ex Procopio*, one is inclined to believe that it concerns 562, 563 or 571, the three manuscripts of the *catena* of Procopius which de Montfaucon enumerates as sources. However, only for two of them (viz. 562 and 571), he designates that they contain Procopius. Either way, when looking at this list, one is inclined to conclude that Field nor de Montfaucon made great use of *catena Procopii*.

26. This diagram displays to what extent both de Montfaucon and Field consulted the manuscript evidence of the Greek fragments of Origenes' commentary, as preserved in *catena Procopii*. The number of the manuscripts that is provided is that of Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*. The very first subcolumn contains de Montfaucon's reference to the manuscripts.

on Cant 7:1–2. Both verses[27] are interesting since they provide information of a different kind: for Cant 7:1 *catena Procopii* offers a variant to an existing Hexaplaric reading, and for Cant 7:2 it provides new data where Field's edition features a hiatus. For every verse, firstly the biblical text of LXX[28] and MT[29] are provided, followed by the corresponding fragment of the editions by Field and de Montfaucon[30] and the Greek comment by Origenes.[31] With these examples this paper evaluates the great value of the *catenae* for gaining information on the different texts of the book of Canticles as they appeared in the *Hexapla*. At the same time this study illustrates how Field made poor use of these *catenae*, and demonstrates the way in which a new edition can benefit from these insights.

4.1 CANT 7:1

Ἐπίστρεφε ἐπίστρεφε, ἡ Σουλαμῖτις,
ἐπίστρεφε ἐπίστρεφε, καὶ ὀψόμεθα ἐν σοί.
Τί ὄψεσθε ἐν τῇ Σουλαμίτιδι;
ἡ ἐρχομένη ὡς χοροὶ τῶν παρεμβολῶν.

<div dir="rtl">

שובי שובי השולמית שובי שובי ונחזה־בך
מה־תחזו בשולמית כמחלת המחנים:

</div>

De Montfaucon and Field:
σ':   ἡ ἐσκυλευμένη
                      de Montfaucon:
editio Romana
                      Field: Nobil.; Mat.; Origen.
σ':   τὴν ἐσκυλευμένην
                      de Montfaucon:
Drusius; *editio Romana*
                      Field: Nobil., Mat.

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27. I follow the numbering as provided in the standard edition by Rahlfs: *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (ed. A. Rahlfs; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935; repr. 1982), 2:260–71.

28. Greek text taken from Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta*, 2:260–71. The Göttinger *editio maior* of the book of Canticles has not yet appeared. My thanks are due to its editor, Prof. Dr. Eva Schulz-Flügel, for her helpful advice and for her willingness to grant access to her data.

29. Hebrew text taken from the new BHQ edition: *Canticles* – שיר השירים (ed. P. B. Dirksen; BHQ 18; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2005), 11–24.

30. Greek text taken from PG 16²:1567–1610 and Origenes, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (ed. Field), 2:411–24.

31. In anticipation of the full critical edition *catena Procopii* (ed. Auwers), the Greek text is quoted from Origenes, *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici* (ed. Barbàra).

Origenes in *catena Procopii*:

Ἀκύλας καὶ ἡ πέμπτη ἔκδοσις τὸ Σουλαμῖτις ἐξέδωκαν εἰρηνεύουσα· ἔστι δὲ ἡ νύμφη τοῦ λόγου ψυχή, ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία, διὰ τὸν ποιήσαντα τὸ ἓν καὶ τὸ μεσότοιχον τοῦ φραγμοῦ λύσαντα. Ἐὰν δὲ ἡ Σουλαμῖτις ἡ ἐσκυλμένη κατὰ Σύμμαχον· λέγοι ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν ὁ νυμφίος· Ὦ ἐσκυλμένη καὶ ὑπὸ τῷ αἰχμαλωτίσαντί σε γεγενημένη, ἐπίστρεφε εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐγένειαν [. . .]

Even at first sight one immediately notices that in his comment to this verse, Origenes does not hold back in giving text-critical information pertaining to the Greek minor versions. α', σ' and ε' are referred to *nominatim* and quotations of their variants to the proper name Σουλαμῖτις are given. The Hebrew proper name שולמית is a *hapax*.[32] Whereas the LXX translator transliterated the name, the revisers have sought to translate it by identifying the verbal root behind the word. α' and ε' probably were guided by the root שלם in rendering εἰρηνεύουσα, 'keeping peace, living peaceably' (LSJ *s.v.*).[33] According to Field and de Montfaucon, σ' renders שולמית with ἡ ἐσκυλευμένη/ τὴν ἐσκυλευμένην.

De Montfaucon does not refer to one of the *codices Regii* as a source, although the *catena Procopii* contains Origenes' *nominatim* quotation of the σ' variant. Field refers to "Origenes," which in fact is the reprint by Migne of the Origenian fragments of *catena Procopii* by Mai. In this edition Origenes' quotation of the σ' variant indeed runs ἐσκυλευμένη. In the new critical edition by Barbàra however, which draws on a much more extended manuscript basis, one reads ἐσκυλμένη. This reading is in fact provided by 562,[34] which also is one of the manuscripts of *catena Procopii* used by de Montfaucon. This means that both σ' readings were present in de Montfaucon's *catena* sources, yet he does not refer to any of these sources. Field only refers to the inferior Mai edition. Due to their poor use of the *catena* evidence, this σ' variant went by unnoticed.

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32. One also comes across similar names, such as Σωμανῖτις, Σωμανεῖτις etc. ; for none of these occurrences an extant σ' reading exists.

33. *Canticles* (ed. Dirksen), 62*–63*. With respect to the Greek rendering of Hebrew *hapax legomena* as a criterion in the characterization of the LXX translation technique, see Hans Ausloos and Bénédicte Lemmelijn, "Rendering Love. Hapax Legomena and the Characterization of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs," in *Translating a Translation. The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (ed. H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, and M. Vervenne; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 43–61).

34. Twice 562 is the only manuscript which gives ἐσκυλμένη, whereas the manuscripts of the other families of *catena Procopii*, viz. 563, 571, 712, 447, 760 and 688 (ed. Mai), give the ἐσκυλευμένη which can be found in Field. In contrast to Barbàra, who chooses ἐσκυλμένη as the preferred reading, Auwers opts for ἐσκυλευμένη.

Which of both variants is to be preferred? It would appear as if σ′ was led by the root שלל,[35] meaning 'to plunder, capture, rob (*qal*)' (*HALOT s.v.*). The verb σκυλεύω ("strip, despoil [a slain enemy]," LSJ *s.v.*) seems to be a better translation than σκύλλω, which means 'to trouble, annoy, maltreat, molest' (LSJ *s.v.*). According to Chantraine's dictionary both Greek verbs stem from a different root.[36] In rendering this root elsewhere, σ′ sometimes uses σκυλεύω or the like,[37] but not always.[38] He does not systematically render this root שלל in the same way. Σκύλλω or derivations do not occur in σ′.

In this respect one should bear in mind that of all the Greek minor versions, the translation technique of σ′ is the most difficult to determine. The same can be said of his lexical flexibility, which displays a "lack of predictability."[39]

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35. *Canticles* (ed. Dirksen), 62*–63*. The same view is expressed by Schleusner in his lexicon: *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus: sive, lexicon in* LXX. *et reliquos interpretes graecos, ac scriptores apocryphos Veteris Testamenti. Post Bielium, et alios viros doctos congessit et edidit J. F. Schleusner. Editio altera, recensita et locupletata* (Glasgow: Duncan, 1822; repr. Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), *s.v.* σκυλεύω.

36. Pierre Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1968), *s.vv.* σκῦλα and σκύλλω.

37. Apart from Canticles, σ′ renders the root שלל with the verb σκυλεύω in, e.g., Isa 10:6 (σ′θ′) and 8:1 (σ′θ′). Field also gives it as a retroversion (Syh ܐܟܒܘ) for σ′ Ps 75(76):6. σ′ translates the same root with the noun σκῦλα, of which the verb σκυλεύω is a denominative derivation (cf. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique*, *s.v.* σκῦλα), in, e.g., Gen 49:27; Isa 33:23; 10,6 (σ′θ′). Field also gives it as a retroversion (Syh ܒܬܐ) for Deut 20:14 (σ′θ′). On the other hand σ′ also uses σκυλεύω to render נצל (*pi.*) in Exod 3:22 (LXX σκυλεύω).

38. Occurrences of שלל that σ′ translates with equivalents other than σκυλεύω, σκῦλα or the like, include Num 31:12; 1 Kgdms 14:32 (see, however, the note by Field); Ps 67(68):13; Jer 45(38):2; 46(39):18.

39. Alison Salvesen, "Symmachus Readings in the Pentateuch," 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 Siebeck, 1998), 190. As to the discussions concerning the extent of the lexical flexibility of σ′, one can consider the characterizations offered by Salvesen ("although σ′ had a wide range of vocabulary, he often chose to standardize an equivalent") vs. Lust ("[σ′] does not seek to give a wooden translation in which each Greek word does always correspond to the same Hebrew, nor does he always seek to render the same Hebrew word by the same Greek. His main preoccupation is to provide an accurate equivalent") respectively. See Alison Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSS Monograph 15; Manchester: University of Manchester, 1991), 242 and Johan Lust, "A Lexicon of Symmachus' Translation of the Psalms," in *ETL* 74 (1998): 87–92 (90).

An argument that pleads for ἐσκυλμένη is its preservation in later Christian exegesis, such as that of Nilus Ancyranus (who copies Origenes' comment)[40] and the Syriac tradition (Išoʿdad of Merv,[41] Symmachus[42] and *catenae*[43]). Then again the translational behavior of σ′ elsewhere in the OT seems to plead for accepting ἐσκυλευμένη. This last argument can be considered a decisive one,[44] and we would opt for this reading. This shows that the *catena* is not always correct, but it is beyond doubt that it expands the number of variants found in Field and de Montfaucon.

4.2 CANT 7:2

> Τί ὡραιώθησαν <u>διαβήματά σου</u> ἐν ὑποδήμασιν,
> θύγατερ Ναδαβ;
> ῥυθμοὶ μηρῶν σου ὅμοιοι ὁρμίσκοις
> ἔργῳ χειρῶν τεχνίτου·

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40. In his exegesis of this verse, Nilus writes that ἐσκυλμένη γὰρ ἑρμηνεύεται Σου-λαμῖτις [*sic*]; Greek text copied from Nilus Ancyranus, *Schriften. Band I: Kommentar zum Hohelied* (ed. H.-U. Rosenbaum, PTS 57; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 175. In this fragment as much as three times the proper name Σουλαμῖτις is connected to the same root: σκυλεῖσαν, ἐσκυλμένη, σκυλμόν. For the latter two words Rosenbaum lists 571[cor] (ἐσκυλευμένη, σκυλευμόν) in the apparatus.

41. See the editions and translations of Išoʿdad of Merv's commentary on Canticles: Sebastian Euringer, "Des Îšôʿdâd von Maru Kommentar zum Hohenlied. Ediert und übersetzt," in *OrChr* 7 (third series, 1932): 9–74; Išoʿdad of Merv, *Commentaire sur l'Ancien Testament. III. Livres des sessions* (ed. C. Van den Eynde; CSCO 229–230; Scriptores Syri 96–97; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962–1963). Išoʿdad explains that there are three explanations of the name ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ, viz. 'perfect'; 'full of peace'; and ܡܫܚܢܬܐ (*Gequälte/ vexée*). Through the *onomastica sacra* Euringer (67–68) links the third etymology to ἐσκυλμένη; he is incorrect in considering σκυλεύω and σκύλλω as synonyms (68).

42. The identity of this Symmachus (not to be mistaken for the Jewish reviser) is unknown. His commentary on Canticles is transmitted in the Syriac tradition, but seems to be a translation of a Greek original (*CPG* 6547). He explains the proper name in a triple etymology that resembles that of Išoʿdad and includes the same explanation ܡܫܚܢܬܐ (translated by Van den Eynde as *contrita*). See Ceslas Van den Eynde, *La version syriaque du commentaire de Grégoire de Nysse sur le Cantique des Cantiques. Ses origines, ses témoins, son influence* (Bibliothèque du Muséon 10; Louvain: Bureaux du Muséon, 1939), 79 (edition) and 105–6 (translation and notes).

43. The same triple etymology is also given in the *catena* of Denis bar Ṣalibi, and in that of Severus. See Van den Eynde, *La version syriaque du commentaire*, 49–60.

44. Although it can be countered by the observation that σ′ might very well have acted differently: the problematic proper name שולמית cannot be considered a normal derivative of the root שלל.

מה־יפו פֿעֲמַיִךְ בנעלים בת־נדיב
חמוקי ירכיך   כמו חלאים   מעשה ידי אמן:

De Montfaucon and Field: /

Origenes in *catena Procopii*:
Τῆς νύμφης τὰς προκοπὰς ἀποδέχεται, ἅς φησι διαβήματα. Ὑποδήμασι δὲ
τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς λέγει θεσπίσμασι. Καθόδους δὲ Ἀκύλας ἔφη τὰ διαβήματα,
ἃς καθόδους ὁ ἀπόστολος καλεῖ ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις. Συγκατιὼν δὲ τοῖς
ὑποδεεστέροις, ὑποδεδέσθαι λέγεται τὰ διαβήματα, σωματικώτερος αὐτοῖς
φαινόμενος. Ἀμιναδὰβ δέ, ἄρχων ἤγουν ἡγεμὼν ἢ ἑκουσιαζόμενος ἑρμηνεύεται·
οὗ θυγάτηρ ἡ νύμφη. Εἴη δ᾽ ἄν ἄρχων ὁ λέγων· Ἄκουσον, θύγατερ, ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς
ἑκουσιαζόμενος. Ἑκούσια γὰρ πάντα θεῷ.

The lxx translator rendered the Hebrew פעמיך with διαβήματά σου. Origenes
provides an α' reading, although no variant of any of the minor versions is listed
in de Montfaucon or Field. The latter did not find it in his edition of Origenes'
fragments, since 688 does not contain the siglum α', that is only mentioned in
562.[45] As said before, this manuscript was in fact one of the sources of de Mont-
faucon. Again one cannot help but conclude that he did not collate his catenaric
manuscripts very thoroughly.

    α' translates פעם with κάθοδος quite often.[46] In this respect Field, as well as
de Montfaucon, elsewhere noticed that κάθοδος is a characteristic α' equivalent
for פעם.[47] Moreover *catena Polychronii* does the same as 562.[48] One can conclude
that in Cant 7:2, α' renders καθόδους σου for mt פעמיך, lxx διαβήματά σου. This
serves as a good illustration of the way in which a new and thorough research of
the *catenae* can fill the gaps created by Field and de Montfaucon, and can provide
new Hexaplaric data.

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45. One should not forget that recent scholars have argued that these older manu-
scripts are the most reliable for reconstructing *catena Procopii*. Cf. the stemma in Barbàra,
"Progetto di edizione critica dei frammenti," 446, or Guérard, "Procope de Gaza," 30–31: "Le
manuscrit qui offre le texte de la meilleure qualité et les attributions les plus sûres, celui
qui est problablement le moins éloigné de Procope, est le *Paris. Gr.* 153."

46. Exod 34:24; Deut 9:19; 16:16; 1 Kgdms 3:10; 3 Kgdms 9:25; 22:16; Isa 41:7. See
also lxx Eccl 7:23(22). Elsewhere α' translates the same פעם with ἅπαξ (Jer 10:18; 16:21),
μέρος (α'σ'θ' Exod 25:11[12]); πούς (Ps 56[57]:11).

47. Origenes, *Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 2:513 n. 17 and PG 16²:1532–1533.
Recently this assertion has also been made by Peter Gentry, who writes that κάθοδος is
certainly a characteristic equivalent for פעם in α', but is also possible for a translation in
the καίγε tradition before α'. See Peter J. Gentry, "'The Role of the "Three" in the Text His-
tory of the Septuagint': II. Aspects of Interdependence of the Old Greek and the Three in
Ecclesiastes," *Aramaic Studies* 4 (2006): 166.

48. Cf. Origenes, *Commentario al Cantico dei Cantici* (ed. Barbàra), 457.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, it is clear that Field's use of the manuscript evidence of the *catenae* on Canticles was very limited. Some of these exegetical chains were completely left aside, and others were incorporated very partially. For the important *catena Procopii*, and for the Greek fragments of Origenes' exegesis, Field's only sources were the Hexaplaric collection by de Montfaucon and the edition by Mai. The latter draws on a very poor manuscript basis and the former seems to have consulted the manuscripts in a rather limited way, as has been demonstrated in this paper. Either way Field did not have direct access to catenaric manuscripts. As a consequence, for the preparation of a new edition of the Hexaplaric fragments of the book of Canticles (in the scope of a "Field for the twenty-first century") the corpus of the *catenae* is a very valuable source. A systematic and thorough examination of the manuscript evidence and of new critical editions will open up a considerable amount of new Hexaplaric data.

The Theology of Job as Revealed in His Replies to His Friends in the Septuagint Translation

Mario Cimosa and Gillian Bonney

Abstract: Today a well-balanced approach to the problem of the Old Greek translation of the book of Job being shorter than the Hebrew Masoretic text would consist of a careful scrutiny of the theological tendencies of the Greek version, as several scholars have already done. This means seriously considering the translator's competence and closely examining Job's drama, the anthropomorphisms, eschatology, and theology of the translator, in order to comprehend how the book was proposed and understood by its Greek readers. Immediately, before the conclusion and the epilogue, God reproaches the three friends who, by a specious defense of God's rights and by means of a theodicy, wanted to convince Job that he was guilty of some secret sins, for not having spoken the truth but praises Job his servant (Job 42:7–10). One might ask what is the meaning of these words of YHWH? How did Job speak truly of YHWH in the nine dialogues with his friends? A careful comparison of the Masoretic text with that of the lxx reveals Job's thoughts more clearly, that is, his concept of God and his theology. The image of an unjust God, as he appears from Job's bitter trials and is defended in the friends' speeches, since he is of human stature, yields its place to that of a mysterious God of salvation, whom Job discovers from his own personal experience. This seems to be implicit in Job's replies to his friends, in some details of the Greek text and above all in the analysis of Job's replies which are to be found in chapter 21, a chapter which seems to recapitulate more than others the subjects of the discussions with his friends and Job's replies. The twenty first chapter of the book of Job belongs to the second cycle of speeches. It is an important chapter of the book (and is the focus of this paper) because it is a kind of synthesis of the matters discussed with his friends and Job's objections. The subject of God's justice is clearly examined and in the light of personal experience.

1. Introduction

A little before the conclusion and the epilogue of the Book of Job, the words that God addresses to "the so-called" friends who wished, by an absurd attempt to defend God's rights, to convince Job of his hidden faults, which were the cause of his sufferings, are impressive. These same words are even more effective in the Greek text of lxx. One of the authors of this paper in two preceding pieces of research, and particularly in the first, was able to underline this fact,[1] which

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1. See Mario Cimosa, "L'intercessione di Giobbe in LXXGb 42,7–10," *Salesianum* 49/3

reveals a certain development in biblical revelation in the transition from the Hebrew Bible to the New Testament through the LXX.

God says to Job's friends:

> 7. It came about after this speech and all these words of the Lord to Job that the Lord said to Eliphas the Thaemenite: You have been wrong and your friends. For you have said nothing true in my presence as my servant Job has done.
> [8. Now take seven bullocks and seven rams and place them before my servant Job and he will offer a burnt offering on your behalf. Job my servant will pray for you because I shall accept only his presence. If it had not been for him I would have destroyed you. For you have not spoken the truth about my servant Job.
> 9. Eliphas the Thaemenite and Baldad the Sauchean and Sophar the Minean went and did as the Lord bade them and for Job's sake he forgave them their sins.
> 10. The Lord made Job prosperous when he prayed for his friends and he released them from sin. The Lord gave him twice as much as Job possessed beforehand, even double] (Job 42:7–10).

In our reflection upon this text we asked ourselves in which sense Job, in his dialogues with his friends, had spoken the truth about God and we noticed that, by comparing the Greek text with the Hebrew, it is possible to realize the meaning of God's words by means of some of these replies of Job. We analyzed chapter 21, which, in our opinion, sums up better than others both the speeches of Job's friends and his replies. In Ziegler's critical edition of the LXX version, chapter 21 is particularly full of asterisks, that is to say, of additions to the Old Greek, asterisks in the Hexapla text, which comes from Theodotion and better explains Job's theology according to the LXX.[2]

Job 21 belongs to the second cycle of the speeches of Job and his Friends. It is an important chapter because it is a kind of summary of the friends' propositions and Job's objections. The question of God's justice is clearly placed in terms of experience.

Here (in chapter 21) Job, on the basis of his experience, replies to the statements of his friends and opposes the theological principle with that of the reality of life. His friends, in order to defend God, have tried to convince him of the veracity of their doctrine, that is, of retribution. But Job, on the basis of his experience, refuses this doctrine. The friends, who are confined to abstract theories, are

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(1986): 1–26; ibid., "Comparing LXX Job 42:7–10 and T. Job 42:4–8," in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran* (ed. Renate Egger and James Corley; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 389–409.

2. See Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Job (*Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 11.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982); Peter John Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); see also Albert Pietersma, critical review of J. Ziegler, ed., *Iob* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 11.4). *JBL* 104 (1985): 305–11. See Jean Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, Tome I (Paris: Gabalda, 1970), 281.

unable to perceive the reality of life. A mere glance at what surrounds us makes us realise that their way of thinking is faulty.

It is not always true that he who is righteous is rewarded and he who is unrighteous is punished in this life. If this is not true, says Job, I demand an explanation, not from you but from God. Very often the evil and the ungodly enjoy life more than those who are righteous, and this fact appears in many biblical texts.

Let us briefly look at the structure of chapter 21 starting with the introduction, vv. 1–5. We may divide it into three parts and a concluding verse: vv. 6–13, 7–33, and 34. We shall observe the exegetical differences between the LXX and the Masoretic text in order to perceive the minimum details which reveal the particular theology of the LXX text. J. Lévêque in his well-known work, *Job et son Dieu* also states:

> The speech in chapter 21 is the only one which Job entirely devotes to answering the justifications of his friends. It is also one of those speeches which better illustrates the masterly authority and delicate sagacity of the author: starting from the same subject matter as his friends, Job ruins their deductions by overturning the perspective.[3]

J. Lévêque also divides the book of Job more or less in the same way. After an introduction (21:1–6), the speech is developed in three distinct parts: 21:7–16, 14–17, 17–33, with the conclusion in verse 34.[4]

2. ANALYSIS OF JOB 21

1. *Introduction: Job 21:1–6*

Job asks his friends to remain silent and asserts once more that he who suffers has no need of words but of someone who listens to him. Job then answers and says: "Listen, listen to my words, so that there be no consolation for me from you" (vv. 1–2). His problem is not so much not leading a quiet life but of not receiving an explanation from God. His relationship with God torments him. The entire book revolves around the dramatic situation of the relationship between man with God and it is also our problem. God is so difficult and different so much so that we live as if he did not exist. Job invites his friends to be silent and listen. Yet this is not a question of being normally silent or listening because he asks them to put a hand in front of their mouth and this is a gesture of adoration.

The word "adore" reminds us of this gesture. In fact it derives from the Latin words *ad os* to the mouth. Adoration is silence and not knowing what to say. It is silence and awe. This is the same attitude that Job adopts after the theophany:

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3. See J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, 281.
4. See ibid., 281–85.

"For this reason I thought myself to be worthless and I pined away and consid-ered myself like earth and ashes" (Job 42:6).

Job expresses his dread about what he is about to say; in fact he is facing the heart of the matter with great lucidity and to do this he must counteract a solid tradi-tion.

In v. 3 the MT uses the singular תלעיג (he is talking to Sophar the last person to speak!) but as in the ancient versions (the Vulgata has a more elegant version: "et post mea, si videbitur, verba, ridete"), not only in LXX (καταγελάσετέ μου), the plural is preferable, because Job is addressing all three of the friends: "then you will not laugh me to scorn" and also it harmonizes with the other verbs. Only the Targum keeps the singular. In v. 3, the transition from the second person plural to the second person singular is justified by the fact that while before he first addresses everyone and the friends, he now addresses Sophar who was the last to speak. In v. 4 the Greek makes a summary of the Hebrew תקצר רוּחִי "shorten my breath, become impatient" with θυμωθήσομαι / "to become angry."

After this basic statement Job asks how is it that the wicked man lives a quiet life? It really seems that God is indifferent to man's painful situation.

Having gazed on me and placed your hands on my cheek you are amazed.[5] If I remember, I am alarmed, pain grips my flesh" (vv. 5–6).[6]

2. *Job 21:7–16*

Man is alone. God takes no part in his life. It seems that all the characteristics that should belong to the righteous man—long life, social prestige, wealth, the protection of God—all these belong to the ungodly. Everything is upside down! From Job's description of the ungodly man we may observe a particular kind of existence. It appears that the more someone is evil the better things go for him.

[7] διά τί ἀσεβεῖς ζῶσιν πεπαλαίωνται δέ καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ|
[7] Why do the ungodly live, and grow old in wealth ?[7]

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5. χεῖρα θέντες ἐπὶ σιαγόνι "putting the hand over the mouth" a natural gesture meaning to keep silent. M. H. Pope, *Job* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1965), 157, states: "The gesture is one of awe and stupefaction. This gesture is graphically represented on a Mesopotamian seal cylinder of the late third millenium BC." In the Greek world the god of silence Harpocrates was depicted with a finger on his mouth. In Latin we also have: "digito compesce labellum" (Juvenal, *Satira* 1, 160).

6. The verb here in Hebrew is זְכֹר "remember" and "recall to mind one's memories in dreams" but we also have the translation in "songe" (is the translation in dreams also possible?). See P. Dhorme, *Job*, 281.

7. The Greek makes a summary of the second verse of MT (*'ateqû gam gaberû ḥayil*) πεπαλαίωνται δὲ καὶ ἐν πλούτῳ "and grow old in wealth."

Job faces the problem in this way: "how is it that the wicked live, grow old and grow in strength?" For this reason the happiness of the wicked is contrasted with the presumed happiness described by the friends (particularly Sophar chapter 20). Instead of decreasing, their happiness increases. If the ideas of Job's friends were true, the wicked would not be still alive; they would be smitten by premature death. On the contrary they grow old and become ever more powerful.[8]

Lévêque in vv. 7–13 sees the second section of the speech. "Dans les vv.7–13, Job décrit non plus le malheur des méchants mais leur bonheur, scandaleux pour les justes et que les amis cherchaient à nier contre l'évidence. Derrière la question… se dissimule une accusation de Dieu par Job."[9] The question of this first strophe contradicts Bildad and is fundamental in Job's search for God as in Jer 12:1–2; Ps 58:1–5; Ps 78. This section shows the overturning of the blessings and the curses. "Chapters 20–21 are the pivot of the second cycle."[10]

The words of Job's wife come to mind: "Why don't you curse? Perhaps things would go better for you." Job seems to adopt this phrase. Above all, Job's description seems to present the ungodly man as he who holds his destiny in his own hands. For Job the godless man is he who is convinced that he holds his destiny in his own hands.

Instead of the premature death that Job's friends seem to foresee for the wicked (see Job 15:32; 20:11), Job establishes that they grow old in prosperity like everyone: "Why do the ungodly live, and grow old in wealth?" (v. 7) and also ἐὰν δὲ ἀναπαύσει ᾅδου ἐκοιμήθησαν "they fall asleep in the resting place of Hades."[11] In v. 14 the Greek prefers to use the singular instead of the plural (ΜΤ):

λέγει δέ… ἀπ᾽ ἐμοῦ … βούλομαι:"he says … from me, I do not wish …"[12]

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8. Theodotion translates the Hebrew verb ʿātāq in Job 14:18 with Job 14:18 παλαιωθήσεται as it is here with the Greek verb παλαιὼω.

9. See J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu* 281.

10. See P. Van der Lugt "Speech Cycles in the Book of Job: A Response to James E. Patrick," *VT* 56 (2006): 554–58.

11. Hades is used here to translate the Hebrew term *šeʾōl*. See Hesiod, *Theogony* 311, 455, 768, 855; *Works and Days* 155. Hades, whose name means "the invisible" in Hesiod is actually the god who presides over the dead. He was the son of Chronos and Rea. The Greek underworld, called "the House of Hades" by Homer, came to be called simply "Hades." See M. ddCimosa and G. Bonney, "Job LXX and the Animals: The Mystery of God in Nature," *Studia Ephemeridis Augustinianum* 101 (2007): 25–39.

12. In vv. 14–15 we have the words of the atheist as opposed to the words of Ps 16:11 and Ps 25:4: "direct me in your ways Yahweh and teach me your paths." Lévêque sees vv. 14–16 as the center of the whole speech. J.Lèvêque, *Job et son Dieu* 282: "Si l'on peut jouir des dons de Dieu sans recherché son amitié, à quoi bon refuser la voie disenchants qui mène au bonheur à si bon compte? Cette conclusion, les impies l'ont tirée depuis longtemps, comme le rappel de Job dans les trois versets centraux de son discours (v.14–16)."

The godless man challenges God and asks himself:

> τι ἱκανός ὅτι δουλεύσομεν αὐτῷ καί τίς ὠφέλεια ὅτι ἀραντήσομεν αυτῶ
> *Who is the Mighty One that we should serve him? *What profit is there that we
> should encounter him?" (Job 21:15).[13]

This verse is not present in the Old Greek; it is an addition from the Hexapla. In
this verse the Greek has tried to avoid the blasphemous form as regards God, for
in v. 14 the use of the singular diminishes the number of those who are guilty. The
interrogative form underlines that it is useless to serve God.

> Their descendants are according to their heart's desire and their children are
> before their eyes (v. 8).

The parallel seems to be with Deut 7:13–14 where God's election produces effects
of fertility and prosperity. J. Lévêque writes: "Aux trois images classiques du bon-
heur (la postérité, la maison tranquille, le troupeau fecund) Job ajoute la joie des
enfants et la mort douce."[14]

> Their houses prosper and there is no fear anywhere, there is no affliction from
> the Lord upon them. The cow did not miscarry, that which it had it in its belly
> was kept safe and was not born untimely. They remain like eternal sheep and
> their children play. Taking up harp and lyre they rejoice at the sound of music?
> (vv. 9–12).[15]

> Having lived their lives in affluence, they fall asleep into the resting place of
> Hades (v. 13).[16]

In verse 16 there is an ambiguous phrase in the interrogative form that is better
translated as an affirmation:

> ἐν χερσὶνγὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν τὰ ἀγαθά, ἔργα δὲ ασεβῶν οὐκ ἐφορᾶ
> wealth was in their hands but it does not watch over the deeds of the ungodly.

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13. Verse 15 is a textual insertion of Origen indicated by asterisks in the text of chapter
21. See also C.Cox, *Job* (NETS), 25–26. In this version the name of God in verse 15 is translated
as the "Sufficient One." According to Lévêque, in vv. 17–34 Job destroys the current theories of
wisdom. J.Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu* 282 : "aux versets 17–34, Job, ayant décelé une fente dans
l'aubier de la sagesse courante, y enfonce son coin pour ouvrir une bonne fois le vieux tronc
jusqu'au coeur."

14. See J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu* 281.

15. These musical instruments were used in the orgies dedicated to the fertility cult of Baal
as in Amos 6, 4–6. See M. H. Pope, *Job*, 158.

16. The term "Hades" is used again to translate the Hebrew term *šeʾŏl.*

The ungodly who hold wealth in their hands do not need God and so worship is a waste of time. While the ungodly think they have no need of God, because their prosperity depends solely upon themselves, Job thinks exactly the opposite. He ascertains that the facts contradict the theories of the friends. The friends ask God to keep his distance from them (v. 14), declare that they have no need of him (v. 15). They hold their prosperity in their own hands and it has nothing to do with a God who does not leave them in peace. This is not at all Job's attitude.

3. Job 21:17–33

In v. 17 the Greek phrase οὐ μὴν δὲ αλλα: "how many times? (nevertheless even)" instead of the ᴍᴛ *kammah* ironically contests Bildad's assertion: "and the light of the unrighteous will be quenched and their flame will not rise. His light shall be darkness in his abode but his lantern shall be put out together with him." In 18: 5–6, Job appears to be attacking God and saying that God's attitude towards man is not that of protecting the righteous and punishing the impious.[17] He wishes to spare men from being disappointed by their hope of justice upon earth. The conclusion of the book is clearly being prepared when it is declared: if you wish to have a relationship with God, it must be free from ulterior motives; you will obtain no real advantage from it. It is not worth your while being a "religious " person, a man of God. If you choose to be so, you will do so for other than practical purposes. Here on earth, says Job, there is no justice. According to religious tradition, if a person does not pay for the evil he has committed, his children will; if the father is not punished, the son will be; if a generation does not pay, the successive one will, but sooner or later God will punish them.[18]

Verse 18 continues the theme of the question in v. 17: "they shall be like chaff in the wind and like dust which the whirlwind raised up."[19] The comparison is developed by means of two images: "…like chaff in the wind and like dust…."

In v. 19 Job says that it is useless for God to punish the sons of the wicked, instead he should punish the sinner himself so he would learn better:

> may his possessions be insufficient for his children; [*he shall take vengeance on him and he will realize that*.].[20]

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17. See Job 18:5–6, the speech of Bildad: " And the light of the unrighteous will be quenched and their flame will not rise."

18. In the Greek world physical evil was regarded as being without limit and distributed, apparently by chance, but according to man's appointed fate, as in Hesiod, *Works and Days* 90. Punishment was meted out by the gods in the underworld to those who incurred in their displeasure by disturbing the universal divine order as in Homer *Odyssey* 11.575–600. Yet ὕβρις or the sin of outrageous insolence, arising from pride in one's strength or passion, was even punished on earth as Aeschyles, *Prometheus* 970.

19. See Ps 1:4; 35:5.

20. In verse 19 we have another textual insertion from Origen's *Hexapla*. See C. Cox, *Job* (ɴᴇᴛꜱ). M. H. Pope, *Job*, 159: "Job here is quoting the ancient view that a man's sins are visited on

This concept of justice presupposes a collective responsibility. Job attacks every form of complacency, every banal belief because every real situation is always greater. His attempt to interpret life in a different way from the usual way of thinking induces him to refuse any form of complacency which offends others. Job is offended by the self-assurance of his friends and attacks the truth of something which is potentially offensive.

> May his eyes see his own destruction, may he not be saved from the Lord.[21] (v. 20)
> *Why then is his will in their house with him?* And the numbers of his months have been broken off (v. 21).[22]

Verse 21 helps us to interpret vv. 19–20. Divine justice must not smite the children of the wicked person but the person himself. What does the destiny of his descendants matter to him? Once he is dead he is not interested in the situation of his children: "He does not know if his children are numerous, if they are few he has no idea" (Job 14:21).

He then continues his speech and makes an important statement:

> *Is the Lord not the teacher of knowledge and understanding? He himself judges murderers (Job 21:22).[23]

In Greek there is a double translation of *da'at*. We have the same Greek text in Job 22:2: "Is not the Lord the teacher of knowledge and understanding?" Job means to chide his friends for defending God (See 13:7–10). They presumptuously try to lecture everyone and impose their rigorous doctrine on God himself. In their eyes there is a strict correlation between moral and physical evil, between sin and death. Experience though, as is described from v. 23 onwards, proves that death can arrive unexpectedly for all men. There is no need to lecture God. God is the judge upon whom all depends. Man reaches a certain point where he can only keep silent and ascertain what happens without presuming to receive explanations which are in conformity with human justice. Job's question reminds us of Is 40:14: "Or with whom has he taken counsel and who has instructed him? Or who has taught him judgement, or who has taught him the way of understanding?" The encounter with the mystery of God is the highest point of human experience. This phrase of Job's is one of the most important in life.

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his children, even to the third and fourth generation. See Exod 34:7; Deut 5:9. Job objects that this is not just."

21. There is a different translation of "not be saved" "escape from." See Cox *Job* (NETS).

22. Verse 22 is a textual insertion from Origen's "Hexapla." See Cox, *Job* (NETS).

23. M. H. Pope, *Job*, 160: "Those on high are angels or God?"

Job faces the problem of death. This, for the theory of retribution, was the quintessence of justice but for Job it has no moral value whatsoever. Even in the Hebrew text it may be observed how the righteous man and the impious are both subject to the same fate. He who has lived righteously finds himself side by side with he who has done no evil. Job shows that death smites all men indiscriminately, the happy (vv. 23–24) and the unhappy (v. 25) whatever their conduct has been.

"[23] *One dies in strength, simplicity, * thriving in prosperity.* "[24]

Verse 23 is not to be found in the Old Greek and comes from Theodotion's version as it found in the (Syriac version of the) Hexapla. The version of the Vulgata has a freer translation, namely, "robustus et sanus."

[24] His entrails will be full of fat and his marrow runs through him.[25]
[25] But he ends his days in bitterness of spirit and eating nothing good.[26]
[26] Yet they fall asleep together (*jaḥad*) on the earth and decay covers them."[27]

It is not true that the plans of the impious do not last for long, that the desires and the activity the wicked quickly fail; everyday experience is sufficient enough for us to realise that it is the unjust man who manages to escape a tragic event: only a person who is captive of his own convictions and with no contact with reality may affirm to the contrary.

[27] Just as I know that you attack me with recklessness.[28]
[28] So that you will ask, where is the house of the ruler?
[[28].* *So that you will ask, where is the house of the ruler? And where is shelter for the ungodly?*

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24. In verse 23 we have another textual insertion from Origen. The word ἁπλοσύνης, which is translated here as "simplicity" is a *hapax*. It corresponds to the adjective … πλητὴ, which had already been used by Aristotle in *De Audibilibus* 801, 19, where it mean "single" or in Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* I, 4,3 "frank" and "sincere." The Vulgata translates it as "robustus et sanus." J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*: "Puis Job continue son argumentation: punir les descendants de l'impie s'avère inoperant (v.19–21) et il est inutile d'attendre de la mort, capricieuse et aveugle, qu'elle cesse de frapper sans discernement (v. 23–26) 283.

25. Pope, *Job*, 161: "Cfr. Prov 3:8. Moist bones are a figure of health and prosperity."

26. See Job 3:20.

27. See J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu*, 285: "Deux intuitions guident la recherche de Job: que la bénédiction de Dieu doit être désolidarisée des benedictions materiélles, et qu'aucune norme humaine ne saurait être imposée au government divin. Ce que Job combat içi, c'est en definitive les traces subtiles d'une conception magique des relations de l'homme avec Dieu." See Job 16:14; Iss 14:16.

28. Pope, *Job*, 161: "Job lets his opponents know that the thrust of their arguments is not lost on him: The wicked are ruined, Job is ruined; Job therefore is wicked" (See Job 4:7).

²⁹ ἐρωτήσατε παραπορευομένους ὁδόν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπαλλοτριώσετε²⁹

²⁹ *Ask those who walk past, you will not profane their signs.³⁰
Because the wicked man soars towards a day of destruction and will go towards the day of Wrath. ³¹

³¹ *Who will announce his way before his presence? And he did so, who will repay him?.*"³²

³² *He has been led away to the graves and passed sleepless nights over the coffin.³³

³³ *The stones of the torrent were sweet to him and every man will follow him there and before him innumerable men.*]³⁴

Verses 28–33 are signed by an asterisk both in Jerome's and the Syriac- Hexapla texts (except for v. 32), that did not exist in the Old Greek text and derives from that of Theodotion. Neither v. 32 (Syro-Hexapla), nor v. 34 (Old Greek) are connected to v. 27, while vv. 28–33 are without asterisks and follow the natural sequence. The introduction: "so that you will ask…." indicates that Job wishes to render more explicit his friends' thoughts.: "just as I know that you attack me with recklessness." His friends have emphasized the fact that "where is the house of the ruler?" indicates that it has disappeared without leaving any trace (see Job 8:14–15; 15:34; 18:21; 20:26–28). Now Job has reached the conclusion that his friends are not interested in the objective knowledge of matters. They do not accept the facts and they conceal them from him because they are not sincere. They want to be right and they hide behind the doctrine of the fate of the impious without telling him frankly that he is a sinner. They do not wish to face reality for fear that their theology might fail altogether. Job perceives their duplicity. Do they not see how matters go in the world ?

This is paraphrased in the *Vulgata* as: "*et haec eadem illum interlinear cognoscetis* " Job contradicts his friends with the experience of travellers. He is forced to criticize his friends' theories. The house and the tent of the impious may be destroyed by death and substituted by a monumental tomb which perpetuates their memory.

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29. See Job 8:15; 15:34; 28:15.21. J. Lévêque, *Job et son Dieu* 27: "Job oppose à la thèse des amis l'expérience courante des voyageurs."

30. The section, vv. 28–33 between asterisks is that of the text of Origen with the additions of Theodotion. The phrase means any "wayfarer" such as Lam 1:12; 2:15; Ps 80:13; 89:42 (41); Prov 9:15. Signs signifies tales.

31. Job here denies what the friends assert. See Job 15:22–24, 18:14–15, 18:20, 11. 22. 25, that the wicked always suffer. For the expression "day of wrath." See Job 20:28; Deut 32:35; Isa 26:20; Jer 18:17; Ezek 7:19; Zeph 1:15.18; Prov 11:4.

32. M. H. Pope, *Job*, 161: "The way here is the way of life or conduct."

33. Ibid., 162: "Contrary to what the friends assert, the wicked usually die in peace and have a grand funeral.

34. Ibid., 162: "It is uncertain whether the reference is to those who follow in a funeral procession or to those who imitate the defunct one's way of life."

Job then describes the funeral of a sinner: no one reproaches him for any-thing, everybody is afraid of speaking badly of him; many people accompany him to his grave and his grave is better than that of others.

4. Job 21:34

> πῶς ὡς δὲ παρακαλεῖτέ με κενά τὸ δὲ ἐμὲ καταπαύσασθαι ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν οὐδέν
> How then will you console me in vain? But there is no respite for me from you[35]

In conclusion, Job turns to his friends and says to them that their speeches and replies are only a useless and banal consolation and so they are not real but deceit-ful. The questions that Job has asked have found no reply. Moreover the words of Job to his friends seem to echo those of the Lord when he reproaches the three friends. "For you have said nothing true in my presence as my servant Job has done" (Job 42:7).

In Job 21:34a the expression κενά, "in vain," also in the Brenton translation, gives the sense of the words "For you have said nothing true in my presence as my servant Job has done" used by God in chapter 42:7 in his answer to Job's friends.

In Job 21:34b MT has: וּתְשׁוּבֹתֵיכֶם נִשְׁאַר־מָעַל there is nothing left of your answers but falsehood. LXX has: τὸ δὲ ἐμὲ καταπαύσασθαι ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν οὐδέν· "there is no respite for me from you nothing." Brenton has: "from your molestation." The *Vulgata* paraphrases: "*cum responsio vestra repugnare ostensa sit veritati*."

Job's speech ends by confirming what he had said at the beginning when he insinuated that the consolation of his friends was of no worth: "Listen, listen to my words, so that I may receive no consolation from you." They would have done better by keeping quiet. Already in Job 16:2 he had qualified their consolation as useless. After having refused their arguments he had exclaimed: "I have listened to many such words, all comforters of ills." Job refuses all their words because they are useless in the sense that they contrast with experience as Job has shown with his reflections. Job concludes that the friends' replies are an act of wickedness con-trary to truth and therefore contrary to God.

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35. The expression κενά, "in vain" gives the sense of the words "For you have said nothing true in my presence as my servant Job has done" used by God in chapter 42:7 in his answer to Job's friends.

Semantic Considerations and the Provenance of Translated Units

Johann Cook

Abstract: Because the principle of contextuality is a *sine qua non* for determining the provenance of ancient texts, this paper focuses on one unit, LXX Proverbs. Two categories of criteria are basic in this regard, lexically based, linguistic ones, and arguments from content analysis. This paper focuses on the first category and demonstrates that lexical items which, according to Gerleman and D'Hamonville, seem to be the result of Platonic and/or Stoic influence, are in fact either the result of Jewish, exegetical, pre-rabbinic influence (Prov 2:11 and 17), or of a contextual understanding of passages (Prov 7:10, 22 and 23; 19:7, 14 and 15). Additional examples are discussed in chapters 14:23; 23:31; 25:10a and 28:14. The paper concludes that the fact that Platonic and/or Stoic influence in LXX Proverbs is restricted to the external form of the text, and does not have a direct bearing upon the contents as well, is relevant to the provenance of this translated unit. The impact of Hellenism on Palestine was less extensive than it was in Alexandria.

1. Introduction

The issue of determining the provenance of ancient texts has proven to be a challenging one. In a recent monograph entitled *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha*, James Davila, following the lead of Robert Kraft, suggested that the point of departure for any reflection on Pseudepigrapha should be the manuscripts in which they survived.[1] Concentrating on the reception of these writings in Christian circles, he could therefore argue that the Wisdom of Solomon could "have been written by a gentile Christian in the second half of the first century C.E."[2] To him decisive facts are that there is no external evidence that this work circulated among Jews and no internal evidence that it is of Jewish origin. This approach would be a difficult mode of operation in the field of Septuagintal studies, even though many of these texts were transmitted in Christian circles. As is well known, these Old Greek texts can either be approached from the per-

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1. J. R. Davila, *The Provenance of the Pseudepigrapha. Jewish, Christian, or Others* (SJSJ 105; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 5. See my review in *RBL* 8/18/2007.

2. Ibid., 225.

spective of their inception, according to the so-called interlinear paradigm, or from the reception oriented paradigm of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*.[3] We are also all aware of the complications concerning the dating and localizing of texts from the Hebrew Bible. A large part of a recent volume of *Hebrew Studies* (vol. 47, 2006), was devoted to this issue, as was a collection entitled *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology*, edited by Ian Young.[4]

Much research has been done on this issue in the Septuagint in general. However, in this contribution I intend to honor the principle of contextuality and hence will concentrate on one translated unit, the Septuagint version of Proverbs. Whereas there is general consensus that the original Septuagint, the Pentateuch, should be located in Egypt, and more specifically Alexandria,[5] there is a difference of opinion on those books outside of this corpus. Ecclesiastes is a literal version and has been placed in Palestine in post-Christian times.[6] De Troyer[7] also places the LXX version of the book of Esther in Palestine in the first century B.C.E. On two other wisdom books, Job and Proverbs, opinions are divided.[8] Gerleman holds the view that LXX Proverbs originated in Alexandria.[9] D'Hamonville agrees that Alexandria is the location of LXX Proverbs; he actually thinks that it

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3. J. Cook, "The Translation of a Translation: Some Methodological Considerations on the Translation of the Septuagint," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden, 2004* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 33–36.

4. I. Young, ed., *Biblical Hebrew. Studies in Chronology and Typology* (JSOTSup 369; London: T&T Clark, 2003).

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 *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; BETL CXXXVI; 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: Society of Biblical Literature, 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'etat du texte du livre des Proverbes* (Leipzig: Druguline, 1890), 253 and Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jhs. V.Chr.* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1973), 292.

was translated by Aristobulus.[10] Gammie,[11] Dick,[12] and Cook[13] have argued that Palestine could be the place of origin of this conspicuously different, freely rendered translation. However, as far as Job is concerned, I concluded at the *IOSCS* congress in Cambridge (1995) that in respect of certain aspects it would seem as if Job and Proverbs were not rendered by the same translator.[14] It is therefore possible that they do not come from the same historical milieu.

It is immediately evident that appropriate criteria need to be formulated in order to address this issue. Two sets of criteria could be applied: 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. I have already done some research on the second category and demonstrated that this translator in fact interpreted his parent text extensively. One example is the interpretation of the "strange women" in chapters 2–9, where the translator interprets the *isha zara* as a metaphor for foreign wisdom, which he in turn takes as a reference to the Hellenism of his day.[15] Another example is the emphasis on the law of Moses in this unit that should be understood against the background of a progressively Hellenising cultural context.[16]

In this paper I will concentrate on the first category and more specifically on semantic issues, namely the application of individual lexemes. I have completed some preliminary research in this regard. In the monograph on LXX Proverbs published in *VTS* 69 I conducted lexical analyses of individual lexemes.[17] In various studies I have argued on the basis of contextual considerations that this translation unit (Proverbs) should perhaps be placed in Jerusalem.[18] I am of the opinion that the translator was a conservative Jew, who went to great lengths to

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10. D.-M. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes. Traduction du texte grec de la Septant* (Paris: Cerf, 2000), 134.

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

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

14. Cf. my contribution to the *IOSCS* congress held in Cambridge, 1995: "Aspects of the Relationship Between the Septuagint Versions of Proverbs and Job," in *LXX, IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Cambridge, 1995* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 328.

15. Cook, "אִשָּׁה זָרָה (Proverbs 1–9 Septuagint) a Metaphor for Foreign Wisdom?," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 469–74.

16. J. Cook, "The Law of Moses in Septuagint Proverbs," *VT* 49/4 (1999): 454.

17. J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs: Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (VTS 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 335–42.

18. Cf. Cook, "The Septuagint as Contextual Bible Translation," 25–39.

avoid possible misunderstanding of the intention of his parent text. This became necessary against the background of a context in which Hellenistic culture was increasingly becoming a threat to Judaism in the Diaspora. Dick has also recently argued along similar lines, albeit in connection with another facet of this translation unit, that is, the ethics of this book. His conclusion is that "the Old Greek Proverbs is surprisingly innocent of Hellenistic Greek ethical language" and, in the light of this, "this translation might best be understood perhaps not as a product of Hellenistic Alexandria but rather of a more conservative Greek-speaking school perhaps resident in Palestine."[19]

Here I will address, among other things, the question of the extent to which the translator was in fact influenced by Greek Hellenistic, especially Platonic and/ or Stoic ideas, since this has a direct bearing upon the provenance of this unit.

2. LXX PROVERBS

This translated unit exhibits pertinent and unique characteristics. It is firstly, one of the books of which the Old Greek text has not yet been determined in detail. The Göttingen *Septuaginta Unternehmen* has addressed this issue by allocating it to Peter Gentry. The consequence of this situation is that one is forced either to make do with the pocket edition of Rahlfs,[20] or endeavor to reconstruct the OG.[21] Holmes-Parsons[22] is an important source in this regard. Secondly—and this is directly related to the first issue—this text is interspersed with textual problems. A representative example occurs in chapter 20.[23] Thirdly, this unit is unique in that its translation technique can be defined as extremely free in some instances.[24] In close conjunction with this, in the *Festschrift* for Michael Fox[25] I have demonstrated that the text-critical value of this unit is extremely low, which naturally impedes the task of retroversion. Fourthly, as is to be expected in a freely rendered unit, the translator had a clearly definable inclination to contextualize. He

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19. Dick, "The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs," 20.

20. A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum iuxta interpretes edidit Alfred Rahlfs* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

21. I have done that for a selection of chapters in Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*.

22. A. R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum Variis Lectionibus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1732).

23. Cook, "Textual Problems in the Septuagint of Proverbs," *JNSL* 26 (2000): 163–73.

24. I have formulated it as one of diversity and unity. Cook, "Ideology and Translation Technique: Two Sides of the Same Coin?," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 208.

25. Cook, "The Text-Critical Value of the Septuagint of Proverbs," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays in Honor of Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel, and D. R. Magary; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 407–19.

therefore tended to interpret his parent text.[26] He also had a predilection for contrasts.[27]

2.1 The textual history of lxx Proverbs

The fact that the OG has not yet been determined systematically complicates the task of retroversion. It is well known that this book contains double translations and evidence of hexaplaric activity.[28] Useful criteria have been devised by De Lagarde.[29] Chapter 1:21 contains a representative example:

בְּרֹאשׁ הֹמִיּוֹת תִּקְרָא בְּפִתְחֵי שְׁעָרִים בָּעִיר אֲמָרֶיהָ תֹאמֵר׃

At the busiest corner she cries out;
at the entrance of the city gates she speaks.
ἐπ᾽ ἄκρων δὲ τειχέων κηρύσσεται
ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις δυναστῶν παρεδρεύει
ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις πόλεως θαρροῦσα λέγει
and on the top of the walls she proclaims,
and at the gates of the powerful she waits,
and at the gates of the city she speaks boldly:[30]

It is not immediately evident which one of stichs b or c has been added. According to De Lagarde's rules, stich b seems to be a less literal translation of the мт, which could be an indication that it represents the OG. That the translator could have had a somewhat different *Vorlage* is evidenced by the fact that δυναστῶν could be an interpretation of the Hebrew lexeme שׂר instead of שׁער. It is also possible that the translator deliberately interpreted this lexeme. Be that as it may, stich c is a literal rendering of the Hebrew and therefore is probably the hexaplaric text.

Not all cases are as clear cut as this one. I have demonstrated that in some instances stylistic considerations should be accounted for in order to determine the OG.

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26. Cook, "Exegesis in the Septuagint," *JNSL* 30 (2004): 1–19.

27. Cook, "Contrasting as a Translation Technique," in *From Tradition to Interpretation: Studies in Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 403–14.

28. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 12–20.

29. P. A. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig, 1863), 3. See also the remarks by D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 49.

30. The translation of lxx Proverbs is based upon my translation of nets available at http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/prov.pdf.

3. The Application of Individual Lexemes

In this section I intend to deal with individual lexemes but from a contextual perspective. I will concentrate on two passages, chapters 7 and 19. I commence in each case by cursorily discussing characteristics of the specific chapter. In order to link up with my introduction, one of the issues that will be dealt with is the question of whether, or to what extent, readings in LXX Proverbs are the direct result of Greek philosophical, for example, Platonic and/or Stoic influence. Gerleman[31] has a representative perspective in this regard: "The Hellenistic influence upon the Septuagint Proverbs is not limited to form only. It relates to the contents, the ideas, as well." He interprets chapter 2 verses 11 and 17 in the following manner:

VERSE 11

מְזִמָּה תִּשְׁמֹר עָלֶיךָ תְּבוּנָה תִנְצְרֶכָּה:

prudence will watch over you;
understanding will guard you,
βουλὴ καλὴ φυλάξει σε
ἔννοια δὲ ὁσία τηρήσει σε
good counsel will guard you,
and holy intent will protect you,
VERSE 16

לְהַצִּילְךָ מֵאִשָּׁה זָרֶה מִנָּכְרִיָּה אֲמָרֶיהָ הֶחֱלִיקָה:

You will be saved from the loose woman,
from the adulteress with her smooth words,
τοῦ μακράν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας
καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης
in order to remove you far from the straight way
and to make you a stranger to a righteous opinion.

Verse 16 has a totally different content from that of the Hebrew of MT.

VERSE 17

הַעֹזֶבֶת אַלּוּף נְעוּרֶיהָ וְאֶת־בְּרִית אֱלֹהֶיהָ שָׁכֵחָה:

who forsakes the partner of her youth
and forgets her sacred covenant;
υἱέ μή σε καταλάβῃ κακὴ βουλὴ
ἡ ἀπολείπουσα διδασκαλίαν νεότητος
καὶ διαθήκην θείαν ἐπιλελησμένη
My son, do not let bad counsel overtake you,
that which forsakes the teaching of youth

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31. G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document," *OTS* 8 (1950): 18.

and has forgotten the divine covenant;

Gerleman[32] has argued that the addition of the adjectives κάλὴ and κάκὴ in conjunction with the noun βουλὴ is evidence of Stoic influence. Gerleman[33] phrases this as follows: "The Greek translator thinks it necessary to emphasise their religious contents by making small alterations in wording." These alterations are, according to him, based upon Stoic religious perspectives. However, I demonstrated that they are actually based on Jewish, pre-rabbinic perspectives, since the Greek concepts represent the well-known Jewish tradition of the good and evil inclinations (הרע היצר and היצר הטב) inherent in man.[34]

3.1 Proverbs Chapter 7

According to D'Hamonville[35] chapter 7 is one of the key passages of evidence that the translator did indeed make use of Platonic terminology and, more specifically, of the assumption that the translator in fact linked up positively with these concepts. The main problem I have with these scholars' position is that they base their arguments upon individual Greek readings without taking the different contexts into account. Elsewhere I analyze this chapter contextually, so here I make a selection of relevant verses only.[36]

On a lexical level the translation of this chapter again contains many *hapax legomena* and words not used abundantly in the LXX. The translator also again renders words nuanced and stylistically. Contrary to Prov 2:16 the אִשָּׁה זָרָה is translated literally in verse 5, indicating that the sexual content was not an issue for the translator. According to D'Hamonville,[37] there are traces of Greek, that is, Platonic- or Stoic-influenced phraseology. He thinks verses 10 and 11 are examples of the inclusive application of Platonic terminology.

VERSE 10

וְהִנֵּה אִשָּׁה לִקְרָאתוֹ שִׁית זוֹנָה וּנְצֻרַת לֵב׃

Then a woman comes toward him, decked out like a prostitute,
wily of heart.
ἡ δὲ γυνὴ συναντᾷ αὐτῷ εἶδος ἔχουσα πορνικόν
ἡ ποιεῖ νέων ἐξίπτασθαι καρδίας
Then the woman meets him, looking like a prostitute,

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32. Ibid., 19.
33. Ibid., 19.
34. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 125.
35. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 107.
36. Cook, *Between Text and Tradition: An Exegetical Commentary of LXX Proverbs* (in preparation).
37. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 201.

who causes the hearts of young men to flutter.

The second stich is a contextual interpretation since there is no reference to the young men in the Hebrew. However, D'Hamonville[38] sees in this and the next verse evidence of Platonic phrasing and more specifically in the commentary *Phaedrus*. He phrases his position rather strongly: "Ainsi, l'agitation de la femme (v. 11–12) correspond exactement à la description que Platon fait de l'âme en proie à cette folie de l'amour, et la description du phénomène lui-même n'est pas sans analogie avec notre scène."

For the sake of contextuality, I provide a cursory orientation to this commentary in the words of Harold Fowler from the Loeb series.[39] "The *Phaedrus* is pre-eminent among the dialogues of Plato for the variety of its contents and style, the richness of its imaginative description, and the sportive humour of its conversation. The chief theme of the dialogue is rhetoric, the art of speaking." Plato agrees with the Sophists, and assumes that the result aimed at by rhetoric is persuasiveness. In order to do this, the arguer must know the minds or souls to be persuaded. This cannot be done without knowledge of the nature of the soul.

In paragraph 251e of *Phaedrus* the following translation is relevant:

> Now in this process the whole soul throbs and palpitates, and as in those who are cutting teeth there is an irritation and discomfort in the gums, when the teeth begin to grow, just so the soul suffers when the growth of feathers begins; it is feverish and is uncomfortable and itches when they begin to grow. Then when it gazes upon the beauty of the boy and receives the particles which flow thence to it (for which reason they are called yearning), it is moistened and warmed, ceases from its pain and is filled with joy; but when it is alone and grows dry, the mouths of the passages in which the feathers begin to grow become dry and close up, shutting in the sprouting feathers, and the sprouts within, shut in with the yearning, throb like pulsing arteries, and each sprout pricks the passage in which it is, so that the whole soul, stung in every part, rages with pain; and then again, remembering the beautiful one, it rejoices. So, because of these two mingled sensations, it is greatly troubled by its strange condition; it is perplexed and maddened, *and in its madness it cannot sleep at night or stay in any one place* (my italics - JC) by day, but it is filled with longing and hastens wherever it hopes to see the beautiful one.

In this case D'Hamonville[40] provides no specific text reference, but seems to take the whole passage as decisive background. For example, he also refers to paragraph 252b where Plato speaks of Homer on love:

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38. Ibid., 107.
39. T. E. Page *et al.* eds, *Plato with an English Translation by H.N. Fowler* (London: Heinemann-MacMillan, 1914), 407.
40. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes,* 107.

Mortals call him winged Love, but the immortals call him The Winged One, because he must needs grow wings.[41]

One of the verbs that he deems important is ἐξίπταμαι (to flutter), which is also used in the current verse in Proverbs. However, it is a *hapax legomenon* and Hatch and Redpath are uncertain whether it has נצר as parent text. According to LS, it is a later form of ἐκπέτομαι and appears in Aristophanes Fragmenta 346; Plutarchus 2.90c and Julianus Imperator Orationes 2.101a. I do not think this argument can be decisive.

VERSE 11

הֹמִיָּה הִיא וְסֹרָרֶת בְּבֵיתָהּ לֹא־יִשְׁכְּנוּ רַגְלֶיהָ׃

She is loud and wayward, her feet do not stay at home;
ἀνεπτερωμένη δέ ἐστιν καὶ ἄσωτος
ἐν οἴκῳ δὲ οὐχ ἡσυχάζουσιν οἱ πόδες αὐτῆς
And she is excited, and debauched,
and her feet can not stay at home.

ἄσωτος is a *hapax* that appears in classical Greek literature. To D'Hamonville[42] the description of Madame Folly and more specifically the application of the verb ἀνεπτερόω (excited) indicates Platonic influence.

Again he refers to Plato and more specifically to *Phaedrus* 249d.

Now a man who employs such memories rightly is always being initiated into perfect mysteries and he alone becomes truly perfect; but since he separates himself from human interests and turns his attention toward the divine, he is rebuked by the vulgar, who consider him mad and do not know that he is inspired.

All my discourse so far has been about the fourth kind of madness, which causes him to be regarded as mad, who, when he sees the beauty on earth, remembering the true beauty, feels his wings growing and longs (ἀνεπτερούμενος) to stretch (ἀνεπτέσθαι) them for an upward flight, but cannot do so, and like a bird, gazes upward and neglects the things below. My discourse has shown that this is, of all inspirations, the best and of the highest origin to him who has it or who shares in it, and that he who loves the beautiful, partaking in this madness, is called a lover. For, as has been said, every soul of man has by the law of nature beheld the realities, otherwise it would not have entered into a human being, but it is not easy for all souls to gain from earthly things a recollection of those realities, either for those which had but a brief view of them at that earlier time, or for those which, after falling to earth, were so unfortunate

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41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.

as to be turned toward unrighteousness through some evil communications and to have forgotten the holy sights they once saw.

As in the case of the previous verse, the problem again is that the verb under discussion, ἀνεπτεροω, is used sparingly in the LXX: here, in Ca 6:4 and in Si. 31:1. Hence it is difficult to draw conclusions on the basis of so little evidence. I therefore fail to see how D'Hamonville can be as certain of direct influence from this Platonic text. In any case the fact that an author makes use of any given word does not mean that the original context is to be deemed as part of the present one. The translator in these instances seems to me to render the Hebrew relatively literally. Hence Folly is depicted as excited. This is borne out by the next example.

VERSE 22

הוֹלֵךְ אַחֲרֶיהָ פִּתְאֹם כְּשׁוֹר אֶל־טָבַח יָבוֹא וּכְעֶכֶס אֶל־מוּסַר אֱוִיל׃

Right away he follows her, and goes like an ox to the slaughter,
or bounds like a stag toward the trap.

ὁ δὲ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῇ κεπφωθείς
ὥσπερ δὲ βοῦς ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἄγεται
καὶ ὥσπερ κύων ἐπὶ δεσμοὺς

And he followed her, ensnared,
like an ox he is led to slaughter,
and like a dog towards chains

κεπφωθείς for פִּתְאֹם seems an unusual interpretation; it is moreover a *hapax legomenon*. However, it is a contextual interpretation, since that is what happens to someone following a beauty and he need not have any external motivation. D'Hamonville[43] thinks this participle should be related to what Aristotle writes in HA 593b14 and 620a13 concerning a bird called the Kepfos. I fail to see the relevance. He also finds evidence of a Greek proverb in this verse, especially the reference to a dog in chains.[44] However, I wonder whether the translator did not read וּכְעֶכֶס as כֶּלֶב. He also has no reference to אֱוִיל.

VERSE 23

עַד יְפַלַּח חֵץ כְּבֵדוֹ כְּמַהֵר צִפּוֹר אֶל־פָּח וְלֹא־יָדַע כִּי־בְנַפְשׁוֹ הוּא׃ ף

until an arrow pierces its entrails. He is like a bird rushing into a snare;
not knowing that it will cost him his life.

ἢ ὡς ἔλαφος τοξεύματι πεπληγὼς τὸ ἧπαρ
σπεύδει δὲ ὥσπερ ὄρνεον εἰς παγίδα
οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι περὶ ψυχῆς τρέχει

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43. Ibid., 104.
44. Ibid., 203.

or like a deer shot with an arrow in the liver,
and he hurries like a bird into a trap
not realising that he is running for his life.

The comparison with animals is striking and the Hebrew has no reference to a deer (ἔλαφος). According to D'Hamonville,[45] this is the result of Greek influence and more specifically Aristotle's HA 609b 21–25. However, this passage does not refer to a deer but to a heron (ἐρωδιῶν): "There are three kinds of herons, the grey, the white, and the so-called starry." It is, moreover, difficult to decide on this issue, since the previous verse already has references to animals in both the Hebrew and the Greek. It is therefore, on the one hand, possible that the translator simply filled in the missing animals *ad hoc*. However, on the other hand, there is evidence that this translator made use of Aristotle, for example, in Prov 6:8, which has an addition of three stichoi compared to мт and that has a reference to the bee, in addition to the ant.[46] However, in the current verse there is no direct evidence.

3.2 Proverbs chapter 19

Verse 7 contains contrasts, such as ἀνὴρ δὲ φρόνιμος and ὁ πολλὰ κακοποιῶν. As in previous chapters, Gerleman and D'Hamonville[47] find Greek philosophical influence in this chapter (inter alia verses 7 and 15). Religionizing interpretation takes place in verse 9, where κακίαν is used for כְּזָבִים, as well as in verse 19 κακόφρων ἀνήρ. The addition of the noun ὕβρις in μεθ' ὕβρεως in verses 10 and ὕβρις for הֲמִיתוֹ in verse 18 is another example. In verse 22 the poor and the rich are contrasted and the poor are, moreover, called righteous. In verse 23 ἄφοβος and φόβος are contrasted. Verse 27 contains a contrast, the uninstructed son and evil ideas.

VERSE 7

כָּל אֲחֵי־רָשׁ שְׂנֵאֻהוּ אַף כִּי מְרֵעֵהוּ רָחֲקוּ מִמֶּנּוּ
מְרַדֵּף אֲמָרִים לֹא־הֵמָּה:

If the poor men are hated even by their kin;
how much more are they shunned by their friends!
When they call after them, they are not there.

πᾶς ὃς ἀδελφὸν πτωχὸν μισεῖ
καὶ φιλίας μακρὰν ἔσται
ἔννοια ἀγαθὴ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτὴν ἐγγιεῖ

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45. Ibid.
46. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 164.
47. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 269.

ἀνὴρ δὲ φρόνιμος εὑρήσει αὐτήν
ὁ πολλὰ κακοποιῶν τελεσιουργεῖ κακίαν
ὃς δὲ ἐρεθίζει λόγους οὐ σωθήσεται
Every one who hates a poor brother
will also be far from friendship.
Good sense will draw near to them who know it,
and a prudent man will find it.
He who does much evil perfects wickedness
and he who uses provoking words will not be saved.

These Greek stichs differ dramatically from the мт, even though there is some contact to be established between some individual words and phrases. The first stich compares to a large extent with the Hebrew. In the second stich φιλίας for מֵרֵעֵהוּ is clear, as is μακρὰν for רָחַקוּ, even though the Greek expresses it differently. There also seems to be some intertextual contact between this verse and the next. The phrase φρόνιμος εὑρήσει occurs in both verses. This applies also to verse 9; there is a relationship between κακίαν, on the one hand, and perdition οὐ σωθήσεται and ἀπολεῖται (verse 9), on the other.[48] D'Hamonville[49] also finds some relationship between stichs b and c and chapter 3:15:

τιμιωτέρα δὲ ἐστιν λίθων πολυτελῶν
οὐκ ἀντιτάξεται αὐτῇ οὐδὲν πονηρόν
εὔγνωστός ἐστιν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἐγγίζουσιν αὐτῇ
πᾶν δὲ τίμιον οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῆς ἐστιν
And she is more precious than precious stones;
nothing evil shall resist her;
she is well-known to all those who draw near to her,
and nothing valuable is worthy of her.

Intertextual activity clearly occurs in this unit. There is certainly some correspondence between 19:7c and 3:15c as far as phraseology go. However, in chapter 3 wisdom is the subject, whereas here it is "good sense."

The added stichs e–f in verse 7, such as ἀνὴρ δὲ φρόνιμος and ὁ πολλὰ κακοποιῶν, contain significant contrasts that are typical of this translator. τελεσιουργείω is a *hapax legomenon*. I would therefore argue that these pluses are from the hand of the translator. On what the intention of these stichs is, scholars have different opinions. Gerleman[50] in fact thinks that stichs a and c should be understood in connection with the Platonic view on love and wisdom (Lysis

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48. Ibid., 269.
49. Ibid., 268.
50. G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document," 21.

210). In this treatise Socrates relates how he was taken by some young friends into a wrestling school. He proceeds to a narrative of two conversations which he had with a handsome boy, Lysis, and his friend Menexenus. In Lysis 210 the following statements are made by Socrates: "The case then, my dear Lysis, I said, stands thus: with regard to matters in which we become intelligent, every one will entrust us with them, whether Greeks or foreigners, men or women, and in such matters we shall do as we please, and nobody will care to obstruct us." I do not quote the rest of the passage since there is no real correspondence with LXX Proverbs.

The problem that I have again is that these perspectives are already part of the parent text, which makes it difficult to in fact prove, so to say, that this is evidence of Platonic thought. D'Hamonville[51] also stresses the differences between the Greek and the Hebrew—the latter speaks of his friends whereas the LXX refers to friendship. Hence he is critical of Gerleman's view and rather thinks the term τελεσιουργείω should be related to Aristotle. It is used in GA 718b10; 732a25 and HA 565b23 and Epicurius, Ep 1p.4 U.

From my previous discussions it should be evident that I am sceptical of these views. It seems to me as if these pluses can be interpreted contextually, that they have been added by the translator in order to stress the seriousness of hating a brother and that good sense and prudence are important in this regard. He could have made use of Platonic terminology, but this could also have been coincidence. To me it therefore seems that the translator, who (as I have demonstrated abundantly already) was well versed in the Greek language, could have made use of Greek thought in order to make clear the intention of the text he had available. However, in other contexts, including Prov 6:8, he does not draw Aristotle's philosophical view from this Greek motif, but utilizes it in order to explicate a religious issue in the Semitic text he is translating.[52]

Verse 14 and 15 are the next verses with seemingly Platonic influence.

VERSE 14

בַּיִת וָהוֹן נַחֲלַת אָבוֹת וּמֵיהוָה אִשָּׁה מַשְׂכָּלֶת׃

House and wealth are inherited from parents, but a prudent wife is from the Lord.

οἶκον καὶ ὕπαρξιν μερίζουσιν πατέρες παισίν
παρὰ δὲ θεοῦ ἁρμόζεται γυνὴ ἀνδρί

Fathers distribute house and substance to their children;

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51. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 268.

52. See my discussion in the proceedings of the Wuppertal conference: "The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs: Is His Style the Result of Platonic and/or Stoic Influence?" in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. M. Karrer and W. Kraus; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008).

but a wife is joined to a man by God.

μερίζω has נַחֲלָה as parent text and παισίν is an explicative addition. The names for God are interchanged. The second stich is also an interpretation of the Hebrew. ἁρμόζεται is not related to the Hebrew and corresponds with Prov 8:30, where I chose the nuance "fitting together."[53] It has nothing to do with harmony, as argued by D'Hamonville.[54] ἀνδρί is an explicative addition and the translator offered no equivalent for מַשְׂכָּלֶת.

VERSE 15

עַצְלָה תַּפִּיל תַּרְדֵּמָה וְנֶפֶשׁ רְמִיָּה תִרְעָב׃

Laziness brings on deep sleep, an idle person will suffer hunger.
δειλία κατέχει ἀνδρογύναιον
ψυχὴ δὲ ἀεργοῦ πεινάσει
Timidity restrains the effeminate;
and the soul of the idle will suffer hunger.

ἀνδρογύναιος and ἀνδρογύνος are used interchangeably in different manuscripts in 18:8 and 19:15 and occur only in these two contexts in Proverbs. The first is the diminutive. The first stich is not related to the Hebrew. This is the sole occurrence of δειλία in Proverbs. D'Hamonville[55] thinks that there is Platonic influence behind this verse, since, among other things, ἀνδρογύνος appears in Plato's *Banquet* (Symposium 189e). The fact that this noun is a *hapax legomenon* in LXX Proverbs unfortunately complicates this issue. The question to answer is why is this noun used as equivalent for the Hebrew noun תַּרְדֵּמָה? This Hebrew noun is used sparingly in the Hebrew Bible; it occurs in Gen 2:21 and 15:22; 1 Sam 26:12; Isa 29:10; Job 4:13 and Prov 19:17. In Proverbs as well as in Gen 2:21 it occurs together with the verb נפל, where reference is made to the creation of woman. In Genesis the Greek noun ἔκστασις is applied, which occurs only once in Proverbs, in 26:10. Another lexeme that is significant, according to D'Hamonville,[56] is ἀεργός (the idle), which appears in Prov 13:4; 15:19 and 19:15. In the first two instances it is contrasted with the ἀνδρείος and in the present verse with the ἀνδρογύναιος. The first contrast is natural within the context of Proverbs, since it is natural to contrast the lazy with the courageous. However, the second is not immediately evident. I fail to see how the ἀνδρογύναιος can be an opposition to the γυνή ἀνδρεία of the final poem on the virtuous woman in Prov 31:10–33,

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53. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 232.
54. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 269.
55. Ibid., 109.
56. Ibid., 110.

as argued by D'Hamonville.[57] For one thing, these passages are simply too far apart. I have, moreover, demonstrated that there is in fact a contrast between the γυνή ἀνδρεία in verse 10 and the ἀνὴρ ἄδικος of the previous verse, that is Prov 29:27.[58] For another, the two verses seem to be stylistically related. Verse 14 ends with the words γυνή ἀνδρί, which has the ringing of ἀνδρογύναιος. However, even though the translator does sometimes read Hebrew words *ad hoc*, I wonder whether one can expect the translator to have related these different concepts!

On the question of why the noun ἀνδρογύναιος is utilized in this context, D'Hamonville[59] thinks that the *Banquet* of Plato acts as background. According to Lamb,[60] "The Symposium of Plato holds an acknowledged place among those few masterpieces of human art which unveil and interpret something of the central mystery of life." And "In the proportions of its design and the texture of its style the Symposium stands out from even the best writings of Plato as a marvel of artistic ease and grace." Moreover, "Here he makes the theme of love the occasion for a satirical sketch, in his own fantastic spirit and brilliant style, of physiological theories of the day." [61]

Symposium 189e: The Speech of Aristophanes:

> It is indeed my intention, Eryximachus," said Aristophanes, "to speak in somewhat different strain from you and Pausanias. For in my opinion humanity has entirely failed to perceive the power of Love: if men did perceive it, they would have provided him with splendid temples and altars, and would splendidly honour him with sacrifice; whereas we see none of these things done for him, though they are especially his due. He of all gods is most friendly to men; he succours mankind and heals those ills whose cure must be the highest happiness of the human race. Hence I shall try and introduce you to his power, that you may transmit this teaching to the world at large. You must begin your lesson with the nature of man and its development. For our original nature was by no means the same as it is now. In the first place, there were three kinds of human beings (ἀνθρώπων), not merely the two sexes, male (ἀρρέ) and female (θηλυ), as at present: there was a third kind as well, which had equal shares of the other two, and whose name survives though the thing itself has vanished. For manwoman (ἀνδρογύνος) was then a unity in form no less than name, composed of both sexes and sharing equally in male and female; whereas now it has come to be merely a name of reproach.

57. Ibid., 109.

58. J. Cook, "The Greek of Proverbs: Evidence of a Recensionally Deviating Hebrew Text?" in *EMANUEL. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 610.

59. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 109.

60. T. E. Page *et al.* eds., *Plato with an English Translation by W. R. M. Lamb* (London: Heinemann/MacMillan, 1966), 74.

61. Ibid., 79.

> Secondly, the form of each person was round all over, with back and sides encompassing it every way; each had four arms, and legs to match these, and two faces perfectly alike in cylindrical neck. There was one head to the two faces, which looked opposite ways; there were four ears, two privy members, and all the other parts, as may be imagined, in proportion. The creature went upright as now. . . .

The difficulty with concentrating on individual words is that within this context in the *Banquet*, Plato uses different nouns for male (ἄρρην) and female (θῆλυς) from lxx Proverbs. The first does not appear in Proverbs and the second only in chapter 30:31, where it has no Semitic parent text. In lxx Proverbs the stereotypes are ἀνήρ, which is used 144 times and γυνή 27 times for male and female respectively. If indeed the translator made use of Plato, one could then ask why the rest of the context is not reflected in the translation. It remains a question whether the translator in fact had the same intention with the application of ἀνδρογύνος as Plato originally had. As I have indicated, it is rather difficult to make a definite choice in this instance, since ἀνδρογύναιος is used only twice in Proverbs. D'Hamonville thinks there is some correspondence with Gen 2:21 and these verses "semble donc corollaire d'une réminiscence du récit des origines de l'homme et de la femme" and he feels strongly "en effet dans ce texte une séries non négligeable de contacts d'idées et de mots avec notre proverbe."[62]

The first correspondence is the fact that there is a triad of "femme, homme et androgyne," which corresponds with the *Banquet* 189de, where the myth of the original creation of mankind is discussed. Plato's *Banquet* 189e mentions the double meaning of ἀνδρογύνος, namely "For 'man-woman' (hermaphrodite) was then a unity in form no less than name, composed of both sexes and sharing equally in male and female; whereas now it has come to be merely a name of reproach." The second is, that according to the myth 'androgynes', the first form was cut in two: "Now when our first form had been cut in two, each half in longing for its fellow would come to it again; and then would they fling their arms about each other and in mutual embraces yearn to be grafted together, till they began to perish of hunger and general indolence (ἀργίας), through refusing to do anything apart" (191b).

In the light of my previous research I wonder whether the application of this lexeme should not be seen as an anti-Hellenistic statement. However, I must concede that there seem to be no obvious indicators in this regard. Therefore in the final analysis it seems to me that the application of this lexeme should simply be seen as a statement of the existence of a category such as the hermaphrodite, without logically having to accept that the content of the original myth was included in the application of the noun.

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62. D'Hamonville, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. Les Proverbes*, 109.

3.3 Other Passages

3.3.1 Chapter 14:23

<div dir="rtl">בְּכָל־עֶצֶב יִהְיֶה מוֹתָר וּדְבַר־שְׂפָתַיִם אַךְ־לְמַחְסוֹר׃</div>

In all toil there is profit, but mere talk leads only to poverty.
ἐν παντὶ μερμιμνῶντι ἔνεστιν περισσόν
ὁ δὲ ἡδὺς καὶ ἀνάλγητος ἐν ἐνδείᾳ ἔσται
With everyone who is careful there is abundance,
but the hedonist and indolent shall have want.

D'Hamonville[63] thinks that the use of the verb μεριμνάω is evidence of Stoic influence. However, this verb occurs only here in Proverbs, for עֶצֶב and stresses the nuance of meditation, reflection. ἡδὺς occurs in chapter 12:11a too, where the pursuers of vanities are described. ἀνάλγητος is a *hapax legomenon* and is an explicative addition.

3.3.2 Chapter 23:31

<div dir="rtl">אַל־תֵּרֶא יַיִן כִּי יִתְאַדָּם כִּי־יִתֵּן בַּכּוֹס עֵינוֹ יִתְהַלֵּךְ בְּמֵישָׁרִים׃</div>

Do not look at wine when it is red, when it sparkles in the cup and goes down smoothly.
μὴ μεθύσκεσθε οἴνῳ
ἀλλὰ ὁμιλεῖτε ἀνθρώποις δικαίοις
καὶ ὁμιλεῖτε ἐν περιπάτοις
ἐὰν γὰρ εἰς τὰς φιάλας καὶ τὰ ποτήρια δῷς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς σου
ὕστερον περιπατήσεις γυμνότερος ὑπέρου
Do not get drunk from wine;
rather converse with righteous people
and converse in public places.
For if you give your eyes to cups and goblets,
you will afterwards walk around more naked than a pestle.

μεθύω occurs here and in 4:17 in Proverbs. This is the only occurrence of φιάλη, ποτήριον and γυμνός in Proverbs. Again the translator renders the text extremely freely. The second stich is a moralising addition to stich a. The third stich resembles the second Hebrew stich to some extent. Clearly the translator wanted to underline the negative consequences of drinking. D'Hamonville[64] brings the

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63. Ibid., 245.
64. Ibid., 293.

phrase ὁμιλεῖτε ἐν περιπάτοις in connection with the peripatetic school. However, the description in this verse can very well be related to typical Jewish activity.

3.3.3 CHAPTER 28:14

אַשְׁרֵי אָדָם מְפַחֵד תָּמִיד וּמַקְשֶׁה לִבּוֹ יִפּוֹל בְּרָעָה:

Happy is the one who is never without fear; but one who is hard-hearted
will fall into calamity.
μακάριος ἀνήρ ὃς καταπτήσσει πάντα δι' εὐλάβειαν
ὁ δὲ σκληρὸς τὴν καρδίαν ἐμπεσεῖται κακοῖς
Happy is the man who reveres everything with discretion;
but he who is hard of heart will fall into evil.

καταπτήσσω occurs in Jo 2:24; Prov 28:14; 29:9 and 30:30, as well as Si 35:18. εὐλάβεια is used only in Prov 28:14; Jo 22:24 and Wi 17:8. In the present verse it has no parent text. D'Hamonville[65] thinks this addition is the direct result of Stoic influence. Again the application of a single word is problematic.

3.3.4 CHAPTER 25:10A

פֶּן־יְחַסֶּדְךָ שֹׁמֵעַ וְדִבָּתְךָ לֹא תָשׁוּב:

lest he who hears you bring shame upon you, and your ill repute have
no end.
μὴ σε ὀνειδίσῃ μὲν ὁ φίλος
ἡ δὲ μάχη σου καὶ ἡ ἔχθρα οὐκ ἀπέσται
ἀλλ' ἔσται σοι ἴση θανάτῳ
10a χάρις καὶ φιλία ἐλευθεροῖ
ἃς τήρησον σεαυτῷ ἵνα μὴ ἐπονείδιστος γένῃ
ἀλλὰ φύλαξον τὰς ὁδούς σου εὐσυναλλάκτως
lest your friend reproach you,
and your quarrel and enmity will not end,
but will be tantamount to death.
10(a) Favor and friendship bring freedom;
keep them for yourself, that you may not be subject to reproach;
but guard your ways with fair dealing.

The translator harmonizes internally by referring to φίλος as in verse 8. The rest of the stichs are also contextual interpretations by the translator. εὐσυναλλάκτως

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65. Ibid., 329.

is a *hapax legomenon* and D'Hamonville[66] relates it to Stoic ideas. I am sceptical, however, it is clear that verses 7c–10 form one instruction as argued by him.

4. Conclusion

There can be no doubt that the translator of Proverbs was steeped in Greek and Judaic thought. He clearly made ample use of words and concepts from the Greek classical world. One problem that I indicated above is that it remains difficult to determine to what extent the application of such words in fact included the original Hellenistic ideas, as has been suggested by D'Hamonville, Gerleman, and others. To me it seems as if especially D'Hamonville simply accepted the earlier views of Gerleman that the translator was in fact influenced by Platonic/Stoic thought without testing the hypothesis. As a matter of fact the uncritical acceptance of this position has led to further developments. Hengel,[67] for example, accepted that the translator of LXX Proverbs in fact read Plato's *Timaeus*. He was followed uncritically by Ferdinand Deist.[68] Sandelin[69] went further and, after analyzing only the first six verses of Proverbs chapter 9, he argued that the translator was influenced by Greek mystery religious thought. Needless to say, I disagree with these interpretations. What is needed to address these issues is sound contextually motivated semantic research, as I have demonstrated above.

Finally, the fact that Platonic and/or Stoic influence in LXX Proverbs is restricted to the external form of the text, and does not have a direct bearing upon the ideas as well, is relevant to the provenance of this translated unit. The impact of Hellenism on Palestine was less extensive than it was in Alexandria.

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66. Ibid., 311.

67. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus*, 293.

68. F. E. Deist, *Witnesses to the Old Testament* (Pretoria: DRC, 1988), 165.

69. K.-G. Sandelin, *Wisdom as Nourisher: A Study of an Old Testament Theme, Its Development within Early Judaism and Its Impact on Early Christianity* (Acta Academica Aboensis, Ser. A.; Abo, Finland: Abo Akademi, 1986), 76.

Euripides und das Alte Testament zum überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Horizont der Septuaginta

Evangelia G. Dafni

Abstract: Several common motives and linguistic features in the works of Euripides and in the Hebrew and Greek Old Testament indicate that an intellectual and linguistic exchange between the Greek and Hebrew people took place in the Classical as well as in the Hellenistic period. This paper aims at a reconsideration of the methodological issues that entail an examination of the relationship between Greek and Hebrew literature and thought. Both traditional and current research trends are taken into consideration. As a starting point, the theme of Theophany in the tragedy *Bacchae* of Euripides and the Exodus narratives will be employed.

Paul Anton de Lagarde, der Vater der modernen Septuaginta-Forschung, bezugnehmend auf die Entstehungslegende des Aristeabriefes, entwickelte die Theorie der *Urseptuaginta,* die von einer *ad hoc* Übersetzung der hebräischen Heiligen Schriften ins Griechische ausgeht und zu ihrer Rekonstruktion beitragen will[1]. So nimmt man heute an, dass die Septuaginta-Übersetzer im Großen und Ganzen keinen spezifisch-schriftlichen Vorbildern folgten, sondern improvisiert haben in der Art eines Dolmetschers beim Handel und bei Gericht[2].

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1. A. de Lagarde, *Septuagintastudien* (Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 37, Göttingen 1891).

2. Zur Gesamtdiskussion N. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 53–66. Ferner siehe A. Van der Kooij, *Zur Frage der Exegese im LXX-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zur Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen Original und Übersetzung*, in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter* (hg. A. Aejmelaeus und U. Quast; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 366–79. Vgl. A. Aejmelaeus, „What we talk about When we talk about Translation Technique," in *LXX X Congress of the International Organization of Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (hg. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Bibliical Literature, 2001), 531–52. Dies., „Characterizing Criteria for Characterization of the Septuagint Translators. Experimenting on the Greek Psalter", in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (hg. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox und P. J. Gentry; JSOTSupp 332; Sheffield, 2001), 54–73. Zuletzt G. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations, and „Canonic" Texts. The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (JSJSupp 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006).

Im Unterschied zu de Lagarde ging Paul Kahle von der Annahme aus, dass es niemals eine einzige Übersetzung gegeben hat, eine so genannte *Urseptuaginta*, sondern dass in den Diaspora-Gemeinden mehrere Übersetzungen verschiedenster Qualität in Umlauf waren[3]. Kahle baute seine Theorie im Anschluß an Henry S. Thackerey[4] auf, der von improvisierten Übersetzungen liturgischer Perikopen aus den Hebräischen Schriften gesprochen hat, die dem babylonischen Ethos gemäss in den Synagogen nach der Vorlesung des Originals vorgetragen wurden. Wir dürfen daher schlussfolgern, dass die LXX-Übersetzer bereits vorhandene griechische Übersetzungen sammelten, ergänzten und vereinigten, die erst um 100 v. Chr. als ein einziges geschlossenes Ganze mit dem Aristeasbrief den Anspruch auf liturgische und kanonische Ausschließlichkeit erhoben hat.

Alexander Sperber[5], der die Theorien seines Lehrers und jene von Franz Xavier Wutz[6] kombinierte, hat hinzugefügt, dass nach Alexander dem Grossen etwa im 3. Jh. v. Chr. das Griechische sowohl für Transkriptions- als auch für Übersetzungszwecke verwendet wurde.

Die Theorie Kahles wurde bekanntlich von der Fachdiskussion vorschnell ausgeschlossen, aber ihr Grundgedanke von griechischen Übersetzungen der Hebräischen Schriften in der jüdischen Diaspora, die der LXX vorausgehen, wirkt immer noch sehr verlockend. Die LXX ist zwar die erste uns bekannte vollständig erhaltene griechische Übersetzung, wir können aber keinesfalls *vorausgehende Übersetzungstraditionen hebräischer Texte ins Griechische* und umgekehrt ausschließen. Wir sind zwar noch nicht in der Lage zu sagen, was damals ganau passierte. Offen bleibt aber die Möglichkeit zu untersuchen, ob vor der Hellenistischen Zeit zwischen Hebräern und Griechen ein kultureller Austausch stattgefunden hat[7], der wechselseitige Transliteration sowie Übersetzung voraussetzt, deren Früchte in der Sprache und der Literatur beider Völker deutlich erkennbar sind.

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3. P. E. Kahle, „Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *TSK* 88 (1915): 399–439. Ders., *Die Kairoer Genisa: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hebräischen Bibeltextes und seiner Übersetzungen* (Berlin: Akademie, 1962), 225–27.

4. H. S. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: Published for the British Academy by H. Milford, 1921).

5. A. Sperber, „Das Alphabet der Septuaginta-Vorlage," *OLZ* 32 (1929): 533–40.

6. F. X. Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der LXX bis zu Hieronymus* (BWAT II/9,2 und 3; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1925 und 1933), 1–176 und 177–571. Ders., *Systematische Wege von der Septuaginta zum Hebräischen Urtext* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1937).

7. Siehe E. G. Dafni, „Genesis 1–11 und Platos Symposion: Überlegungen zum Austausch von hebräischem und griechischem Sprach- und Gedankengut in der Klassik und im Hellenismus," *OTE* 19 (2006): 584–632. Dies., „Platos Symposion und die Septuagintafassung von Genesis 2,23f. Methodische Überlegungen zum Austausch von hebräischem und griechischem Sprach- und Gedankengut in der Klassik und im Hellenismus," *OTE* 19 (2006): 1139–61.

Auf thematische Übereinstimmungen bzw. auf einzelwandelnde Motive, die in der Literatur beider Völker, aus deren Schoß die westliche Zivilisation hervorkam, feststellbar sind, hat bereits schon der Altphilologe Franz Dornseiff[8] aufmerksam gemacht. Die örtlichen und zeitlichen Konturen wechselseitiger Übernahmen von Sprache und Motivik hat Cyrus H. Gordon, wie kein anderer, kurz und prägnant gezeichnet[9]. Obwohl der altorientalische Horizont und der kulturelle Austausch in der Levante niemals angezweifelt wurde, wurde er bisher wenig oder kaum thematisiert: In welcher Sprache fand er statt? Es wird zwar öfters von vereinzelten griechischen Lehnwörtern im Hebräischen[10] sowie von semitischen Lehnwörtern im Griechischen[11] gesprochen, es wird aber nicht erklärt, wie das möglich gewesen wäre, wenn man die *Übersetzbarkeit* und das Vorhandensein einer reifen Transliterations- und *Übersetzungstradition* ausschliessen würde.

Dieser Beitrag verfogt das Ziel, einige gemeinsame Umrisslinien in den Bakchen des Euripides[12] und im Alten Testament, vorzüglich im Buch Exodus[13], sowie Indizien motivlicher Abwandlungen zu erörtern, die aus der Begegnung des Euripides mit dem alttestamentlichen Gedankengut hervorgesprungen zu sein vermögen, was m.E. ohne bereits vorhandene gegenseitige Übersetzungstradition zwischen Hebräern und Griechen nicht denkbar wäre.

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8. F. Dornseiff, „Antikes zum Alten Testament," *ZAW* 14 (1934): 57–75

9. C. H. Gordon, „Homer and Bible: The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature," *HUCA* 26 (1955): 43–108.

10. J. Yahuda, *Hebrew is Greek* (Oxford: Becket, 1982).

11. M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece* (Leiden: Brill 1967[2]).

12. Dazu M. Hose, „Bakchen, in Euripides" in *Forschungsbericht zu Euripides (1. Teil) 1970–2000* (hg. M. Hose; Lustrum 47; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005): 591–650. Vgl. G. Radke, *Tragik und Metatragik: Euripides' Bakchen und die moderne Literaturwissenschaft* (UaLG 66, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003).

13. Siehe B. Jacob, *Das Buch Exodus* (hg. i.A. des Leo Baeck Instituts v. S. Mayer u. M. v. J. Hahn und A. Jürgensen; Stuttgart: Calwer, 1997). Vgl. etwa U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus* (von I. Abrahams übersetzt; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967). M. Noth, *Das zweite Buch Mose. Exodus* (ATD 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978[6]). W. H. Schmidt, *Exodus 1–11,10, BK II/1–2,2*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1994–1999; ders. *Exodus, Sinai und Moses* (EdF 191; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990[2]); E. Otto, *Mose, Ägypten und das Alte Testament* (SBS 189; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000). Zu LXX-Exodus A. Le Boulluec und P. Sandevoir, *L'Exode* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 2; Paris: Cerf, 1989). J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990).

I.

Das Verhältnis zwischen Bakchen und Exodus[14], in griechischer und hebräischer Form, und seine Bedeutung für die Erforschung des Entstehungshorizontes der LXX lässt sich am besten aus dem Vergleich der Protagonisten, Jahwe und Moses in Exodus und Dionysos in den Bakchen, sowie aus der mit diesen Gestalten verbundenen feinsinnig aufgebauten, wandelnden Motivik erschließen.

Den Handlungskern beider Kompositionen bildet, wie bereits festgestellt worden ist, das Leugnen des Gottseins eines fremden Gottes. Die diesbezüglichen Äusserungen werden von Personen gemacht, die in mittelbarem oder unmittelbarem Kontakt mit Ägypten stehen.

In Exodus zweifeln sowohl der Pharao als auch die Israeliten, dass Jahwe, von dem Moses spricht, wahrhaftig ein Gott bzw. der Gott der Väter Israels ist und Mose wirklich sein Prophet. Daher braucht Moses Zeichen, damit er sich als Jahwes Bevollmächtigter legitimieren kann (vgl. z.B. Exod 4:17.28.30; 7:8ff.; 10:1–2; 11:9–10). In den Bakchen ist die Hauptfrage, ob Dionysos, der als Mensch erscheint, wahrhaftig ein Gott ist. Dionysos will sich all den Thebaiern als Gott erweisen (47), Jahwe will sich dem Volk Israel durch Moses offenbaren und Moses sich als Vermittler zwischen Gott und Volk rechtfertigen. Beachtenswert ist, dass Dionysos erstmals in jenem Land sein Wesen künden will (49), wo er geboren wurde, und von dort aus andere Völker für sich gewinnen möchte. Jahwe andererseits will das Volk seiner Erwählung zu sich berufen, und Moses von Gottes Willen sprechen zu dem Volk, aus dem er stammt, im Land, wo er geboren wurde, und von dort aus den Namen seines Gottes in alle Welt verkündigen (Exod 3:7–20). In beiden Fällen wird Ägypten eine besondere Bedeutung zuteil: Kadmos einerseits, der Theben gegründet (172) und regiert hatte, kam von Ägypten über Sidon (171) nach Griechenland. Sein Enkelsohn, Pentheus, ist derjenige, der das Gottsein des Dionysos für unwahr erklärt und sich gegen ihn und seine Gefolgschaft wendet (44ff.). Der ägyptische Pharao andererseits ist derjenige, der hartnäckig ablehnt, Jahwe und seinen Gesandten anzuerkennen und sein Volk zu befreien (Exod 5).

II.

Während der Herr der Hebräischen Bibel sich in Exod 3:15 zunächst als *Gott der Väter* offenbart, verdankt Dionysos sein Gottsein seinem Vater, Zeus, der ein Gott ist (1).

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14. Die Bakchen von Euripides im Vergleich mit Exod 5–4 wurden zuletzt auch von E. Kellenberger, Die Verstockung Pharaos (BWANT 171; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 142–44, diskutiert.

Dionysos nimmt Menschengestalt und -wesen an (52–54). Jahwe aber nimmt in Exodus und im hebräischen Alten Testament—trotz Anthropomorphismen und Anthropopathismen—keinesfalls sterbliches Aussehen und Wesen auf. Nur an einer einzigen Stelle in der Septuaginta ist von *Fleisch Gottes* die Rede, nämlich in Hos 9:12, wo uns die ambivalente Aussage σάρξ μου ἐξ αὐτῶν begegnet[15]. Moses wird in Exod 3 die außerordentliche Gnade haben (vgl. Exod 33:12ff.), die Funktion des Vermittlers zwischen dem Gott der Väter und den Söhnen Israels zu erfüllen. Von dem wird der Pentateuch Redaktor sagen, dass Gott ihn erkannt hat wie keinen anderen Propheten Israels (Deut 34:10) bzw. zu ihm gesprochen hat (Exod 33:11) *von Angesicht zu Angesicht, wie ein Freund zu seinem Freund spräche*, ihm zugleich aber die direkte Schau des Angesichts Gottes in Exod 33:20 aberkannt hat: οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν μου τὸ πρόσωπον οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται. In lxx-Exod 33:13 im Unterschied zum mt ist sogar davon die Rede, dass Moses als Gnadenerweis von Gott verlangt, sich ihm selbst zu zeigen: ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν. Dieses befremdliche und anstoßerregende Verlangen wird in mt-Exod 33:13 sowie in Exod 33:18 sprachlich gemildert, wo von der Offenbarung der Wege und der Herrlichkeit Jahwes die Rede ist. Jahwe erlaubt Moses nur seinen Rücken zu sehen, nachdem seine Herrlichkeit vorüber gegangen ist (Exod 33:23).

Aus der Perspektive der euripideischen Bakchen scheinen aber die lxx-Aussagen ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν (lxx-Exod 33:13b) und δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν (lxx-Exod 33:18b) zulässig zu sein. Denn auch dort werden sie gebraucht, u.zw. in Bezug auf die Offenbarung des Wesens des Gottes Dionysos. So lauten z.B. die Verse 47–50:

ὧν οὕνεκ' αὐτῷ	Darum will ihm ich mich
θεος γεγὼς ἐνδείξομαι	als Gott erweisen
πᾶσίν τε Θηβαίοισιν.	und all den Thebaiern.
ἐς δ' ἄλλην χθόνα,	In ein andres Land,
τἀνθένδε θέμενος εὖ,	wenn ich hier meine Sache gut geführt,
μεταστήσω πόδα,	setzt ich den Fuß,
δεικνὺς ἐμαυτόν·	mein Wesen kundend[16].

Die euripideische Aussage θεὸς γεγὼς in Bezug auf Dionysos erlaubt den Vergleich mit etlichen alttestamentlichen Aussagen über Jahwe, der kein Gott ist, wie die Götter der kulturellen Umgebung Israels. Er ist zwar wer er ist, er macht sich aber zum Gott seines auserwählten Volkes, welches in einer polytheistischen

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15. Dazu E. G. Dafni, „ΣΑΡΞ ΜΟΥ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ (LXX-Hosea ix 12). Zur Theologie der Sprache der Septuaginta," VT 51 (2001): 336–53.

16. Deutsche Übersetzung von O. Werner, *Euripides, Die Bakchen. Tragödie. Übersetzung, Nachwort und Anmerkungen* (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 940, Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam, 1968. 2005).

Umwelt lebt, dem er seinen Willen nicht direkt, sondern durch Moses als Prophet kundtut. Ebenso spricht Moses nicht direkt zu seinem Volk und zum Pharao, sondern durch einen Vermittler, seinen Bruder Aaron, von dem Jahwe in Exod 7:1 sagt, er soll Moses' Prophet sein, genauso wie Jahwe ihn selber zum Gott für den Pharao gemacht hat:

ἰδοὺ δέδωκά σε θεὸν Φαραω   ראה נתתיך אלהים לפרעה

καὶ Ααρων ὁ ἀδελφός σου   ואהרן אחיך

ἔσται σου προφήτης   יהיה נביאך:

Während Dionysos als Mensch vor Pentheus erscheint, erscheint Moses als Gott vor dem Pharao. Im ersteren Fall handelt es sich um ein autonomes, im zweiten Fall aber um ein theonomes Handeln. Dionysos ist, was er ist, ein Mensch und ein Gott zugleich. Der Mensch Moses wird von Jahwe vor den Ägyptern *zu* einem wundertätigen *Gott gemacht*, nämlich so wie die Ägypter die Gottheit begreifen könnten, um den Willen Jahwes zu erfüllen, das Volk seiner Erwählung zu ihm zu berufen.

<div align="center">III.</div>

Das Problem der *Gottesschau*, welches in Exod 3 und 33 auf einzigartige Weise behandelt wird[17], wird in den Bakchen satirisch nachgeahmt. Pentheus droht Dionysos einzukerkern (497). Dionysos aber, der vor Pentheus steht und vorgibt, er sei ein einfacher Mensch, der mit seinem Gott nach Theben gekommen sei (481), ist zuversichtlich, dass sein Gott sein Leiden sieht, Mitleid mit ihm hat und ihn letztendlich befreien wird (498ff.). Pentheus verspottet ihn wegen seiner vermeintlichen Naivität und fragt (501): *„Wo ist er? Meinen Augen ist er unsichtbar"* (καὶ ποῦ 'στιν; οὐ γὰρ φανερὸς ὄμμασίν γ' ἐμοῖς). Der euripideische Dionysos gibt Pentheus der Lächerlichkeit preis und macht die Frage der Gottesschau von der Frömmigkeit abhängig. So antwortet er (502): *„Bei mir; doch da du unfromm bist, siehst du ihn nicht"* (παρ' ἐμοί· σὺ δ' ἀσεβὴς αὐτὸς ὢν οὐκ εἰσορᾶις).

Die Bemerkung des Dionysos (913) *„Du, der begehrt, was man nicht schauen darf, zu schaun"* (σὲ τὸν πρόθυμον ὄνθ' ἃ μὴ χρεὼν ὁρᾶν) dürfte als die passende Antwort auf Moses Verlangen nach ʟxx-Exod 33:13b *„zeig mir Dich selbst"* (ἐμφάνισόν μοι σεαυτόν) bzw. ʟxx-Exod 33:18b *„zeig mir Deine Herrlichkeit"* (Δεῖξόν μοι τὴν σεαυτοῦ δόξαν) verstanden werden. Doch das Begehren des Pentheus bezieht sich nicht auf das Wesen des Dionysos, das er bereits schon offengelegt hat, sondern auf seinen Kult. Dionysos' Antwort erinnert hier aber

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17. Dazu E. G. Dafni, *Von Angesicht zu Angesicht: Prolegomena zum Thema „Gottschauen" im Hebräischen und Griechischen Exodusbuch. 1. Exodus 33,11.12–23 Übersetzungs- und Wirkungskritisch* (EM 2; Athen: Etaireia ton Filon tou Laou, 2001).

noch stärker an das AT (923–924): „*Der Gott ist mit uns, steht, zuvor nicht wohl-
gesinnt, mit uns im Bund. Jetzt siehst du, was du sehen sollst*"[18] (ὁ θεὸς ὁμαρτεῖ,
πρόσθεν ὢν οὐκ εὐμενής, ἔνσπονδος ἡμῖν· νῦν δ' ὁρᾷς ἃ χρή σ' ὁρᾶν). Somit
schildert Euripides periphrastisch, was Exod 33:20.23 ausdrücklich sagt: Der
Mensch kann nicht das Angesicht Jahwes sehen und (weiter)leben. Auch hier
macht Euripides die Gottesschau vom Subjekt des Schauens (bzw. von der Sicht
des Betrachters) abhängig und deutet darauf hin, dass alle Gottesvorstellungen
im Grunde subjektiv sind. Man sieht, was man sehen will und kann.

Dionysos erscheint in den Augen des Pentheus als Stier (920). So fragt sich
Pentheus, ob Dionysos früher dem Wesen nach ein Tier gewesen wäre (921). Dies
dürfte wohl als eine euripideische Anspielung auf Xenophanes und seine Kritik
an den Homerischen Anthropomorphismus verstanden werden. In diesem Sinne
betont der euripideische Dionysos (944): „*Gut is's, dass du aufgabst deinen Sinn*"
(αἰνῶ δ' ὅτι μεθέστηκας φρενῶν). Und in der Fortsetzung (947–948): „*Du kannst
es, wenn du willst: du hattest früher nicht gesunden Sinn: hast solchen nun, wie er
dir ziemt*" (δύναι' ἄν, εἰ βούλοιο· τὰς δὲ πρὶν φρένας οὐκ εἶχες ὑγιεῖς, νῦν δ' ἔχεις
οἵας σε δεῖ), was nicht nur auf geistige, sondern auch auf psychische Störungen
anspielt, die im allgemeinen die menschlichen Vorstellungen von Gott entschei-
dend beeiträchtigen können. Hier handelt es sich aber um eine tragische Ironie,
denn die durch Überlistung erfolgte Sinneswandlung des Pentheus bedeutet, dass
er damit dem Tod geweiht ist (955). Und dies ist was ihm, dem Frevler, geziemt.
Der Chor fügt hinzu (†1002f.): „*Dem wird, ging der Warnung fehl, im Tod klare
Einsicht in Göttliches*" (†γνώμαν σώφρονα θάνατος ἀπροφάσιστος εἰς τὰ θεῶν
ἔφυ†). Diese Aussage dürfte als Ergänzung des alttestamentlichen „*der Mensch
kann nicht das Angesicht Jahwes sehen und (weiter)leben*" angesehen werden.
Paulus nimmt die Quintessenz der alttestamentlichen und der euripideischen
Aussage auf, um in 1Kor 13:12 die endzeitliche Vollendung der Gotteserkennt-
nis zum Ausdruck zu bringen (EÜ): *Jetzt schauen wir in einen Spiegel und sehen
nur rätselhafte Umrisse, dann aber schauen wir von Angesicht zu Angesicht. Jetzt
erkenne ich unvollkommen, dann aber werde ich durch und durch erkennen, so wie
ich auch durch und durch erkannt worden bin*" (βλέπομεν γὰρ ἄρτι δι' ἐσόπτρου
ἐν αἰνίγματι, τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον· ἄρτι γινώσκω ἐκ μέρους, τότε
δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην).

IV.

Trotz anthropomorpher und antropopatischer Ausdrucksweise bleibt der Herr
des Alten Testaments absolut transzendent. Seine immanente Seite lässt sich in

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18. Vgl. Jes 7:14. O. Werner lässt in seiner Übersetzung von Bakchen 923—stärker als
im Original—eine Verbindung der jesajanischen Vorstellung von Imanuel mit der Bundes-
schließung am Sinai erkennen. Dionysos wird übrigens auch als Berggott dargestellt.

der Person des Moses zeigen. Der von einer Sterblichen ausgetragene und von Zeus geborene Dionysos ist kein Halbgott wie Herakles, sondern *ein Mensch und ein Gott zugleich*. Nach der Geburt werden beide, der vergöttlichte Mensch Moses und der menschgewordene Gott Dionysos, verfolgt und schließlich gerettet.

a) Dionysos' Mutter, Semele, stirbt vor seiner Geburt. Ihn nimm sein Vater, Zeus, auf, verbirgt ihn in seinem Schenkel heimlich vor seiner Verfolgerin, Zeus' Gattin Hera (88-99), und schenkt ihm, als die Zeit kommt, das Leben (99)[19]. Somit wird aber sein Gottsein legitimiert und erklärt, warum er der göttlichen sowie der menschlichen Natur teilhaben kann.

b) Moses' Mutter hält ihn nach der Geburt drei Monate verborgen, aus Furcht, dass der Pharao ihn töten ließe. Sie setzt ihn dann in einem Binsenkästchen am Nilufer aus. Die Tochter des Pharao nimmt ihn auf und zieht ihn groß (Exod 2). Moses ist somit Hebräer und durch Adoption Ägypter zugleich. Für die Hebräern kann er nicht mehr als ein Prophet sein, vor dem ägyptischen Pharao aber macht ihn Jahwe zu nichts *geringerem als einen Gott* (Ps 8:6).

Das Gott- und Menschsein des Dionysos dürfte daher als ein Verstehens- und Erklärungsversuch dessen angesehen werden, was Jahwe und Moses aus der Sicht eines kritisch denkenden, die Exodustraditionen von außen her betrachtenden Griechen sind. Beachtenswert ist aber, dass in den Bakchen Kritik mit Parodie gepaart ist. Die komisch-satirische Umbildung ist vor allem in der Verwandlung des Pentheus in eine Frau zu sehen, was seine Tötung mit nach sich zieht u.zw. von der Hand seiner eigenen Mutter, die sich in Raserei befindet und ihn nicht als ihren Sohn erkennt, sondern mit einem Tier (Kalb) verwechselt. Bei Euripides haben wir also zum einen einen Gott, der eigenmächtig Menschengestalt und –wesen einnimmt, um die Menschen zur Erkenntnis seines wahren Ich zu führen, und zum anderen einen Menschen u.zw. einen Mann, der Weiberkleider anziehend Frauengestalt einnimmt (802), im wesentlichen aber unverändert bleibt, um damit die Frauen (Bakchen) zu täuschen. Pentheus wird aber von Dionysos überlistet, der ihm versichert, dass er auf diese Weise von den Frauen nicht getötet wird. Die Überlistung seines Verfolgers erreicht Dionysos mit Worten, die der Absicht nach mit den Worten der Schlange in Gen 3:5 vergleichbar sind[20]. In beiden Fällen stellt man die Abwendung dessen als sicher hin, was unvermeidlich ist: *Der Tod des Gotteslästerers, der Tod des Widersachers.*

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19. Siehe mehr dazu in 286–297 und 519–575 (zweites Standlied).

20. Dazu E. G. Dafni, נחש-ΟΦΙΣ. Γενέσεως 3 καὶ Ἠσαΐου 27,1 ὑπὸ τὸ Φῶς καὶ τῶν Α Ê Βασιλ. 22,19–23. Ἰὼβ 1,6–12· 2,1–7 καὶ Ζαχ. 3,1–2. Συμβολὴ εἰς τὴν Ἔρευναν τῆς Γλώσσης καὶ τῆς Θεολογίας τῆς Παλαιᾶς Διαθήκης κατὰ τὸ Μασωριτικὸν κείμενον καὶ τὴν Μετάφρασιν τῶν Ο᾽, Ἀθῆναι 1997 (Göttingen, 2000), 36–42.

V.

Das Schlangenmotiv hängt sowohl mit Jahwe und Moses als auch mit Dionysos zusammen. Dionysos wird von Zeus mit Schlangen gekränzt (101ff). In der Jesajavision ist Jahwe von schlangenartigen Seraphen umgeben, die ihn als den Allerheiligen Gott der Heerscharen preisen (Jes 6:2ff.). Moses' erste Zeichen zur Beglaubigung seiner Vollmacht als Propheten Jahwes steht ebenfalls in Verbindung mit Schlangen. Er *„warf* nämlich *seinen Stab vor den Pharao und seine Diener hin und er wurde zu einer Schlange"* (Exod 7:8–13).

Pentheus' Vater heisst Echion (Schlangenmann) und ist aus Kadmos' Saat der Drachenzähne entstanden. Pentheus selber wird von Euripides sogar ausdrücklich *„Spross des Drachengeschlechts"* genannt (1155: τὰν τοῦ δράκοντος Πενθέος ἐκγενέτα). Hinsichtlich seiner Genealogie wird in der Gegenstrophe des zweiten Standliedes gesagt (538–544): *„Es enthüllt, dass er aus der Erde. Er vom Stamm herkommt der Drachen, nunmehr Pentheus, den Echion, er, der Erdsohn, einst erzeugt, als ein wildblickendes Scheusal, nicht als Menschen, sondern mordwüt'gen Giganten, Feind der Götter"* (ἀναφαίνει χθόνιον γένος ἐκφύς γε δράκοντός ποτε Πενθεύς, ὃν Ἐχίων ἐφύτευσε χθόνιος, ἀγριωπὸν τέρας, οὐ φῶτα βρότειον, φόνιον δ' ὥστε γίγαντ' ἀντίπαλον θεοῖς). Somit werden aber auch die Reminiszenzen des altorientalischen Chaoskampfmythos und die alttestamentliche Schlangen- und Drachenterminologie in den Büchern Jesaja, Psalmen und Hiobbuch wachgerufen, die den Widersacher bezeichnen[21]. Die Opposition zwischen Dionysos und Pentheus wäre daher vergleichbar mit der Opposition Yahwes und Leviathans, der krummen und flüchtigen Schlange, dem Drachen der im Meer ist (Jes 27:1)[22]. Während Jahwe mit seinem heiligen Schwert (lxx)[23] den Drachen besiegt, ist in den Bakchen davon die Rede, dass Pentheus (der Drache) sein Schwert gegen einen Gott richtet, aber vor Erschöpfung das Schwert sinken lässt (639-640). Dass *„der gottlose, ruchlose, ungerechte"* Pentheus (995: ἄθεος ἄνομος ἄδικος Ἐχίονος γόνος γηγενής) von dem Euripides dabei sagt (997ff.), dass er *„rechtlosen Willens, brauchfeindlichen Drangs und mit wahnsinn'gem Geist, mit rasender Begier, voll Hochmut ist"* (ὃς ἀδίκωι γνώμαι παρανόμωι τ' ὀργᾶι †περὶ βάκχι' ὄργια ματρός τε σᾶς† μανείσαι πραπίδι. . .), der Sohn des Echion ist (995), ist bestimmt nicht zufällig. Diese Bezeichnung (Ἐχίονος γόνος) steht am ehesten in Verbindung mit den jesajanischen Ausdrücken ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων (Jes 11:8: 14:29), σπέρμα ὄφεων und ἔκγονα ὄφεων πετομένων (Jes 14:29), die zum einen auf den *Samen der Schlange* in Gen 3:15 und zum anderen auf die *Seraphen* in Jes 6 anspielen. Matthäus und Lukas spielen sowohl auf die jesajanische als auch die

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21. E. G. Dafni, נחש-ΟΦΙΣ, 112–31.
22. A.a.O., 132–58.
23. A.a.O., 136–37.

euripideische Ausdrucksweise an, wenn sie die Bezeichnung γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν im negativsten Sinne gebrauchen[24].

Die widergöttliche Aktivität des Pentheus wird von Dionysos selber signalisiert, indem er ihm den Rat gibt (788): *„heb nicht die Waffen gegen diesen Gott"* (οὔ φημι χρῆναί σ᾿ ὅπλ᾿ ἐπαίρεσθαι θεῶι).

Dionysos wird als ein gewaltiger Gott (μέγας: 770) dargestellt, Jahwe wird ebenso θεός μέγας, φοβερός in allen alttestamentichen Einheiten des Chaoskampfmythos genannt[25]. Während aber die Chorführerin sagt (777): *„Dionysos ist geringer nicht als sonst ein Gott"* (Διόνυσος ἥσσων οὐδενὸς θεῶν ἔφυ), spricht das AT von Jahwe mit der Unvergleichlichkeitaussage „es gibt keinen anderen wahren Gott außer Jahwe" (vgl. Exod 20:3. Deut 5:7). Im AT zeigt sich Jahwe als mächtiger Gott, indem er die Chaosmächte besiegt und den Drachen erschlägt [vgl. etwa lxx-Ps 73(74) und 88(89)]. Dionysos/Bromios erweist sich als mächtiger Gott (1031), indem er den Sohn des Echion, des *Drachen Saat* (1026), Petheus, *„den unfrommen Mann, der Unfrommes tat"* (1042) mit List zum Tode, aus der Hand der eigenen Mutter, Agaue, führt. Die Zerstückelung des Pentheus (1300) erinnert an die Zerstückelung Tiamats im Babylonischen Epos Enūma Eliš, auf die Psalmen-, Jesaja- und Ezechielstellen anspielen[26].

Der Zerstückelung des Anführers folgt die Zerstreuung des Volkes in alle Welt. Dionysos sagt, dass *„dafür die Schuld trägt selber der Kadmeier Volk"* [1667=O. Werner (40)ff.: καὶ ταῦτα μὲν πέπονθεν οὗτος οὐκ ἄκων]. Die Bestrafung des Volkes Thebens wird genauso wie die Vertreibung des abtrünnigen Volkes Israel geschildert [1669ff.=O. Werner (36)ff.]: *„Vertrieben werden sie vom Feind aus ihrer Stadt, werden in viele Staaten kommen, unter Joch der Sklaverei beugend, die Unseligen, als Speergefangene dulden viel an Qual und Not"* [λίπηι πόλισμα βαρβάροις εἴκων, (ἄκων)· δοῦλος, μέτοικος· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ θέσφατον εἰς πᾶσαν αἶαν βαρβάρων (ἀποτρέχειν) αἰχμαῖς ἁλωτούς, πόλλ᾿ ἀνατλάντας κακά]. Agaue und ihre Schwestern werden als erste von der Stadt verbandt. Kadmos und seine Frau, Harmonia, will Dionysos in Schlangen verwandeln (1330f.). Nur Harmonia, die an der Gotteslästerung keine Schuld hat, wird vom Kriegsgott Ares gerettet und ewig auf der Insel der Seligen wohnen (1338ff.).

VI.

Bei den Bakchen scheint auf den ersten Blick, dass es sich um eine der euripideischen Versionen des altorientalischen Chaoskampfmythos handelt, wobei

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24. Matth 3:7; 12:34; 23:33. Luk 3:7.-

25. E. G. Dafni, נחש-ΟΦΙΣ, 136, Anm. 440.

26. H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Gen 1 und Ap Joh 12. Mit Beiträgen v. H. Zimmern* (2nd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921).

anstelle von Markuk der Gott Dionysos tritt, während die Stelle der schlangen-
förmigen Meeresgöttin Tiamat Pentheus der Sohn des Echion einnimmt. Dabei
wird aber der altorientalische Theriomorphismus der Satire preisgegeben. Nicht
nur die groben altorientalischen Konturen, sondern auch die heilsgeschichtlichen
Pointen von Gottesoffenbarung, Möglichkeit der Gotteserkenntnis, Gottesläster-
ung, Sinneswandlung, Schuld und Strafe, gewiss aus der kritischen euripideischen
Sicht in gedanklich gehobener und empfindungsreicher Sprache ist in den Bak-
chen deutlich erkennbar.

Tatsächliche sprachliche und gedankliche Anspielungen auf den Penta-
teuch und die Bücher Jesaja, Hiob und Psalmen, sowie Adaptionen wandelnder
Motivik der Theophanie, Gottesschau und des Chaoskampfmythos sind Indizien
dafür, dass die betreffende Texte bereits zu Euripides' Zeit schriftlich fixiert waren
und corpora bildeten, die schon angefangen hatten, ins Griechische übersetzt zu
werden.

Wenn einige Vorstellungen messianische Erwartungen hervorrufen, so dürfte
dies daran liegen, dass bestimmte Vorstellungen aus verschiedenen Büchern im
5. Jh. v. Chr. in jüdischen Kulturkreisen zusammengelesen und auf diese Weise
interpretiert wurden.

Die Datierung alttestamentlicher Texte—zumindest im deutschsprachigen
Raum—ist bisher davon ausgegangen, dass erst in der hellenistischen Zeit ein
intensiver literarischer Austausch zwischen Juden und Griechen stattgefunden
hat[27]. Der Vergleich mit dem euripideischen Werk auf sprachlicher und gedankli-
cher Ebene kann aber die Datierung althebräischer Texte bedeutend erhöhen,
denn sie setzt voraus, dass die Griechen die alttestamentlichen corpora oder
Teile davon in improvisierten, der Septuaginta vorausgehenden griechischen
Übersetzungen kannten. Man kann sagen, dass der Austausch von konkreten
sprachlichen und gedanklichen Stoffen bereits in der Klassik ungehindert stattfin-
den konnte. Denn die griechische literarische Tradition ist nicht aus dem Nichts
entstanden, sondern aus dem schöpferischen Austausch mit den Nachbarvölkern
Kleinasiens, Syrien-Palästinas, Mesopotamiens und Ägyptens.

Die Frage, ob der alttestamentliche Glaube übersetzbar ist, wurde aller
Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auch von Euripides gestellt. Mit dem Import des Dio-
nysos-Kultes aus Lydien nach Griechenland hatte der Übersetzungsprozess
des Jahweglaubens bereits eine außerordentlich hohe Eigendynamik gewonnen.

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27. Vgl. O. Kaiser, *Die Bedeutung der Griechischen Welt für die alttestamentliche Theologie*
(NAWG, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000).

Translation Equivalence in the Prologue to Greek Ben Sirach

Dries De Crom

Abstract: The prologue to the Greek translation of the book of Ben Sirach appears to offer a rare insight into the aims and approach of an actual translator involved in the Septuagint translation. The grandson of Ben Sirach seems to have voiced his concern for the adequacy of his translation, appealing to the general quality of prior Hebrew-Greek translations in order to extenuate any error he may have made. For this he uses the phrase οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ, which is variously translated as "not to have the same power" or "meaning," and is generally taken to be a direct reference to translation equivalence. This paper briefly reviews three recent analyses that do not accept this self-evident explanation at first hand, but try to investigate the background and precise meaning of this elusive phrase (Veltri/Wright). To clarify the strengths and weaknesses of each of these approaches, the paper explores the semantic range and use of the verb ἰσοδυναμέω from the fourth century B.C.E. up to the first century C.E. The main findings show that the interpretation most commonly encountered in translations and commentaries should not be taken for granted.

1. Introduction

The prologue to the Greek translation of the book of Ben Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) appears to offer a rare insight into the aims and approach of an actual translator involved in the Septuagint translation. The grandson of Ben Sirach seems to have voiced his concern for the adequacy of his translation, appealing to the general quality of prior Hebrew-Greek translations in order to extenuate any error he may have made. For this he uses the phrase οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ, which is variously translated as "not to have the same force" or "meaning,"[1] and is often taken to be a direct reference to translation equivalence.

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1. Some interesting examples include [English] "does not have exactly the same sense" (nrsv); "there is no equivalent" (njb); "does not have the same force" (NETS); "are not as effective" (nab); [German] "das lautet nicht so wol" (Luther); "es hat ja etwas nicht die gleiche Bedeutung" (Die heilige Schrift); "es ist ja nicht gleich" (Einheitsübersetzung); [French] "les

Three recent analyses of the prologue do not accept this self-evident explanation at face value, but try to investigate the background and precise meaning of this elusive phrase. I will briefly review each of these investigations and, since none appears to be entirely satisfactory, I will then explore the semantic range and use of the verb ἰσοδυναμέω as it is used in Greek prose from the fourth century B.C.E. up to the first century C.E. (with one exception; see below). Hopefully, this survey will delineate the actual meanings and uses of the verb, as well as their interdependence, for use by translators and scholars alike. With regard to the prologue, the central question will not be whether a translation with "force" or "meaning" is to be preferred, as, in the case of δύναμις (and its derivations), this amounts to very much the same thing.[2] We will rather ask ourselves: Does the prologue actually speak of translation equivalence?

2. Three Unusual Interpretations

Veltri,[3] for one, did not think so. In his *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*, he argued that the semantic field covered by δύναμις, διαφορά, and ἀδυναμεῖν (all of which appear in the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach) is also found in some of the magical writings of the *Corpus Hermeticum*. There, it is argued that certain languages and certain words within languages have greater power than others.

> Das kräftige und wirkungsvolle Wort wird somit als Merkmal der ägyptischen Sprache betrachtet; die griechischen Wörter hingegen seien von sich aus leer, weshalb eine Übertragung ins Griechische zur "Entleerung" der ägyptischen Sprache führen könnte.[4]

Although the examples from the *Corpus Hermeticum* are only concerned with Egyptian and Greek, Veltri suspected that the same idea might be behind the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach. As such, the prologue does not reflect modern theories on semantic equivalence, but rather a concern for the *Unübersetzbarkeit*

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mots perdent, en effet, de leur force" (Sainte Bible); "il n'y a pas d'équivalence" (Bible de Jérusalem); [Dutch] "drukken de woorden niet ten volle uit" (WBV); "kan de betekenis van het origineel niet volledig recht worden gedaan" (NBV); [Spanish] "no conserva el mismo sentido" (NBE); [Latin] "nam deficiunt verba Hebraica" (Vulgate).

　　2. That is, to the ancient mind the "force" of a word *is* its "meaning"; cf. T. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (CBET 47; Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 34.

　　3. G. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai: Untersuchungen zum Übersetzungsverständnis in der jüdisch-hellenistischen und rabbinischen Literatur* (TSAJ 41; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 133–45.

　　4. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*, 144.

of some elements of a sacred language. Hebrew, being a divine tongue, cannot help but lose some of its sacral power in translation.[5]

However, the idea of Hebrew being a sacred language does not seem to fit in with Ben Sirach's use of it to compose his own specimen of sapiential literature. In any case the sacralization of Hebrew "Words of Power" (which Veltri believes are implied by the prologue's τισὶν τῶν λέξεων) seems rather to be in keeping with a later date. Veltri himself takes his examples from Origenes' use of such transliterations as σαβαώθ and ἀδωναῖ.[6] Perhaps the surest sign of the unsatisfactory nature of this theory is Veltri's own abandonment of it in more recent publications.

Another proposal was made by Wright,[7] who argued that this particular passage is not at all concerned with the semantic accuracy of the translation (adequacy), but rather with its stylistic quality (acceptability). The author of the prologue, evidently having great mastery of educated Greek language and being well aware of the appalling standards of the Greek used in his translation, would then be justifying his choices by stating that a loss of stylistic quality is inherent in any translation from Hebrew into Greek.

> The Greek ἑρμηνεία indicates an "interpretation" or "explanation," especially of thoughts by words; it can also refer to an expression. The use of "interpretation/explanation," or perhaps even "expression," appears to place the focus of the clause on phrases in Greek, rather than in Hebrew. The grandson in this passage seems to be asking the reader to forgive any perceived inability of his *in the way he writes Greek*.[8]

In this context, ἰσοδυναμέω would mean "to have the same *rhetorical* force or power." In this way δύναμις is closely linked to the idea of eloquence or expressiveness. This is a slight departure from the common semantic range of the word.[9]

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5. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*, 145. Very similar ideas on sacred languages were expressed by the neoplatonist philosopher Iamblichus (third–fourth centuries C.E.), whose statements are associated with the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach by van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 33–34. One should of course always remember that over four hundred years separate Iamblichus from the prologue, if its traditional date stands.

6. Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*, 145.

7. B. Wright, "Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, The Septuagint and Their Audiences," *JSJ* 34 (2003): 11–20; see also idem, "Why a Prologue? Ben Sira's Grandson and His Translation," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 633–44.

8. Wright, "Access to the Source," 17.

9. Cf. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 48. What Wright's essay seems to implicitly assume is that the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach is witness to a semantic extension of δύναμις along the lines of Latin *vis*, a fact that will remain hard to prove as long as no parallels are found in Greek language. The semantic field of Latin *vis* does include "style" or "expressive force," as Wright himself rightly assumes with regard to Cicero, *Opt. gen.* 14 (". . . *genus omne verborum vimque servavi*"; Wright, "Access to the Source," 6). Contrary to van der Louw, *Trans-*

Although it can be used in conjunction with τοῦ λόγου or τῶν λόγων, this turn of phrase is reserved for a *person's* faculty of (educated) speech (cf. Isocrates, *Phil.* 21; Plutarchus, *Per.* 15, 3; *Alc.* 16, 4), not for the expressive power of a language or a text as would seem to be the case in the prologue. In fact, there are no positive instances of ἰσοδυναμέω being used in a comparable context, at least until the second century c.e.[10] Of course, this *argumentum e silentio* alone is not enough to disprove Wright's claims, which are not entirely unimaginable even if not supported by actual evidence.

The third interpretation was proposed very recently by Veltri,[11] who thereby abandoned his earlier theory. Instead he returned to the traditional view that ἰσοδυναμέω in the prologue means "to have the same meaning." Moreover he inferred that the prologue itself is critical of the concept of ἰσοδυναμία as it is found in the works of Philo.

Philo's own concept of ἰσοδυναμία, that is, semantic equivalence or synonymy, is rightly identified as akin to its use as a *terminus technicus* for synonyms in the ancient grammarians (cf. *infra*). Veltri linked this linguistic theory to Philo's well-known description of the Septuagint translation process, arriving at the thesis that to Philo the Greek and the Hebrew Bible were "isodynamic" copies, that is to say perfectly synonymous. The author of the prologue, according to Veltri, wrote in opposition to this view.

> The expression "to have equal force" means linguistically the perfect semantic and meta-semantic consonance between two different things. "To not have the same force" means, on the contrary, to be simply antonyms and hence for translation praxis fully unsuitable because it suggests the wrong meaning. To have *equal force* means to be perfectly synonymous with something whereas a *different* word ("difference" = diafora) denotes a basic similarity, but by no means an equal force, as Philo's vision of the Septuagint claims. If we read the Greek prologue to Ben Sira as a reaction to the widely held thesis of similarity, we can understand the author's polemical allusions. The reference to the Septuagint translation is therefore deliberately reverent, but not positive.[12]

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formations in the Septuagint, 34–35, I believe that the word is here unmistakably used to denote eloquence or the expressive force of a text, because of its juxtaposition to *genus omne verborum* and Cicero's general concern for style (*ut orator*) rather than meaning (*ut interpres*) in this passage.

10. Wright himself ("Access to the Source," 18) does not adduce any examples to prove his statement that "this interpretation falls well within the viable semantic range of the verb ἰσοδυναμεῖ."

11. G. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and "Canonic" Texts: The Septuagint, Aquila and Ben Sira in the Jewish and Christian Traditions* (JSJSup 109; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 194–203.

12. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and "Canonic" Texts*, 201.

Unfortunately, Philo's own concept of ἰσοδυναμία/synonymy does not seem to be entirely reconcilable with his idea of Bible translation. The core of his exposé on synonymy is this:

> ὁμωνυμία δὲ καὶ συνωνυμία τἀναντία ὁμολογεῖται, ὅτι ὁμωνυμία μὲν κατὰ πολλῶν ὑποκειμένων ἓν ὄνομα, συνωνυμία δὲ καθ' ἑνὸς ὑποκειμένου πολλά.
> (Philo, *Plant.* 150; ed. Wendland)

> Homonymy and synonymy are agreed to be opposite concepts, because homonymy is one word for many realities, whereas synonymy is many words for a single reality.[13]

This definition of ἰσοδυναμία/synonymy as linguistic multiformity does not seem to be readily applicable to Philo's account of the translation of the Torah. After all, his most remarkable claim is the miraculous agreement of every individual translator in every detail—that is, the one-on-one equivalence of every word in the Hebrew text and its seventy-two Greek translations (*Mos.* 2, 25–44). One may wonder whether Philo's linguistic theory on (Greek) synonyms is to be presupposed in his highly theological representation of the (Hebrew-Greek) translation of Scripture. Whereas the first is concerned with multiple words denoting the same object, it is central to the latter that there is only one word, both in Hebrew and in Greek, for one and the same truth.

Additionally, when Veltri identifies ἰσοδυναμία as a grammatical *terminus technicus*, he adduces examples only from Polybius, whose use of the term is not at all identical to the grammarians' (see below). Also, if Philo states that the opposite of synonymy (many words for one object) is homonymy (one word for many objects), Veltri does not seem to be entirely justified in pairing off homonymy with antonymy—wrongfully implying that the prologue actually states that some words in Greek are "for translation praxis fully unsuitable." On a side note, it is remarkable that Veltri's theory is again better suited by a later date for the prologue.

3. The Uses of ἰσοδυναμέω
(fourth century b.c.e.–second century c.e.)

Perhaps an inquiry into the various uses of ἰσοδυναμέω in Greek prose will help our understanding of its connotations in the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach. To limit the extent of this analysis no instance of the verb will be taken from beyond the first century c.e., with the exception of Apollonius Dyscolus (second century c.e.) whose treatises provide too valuable information on the grammatical use of the verb to be left out entirely. In this way the analysis, though not exhaus-

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13. All translations of Greek fragments are my own.

tive, includes the seeds of the later, almost exclusively technical meaning of the word, so that the semantic field of the verb as it is described here should be quite complete. Incidentally, with this chronological boundary I do not *a priori* take a position for or against those who would assign the prologue to a later period than the traditional 132 B.C.E.[14]

The compound verb of ἴσος and δύναμις is found in Greek texts from the fourth century B.C.E. onwards.[15] Not surprisingly, its original meaning is "to have the same δύναμις," which allows for a wealth of interpretations according to both the various shades of meaning of its key word and the different contexts in which it is used (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἰσοδυναμέω). In essence, ἰσοδυναμέω is used to establish an actual or figurative equivalence between two things with regard to one of their aspects or features. The precise interpretation of the verb often depends on the identification of this *tertium comparationis*.

This general meaning is applied, for example, to the context of musical instruments: εἰς τὸ ἰσοδυναμῆσαι, "to sound equally loud" (Theophrastus fr. 89, 7; ed. Wimmer; fourth century B.C.E.). In her discussion of what is most important in music, λόγος, αἴσθησις or both, Ptolemais of Cyrene (fourth century B.C.E.) identifies these two categories:

> οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως ἀμφότερα ἰσοδυναμοῦντα παρέλαβον τήν τ'αἴσθησιν καὶ τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ τὸ ἕτερον προηγούμενον, τὸ δ'ἕτερον ἑπόμενον
>
> (Ptolemais, *Fr. mus.*[16])

> Some have ascertained that sense and reason act both alike in equal measure; others that one takes the lead, while the other follows.

This use of the word, akin to "in equal measure," is comparable to Timaeus' (third century B.C.E.) use of the noun ἰσοδυναμία in this fragment of Doric Greek concerning the proportions of the four elements in the στερεός:[17]

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14. The traditional date was established by a.o. R. Smend, *Die Weisheit des Jesus Sirach erklärt* (Berlin: Reimer, 1906), 3. Smend's chronology, though influential, is not unanimously accepted; see F. Reiterer, "Review of Recent Research on the Book of Ben Sira," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research. Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28–31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. P. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), 37; Veltri, *Eine Tora für den König Talmai*, 139–40.

15. There are many similar compounds in Greek technical vocabulary (e.g., ἰσοαχθής, ἰσοεπίπεδος, ἰσοέτηρος, ἰσοευρής), although ἰσοδύναμος/ἰσοδυναμέω borrows much of the semantic wealth of δύναμις, whereas other compounds are much more one-dimensional.

16. H. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* (Acta Academiae Aboensis 30.1; Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965), 242.

17. Also cited by van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 47, n. 95.

τὰ γὰρ καττὰν ἀρίσταν ἀναλογίαν συντεθέντα ἐν ἰσοδυναμίᾳ οὔτε κρατεῖ
ἀλλάλων ἐκ μέρεος οὔτε κρατέεται, ὡς τὰ μὲν αὔξαν, τὰ μὲν φθίσιν λαμβάνεν
<div align="right">(Timaeus fr. 207; ed. Marg)</div>

That which is combined in equal measure according to the best proportions
does not have each part in turn prevailing over the others or being overcome, so
that one increases and the other wanes.

The word is likewise used to indicate equivalence in the theory of logic (cf. also
Chrysippus *apud* Galenum, *Inst. log.* 19, 5), meaning "to have the same (logical)
value":

αἱ γὰρ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου προτάσεις πρὸ τοῦ τρόπου λαβοῦσαι τὴν ἄρνησιν
ἰσοδυναμοῦσι ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις
<div align="right">(Eudemus fr. 15; ed. Wehrli; fourth century B.C.E.)</div>

Premises of contingency that have a negation for method of inference are equiv-
alent to necessary assertions.

The general notion of equivalence is also very obvious in philosophical exposés
on "good living" by Posidonius (fr. 417; ed. Theiler; second century B.C.E.) and
Arius Didymus (ed. Mullach p. 70 col. 1; first century B.C.E.), while Strabo's use of
the term in his historical argumentation (2, 1, 18; first century C.E.) is similar to
its significance in treatises on logic.

Some instances of ἰσοδυναμέω in the general sense seem to hold special
relevance for the argument concerning the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach. For
example, in Berossus' *Babyloniaca* (fourth–third century B.C.E.), the word is used
for the very first time in an intercultural context. The Babylonians eat a peculiar
crop, unfamiliar to Berossus' Greek audience. To identify it, he indicates its cul-
tural equivalent in the Greek world.

καὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἔλεσι φυομένας ῥίζας ἐσθίεσθαι· ὀνομάζεσθαι αὐτὰς γόγγας·
ἰσοδυναμεῖν δὲ τὰς ῥίζας ταύτας κριθαῖς
<div align="right">(Berossus fr. 1, 2; ed. Jacoby *FGrHist* 680)</div>

The roots that grow in the marshes are edible. They are called "gongai," and these
roots are equivalent to barley.

To be sure, the author is not attempting to translate the word γόγγη into Greek.
He specifically states that τὰς ῥίζας ταύτας are equivalent to Greek κριθαί, not the
word γόγγη itself. Since the author is not comparing two words but two kinds of
crop, ἰσοδυναμέω is definitely not used in any lexical or semantic way. Still, this
rare instance of intercultural comparison is worthy of note.

Three significant instances of ἰσοδυναμέω in Polybius (second century B.C.E.) were discussed by Veltri,[18] who used them as examples of the grammarians' technical use of the word. This strange equation is all the more puzzling if one actually compares them to the fragments of grammatical texts that contain the word ἰσοδυναμέω (cf. *infra*). The first example from Polybius is the conclusion to a brief but highly critical evaluation of the historical reliability of his predecessors, the purpose of which is:

> ἵνα μὴ τὸ ψεῦδος ἐν τοῖς συγγράμμασιν ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἀπολείπωμεν πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν
>
> (Polybius 2, 56, 2; ed. Buettner-Wobst)

> . . . so that we do not admit falsehood into our writings in equal measure to truth.

This instance of ἰσοδυναμέω is very much alike to the example taken from Ptolemais (cf. *supra*; see also Chrysippus fr. 30 *apud* Diogenes Laertius 7, 101), as Veltri himself seems to admit by translating it as "to be of equal authority." It is not entirely clear how Veltri's conclusion "that *isodynamein* is semantically more than a minor craft in translating" fits this particular quote from Polybius.[19] The same goes for the second example, in which two similar, yet not identical, types of introduction are considered.

> τῆς γὰρ προεκθέσεως οὐ μόνον ἰσοδυναμούσης πρὸς τὴν προγραφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλεῖόν τι δυναμένης.
>
> (Polybius 11, 1a, 4; ed. Buettner-Wobst)

> . . . since a prefatory account is not only equally effective as a preface, but even more so.

Both examples are firmly separated from the semantic implications Veltri attaches to them by their grammatical subject: just as in Berossus' *Babyloniaca*, the concepts themselves are under scrutiny, not the words or their meanings.[20]

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18. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and "Canonic" Texts*, 199–201. One can also consult A. Mauersberger, *Polybius-Lexikon* (3 vols.; Berlin: Akademie, 1956–2004), *s.v.* ἰσοδυναμέω, who gives *gleiche Kraft, Wirkung haben* for 2, 56, 2 and 11, 1a, 4, but *gleiche Bedeutung haben* for 20, 9, 12.

19. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and "Canonic" Texts*, 200. On this passage from Polybius, see F. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1957–1979), 2:266–267.

20. The relevance of the exact subject of the verb ἰσοδυναμέω is all the more clear when one considers such constructions as τὸ τῷ or τὸ τούτῳ, which can be found in specialized grammatical literature (see below). In the prologue the immediate subject is αὐτά, the precise

This is not the case in the final example from Polybius, which leaps to the eye because it is the first appearance of ἰσοδυναμέω in a context that is explicitly concerned with words and their meanings.

παρὰ δὲ Ῥωμαίοις ἰσοδυναμεῖ τό τ᾿εἰς τὴν πίστιν αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι καὶ τὸ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν δοῦναι περὶ αὑτοῦ τῷ κρατοῦντι

(Polybius 20, 9, 12; ed. Buettner-Wobst)

With the Romans "to entrust oneself to someone's good faith" and "to put oneself at the mercy of the victor" amount to the same thing.

Because of the Romans' peculiar understanding of the term πίστις, there is a fatal misunderstanding between them and the Aetolians, who unwittingly surrender themselves to the mercy of Rome (*deditio*). Here, at last, is the first unambiguous instance where ἰσοδυναμέω is to be understood as "to have the same meaning." That is to say, the general idea of equivalence is here applied to words—but nothing more. There are no indications that there is any concrete concept of "semantics" underlying the comparison, or that this use of ἰσοδυναμέω is different from the previous examples in any fundamental way. In fact, the situation described here does not even involve a shift from one language into another. Polybius explicitly states that the *Romans* understood the phrase to mean this or that, not that *in Latin* the phrase was rendered as this or that. Indeed, one can imagine that the Romans' conference with the Aetolians was conducted entirely in Greek. Of course, modern critics[21] may conclude that the confusion was due to Latin phrases such as *in fidem alicuius se commendare* (cf. Livius 36, 27, 8), but to Polybius this parallel is only secondary. Translation does not concern him at all, his remarks remain entirely within the bounds of a single language.

Lastly, ἰσοδυναμέω is used by the grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (third century B.C.E.) in a passage concerning the mental faculties of dogs:

λόγου μὲν ἄμοιρος κύων, ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν δὲ ὅμως τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔχει

(Aristophanes, *Epit.* 2, 206; ed. Lampros)

A dog is bereft of reason, and yet has intuition equivalent to reason.

Although Aristophanes deserves mention for being the first grammarian to use the verb, it is still used here in the general sense of "to have the same power" or "to have the same potential."

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meaning of which is not entirely clear. It does not appear to be used in place of τὰ αὐτά ("the same things"), but rather as a demonstrative; it is translated as such ("these things") by Wright, "Access to the Source," 15. In any case it does not seem to be able to refer directly to τῶν λέξεων, due to the difference in genus.

21. E.g., Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, 3:79–81.

In addition to the general sense of equivalence, which can be adapted to a number of different contexts, ἰσοδυναμέω is also used as a *terminus technicus* in two distinct types of scientific writings, viz. astrological and grammatical literature, from the first century c.e. onwards. Its astrological use ("to be equipollent," LSJ *s.v.* ἰσοδυναμέω) can for instance be evidenced from the phrase κατὰ τὰς ἰσοδυναμίας in the *carmen astrologicum* of Dorotheus (Dorotheus 376; first century c.e.). Grammatical texts, however, provide a number of useful examples where ἰσοδυναμέω is used in an explicitly linguistic context.

In one series of examples the verb is used to indicate that two linguistic elements are functionally (rather than semantically) interchangeable, that is, the verb seems to imply "to have the same function." In Apollonius (*Pron.* 70c; ed. Schneider; second century c.e.), for example, it is stated that μόνος and αὐτός are mutually exchangeable. Therefore, even though no *pronomen* except αὐτός is ever used in a compound, it seems reasonable that the functional equivalent of αὐτός (i.e., μόνος) can be used in a compound as well (τὴν ἰσοδυναμοῦσαν τῇ αὐτός συντίθεσθαι). Note the similar use of the verb in this passage concerning δέ and μὲν γάρ, particles that are defined by their function rather than by their meaning:

> τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα εἶναι σύνδεσμον ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τῷ δὲ ἐν ὑποδείγματι τοιούτῳ· ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ Διονύσιος ἐδειπνοῦμεν, σὺ μὲν γὰρ οὐ παρεγένου
> <div align="right">(Apollonius, Coni. 507; ed. Schneider)</div>

> . . . that μὲν γάρ is one conjunction[22], interchangeable with δέ in an instance such as this: "Dionysius and myself were eating, but you didn't join us."

Similar occurrences may be found in the fragments of Tyrannion (fr. 26; fr. 21: καὶ τὸ τῷ ἰσοδυναμοῦν τῷ τούτῳ; ed. Haas).

The fully semantic use of ἰσοδυναμέω, then, is attested to in a second series of examples, taken from Aristonicus' notes to the Homeric epics (first century b.c.e.–first century c.e.). The verb is used specifically to denote the correlation between two words that have been marked with the διπλῆ, a text-critical sign for a stylistic juxtaposition of synonyms. From a large number of examples a few elucidating cases have been chosen.

> ὅτι παραλλήλως τὸ κέλομαι καὶ ἄνωγα· ἰσοδυναμοῦσι γὰρ αἱ λέξεις
> <div align="right">(Aristonicus, Sign. Od., in Od. 3, 317; ed. Carnuth)</div>

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22. Apollonius is here refuting the thesis of the grammarian Tryphon that μέν, γάρ and μέν γάρ are variations of one and the same particle. On this and other passages from Apollonius' treatise on conjunctions, see Apollonius Dyscolus, *Traité des conjonctions* (ed. C. Dalimier; Histoire des doctrines de l'antiquité classique 25; Paris: Vrin, 2001). In the index of Greek words the possible meanings of ἰσοδυναμέω in the treatise are given as "avoir la même valeur," "être équivalent de," "être susceptible de substitution"(Apollonius, *Traité des conjonctions*, 457).

Because κέλομαι and ἄνωγα are used besides each other, the words being synonymous.

ὅτι παραλλήλως βάσκε καὶ ἴθι· ἰσοδυναμοῦσι γὰρ αἱ λέξεις
<div align="right">(Aristonicus, Sign. Il., in Il. 2, 8; ed. Friedländer)</div>

Because βάσκε and ἴθι are used besides each other, the words being synonymous.

ἡ διπλῆ ὅτι χόλος ἀντιμετείληπται ὡς ἰσοδυναμῶν τῇ μήνιδι
<div align="right">(Aristonicus, Sign. Il., in Il. 16, 30; ed. Friedländer)</div>

The διπλῆ because χόλος has been substituted here as synonymous to μῆνις.

Veltri's theories on synonymy would have been better served by looking to similar phrases for support rather than to the historical writings of Polybius. However, it is to be noted that ἰσοδυναμέω is still not used for equivalences between different languages. Even its technical use in grammatical treatises is still a long way from what some translators and critics assume the term to mean in the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach.

The writings of Philo, then, exhibit the full semantic range of ἰσοδυναμέω. It is used in the general sense of equivalence in a number of places (e.g., *Migr.* 122; *Spec.* 2, 120; 3, 72), while other instances clearly echo the specialized grammatical use of the word (e.g., *QG* 4, 228). Two cases deserve special mention. In his *De migratione Abrahami* the etymology of the name of Manasseh is explained as follows:

εἰκότως· καλεῖται γὰρ ἐκ λήθης, τὸ δὲ ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἐστι πρᾶγμα ἀναμνήσει
<div align="right">(Philo, Migr. 205; ed. Wendland)</div>

Of course, for he is called "away from oblivion," which is equivalent to "reminiscence."

Here ἰσοδυναμέω is used in a way that is very similar to how the grammarian Aristonicus used it in the context of Homeric διπλαί, that is, ἐκ λήθης (a segmented translation of מנשה) is semantically equivalent to ἀνάμνησις.[23] It is this grammatical sense that afterwards found acceptance in less-specialized literature, notably in lexica and encyclopaedia's such as the *Suda*.

The last example that will be discussed here was one of the examples adduced by Veltri on Philo's theory of synonymy.[24] This fragment shows how, even in the writings of an author as chronologically advanced as Philo, the very basic

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23. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 48.
24. Veltri, *Libraries, Translations and "Canonic" Texts*, 199.

meaning of the verb, "to have the same power" or possibly "function," is still very present.

> ἄλλαι δ᾿εἰσὶ προσρήσεις διάφοροι κατὰ σημαινομένου ἑνὸς ὡς ἰός, ὀϊστός, βέλος
> – τὸ γὰρ διὰ τῆς τόξου νευρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν ἀφιέμενον πάντα ταῦτα λέγεται
> – καὶ πάλιν εἰρεσία, κώπη, πλάτη, τὸ πρὸς πλοῦν ἰσοδυναμοῦν ἱστίοις
>
> (Philo, *Plant.* 152; ed. Wendland)

> There are other cases of various designations for a single designated object, such as arrow, shaft, missile—for the object that is fired by the bowstring towards the target is called all this—and again rowing, oar-handle, oar-blade, that what for a vessel is of equal power with sails.

We should not let ourselves be confused by this enumeration of nautical tools being an example of synonymy. "Rowing," "oar-handle," and "oar-blade" are synonyms, but together they are defined as "what for a vessel is of equal power with sails."

4. Conclusions

It seems that translators and scholars of the prologue to Greek Ben Sirach are faced with the choice of interpreting the verb ἰσοδυναμέω in a general or in a specific way. Schematically and more or less chronologically, the semantic range described above may be summarized as follows:

A.   general sense ("to have the same force," "to be equivalent")
         → applied to different contexts
              *music
              *logic
              *philosophy
              *language
              *. . .
B.   specific sense (*terminus technicus*)
         1. astrology ("to be equipollent")
         2. grammarians
              a) functionally interchangeable
              b) synonymy (extended to a general sense in later Greek literature)

Without a doubt the prologue's use of ἰσοδυναμέω is to be located at some point of the semantic range and uses outlined above—where exactly is still very much undecided. I hope to have shown that the purely semantic meaning of the word was originally limited to a specific kind of literature and to a specific period, although from Philo onwards this use has been extended to other contexts. Consequently, unless like Veltri we are prepared to date the prologue in or just prior to

the Common Era (though not necessarily in a Christian milieu), it seems unwarranted to read it in light of the semantic sense of ἰσοδυναμέω.

Nevertheless it is clear that even the very specialized, grammatical sense of the word is still a far cry from the concept of translation equivalence as it is understood by the modern mind. Translators and critics of the prologue should not be tempted to push ἰσοδυναμέω too far in this direction.[25] In any case its decipherment is seriously hampered both by a lack of definite facts on the provenance of the text in question, and by the semantic expandability of the term itself.

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25. Normative prescriptions for modern translators derived from the alleged contents of the prologue are especially out of line; see for example B. Rochette, "Le prologue du livre de Ben Sirach le Sage et la traduction des écrits sacrés," *Babel: Revue internationale de la traduction* 44 (1998): 139–49.

Jewish Transmission of Greek Bible Versions

Nicholas de Lange

Abstract: Over the past twenty years or so it has become clear, largely on the basis of newly discovered manuscript evidence, that Greek-speaking Jews in the Middle Ages used, side by side with the Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible versions that were directly related to ancient versions such as Aquila. A three-year project based in Cambridge aims to publish the manuscript evidence, in an online and a print version, and to study it closely both in its own right and in relation to other Greek versions. After a brief history of research, we survey the manuscript materials, and then consider some implications arising from them. Having established that the medieval translations and glosses derive, however indirectly, from the ancient versions, we consider whether it is possible to retrieve genuine ancient readings from them. Finally, we suggest how these materials can best be exploited by scholars working in different areas of study (Greek Bible, Jewish history, Greek language), and how the computing tools employed in this project may be applied in other editions of biblical versions.

1. Background

The purpose of this paper is to present a group of textual materials that have not received the attention they deserve from scholars working on the Greek Bible.[1] Some of them have been known for a century or more, others have only come to light in recent years, a few are still unpublished. What they have in common is that they all testify to reading and study of biblical books in Greek by Jews during the Middle Ages. Current study confirms the pioneering insight put forward by the American Romance philologist D. S. Blondheim in the 1920s, that the medieval Jewish texts were strongly influenced by the ancient versions, particularly by that of Aquila.[2] Very little notice was taken of Blondheim's discovery until Natalio Fernández Marcos published his *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia*. Marcos fully accepted Blondheim's conclusions, and carried them further, tracing a Jewish transmission of Greek versions parallel to the Christian one. He wrote:

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1. I am grateful to Cameron Boyd-Taylor for helpful advice.

2. D. S. Blondheim, "Échos du judéo-hellénisme (étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs)," *REJ* 78 (1924): 1–14, reprinted as an appendix to his book *Les Parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (Paris: Champion, 1925).

"… no hubo ruptura total -siguiendo a Blondheim- entre el judeo-helenismo que produjo las traducciones de Áquila, Símaco y Teodoción y el que produjo la traducción al neogriego del Pentateuco de Constantinopla,"[3] that is, the Greek version of the Pentateuch printed in Hebrew characters in the Soncino Polyglot of 1547.[4] Meanwhile I had been working independently on some new evidence from the Cairo Genizah fragments in Cambridge. In 1980 I published a very fragmentary Hebrew–Greek glossary under the title "Some New Fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job?"[5] The Greek glosses in question were written in Hebrew characters, and while they showed indisputable influence of Aquila they also displayed features of medieval vernacular Greek. The following year I published some similar glosses on 1Kings.[6] In 1996 I published a corpus of Greek Jewish materials from the Genizah including quite a few biblical fragments. In 1998 Fernández Marcos published an expanded and revised edition of his Introduction in which he took account of the newly discovered materials. Thus Fernández Marcos and I have been working in parallel in this area, independently and from slightly different perspectives, for some time.

The research underlying the present study is part of a research project entitled "The Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism" (GBBJ) funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council (AHRC). The principal aim of the project is to produce a searchable online edition of the fragments of these Jewish Greek versions, with a print edition, and several monographs. A volume of essays by various contributors is also planned.[7]

In what follows I will present an overview of the materials, and attempt to show that they represent not just haphazard translations of biblical Hebrew words and passages into contemporary Greek but that they do indeed represent a continuous tradition based ultimately on ancient versions and revisions. I will, finally, consider some of the implications of this discovery.

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3. There is no total break—following Blondheim—between the Jewish Hellenism that produced the translations of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion and that which produced the neo-Greek translation of the Constantinople Pentateuch; N. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1979), 168.

4. On this text see Natalio Fernández Marcos, "El Pentateuco griego de Constantinopla," *Erytheia* 6 (1985): 185–203.

5. Nicholas de Lange, "Some New Fragments of Aquila on Malachi and Job?," *VT* 30 (1980): 291–94.

6. Nicholas de Lange, "Two Genizah Fragments in Hebrew and Greek," in *Interpreting the Hebrew Bible* (ed. J. A. Emerton and S. C. Reif; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 61–83.

7. Full information about the project and the colloquia can be found on the website http://www.gbbj.org.

2. The Manuscript Evidence

The Jewish manuscripts can be divided into two groups. The great majority were recovered from the Cairo Genizah in the final years of the nineteenth century.[8] As this was a depository for unwanted written materials, these tend to be in a fragmentary and damaged state. However they are also the oldest materials, and so are of very great interest. The earliest ones are palimpsests or reused parchments, and some of these go back as early as the fifth or sixth century. The *terminus ante quem* can be put roughly in the early-thirteenth century, say around the time of the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

The other group, consisting of complete or substantially complete codices, dates, broadly speaking, from the later Byzantine Empire (ca. 1261–1453).

It is worth pointing out that, while the palimpsests use Greek scripts, the later manuscripts, with very few exceptions, use the Hebrew alphabet for writing Greek. Taking both groups together we can classify them typologically, as follows:

1. Continuous translations. There is a presumption that these were used for liturgical purposes. The earliest examples, dated on palaeographical grounds to the sixth century, are written in Greek majuscule writing; they come from Kings/Reigns and Psalms.[9] We also have a fragment of Kohelet/Ecclesiastes tentatively dated around 1000,[10] and two complete (and different) texts of Jonah, from the later period.[11]

2. Glossaries, specially compiled works in which a Hebrew word or phrase is glossed by one or more Greek equivalents, sometimes with the addition of a Hebrew explanation or an example of usage from elsewhere in Scripture. The earliest of these covers parts of Exodus and Jeremiah, and has been dated before 900; it may possibly go back to the eighth century.[12] A later fragment, perhaps from the eleventh century, contains glosses on Malachi and Job,[13] and another, possibly twelfth century, has glosses and annotations on 1Kings/3Reigns.[14] We should

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8. For a general account of the Genizah discoveries see Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Genizah Collection* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000).

9. F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897); C. Taylor, *Hebrew–Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900).

10. Nicholas de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1996), 71–78.

11. D. C. Hesseling, "Le livre de Jonas," *BZ* 10 (1901): 208–17.

12. N. Tchernetska, J. Olszowy-Schlanger, N. de Lange, "An Early Hebrew–Greek Biblical Glossary from the Cairo Genizah," *Revue des Études Juives* 166 (2007): 91–128.

13. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, 79–84.

14. Ibid., 155–63.

probably place in this category a substantial compilation on the prophetic books, so far unpublished.

3. Scholia or commentaries in Hebrew, making occasional use of Greek words for explanatory purposes. The Genizah has yielded writings of this kind on Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, 1Kings/3Reigns, Ezekiel, and the Twelve Minor Prophets.[15] In addition, a number of medieval Hebrew commentaries originating in the Byzantine Empire contain Greek glosses. Since these exist in a mass of manuscripts and have not been satisfactorily edited they have not been included in the project; they may be studied more conveniently at a later stage.

4. Annotations above the line or in the margins of Hebrew biblical manuscripts, scholia, and commentaries. From the Genizah we have small fragments of Judges and Proverbs with supralinear glosses, and some glosses in Greek writing on a collection of scholia on Genesis and Exodus.[16] A codex containing the Former Prophets, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, has annotations in various hands, some of which may go back as far as the eleventh century.[17]

3. Implications

Taken together these materials cover the entire Middle Ages, from Late Antiquity to the dawn of the modern period, even if there are still some serious gaps. This impressive chronological range permits us to make some generalizations.

Firstly, there is a tendency to change from Greek to Hebrew writing, but Greek writing can still be found after the change to writing Greek in Hebrew letters: the scholia with supralinear annotations in Greek script also contain Greek words in Hebrew script in the body of the text—one indication among others that it is not a question of a straightforward progression from Greek to Hebrew script.

Secondly, the primacy of the Masoretic text (and its forebears) is apparent throughout. Even in the early fragments of the Psalms, for example, these are numbered according to the MT system. The glossary of Exodus and Jeremiah belongs to an early phase of the MT and preserves some non-Masoretic readings in the Hebrew columns, but the columns of the book itself are laid out from right to left and the Greek is clearly ancillary to the Hebrew and not the other way around. The Kohelet and Jonah texts have the first word of each verse in Hebrew (this is also a feature of the Constantinople Polyglot Greek text). Above all, the

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15. Ibid., 85–154, 165–294.

16. H. P. Rüger, "Vier Aquila-Glossen in einem hebräischen Proverbien-Fragment aus der Kairo-Geniza," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* 50 (1959): 275–77; de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts*, 85–116. The Judges glosses are unpublished.

17. J. Olszowy-Schlanger, "An Early Hebrew Manuscript from Byzantium," *Zutot 2002* (ed. S. Berger, M. Brocke, and I. Zwiep; Dordrecht: Kluwer, 2003), 148–55; N. de Lange, "The Greek Glosses of the Fitzwilliam Museum Bible," in ibid., 138–47.

Greek translations always assume the MT text or something like it, never the *Vorlage* of OG.

We may take this line of investigation further. With the exception of the very earliest fragments, it is evident that the materials come from a Greek-speaking culture in which the Masoretic Text in Hebrew occupied a central role in education and worship. The role of the Greek is clearly secondary to that of the Hebrew. Only rarely does it usurp the role of the Hebrew: for example the translation of Jonah is found in two prayer books for the Day of Atonement (Kippur); in one the Greek follows the Hebrew, but in the other it replaces it—only the first and last verses of the Hebrew reading are given. Generally speaking, though, it looks as though the Greek is used to explain the meaning of the Hebrew—either for worshippers in the synagogue, as in the example just mentioned, or in the schoolroom or private study.

A very striking feature of these materials is the presence of readings associated with Aquila and other ancient Greek versions. A few examples will serve to establish and clarify this point.[18] As we might expect, the results are more convincing with the earlier texts, but even later texts are capable of yielding suggestive parallels.

To begin with the eighth–ninth-century glossary: where we have readings from Origen's Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus columns, the glossary always agrees with one or more of these against LXX, and where the evidence allows it, always agrees with Aquila against Symmachus and/or Theodotion.[19] Consequently there is a strong presumption that the glossary represents Aquila in those cases where we do not have hexaplaric evidence for his reading.

The later glossary on Malachi and Job displays remarkable affinities with what we know of Aquila—either on the texts in question or elsewhere in the biblical corpus. Here are a few examples:

Heb. כתם is glossed by σπίλωμα (Job 28:16). The Greek word means defilement or stain—this is the definition given in LSJ, but the only example cited is Aq. Isa. 13.12, and they immediately add "= refined gold in Aq. Isa. 13.12." In other words Aquila seems to be the only ancient author to use the word at all, and he uses it to mean "refined gold," even though etymologically it should mean "defile-

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18. I have argued it more fully in my article "La tradition des «révisions juives» au moyen âge: les fragments hébraïques de la Geniza du Caire," in *"Selon les Septante," Hommage à Marguerite Harl* (ed. G. Dorival and O. Munnich; Paris: Cerf, 1995), 133–43.

19. Only in one case where we have a hexaplaric reading attributed to Aquila does the glossary differ both from this and from LXX. For further details see N. de Lange, "An Early Hebrew–Greek Bible Glossary from the Cairo Genizah and its Significance for the Study of Jewish Bible Translations into Greek," in *Studies in Hebrew Literature and Culture Presented to Albert van der Heide on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (Amsterdam Studies in Jewish Thought 12; ed. M. F. J. Baasten and R. Munk; Dordrecht: Springer, 2007), 31–39.

ment" or "stain." Its occurrence in a medieval manuscript in the same meaning (כתם could arguably mean either stain or gold) is very striking.

In the same verse of Job, the word תסלה is glossed ἀποσκολοπίζεται. Σκόλοψ is anything sharp or pointed, particularly a sharp stake. It is not entirely clear what the verb ἀποσκολοπίζω means,[20] but it is noteworthy that Aquila is the only ancient author to use it.

Still in Job 28:16, בשהם is glossed ἐν ὄνυχαν, "in onyx." We do not know how Aquila translated this word, but Theodotion said ἐν ὄνυχι, which is virtually identical to our gloss, and it is quite likely that Aquila did too. It is a typical element in his vocabulary.

It seems then, that this glossary has preserved readings from the ancient versions over nearly a millennium. It would be otiose to work our way through the remaining texts to make the same point. These present many similarities with the ancient versions, not always Aquila but sometimes LXX, Symmachus, or Theodotion. (It is of course possible that they sometimes reproduce lost versions.)

4. New Evidence for Ancient Versions?

Let us now consider whether it is possible to retrieve genuine ancient readings from these medieval Jewish materials. The issues are complex, and must be sharply distinguished from the use of medieval Christian manuscripts for the same purpose. The difference boils down to a difference in the intent of those who made the manuscripts. Broadly speaking, the Christian scribes treated the Greek text as sacred scripture, and endeavoured to copy it as accurately as possible. Moreover, these scribes had a Greek education, and distinguished in their minds between the Greek language of the scriptures and the Greek that they spoke, which they hardly ever wrote. Occasionally Greek scribes and scholars annotated biblical manuscripts with readings derived from other sources, such as readings attributed to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion derived from Origen's Hexapla, but they distinguished clearly between the canonical Septuagint and the other "editions" (ἐκδόσεις). For the Jewish scribes, it was the Hebrew that was sacred scripture, and they lavished all their care on the careful transmission of this text, with or without the Masoretic vowel signs and other markings. As for the Greek text or annotations, these were, as we have said, secondary. These scribes were not educated in Greek grammar and had no compunction at all about writing Greek down exactly as they heard and spoke it. These remarks do not apply to the scribes of the earliest fragments, who write accurate Greek with only a few signs of itacism and related phenomena, well within the norms for Greek manuscripts of the time. Much the same is true of the eighth–ninth-century glossary. But as time goes on, the spelling becomes increasingly phonetic, and what is more the

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20. LSJ define it as "remove stumbling-blocks."

vocabulary, morphology, and syntax of the Greek adapts to the standards current in contemporary vernacular Greek.

For example in the later glossary we have at Job 28:10 the medieval form ἀβροχίες for "droughts" (בצורות, Aq. τῶν ἀβροχιῶν), while at Job 28:16 for בכתם (in fine gold) we find ἐν ἰσπίλωμαν, with prothetic i- and epithetic -n, both late features. An example of late vocabulary is σαποῦνιν for "soap" or "soapwort" at Mal 3:2.

The fragment of Kohelet, which as mentioned earlier may date from ca. 1000, is particularly instructive. The text is generally quite similar to the version found in Christian Bibles, which has sometimes been attributed to Aquila. However there are several late words, such as λησμονῶ, "forget," or μερτικόν ("share," LXX μερίδα), and late and/or vernacular forms, such as ἔναν for "one" (n.). Prepositions such as ἐν or μετά (=with) are constructed with the accusative case, and the indirect object is represented by the genitive, not the dative.

As time goes on these trends become more an more accentuated. For example the annotations on the Fitzwilliam Former Prophets, which are later than the texts we have considered so far, use typical "Modern Greek" words like τριγυρίζω, "surround," and medieval vernacular forms such as the apocopated endings of μανίκι, "handle," λαμνί, "blade," or λιρίκι, "cuirass." We also witness a greater and greater freedom in rephrasing the Greek, as we can see particularly clearly in the two texts of Jonah: while they have a certain family relationship they differ considerably in detail.

On the basis of these trends we may expect that the later a reading is the less likely it is to correspond exactly to an ancient version. However, approximate equivalence cannot be ruled out; vocabulary is more likely to survive intact than morphology or syntax.

My own feeling is that these materials should be treated as texts in their own right, and that they are not generally suitable to be quarried for readings in ancient texts, particularly in Origen's lost Hexapla. At the same time it is right to be aware that they are in a definite tradition that goes back to the ancient versions, particularly but not exclusively to Aquila.

Nevertheless they do have a certain potential value to those who are editing ancient biblical versions. In the first place they can help to confirm readings that may be in doubt. They may even be used occasionally to correct readings or attributions. There is naturally a temptation to use the medieval glosses or translations to fill the gaps where we do not have full documentation for the ancient versions. Such a procedure must be applied with extreme caution.[21] The medieval texts diverge from the ancient versions in many ways, some of which have been mentioned. We have the concrete example of the Kohelet fragment, which we can

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21. Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Iob* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 160, discusses the question of how far the Job glosses can be used as witnesses to Aquila.

compare with an ancient text that is clearly very close to Aquila. The differences between the two outweigh the similarities. As mentioned earlier, we find vocabulary in these texts that did not exist in the time of Aquila, and a fortiori of the Old Greek.

5. Conclusions

Let me try to summarize some of the ways that I see this project benefiting scholarship more generally.

For Greek Bible specialists, it is a reminder that the Septuagint was not transmitted through the Middle Ages in a vacuum, or rather in a self-contained Greek-Christian bubble. Just as the work of Robert Kraft and others has demonstrated that some of the manuscripts from the early Christian centuries were written by Jews for Jewish use, so we can now see that there is a continuing Jewish interest in Greek versions throughout the Middle Ages. Nor is the line between medieval Christian and Jewish Bible scholarship watertight, as we can see from the presence of "Jewish-type" readings in the margins of Christian manuscripts.[22]

For historians of Judaism, particularly specialists in Byzantine Judaism and in Jewish biblical study, this investigation opens a window on a previously unknown chamber in the edifice of medieval Jewish Bible study. The use of vernacular versions can be paralleled elsewhere in medieval Judaism, for example in northern France and in the Arabic-speaking world, but was not previously attested for Byzantium. These other areas, however, used new translations. What is really remarkable in Byzantium is the presence of a continuous tradition going back to ancient Greek-speaking Judaism. These manuscripts testify to the enduring presence of Greek Jewish exegesis within rabbinic Judaism, leaving clear marks on commentaries written in Hebrew by Byzantine rabbs.

The project is also interesting for historians of the Greek language. Because of the pressure of the classical education in Byzantium we have very few written traces of the spoken Greek language. The Constantinople Pentateuch and the Jonah translations have been regarded for a long time as key witnesses in this regard by Greek linguists. To these we can now add a growing corpus of other medieval witnesses.

Finally, the project aims to develop a methodology that can be applied to future electronic editions of biblical versions. The texts are being entered into a database that is tagged (that is, encoded) in the widely used XML (Extensible Markup Language) format. The great advantage of this approach is that it allows for the separation of encoding and display. Whereas in a printed edition the manuscript evidence is generally represented within a single annotated text, XML

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22. See the essay by Cameron Boyd-Taylor in the present volume.

encoding permits a multi-layered presentation in which transcription, annotation, amendment, normalization and editorial comment are preserved as distinct levels. Together with the Centre for Computing in the Humanities at King's College London, we have developed a project-specific DTD (Document Type Declaration, a set of encoding rules), which supports a very rich description of each text. A special feature is its provision for parallel alignment with the Masoretic text, the Septuagint and Hexaplaric readings. The indexing of Greek and Hebrew forms together with a bilingual concordance will facilitate the comparative analysis of translation technique.

In a range of different ways, therefore, it is hoped that this project on the medieval Jewish transmission of Greek Bible versions will be of benefit to students of the Bible, of Jewish cultural history and exegesis and of Greek language. It has the potential to open up new channels of research, for instance on the impact of Greek Jewish exegesis on Rabbinic thought, or on Jewish and Christian relations in Byzantium.

Quelques cas de disparition du thème de l'eau dans la lxx

Cécile Dogniez

Résumé : Si l'étude des divergences entre le texte grec et le texte hébreu de la Bible prend généralement pour objet un seul livre biblique à la fois, nous nous proposons ici de nous intéresser de manière transversale, c'est-à-dire à travers tous les textes de la Septante, à la disparition dans la langue d'arrivée d'un élément—le thème de l'eau—présent dans la langue de départ. En dépit des caractéristiques propres à chacun des livres ou groupes de livres de la Septante selon le mode de traduction adoptée, nous essaierons de voir si le regroupement des passages de la lxx dans lesquels le thème de l'eau a disparu permet de révéler des tendances communes à chacun des traducteurs ou groupe de traducteurs de la version grecque.

La version grecque de la Bible, quel que soit le livre et quel que soit le mode de traduction—littérale ou plus ou moins libre—adopté par le traducteur, comporte des "plus" et des "moins" dans son texte final, mais ces divergences quantitatives, à moins qu'elles ne proviennent d'une *Vorlage* hébraïque différente du texte massorétique, sont très peu nombreuses en raison du souci de fidélité envers l'original du traducteur de la Septante, qui considère, en général, le texte qu'il a à traduire comme un texte sacré. Dans l'ensemble, en effet, les traductions grecques suivent de près leur modèle, tant pour l'ordre que pour le nombre des mots. En revanche les divergences qualitatives sont plus fréquentes ; les unes peuvent être dues à une *Vorlage* différente, mais l'absence de témoins manuscrits empêche souvent de conclure à des variantes textuelles certaines ; les autres sont de nature linguistique ou exégétique et dépendent des contraintes de la langue de traduction ou de la compréhension qu'avait le traducteur du texte à traduire. Parmi ces divergences, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, on relève à plusieurs reprises une déperdition du sens présent dans l'original. C'est à ce phénomène que nous nous proposons de nous intéresser, en nous limitant au thème de l'eau, à partir de quelques exemples choisis, non pas dans un seul livre biblique, mais à travers l'ensemble de la lxx. Au-delà du simple constat de la disparition du thème de l'eau dans les textes de la lxx, nous tenterons d'expliquer cette déperdition par les diverses techniques de traduction utilisées par les différents traducteurs.

1. Différence de lecture du texte hébreu sous-jacent

Examinons tout d'abord les cas où la disparition du thème de l'eau dans la traduction de la LXX repose, à première vue—comme cela arrive pour de nombreuses autres divergences dans la version grecque par rapport au texte massorétique—sur une différence de lecture du texte hébreu sous-jacent.

Le premier exemple choisi est celui du Ps 72(73), 10. Ce psaume décrit un scandale, l'insolente réussite des méchants, des "sans-loi", leur arrogance ; il contient de nombreux passages difficiles et le v. 10 passe généralement pour obscur, de sens incertain et susceptible de correction. Le TM se lit littéralement de la façon suivante : "C'est pourquoi il ramènera (ישיב) son peuple ici (ou "son peuple reviendra ici" selon le qeré, ישוב) et des eaux d'abondance seront vidées pour eux".

Le verset est difficile tant pour le sens que pour la syntaxe : on ignore quel est le sujet de "ramènera" et à quels personnages se rapporte le pronom "eux" et, de façon générale, le thème du retour du peuple est mal adapté au contexte du psaume. Pour le deuxième stique, les exégètes se demandent à quoi font référence les "eaux" ; A. Caquot[1] a suggéré ici une évocation du thème de la source du Temple et du fleuve de Sion, tel qu'on le trouve mentionné en plusieurs lieux bibliques. Enfin, pour l'ensemble du verset, on a avancé ici l'hypothèse d'une glose[2], d'une note marginale de consolation à l'adresse d'Israël avec, selon le ketib, une promesse de restauration sur sa terre accompagnée d'une abondante prospérité.

Pour ce verset, la LXX offre elle aussi un texte qui peut paraître incompréhensible ; c'est du moins ce que pense A. Festugière dans sa traduction inédite des *Psaumes*[3] ; il traduit ainsi le v. 10 : "C'est pourquoi mon peuple retournera là, et des jours remplis se trouveront chez eux" (διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρέψει ὁ λαός μου ἐνταῦθα, καὶ ἡμέραι πλήρεις εὑρεθήσονται αὐτοῖς). On constate d'emblée la disparition du thème de l'eau en grec au profit de celui des jours. On sait que la confusion entre les deux mots hébreux est facile et de fait le traducteur a pu lire ימי, "et les jours", au lieu de ומי, "et l'eau". Ainsi cet écart résulterait d'une mauvaise compréhension de l'hébreu[4] ou, pour le dire autrement, d'une lecture différente de l'hébreu consonantique.

Or est-ce bien, à coup sûr, de cela dont il s'agit en grec ? Ne peut-on pas plutôt songer ici à une suppression volontaire en grec du thème de l'eau? En effet le sens de la métaphore des "eaux abondantes" employée en hébreu est ambigu ; il peut être négatif—on pense ici à "l'eau de malédiction" de Nb 5, 18s—ou,

1. "Le Psaume LXXIII," *Semitica* 21 (1971) : 29–55.

2. Voir par exemple G. R. Castellino, "Salmo 73, 10," *Studi Orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi della Vida* (Rome : Istituto per l'Oriente, 1956), 141–49. E. Beaucamp, *Le Psautier Ps 73-150* (Sources Bibliques ; Paris : J. Gabalda, 1979), 3.

3. Le manuscrit de cette traduction non publiée se trouve à la Bibliothèque d'Histoire des Religions de l'Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne.

4. C'est ce que pense E. Beaucamp, *Le Psautier Ps 73-150*, 3.

au contraire, positif et évoquer une situation heureuse, la prospérité, que celle-ci concerne Israël ou les impies. On peut dès lors imaginer que la signification de la métaphore de l'eau n'était pas suffisamment explicite, ici dans le contexte, pour un lecteur grec, et faire ainsi l'hypothèse que le traducteur a opéré un changement d'image par souci délibéré de clarté, mais également parce que la proximité consonantique des deux mots hébreux, "eau" et "jour", l'autorisait à procéder de la sorte. La métaphore alors adoptée est celle bien connue des "jours remplis[5]", désignant explicitement ici, selon sa connotation positive, une vie heureuse. Si en grec le premier hémistiche concerne nécessairement le peuple d'Israël comme l'indiquent les mots "mon peuple", en revanche le second demeure ambigu et peut tout à la fois concerner Israël—désigné non plus par un singulier mais par un pluriel collectif—et le rétablissement de son bonheur, ou bien s'appliquer aux impies et à leur prospérité, en conformité avec ce qu'exprime le v. 12 ("tranquilles ils accroissent leur richesse"). Chacune des interprétations de cet hémistiche en grec, sans la mention obscure de l'eau remplacée par l'image franche des "jours heureux", nous paraît ainsi pallier en quelque sorte l'inintelligibilité du texte hébreu. L'écart entre le TM et la LXX dans laquelle disparaît le thème de l'eau ne proviendrait peut-être pas, nous semble-t-il, d'une erreur involontaire de lecture du texte hébreu mais bien de la volonté du traducteur de clarifier le texte source.

En Lam 5, 4[6], dans la version grecque, la disparition de la mention de l'eau —il ne s'agit plus ici d'une métaphore—repose aussi sur une lecture de l'hébreu différente de celle qu'on lit dans le TM—c'est du moins ce que l'on peut supposer de prime abord. Décrivant les malheurs du peuple, comme la soif et la faim, le TM dit ceci : "Notre eau, nous l'avons bue à prix d'argent, notre bois nous arrive contre paiement", rendu ainsi dans la LXX : "Depuis nos jours, notre bois est venu contre prix d'argent", ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἡμῶν ξύλα ἡμῶν ἐν ἀλλάγματι ἦλθεν.

On remarque d'emblée que la traduction grecque est plus courte que le TM ; pour la première partie du verset, seul le premier des trois mots hébreux trouve son équivalent en grec et encore le traducteur ne lit pas la forme מימינו, "notre eau", mais une forme issue de ים, "le jour", précédée de la préposition מן. Mais peut-on aller au-delà du simple constat de cette différence de lecture qui a pour conséquence en grec la disparition du motif de l'eau et déterminer si celle-ci est intentionnelle ou non ?

Tout d'abord le texte hébreu ne présente aucune difficulté syntaxique ou lexicale qui puisse justifier une traduction aussi libre en grec. Mais, par ailleurs, il est difficile d'expliquer pourquoi le traducteur grec aurait volontairement fait

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5. Cf. Gn 25, 8 ; 35, 29 et surtout Ex 23, 26.

6. Cf. I. Assan-Dhôte, J. Moatti-Fine, *Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 25.2 ; Paris : Cerf, 2005), 278–79.

disparaître cette mention d'une taxe sur l'eau[7] pour ne conserver que celle sur le bois. Serait-ce parce qu'elle était moins courante que l'impôt sur le bois ? On peut à tout le moins le penser si l'on se réfère à Fl. Josèphe qui ne parle, pour sa part, que des taxes sur le bois que levaient les rois séleucides[8]. Quoi qu'il en soit, erreur de lecture ou modification délibérée en accord avec les pratiques de l'époque, la simple traduction "depuis nos jours" donne un sens au verset et crée un écho verbal à cette même précision que l'on trouve en 1, 7 lorsqu'il est question de jours d'humiliation et d'expulsion (ἡμερῶν ταπεινώσεως… καὶ ἀπωσμῶν), de ces jours anciens (ἐξ ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων), lorsque le peuple était tombé aux mains d'un oppresseur.

En Za 13, 1, c'est cette fois le mot "fontaine" qui disparaît dans le texte grec. Le traducteur grec traduit en effet l'hébreu "Il y aura une fontaine (מקור) ouverte pour la maison de David et pour les habitants de Jérusalem, pour le péché et l'impureté" par les seuls mots "Tout lieu s'ouvrira pour la maison de David (πᾶς τόπος)". Le texte grec est lacunaire et diffère du TM : il manque en grec l'équivalent des mots hébreux de la fin du verset et, au lieu du mot hébreu מקור, "fontaine", le traducteur a probablement lu l'hébreu מקום, "endroit, lieu", par suite d'une confusion entre le mem et le resh. Si l'on comprend assez bien le sens du TM—la fontaine sera ouverte afin de laver le péché et l'impureté que constituent les idoles et les faux prophètes mentionnés au v. 2 -, le grec, quant à lui, peut paraître plus obscur ; on ne sait pas en effet à quoi fait référence le mot "lieu". Peut-être s'agit-il d'une désignation plus large du lieu de culte ?

Dans les trois exemples que nous venons d'examiner, nous avons proposé comme première explication de la disparition du thème de l'eau une même mauvaise lecture du texte consonantique hébreu par le traducteur grec. Mais, tandis que dans le cas de Za 13, 1 on a de la peine à aller au-delà d'une telle explication qui permettrait de voir autre chose qu'une erreur de lecture inconsciente, en Ps 72(73), 10 et en Lam 5, 4, en revanche, nous avons pu formuler l'hypothèse tout à fait probable d'un changement volontaire par rapport à l'hébreu, et donc d'une suppression délibérée de la mention de l'eau, qu'explique pour l'une un souci de meilleure lisibilité du texte biblique, pour l'autre le désir de s'adapter aux *realia* de l'époque du traducteur ; ajoutons que cette altération dans l'interprétation du texte hébreu opérée par la suppression du thème de l'eau repose sur le procédé herméneutique[9] tout à fait légitime dans la tradition juive, qui consiste à jouer sur la grande proximité consonantique des mots hébreux.

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7. Cette conception selon laquelle on devait acheter son eau est plusieurs fois exprimée dans la Bible, en Nb 20, 17.19 ; 21, 22, ainsi qu'en Dt 2, 6.28, alors qu'en Is 55, 1 l'eau est offerte gratuitement. Sur cette valeur marchande de l'eau, voir P. Reymond, *L'eau, sa vie, et sa signification dans l'Ancien Testament* (VTSup 6; Leiden: Brill, 1958), 147.

8. *A.J.* 12, 3.

9. Sur l'application de cette méthode des analogies verbales formelles par le traducteur grec d'*Isaïe*, par exemple, voir J. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du judaïsme antique d'après les*

2. Influence d'une exégèse juive

D'autres exemples encore, témoignant de cette disparition du thème de l'eau, ne s'expliquent plus, cette fois, par les causes habituelles d'altération textuelle mais par une autre manière de comprendre la parole biblique, peut-être à la lumière d'une exégèse juive qui avait cours à l'époque des traducteurs.

Dans le chant de pèlerinage, en Ps 83(84), 7, l'hébreu, difficile, peut se lire littéralement ainsi : "Passant par la vallée Baka, ils la mettront en source (c'est-à-dire "ils en feront une source", parfois corrigé en "ils boivent à la source") ; même de bénédictions la couvrira la pluie d'automne". Ce verset peut signifier que même "les vallées les plus arides—c'est l'idée qu'évoque le mot baka—se changeront en oasis[10]". Pour A. Festugière, la traduction qu'en donne la LXX est inintelligible ; il propose de traduire le grec ainsi : "Dans la vallée de larmes au lieu qu'il a placé ; et en effet le législateur donnera des bénédictions" (ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος εἰς τόπον, ὃν ἔθετο· καὶ γὰρ εὐλογίας δώσει ὁ νομοθετῶν). Nous ne nous attardons pas sur la disparition en grec du mot "source", probablement due à une confusion entre le mot מעין, "source", et מעון avec un waw signifiant "le séjour, le lieu". Mais nous nous intéresserons plus particulièrement à la disparition de la "pluie d'automne" nommée מורה en hébreu. Le traducteur grec des *Psaumes* rend ce mot par le substantif ὁ νομοθετῶν. Une telle traduction, surprenante au premier abord, se comprend en réalité aisément si l'on se souvient de la double acception de l'hébreu מורה, signifiant tout à la fois, "pluie d'automne" et "maître", "guide", "précepteur" ; il convient toutefois de faire remarquer que le premier sens de "pluie" est très rare, il n'apparaît qu'en Jl 2, 23 et ici dans notre Psaume. Pour ce substantif hébreu, issu de la racine י- ר-ה signifiant "pleuvoir" mais prise en son sens habituel de "enseigner", le traducteur grec privilégie ici le sens de "maître", d'où "législateur", au détriment de celui de "pluie".

Il est difficile cependant de dire si ce choix est conscient ou non et s'il procède d'un jeu délibéré sur le double sens du mot, en accord avec une tradition juive qui associe le maître et la pluie, comme l'atteste par exemple le Targum[11] de Jl 2, 23 ("Dieu vous a donné votre maître pour justice" au lieu du TM "la pluie d'automne pour justice") ou les *Hymnes*[12] de Qumrân VIII, 16 où le maître de justice apporte un enseignement comparable à "une pluie automnale" et à "un jaillissement d'eaux".

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témoins textuels d'Isaïe (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982).

    10. E. Beaucamp, *Le Psautier Ps 73-150*, 61.

    11. K. J. Cathcart and R. P. Gordon, *The Targum of Minor Prophets* (ArBib 14; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1989).

    12. A. Dupont-Sommer *et al.*, *La Bible. Ecrits intertestamentaires* (La Pléiade, Paris : Gallimard, 1987).

S'il est certes possible d'invoquer une tradition exégétique juive dont le traducteur des *Psaumes* serait tributaire pour expliquer la disparition du thème de la pluie dans la LXX du Ps 83(84), 7, ce n'est absolument pas le cas en deux passages du Dodekapropheton où disparaît ce même thème de la pluie présent dans le TM.

En Os 10, 12, selon le TM, il est question pour Israël "de rechercher YHWH jusqu'à ce qu'il vienne faire pleuvoir . . . la justice", avec l'emploi, non du substantif מורה, mais de la forme verbale ירה que l'on peut comprendre au sens de "pleuvoir" ou "enseigner". La version grecque ne parle ici ni de pluie ni d'enseignement mais offre une traduction selon le contexte, tout à fait en accord avec le début du verset ("Semez pour vous en vue de la justice, moissonnez en vue d'un fruit de vie") et dit : "Recherchez le Seigneur jusqu'à ce que vous viennent des produits de justice" (ἐκζητήσατε τὸν κύριον ἕως τοῦ ἐλθεῖν γενήματα δικαιοσύνης ὑμῖν).

De même, en Jl 2, 23, au TM "car [YHWH] vous a donné la pluie d'automne selon la justice", correspond le grec "car il vous a donné la nourriture pour justice" (διότι ἔδωκεν ὑμῖν τὰ βρώματα εἰς δικαιοσύνην) ; le sens de "pluie" ou de "maître" du substantif hébreu מורה n'est pas retenu par le traducteur grec mais remplacé par une traduction peut-être moins précise, "la nourriture", mais en accord avec l'idée commune selon laquelle la pluie apporte la nourriture, telle qu'on la trouve par exemple exprimée dans les *Psaumes de Salomon*, en 5, 9–10 : "Quand tu donnes la pluie aux déserts pour la germination de la verdure, tu prépares les nourritures au désert pour tous les êtres vivants", ἐν τῷ διδόναι σε ὑετὸν ἐρήμοις εἰς ἀνατολὴν χλόης · ἡτοίμασας χορτάσματα ἐν ἐρήμῳ παντὶ ζῶντι.

Ainsi, la déperdition du thème de la pluie dans ces deux passages du Dodekapropheton[13] ne se justifie nullement par le recours à la tradition juive qui associe la pluie à l'enseignement et accorde une place importante au "maître de justice" (מורה צדק) ; il semble même, comme l'affirme J. Joosten[14], que le traducteur des Douze Petits Prophètes ignore—ou en tout cas ne suive pas—cette tradition telle qu'on la trouve exposée dans la littérature essénienne et offre à la place une traduction plutôt contextuelle.

En revanche, dans le deuxième hémistiche de Mi 5, 6 ("comme une ondée sur l'herbe"), J. Joosten[15] a montré que la disparition dans la Septante du mot "ondée",

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13. Voir un troisième passage dans le Dodekapropheton où disparaît le thème de la pluie, nommée non plus מורה mais גשם : en Za 14, 17, le TM "et il n'y aura pas de pluie sur eux", en allusion à la pluie que l'on vient demander le jour de la fête des Tentes, devient dans la LXX "ceux-ci alors seront ajoutés à ceux-là", καὶ οὗτοι ἐκείνοις προστεθήσονται; l'expression grecque "être ajouté à", en un décalque d'un tour idiomatique de l'hébreu, signifie "mourir" (voir, par exemple, M. Harl, *La Genèse* [La Bible d'Alexandrie 1 ; Paris : Cerf, 1986], 70, pour Gn 25, 8 *et al.*) ; on a ainsi dans le grec de Za 14, 17 une autre interprétation du texte hébreu : celui qui ne reçoit plus de pluie est condamné à mourir.

14. *Les Douze Prophètes. Osée* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 23. 1 ; Paris : Cerf, 2002), 138–39.

15. "L'ondée et les moutons. La Septante de Michée 5, 6 et l'exégèse juive traditionnelle," *REJ* 162 (2003) : 357–63.

nommée en hébreu רביבים (qui rejoint notre thématique de l'eau), au profit d'une traduction grecque étonnante ("comme des moutons, ἄρνες, sur l'herbe") qui consiste à lui préférer un mot désignant des animaux, pouvait s'expliquer par une interprétation juive ancienne des derniers mots de Dt 32, 2 ("comme une ondée sur l'herbe"), connue du traducteur et attestée par exemple dans le Targum samaritain ("comme des agneaux sur l'herbe"). L'équivalence choisie par le traducteur dans laquelle est absente la connotation de l'eau ne serait donc pas due au manque de familiarité du traducteur avec ce terme hébreu rare—le contexte immédiat aurait d'ailleurs pu aisément amener le traducteur à trouver une traduction plus proche du TM -, mais serait un témoignage évident de la dépendance du traducteur grec à l'égard d'une tradition juive qui avait cours à son époque.

3. La résolution d'une métaphore[16]

Examinons un autre passage de la LXX, souvent commenté, dans lequel disparaît le thème de l'eau, Nb 24, 7a,b, le troisième oracle de Balaam ; il est question de Jacob et d'Israël ; le TM dit ceci : "Des eaux ruisselleront de ses vases, et sa descendance sera dans les eaux nombreuses" (יזל־ מים מדליו וזרעו במים רבים). Pour ce passage, dans les versets qui précèdent, la traduction grecque n'est pas littérale et présente plusieurs écarts avec le TM qui, souvent, sont de nature exégétique[17]. Ici encore, le texte grec s'éloigne de l'hébreu puisqu'il donne : "Un homme sortira de sa descendance et il sera le seigneur de nations nombreuses" (ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν).

Le TM est certes énigmatique, mais comment expliquer cette divergence et en particulier cette disparition en grec, à deux reprises dans le même verset, du mot "eau" ?

On constate tout d'abord que, bien que la Septante dise tout autre chose que le TM, le texte grec lui-même suit pourtant fidèlement l'ordre des mots et le nombre des mots du texte hébreu.

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16. La bibliographie sur la métaphore dans la Bible hébraïque est abondante : sur ce sujet voir le livre récent de P. van Hecke (éd.), *Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible* (BETL 187 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2005). Pour le traitement des métaphores dans la LXX, voir par exemple dans ce même volume l'article de A. Labahn, "Bitterkeit und Asche als Speise—das Leiden Jeremias an Schicksal Jerusalems. Metaphern und Metaphervariationen in Thr 3, 1–21 LXX," 147–83. Pour Isaïe-LXX, voir A. van der Kooij, "The Interpretation of Metaphorical Language: A Characteristic of LXX-Isaiah", in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome. Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (éd. F. García Martínez, G. P. Luttikhuizen, JSJ Sup 82 ; Leiden : Brill, 2003), 179–85.

17. Cf. G . Dorival, L*es Nombres* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 4; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 139.

J. Lust[18] a proposé une explication de cette divergence : au lieu de lire le premier mot יזל, de נזל signifiant "couler, se répandre, ruisseler", le traducteur aurait lu un verbe araméen אזל signifiant "aller" ; le traducteur aurait alors explicité le sujet de ce verbe en ajoutant le mot ἄνθρωπος. Par ailleurs, il aurait interprété le mot hébreu דלי qui signifie "seaux, vases" au sens de "enfants", "semences" ou alors il aurait lu un autre mot דליות, un féminin pluriel signifiant "les branches" et représentant dans ce cas la descendance d'Israël.

Ainsi, selon J. Lust, le thème de l'eau en grec aurait ici disparu parce que le traducteur aurait tout simplement omis de traduire le mot מים, "les eaux", et le terme ἄνθρωπος ne serait pas une traduction de ce mot hébreu mais une explicitation d'un sujet implicite. Il ne faudrait donc pas accorder plus d'importance à ce terme qu'il n'en a en grec : il n'y aurait pas d'emphase sur le mot ἄνθρωπος, ce serait un terme vague.

G. Vermes[19] a également étudié ce passage ; il fait remarquer qu'on ne possède aucun témoignage manuscrit qui permettrait de corriger le texte hébreu ; toutes les variantes peuvent s'expliquer à partir du TM. Il accepte comme seule variante probable la leçon "de ses branches" avec l'emploi de דליות au lieu de דלי, "de ses seaux".

Le verset—G. Vermes en convient—est difficile à comprendre en hébreu et c'est la raison pour laquelle il a été interprété de façon symbolique. Pour G. Vermes, il est évident que dans toutes les versions anciennes, LXX incluse, le terme מים a été compris comme signifiant "le Messie", selon l'équivalence midrashique bien connue : l'eau est le symbole de la justice—G. Vermes renvoie ici à Isa 45, 8 ("Cieux épanchez-vous là-haut et que les nuages déversent la justice") et aussi à Amos 5, 24 ("Que le droit coule comme de l'eau, et la justice comme un torrent qui ne tarit pas")—et la justice est associée au Messie si l'on se réfère à Jer 33, 15 ("En ce temps-là je ferai germer pour David un germe de justice") ou Jer 23, 5 ("Voici venir des jours où je susciterai à David un germe juste"). Pour G. Vermes, le mot hébreu "eaux" n'est donc pas omis dans la LXX mais interprété de façon symbolique : les eaux symboliseraient le Messie rendu par le terme ἄνθρωπος en grec.

Tout en convenant avec J. Lust qu'il est peu probable qu'en Nb 24, 7 la Septante soit plus messianique[20] que le TM avec l'emploi de ce terme ἄνθρωπος,

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18. "The Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles. The ἄνθρωπος in Num 24 :7 and 17. Messianism and Lexicography," in *VIII Congress of the IOSCS. Paris 1992* (éd. L. Greenspoon, O. Munnich, SCSS 41 ; Atlanta, Georgia : Scholars Press, 1996), 233–57. "Septuagint and Messianism, with Special Emphasis on the Pentateuch," in *Messianism and the Septuagint* (éd. K. Hauspie, BETL 178 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2004), 147–49.

19. *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism, Haggadic Studies* (Studia post-biblica 4 ; Leiden : Brill, 1961), 159–60.

20. H. Rouillard, *La Péricope de Balaam: Nombres 22–24* (Paris : J. Gabalda, 1985), 363–70, perçoit dans la LXX une "vision messianique et dynastique". Sur le caractère messianique ou

même si ce passage a clairement reçu, par la suite, une interprétation messianique dans les traditions juive et chrétienne, nous croyons que la disparition du mot "eaux" dans la LXX ne relève pas d'une simple omission de la part du traducteur.

Nous avons déjà mentionné que le texte hébreu était incontestablement obscur. J.W. Wevers[21] propose de comprendre le verset en rapport avec la mention des arbres du verset précédent : il est question d'aloès que YHWH a plantés et de cèdres auprès des eaux ; à cet endroit, la LXX rend bien le mot מים par ὕδατα. Selon J.W. Wevers, au v. 7, la comparaison avec les arbres amorcée au verset précédent se poursuit et on aurait ici une allusion à l'eau qui arrose de deux façons les semences des arbres, par dessus et par dessous, l'expression hébraïque "eaux nombreuses" faisant généralement référence aux eaux souterraines. Le grec, quant à lui, abandonnerait cette comparaison avec les arbres et créerait un nouveau contexte de promesse eschatologique.

Nous souhaiterions envisager ici ce passage de Nb 24, 7 d'une autre façon. Au v. 6 le contexte d'ensemble est bien celui d'une description élogieuse de la situation présente de Jacob, d'Israël. Ne pourrait-on pas comprendre que la comparaison avec les arbres s'est terminée au v. 6 et qu'ici, au v. 7, on change de sujet ? Il y est toujours question de Jacob/ Israël, mais cette fois une nouvelle expression exprime sa prospérité, sa fécondité future, c'est la métaphore de l'eau, l'eau pouvant être comprise comme un euphémisme pour le sperme, source de vie. Telle est d'ailleurs l'explication que donne aussi A. van der Kooij[22] : l'eau est une métaphore pour la semence, interprétée ici par le traducteur grec comme "un homme".

Sur l'eau comme désignation du sperme, P. E. Bonnard[23] renvoie à Gn 19, 37 où le nom Moab que la fille aînée de Lot donne au fils qu'elle a de son père doit signifier "eau du père".

Nous serions même tentée de penser que les deux premiers stiques de Nb 24, 7, en parallèle, expriment quasiment la même chose ; ce serait une manière de parler de l'engendrement d'une descendance, de la fécondité, de la vie, de deux façons différentes : on aurait ici, en quelque sorte, un hendiadys.

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non de ce passage, voir le volume récent de M. A. Knibb (éd.), *The Septuagint and Messianism* (BETL 195 ; Leuven : Peeters, 2006), en particulier les articles de M. A. Knibb, "The Septuagint and Messianism. Problems and Issues," sp. 17–19. W. Horbury, "Monarchy and Messianism: The Greek Pentateuch," sp. 121–24. J. J. Collins, "Messianism and Exegetical Tradition: The Evidence of the LXX Pentateuch," sp. 142–44. M. Rösel, "Jakob, Bileam und der Mesias: Messianische Erwartungen in Gen 49 und Num 22–24," sp. 168–73.

21. *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1998), 406.

22. "Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint : Who are the Translators ?," in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Studies*, Fest. A. S. van der Woude (éd. F. García Martínez, E. Noort, VTSup 73 ; Leiden : Brill, 1998), 214–29, sp. 224–25.

23. *Le Second Isaïe. Son disciple et leurs éditeurs. Isaïe 40-66* (Etudes Bibliques ; Paris : J. Gabalda, 1972), 202 n. 3.

Dans la Septante, le traducteur aurait parfaitement perçu cette métaphore de l'eau mais, afin de rendre celle-ci plus claire pour le lecteur, il l'aurait décryptée et aurait ainsi supprimé le terme "eau" au profit de sa signification réelle : l'eau désignerait ici une descendance, un engendrement, une semence, une vie humaine, d'où la traduction en grec par ἄνθρωπος, pris au sens d'individu ou peut-être de l'humanité en général.

L'image du TM "eaux" n'aurait pas purement et simplement disparu du texte grec, elle aurait été remplacée par l'idée qu'elle symbolise.

Dans le même verset, la disparition de la deuxième occurrence du mot "eaux" dans la LXX s'explique différemment : selon une tradition juive que l'on trouve fréquemment attestée dans le Targum, "les eaux" symboliseraient cette fois "les nations[24]" et, ici, le traducteur de Nb 24, 7 serait tributaire de cette exégèse.

A l'appui de notre hypothèse sur l'obscurité de cette métaphore de l'eau comme expression symbolique de la descendance, de la semence, pouvant justifier sa disparition dans la LXX, on peut citer d'autres exemples scripturaires : en Dt 33, 28, à la fin du cantique de Moïse, le TM dit ceci : "Et Israël demeure en sécurité, la source (עין) de Jacob reste à part". Pour le deuxième stique, en grec, il y a un écart avec l'hébreu ; on lit "Et Israël s'établira avec confiance, seul, sur la terre, Jacob" ou bien "seul sur la terre de Jacob" (καὶ κατασκηνώσει Ισραηλ πεποιθὼς μόνος ἐπὶ γῆς Ιακωβ).

En grec, c'est le terme "source", cette fois, qui a disparu ; ne serait-ce pas parce que le terme עין est aussi un euphémisme pour le mot "sperme" et possède ce même sens symbolique de "descendance" ? La source de Jacob, c'est le peuple issu de lui, c'est sa descendance. Une fois encore la thématique de l'eau exprimée en hébreu avec le mot "source" disparaît dans le grec sans doute parce que le sens symbolique n'en était plus immédiatement perceptible pour un lecteur grec[25]. Ici, le traducteur modifie le texte hébreu ; il ne traduit pas littéralement le mot "source" mais emploie le nom Jacob seul comme un collectif pour désigner ce qui est issu de lui, le peuple de Jacob, et il ajoute la précision "sur la terre" ; on peut aussi songer au remplacement du mot hébreu "source" par le mot "la terre" par souci d'une meilleure intelligibilité. Quoi qu'il en soit, le sens global du stique en grec n'est pas très éloigné de ce que l'on comprend généralement pour le TM ; au lieu de dire que la source—mise pour la descendance, le peuple, de Jacob—

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24. Voir par exemple Isa 33, 3 ; Ezek 31, 7. Dans la Bible même, les "eaux nombreuses" sont une métaphore bien connue pour désigner l'invasion ennemie (Isa 8, 7 ; Ps 18, 17 ; 144, 7 ; Ezek 26, 19).

25. Selon J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta : Scholars Press, 1995), 555, c'est le traducteur qui est embarrassé devant cette expression, dès lors traduite d'après le contexte.

demeurera solitaire en son pays, c'est-à-dire sans les nations comme le précise Nb 23, 9, le grec dit la même chose en prenant le nom de Jacob en un sens collectif[26].

Citons enfin un autre lieu biblique où le traducteur grec est confronté à ce même emploi métaphorique de l'eau. Il s'agit d'Isa 48, 1 où le peuple de Dieu est longuement interpellé avec une mention spéciale de ses illustres pères. Le ™ dit en effet : "Entendez ceci, maison de Jacob, vous qui vous dénommez du nom d'Israël et qui êtes issus des eaux (ומְמֵי) de Juda". Pour ce dernier stique la LXX traduit simplement ainsi : "et qui êtes issus de Juda" (καὶ οἱ ἐξ Ιουδα ἐξελθόντες).

L'expression hébraïque "issus des eaux" a souvent été considérée comme obscure et interprétée de différentes façons. Pour J. Koenig[27], il s'agirait d'une formule empruntée à des croyances populaires, courante dans le folklore universel, selon lesquelles une rivière engendrerait des humains. Ce serait une image littéraire fondée sur une conception archaïque, du même type que l'image du rocher donnant naissance aux hommes que l'on peut lire en Isa 51, 1 : "Regardez vers le rocher dans lequel vous avez été taillés".

Si tel avait été le sens pour le traducteur grec, pourquoi n'aurait-il pas traduit littéralement l'image comme il le fait pour le rocher—στερεὰν πέτραν—en Isa 51,1 ? Pourquoi le terme "eaux" est-il absent de sa traduction ?

Ne peut-on pas penser que le traducteur sait que l'on a ici affaire à un euphémisme pour le "sperme" et qu'il évite cette désignation ? Juda renvoie en effet ici à l'ascendant prestigieux du peuple d'Israël dont le nom finira par nommer l'ensemble de la population israélite, mais il est présenté dans le ™, comme le fait remarquer P.E. Bonnard[28], "comme un géniteur fécond, dont les 'eaux', c'est-à-dire la semence, ont fait naître la nation qui a pour centre Jérusalem". Cette façon de parler de Juda dans le ™ est conforme à ce que l'on peut lire de ce fils de Jacob en Gn 49, 10 où il est dit : "Le sceptre ne sera pas ôté de Juda ni le bâton de commandement d'entre ses pieds" selon l'hébreu, ou "il ne manquera pas de chef issu de Juda ni de guide issu de ses cuisses", avec la mention du "chef" à la place des insignes de l'autorité et l'explicitation des "pieds" avec le mot "cuisses" (ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ), dans la version grecque.

Il est fort probable que le traducteur d'*Isaïe* a bien le mot "eaux" dans le texte hébreu qu'il traduit en Isa 48, 1, mot qui figure, on le sait[29], dans le texte de Qumrân. Il n'omet pas involontairement, selon nous, de le traduire ; il connaît l'emploi de cette métaphore des eaux pour nommer le sperme, symbole de fécon-

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26. Pour une autre hypothèse, celle d'un accident paléographique, voir C. Dogniez, M. Harl, *Le Deutéronome* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 5 ; Paris : Cerf, 1992), 353.

27. Le traducteur d'*Isaïe* dans E. Dhorme (éd.), *La Bible. Ancien Testament* (La Pléiade ; Paris : Gallimard, 1959), *ad loc.*

28. *Le Second Isaïe,* 202.

29. Cf. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament 2. Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations* (OBO, 50/2 ; Fribourg : éd. universitaires ; Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 35–52, qui mentionne également la présence de cette même métaphore en Nb 24, 7.

dité, mais renonce de façon délibérée, comme le fait le Targum[30], à l'expression difficile à comprendre en ce sens. Et la simple formulation grecque "vous qui êtes issus de Juda" n'évoque sans doute pas la fécondité du géniteur Juda, mais elle suffit à indiquer la lignée prestigieuse du peuple d'Israël.

On constate donc, dans ces trois passages scripturaires provenant de trois livres bibliques traduits par deux cercles de traducteurs différents, l'un pour le Pentateuque, l'autre pour *Isaïe*, une même déperdition du thème de l'eau reposant sur une connaissance d'une même tradition exégétique : l'euphémisme des "eaux" ou de "la source" utilisé pour désigner la descendance dans la Bible hébraïque est bien connu des traducteurs juifs de la Septante mais ces derniers évitent cette métaphore sexuelle[31] dans leur traduction grecque, qui risquerait de n'être pas bien comprise de leurs lecteurs.

L'examen du traitement du thème de l'eau dans ces passages met clairement en évidence une technique de traduction commune aux différents traducteurs, à savoir la suppression d'une figure de style présente dans le texte source—ici une métaphore ou un euphémisme—remplacée par sa signification concrète. Ce procédé de traduction peut du reste être rapproché d'un trait similaire observable dans les Targums, mais qui a déjà des antécédents dans la Bible elle-même, comme l'a montré A. Rofé[32].

4. Conclusion

Au terme de cette analyse de quelques passages choisis dans l'ensemble de la Septante, nous avons constaté que le motif de l'eau si souvent présent dans l'original hébraïque a parfois disparu dans la version grecque. Plusieurs hypothèses ont été proposées pour tenter d'expliquer un tel écart entre la traduction et le texte source et ont révélé une même application de procédés de traduction chez les différents traducteurs de la Septante.

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30. Pour Isa 48, 1, le Targum comprend l'expression "issus des eaux de Juda" au sens de "issus des familles de Juda" et Jérôme (com. *ad loc.)* prend le terme "eau" au sens de "descendance", *aquas vocans pro semine* ; cette interprétation de l'eau comme un euphémisme mis pour le sperme chez Jérôme est mentionnée par J. Blenkinsopp, *Isaiah 40–55, A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (The Anchor Bible ; New York : Doubleday, 1927, rep. 2002), 285 ; pour ce passage d'*Isaïe*, J. Blenkinsopp cite aussi Ibn Ezra qui se réfère également à Dt 33, 28.

31. Sur la métaphore de l'eau comme source de vie, voir A. Lelièvre, A. Maillot, *Commentaire des Proverbes, Les Proverbes de Salomon, chapitres 10–18* (Lectio Divina ; Paris : Cerf, 1993), 281–83.

32. "Biblical Antecedents of the Targumic Solution of Metaphors (Ps 89 :41–42 ; Ezek 22 :25–28 ; Gen 49 :8–9, 14–15," in *The Interpretation of the Bible: The International Symposium in Slovenia* (éd. J. Krasovec ; JSOTSup 289 ; Sheffield : Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 333–38.

Interprétée de prime abord comme une erreur de lecture, la disparition du thème de l'eau dans le texte grec de Ps 72(73), 10 et de Lam 5, 4 résulte respectivement—sans doute aussi parce que les ressources orthographiques du texte hébreu sous-jacent le permettaient—d'une clarification du texte original et d'une adaptation probable aux *realia* de l'époque. En Ps 83(84), 7 et en Mi 5, 6, la modification par rapport au texte hébreu prend appui sur une exégèse juive des mots "pluie" et "ondée" qui avait cours à l'époque des traducteurs. Enfin, en Nb 24, 7 ; Dt 33, 28 et Isa 48,1, les traducteurs grecs du Pentateuque et d'*Isaïe* décryptent la même métaphore sexuelle de l'eau et la remplacent par une expression plus compréhensible pour le lecteur grec.

Special Problems in the Septuagint Text History of Ecclesiastes

Peter J. Gentry

Abstract: This paper examines problems in the text history of the Greek Ecclesiastes and considers possible solutions to them. In particular, the question is raised as to whether or not there is an Egyptian (or Hesychian?) recension in the history of the transmission of the text of the Greek Ecclesiastes. A group of extremely difficult problems in the text history will be examined to see if Cod. Vaticanus and its congeners witness to the original text or if the group of readings share similar characteristics and could be labeled recensional.

1. Introduction

Preparing a critical edition for the Göttingen Septuaginta Series is not only a daunting task, it is frequently a lonely one as well. Some problems in the textual transmission are intractable even after years devoted to analyzing the character of the history of the text as a whole and many days spent in deciding one individual instance of troublesome variation. After a sabbatical in which some twelve to fourteen hours per day were focused on one problem after another in the text and writing apparatus, what one longs for is a conversation partner to find out whether one's proposed solutions are plausible or proof that one has gone completely mad.

The cases presented in this short study are not of great significance as instances of textual variation, but are discussed here in an attempt to learn from others who may have insights concerning them. There is no common pattern for the particular problems selected except that in some of them I have gone against the best and oldest witnesses in proposing a solution. These problems rather than the proverbs of Qoheleth have been goads to consider the possibility of an early recension in these witnesses.

For each problem evidence is presented as fully as possible. First ᴍᴛ is given as a working version of the putative parent text.[1] Then follows the text of the Septuagint, where Ra indicates the text of Rahlfs and Ge the text proposed for my critical edition. App I and App II designate the first and second apparatuses respectively according to the principles of the Göttingen Septuaginta. Text and notes from the Syro-Hexapla are supplied when retroversions for hexaplaric readings are involved.

7:6a

ᴍᴛ   כִּי כְקוֹל הַסִּירִים תַּחַת הַסִּיר

Ra   ὅτι ὡς φωνὴ τῶν ἀκανθῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λέβητα

Ge   ὡς φωνὴ τῶν ἀκανθῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λέβητα

App I   ὡς B S 998 *C´* 357 68 296´ 311 338 443 534 602-613 645 706 795 Ammon Antioch 1724 Bas III 961 Dam⁻ᴷⱽᴿᴹᴴᶜᵀᴸᵃᴬⱽ ᴸᵃᵗAmb *Exh virg* 11,76 BenA *Conc* 1126 Eugip *Reg* 28,74 Spec 557,8 Fa Saᴵ] pr ὅτι (sub ※ Syh) A C *O*-411 *cII a b d*⁻³⁵⁷ 125ᴵᴵ 161 248 252 260´ 339 542 543 547 549 698 766 Did GregAgˡᵉᵐ ᵉᵗ ᶜᵒᵐᵐ 996 Ol PsChr Arm Hi Syh = Vulg M Ra ↓ ; ωσπερ Damᴷⱽᴿᴹᴴᶜᵀᴸᵃᴬⱽ Max II 996; *et sicut* Reg *Mag* 179,183

App II   ὡς φωνὴ τῶν ἀκανθῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λέβητα] διὰ γὰρ φωνὴν ἀπαιδεύτων ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ γίνεταί τις 161 248 | τῶν ἀκανθῶν] ἀπαιδεύτων Syh (ܐܠܗ ܢܕܗ܊ ܐܠܒ)

The first problem is presented as background for issues arising later in this study. Rahlfs' text has ὅτι ὡς at the beginning of 7:6a. His apparatus shows only that ὅτι is omitted in B and S. No doubt his choice was based on the fact that the Greek translation is extremely literal and he could not imagine that the translator would omit a word in his parent text. Moreover Rahlfs believed that the Bible text of Jerome's Commentary on Ecclesiastes was a reliable source for the Old Latin and therefore one of the earliest witnesses, albeit indirect, to the ʟxx.

Rahlfs' choice is not sound for a number of reasons. First, as I have shown in other studies, in a few instances he based his edition solely upon Jerome's Bible text going against the entire manuscript tradition in Greek.[2] Good evidence is supplied in my Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint to show that Jerome corrected the Old Latin towards his Hebrew text in an impromptu fashion as he recorded the text of his commentary and so the Bible text of the Commentary

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1. In a few instances, the vocalization of ᴍᴛ is also provided for ease in referring to that reading tradition.

2. See Peter J. Gentry, "Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three: The Priority of a New Critical Edition of Hexaplaric Fragments," *Aramaic Studies* 2.2 (2004): 145–74.

is not a reliable witness to the Septuagint.[3] Instead, the citations from the Latin Fathers constitute a better witness to the Old Latin and they all have an equivalent for ὡς but not for ὅτι.

Second, the witness of the Syro-Hexapla is important in this problem. The equivalent for ὅτι is preceded by an asterisk and followed by a metobelus. This is a clear indication that the ὅτι was not part of the text Origen received as the Septuagint, but was added from one of the Three and appropriately marked to show that the text of the Septuagint was lacking what corresponds to this word in Origen's Hebrew text. The Syro-Hexapla is one of the most reliable sources for preserving the diacritical marks used in the fifth column of the Hexapla and at the beginning of Ecclesiastes in Rahlfs' text he indicates the Syro-Hexapla in the apparatus as his source for the o′ text. He ought to have taken this witness far more seriously.

Third, Rahlfs did not account sufficiently for the fact that in a number of instances, the parent text of the Greek translator may have differed from мт. At present this is best seen by studying the commentary of Goldman in the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta*.[4] In this particular problem he proposes the same text as I do for the earliest form of the Old Greek. It is possible that either by haplography in the parent text or by parablepsis due to homoiarcton the Greek translator read כקול instead of כי כקול.

Fourthly, while the text of the *O* group in this case contaminated a large part of the textual tradition, B S are now strongly supported by 998, the Catena group and a good number of unclassified minuscules. And formal correspondence on the part of the translator is maintained. The decision to banish ὅτι from the critical edition should not be difficult to acknowledge.

8:4a

мт   בַּאֲשֶׁר דְּבַר־מֶלֶךְ שִׁלְטוֹן

Ra   καθὼς λαλεῖ βασιλεὺς ἐξουσιάζων

Ge   καθὼς λαλεῖ βασιλεὺς ἐξουσιάζων

App I   λαλεῖ *O*⁻⁶³⁷-411 *d*⁻³⁵⁷ 766 795 GregAg 1041 Hi 314,37ᵃᵖ (*dicet*) Syhᵗˣᵗ] λαλησει 637; λαλειν 698; *dixerit* Hi 314,37ᵗᵉ; post ἐξουσιάζων tr Sᶜ A C *cII a b* 125ᴵᴵ 161 248 252 260′ 296′ 311 338 339 443 542 543 547 549 602-613 706 Anton 1000 Damᴿ Ol Arm; > B S* 998 *C*′ 357 68 336′ 534 645 Dam⁻ᴿ Did 234,23 235,10 Fa Saᴵ Syhᵐᵍ (᾿Ωριγένης τοῦ λαλεῖ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὸν ᾿Εκκλησιαστήν;

3. Peter J. Gentry, "'The Role of the "Three" in the Text History of the Septuagint': II. Aspects of Interdependence of the Old Greek and the Three in Ecclesiastes," *Aramaic Studies* 4.2 (2006): 153–92.

4. A. Schenker *et al.* eds., *Biblia Hebraica Quinta. Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004).

index super καθώς) = Ald Compl Sixt | βασιλεύς] -εως 998 571ᶜ; > Anton 1000 Damᴿ

Syhᵗˣᵗ: ܐܠܝܟܐ ܠܡܠܠܘ ܢܫܠܛ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܟܢܝܫܐ .

Syhᵐᵍ: ܐܘܟܝܬ ܐܦܩܘ ܘܗܝ, ܗܟܢܐ܂ Index super ܟܢܝܫܐ
ܐܠ ܐܢܕܪܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܘܗܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܡܠܠܘܬܐ❖

Syhᵐᵍ: ❖ܗܠܠ ܐ. Index super ܗܟܠܠܕ

Syhᵐᵍ: ❖ܐܗܠܠ ܩ. Index super ܗܟܠܠܕ

Syhᵐᵍ: ❖ܟܬܒ ܕܗܘܒܐ ܕܗ. Index super ܗܟܠܠܕ

App II   λαλεῖ] α′ ἐλάλησε (Field) Syh; σ′ λόγον 161 248 Syh; θ′ λαλεῖ Syh[5]

There is a problem concerning λαλεῖ in the textual transmission. The text proposed for the critical edition is supported only by O and d groups plus three of the minuscules and a citation in Gregory Agrigentius. A large part of the tradition including Sᶜ A C, the *Cat. Trium Patrum*, most minuscules, and Olympiodorus have λαλεῖ after ἐξουσιάζων. Finally, B S* 998, the Catena Group, Didymus, and the Coptic versions omit λαλεῖ.

Normally when some witnesses are lacking a word, and the rest of the textual tradition has the word in two different locations, usually the witnesses lacking the word preserve the original text. I would dearly love to have a record of Rahlfs' deliberations over this problem since he rejected the witness of B and S. Would he have been swayed by the fact that Papyrus 998 from ca. 300 C.E. now supports their witness?

The evidence of the textual transmission available through the collations of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen calls for the case to be reconsidered.

With an eye on MT one may well wonder if the reading βασιλέως in 998 preserves a memory of a reading with a noun? No common copyist errors based on palaeographical or phonological factors can explain βασιλέως for βασιλεύς.[6] It may possibly be a mistake based on context due to the difficult position of λαλεῖ: "only a person in authority may speak about the king." Or it might also be that an accent on the epsilon instead of upsilon resulted in ευς sounding like εως.[7] With regard to the omission of λαλεῖ, B S 998 are not followed by a large part of the textual tradition as is often the situation. Most of the tradition has the word at the end. Both this and the omission look like a stylistic correction for λαλεῖ in

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5. For reconstruction of the text of θ′ from the marginal note ὁμοίως τοῖς ο′, see Peter J. Gentry, "The Relationship of Aquila and Theodotion to the Old Greek of Ecclesiastes in the Marginal Notes of the Syro-Hexapla," *Aramaic Studies* 2 (2004): 78–79.

6. This can be observed by checking the "Orthographica und Grammatica" sections of the Göttingen Editions.

7. This suggestion I owe to Prof. J. W. Wevers (personal communication).

a difficult position. It is hard to imagine the translator leaving it out. His parent text is almost always the same as MT and his commitment to formal equivalence demands something for דבר. He almost always follows the order of the words in his parent text. He may have committed a parablepsis on *reš*, but it is unlikely. The difficulty in the translation results from reading כאשר instead of באשר. Yi, in his exhaustive analysis of Ecclesiastes, notes three instances where the translator read כ and MT has ב, and conversely six instances where he read ב although MT has כ.[8] Since the Old Greek translator began with καθώς, he construed דבר as a verb and his literal translation created problems for later readers of his text. Symmachus' parent text had באשר and his translation avoided the difficulties inherent in the Old Greek: διὰ τὸ λόγον βασιλέως ἐξουσιαστικὸν εἶναι (161 248).

The marginal note in the Syro-Hexapla is significant. The expression in Syriac (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܚܡܣ ܩܘܗܠܬ) and its appropriate retroversion by Field refers specifically to books that are on Ecclesiastes, that is, to the bible text in a lost Commentary or Homilies by Origen on Ecclesiastes that did not have this word.[9] This would mean that the commentary was made when Origen had the Egyptian Text. His text for the Hexapla was different, a Palestinian Text. I suggest that the separate indices show that the two marginal notes in the Syh come from different sources. We know from Jerome of two works on Ecclesiastes by Origen that are now lost: *In Ecclesiasten Excerpta* and *In Ecclesiasten Homiliae VIII*.[10] While only snippets of these have survived in some of the *Catenae*, the influence of these lost works is evident in other patristic works on Ecclesiastes.[11] The marginal note in Syh may refer to this commentary and not to the Hexapla. The presence of the word in the *O* Group shows either that it was in the Palestinian Text, but not the Egyptian, or that it was introduced into the Fifth Column from the Three. The former explanation is to be preferred because the other marginal note in Syh specifies that the reading of θ′ is ὁμοίως τοῖς ο′. As I have attempted to show elsewhere, this note came from the margin of a manuscript whose lemma was like that of the Catena Group and the scholiast wanted the reader to know that the text of θ′ was the same as the ο′ text even though it was not his lemma. Had the word been introduced from one of the Three, one would think that Origen's Aristarchian signs to this effect would have been preserved by Syh. Although the

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8. The three instances are 7:12a, 8:4a, and 9:10a; the six instances are 4:17a, 6:12, 8:13a, 8:16a, 9:2a, 11:5a. See Yun Yeong Yi, "Translation Technique of the Greek Ecclesiastes" (Ph.D. diss. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005), 307.

9. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1875), 2:395 n. 3.

10. Jerome, *Epistula* XXXIII,4. See Pierre Nautin, *Origène: sa Vie et son Oeuvre* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1977), 250, 259.

11. See Sandro Leanza, *L'esegesi di Origene al libro dell'Ecclesiastes* (Reggio Calabria: Parallelo 38, 1975).

case is difficult, I prefer to follow Rahlfs' Text even though I do not know his rea-soning in the matter.

<div align="center">

2. PROBLEM OF δύναμαι + INFINITIVE
(1:15A, 1:15B, 6:10C, 7:13B)

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Whether or not the translator always articulated infinitives modifying the verb δύναμαι is an interesting question that allows us to consider the possibility that the Egyptian text was subject to corrections that are stylistic in nature. The prob-lem of δύναμαι + infinitive is treated by Joseph Ziegler in a magisterial study on the approach of the Greek translator of Ecclesiastes to articulation—his last work before his death in 1988.[12] The articulation of the infinitive is given sepa-rate attention. The pattern of the translator is to employ the article for ל when rendering infinitives—an approach appropriate to extreme formal equivalence in translation. He provides a list of instances where a few witnesses omit the article in such constructions and deals with instances where the translator may or may not have supplied the article when the Hebrew Infinitive was not prefixed by ל. This is followed by a list of seven problematic cases involving δύναμαι followed by the infinitive and finally a list of eight instances apparently deviating from the pattern of the translator who is not as rigidly uniform as some think.

    The problematic cases of infinitives modifying δύναμαι are again presented below. I provide full citation of witnesses for four instances that are among the most vexing problems in the entire textual transmission. The lemma is the text of Rahlfs.

1:8b
Ra   οὐ δυνήσεται ἀνὴρ τοῦ λαλεῖν (לדבר) omnes

1:15a
Ra   διεστραμμένον οὐ δυνήσεται τοῦ ἐπικοσμηθῆναι (לתקן)

App I   του Sᶜ A O-411 cII a b⁽⁻¹⁰⁶ᵗˣᵗ ¹²⁵⁾ 68 125ᴵᴵ 149 161 248 252 260 296′ 311 338 339 539 542 543 547 549 602(litt ου επικοσ sup ras)-613 705 706 766 770 795 Dam Did GregAg 792 Ol⁻ᴴ (που Olᴴ) = Compl] > B S* 870 998 C′ d 336′ 443 534 645 698 752 GregNy 303,12 PetA 473 = Ald

    12. J. Ziegler, "Der Gebrauch des Artikels in der Septuaginta des Ecclesiastes," in *Stu-dien zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast and J. W. Wevers; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, 190; Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rup-recht, 1990), 83–120.

1:15b

Ra   καὶ ὑστέρημα οὐ δυνήσεται τοῦ ἀριθμηθῆναι (להמנות)

App I   τοῦ A *O*⁻ⱽ-411 *cII a b*⁽⁻¹⁰⁶ᵗˣᵗ ¹²⁵⁾ 68 125ᴵᴵ 149 161 248 252 260 296′ 311 336′ 338 339 443 539 542 543 547 549 602-613 645 698 706 752 766 770 795 Dam Did 25,28 GregAg 792 GregNy 304,22 305,9ᵗᵉ Ol⁻ᐃᴵᴷ = Compl] > B S 870(vid) 998 V *C′ d*⁽⁻³⁵⁷⁾ 534 GregNyˡᵉᵐ 304,7 GregNyᶜᵒᵐ 305,9ᵃᵖ Olᐃᴵᴷ PetA 473 = Ald

6:10c

Ra   καὶ οὐ δυνήσεται τοῦ κριθῆναι (לדין) μετὰ τοῦ ἰσχυροῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτόν

App I   τοῦ 1° S A *O*-411 *C′*⁻¹⁴⁷ ⁵⁰³ ⁵⁶⁰ *b*⁻¹²⁵′ 125ᴵᴵ 161 248 252 296′ 311 336′ 338 339 542 547 549 602-613 645 698 706 795 GregAgˡᵉᵐ ᵉᵗ ᶜᵒᵐᵐ 977 980 Ol] absc 818; > B C 998 147-503-560-*cII a* 125′ *d* 68 260′ 443 534 543 766 PsChr

7:13b

Ra   ὅτι τίς δυνήσεται τοῦ κοσμῆσαι (לתקן)

App I   τοῦ Sᶜ A C *O*-411 *C′′ a b* 125ᴵᴵ 161 248 252 260′ 296′ 311 336′ 338 339 443 534 542 543 547 549 602-613 645 698 706 766 795 Didˡᵉᵐ ᵉᵗ ᶜᵒᵐᵐ 209,25 210,24 211,9 GregAg 1009 Ol = Ald] > B S* 998 *d* 68 443 534 Didᶜᵒᵐᵐ 212,17 PsChr

8:17 bc, 8:17h

Ra, Ge   καὶ εἶδον σὺν πάντα τὰ ποιήματα τοῦ θεοῦ,
         ὅτι οὐ δυνήσεται ἄνθρωπος
         τοῦ εὑρεῖν (למצוא) σὺν τὸ ποίημα
         τὸ πεποιημένον ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον·
         ὅσα ἂν μοχθήσῃ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ ζητῆσαι (לבקש)
         καὶ οὐχ εὑρήσει·
         καί γε ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃ ὁ σοφὸς τοῦ γνῶναι (לדעת)
         οὐ δυνήσεται τοῦ εὑρεῖν (למצא)

App I   τοῦ 1°] το 728; > 296′ Anast 684 GregAgˡᵉᵐ 1060 PsChr | om τοῦ 4° *O*-411 338 543

Analysis and comments by Ziegler are somewhat spartan as the manuscript was not entirely finished at his death. Nonetheless he states:

> Dillmann S. 6 meint, daß τοῦ 1₁₅ₐ ₁₅ᵦ 6₁₀ᵪ 7₁₃ᵦ im ursprünglichen Text gefehlt hat und erst später in hexaplarisch stärker beeinflußten Hss. nachgeholt wurde. Dies wird stimmen, da τοῦ in den alten Unzialen (B S) und zahlreichen Hss. fehlt. Auffallend ist, daß an der ersten Stelle 1₈ᵦ alle Zeugen und 8₁₇ ᵪ 8₁₇ₕ fast alle

Zeugen τοῦ haben. Ebenso ist seltsam, daß 8_{17h} τοῦ in *O*-411 338 543 ausgelassen wird, da man erwartet, daß gerade *O* mit dem hebräischen Text τοῦ einfügt. Es läßt sich somit keine klare Linie in der Behandlung des Artikels erkennen.[13]

Rahlfs went against B and S in 1:15a, 1:15b, 6:10c, and 7:13b, probably due to the patterns of the translator. The fact that these witnesses are now supported by 998, a papyrus from ca. 300 C.E. makes it difficult to follow Rahlfs. As noted, Dillmann believed that 1:15a, 1:15b, 6:10c, and 7:13b originally had no article and that the article was reintroduced by strongly influenced hexaplaric witnesses. Ziegler points out that this does not work in 8:17h and concludes that there is no apparent logic to the translator's treatment of the article at this point.

Before commenting further upon the situation, it is helpful to make sure we have a clear picture both of the patterns in Hellenistic Greek and of the facts of translation technique in the Greek Ecclesiastes.

Rather than rely on my own experience of Hellenistic Greek I performed some searches on δύναμαι and complementary infinitive. First, Mayser gives a full listing of instances of δύναμαι and complementary infinitive in the papyri of the Ptolemaic period and nowhere was the infinitive articulated.[14] Second, using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graece* I analyzed 278 instances of δύναμαι in Polybius, 393 instances in Josephus, and 556 instances in Philo, and not once is the infinitive articulated. The *Vollständige Konkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament* was used for the New Testament since it includes textual variants and no instance in 210 entries of δύναμαι there had an articulated infinitive.[15] Clearly the norm for composition Greek in the Hellenistic period is not to articulate the complementary infinitive.

Since the publication of Ziegler's work on the article in 1990, Yun Yeong Yi made an exhaustive study of the translation technique of the Greek Ecclesiastes in 2005.[16] The following statistics drawn from Yi's work are based for the most part on Rahlfs' text.[17] A bound infinitive without preposition in Hebrew is rendered in Greek by τοῦ + infinitive in four instances.[18] Three of these are in the famous passage in 3:2–8 where לְ is lacking three times in MT, but the translator employed τοῦ in all twenty-six instances and only an occasional manuscript omits it:

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13. Ibid., 101.

14. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit* (2nd ed. by H. Schmoll; Berlin: De Gruyter, 1926), II.1, 164–65. Ziegler's copy of Mayser is actually bookmarked at this spot.

15. K. Aland, *Vollständige Konkordanz zum Griechischen Neuen Testament*, I (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1983), 261–63.

16. Yun Yeong Yi, "Translation Technique in the Greek Ecclesiastes" (Ph.D. diss. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 2005).

17. Ibid., 269–84.

18. Listed by Yi as 3:4b, 3:4b, 3:5a, 5:10b, ibid., 270.

3:2b τοῦ φυτεῦσαι] om τοῦ 543
3:5a τοῦ βαλεῖν] om τοῦ 338
3:5b τοῦ περιλαβεῖν] om τοῦ GregNy 397,18[ap]
3:5b τοῦ μακρυνθῆναι] om τοῦ 252
3:6b τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν] om τοῦ 601
3:7b τοῦ σιγᾶν] om τοῦ 296ʹ Dion[lem]
3:8a μισῆσαι] om τοῦ 545

The fourth instance is 5:10c:

MT	כי אם־ראית (Qr ראות) עיניו
Ra	ὅτι ἀλλ᾽ ἢ τοῦ ὁρᾶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ
Ge	ὅτι ἀρχὴ τοῦ ὁρᾶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτοῦ

Goldman's commentary in *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* correctly notes that the Greek translator construed his parent text as אָם and not as אִם as vocalized in MT.[19]

Second, a bound infinitive without preposition is rendered in Greek by an unarticulated infinitive in two instances:

7:25b
| MT | ולתור ובקש חכמה וחשבון |
| Ra | καὶ τοῦ κατασκέψασθαι καὶ ζητῆσαι σοφίαν καὶ ψῆφον |

App I   ζητῆσαι B 998 *cII b*⁻¹³⁰ *d* 68 336ʹ 443 534 602-613 Did GregAg[comm] 1036 Ol PsChr] pr του S A C *O*-411 *C′ a* 130 125[II] 161 248 252 260ʹ 296ʹ 311 339 539 542 543 547 549 645 698 706 766 795 GregAg[lem et comm] 1032 1037 Syh = Ald Sixt Pesch Targ

12:12a
| MT | בני הזהר עשות ספרים הרבה |
| Ra | υἱέ μου, φύλαξαι ποιῆσαι βιβλία πολλά· |

App I   ποιῆσαι S* *C′′* 68 547 645 Bas IV 980 Ol[ΓΖ] = Ra M] pr του B Sᶜ A C 998 *O*-411 *a b d* 125[II] 161 248 252 260ʹ 296ʹ 311 336ʹ 338 339 359 443 534 539 542 543 549 602-613 698 706 766 795 Dam GregAg 1172 Or IV 100,7 102,8 *Phil* 5,1 Ol[BEHIKM]

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19. A. Schenker et al. eds. , *Biblia Hebraica Quinta. Fascicle 18: General Introduction and Megilloth*, 84–85*.

In both instances the article was relegated by Rahlfs to the apparatus and Ziegler soundly approved of this. These cases can be evaluated later.

Two instances of a bound infinitive without preposition are rendered as nominals and hence are not relevant.[20]

Eighty-nine instances of a bound infinitive with ל are rendered by an articular infinitive in Greek. This entails eighty-seven cases employing τοῦ, one using τῷ (1:16a) and one using an article in the nominative that shows minor textual variation:

7:5a   טוב לשמע   ἀγαθὸν τὸ ἀκοῦσαι] τοῦ ἀ. 998 V 390–601 261 161 248 336ʹ 543 645 698 Olᴦ (sed hab Antioch 1681 Chr II 1055 Did 202,1 Ol⁻ᴦ); ἀ. 411 Dam

A construction of similar syntax to 7:5a is 11:7b where the article is attested by all witnesses:

MT   וטוב לעינים לראות את־השמש
Ra   καὶ ἀγαθὸν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῦ βλέπειν σὺν τὸν ἥλιον

App I   τοῦ βλέπειν Did 328,21 330,18 Olᴦᐃᴱᶻᴵᴷᴹ] το βλεπειν 766ᴵᴵ GregAg 1137 Olᴬᴮᴴ

In 3:18a ל + bound infinitive is rendered by ὅτι + indicative. This leaves four instances where ל + bound infinitive is rendered by an unarticulated infinitive. Two of the four are renderings of the pseudo-verb אין plus ל and bound infinitive:

3:14c   אין להודיף   οὐκ ἔστιν προσθεῖναι omnes
3:14d   אין לגרע   οὐκ ἔστιν ἀφελεῖν] οὐκ ἔστιν τοῦ ἀφελεῖν O 539 766I

An instance in 7:2a is similar to those just given in 7:5a and 11:7b in that in all cases the infinitive functions as subject in a nominal sentence:

7:2
MT   טוב ללכת אל־בית־אבל
        מלכת אל־בית משתה
Ra   ἀγαθὸν πορευθῆναι εἰς οἶκον πένθους
        ἢ ὅτι πορευθῆναι εἰς οἶκον πότου

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20. Listed by Yi as 7:1b and 10:10b ("Translation Technique in the Greek Ecclesiastes," 272).

App I   πορευθῆναι 1°] pr του 637 539; pr το Cyr IV 364 Isid 1241 = Gra. | ἤ
ὅτι πορευθῆναι — πότου] αγαθον πορευεσθαι εις οικον ποτου Epiph I 26; > 637
252* (c pr m) | ἤ ὅτι πορευθῆναι B S* A C 998 254–342 68 125^{II} 161 248 252
296′ 311 336′ 534 542 548 602–613 645 698 706 766^{II} 795 Ol^{ΔΕΙΚ}] παρα το (>
V) πορευθηναι $O^{-(637)}$ S^c; μαλλον η Bas III 257 ^{Lat}Bas Hom 2,8 (*magis quam*);
om ὅτι πορευθῆναι Anast 593 Chr XI 446 XIV 131 XVI 574s Dam$^{-VV^WM^P}$ Dion
GregAg^{comm} 988 Isid 1241 Max II 881 PsChr^{comm} 74,51 ^{Lat}Amb Ep add 14 *Fuga*
3 An *Fris* 402 *Jb* 3 Aug *Spe* 8 GregM *Dial* 4,4 *Job* 4 Hi *Ez* 8,27 Lucul 820 PaulN
Ep 25 PsGregM *Conc* 14 PsIsid *Test* 18 Ta *Ecl* pr 10 Hi^{te} = Vulg; om ὅτι 411 C''
a $b^{-(125)}$ 357–754 260′ 338 339 443 539 543 547 549 766^I Antioch 1709 Chr III
155 156 VI 487 XIII 334 Cyr IV 364 Dam$^{VV^WM^P}$ GregAg^{lem} 988 Ol^{ABΓZH} PsChr
Tht II 844 ^{Lat}An *Scrip* 1,19 Aug C D 17,20 Spec 528,7 Fa Hi^{ap} Sa^I Sang Syh = M |
πορευθῆναι] pr το Cyr IV 364 = Gra.; pr του 539

Finally in 6:8b ל + Bound Infinitive is rendered by an unarticulated infinitive. As
in 7:2, this instance involves הלך in Hebrew and πορεύομαι in Greek:

6:8b   יודע להלך οἶδεν πορευθῆναι omnes

Analagous to 6:8b, however, is 10:15 where by contrast the article is almost uni-
versally attested:

10:15   ידע ללכת ἔγνω τοῦ πορευθῆναι] ἔ. πορευθῆναι a Did^{comm} 308,1 308,3,
308,5 PsChr 2° (sed hab Did^{lem} 307,26 PsChr 1°)

Before focusing analysis on the problem passages entailing δύναμαι plus infini-
tive, the results of Ziegler's study for the article as a whole may be sketched and
patterns elsewhere in the LXX briefly noted. As a general rule, the translator
employs an article in Greek where there is one in the parent text, regardless of
the norms or rules of syntax in Greek. Nouns with pronominal suffixes normally
are unarticulated in LXX Ecclesiastes, whether headed by prepositions or occur-
ring freely, because this is the form in the consonantal text in Hebrew. Exceptions
do occur, nonetheless, where all the witnesses, or almost all, attest the article.
Nouns in bound phrases have the article in Greek when they do in Hebrew and
are unarticulated when they do not. This means that normally the *nomen regens*
is unarticulated while the *nomen rectum* is articulated, a pattern that contravenes
Apollonius' Law. Free forms are articulated if they are in Hebrew, and unar-
ticulated if they are not. Ziegler also describes separately special noun phrases,
prepositional phrase and individual words.

Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint* lists 331 occurrences for the verb δύναμαι.[21] If the seven occurrences in Ecclesiastes are subtracted as well as some forty-six entries in which no complementary infinitive modifies the verb, 278 instances remain. In only nine passages of 278 is the infinitive articulated.[22] These belong to translations that may be characterized as moving strongly in the direction of formal equivalence and are all, without doubt, chronologically prior to the Greek Ecclesiastes.

1 Kgs 13:16   οὐ μὴ δύνωμαι τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι (לשוב)] om τοῦ Ae*im*[23]
1 Chr 21:30   οὐκ ἠδύνατο Δαυιδ τοῦ πορευθῆναι (ללכת) omnes
2 Chr 5:14   οὐκ ἠδύναντο οἱ ἱερεῖς τοῦ στῆναι (לעמוד)] om τοῦ b´n[24]
2 Chr 20:37   οὐκ ἐδυνάσθη τοῦ πορευθῆναι (ללכת)] om τοῦ dmnpqtyz[25]
2 Chr 32:15   οὐ μὴ δύνηται ὁ θεὸς … τοῦ σῶσαι (להציל)] om τοῦ g[26]
2 Esd 2:59   οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι (להגיד)] om τοῦ B-55[27]
1 Macc 6:27   οὐ δυνήσῃ τοῦ κατασχεῖν] om τοῦ 93
Ps 39:13   οὐκ ἠδυνήθην τοῦ βλέπειν (לראות) omnes
Jer 18:6   οὐ δυνήσομαι τοῦ ποιῆσαι (לעשות)] om τοῦ 407 Cyr III 660

With the above evidence in mind, we can discuss the problematic passages of δύναμαι plus infinitive in Ecclesiastes.

I feel the force and power of Dillmann's argument concerning 1:15a, 1:15b, 6:10c, and 7:13b. It has haunted me for more than five years as I have progressed through the task of writing apparatus for the critical edition. Ziegler felt its power as well. In 1:15a and b the witness of B and S are joined by early papyri: 998 is assigned a date of 300 C.E. and 870 is fourth to fifth century. The Catena and *d* groups support B and S as well. For 7:13b, however, B and S are only supported

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21. 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. with an "Introductory Essay" by R. A. Kraft and E. Tov and "Hebrew/Aramaic Index to the Septuagint" by T. Muraoka (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1988), s.v.

22. Katrin Hauspie has recently studied τοῦ + infinitive as a complement in LXX Ezekiel and shows how Septuagint translators as a rule strictly avoided use of τοῦ with verbs such as ἐθέλω, βούλομαι and δύναμαι; see K. Hauspie, "Proposition complétive avec τοῦ et l'infinitif dans la Septante d'Ézéchiel," in *Grammatica intellectio Scripturae: Studi filologici di greco biblico in onore id padre Lino Cignelli* edited by R. Pierri (Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 2006), 163–82.

23. e*im* = Ra 52 92 246.

24. b´n = Ra 108 119.

25. dm-z = Ra 107 71 119 106 120 134 121 554.

26. g = Ra 158.

27. The expression in the Hebrew Text at 2 Esd 17:61 is identical to that at 17:61, but the Greek translation has no τοῦ at 17:61 and there are no mss in the textual tradition that add it.

by 998 and the *d* group, and in 6:10c B is not supported by S, but rather by 998, the fifth-century uncial C, the *Catena Trium Patrum* (i.e., *cII*, which goes against B in 1:15a and b), and the *Catena Hauniensis* (260´) and the *d* group. This textual testimony is weighty.

It appears reasonable to think that the norms of Hellenistic Greek were respected by the translator so that he did not follow his normal pattern of representing the ל by τοῦ in Greek. This is the force of the argument by Dillmann. It does not explain 1:8b and 8:17bc and 8:17h where the textual tradition is either entirely or almost entirely in support of the article. In discussing these issues with Detlef Fraenkel, an experienced and shrewd textual critic, he noted that in 1:15a, 1:15b, 6:10c, and 7:13b the infinitive immediately follows the verb while a noun intervenes in 1:8b and 8:17bc. He proposed that when the infinitive followed immediately, the norms of the language overruled the habit of the translator, while the article could stand if a noun intervened. This observation does not, however, explain 8:17h. Should we argue that 8:17h is influenced by the case of 8:17bc and also the articulated infinitives τοῦ ζητῆσαι and τοῦ γνῶναι in 8:17e and g respectively?

Dillmann spoke of the article being supported by strongly influenced hexaplaric witnesses. Such claims need to be carefully thought through. Origen's description of his method in creating the Hexapla mentions only marking places in the Septuagint not in the Hebrew with an obelus and adding text from the Three not found in the Septuagint, but existing in Hebrew.[28] As a general rule he did not correct or change the text in the fifth column. It is true that most hexaplaric sources no longer preserve the Aristarchian signs used by Origen to mark these minuses and pluses in relation to the Hebrew. Nonetheless, they are well preserved by the Syro-Hexapla. If we have no evidence to show that the variant in question is a plus from the Three, then we are looking at the text received by Origen, which is an extremely ancient and important witness to the LXX.

For Ecclesiastes, the Syro-Hexapla includes words marked by an asterisk in ten instances and names the source in eight of them. Twice words are marked in the text of Syh by an obelus, and four times by a cursive obelus or lemnisk.[29] As the number of Aristarchian signs is small, perhaps one might conclude that many were lost. A different interpretation, however, is possible. LXX Ecclesiastes is so close to the Hebrew Text that few such differences needed to be noted. We should note that minutiae such as an article or conjunction are fastidiously marked. In 6:8b the asterisk marks only the word τίς. In 7:4b the asterisk marks

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28. For a discussion of the relevant sources, see Peter J. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 2–5.

29. For a discussion of the Artistarchian signs in the Syro-Hexapla of Ecclesiastes, see Peter J. Gentry, "Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla," *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003), 7, 21–22.

only καί. In 7:6a the asterisk marks only ὅτι and in 9:1e the asterisk marks only the article before ἄνθρωπος. Words are found in the margin in Greek as well, when it is difficult to make the differences clear by Syriac grammar and vocabulary alone. While the infinitive in Syriac is always marked by ܠ, no notes or signs are employed to indicate an article borrowed from the Three.

One of the problems particularly associated with the *O* group in Ecclesiastes is that the colophon in the Syro-Hexapla says that the text was corrected by Eusebius and Pamphilus.[30] I have described in previous publications evidence for correction of the oʹ text based especially upon readings from Symmachus.[31] This, however, does not seem to be the case here, and normally this corruption of the *O* group does not influence the majority of the text tradition as we have here in the instances under investigation.

Why not propose instead that the translator maintained in the case of δύναμαι + infinitive his normal pattern elsewhere of articulating complementary infinitives with verbs in order to represent the ܠ? Since he ignores the norms of Greek grammar for the article in general, why not with δύναμαι as well? In fact, in the later period of Hellenistic Greek, the genitive article normally prefixed to an infinitive to indicate a final sense becomes part of the form of the infinitive as in English so that τοῦ plus infinitive replaces the bare infinitive.[32] Thus the Greek of the translator may represent a stage of the language contrary to the norms generally used in Hellenistic Greek. The reading of B S and congeners is actually the *lectio facilior*. It would be natural for scribes to remove the article when it contravenes the norms of their language. This would explain why the support is sporadic or varies from case to case. The observation that the cases with an intervening noun were not as troublesome and escaped correction of a stylistic nature would also fit this scenario well.

Second, 8:17h would fit well into this picture as an example of a stylistic improvement made to the text received by Origen, possibly an Egyptian text, but not one closely related to B and 998. It would also show that normally Origen did not correct the text he received, even in the matter of adding an article to represent a ܠ in the Hebrew. One need not appeal to manuscripts strongly influenced

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30. Analysis and text of the colophon may be found in Peter J. Gentry, "Hexaplaric Materials in Ecclesiastes and the Rôle of the Syro-Hexapla," *Aramaic Studies* 1 (2003), 6–7.

31. See esp. Peter J. Gentry, "'The Role of the "Three" in the Text History of the Septuagint': II. Aspects of Interdependence of the Old Greek and the Three in Ecclesiastes," *Aramaic Studies* 4.2 (2006): 153–92.

32. See Pentti Aalto, *Studien zur Geschichte des Infinitivs im Griechischen* (Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian Toimituksia Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Ser. B, 80; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1953), 86–91 and B. D. Joseph, *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive: A Study in Areal, General and Historical Linguistics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 37–84.

by hexaplaric sources in a way that is not carefully thought through and not convincing in terms of the text history.

Third, when we look at the instances of ל + bound infinitive where the verb is not δύναμαι and the articulated infinitive is employed by the translator everywhere and the textual tradition is solid, there are cases where B and 998 have omitted the article, apparently as a stylistic correction.

4:10c
Ge   καὶ μὴ ᾖ δεύτερος τοῦ ἐγεῖραι αὐτόν (להקימו)

App I   om τοῦ B 870 998 68 Anton 1108 Dam⁻ᵛᵂᴹᴹ

5:18c
Ge   τοῦ φαγεῖν (לאכול) ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ λαβεῖν (לשאת) τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ
          καὶ τοῦ εὐφρανθῆναι (לשמח) ἐν μόχθῳ αὐτοῦ,

App I   om του 1° B 998 68 336´ | τοῦ 2° b 252 296´ 298 = Ra M] > rell (998) |
om τοῦ 3° 336´ 602-613

8:16a
Ge   Ἐν οἷς ἔδωκα τὴν καρδίαν μου τοῦ γνῶναι (לדעת) τὴν σοφίαν

App I   om τοῦ B 68 534 602-613

The same kind of stylistic correction is seen in the passages of δύναμαι plus infinitive in the LXX outside of Ecclesiastes in scattered witnesses. In fact, it is B that has this stylistic correction in 2 Esd 2:59, bringing the text of this verse into alignment with the parallel passage in 17:61 where the original text does not articulate the infinitive.[33]

2 Esd 2:59   οὐκ ἠδυνάσθησαν τοῦ ἀναγγεῖλαι (להגיד)] om τοῦ B-55[34]

We can now reconsider instances of a Hebrew bound infinitive without preposition rendered by an articulated or unarticulated infinitive in Greek. There were four instances with no ל in Hebrew, but the Greek translation has an article. Again, there were two instances with no ל in Hebrew and the LXX textual tradition was divided. Both Rahlfs and Ziegler voted to banish the article to the

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33. The critical edition relegates the reading in B to the apparatus; see R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber II* (SVTG, 8.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993) ad loc. cit.

34. The expression in the Hebrew Text at 2 Esd 17:61 is identical to that at 17:61, but the Greek translation has no τοῦ at 17:61 and there are no mss in the textual tradition that add it.

apparatus.[35] If we revisit these cases in 7:25b and 12:12a, it is interesting to note that the support for including or omitting the article varies considerably between these two instances. A chart compares what witnesses supported articulated or unarticulated infinitives in both instances, and what witnesses supported articulation in one instance but not in the other:

7:25b	τοῦ	A C O-411 *a* 130 125[II] 161 248	7:25b	τοῦ	S* *C′* 547
12:12a	τοῦ	252 260′ 296′ 311 339 542 543 549 698 706 766 795	12:12a	om	645
7:25b	om	B 998 *b*[-130] *d* 336′ 443 534	7:25b	om	*cII* 68
12:12a	τοῦ	602-613 Ol	12:12a	om	

The constructions in 7:25b and 12:12a are different, the contexts are different and the configuration of the textual witnesses are different. *Pace* Rahlfs and Ziegler, they should be considered separately.

In 7:25b B and 998 are not supported by many witnesses and it is probable that the omission of the article is again a stylistic correction. It fits the approach of the translator to use an article for a complementary infinitive whether or not he has a ל in his parent text. Yet the text has a series of three infinitives and omitting the article for the second infinitive is better style in Greek.

In 12:12a the situation is completely different. There the complementary infinitive modifies a medio-passive form of φυλάσσω. In Classical Greek, φυλάσσω in the medio-passive voice plus infinitive means to avoid doing something.[36] A search of the Septuagint via Gramcord revealed seventeen instances of φυλάσσεσθαι plus infinitive excluding Eccl 12:12.[37] All instances were unarticulated. Due to literal translation of the expression שמר לעשׂות in the Pentateuch, the meaning in the Septuagint is now "to be careful to do something." So now, in order to communicate the idea "to be on guard against" the genitive is necessary and an infinitive must be articulated to show the syntax.[38] It also suited the translator to use the article even though there was no ל in his parent text. It seems here that S* and the Catena group rather than B and 998 have the correction to the normal form in Greek. Although the translator is committed to extreme formal equivalence, he is capable of deviating from fixed patterns to

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35. See J. Ziegler, "Der Gebrauch des Artikels in der Septuaginta des Ecclesiastes," 100.

36. LSJ, s.v. φυλάσσω, II.

37. P. Miller, *Gramcord* Version 2.4 (Vancouver, WA: The Gramcord Institute, 1978, 1989, 2005). The instances are as follows: Exod 23:15, Lev 18:4, Num 22:35, 23:12, Deut 5:1, 32, 6:3, 25, 8:1, 13:1, 24:8, 29:8, Josh 22:5, 3 Kgdms 11:10, 4 Kgdms 10:31, 17:37, 4 Macc 10:10.

38. See Denny Burk, *Articular Infinitives in the Greek of the New Testament: On the Exegetical Benefit of Grammatical Precision* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2006).

produce renderings that are context sensitive, thus showing he is concerned about context and meaning.

The remaining instances where a ל occurs in Hebrew but no article is employed by the translator are all but one instances of nominal sentences and so the omission of the article attested by all or almost all of the textual tradition represents the original translator for this syntactic setting.

What makes all of these cases difficult is that the critic must keep in mind three competing *Tendenzen*: (1) probabilities derived from translation technique, (2) the possibility of corrections motivated by improvement of style, and (3) corrections to the Hebrew mediated by several sources.

6:12a

MT   כִּי מִי־יוֹדֵעַ מַה־טּוֹב לָאָדָם בַּחַיִּים

Ra   ὅτι τίς οἶδεν τί ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ

Ge   ὅτι τίς οἶδεν τί ἀγαθὸν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ

App I   τί 1° Sᶜ A O⁻ⱽ-411 C′′⁻²⁹⁹ ⁽³⁷¹⁾ *a d* 125ᴵᴵ 161 248 252 260′ 336′ 338 339 443 542 543 547 549 602 613 645 698ᶜ 706 766 795 GregAg^lem et comm 981 Ol^BΔEHΘ PsChr Aeth Saᴵ = M] τις S*; οτι Ol^IK; το 299 311 698* Ol^ΑΓΖ Co; τω 296′; > B C 998 V *b*⁻⁽¹²⁵⁾ 68 534 | αὐτοῦ 1° Ol Arm Fa Saᴵ Syh = Pesch] > B 998 68 534 Hi = Ra M

Syh^txt: ܠܟܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܢܕܥ ܗܘ ܗܢܐ ܡ̇ܢܘ, ܠܗܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܚܝܟ ܕܠܗ.

Syh^mg: ܗ̇ܘ ܓܝܪ ܚܕ ܢܕܥ ܡ̇ܢ, ܕܡܥܕܪ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܚܝܟ ܕܒܚܝܐ ܕܡܢܝ. ܕܝܘܡܬܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܗܒܠܘܬܗ ܘܒܚܕܒܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ. ܕܟܠ ܗ̇ܘ ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܐ̇ܡܪ ܠܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܡ̇ܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܠܗ ܬܚܝܬ ܫܡܫܐ

App II   σ′ τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ὃ συμφέρει τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐν τῇ ζωῇ, ἀριθμοῦ ἡμερῶν ζωῆς ματαιότητος αὐτοῦ; ἵνα ποιήσῃ αὐτὸν <σκέπην>; ὅτι οὐδὲ εἷς ἐρεῖ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, τί ἔσται ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον Syh (Field³⁹) | σ′ τίς γὰρ οἶδεν ὃ συμφέρει 161 248

There are a couple of variants in 6:12a of interest. First, note that the τί before ἀγαθόν is omitted by the uncials B, C, papyrus 998, V from the *O* group, the *b* group, and two minuscules that are normally congeners of B—68 and 534. Rahlfs goes against B because he rightly judges that the translator is unlikely to have left מה untranslated⁴⁰ and the reading of B and 998 can be easily explained as a stylis-

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39. The reading attributed to Symmachus in the margin of Syh begins at 6:11b and the index is over the first word in 6:11b. Only 6:12 is cited here; the Greek is Field's retroversion.

40. On renderings of מה by the Greek translator, see Yun Yeong Yi, "Translation Technique of the Greek Ecclesiastes," 89–94. For the twenty-nine instances in MT the renderings of

tic correction within the Greek textual transmission. At this point, my proposed text is the same as that of Rahlfs.

The second issue concerns the pronoun αὐτοῦ. Here Rahlfs went with B and 998 against the rest of the textual tradition in the omission of the pronoun, motivated no doubt by the fact that the omission is equal to мт and the Bible text of Jerome also omits the pronoun. This is a more difficult problem. We can set aside the witness of Jerome's Bible text since we know he corrected the Old Latin towards his Hebrew text and this does not represent the Old Latin at this point.

Yi's analysis of bound pronouns lists 294 instances where the translator rendered a pronoun in Greek for one in Hebrew.[41] This includes five instances where the gender does not match, two where the number does not match, and one where the person does not match. He then lists only three cases where a personal pronoun in Hebrew is not rendered by the translator (5:16b, 7:18b, and 11:6b). The degree of correspondence is extremely high, yet he does depart from his norms on occasion and does show concern for context. The problem in 6:12a is that the reading in B 998 and congeners is isolated and looks like a stylistic correction. Another possibility that will eventually have to be explored in greater depth is the possibility of pre-hexaplaric correction towards the Hebrew in Codex Vaticanus. Certainly B has the *lectio facilior* at this point. And there is no easy explanation known to me to explain the addition of the pronoun within the Greek textual tradition when it is so widely supported and obviously not a correction to the Hebrew Text. Why not allow the Old Greek translator to exercise some freedom in deviating from his parent text in the translation?[42]

7:1b
MT   וְיוֹם הַמָּוֶת מִיּוֹם הִוָּלְדוֹ
Ra   καὶ ἡμέρα τοῦ θανάτου ὑπὲρ ἡμέραν γεννήσεως αὐτοῦ.
Ge   καὶ ἡμέρα τοῦ θανάτου ὑπὲρ ἡμέραν γεννήσεως [αὐτοῦ]

App I   γεννήσεως B 998 253 299 *b*-(125) *d* 68 125[II] 161* 248* 339 443 534 542 547 602-613 766 Dam-M[M] GregAg[lem et comm] 984 985 Ol Fa Sa[I] Syh] γεννεσεως 797[c] 795; γενεσεως S A C O-253 C''-299 797[c] *a* 161[c] 248[c] 252 260´ 296´ 311 336´ 338 539 543 549 645 706 752 795* Dam[MM] Did[lem et comm] 196,11 197,11 PsChr Sa3= Ald; *nativitatis* An *Jb* 3 Or *Matth* 71 Hi = Vulg | fin B S* 998 C´ 68 336´534 645 Dam[MMMPM] Lat]An *Jb* 3 Or *Matth* 71[te] Aeth] + αυτου A C O-411 *cII a b*-(125) *d*

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125^II 161 248 252 260´ 296´ 311 336´ 338 339 443 534 539 542 543 547 549 602-
613 698 706 766 795 Dam^−M^M_M^PM Did 196,11 197,10 GregAg^lem et comm 984 985
LatOr *Matth* 71^ap Ol Arm Fa Hi Syh (sub ※ α′) = Ra M ↓
App II   γεννήσεως] ✦ ܡܠܕ ܐ ※ ܟܬܝܠܕܗ Syh^txt

The case in 7:1b also involves a pronoun. Here B and S*, their congeners 68 and
534, as well as the Catena group, omit the pronoun against мт. The problem of
γέννησις or γένεσις may not be related although most of the witnesses without
αὐτοῦ also attest to γεννήσεως while most of those reading γενέσεως have αὐτοῦ.
The noun γέννησις is connected etymologically to the verb in Hebrew, but is not
so common in Greek. Doubtless scribes easily substituted a more common noun
when the spelling of the two words is so close.

Again we have in the Syro-Hexapla the pronoun preceded by an asterisk and
followed by a metobelus. There is also a small superscript *alaph* to indicate the
source: Aquila. This is a clear indication that the third person pronoun was not in
the copies of the Septuagint received by Origen and that he added it to the text in
the Fifth Column from Aquila and explicitly marked the difference between the
lxx and his Hebrew Text. The matter, however, may not be so simple or straight-
forward. It may be that the text received by Origen was from Egypt and so was
related to B and S*. Thus although he corrected his text toward the Hebrew, other
exemplars already had this reading as they were transmitting the original text.
This question must await further study of the connections between the *O* group
minus the pluses and B. Nonetheless, the configuration of witnesses supporting
the pronoun is similar to cases where the *O* group has influenced the textual tra-
dition.

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. Perhaps this instance should be
added to the three where bound pronouns are not translated?

On the other hand, should this be viewed as a stylistic correction in B and
998 since with the addition of the pronoun the text is awkward and the parallel
lines do not match? Such a possibility would be more persuasive if B, S and 998
were alone and not supported by the Catena group.

8:8c
MT   וְאֵין שִׁלְטוֹן בְּיוֹם הַמָּוֶת
Ra   καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσία ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ θανάτου
Ge   καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσιάζων ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θανάτου

App I   ἐξουσιάζων] pr ο Ol^ΑΓ; εξουσια B 998 357 68 534 GregAg 1048 Sa^I Arm
= Sixt Ra; + αυτου Arm | ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 1°] ημερας A; ημεραις 609 | θανάτου] pr του
O-411 130 125^II 542 766^I Sa^I = Ra M; + και ουκ εστιν υποστολη εν ημερα θανατου
543: dittogr

App II   —

Rahlfs chose ἐξουσία, the reading of B, against ἐξουσιάζων, the reading of S and A. With the collation of all available sources before 1500 we see that B is supported by 998 and its congeners 68 and 534 and one member of the *d* group (357) while the rest of the textual tradition supports S and A. No doubt B and 998 provide an extremely early witness, but we should pause before adopting their witness against the rest of the tradition.

Consideration of the approach and habits of the translator give us an Archimedean point from which we can gain leverage to move the world in this problem. All four instances of the verb שׁלט in the Hebrew text of Qoheleth are rendered by ἐξουσιάζω (2:19, 5:18, 6:2, 8:9). The noun or adjective שִׁלְטוֹן is rendered by a participle of ἐξουσιάζω in 8:4 and by the noun ἐξουσία in 8:8, at least according to Rahlfs' text. The adjective שַׁלִּיט is rendered by a participle of ἐξουσιάζω in all three occurrences (7:19, 8:8, 10:5). It is clear that the patterns of the Old Greek translator constitute a probability against the choice of Rahlfs in 8:8.

Consideration of internal evidence also does not support the choice of Rahlfs very well. If ἐξουσία is, in fact, original, perhaps ἐξουσιάζων arose due to palaeographic factors from ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑ ΕΝ, although such an explanation is not highly convincing. Indeed, this argument could provide support for the other reading as well.

If ἐξουσιάζων is original, one can easily explain ἐξουσία as an attempt to match 8c with the form and structure of 8d so that a noun, ἐξουσία, must match the noun ἀποστολή.

In conclusion, the weight of external evidence, internal evidence, and the probability of how the translator would work in this instance are against Rahlfs. The variant offered by B and 998 seems to be another stylistic correction.

3. Conclusion

According to Fernández Marcos' outstanding introduction to the Septuagint, "research on the Hesychian recension is in deadlock from which it is difficult to emerge without the help of new data from tradition or new methodological approaches."[43] In his summary of the present state of research, he notes that B normally is not related to the Alexandrian Group and suggests that further light may be cast on the subject by the Tura Papyrus of Didymus the Blind which contains among other things his Commentary on Ecclesiates.[44] I have yet to analyze in full the relation of Didymus to the other witnesses. Ziegler's study on the arti-

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43. N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 244.

44. Ibid., 244–45.

cle includes a separate analysis of Didymus. He showed that the Bible text of the Commentary tends to support the patterns of the Old Greek translator whereas citations in the body of the Commentary have many stylistic corrections.[45] For the passages investigated in this study, we can note that where his Commentary is extant, Didymus sides with A against B and 998 in six instances (7:6a, 8:4a, 1:15a, 1:15b, 7:13b and 7:1b) and with B 998 against A in one 7:25b. 7:13b is an example of where the Commentary of Didymus has the stylistic correction with B 998 against the lemma of the Commentary.

Based on the evidence investigated, I do not and cannot speak of a recension in B and 998. But if the arguments presented are accepted, then we can speak of stylistic corrections in B and 998. This fact alone is significant in trying to evaluate difficult problems in the text history of Ecclesiastes.

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45. J. Ziegler, "Der Gebrauch des Artikels in der Septuaginta des Ecclesiastes," 104–8.

Theodoret of Cyrus's Philological Remarks in His *Commentary to Ezekiel*

Katrin Hauspie

Abstract: Theodoret of Cyrus sets himself the task of explaining and elucidating the Greek text of Ezekiel to his readers in line with the principles of the Antiochene school. By doing so, he also offers them some philological devices, albeit on a small scale. The words leading to such comments indirectly reveal something about the extent to which his contemporary readers were acquainted with Septuagint Greek. This is the background over against which some of Theodoret's words in his *Commentary to Ezekiel* will be investigated in this contribution. After the selection of the words asking for some lexical information and their classification, this article will also deal with the way in which Theodoret explains them. In the conclusion, the results pertaining to the book of Ezekiel, as well as affecting the language and lexicography of the Septuagint, are brought together and compared to the results of Natalio Fernández Marcos' research on the *Questions to the Octateuch* and *Questions to the Kings and Chronicles* of Theodoret of Cyrus.

1. Introduction

The main concern of Theodoret of Cyrus in his *Commentary to Ezekiel*[1] is to elucidate the Greek text of Ezekiel; he searches for the deeper message of the prophetic text, τῆς τοῦ θεσπεσίου Ἐζεκιηλ κατατολμήσωμεν ἑρμηνείας, καὶ τῆς προφητείας τὸ βάθος, ὡς ἡμῖν ἐφικτὸν, ἐρευνῆσαι πειρασώμεθα, καὶ κοινὸν ἅπασι προθῆναι τοῖς εὐσεβέσι τὸ ἐντεῦθεν συναγόμενον κέρδος (*In Ez* 812A). In his comments, however, he provides us with notes containing linguistic information about a Greek or Hebrew word or giving the meaning of an unclear Greek or Hebrew word, apart from any deeper interpretation of the expression or verse. It is not always easy to draw a line between what we might call the lexical comment

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1. *Beati Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi in Divini Ezechielis Prophetiam Interpretatio* (vol. 2 of *Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi Opera omnia*; ed. J. L. Schulze; PG 81; Paris: Migne, 1864).

on a word, on the one hand, and the interpretation of it on the other.[2] Theodoret says that δίκτυον stands for τοὺς πολεμίους (*In Ez* 908B) and that θυγατέρας stands for the surrounding cities and villages, τὰς ὑποκειμένας πόλεις καὶ κώμας (*In Ez* 868B). It may be assumed that δίκτυον and θυγάτηρ were well-known words to Theodoret's fifth-century public, and further that there was no semantic development of δίκτυον from *net* to *enemies* (on account of which the word δίκτυον simply meant *enemy*). Nor was there development of θυγάτηρ from *daughter* to *city* (through which the word θυγάτηρ simply meant *city*). The information provided here by Theodoret serves to elucidate the message behind these (well-known) words and helps us to understand their use in this specific context (interpretative comment). Theodoret does not use a different phraseology to introduce his philological and his interpretative comment. He comments on the above-mentioned examples: δίκτυον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκάλεσε and θυγατέρας καλεῖ τὰς ὑποκειμένας πόλεις καὶ κώμας. Elsewhere the verb καλεῖν introduces the lexical information about an unclear word, κεφαλίδα δὲ καλεῖ τὰ εἰλητὰ βιβλία (*In Ez* 841D).

The Greek text of Ezekiel contains a good number of Hebrew words transliterated into Greek; they can roughly be divided into proper nouns (mainly occurring in Ezek 27 and 38, e.g., Χαλαν in Ezek 27:23 *In Ez* 1084A) and architectural terms related to the temple (occurring in Ezek 40–44, e.g., αιλαμ in Ezek 40:6,9 *In Ez* 1221A). The aim of this article is to examine Greek words. Consequently transliterations from the Hebrew and Hebrew loanwords are beyond its scope.

I selected a number of Greek words from Theodoret's *Commentary to Ezekiel*, which are accompanied by a philological treatment. This kind of philological information will be divided into three parts: (1) linguistic information, (2) lexical information, and (3) some words that Theodoret uses in his notes, not in the translation, that are worthy of comment. In the conclusion, I bring together the results pertaining to the book of Ezekiel, as well as those affecting the Greek language and lexicography of the Septuagint, and compare them to the results of Natalio Fernández Marcos' research on the *Questions to the Octateuch* and *Questions to the Kings and Chronicles* of Theodoret of Cyrus.

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2. The lexical comment or information focuses on the referential meaning of a word, which refers to something in reality (e.g., object, action, feature, abstract). By interpretation we understand the message behind the word or words. It is possible that we know all (referential) meanings of the words in a sentence, but that we still do not understand the sentence; we call the explanation of such a text interpretation.

2. Linguistic Information

This information pertains to the formal appearance of a word or combination of words. A few times Theodoret describes a linguistic peculiarity in the Greek text of Ezekiel. The terminology he uses often reminds us of the Scholia literature. We do not aim to be exhaustive, but mention some interesting cases.

Twice Theodoret mentions διπλασιασμός (*doubling, reduplication*). This term normally denotes the doubling of consonants in the middle of a word, typical of the Ionic and Aeolic dialect (e.g., ὅττι for ὅτι, ὁππότε for ὁπότε, μέσσον for μέσον). Theodoret uses this term in a different way. He describes by it the double mention or repetition of a word. The first mention of this term appears in Ezek 9:9 μεμεγαλύνται σφόδρα σφόδρα, Καὶ τῷ διπλασιασμῷ τὴν τῆς ἐπιτάσεως παρεδήλωσεν ὑπερβολήν (*In Ez* 892AB). The linguistic term ἐπίτασις means *intensity* or *emphasis*; typical adverbs of intensity (τὰ ἐπιτάσεως) are λίαν, σφόδρα, πάνυ, ἄγαν, μάλιστα (Dion Thrax, §19.20). A second time Theodoret applies the term to Ezek 33:11 Ἐπιστροφῇ ἐπιστρέψατε (Lucianic text, including Theodoret), Ἀποστροφῇ ἀποστρέψατε (Ziegler, *Ezechiel*)[3]—the formal appearance of verb and paronymous noun however remains the same in both text versions—ὁ δὲ διπλασιασμὸς τῆς Ἑβραίων γλώττης ἰδίωμα, δηλοῖ δὲ τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς τὸ γνήσιον (*In Ez* 1145A). Theodoret describes what we call the *figura etymologica* in Hebrew, as the reduplication of the verb by means of a paronymous noun. The first example of reduplication σφόδρα σφόδρα is due to the translator, or better, Theodoret does not trace it to the Hebrew (although the мт says גדל במאד מאד). The repetition of the adverb reinforces the intensity of the injustice. The second reduplication is due to the Hebrew (τῆς Ἑβραίων γλώττης ἰδίωμα).

In Ezek 29:3, Theodoret comments on the Nile, whether ποταμός should be used in the singular or the plural:

> ἐν μέσῳ ποταμῶν, Τινὲς τῶν ἑρμηνευτῶν ἑνικῶς εἶπον τὸν ποταμόν, οἱ δὲ Ἑβδομήκοντα πληθυντικῶς· ἀληθῆ δὲ ἀμφότερα· εἷς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νεῖλος, αἱ δὲ τούτου διώρυγες (*branches*) πλεῖσται, ποταμὸς δὲ ἑκάστη διῶρυξ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων καλεῖται (*In Ez* 1104AB).

Both the singular and the plural are right. The former denotes the Nile as one river, the latter considers the many branches of the Nile, each of which is called *river* by the locals.

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3. *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 16/1; ed. Joseph Ziegler; 2., durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag von Detlef Fraenkel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977); henceforth Ziegler, *Ezechiel*.

Substitution introduced by ἀντί is a frequent linguistic characteristic of The-
odoret. This ἀντί type of substitution is also common in the Scholia literature.[4]
Whereas in the Scholia ἀντί mostly points to a more accurate or better Greek on
grammatical grounds, Theodoret includes ἀντί in his notes to draw attention to
specific choices that the translator made. For example:

> Ezek 17:12 ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται βασιλεὺς,[5] Τὸ ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν· τέως
> γὰρ τὰ ἤδη γενόμενα διηγεῖται καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ιεχονίου ταῦτα διεξελήλυθε, κατὰ
> τὸ οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα παρεληλυθότα, ὡς μηδέπω γενόμενα λέγει (*In Ez* 964B), or
> Ezek 17:13 λήψεται ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ διαθήσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν
> διαθήκην, καὶ εἰσάξει αὐτὸν ἐν ἀρᾷ, Τὸ τοίνυν λήψεται, καὶ διαθήσεται, καὶ
> εἰσάξει, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔλαβεν καὶ διέθετο καὶ εἰσήγαγε (*In Ez* 964C).

Ezekiel 17 portrays for us the allegory of the eagles. Theodoret reminds us of the
deportation of Jojakin (or Jechonia Ιεχονίας) to Babylon by Nebuchadnessar, just
mentioned before by Ezekiel (Ezek 17:12). Therefore the past tenses seem more
appropriate, as Theodoret seems to suggest by ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰδοὺ ἦλθεν. It is how-
ever typical of the prophetic language to talk of things as if they have not yet
happened (κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἰδίωμα παρεληλυθότα, ὡς μηδέπω γενόμενα), there-
fore the translator used the present tense. Ezekiel 17:13 contains future tenses
for the same reason. The person who is mentioned is Zedekiah. Theodoret men-
tioned the things that happened to him six years earlier (καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ πρὸ ἒξ ἐτῶν
ἐγεγόνει): he was set on the throne by Nebuchadnessar, and entered into a treaty
with him, which he immediately violated.

Sometimes Theodoret replaces a whole sentence. For example, Ezek 20:28,
Τὸ δὲ Ἔταξαν ἐκεῖ θυμὸν δώρων αὐτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ Τοῖς παρανόμοις αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις
δώροις τὸν ἐμὸν διήγειραν θυμόν (*In Ez* 997C), is more fluent and understandable
Greek (*They awakened my anger with these unlawful gifts*). Elsewhere he limits
himself to a single word. At Ezek 20:41 καὶ ἁγιασθήσομαι ἐν ὑμῖν κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς
τῶν λαῶν Theodoret remarks: Τὸ δὲ ἁγιασθήσομαι ἀντὶ τοῦ δοξασθήσομαι
τέθεικεν (*In Ez* 1004A). The explanation that follows does not pertain to this sub-
stitution, but to the whole passage. The foreign people will see the beneficial acts
of God and the gratitude of his people, perceiving on the one hand the weakness
of their own so-called gods and contemplating on the other hand the power of
God. At three other instances of this expression composed of ἁγιάζω, Theodoret

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4. The relation between the methodology of the Scholia and the patristic literature has
been worked out by Alex Leonas, "Patristic Evidence of the Difficulties in Understanding the
LXX: Hadrian's Philological Remarks in *Isagoge*," in *X Congress of the International Organization
for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Oslo, 1998* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; Septuagint and Cognate
Studies 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 393–414.

5. ὅταν ἔλθῃ βασιλεὺς (Ziegler, *Ezechiel*).

substitutes ἁγιάζω when rewording the content in his commentary.[6] He para-
phrases the above-mentioned expression as δοξάσουσί μου τὴν δεσποτείαν καὶ
ὑμνήσουσι (Ezek 36:23 in *In Ez* 1184A), using the verb δοξάζω. On Ezek 38:16
he comments ἐν τῷ ἁγιασθῆναί με ἐν σοί Τουτέστιν, Ἐν τῷ δοξασθῆναί με δήλης
μου τῆς δυνάμεως γενομένης (*In Ez* 1205C). He inserts an ἀντί remark on Ezek
39:27 ἐν τῷ Καὶ ἁγιασθήσομαι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνώπιον τῶν ἐθνῶν Ἀντὶ τοῦ· Δήλης
μου τῆς δυνάμεως γενομένης, τὴν παρὰ πάντων δέξομαι προσκύνησιν, διὰ τῆς
περὶ τούτους ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γενομένης προνοίας (*In Ez* 1216B). In Ezek 44:24 he para-
phrases τὰ σάββατά μου ἁγιάσουσι with τὰ Σάββατα τῇ ἀργίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
τιμάτωσαν (*In Ez* 1236B). Theodoret hardly ever uses the verb ἁγιάζω in rela-
tion to God in his commentary; he substitutes δοξάζω for it.[7] The quotation
of John Chrysostomus in his comment on Matt 6:9, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου,
may underpin this substitution: ἁγιασθήτω, τοῦτ' ἔστι, δοξασθήτω (Hom. in Mt
19:4).[8] Ἁγιάζω applied to anything else but God in the Greek translation, is never
substituted in the notes.[9] Not ἁγιάζω but δοξάζω was apparently the common
word in the fourth and the fifth century to describe the glorification of God in all
its respects.

The substitution in Ezek 36:31 of προσοχθιεῖτε by βδελύξεσθε may reveal
something of the current vocabulary of the fifth century: προσοχθιεῖτε κατὰ
πρόσωπον αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν ἀνομιῶν ὑμῶν Τὸ γὰρ προσοχθιεῖτε ἀντὶ τοῦ
βδελύξεσθε τέθεικε (*In Ez* 1185B). Theodoret quotes Ps 35:5 Παρέστη πάσῃ ὁδῷ
οὐκ ἀγαθῇ, κακίᾳ δὲ οὐ προσώχθισε, and paraphrases this verse as τὴν κακίαν
οὐκ ἐβδελύξατο. Through the paraphrase of the Psalm text, we may assume that
προσοχθίζω and βδελύσσομαι are synonyms but that βδελύσσομαι is the more
common verb for the audience of the fifth century.[10]

Ezekiel 27 gives a trade list of products that are imported from all different
places. Ezekiel 27:6 τὰ ἱερά σου ἐποίησαν ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ, τὰ ἱερά σου,
οἱ ἄλλοι ἑρμηνευταὶ τὸ κέρας σου τεθείκασι, κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀκολουθίαν
(*In Ez* 1076D). The other translators have the sailyard or ra (κέρας), because

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6. In Ezek 28:22.25 the expression ἁγιασθήσομαι ἐν σοί/αὐτοῖς is not commented upon.

7. Only once Theodoret uses ἁγιάζω in his notes, in a passive participle form to denote the
offerings which were prepared in the inner court of the temple, and should not be brought out-
side, to protect them from profane touch: Οὔτε γὰρ θέμις τὰ ἅπαξ ἀφορισθέντα καὶ ἁγιασθέντα
κοινὰ ποιεῖν τῷ ἔξω κομίζειν (*In Ez* 1240BC on Ezek 46:20 τὰ ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτίας
καὶ τὸ μαναα τὸ παράπαν τοῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν . . . τοῦ ἁγιάζειν τὸν λαόν).

8. *Homiliae in Matthaeum* (vol. 11 of *Joannis Chrysostomi, archiepiscopi Constantinopoli-
tani, Opera omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferuntur*; PG 57; Paris: Migne, 1862)
279C.

9. Ὁ ἁγιάζων αὐτούς (Ezek 20:12); ἁγιάσουσιν τὸν λαόν (Ezek 44:19); τοῦ ἁγιάζειν τὸν
λαόν (Ezek 46:20); τοῖς ἡγιασμένοις υἱοῖς Σαδδουκ (Ezek 48:11).

10. *TLG* matches two hits for the fifth century, in the lexicographer Hesychius, for
προσοχθίζω, while βδελύσσομαι is frequently used in the fifth century.

it better fits the context, in which just before there was reference to the mast (ἱστούς) and the oars (κωπάς). The мт contains no reference to a ra. Theodoret does not refer to the Hebrew text, which excludes the reading offered by the other translators.[11] Theodoret, like other church fathers, had access to the Hebrew only by way of the Greek of the Septuagint; they even built their knowledge of the Hebrew by means of the Septuagint.[12] As a matter of consequence Theodoret could not be aware here of the Hebrew distinct reading.

Theodoret proposes to replace Τὸ δὲ ἀποδώσομαι τὴν γῆν εἰς χεῖρας πονηρῶν (Ezek 30:12)[13] by παραδώσω, namely ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδώσω τέθεικαν (*In Ez* 1113C). The verb παραδίδωμι, *to hand over to somebody*, expresses exactly what is meant by the whole phrase. At the beginning of this note Theodoret summarizes the content of Ezek 30:10-12 using the verb παραδίδωμι, Τοῖς τῶν ἐθνῶν ἁπάντων ὠμοτέροις Βαβυλωνίοις παραδώσω τὴν Αἴγυπτον. The verb παραδίδωμι is obviously the current word to express the action of delivering into the hands of the enemy, and makes the Greek translation clear to his readers. The middle form ἀποδίδομαι has apparently not survived in the meaning of *to deliver*, *to hand over* (which was attested in the classical and koinè period).

Conversely in Ezek 24:10 Theodoret paraphrases a succinct expression of the Greek translation Καὶ πληθυνῶ τὰ ξύλα, ἀντὶ τοῦ πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς παρέξω καὶ ὕλας τῷ πυρὶ τῶν κακῶν, ἵνα τοῦτο μὲν ἀνακαύσω (*In Ez* 1053B). *I will multiply the wood*, has been made more explicit as the giving of occasions and wood for the fire that will burn the evil. The same happens in Ezek 23:45 Καὶ ἄνδρες δίκαιοι οὗτοι. Theodoret comments:

> Τὸ δίκαιοι τέθεικεν, οὐ δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῖς μαρτυρῶν· ἀδικώτατοι γὰρ καὶ παρανομώτατοι, καὶ λίαν ὑπῆρχον δυσσεβέστατοι· ἀλλ' ἐκ παραθέσεως τῶν ταύτης ἀσεβημάτων τὸ δίκαιοι τέθεικεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ, σοὶ παρεξεταζόμενοι δίκαιοι ὑπάρχουσι (*In Ez* 1048C).

Theodoret discusses the choice for δίκαιοι. The men are extremely unjust men, but in comparison to the impious behaviour of the women (Oholiba and Oholah) their behaviour can be called "righteous." Therefore Theodoret substitutes δίκαιοι

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11. According to ms 86 Aquila can be identified as one of the other translators, reading κερας σου.

12. Bas Ter Haar Romeny brought this aspect to my attention in the discussion following my lecture during IOSCS 2007. Theodoret seems to confirm his conclusion worked out in his dissertation that the church fathers did not know Hebrew; a stylistic or grammatical peculiarity in the Septuagint indirectly showed them how the Hebrew must look or sound like (R. B. Ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 6; Leuven: Peeters, 1997).

13. Καὶ ἀποδώσομαι τὴν γῆν εἰς χεῖρας πονηρῶν is missing in the Greek text of the edition of Ziegler, but attested in the Greek translation found in Theodoret.

by σοὶ παρεξεταζόμενοι δίκαιοι ὑπάρχουσι. The ἀντί phrase introduces a more accurate description of the men.

In most of the cases, ἀντί does not introduce better or grammatically more correct Greek. Theodoret questions why a particular word choice was made, and tries to justify this choice; often he simply gives a more current synonym of a word used in the translation. By doing so ἀντί is synonymous with τούτεστιν, which is frequently used by Theodoret, to elucidate the prophetic text.

3. Lexical Comment

Some words were not understood anymore in the fifth century and required some elucidation. A selection of such words follows here.

Κεφαλίς (Ezek 3:1), literally *little head*, is commented upon as κεφαλίδα καλεῖ τὰ εἰλητὰ βιβλία (*In Ez* 841D). Theodoret adds to this explanation that at an earlier time people used to conserve written things in this way, and still till today (this is Theodoret's time, the fifth century) the Jews preserve their holy texts in such rolls. Symmachus has instead of κεφαλὶς βιβλίου in Ezek 2:9, εἰλητὸν τεῦχος *an enrolled object* (Q, 86, Syh). The profile of a rolled scroll from a side may resemble the outer appearance of a capital—adorned with volutes—of a pillar, which is also called κεφαλίς.[14] Κεφαλίς in the sense of *roll, scroll* seems never have entered the Greek language.[15]

The word κολεός (Ezek 21:3) was not understood anymore and had to be clarified as κολεὸν δὲ, τουτέστιν, τὴν θήκην τοῦ ἐγχειριδίου (*In Ez* 1008B). Theodoret repeats this explanation in his comment upon Ezek 21:4, where κολεὸς occurs a second time in the Greek text.[16] He never uses κολεός in his notes, but always θήκη for the sheath of a knife. Κολεός is attested in the fifth century, but apparently it was not current anymore.[17]

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14. Theodoret uses κεφαλίς with the meaning of capital, in his comment upon 3 Reg 6:12 where he describes the building of the temple (Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramon Busto Saiz, *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena. Editio Critica* (Testos y estudios Cardenal Cisneros 32; Madrid: CSIC, 1984), 141).

15. Basile Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine*. Première partie: *Termes désignant le livre-manuscrit et l'écriture* (Ελληνικα Περιοδικον Συγγραμμα Εταιρειας Μακεδονικων Σπουδων Παραρτημα 21; Θεσσαλονικη, 1971), 162–64. All examples containing κεφαλίς meaning *scroll*, refer in a direct or indirect way to the Old Testament; moreover synonyms had to be added to explain the use of the word. The word κεφαλίς apparently has not become a common technical term for scroll. I thank professor Jean-Marie Auwers who has drawn my attention to this work.

16. It occurs a third time in Ezek 21:5, but this part of v.5 does not make part of the Greek text of Theodoret.

17. Κολεός in 2 Reg 20:8 and 1 Chr 21:27 is not mentioned nor commented upon by Theodoret in his Questions to these books (Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz, *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*). He quotes the word in the Greek text of Jeremiah (Jer 29:6) without any fur-

Warriors recruited from foreign people serving in the army of Tyre hung their little shields (πέλτας) and helmets on the city (Ezek 27:10). Πέλτη, the little shield of the light troops, is explained as δὲ ἐστιν ἡ μικρὰ ἀσπίς, ἣν οἱ γυμνῆται ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐπιφέρονται, ταύτῃ δὲ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ τὴν πυρρίχην (*war dance*) παίζοντες (*In Ez* 1080B). This type of shield was borne by the light-armed foot-soldier and used as an attribute for the war dance. This explanation of Theodoret added to his notes shows that the word was no longer current at his time. It occurs infrequently in texts of the fifth century denoting the Thracian shields (e.g., Θρηίκιον πέλταν). The word is explained by Hesychius simply as ἡ ἀσπίς without a rim, or as Θράκιον ὅπλον.

Theodoret does not give any longer the Greek translation in full from Ezek 40 onwards. Afraid of tiring his readers with long texts, he prefers to paraphrase the content, Ἵνα δὲ μὴ τὸ καθ' ἕκαστον ἑρμηνεύοντες ἀποκναίσωμεν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ τῷ μήκει τῶν λόγων, ἐν κεφαλαίῳ παράφρασίν τινα ποιήσασθαι βουλόμεθα τῶν ὑποδειχθέντων πνευματικῶς τῷ θεσπεσίῳ προφήτῃ (*In Ez* 1220C). Although ἐπωμίδες occurs thrice in the Greek text of Ezekiel (Ezek 40:48; 41:2, 3), Theodoret uses the word ἀγκῶνες in his paraphrase of these verses in his continuous commentary; in Ezek 40:48 alone he identifies it with ἐπωμίδας: τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκώνων (τούτους γὰρ ἐπωμίδας ἐκάλεσε) (*In Ez* 1224AB). As Theodoret uses ἀγκῶνες in his paraphrase when he discusses the doorposts of the door of the temple, and never ἐπωμίδες, the latter was certainly not a current word. He only mentions ἐπωμίδες in passing. The doorposts are always referred to as τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκώνων and τοὺς δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν ἀγκῶνας. The word ἀγκών means *a bend in the arm*, *the elbow*, which meaning is extended to any bend (in a leg, a river, a wall); in Ezekiel it denotes the posts of the door.[18] Theodoret gives a second synonym παραστάς, *anything that stands besides*, but mentions it only once: τὴν θύραν αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τεττάρων καὶ δέκα τὸ πλάτος, τοὺς δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῆς ἀγκῶνας, ἢ παραστάδας μέχρι τῆς γωνίας (*In Ez* 1224A). Παραστάδες (plural) is attested denoting doorposts, more frequently than ἀγκῶνες, which appears in this sense only here in Theodoret. Theodoret makes no cross-reference to his repeated treatment of ἐπωμίς in his *Questions of Octateuch,* and *Of Kings and Chronicles* (where he regularly reminds of his previous treatments in these Questions).[19] In these books ἐπωμίς appears in a completely different context, referring to a cloth meaning *ephod*. Ἐπωμίς is attested in different meanings in Greek literature: the point of the shoulder that

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ther comment or elucidation (*Beati Theodoreti Episcopi Cyrensis in Divini Jeremiae Prophetiam Interpretatio* (vol. 2 of *Theodoreti Cyrensis Episcopi Opera omnia*; ed. Joan. Ludov. Schulze; PG 81; Paris: Migne, 1864), 717B.

18. Brenton translates it by *side-pieces* (L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* [1851; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987]).

19. E.g., Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz, *Quaestiones in Reges et Paralipomena*, 252:11 Πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι τὸ ἐφοὺδ … ὁ δὲ Σύμμαχος ἐπωμίδα.

joins the collarbone (ἐπ—ωμίς), thus a kind of twisting point, which has probably given rise to the use of ἐπωμίδες in Ezekiel for the leaves of the door.[20] A second meaning is a part of the women's tunic that was fastened on the shoulder by brooches, a shoulderstrap (ἐπ—ωμίς), from which the use to denote the ephod has probably been derived. Ἐπωμίς is thus a homonym, but no trace of this homonymy is found in the work of Theodoret. He does not refer in his *Questions of Octateuch*,[21] and *Of Kings and Chronicles* to the homonymous word (in plural) in Ezekiel, neither does he here in the commentary to Ezekiel refer to the use of the singular word in the Octateuch, Kings or Chronicles.

4. Specific Word Choices in the Notes

The difference with the treatment of the words of the previous group is that Theodoret there explicitly mentioned that he is elucidating a word (by using, e.g., τουτέστιν, the verb καλεῖν). In this category of words on the contrary Theodoret gives no indication at all that he is elucidating or wants to elucidate a word, but he simply continues his text. By using other words than those used in the Greek translation, he may recall without comment the current Greek of the fifth century. By doing so Theodoret implicitly informs us about the common usage, and disuse, of words in the fifth century.

In the description of the trade relations of the city of Tyre in Ezek 27.14, horses, riders (ἱππεῖς),[22] and mules are sold. When Theodoret paraphrases this verse, he repeats ἵππους and ἡμιόνους of the translation, but he uses τοὺς τούτων ἐπιβάτας instead of ἱππεῖς (*In Ez* 1080C). Indeed, ἱππεῖς is not frequently used anymore in the fifth century. The use of ἐπιβάτης, meaning *passenger of a ship* or *rider* at this time,[23] the latter being appropriate here, implicitly recalls the current Greek of the fifth century, and shows that ἱππεῖς was, probably, not understood anymore. However, a form of ἱππεύς occurs four more times in the Greek translation given by Theodoret (Ezek 23:12; 26:7.10; 38:4).[24] At none of these

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20. This meaning is attested in LSJ, s.v., and Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint. Revised Edition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), s.v. (with question mark).

21. Natalio Fernández Marcos and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum. Editio Critica* (Testos y estudios Cardenal Cisneros 17; Madrid: CSIC, 1979).

22. Ἱππεῖς is meant here as accusative plural (not as the classical nominative plural), a form that tends to substitute in the LXX ἱππέας through analogy with the accusative plural of the paradigm πόλις (see Henry St. J. Thackeray, *Introduction, Orthography and Accidence* (vol. 1 of *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 147–48).

23. G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), s.v.

24. In Ezek 23:6 the Greek text given by Theodoret does not contain a form of ἱππεύς, simply saying νεανίσκους ἐπιλέκτους πάντας, ἱππαζομένους ἐφ' ἵππων.

occurrences does Theodoret paraphrase or repeat the word ἱππεῖς in his com-
mentary; he simply does not comment upon this word. When he comments upon
Ezek 26:10 which describes the fall of Tyre, he talks of the rattling of the chariots
and the sound of the horses feet (*In Ez* 1069B). In the Greek translation, it is said
that the many horses produced a cloud covering Tyre, and that the loud noise of
the riders and wheels of the chariots made the walls shake. Theodoret only men-
tions the horses and chariots in his paraphrase of these verses. It is true that the
word ἱππεύς is not used by Theodoret in his own notes on the text, but the fact
that in the only place where he wants to say something about the riders he uses
another word ἐπιβάτης, not ἱππεύς, leads to the supposition that ἱππεύς was still
understood in his time (he did not have to explain it at each instance), but it was
probably not the daily, current word to denote a rider. Therefore he used—spon-
taneously—in his paraphrase ἐπιβάτης.

Σκοπός (Ezek 3:17; 33:2.6.7) which meant *watchman* as well as *target* in clas-
sical Greek, only preserved the latter meaning, *target*, in postclassical Greek, as
Marguerite Harl has convincingly demonstrated in an article of 1961.[25] The notes
of Theodoret seem to underpin this conclusion (*In Ez* 848C; 1141B; 1144AB).
Firstly, Theodoret identifies σποκός with κατάσκοπος. Secondly, each time he
says in his own notes something on behalf of the watchman, he uses κατάσκοπος,
not σποκός. Although Theodoret does not say explicitly that σκοπός was not
understood anymore as watchman, the way he deals with it in his notes leads to
the conclusion that κατάσκοπος was the current word for watchman in the fifth
century. Thus we can add to the explicit testimony of Origen the implicit testi-
mony of Theodoret regarding the disuse of σποπός for watchman in favour of
κατάσκοπος.[26]

5. Conclusion

Firstly, the treatment of Greek words by Theodoret says something on behalf of
the evolution of the Greek language in general. The study of βδελύσσομαι and
κολεός, for example, has revealed that they were no longer current words in the
fifth century. The verb ἁγιάζω still appears, but in relation to the glorification of
God δοξάζω is used. Other words showing a new meaning in the Septuagint,
never got adopted in Greek with this new sense. A word like κεφαλίς meaning
rolled scroll still had to be explained in the fifth century. The fact that one mean-
ing of a word passes into disuse, is borne out by the commentary of Theodoret,
for example, σκοπός that only preserved the meaning *target* in the fifth century.

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25. Marguerite Harl, "Le guetteur et la cible: les deux sens de σκοπός dans la langue reli-
gieuse des chrétiens," *REG* 74 (1961): 450–68.
    26. For the testimony of Origen, see Harl, "Le guetteur et la cible," 462.

Secondly, the explanation of some words by Theodoret contributes to the lexicography of the Septuagint. Words that were attested for the first, and sometimes only, time in the Septuagint, may have been hard to understand. Sometimes known words appear in a new sense. Theodoret gives extensive explanation of such words, and elucidates them, for example, κεφαλίς, describing its meaning and use.

Finally, in his explanation of Greek words and stylistic peculiarities, Theodoret does not show any mastery of Hebrew. The study of the Greek words explained by Theodoret has revealed that he does not draw on the Hebrew text to elucidate the Greek. This confirms Fernández Marcos' conclusion that Theodoret ignores the Hebrew.[27] This point of view however should be looked at in the wider perspective put forward by Ter Haar Romeny. His conclusion that the Greek church fathers had access to the Hebrew only by way of the Septuagint, holds true for Theodoret as well. This clarifies our evaluation of Ezek 9:9 μεμεγαλύνται σφόδρα σφόδρα and Ezek 27:6 οἱ ἄλλοι ἑρμηνευταὶ τὸ κέρας σου τεθείκασι, κατὰ τῶν προειρημένων ἀκολουθίαν. Our surprise that Theodoret does not draw on the Hebrew to evaluate these translations should give way to a better appreciation for the method of someone who only could rely on the Greek.

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27. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Teodoreto de Ciro y la lengua hebrea," *Henoch* 9 (1987) 39–54; ibid. "Theodoret's Philological Remarks on the Language of the Septuagint," in *Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome: Studies in Ancient Cultural Interaction in Honour of A. Hilhorst* (ed.. F. García Martínez and G. P. Luttikhuizen; JSJSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 108, 117.

Septuagint Textual Criticism and the Computer: 4 Maccabees as a Test Case

Robert J. V. Hiebert and Nathaniel N. Dykstra

Abstract: Foundational to all literary research is the establishment of the text that is to be the object of scholarly attention. That is the goal of the textual critic. Throughout much of the history of the discipline of "lower" criticism, the detailed and sometimes tedious work of preparing a critical edition has been done without the aid of electronic technology. The advent of the computer has made it possible for scholars to manage certain tasks, such as those involved in the production of a critical apparatus, more easily. Yet it is probably fair to say that, when it comes to applying the power of the computer to the more complex job of organizing and analyzing manuscript evidence, textual critics have only begun to scratch the surface. This paper will focus on some of the ways that such technology is being employed to facilitate the work of establishing the textual history of the Old Greek version of 4 Maccabees.

1. Standing on the Shoulders of Giants

In his address at the inauguration of the Septuagint Institute of Trinity Western University, 17 September 2005, Albert Pietersma made the following remarks regarding the work of textual criticism, citing the example of his Doktor Vater,[1] John William Wevers:

> That critical editions of ancient texts play a central and foundational role in biblical scholarship and by extension in communities of faith hardly needs emphasizing. Thus if study of the Bible is deemed important, to have reliable texts of biblical literature must surely be considered basic. What I would like to emphasize and salute here is not so much the scholarly achievement (which is there for all to see) but, rather, the human effort and perseverance involved in such a massive undertaking. Not only did John Wevers have to teach himself several additional ancient languages when he started with the Pentateuch (e.g. Armenian and Coptic [in several dialects]) in which relevant textual data were known to exist, but all citations in the Greek and Latin Church Fathers had to

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1. And Robert Hiebert's Doktor Grossvater.

be collected, not to forget the fragmentary biblical texts extant on papyrus and parchment. Day in day out, month after month, I would see him sit behind his desk, typically his left hand on the Göttingen collation book, which contained all the textual data from regular Greek manuscripts, and his right hand poised to make notations.[2] And so it went, year after year, one variant at a time, from the beginning of the book, chapter 1:1, word one, to its end no matter how far away. He himself has likened this undertaking to climbing Mt. Everest. More mundanely one might describe it by using a modern Greek proverb . . .: Φασοῦλι τὸ φασοῦλι γεμίζει τὸ σακκοῦλι "Bean by bean fills the bag." (And the beans were many and the five bags of Moses were very big.)

The creation of critical texts, therefore, is not only of fundamental importance in both *academia* and *ecclesia*, but it also ranks with the labours of Hercules in difficulty and intensity.[3]

In an article entitled "Apologia pro Vita Mea," John Wevers has given his own account of what was involved in his work on the editions of the books of the Pentateuch, beginning with Genesis.

I felt that it was necessary immediately to make some kind of attempt at establishing the internal textual history of the book. I went through the evidence over and over again to find mss [sic] groupings. Gradually some order became evident. . . .

In the course of working on the text I had written up a considerable number of studies, principally concerning the textual groups which constituted the textual history of Genesis. I analyzed each one by collecting all the readings of each group in a separate study, and characterizing each reading grammatically, thereby attempting to describe what was distinctive for each group. . . . Particularly important were relationships among these groups, and these became part of these studies as well.[4]

It is definitely not the purpose of this paper on the use of the computer in Septuagint textual criticism to suggest that there is any substitute, even in the age of the computer, for becoming intimately familiar with the text of a book or for the kind of patient, persistent and methodical analysis of that text that Wevers and others of his ilk[5] have modeled for us. What we do hope to show, however, is that the computer can be a useful tool—just like a printed *Verzeichnis*, concordance,

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2. John William Wevers, "*Apologia pro Vita Mea*: Reflections on a Career in Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 32 (1999): 65–96.

3. Albert Pietersma, "Septuagint Studies in Canada," An unpublished paper presented at the inauguration of the Septuagint Institute, 17 September 2005.

4. Wevers, "*Apologia pro Vita Mea*," 70, 80.

5. E.g., Robert Hanhart, Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast, Joseph Ziegler, Alfred Rahlfs, Paul de Lagarde, Henry Barclay Swete, Alan Brooke, Norman McLean, Henry St. John Thackeray, Max Margolis.

or lexicon—in the text critic's tool kit, a tool that can assist in the classification, organization, and analysis of the textual data, particularly in the identification of manuscript groups and the sketching out of the textual history of the book that one is editing.

This paper's focus on 4 Maccabees stems from the fact that I[6] was asked to edit it for the Göttingen *Septuaginta* series. As is well known, 4 Maccabees is not a translation, like the Septuagint of Genesis, but an original Greek composition. Since there is no option of recourse to a Hebrew *Vorlage*, the text critic's efforts to reconstruct the original text can be based only on a good understanding of the Greek author's linguistic style and diction and on a knowledge of the textual history, that is, the manuscript groupings and interrelationships that become evident as one analyzes the collation data.

During much of the time that Wevers labored over the books of the Pentateuch, he did so without the aid of computer technology. In fact, if memory serves me correctly, his use of the computer began near the end of his work on the preparation of the critical editions of the Pentateuch, and then primarily, if not exclusively, it involved simply the word processing function. As he himself mentions in the article cited above, delineation of manuscript groups was carried out on the basis of careful observation of the patterns of alignment, and as Pietersma notes in his paper referred to earlier, those observations were painstakingly recorded by hand.

2. New Possibilities in the Computer Era

My initial thoughts on the use of the computer after I had been assigned 4 Maccabees involved certain pragmatic considerations. First, I valued the computer's capacity for storing large amounts of data—in this case the handwritten collations of more than seventy Greek manuscripts of 4 Maccabees, recorded over a fifty-six year period[7] on 285 double-width pages of the two volumes prepared at the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen. Second, I regarded the computer to be the means to have convenient access to the kinds of reference works and other resources that I would need, ones that had in years gone by been available only in print. A small laptop can now be the portal to a virtual library of reference works, either online or as part of a software package. Third, I expected to exploit the computer's usefulness in quickly and easily performing tasks such as word searches and textual investigations of various kinds. Fourth, I anticipated that the computer would prove to be very beneficial for word processing, both in

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6. Throughout the rest of this paper, when the first person singular pronoun is used, the reference is to Robert Hiebert.

7. 1916–1972.

the recording and organization of research results and in the preparation of particularly complex parts of the published edition like the textual apparatus.

As I proceeded with this project, I took the opportunity to apply for a research grant.[8] In the application, I budgeted for the hiring of research assistants to do electronic data entry and to conduct "searches of online databases such as Thesaurus Linguae Graecae and Perseus with regard to specific linguistic and literary phenomena that occur in 4 Maccabees." I described the kind of training that this would provide them as the "application of computer technology to research in the humanities." At that stage I had no idea how much I would learn about how technology could facilitate the work of the project as a whole.

Two students enrolled in the M.A. in Biblical Studies program at Trinity Western University were hired as research assistants, Nathaniel Dykstra and Fred Tappenden. Dykstra is, in fact, the co-author of this paper. He came to the 4 Maccabees project with a good deal of enthusiasm and computer *savoir-faire*, and it was in discussions with him that a whole other range of possibilities with regard to the use of the computer for this project first came to my attention. As we talked, it became clear that there were things that could be accomplished by means of the computer that would significantly reduce the amount of time spent on certain tasks, diminish the likelihood of errors, greatly enhance the scope and speed of the analysis of textual data, and allow for a whole range of analytical possibilities that I had not to that point envisioned. But in order for this to happen, the first order of business would be to put all of the data in the collation books into electronic form. So that was the work with which Dykstra and Tappenden began. The collations were recorded on computer in ASCII characters. This raw data then needed to be checked for accuracy and consistency, and the first round of such checking was done by me as I compared the electronic version—every reading and manuscript number—against the collation books.

Concurrent with the task of data entry, Dykstra and I began to investigate the kind of textual work that was already being done with the aid of the computer (e.g., The Hexapla Project, Digital Nestle-Aland, The Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism) in order to determine whether collaboration with such projects might be feasible or desirable. There would be no point in reinventing the wheel if that were the case. Dykstra also investigated the various types of platforms and systems that might be available to us and the kinds of factors that would need to be taken into account in order for us to proceed in the most efficient way to accomplish the goals that we had in mind. In the course of our investigations we came to observe that, although other projects involving the use of the computer in textual work had certain parallels to what we were doing, none of them seemed to have the same focus. Our conclusion, therefore, was that it was time for us to attempt to break some new ground in this area and to see where that might lead.

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8. A Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) grant.

The first practical step in the use of the computerized collation data was made possible when Dykstra developed a program that could organize manuscripts into previously created groups. In Hans-Josef Klauck's German edition of 4 Maccabees, a preliminary list of groups had been prepared in consultation with Robert Hanhart of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen. [9]

Unzialen:
S A V

Rezension L:
236 534 728

Rezension ℓ:
62 542 747[c]

Rezension q:
71 74 107 120 370
380 452 731

Codices mixti:
46 (davon direkt abhängig: 52 332) 55 (besonders wertvoll) 58
340 668 771 930

Josephus-Handschriften:
747[(x)] 759

Menologienhandschriften der Gruppe c:
577 690 741 491

Übrige kollationierte Handschriften:
ca. 40 Menologienhandschriften
    Menologia: 316 317 322 325 391 397 446 455 457 467 472 473 586 587 591 592
       594 595 596 597 617 639 640 656 682 683 699 713 714 738 773 778 782 789
    Non-menologia: 585 607 641 677 686 695 774

With this new computer program, we could select lists of manuscripts that attest variants to a given lemma and press the preassigned computer keys to trigger the

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9. The following list is based on the German edition of 4 Maccabees by Hans-Josef Klauck (*4. Makkabäerbuch* [JSHRZ 3/6; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1989], 679). The lists of menologia and non-menologia manuscripts have been compiled in consultation with Detlef Fraenkel of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen in Göttingen.

macro function of arranging the manuscripts according to Klauck's groups and assigning the groups their respective names.

Thereafter, we began thinking of the possibility of using the computer to check the integrity of Klauck's groups, and even to generate other groups or sub-groups. That led to the idea of putting the computerized collation materials into a database rather than simply leaving them in Word format. We became convinced that this would harness the power of the computer to perform much more complex tasks of classification and organization of the data.

Our main goal in creating a database was to facilitate the working out of a comprehensive textual history of 4 Maccabees. Some progress toward this goal had already been achieved by Klauck for his German edition of the book, and prior to this, in the work of Alfred Rahlfs,[10] Henry Barclay Swete,[11] and Otto F. Fritzsche[12] for the production of their respective editions. Rahlfs and Swete were, however, dependent on the three uncial manuscripts that contain 4 Maccabees (A S V), and Fritzsche also had access to a very limited number of textual witnesses. Now with more than seventy manuscripts to take into account, the establishment of the textual history is both more interesting and challenging than in a case in which there are only a few available witnesses.

As Wevers indicates, the more one spends time familiarizing oneself with the data, the more one begins to see patterns of textual affiliation. The most obvious kind of situation in which that realization occurs is when the same texts, and only those texts, repeatedly agree on variant readings. When one sees that happening, one is led to the conclusion that those witnesses constitute a group. But then practical questions begin to surface. For example, how does one establish the optimum or threshhold level of manuscript agreement in order to assess the legitimacy of a proposed group? It can and does happen that certain manuscripts agree on a number of readings, but then some or all may also at times agree with other witnesses. Then the matter of the percentage of agreements becomes significant in determining the validity of suggested groupings. Wevers' careful and methodical analysis of the evidence for the Pentateuch in his series of volumes on the respective text histories of the individual books can serve as a useful guide for subsequent editors in the *Septuaginta* series. What a computer database enables one to do easily, however, is to retrieve, sort and classify all readings for a particular manuscript or group. This inevitably speeds up the completion of such work and greatly reduces the possibility of introducing errors in the process.

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10. *Septuaginta, id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes*, 2 vols. (Stuttgart, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935). See Klauck, *4. Makkabäerbuch*, 680.

11. *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (3rd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), 3:vi.

12. *Libri Apocryphi Veteris Testamenti Graece* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1871). See Moses Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* (Jewish Apocryphal Literature; New York: Ktav, 1953), 137.

One factor that can cloud the issue with respect to establishing textual groups is the existence of significant numbers of orthographic and morphological readings. In 4 Maccabees, as in other books of the Septuagint, it is clear that manuscript affiliations that are based on agreements regarding pluses, minuses, transpositions, lexical items and syntactical features, for example, often do not obtain when it comes to orthographic and morphological variants. That is to say, in matters of spelling, a scribe often introduced new readings without textual warrant, and so that scribe's copy would diverge at such points from the other manuscripts with which it would normally be associated. This being the case, Dykstra and I determined that, for the purpose of identifying manuscript affiliations, we would need to eliminate orthographic and morphological readings from the equation, other than in situations involving the differences in forms that are in fact legitimate alternatives according to the norms of Greek accidence, such as the use of Hellenistic as opposed to Attic forms. What we wanted to filter out were real errors of spelling and forms that make no grammatical sense in the specific context in which they are found. Indeed, such readings do not end up in a Göttingen edition's apparatus in any case, but are instead discussed in an appendix dealing with such matters.

So the creation of a database for 4 Maccabees involved tagging readings that are orthographic or morphological and identifying them as being linked either to the lemma or to a variant. It was necessary to develop an efficient tagging scheme so that our computer program could distinguish multiple orthographic or morphological variants of the same reading. This had to precede our checking and refining of Klauck's manuscript groups and searching for new groups, as well as ultimately identifying significant variants that will appear in the apparatus of the edition in contrast to orthographic and morphological anomalies that will be discussed in the appendix.

A further check for accuracy came when collation data text files were converted by means of another program to the Unicode font set. Errors that were identified and corrected at this stage included misplaced accents and breathing marks.

The kind of analysis of textual data that we had in mind required the transition from a word processing or text file environment to that of a true database. This involved moving the data first to a spreadsheet format or "flat-file database," that is, Microsoft Excel. A flat-file database is "a database system in which each database contains only one file, which is not linked to any other file."[13] It stores

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13. "Flat-file database," *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed., Houghton Mifflin, 2006, Dictionary.com, n.p. Online: http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/flat-file database. Cited 31 October 2007.

data by columns and rows. This stage was necessary because it proved to be the easiest way to import our data into what programmers call a relational database.

A relational database is "a database that maintains a set of separate, related files (tables), but combines data elements from the files for queries and reports when required."[14] Moving from a spread sheet or flat-file database into a relational database organizes the data according to tables and fields to determine the nature of relationships between sets of data.

Once aberrant orthographic or morphological readings are set aside, then, analysis of the types of remaining readings with a view to determining the textual character of the various groups and possibly the circumstances of their origin is an important next step. What we propose to do in the remainder of this paper is to present some samples of the results that we have obtained thus far, based on a database that consists of chapters 6–7 and 18 of 4 Maccabees.

3. Applications to the 4 Maccabees Project

The database we are developing is web-based and consists, at this point, of an interactive web page. The screen shot on the following page shows the web page set to do a search regarding the degree to which the uncials S and A agree on attesting the same readings in 4 Maccabees 6–7. The results of this search are given later in the paper.

Putting the collation materials into a well-designed relational database allows for virtually any question to be asked of the data. This flexibility creates the potential of running a greater variety of searches and generating more results than might have been anticipated when the program was first conceptualized and designed.

4. Preliminary Results and Projection

4.1. Checking Manuscript Groups in Klauck's Edition.

Our first goal in developing this computer program and database was to check the manuscript groups delineated in the most recent attempt to reconstruct the textual history of 4 Maccabees, specifically in the German edition published by Hans-Josef Klauck. What follows is a summary of results obtained when we searched the database to quantify the number of times that all manuscripts in a group attest a variant to the collation book lemma, over against the number of times that one or more manuscripts in a group attest a variant. This is expressed in terms of both a fraction and a percentage. As mentioned above, our database

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14. "Relational database," Computer Desktop Encyclopedia, Computer Language Company Inc., 2007, Answers.com, n.p. Online: http://www.answers.com/topic/relational-database.

Search Content   ⦿ All Text
                        ○ Orthographic Only
                        ○ Non-orthographic Only

Search Range   ☐ Whole Text
                        [6 ⇕] [1 ⇕] To [7 ⇕] [24 ⇕]

Group Parameters   ○ Generate All Groups or ○ Generate Pairs
                            ☐ Group Strength [   ] %
                            ☐ Do not include mss:
                            [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕]
                            [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕]
                            [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕]
                            ☐ mss used in one group
                            ☐ mss used in multiple groups
                        ⦿ Check group containing mss
                            [S ⇕] [A ⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕]
                            [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕] [⇕]
                                ○ All possible groups
                                    ☐ Group Strength [   ] %
                                ⦿ Whole group only
                                    ☐ Generate word list

(Reset)   (Submit)

for this investigation is limited to chapters 6, 7, and 18. Some manuscripts are, however, only partially extant in these chapters, a factor that is taken into account as indicated below.

1) Uncials (S A V)
   S A
   In chapters 6–7 (V not extant in these chapters)
      (43/128 readings - 33.59%)
   S A
   In chapter 18
      (5/57 readings - 8.77%)

S A V
In chapter 18
     (2/75 readings - 2.67%)
2) *L* (236-534-728)
   In chapters 6–7 only (728 not extant in chapter 18)
        236-534 (75/97 readings - 77.32%)
        236-728 (74/101 readings - 73.27%)
        534-728 (72/99 readings - 72.73%)
        236-534-728 (70/108 readings - 64.81%)
3) *ℓ* (62 542 747^C)
   In chapters 6–7, 18
        62-542 (23/153 readings - 15.03%)
        62-542-747^C (1/158 readings - 0.63%)
4) *L´* = *L* + *ℓ* (236 534 728 + 62 542)
   In chapters 6–7 only (728 not extant in chapter 18)
        236-534 (75/97 readings - 77.32%)
        236-534-728 (70/108 readings - 64.81%)
        236-534-728-62 (10/163 readings - 6.13%)
        236-534-728-542 (3/144 readings - 2.08%)
        236-534-728-62-542 (1/179 readings - 0.56%)
5) *q* (71([lacks part of 18:1] 74 107[lacks 7:17-23] 120 370 380[lacks chapter 18]
   452 731[fragments of chapter 18 only])
   In chapters 6–7, 18 without manuscripts 380 and 731
        71-74 (92/163 readings - 56.44%)
        71-74-107 (77/185 readings - 41.62%)
        71-74-107-120 (76/195 readings - 38.97%)
        71-74-107-120-370 (76/197 readings - 38.58%)
        71-74-107-120-370-452 (68/203 readings - 33.50%)
   In chapters 6–7, 18 without manuscripts 107, 380 and 731
        71-74 (92/163 readings - 56.44%)
        71-74-452 (82/173 readings - 47.40%)
        71-74-452-120 (80/181 readings - 44.20%)
        71-74-452-120-370 (80/183 readings - 43.72%)
   In chapters 6–7, 18 without manuscripts 107, 380, 452 and 731
        71-74 (92/163 readings - 56.44%)
        71-74-120 (89/174 readings - 51.15%)
        71-74-120-370 (89/176 readings - 50.57%)
   In chapters 6–7, manuscripts 380 and 452 only (380 is not extant in chapter
18)[15]
        380-452 (75/98 readings - 76.53%)

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15. See the earlier list of Klauck's manuscript groups where 380 and 452 are both in
the "second tier" of his *q* group.

6) *c* (577 690 741 491)
   In chapters 6–7 (491 not extant in chapter 18)
      577-690 (33/152 readings - 21.71%)
      577-690-741 (26/189 readings - 13.76%)
      577-690-741-491 (22/240 readings - 9.17%)
  c^{-491} (577 690 741)
   In chapters 6–7, 18
      577-690 (48/239 readings - 20.08%)
      577-690-741 (32/293 readings - 10.92%)

What the preceding preliminary results indicate is that a number of proposed groups—the uncials, *ℓ*, and *c*—do not show high levels of agreement. This raises questions about the validity of such groups and whether the manuscripts involved should be compared with other manuscripts in order to determine if there are higher percentages of agreement with them.

4.2. Possible New Manuscript Affiliations

This computer program also facilitates the search for new manuscript groups. As noted above, the levels of agreement within the *c* group are not all that strong. However, one manuscript from that group does show a stronger degree of affiliation with another group.

   L + 491 (236 534 728 + 491)
   In chapters 6–7 (728 not extant in chapter 18)
   236-534 (75/97 readings - 77.32%)
   236-534-728 (70/108 readings - 64.81%)
   236-534-728-491 (58/140 readings - 41.43%)

The linkage between 491 and *L*, then, looks more promising than the one that had been suggested with *c*.

    Another collocation of textual witnesses that keeps recurring in the collation books is that of 44 610 3002. I had earlier begun to refer to this potential group as *qI* because of the affinity that these manuscripts appeared to have with Klauck's *Rezension q*. With the development of the computer program it was time to test this hypothesis.

qI (44 610 3002)
   In chapters 6–7, 18
     44-610 (95/144 readings - 65.97%)
     3002-610 (74/161 readings - 45.96%)
     44-610-3002 (64/183 readings - 34.97%)

The levels of agreement within this collocation of manuscripts are certainly sufficient to warrant regarding them as a group.

When the computer program was used to check the levels of agreement in chapters 6–7[16] amongst all the manuscripts of both *q* (71 74 107 120 370 380 452)[17] and *qI* (44 610 3002), the following results were obtained:

> 370-380 (86/93 readings - 92.47%)
> 370-380-120 (84/98 readings - 85.71%)
> 370-380-120-74 (81/109 readings - 74.31%)
> 370-380-120-74-452 (72/115 readings - 62.61%)
> 370-380-120-74-452-3002 (66/128 readings - 51.56%)
> 370-380-120-74-452-3002-71 (60/152 readings - 39.47%)
> 370-380-120-74-452-3002-71-107 (49/168 readings - 29.17%)
> 370-380-120-74-452-3002-71-107-610 (47/179 readings - 26.26%)
> 370-380-120-74-452-3002-71-107-610-44 (42/187 readings - 22.46%)

The strongest affiliations involve five of the extant seven *q* manuscripts by themselves (370 380 120 74 452). The next strongest combination involves those five plus 3002, then the remaining two *q* manuscripts (71 107), and finally the remaining manuscripts (610 and 44). So the question is whether 3002 is best grouped with *q* rather than with the remaining two non-*q* manuscripts (44 610). This limited data set would tend to suggest that if a subgroup of *q* should be delineated, it would consist of 44 610.

Klauck refers to the "übrige kollationierte Handschriften" about which he says there are "ca. 40 Menologienhandschriften,"[18] but he does not specify which ones they are. These in fact consist of 34 actual menologia (316 317 322 325 391 397 446 455 457 467 472 473 586 587 591 592 594 595 596 597 617 639 640 656 682 683 699 713 714 738 773 778 782 789) and seven "Bible" or non-menologia manuscripts (585 607 641 677 686 695 774). I had provisionally labelled them *m* and *mI*, respectively, but computer analysis has revealed that there can be strong affiliations between pairs of *m* and *mI* manuscripts but not always strong affiliations within either *m* or *mI*. The following examples of levels of agreement in the sample database (chapters 6–7, 18) are illustrative:

> 455-473 (*m*) (35/210 readings - 16.67%)
> 585-607 (*mI*) (29/178 readings - 16.29%)
> 455 (*m*) and 585 (*mI*) (127/157 readings - 80.89%)
> 467 (*m*) and 686 (*mI*) (71/86 readings - 82.56%)
> 596 (*m*) and 607 (*mI*) (57/81 readings - 70.37%)

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16. These chapters were specified because manuscript 380 lacks chapter 18.
17. Ms 731 was not included because it attests only fragments of chapter 18.
18. Klauck, *4. Makkabäerbuch*, 679.

These results would seem to indicate both that a distinction between *m* and *mI* manuscripts is a textually artifical one and that there are likely to be subgroups within the larger *m* + *mI* corpus of manuscripts that warrant further analysis.

4.3. Generating Lists of Group Readings.

To illustrate the computer program's ability to generate lists of group readings, we have chosen the *L* group (236 534 728) whose three manuscripts are extant in chapters 6–7 of our sample database. Apart from the orthographic variants, there are seventy-one readings: fourteen pluses, three minuses, nine transpositions, and forty-five other kinds of variants.

6:3 ἑκατέρωθεν] + ταις
6:5 μετετρέπετο] + τον λογισμον
6:14 παραπόλλεις] + ω
6:17 μαλακοψυχήσαντας] + ημας
6:20 πάντων] + ανθρωπων
6:26 θεὸν] + καὶ
6:27 νόμον] + σου
6:29 init] pr και
6:33 δὲ] + ουχ ουτως, αλλα
6:34 ἐπικρατεῖ] + επει γελοιον
7:2 τυράννου] pr ταις του
7:3 ἕως] + ου
7:8 εἶναι] + ιερεις
7:20 ἐναντιοῦται] + τω λογω

6:13 αὐτοῦ] >
6:17 γένοιτο ἵν᾽] >
6:35 γε] >

6:1 τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον] post βασανιστήρια tr
6:7 καὶ ἀκίνητον] post ειχε tr
6:11 σφοδρῶς ἐπασθμαίνων] tr
6:15 σοι βρωμάτων] tr
6:21 ὡς ἄνανδροι] post καταφρονηθῶμεν tr
7:5 ἐκτείνας] post Ἐλεάζαρος tr
7:9 τοὺς – λόγους] post ἐπιστοποίησας tr
7:9 σου φιλοσοφίας] tr
7:11 ἄγγελον ἐνίκησεν] tr

6:1 κατηγορίαις] κακηγοριαις
6:1 περιστάντες] παρασταντες

6:2 εὐκοσμούμενον] εγκοσμουμενον
6:2 τῇ – εὐσχημοσύνῃ] την περι της ευσεβειας ευσχημοσυνην
6:5 Ἐλεάζαρος] ελεαζαρ
6:6 ἀλλὰ] αλλ
6:7 ἐκ] απο
6:11 δὲ] γε τοι
6:11 βασανιστῶν] βασανιζοντων
6:11 τὴν εὐψυχίαν] της ευψυχιας
6:12 ἐλεῶντες] ελεουντες
6:13 διὰ – συνήθειαν] της συνηθειας
6:14 ἑαυτὸν] σεαυτον
6:14 παραπόλλεις] απολλυεις
6:15 ἡψημένων] καθαρων
6:18 μεταβαλλοίμεθα] -βαλοιμεθα
6:19 γενώμεθα] γενοιμεθα
6:20 ἐπιβιώσομεν] -σαιμεν
6:20 ὑπὸ] προς
6:21 τῶν – νόμων] τον δε θειον ημων νομον
6:26 κατακεκαυμένος] κατακεκαυμενον εχων το σωμα
6:27 σῴζεσθαι] διασωζεσθαι
6:29 καθάρσιον] καθαρισμον
6:29 ἀντίψυχον] αντιλυτρον
6:30 φήσας] ειπων
6:35 κρατεῖν καὶ] κρατει
6:35 ὑπείκειν] υπεικων
7:4 Ἐλεάζαρος] εκεινος
7:5 αὐτοῦ] εαυτου
7:5 Ἐλεάζαρος] ελεαζαρ
7:6 σεμνούς] ιερους
7:8 φυλάσσοντας] δημηγορουντας
7:8 πάθεσιν] πονοις
7:9 ἁγιαστίαν] αγιστειαν
7:9 θείας] αληθειας
7:11 δὲ] γαρ
7:11 ἐπιτρέχων] εντρεχων
7:12 Ἐλεάζαρος] ελεαζαρ
7:13 θαυμαστότατον] θαυμασιωτατον
7:13 καὶ κεκμηκότων] κεκμηκοτων δε και
7:13 ἀνενέασε] ανενεωσεν
7:15 πολιᾶς] πολιτειας
7:15 πιστὴ] πιστει
7:16 περιεώρα] περιεφρονησεν
7:22 εὐσέβειαν] θεοσεβειαν

Further analysis of these readings will be necessary in order for something more definitive to be said about the specific character of this group and the details of its textual history.

4.4. Forthcoming Developments in Database Functionality

As the database is developed further, we plan to build upon and refine existing functionality and also to add new functionality to make full use of the data.

1) Because we can run analysis on selected portions of 4 Maccabees, we are able to observe any fluctuations in manuscript affiliation. It will be possible to quantify statistically and graph such variations in group strength throughout the book.

2) Since all of the collation data, including the lemma text and the record of manuscript lacunae, have been entered into the database, we will be able to reconstruct the text of any given manuscript. This will be useful for, among other things, checking the accuracy of readings in the apparatus.

3) Once the manuscript groups have been finally established, it will be possible to generate the critical text and apparatus of variant readings for the edition.

The results we have achieved thus far, and those toward which we are working in the development of this computer program and database, are evidence that such technology can be of great assistance to the textual critic.

The Jerusalem Temple Seen in 2 Samuel according to the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint

Philippe Hugo

Abstract: Three of the four references to the Jerusalem temple in Second Samuel present significant differences between the MT and the LXX (2 Sam 1:11,16; 15:25; 24:25), as also one allusion to the sanctuary at Hebron (2 Sam 15:8). These cases are not simple occasional textual accidents but point to ideological specificities of the MT and the LXX according to the centralization of the cult. The MT seems to pay attention to what we could call a theology of divine election of the unique temple in Jerusalem. The question of chronology among the two witnesses is, therefore, subject to discussion. If this issue has not yet found a definitive answer, this study points to the provisional conclusion that the LXX reflects an older literary level and the MT exhibits a theological revision.

The second book of Samuel makes four references to the Jerusalem Temple. The first text is evidently the prophecy of Nathan, 2 Sam 7. Following this, 2 Sam 12:20 says that David, admitting his sin with the wife of Uriah, goes and prostrates himself in the House of God (בית־יהוה, εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ θεοῦ). In 2 Sam 15, fleeing before Absalom, David sends the ark of the Lord to Jerusalem and expresses his hope to see it again as well as the house of the Lord. Finally, 2 Sam 24:18–25 evokes the future holy place on the threshing floor of the Jebusite, which David has to acquire so that he can build an altar.

Apart from 2 Sam 12, these passages present significant differences between the Masoretic text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX). The question that I want to ask here is whether these differences are related to each other and whether they can point to a literary and theological project specific to each of the two textual forms mentioned. Indeed, to speak of a theological tendency of a textual form or, more precisely, the recension or edition of a text, one needs to be able to identify a project, a narrative, and theological intention, which presents specific characteristics on a common issue—here, the reference to the temple.

William M. Schniedewind in his article "Textual Criticism and Theological Interpretation: The Pro-Temple *Tendenz* in the Greek Text of Samuel-Kings"[1]

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1. *HTR* 87 (1994): 107–16. See also W. M. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David: The Reception History of 2 Samuel 7:1–17* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 144–52.

analyses two of the passages mentioned. According to him, the differences are truly of a literary and theological nature and find their origin in the intentions of the translators who interpreted their source text with a "pro-temple bias" (p. 108). Two research projects—the project on the textual history of 2 Samuel for the Swiss National Science Foundation and the preparation of the critical edition of 2 Reigns [2 Samuel] for the Göttingen Septuagint—give me an occasion to reconsider this question.

1. The Prophecy of Nathan: 2 Samuel 7

The prophecy of Nathan in chapter 7 contains a group of significant differences most clearly seen in verse 11 and 16:[2]

V. 11: והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה
> "Moreover the LORD declares to you that the LORD will make you a house" (RSV).

B: καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ

> οἶκον] > 460 509 158*
> οἰκοδομήσεις] οικοδομησει (ωκοδομησει 19) L 554[mg] ++
> αὐτῷ] εαυτω L 554[mg] 799 ; σεαυτω 342

"And the Lord will tell you that you will make a house for him" (NETS[3]).

V. 16: ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך עד עולם לפניך כסאך יהיה נכון עד עולם
> "And your [David] house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me [MT: you]; your throne shall be established for ever" (RSV).

B: καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα

> ἐμοῦ B 121 245 707] μου rel.

"And his [Salomo] and his kingdom shall be made sure forever before me, and his throne shall be restored forever" (NETS).

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2. For the LXX, I quote the text of the codex *Vaticanus* (B) with a brief apparatus containing the principal variants of the most important Greek witnesses: *L* designates the Antiochian text grouping the manuscripts 19 82 93 108 127.

3. Online: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/.

At this time I only mention this case, without analysing it fully, for it has already been the object of a number of studies. According to Barthélemy,[4] Schniedewind and Pietsch[5], the LXX is a theological interpretation of the narrative in the MT.[6] On the contrary, Mettinger,[7] Lust,[8] and especially Schenker[9] consider that the Hebrew source of the LXX attests an older literary form. Following Mettinger who thought already that the LXX witnessed an original pre-deuteronomistic form and a Salomonic version of the narrative (v. 16),[10] Johan Lust thinks that the MT is the result of an editorial activity in favour of David's dynasty : "Il faudrait parler d'une "davidisation" par le TM, plutôt que d'une "salomonisation" par la LXX."[11] He continues:

> La fin du v. 11 recèle une différence majeure. Dans la Septante (…) l'attention est orientée vers David, qui reçoit la permission de bâtir le Temple. C'est peut-être le commencement d'une tendance dynastique, qui sera beaucoup plus claire dans le texte massorétique. (…) Mis à par le v. 11, la rédaction dynastique pro-davidique apparaît de la manière la plus claire au v. 16. Dans le TM de ce verset, la promesse en faveur de Salomon et de son règne devient une promesse en faveur de David et de son règne. La prière qui suit l'oracle est entièrement due à cette rédaction.[12]

Adrian Schenker takes a further step analyzing afresh the entire passage

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4. D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 246–47.

5. M. Pietsch, *"Dieser ist der Sproß David…": Studien zur Rezeptionsgeschichte der Nathanverheißung im alttestamentlichen, zwischentestamentlichen und neutestamentlichen Schrifttum* (WMANT 100; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 176–85.

6. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 246: "Il y a là dans la manière dont le *G traite le vs 16 un processus de messianisation." Schniedewind, "Textual Criticism and Theological Interpretation," 113: "In sum the Septuagint's translation of 2 Samuel 7 reflects a pro-temple theology by making the promise of a temple more central to the dynastic oracle." Pietsch, *Dieser ist der Sproß David*, 185: "Die *tempeltheologische* Rezeption der Nathanverheißung in II ΒΑΣ geht, wie in der Chronik, mit einer individuell-salomonischen Deutung der Nachkommenverheißung (זרע) einher."

7. T. N. D. Mettinger, *King and Messiah: The Civil and Sacral Legitimation of the Israelite Kings* (ConBOT 8; Lund: Gleerup, 1976), 48–63.

8. J. Lust, "David dans la Septante," in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVIIe congrès de l'ACFEB (1997)* (ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen; LD 177; Paris: Cerf) 243–63.

9. A. Schenker, "Die Verheissung Natans in 2Sam 7 in der Septuaginta. Wie erklären sich die Differenzen zwischen Massoretischem Text und LXX, und was bedeuten sie für die messianische Würde des davidischen Hauses in der LXX?," in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. M. A. Knibb; BETL 195; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 2006), 177–92.

10. Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 57–58.

11. Lust, "David dans la Septante," 258.

12. Ibid., 260–61.

and its relationship with 1 Chr 17. In Samuel MT, God himself promises to build a house and a dynasty for David (v. 11 and 16), which is a messianic announcement. The question of the building of the temple by his son Solomon (v. 5,13) is of minor importance in the narrative.[13] The LXX says exactly the opposite: in v. 11 God promises David that he (David) will build a house (a temple) for him (God), and in v. 16 his son Solomon is the beneficiary of the messianic promise that God will set up his house, his dynasty.[14] If we consider Chronicles, precisely 1 Chr 17,10b, we notice that the MT contains the same announcement as the MT of Samuel (ואגד לך ובית יבנה־לך יהוה, "Moreover I declare to you that the LORD will build you a house" [RSV]), but that the LXX gives yet again another version: God promises to make David great but not to build him a house (καὶ αὐξήσω σε καὶ οἰκοδομήσει σε κύριος, "I shall make you grow and the Lord will build you").[15] This is not a dynastic promise, but a personal favour aimed to David. Schenker[16] argues first that a purely textual critical argument allows us to conclude that two dissimilar forms are more likely to be older and two identical forms are probably harmonisations. Then, he argues that the theological and narrative difficulties of the LXX were the reason for the literary modification in the proto-MT:

> Umgekehrt würde die Ersetzung der Textgestalt von 2Sam 7 in der alten LXX durch die Form des MT gerade alle diese schweren Spannungen lösen. Aus diesen Gründen schafft die Fassung der Erzählung in der ursprünglichen LXX harte Schwierigkeiten literarischer und vor allem theologischer Natur, während die Fassung des MT harmonisch zu Davids Dankgebet in 2Sam 7,18-19 passt, sich vollkommen in das Bild von Davids unvergänglichem Haus der Samuel- und Königsbücher einfügt, gut zur breit bezeugten messianischen Erwartung eines kommenden Retters aus davidischem Stamm passt und mit der Ablehnung des Tempelbaus durch JHWH in 2Sam7,5 einerseits und der Beauftragung des Sohnes mit diesem Bau in V. 13 in voller Übereinstimmung steht. Demgegenüber ist die Textfassung der alten LXX ein quer liegender erratischer Brocken.[17]

A detailed analysis of three other passages in Second Samuel will allow us to deepen the question of the literary divergences between the MT and the LXX about the temple.

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13. Schenker, "Die Verheissung Natans," 185–87.
14. Ibid. 180–81.
15. For the arguments considering B in 1 Chr 17,10 as the Old Greek, see ibid. 183–84.
16. Ibid. 187–89.
17. Ibid. 189.

2. The Flight of David and the Return of the Ark to Jerusalem: 2 Samuel 15:25

In chapter 15, David flees from Absalom. After Zadok and the Levites escape with the ark of the Lord, the king commands him to bring the ark back to Jerusalem:

ויאמר המלך לצדוק השב את ארון האלהים העיר
אם־אמצא חן בעיני יהוה והשבני והראני אתו ואת־נוהו

"Then the king said to Zadok, "Carry the ark of God back into the city. If I find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me back and let me see both it and his habitation" (rsv).

B: καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Σαδδώκ ἀπόστρεψον τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐὰν εὕρω χάριν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς κυρίου καὶ ἐπιστρέψει με καὶ δείξει μοι αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν αὐτῆς

> πόλιν] + και καθισατω (καθησατω 82 247 376) εις τον τοπον αυτης (αυτου A) *L* A 247 376 342 554[mg]
> ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς] ενωπιον *L* 243[mg] 731[mg] 554[mg]
> ἐπιστρέψει] επιστρεψη *L*[-127] 121 554[mg] 342 et al.
> δείξει μοι] οψομαι *L* 554[mg]

"And the king said to Sadok, "Return the ark of God to the city [and let it lodge in his own place]. If I find favour in the eyes of the Lord, then he will bring me back and show me it and his beauty" (nets).

What draws our attention is the "plus" of the Antiochian text (*L*), attested also by Origen's text (A 247 376): καὶ καθισάτω εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτῆς. Rahlfs notes this variant,[18] but the Samuel edition in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) by P. A. H. de Boer[19] (which is a good edition) does not mention it. For many reasons, this lesson seems to me to be of great importance.

In the first place, we must remind ourselves that we are in a section of the book of Reigns where the codex *Vaticanus* attests to the *kaige* recension.[20] In

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18. A. Rahlfs and R. Hanhart, eds., *Septuaginta*, Vol. 1 (editio Altera; 2 vols.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2006), 597.

19. P. A. H. de Boer (ed.), *Libri Samuelis* (BHS 5; Stuttgart, Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1976), 90.

20. For this question, see P. Hugo, "Le Grec ancien des Livres des Règnes. Une histoire et un bilan de la recherche," in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by Editors of Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (ed. Y. A. P. Goldman, A. van der Kooij, and R. D. Weis; VTSup 110; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 113–41.

these sections more than elsewhere, the *Vaticanus* is subjected to a correction (a recension) that seeks to harmonize the Greek to the мт. The Antiochian text, spared from the *kaige* recension, is thus a witness to the ancient form.

Next, we must highlight the agreement between the Antiochian text and the text presumed to be from Origen, as a point in disagreement with the мт. This case is an indication of the ancient nature of the variant. In other terms, when the *O* group (A 247 376) is not in agreement with the мт, it does not attest to hexaplaric material which has a tendency to harmonize with the мт, but on the contrary to the ancient form of the Greek which Origen himself did not correct.

We can therefore conclude that this double witness indicates that the "plus" belongs to the Old Greek.

Let us take a further step. The Old Greek translates probably its Hebrew model, which is possible to reconstruct very likely as וישב במקומו/למקומו.[21] A few authors estimate that this text is original.[22]

Also this formulation of the command of David works well with the end of the verse: "he will let me see both it and his habitation," והראני אתו ואת־נוהו. We ought to note here that the Greek εὐπρέπεια certainly reads the same, for נוה and נאוה, with *aleph*, "beautiful, beauty," are very close.[23] Two cases exist where the term "beauty" is written without an *aleph*, Jer 6:2 and Ps 68:13. The orthography is unstable. Whatever the case, מקום and נוה work very well together (cf. 2 Sam 7:8). In this verse, נוה is a theological term that makes reference to the Temple (cf. Exod 15:13; Jer 25:30),[24] as is also often מקום (cf. 1 Kgs 8:6, Jer 7:3; 19:3).[25] Yet, in our context, the two words are not equivalents, rather they present important nuances. In the vow of David, נוה makes reference to the future temple, which he wishes to see with his own eyes, whereas the τόπος, מקום designates the place in

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21. We find exactly the same formulation in 1 Sam 5:11 (мт = lxx), where the Philistines send back the ark of the Lord and let it return to its own place in the temple of Shiloh. P. K. McCarter, *2 Samuel* (AB 9; New York: Doubleday, 1984), 365, suggests the *Vorlage*: והושיבו אל מקום, but it is not very likely.

22. A. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes A. III; Nördlingen: Beckschen Buchhandlung, 1887), 205; K. Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel* (KHAT 8; Tübingen: Mohr, 1902), 274; P. Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel* (Études bibliques; Paris: Gabalda, 1910), 384.

23. See I. J. Schleusner, "ΕΥΠΡΕ´ΠΕΙΑ," *Novuus thesaurus philologico-criticus, sive lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes graecos ac scriptores apocryphos veteris testamenti*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Libraria Weidmannia, 1820), 566: he notes that the same confusion is in Aquila, in the *Vulgata* Job 5:3 and in Aquila and Theodotion (Schleusner says erroneously Symmachus) Jer 50:7.

24. See the remarks of T. A. Rudnig, *Davids Thron: Redaktionskritische Studien zur Geschichte von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (BZAW 358; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2006), 189; G. H. Wilson "נוה," *NIDOTTE* 3:55; H. Ringgren, "נוה," *ThWAT* 5:296–97.

25. E. A. Martens, "קום," *NIDOTTE* 3:904; J. Gamberoni, "מקום," *ThWAT* 4:1118–24; H. Köster, "τόπος," *ThWNT* 7:187–202.

Jerusalem where David wants to set down the ark at the present moment and not in the future.

Two explanations are possible: The first understands that this phrase is a development of the text. An explanation, a precision of the command of David is surely plausible. We often find this type of development in the Antiochian text.[26] But these are generally late developments and internal to the Greek (fourth century c.e.). We have nevertheless noted that the textual evidence invites us to think that we are dealing with the oldest form of the lxx and not a later form.

The second explanation holds that the "plus" disappeared or was erased (in the mt). A textual accident is difficult to identify, a *homoioteleuton* is excluded. In my opinion, we ought rather to look for the reason for the absence of this phrase in the theological significance of the word מקום. Where is the ark of the Covenant located in the city of Jerusalem, where is the holy place situated?

In 2 Sam 6:17 the ark enters Jerusalem and is put in its place (במקומו) in the middle of the Tent: ויחגו אתו במקומו בתוך האהל. But this is not its permanent location. The place in the tent does not present itself as the place in the city: the tent is temporary, the holy place in the city of Jerusalem is definitive, eternal. In 2 Sam 7, the Lord says and repeats that the tent is a temporary residence and that it is not the permanent holy place.[27] It is God himself who will designate the place, as we can understand from 2 Sam 24. Finally, we ought to note that in 1 Kgs 8:6 and 21 the term מקום designates precisely the place of the ark in the interior of the temple in Jerusalem.

On the basis of these parallels, we understand the text's difficulties attested by the lxx. Can David designate the מקום of the ark inside the holy city, before God has spoken about it? I am inclined to think that these are theological motifs which made this allusion disappear. For the editor of the proto-mt, one cannot anticipate the localization of the holy place by the Lord himself.

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26. N. Fernández Marcos, "Literary and Editorial Features of the Antiochian Text in Kings," in *VI Congress of the IOSCS Jerusalem 1986* (ed. C. E. Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 287–304; idem, "Certidumbres y enigmas del texto antioqueno en I–IV Reyes," *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 10 (2005): 155–68.

27. Some exegetes think that the term מקום in 2 Sam 7:10 designates precisely the temple (McCarter, *2 Samuel*, 203). But the formulation, ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל, "I will appoint a place for my people Israel," points rather to interpreting מקום as the land, a place of rest (2 Sam 7:1.11), see A. Caquot, P. De Robert, *Les livres de Samuel* (Commentaires de l'Ancien Testament 6; Genève: Labor et Fides, 1994), 429.

3. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ALTAR ON THE THRESHING FLOOR OF ARUNA
AND ITS ENLARGEMENT BY SOLOMON: 2 SAM 24:25 LXX

I just mentioned 2 Sam 24:18–25 and the future location of the temple. Actually, this is the next text we need to examine. The redaction history of this passage is very complicated and brings up many difficulties for literary criticism.[28] The difference between the MT and the LXX could enable us to precisely reconsider certain of these questions. Gad, in the name of the Lord, commands David to erect an altar on the threshing floor of the Jebusite Araunah to offer sacrifices there in order to take away the plague which is ravaging the people. In the last verse, which shows David setting up the altar, the LXX contains a very interesting "plus", also attested by the *Vetus Latina*[29]:

ויבן שם דוד מזבח ליהוה ויעל עלות ושלמים
ויעתר יהוה לארץ ותעצר המגפה מעל ישראל

"And David built there an altar to the Lord, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings. So the Lord heeded supplications for the land, and the plague was averted from Israel" (RSV).

B: καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν ἐκεῖ Δαυειδ θυσιαστήριον κυρίῳ καὶ ἀνήνεγκεν ὁλοκαυτώσεις καὶ εἰρηνικάς καὶ προσέθηκεν Σαλωμὼν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ ὅτι μικρὸν ἦν ἐν πρώτοις καὶ ἐπήκουσεν κύριος τῇ γῇ καὶ συνεσχέθη ἡ θραῦσις ἐπάνωθεν Ἰσραήλ

ἐπήκουσεν] + ιλεως εγενετο *L* Μ^mg
συνεσχέθη] επεσχεν *L*
θραῦσις] πτωσις *L*

"And David built there an altar to the Lord, and offered up whole burnt offerings and those for peace. And Salomon added onto the altar in the end, for it was little at first. And the Lord listened to the land, and the destruction was stopped from upon Israel" (NETS).

VL[30]: *Et imposuit Salomonem super sacrarium in novissimum, quoniam pusillus erat in primis.*

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28. See W. Dietrich and T. Naumann, *Die Samuelbücher* (Erträge der Forschung 287; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), 157–68.

29. The BHS mentions the "plus" but does not make explicit its content, de Boer, *Libri Samuelis*, 114.

30. Lat. 91–94: C. Morano Rodríguez (ed.), *Glosas marginales de* Vetus Latina *en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas. 1–2 Samuel* (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 48; Madrid: CSIC, 1989).

This "plus" is an explicit reference to the construction of the temple by Solomon. For many exegetes, for example Schniedewind in the same article or Trebolle,[31] this passage is a literary addition of a secondary nature that wants to make clear precisely the link between Araunah's threshing-floor and the Temple in Jerusalem. In this same way, Pisano[32] thinks that this addition is inspired by the Chronicles, which identify these two places explicitly. But one must clarify that the two passages concerned, 1 Chr 21:26–22:1, parallel with 2 Sam 24, and 2 Chr 3:1, say nothing of the enlargement of the altar by Solomon. Otto Thenius[33] and Norbert Peters[34] came to the same conclusion that this passage was secondary, yet they thought that the LXX still faithfully represented its Hebrew source. Actually, through the Greek we notice a Hebraic formulation that is hard to doubt: ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτῳ and ἐν πρώτοις are clearly a reflection of the Hebrew. The probable Hebrew source can be reconstructed: ויסף שלמה על־המזבח לאחרונה כי קטן הוא בראשנים.

Even though the explicit relationship between the threshing-floor of Araunah and the temple is a solid argument in favor of the secondary character of this phrase, this conclusion brings up great difficulties when dealing with the contents of this addition. The question is on a theological level and could be stated in the following way: Who determines the measurements of the altar? Is it permitted to make the altar bigger? To shed light on this problem, we ought to consider several texts.

First, in the detailed description of the Dwelling place in Exod 25–27, the Lord himself gives the measurements of the altar of acacia wood (27:1), five cubits in length, five wide, and three high. This precision manifests precisely its holiness and its divine origin. Yet, at the dedication of the temple in 1 Kgs 8, it is clarified in verse 64 that the altar was too small to contain the huge sacrifice offered on that occasion. But the text never states that Solomon made the altar bigger, but that he "consecrated the middle part of the courtyard" (a difficult phrase) for the part of the offering that should normally have been placed on the altar. Another text important for our problem is 1 Chr 28:11–19. David gives the plans for the temple over to Solomon, plans that were written by the hand of God himself (v. 19). Can one correct that which God himself has written? Second Chronicles 4:1

31. J. Trebolle, "Samuel/Kings and Chronicles: Book Divisions and Textual Composition", in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96–108.

32. S. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (OBO 57; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 65–66.

33. O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament 4; Leipzig: Weidmann, 1842), 261.

34. N. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text- und Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Beiträge zur Text- und Literaturkritik sowie zur Erklärung; Freiburg: Herder, 1899), 158.

also gives precise measurements for the altar of bronze: 20 cubits long, 20 wide, and 10 high. Finally, a last text to consider is 2 Kgs 16:10–15, which gives the negative portrait of King Ahaz who modified the altar of the Lord to conform to the model of the altar at Damascus!

In this context, the "plus" of the LXX is theologically very problematical. Without adjudicating the debate in a definitive way, it seems to me that we ought to rule out the idea that we are working with a later interpolation inspired by Chronicles, as Pisano argues; the texts mentioned prohibit such a conclusion. It is certainly not a later addition internal to the Greek by a scribe little concerned with theology. All the Greek witnesses attest to this "plus" and we have shown on the contrary that it is probably a reflection of its Hebrew model. I am inclined to think that its theological difficulty makes it much more probable that it was suppressed by the proto-Masoretic editor, rather than added by the Hebrew source of the LXX. We are probably in the presence of a case of *tiqqûn soferim*.

4. DOES THE OLD GREEK RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF THE SANCTUARY AT HEBRON AFTER THE ENTRY OF THE ARK IN JERUSALEM?: 2 SAM 15:8

After analyzing the three differences concerning the temple in Jerusalem in 2 Samuel, one ought also to examine a similar case, which is linked by its treatment of the problematic of the centralization of the cult. In 2 Sam 15:7–9, Absalom recalls a vow he made at Geshur in order to go to Hebron. It is the beginning of Absalom's coup d'état against David by which he will be proclaimed king at Hebron. Now in the formulation of the vow in verse 8 the Antiochian text presents a significant "plus":

אם ישיב [ישוב] ישיבני יהוה ירושלם ועבדתי את־יהוה
If the LORD will indeed bring me back[35] to Jerusalem, then I will offer worship to the LORD (RSV).

ἐὰν ἐπιστρέφων ἐπιστρέψῃ με κύριος εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ λατρεύσω τῷ κυρίῳ
ἐπιστρέψῃ] επιστρεψης 19 108; επιστρεψει A 93 707 ++; επιστρεφομε 376
με κύριος] > 376
κυρίῳ] + εν χεβρων L 554; εν χευρων 158

If by returning the Lord should return me to Ierousalem, then I will serve the Lord [in Chebron] (NETS).

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35. With the majority of commentaries, I take neither the Ketiv nor the Qere, but the infinitive absolute השב given by the LXX. See Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*, 196.

Note, first, that being in the *kaige* section of the books of Reigns it is very possible that this formulation of *L* represents the ancient form of the LXX even though the textual witness gives a weaker certainty for the formulation of 2 Sam 15:25. It is above all a comparison with the MT that can allow an answer to this question.[36]

Many authors note this "plus" mentioned by Rahlfs but passed over by the *BHS*, and several think that it represents the original formulation.[37] Their principal argument rests in the fact that the long form of the vow designating Hebron as the place of his accomplishment corresponds better with Absalom's demand to go to this city (v. 7). But this is precisely the reason that led Barthélemy to conclude that from a purely text critical standpoint this addition has more the characteristics of a later harmonizing addition.[38] The case for an explanation is strong enough here, but it could also be reversed. Smith and McCarter think that actually the omission in the MT is the result of a theological correction seeking to get rid of the preference given to the sanctuary at Hebron.[39] Barthélemy himself suggests this possibility, only to reject it.[40]

We can, therefore, posit two contradictory arguments, each being possible and coherent: either ἐν χεβρών was added to harmonise the vow (v. 8) with the demand of Absalom (v. 7), or בחברון was erased to avoid Hebron being considered as a sanctuary that was still in use. By this point of view the expression ועבדתי את־יהוה בחברון would have caused a theological problem. It means explicitly that Absalom wanted to make a cultic act[41] in the sanctuary at Hebron. This is exactly what Flavius Josephus understood: ἐδεῖτο προσελθὼν εἰς Χεβρῶνα συγχωρῆσαι πορευθέντι θυσίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ, "he went to him [David] and asked for permission to go to Hebron and offer sacrifice to God" (*Ant.* 7.196

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36. Remember here the principle of Paul de Lagarde which states that the farther the Greek is away from the MT, the more probable that it is ancient. See P. de Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1863), 3.

37. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis*, 197; K. Budde, *The Books of Samuel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text* (The Sacred Books of the Old Testament 8; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1894), 91; Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, 270; Dhorme, *Les livres de Samuel*, 381; P. R. Ackroyd, *The Second Book of Samuel* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 139; H. J. Stoebe, *Das zweite Buch Samuelis* (KAT 8,2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1994), 356.

38. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 272: "La tradition antiochienne du *G, étonnée de voir Absalom aller accomplir à Hébron un vœu qui ne mentionne pas cette ville, ajoute à la formule du vœu la mention "à Hébron" (en fin du vs 8), afin de rendre la formulation du vœu conforme à son accomplissement."

39. H. P. Smith, *Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1899), 342; McCarter, *2 Samuel*, 355.

40. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 272: "On pourrait certes présenter cette omission comme le résultat d'une correction théologique, un scribe ayant pu être scandalisé par la préférence accordée au sanctuaire d'Hébron, alors que l'arche est à Jérusalem (2 S 6,12)."

41. See H. Ringgren, "עבד," *ThWAT* 5: 991–92.

[Thackeray, LCL]).[42] Why go to sacrifice at Hebron when Jerusalem is the holy place chosen by the Lord? Even the formulation of the vow is troubling and in the end contradictory, for Absalom asks to go back to Jerusalem but wants to sacrifice in Hebron. So David, in addition to being tricked by his son, admits here implicitly that the Lord could be venerated in another place than the holy city. Yet, on the contrary, in the formulation of the MT nothing obliges the reader to understand that the worship of the Lord is held in a place other than Jerusalem: "if the Lord brings be back to Jerusalem, I will make sacrifice to him [there]."[43]

Even though it would be difficult to adjudicate this issue in a definitive manner, I think that two considerations, one internal and the other external, could tip the balance in favor of the antiquity of the Antiochian form. Internally, I think it is more difficult to accept an addition to the text than a suppression of the mention of Hebron, especially if we consider the theological point of view. If Barthélemy himself notes the ideological difficulty of this addition, we could ask ourselves if a scribe—a Jew of antiquity[44]—would not think twice before introducing here the mention of a sacrifice at Hebron. A theological suppression is most likely. Further, as an external argument, it seems to me that the accumulation of literary characteristics that we have noted in the other passages we have studied ought to be taken into account. It is striking to find here the same type of ideological inclination: the LXX admits explicitly to the existence of a plurality of sanctuaries. The MT, however, does not admit that Hebron ought to be considered as a place of worship still in use. In this context, it is possible to argue that the textual difference witnesses also to an editorial activity in the MT in favor of a unique sanctuary in Jerusalem.[45]

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42. According to Nodet it is not impossible that Josephus had in hand the text of *L*, that is, if he did not also complete the logic of Absalom's demand. E. Nodet, *Flavius Josèphe. Les Antiquités juives. Vol. III, livres VI et VII* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), 178.

43. Nodet notes: "On peut comprendre sans cette add. qu'Absalom désire "servir YHWH" à Jérusalem (où est l'Arche), et qu'il ne va à Hébron que pour une démarche préliminaire, ce qui correspond bien à la suite du récit (la révolte); dans cet esprit, le *midrash* explique (*BNaz* 4a) qu'il va à Hébron pour chercher des moutons, car ils sont gras; il s'agit alors d'un prétexte plausible" (Nodet, *Flavius Josèphe*, 178).

44. One would have to nuance this argument if it is argued that the addition was done by an Antiochian corrector (fourth century C.E.) who gave more attention to style than to the theological contents, see Fernández Marcos, "Literary and Editorial Features."

45. This argument links with some hypotheses of literary criticism that consider this verse as an addition of a late redactor to link the history of the revolt to preceding episodes. Caquot and De Robert think that a Zadokite redactor could have wanted precisely to highlight that the worship of the Lord is in Jerusalem and not in Hebron (Caquot, De Robert, *Les livres de Samuel*, 528). See also F. Langlamet, "Pour ou contre Salomon? La rédaction prosalomonienne de IRois I–II," *RB* 83 (1977): 351–52; Rudnig, *Davids Thron*, 243; A. A. Fischer, *Von Hebron nach Jerusalem: Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zur Erzählung von König David in II Sam 1–5* (BZAW 335; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 136–39.

5. Conclusion

I would like to conclude with three tentative reflections:

1. It is significant to note that almost all the passages in the books of Samuel, where there is a question of the temple, present textual difficulties; we could make the same observation in the books of Kings.[46] They are not simple textual accidents, but such a convergence shows that we are working on a literary and theological level. If the redaction history, in particular the deuteronomistic and post-deuteronomistic redactions, is marked by the problematic of the centralization of the cult and the importance of the temple,[47] it is manifest that this question lasted until the oldest transmission of Holy Scripture.

2. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the internal theological coherence, the "ideological" specificities of the MT and the LXX. In the examples studied, the theological concern for the temple ("the pro-temple bias" to use the expression of Schniedewind) seems to me much more characteristic of the MT than of the LXX. In the four cases, the MT pays attention to what we could call a theology of divine election of the unique temple in Jerusalem.

3. The chronology among the two witnesses is the next question. And this question remains open. It is actually relatively new in the history of research and warrants many other studies to find a definitive answer. I do not pretend to have found the definitive answer in the cases analyzed, but I would like to make a plea, at least from a methodological point of view, to keep this question open; that is to say, not to conclude with the antiquity of the MT before having submitted it to a detailed comparative study. In the four cases studied, it is its antiquity that seems questionable to me and subject to discussion. My provisional conclusion

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46. See P. Lefebvre, "Salomon, le temple et le palais. Étude du Troisième Livre des Règnes de la Septante" (Ph.D. diss., Paris-IV Sorbonne, 1993); A. Schenker, "Une nouvelle lumière sur l'architecture du temple grâce à la Septante? La place de l'arche d'alliance selon 1 Rois 6:16–17 et 3 Règnes 6:16–17," *Annali di Scienze Religiose* 10 (2005): 139–54; idem, "The Ark as Sign of God's Absent Presence in Solomon's Temple: 1 Kings 8.6–8 in the Hebrew and Greek Bibles," in *What is it That the Scripture Says? Essays in Biblical Interpretation, Translation and Reception in Honour of Henry Wansbrough* (ed. P. McCoster; LNTS 316; London: T&T Clark, 2006), 1–9.

47. See W. Dietrich, "Niedergang und Neuanfang: Die Haltung der Schlussredaktion des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerkes zu den wichtigsten Fragen ihrer Zeit," in *Von David zu den Deuteronomisten: Studien zu den Geschichtsüberlieferungen des Alten Testaments* (BWANT 156; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), 252–71 (esp. "Kult und Tempel," 265–68). Moreover we can observe that a redaction theory like Rudnig's *Theodizee-Bearbeitung* in the third century B.C.E. (*Davids Thron*, 347) could partially tally with the pro-temple problematic in the MT (see my second conclusion): "Der Theodizee-Bearbeitung geht es nähmlich darum, Jahwes Gerechtigkeitswirken in allen einzelnen Verläufen des Berichteten Geschehens und in den Biographien der zentralen Handlungstäger nachzuweisen."

is that the LXX reflects an older literary level and the MT exhibits a theological revision.[48]

The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms

Jan Joosten

Abstract: The Greek translator of Psalms knew the Greek version of the Pentateuch and exploited it in several ways. Rare Hebrew words are rendered with the same equivalents in the Psalms as in the Pentateuch. Passages in the Psalms are interpreted in the light of passages in the Torah. In a few cases the Psalms text is altered or supplemented on the basis of perceived parallels in the Pentateuch. The paper examines some examples of these phenomena and inquires what they teach us about the project of the translator.

1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent publication, Albert Pietersma has stated with commendable clarity how important it is to reflect on our mental representation of the project of the Seventy translators.[1] What did the Greek translators of the Hebrew Bible think they were doing? Which purpose did they intend their translation to serve? How did they view their source text? As researchers working on the Septuagint we tend to have answers to most of these questions. But they often remain implicit. Only when we come across the work of colleagues based on different premises do we realize that our answers are not the only possible ones. Mental models or paradigms are in some measure axiomatic. We begin with a certain idea of what the Septuagint translators were up to. Not all we believe to be true can be proven. Mental models can, however, be tested and improved in view of the data. In the following, I will try to illuminate one specific aspect of the translational approach underlying the Greek Psalter, namely, the extent to which it is influenced by the Pentateuch.

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1. See Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64.

2. The Translator of Psalms and the Pentateuch, Hebrew, and Greek

As can be shown with reasonable certainty, the translator of Psalms knew the Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek. The clearest indication of this is the way difficult or rare words of the Psalter are at times translated with equivalents that are found for the same Hebrew word in the Pentateuch. Several scholars have commented upon this phenomenon and a number of convincing examples have been gathered, notably by Flashar and Tov.[2] Most scholars have concluded that the translator of the Psalms used the Pentateuch as a kind of dictionary. The following cases are particularly instructive:

Ps 78:71 מאחר עלות הביאו
from behind the **nursing** ewes he brought him

Ps 77:71 ἐξόπισθεν τῶν λοχευομένων ἔλαβεν αὐτὸν
from behind the **lambing** ewes he took him

Gen 33:13 והצאן והבקר עלות עלי
the flocks and herds, which are nursing, are a care for me
καὶ αἱ βόες λοχεύονται ἐπ᾽ ἐμέ
and the sheep and cows are **giving birth** for me

The rare Hebrew verb עול, "to nurse (said of animals)," is rendered by means of the verb λοχεύομαι, "to give birth." These two passages are the only ones in the Septuagint where this Greek verb occurs.[3] It is hard to argue against the idea of a connection between these passages. Chance agreement is all but excluded because of the rareness of the Greek verb and the lack of lexical adequacy. Since the translator of Psalms is certainly not to be identified with the translator of Genesis, and since Psalms was most probably translated later than Genesis, the rendering in Psalms must depend on that in Genesis.

Ps 51:7 ובחטא יחמתני אמי
and in sin did my mother **conceive** me
Ps 50:7 ἐν ἁμαρτίαις ἐκίσσησέν με ἡ μήτηρ μου

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2. Martin Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 81–116, 161–89, 241–68, in particular 183–89; Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books," in *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy* (ed. Pierre Casetti, et al.; OBO 38; Fribourg:Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981), 577–92; reprinted in Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (SVT 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 183–94. I will quote from the reprint.

3. The Hebrew verb is attested also in 1 Sam 6:7, 10 and Isa 40:11, where it is rendered differently into Greek.

and in sin did my mother **crave** for me

Gen 31:10 בעת יחם הצאן
when the flock **were in heat**
ἡνίκα ἐνεκίσσων τὰ πρόβατα
when the sheep were **coming into heat**

The Hebrew verb יחם, "to be in heat," is translated as κισσάω, "to long for (originally: to crave strange food, as do pregnant women)," in Psalms, and ἐγκισσάω in Gen 30:39, 41; 31:10. The latter verb is found only in these passages in the Septuagint (and much later in ecclesiastical literature).[4] The peculiar semantics of the Greek verbs, and the fact that they are not found elsewhere in the Septuagint indicate a connection between Psalms and Genesis. The difference between the simple verb in Psalms and the composite in Genesis hardly affords an argument against this claim.

There are several other examples of this phenomenon:[5]
- Ps 38(37):21 etc. שטן - ἐνδιαβάλλω; cf. Num 22:22
- Ps 46(45):11 רפה - σχολάζω; cf. Exod 5:8,17
- Ps 68(67):14 בין שפתים - ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν κλήρων; cf. Gen 49:14[6]
- Ps 105(104):12 מתי מספר - ὀλιγόστοι; cf. Gen 34:30[7]
- Ps 106(105):28 צמד - τελέω "to initiate"; cf. Num 25:3, 5[8]
- Ps 106(105):33 בטא - διαστέλλω "to pronounce"; cf. Lev 5:4; Num 30:7[9]
- Ps 106(105):38 חנף - φονοκτονέω; cf. Num 35:33

One or two of these cases may perhaps be disputed, but taken together the examples establish the connection between the lexical choices in Psalms and the Pentateuch beyond reasonable doubt. To my mind, the phenomenon is well explained by the hypothesis first proposed by Mozley: The Pentateuch "was

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4. See G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1961), 401.

5. I have included only the cases where the equivalence occurs in the Greek Pentateuch and Psalms, but in no other books.

6. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," 183; Tov, "Impact of the Septuagint Translation," 192.

7. Tov, "Impact of the Septuagint Translation," 191.

8. Ibid., 193.

9. Tov, "Impact of the Septuagint Translation," 191. Barr has argued that the equivalent was chosen independently by the two translators, see James Barr, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?" in *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen; OLA 118; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 532. It is true that the Greek verb renders the Hebrew one well, yet the rareness of the Greek verb in the Septuagint in this meaning pleads in favor of there being a connection.

probably, Hebrew and Greek, our translator's textbook in learning Hebrew and serves him to a great extent in place of a dictionary."[10] This view has been rejected by James Barr as being far-fetched.[11] It is hard, however, to imagine a more likely scenario. Of course, the Pentateuch would not have been the only source of knowledge on the Hebrew language for the Psalms translators. But it seems indeed likely that they had studied biblical Hebrew by reading the Hebrew and Greek Pentateuch conjointly.[12] Coming across a rare or difficult word in the Psalms, they could fall back on this earlier training, find the word in the Hebrew Pentateuch and determine its equivalent in the Greek.

3. Reception of Non-Literal Renderings

As a possible objection to Mozley's view, one might argue that perhaps remarkable lexical equivalences of the type illustrated were not established by the translator of Psalms, but figured in some type of lexical list. The basis of the equivalence would still be the Pentateuch, but the influence of the latter on the Greek Psalter would be indirect. The translator of Psalms would simply have used a kind of dictionary based on the Septuagint version of the Law. Against this objection, however, one can point to passages where a word is rendered in Psalms in a way that clearly recalls the Pentateuch, but where the equivalence would hardly have figured in a lexical list. A good example is the way the hitpael of the verb הלך is rendered by εὐαρεστέω in four places in the Psalms:

Ps 116:9 אתהלך לפני יהוה
I will walk before the LORD
Ps 114:9 εὐαρεστήσω ἐναντίον κυρίου
I will be well pleasing before the Lord[13]

The same equivalence is found in six passages in Genesis:

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10. Quoted in Barr, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary," 523.

11. Barr, "Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary." Another voice of scepticism is that of Lust; see Johan Lust, "The Vocabulary of the LXX Ezekiel and its Dependence upon the Pentateuch," in *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic Literature* (ed. Marc Vervenne and Johan Lust; BETL 133; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 529–46. Lust takes a position with regard to Ezekiel only.

12. Thus, the Psalter appears to give support to the idea that the Greek Pentateuch was used for the teaching of Hebrew in the Jewish schools in Egypt. This does not mean, however, that the teaching of Hebrew was the primary function intended by the translators. See Jan Joosten, "Reflexions on the 'interlinear paradigm' in Septuagintal studies," forthcoming in a Festschrift.

13. See also Ps 26(25):3; 35(34):14; 56(55):14.

ויתהלך חנוך את־האלהים Gen 5:22
And Enoch **walked** with God
εὐηρέστησεν δὲ Ενωχ τῷ θεῷ
Now Enoch **was well pleasing** to God[14]

Although the interpretation of the expression "to walk with/before God" as "to be well pleasing to God" is defendable, it is striking enough to allow the inference that the Psalms translator depends on the Greek Genesis here. It is rather unlikely, however, that this equivalence ever figured in a lexical list. The main equivalent of the hitpael of הלך, in the Pentateuch and elsewhere, is περιπατέω, although other verbs are used as well.[15] Cases like this favor the view that it was the translator of Psalms himself who made the link between the passages in Psalms and the renderings in Genesis. Realising that the Hebrew verb was not used literally in his *Vorlage*, the translator was reminded of a similar usage in the Pentateuch and decided to adopt the same equivalent as was used there. Again, it would be possible to adduce more instances of this phenomenon.[16]

The conclusion that may be drawn from our lexical explorations is that the Greek translator of Psalms knew the Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek. Moreover, he accorded much authority to the Greek Pentateuch. The notion that the Pentateuch functioned as a kind of dictionary for the translators of the other books is not self-evident and should be argued separately for every translation unit. For Psalms, in spite of some recent contestations, a great deal of evidence shows that it is to be upheld.

4. Assimilation to the Greek Pentateuch

The dependence of the translator of Psalms on the Greek Pentateuch is not limited to the fairly technical matter of determining the equivalent of Hebrew words that are difficult for one reason or another. At times one observes that Psalms uses a Greek word reminiscent of the Pentateuch without prompting from his Hebrew Vorlage:

כשמן הטוב על־הראש ירד על־הזקן זקן־אהרן שירד על־פי מדותיו Ps 133:2

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14. See also Gen 5:24; 6:9; 17:1; 24:40; 48:15.

15. See Gen 3:8; Exod 21:19; Judg 21:24, and cf. Lev 26:12; Deut 23:15. Other verbs of movement, too, are found as equivalents, see, e.g., Gen 13:17; Jos 18:4; 1S 2:30, 35.

16. In Num 12:8 and Ps 17(16):15, the Hebrew word תמונה "form" is rendered as δόξα "glory"; in Deut 22:14, 17 and Ps 141(140):4, the Hebrew word עלילות "deed" is rendered with πρόφασις "pretext, excuse" or kindred words. Although these renderings are conditioned by their contexts, they are striking enough to suggest that the Psalms translator adopted them from the Pentateuch.

(The dwelling together of brothers) is like the precious oil on the head, run-
ning down upon the beard, on the beard of Aaron, running down over the
collar of his robes.
Ps 132:2 ὡς μύρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ πώγωνα τὸν πώγωνα τὸν
Ααρων τὸ καταβαῖνον ἐπὶ τὴν ᾤαν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ
It is like the perfume on the head, which descends upon the beard, on the
beard of Aaron, which descends upon the **fringe** of his clothing.

Exod 28:32 והיה פי־ראשו בתוכו שפה יהיה לפיו סביב מעשׂה ארג
It shall have an opening for the head in the middle of it, with a woven bind-
ing around the opening.
καὶ ἔσται τὸ περιστόμιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ μέσον ᾤαν ἔχον κύκλῳ τοῦ περιστομίου
ἔργον ὑφάντου
And its collar shall be in the middle, having a **border** around the collar, work
of a weaver.[17]

The Greek word ᾤα is very rare in the meaning "border of a garment, fringe." In
the Septuagint it occurs only in these two passages (and in the parallel passage
to Exod 28:32 in Exod 36:30). It is therefore hardly a coincidence that it should
occur in a verse in Psalms describing the vestments of Aaron. The translator
appears to have chosen this word in reference to the passage in Exodus, where
the law prescribed that the high-priestly robe should have a special type of fringe
around the collar. This case is different from the ones discussed above in that the
connection between Psalms and Pentateuch was not triggered by a specific word,
but by a literary motif. Note that ᾤα does not render פה in Exodus.

In other cases, it is not so much a literary motif as a precise passage in the
Pentateuch that guided the Psalms translator:

Ps 106:30 ויעמד פינחס ויפלל
Then Phinehas stood up and interceded
Ps 105:30 καὶ ἔστη Φινεες καὶ ἐξιλάσατο
And Phinees stood and **made atonement**

Num 25:13 ויכפר על־בני ישׂראל
καὶ ἐξιλάσατο περὶ τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ
And (Phinehas) **made atonement** for the children of Israel

The piel of פלל is rather rare in Hebrew and occurs only here in the Psalms. The
translator may have experienced some difficulty in rendering it. However that

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17. See also the parallel in Exod 36:30.

may be, the equivalent he chose probably owes more to the account he knew from Num 25 than to the word used in his source text.[18]

The cases discussed in the present section illustrate a process of assimilation of the Greek text of Psalms to the Greek Pentateuch. It would be too much to say that the translation diverges from its source in these places. Nevertheless, the verbal linkage between the Psalms passage and the Pentateuchal passage is in every case an innovation of the Greek translator. The translator perceived the Psalms passage to refer to the Pentateuch in some way and proceeded to reinforce this reference by the use of specific vocabulary. Again, several other examples of this procedure could be indicated.[19]

5. Intertextual Exegesis

In other passages the Septuagint version does diverge from the received Hebrew text in creating a link to the Pentateuch. Let us consider two examples:

Ps 72:17 יהי שמו לעולם לפני־שמש ינין שמו ויתברכו בו כל־גוים יאשרוהו
May his name endure forever, his fame continue as long as the sun, may all nations be blessed in him, may they pronounce him happy.

Ps 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
Let his name be blessed through the ages, his name shall endure longer than the sun. And **all the tribes of the earth** will be blessed in him; all the nations will pronounce him happy.

Gen 12:3 ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה
And in you all the families of the earth shall be blessed.
καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς
And in you **all the tribes of the earth** shall be blessed.

The translation in Ps 71:17 is not literal but has been assimilated to the blessing of Abraham in Gen 12. In view of the usual translation technique of Psalms, which is very literal, the addition of three words is rather remarkable. Yet I would argue it goes back to the translator. The translator, it seems, perceived in Ps 72:17 an allusion to Gen 12:3: the blessings addressed to Abraham were to be applied to

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18. A similar example: in verse 23 of the same Psalm, the Hebrew word פרץ "breach" is rendered θραῦσις "destruction," probably in reference to Num 17:12–15, where the Greek word occurs four times as a rendering of מגפה or נגף.

19. See note 18.

the ideal King who is the subject of the Psalm. Having understood the Psalm in this way, he went on to underline the allusion in his translation.

Ps 28:3 אל־תמשכני עם־רשעים ועם־פעלי און
Do not drag me away with the wicked, with those who are workers of evil.
Ps 27:3 μὴ συνελκύσῃς μετὰ ἁμαρτωλῶν τὴν ψυχήν μου καὶ μετὰ ἐργαζομένων ἀδικίαν μὴ συναπολέσῃς με
Do not drag my soul away together with sinners, **together with** workers of injustice do not **destroy** me.

Gen 18:23 האף תספה צדיק עם־רשע
Will you indeed sweep away the righteous with the wicked?
μὴ συναπολέσῃς δίκαιον μετὰ ἀσεβοῦς
Surely you will not destroy the righteous with the ungodly?

The verb συναπόλλυμι is found four times in the Greek Pentateuch, always as an equivalent of Hebrew ספה, "to sweep away." All four passages contain the motif of the righteous' perishing together with the wicked. The translator of Psalms, it seems, finding this same motif in his source text, established a link with the Pentateuchal passages through the addition of the verb συναπόλλυμι in the second half of the line.[20] Again, these cases are not isolated.[21]

6. Conclusion

As many readings concur to show, the Septuagint translator of Psalms knew the Greek Pentateuch well and held it in high esteem. Moreover, he had access to the original text of the Pentateuch as well and was able to compare the Hebrew source and the Greek translation. In his own work as a translator, he often followed the lead of his predecessors.

There is more to his dependence on the Pentateuch than this, however. In a number of passages, he enhances an existing reference to the Torah through the use of specific vocabulary. Elsewhere, he underlines the link to the Law through the addition of a set expression.

In some of the cases, it may look to a modern researcher as if the Psalms translator freely introduced an allusion to the Pentateuch. I would argue that this

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20. The case may in fact be a bit more complicated. The verse in Psalms may have been influenced by Ps 26(25):9 where the same Greek verb occurs; this would explain the addition of the noun ψυχή in Ps 28(27):3. Additions under the influence of other passages in the Psalter are not rare in the Greek Psalms, compare, e.g, Ps 14(13):5 and Ps 53(52):6; Ps 24(23):4 and Ps 15(14):4; Ps 31(30):2 and Ps 71(70):2.

21. The translation of חצצרות "trumpets" in Ps 98(97):6 appears to have been expanded in reference to Num 10:2.

is the case only superficially. The translator of Psalms is generally far too faithful to suspect him of altering the text at his whim. Rather, it appears that, in these passages, the translator thought the Psalm really did contain an intertextual allusion; all he was doing was bringing this out so that later readers would pick up the subtleties of the source text. He seems to have regarded the Hebrew Psalter as a kind of explanation of, or meditation upon, the Torah. This view of his source text affected the way he translated the individual Psalms.

A glance at the Hebrew Psalter will be instructive. While the Pentateuch plays an important part as an intertext in a relatively small number of Hebrew Psalms, the final redaction clearly puts the whole collection in relation to the Law. The division of the 150 Psalms into five books bears witness to this, as does the fact that the introductory Ps 1 praises the meditation of Torah. At the stage reflected in the Massoretic text, the Psalms were read in light of the Law. In the Greek translation we find strong evidence of a similar approach.[22] Indeed, the tendency is stronger in the Greek Psalter than in the Hebrew. The translator did not simply take over what he found in his source text, but actively enhanced the possibility to read the Psalms in light of the Law.

If these reflections are on target, a peculiar light is thrown on the translational process that produced the Greek Psalms. The translation technique of Psalms is literal in the sense defined by James Barr and Emanuel Tov: each Hebrew word is translated by one Greek word, with a large degree of lexical stereotyping; the Greek words are put in the same order as their Hebrew counterparts. At first sight, all the translator did is render the Hebrew text word for word, with only the slightest regard for context. This initial impression is false however. An analysis of references to the Pentateuch shows that the project of the translator was not to render the source text word-for-word, but to give an adequate rendering in Greek of the full meaning of the Hebrew Psalms. In spite of his literal approach, the translator remained attentive to the flow of the context, and took account of what it expressed when he judged this necessary. The literalism reflects a conscious choice—probably itself inspired by the model of the Pentateuch—rather than a mechanical technique or professional habit. The translational procedure is literal, but it is not "vertical."

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22. Other indications of the importance of the Law for the Greek translator of Psalms have been collected by Flashar, "Studien," 165–73; see also, more recently, Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos. Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter* (MSUAWG 27; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2003).

Textvarianten in den Daniel-Legenden als Zeugnisse mündlicher Tradierung?

Edgar Kellenberger

Abstract: By comparing the two Greek translations in Dan 1-6 with the Aramaic Text of ᴍᴛ, strong arguments can be made for the priority of each one. After giving some examples (in order to demonstrate this *aporia*) I suggest a new solution. Encouraged by New Testament scholars like James Dunn, I explain some textual variants by the influence of oral tradition which continued during and after the multiple writing of the narratives. This influence is studied from the perspectives of both literary and textual criticism. Examples from Dan 1–6 are given.

In der Forschung der letzten Jahre haben sich die Grenzen zwischen Textkritik und Literarkritik immer mehr aufgeweicht. So hat z.B. Munnich (1995 und 2003) textkritische Vergleiche mit literarkritischen Beobachtungen kombiniert und eine beachtliche Hypothese zu Dan 2; 4; 5 entwickelt.[1] Die ursprüngliche ʟxx zeige hier eine deutlich ältere Fassung als der ᴍᴛ, wogegen die so genannte Übersetzung des Theodotion (Θ) und zuweilen auch die Peschitta irgendwo in der Mitte dieses Entwicklungsweges stünden. Munnich findet in den sekundären Überarbeitungen folgende gemeinsame Tendenzen: Das Gewicht der Person des Daniel vergrössere sich gegenüber der ʟxx-Fassung; zudem seien Erzählmotive aus anderen Kapiteln eingedrungen, was zuweilen zu logischen Brüchen führe.

Ich verzichte darauf, hier Munnich's Argumente zu wiederholen. Stattdessen möchte ich auf einige Beobachtungen hinweisen, welche zu Munnich's These schwer kompatibel sind, ja eher zu einer Erklärung in gegenteiliger Richtung einladen.

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1. Olivier Munnich, "Les versions grecques et leurs substrats sémitiques," in *VIII Congress of the IOSCS Paris 1992* (ed. L. Greenspoon et al.; SBLSCS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 291–308. Derselbe, "Texte Massorétique et Septante dans le livre de Daniel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible,* (ed. A. Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003), 93–120. Darauf reagiert z.T. kritisch Timothy McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 55 (2005): 304–23 (besonders 313–14).

1. Finden wir die älteste Fassung in mt, lxx oder Theodotion?

Der Text von Θ zeigt zuweilen gegenüber mt ein Plus, das den Eindruck eines sekundären Zuwachses macht und also jünger als mt erscheint. Dazu zwei Beispiele:[2]

1.1. Dan 2,32

Bei der Beschreibung der Statue, die Nebukadnezar in seinem Traum sah, nennen alle Handschriften von Θ *drei* silberne Körperteile: „Hände, Brust und Arme", wogegen mt und sämtliche anderen Versionen nur *zwei* Körperteile erwähnen, d.h. die „Hände" nicht nennen.

mt = Peschitta, Vulgata	lxx	Θ
הוא צלמא ראשה די־דהב טב	καὶ ἦν ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀπὸ χρυσίου χρηστοῦ,	εἰκών, ἧς ἡ κεφαλὴ χρυσίου χρηστοῦ, <u>αἱ χεῖρες καὶ</u>
—	—	
חדוהי ודרעוהי די כסף ...	τὸ στῆθος καὶ οἱ βραχίονες ἀργυροῖ ...	τὸ στῆθος[3] καὶ οἱ βραχίονες αὐτῆς ἀργυροῖ ...

1.2. Dan 6,18 (mt: 6,19)

Die Übersetzung des Theodotion und lxx bringen ein verdächtiges Plus (fehlt in mt, Peschitta, Vulgata): „Und es schloss Gott die Mäuler der Löwen, und sie belästigten Daniel nicht."

mt = Peschitta, Vulgata	lxx	Θ
אדין אזל מלכא להיכלה ובת טות ודחון לא־הנעל קדמוהי ושנתה נדת עלוהי	τότε ὑπέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια αὐτοῦ καὶ ηὐλίσθη νήστης καὶ ἦν λυπούμενος περὶ τοῦ Δανιηλ.	καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἄδειπνος, καὶ ἐδέσματα οὐκ εἰσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ, καὶ ὁ ὕπνος ἀπέστη ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ.
—	ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦ Δανιηλ πρόνοιαν ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ	—

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2. Weitere Beispiele: Dan 1,3 τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας); 2,34 (ἐξ/ἀπ᾽ ὄρους); 3,1 („im 18. Regierungsjahr"); 3,90 (mt 30); 4,6 (ἄκουσον, Rahlfs 9); 5,3 (καὶ τὰ ἀργυρᾶ); 6,5 (mt 4).

3. Die Göttinger Septuaginta vermutet offenbar eine *lectio duplex* und tilgt [καὶ τὸ στῆθος].

—	ἀπέκλεισε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων, καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ.	καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ.[4]

Diese erbauliche Erweiterung kann kaum aus V. 22 Θ (MT 23) herausgesponnen sein, da dort λυμαίνω „verletzen, vernichten" anstatt παρενοχλέω „belästigen" begegnet und auch das Verschliessen der Löwenrachen mit einem anderen Verbum ausgedrückt wird (V. 18 ἀποκλείω, jedoch in V. 23 ἐμφράσσω „blockieren").[5]

Ebenso wenig überzeugt der Erklärungsversuch von Joseph Ziegler in der Göttinger Septuaginta: Er nimmt eine Beeinflussung Θ's durch die LXX an. Jedoch der LXX-Text ist länger als Θ und noch stärker erbaulich: „Der Gott des Daniel, seine Vorsehung/Fürsorge (wahr)machend, verschloss die Mäuler der Löwen, und sie belästigten Daniel nicht." Während die zweite Hälfte des Satzes in beiden griechischen Übersetzungen identisch ist, findet sich die erste Hälfte nur in LXX. Wenn Θ sie gekannt hätte, so hätte er auf diese fromme Formulierung von Gottes *providentia* schwerlich verzichten wollen.

Wenn der LXX-Text hier—im Widerspruch zur erwähnten Hypothese von Munnich—den jüngeren Eindruck als Θ (und MT) macht, so ist dies kein Einzelfall, wie die folgenden Beispiele zeigen.

1.3. Dan 6,17 (MT: Dan 6,18)

Dass Darius die Löwengrube versiegelt, findet sich zwar in allen Textfassungen. Dadurch soll garantiert werden, dass „die Angelegenheit Daniels nicht verändert werde". Was der Erzähler mit dieser Zweckangabe konkret meint, wird nicht gesagt. Jedoch die LXX füllt diese „Erzähl-Lücke" auf mit einer ausführlicheren Formulierung: „damit Daniel nicht von ihnen (seinen Gegnern?) herausgehoben werde (mit der Absicht, Daniel zu entführen oder gar zu töten?), oder ihn der König aus der Grube heraufziehe (um ihn zu retten?).[6]" Dieser Satz wirkt merkwürdig theoretisierend und realitätsfern; er macht einen sekundären Eindruck.

MT (vgl. Θ, Peschitta, Vulgata)	LXX
וחתמה מלכא בעזקתה ובעזקת רברבנוהי	wie MT

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4. V. 18b fehlt in den Rezensionen *O L* (Angleichung an MT).

5. Dan 6,22 Θ: ὁ θεός μου ἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ <u>ἐνέφραξεν</u> τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων καὶ οὐκ <u>ἐλυμήναντό</u> με … Die LXX formuliert hier grundsätzlich anders.

6. Überraschenderweise hat die Origenes-Rezension, wie 88-Syh zeigen, nur die zweite Alternative (ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς …) obelisiert.

די לא־תשׁנא צבו בדניאל׃	ὅπως μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀρθῇ ὁ Δανιηλ ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνασπάσῃ ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου.

1.4. Dan 6,27 (mt: Dan 6,28)

Die königliche Botschaft an die Völker, den Gott Daniels zu fürchten, weist in LXX eine eigentümliche Ergänzung zu einem persönlichen Glaubensgelübde des Perserkönigs auf: „Ich Darius werde mich ihm beugen und dienen alle meine Tage, denn handgemachte Idole können nicht retten, wie Gott den Daniel befreit hat."

MT = Peschitta, Vulgata	LXX	Θ
—	ἐγὼ Δαρεῖος ἔσομαι αὐτῷ προσκυνῶν καὶ δουλεύων πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας μου τὰ γὰρ εἴδωλα τὰ χειροποίητα οὐ δύνανται σῶσαι,	—
מְשֵׁיזִב וּמַצִּל וְעָבֵד אָתִין וְתִמְהִין בִּשְׁמַיָּא וּבְאַרְעָא	—	wie MT
דִּי שֵׁיזִב לְדָנִיֵּאל	ὡς ἐλυτρώσατο ὁ θεὸς (+ τοῦ Δανιηλ 88-Syh; ex 26) τὸν Δανιηλ.	ὅστις ἐξείλατο τὸν Δανιηλ
מִן־יַד אַרְיָוָתָא׃	—	ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν λεόντων.

Eine ähnliche Tendenz zeigt die LXX bekanntlich auch in Kap. 4 mit ihrem ausführlichen Plus in 4,34A(-C); das dortige Glaubensgelübde Nebukadnezars beginnt analog: „Von jetzt an werde ich ihm dienen…".

2. Überlegungen zu einem methodischen Paradigmen-Wechsel

Die vorgeführten Beispiele, deren Anzahl mit Leichtigkeit vermehrt werden könnte,[7] mögen als Basis für die folgende Bilanz genügen.

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7. So z.B. Dan 1,2 (αὐτὴν … καὶ [wie Peschitta]; ferner das depravierende Wort εἰδώλιον [auch in 14,10 und in 1Esdr 2,7 ≠ Esr 1,7] anstatt „Schatzhaus"); 1,6 (Ισραηλ); 1,17; 1,19 (σοφοῖς); 2,11 (Vers-Ende [so auch die Rezensionen von Origenes und Lukian in Θ] sowie die doppelte Übersetzung βαρύς/ἔνδοξος für יתיר); 2,12 (σύννους καὶ περίλυπος [= 1Esdr 8,68]); 2,18 (νηστείαν … τιμωρίαν); 3,1–2 (drei Erweiterungen mit derselben universalistischen Tendenz). Hingegen macht in 2,5 die LXX-Fassung den ursprünglicheren Eindruck, wogegen MT dieselbe Strafandrohung des Königs wie in 3,96 (MT 29) bringt (anders McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI," 321).—Zu weiteren Beispielen siehe im 3. Teil des vorliegenden Aufsatzes.

Sowohl die Priorität des MT als auch die Priorität der LXX können offenbar mit gleich plausibeln Argumenten begründet werden. Ich meine darum, dass das übliche Suchen nach einer prioritären Textfassung zu kurz greift, und dass die Forschung deshalb noch viel entschlossener als bisher von der Idee einer so genannten „Ur-Fassung" Abschied nehmen sollte.[8]

Zudem schlage ich vor, von einer zweiten Idee Abschied zu nehmen, nämlich der einseitigen Fixierung auf die *Schriftlichkeit* der Überlieferungsprozesse. Die bisherigen Versuche einer chronologischen Rekonstruktion der komplexen Überlieferung, wie sie z.B. McLay—im Sinne einer heutigen Mehrheitsmeinung—in zehn Phasen skizziert,[9] beschäftigen sich jeweils mit schriftlichen Redaktionen von schriftlichen Vorlagen. Diese Sicht nährt sich stark von der heutigen Praxis des akademischen Diskurses, wie er in Büchern und Aufsätzen geschieht. Zu kurz kommt m.E. der Blick auf die Praxis mündlichen Erzählens, wie ich sie für die Antike als Kontinuum annehme: Mündliche Überlieferung geht der Verschriftung nicht nur voraus, sondern geschieht auch weiter, nachdem längst schon schriftliche Fassungen existieren.[10] Vor allem ist zu beachten, dass das kontinuierliche Erzählen grundsätzlich in einer grösseren Variationsbreite ergeht, wogegen die schriftliche Überlieferung stärker kanalisiert.[11]

Grundsätzliche Vertreter eines gleichzeitigen Nebeneinanders von schriftlicher und mündlicher Tradierung sind vermehrt in der Neutestamentlichen Forschung zu finden. Unter ihnen zu nennen ist James Dunn, der 2002 ein eindringliches Plädoyer für einen gründlichen Paradigmen-Wechsel vorlegte.[12] In seiner „Presidential address at the 57th Annual Meeting of Studiorum Novi Testamenti Societas" betonte er die Unterschiede zwischen unserer heutigen schriftlichen Kultur der „children of Gutenberg" und den Gegebenheiten der Antike. Anhand der Überlieferung der Jesus-Worte zeigte er, dass sich die syn-

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8. Bereits 1954 plädierte Goshen-Gottstein dafür, „dass wir uns endlich daran gewöhnen müssen, die verschiedenen Versionen nicht nacheinander, sondern nebeneinander zu sehen." Zitiert bei Olivier Munnich, "La Peshitta de Daniel et ses relations textuelles avec la Septante," in *L'écrit et l'esprit: Études d'histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. D. Böhler et al.: OBO 214; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 2005), 229–47 (Zitat 239).

9. McLay, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel IV–VI," 318ff.

10. Dazu grundsätzlich sowie am Beispiel der MT/LXX-Fassungen von 1Sam 17: Edgar Kellenberger, "Überlegungen zur Gleichzeitigkeit von schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung," *Communio viatorum* 45 (2003) 182–97. Derselbe, *Die Verstockung Pharaos. Exegetische und auslegungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Ex 1–15* (BWANT 171; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006), 66ff.

11. Vgl. Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (2nd ed.; HSCL 35; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 100–101: „In a sense each performance is 'an' original, if not 'the' original. The truth of the matter that our concept of 'the original', of 'the song', simply makes no sense in oral tradition."

12. James D.G. Dunn, "Altering the Default Setting: Re-envisaging the Early Transmission of the Jesus Tradition," *NTS* 49 (2003): 139–75.

optischen Textvarianten häufig plausibler erklären lassen, wenn wir unsere tief verwurzelte Vorstellung von rein schriftlich-redaktionellen Veränderungen aufgeben und ebenfalls die Gesetze mündlicher Tradierung mit berücksichtigen.[13]

Nun kann man Überlegungen an neutestamentlichen Texten nicht automatisch auf das Alte Testament übertragen, weil dort teilweise andere Voraussetzungen gelten. Der Überlieferungsprozess von der vor-österlichen Verkündigung Jesu bis zu den heute vorliegenden und häufig divergierenden Evangelien-Schriften geschah innert weniger Jahrzehnte, wogegen alttestamentliche Texte—auch Dan 1-6—während bedeutend längerer Zeit gewachsen sind. Unter den wenigen Forschern, welche das „*interplay of orality and (written) textuality*" für die alttestamentliche Literatur zu erforschen begonnen haben, ist vor allem David Carr zu nennen. Gerade auch für die hellenistische Zeit hat er die Voraussetzungen für die Überlieferungsprozesse in den Bildungsschichten untersucht.[14] Die von ihm gezogenen Konsequenzen für das Zusammenspiel von Schriftlichkeit und Mündlichkeit hegen nicht den Anspruch auf ein „*final statement*",[15] sondern legen eine Schneise in ein noch weitgehend unerforschtes Gebiet alttestamentlicher Forschung.

Dieselbe Einschränkung gilt auch für vorliegenden Beitrag zu Dan 1–6.[16] Hier soll anhand von Beobachtungen an einzelnen Textbeispielen versucht werden, auf induktivem Weg zu methodischen Gesetzmässigkeiten vorzudringen.[17] Dabei richtet sich der Blick nicht nur auf die miteinander zu vergleichenden Versionen, sondern auch auf deren handschriftliche Überlieferung. Wenn man ein Kontinuum mündlichen Erzählens annehmen darf, so können auch die Abschreiber durch konkurrierende mündliche Erzähltraditionen (ausserhalb der zu kopierenden Handschrift) beeinflusst sein.[18]

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13. Methodisch noch breiter angelegt ist die Monographie seines Schülers Terence C. Mournet, *Oral Tradition and Literary Dependency. Variability and Stability in the Synoptic Tradition and Q* (WUNT II/195; Tübingen: Mohr, 2005).

14. David M. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart. Origins of Scripture and Literature* (Oxford: University Press, 2005). Zu nennen ist auch das pionierhafte Buch von Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996).

15. Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, viii.

16. Dabei bildeten meine Erfahrungen als Gemeindepfarrer, der seit Jahrzehnten stärker mündlich wirkt und unzählige biblische Erzählungen an Kinder sowie Erwachsene weitergibt, eine Initalzündung für vorliegenden Beitrag.

17. Olivier Munnich legte in seinem Hauptvortrag "Rétouches rédactionelles au texte proto-massorétique – l'apport des versions grecques de Daniel" am IOSOT-Kongress 2007 in Ljubljana eine andere Spur zum „style oral", den er in seiner vergleichenden Analyse von Dan 7 vor allem in den antiken Übersetzungen findet.

18. Auch wer eher mit kreativen Abänderungen der Schreiber anstatt mit mündlichen Erzähltraditionen rechnet, muss die üblichen Voraussetzungen der Textkritik problemati-

3. Beobachtungen an einzelnen Textbeispielen aus Dan 1–6

Da anzunehmen ist, dass die einzelnen Daniel-Legenden auf verschiedenem Weg wuchsen und überliefert wurden, sollen hier Textbeispiele zu möglichst vielen der sechs Kapitel vorgelegt werden. Auf diese Weise lässt sich am ehesten vermeiden, Beobachtungen am einen Kapitel unzulässig auf andere Kapitel zu übertragen.

3.1. Dan 1,20b

Der Schluss der Erzählung wirkt in der lxx überladen. Das Plus der lxx in V. 20b fehlt nicht nur in sämtlichen anderen Erzählfassungen (mt, Θ, Peschitta, Vulgata), sondern ist in den lxx-Handschriften zudem unterschiedlich lang: Der älteste Textzeuge, Papyrus 967, formuliert kürzer als die jüngeren Textzeugen 88-Syh.[19] Wir können hier also ein Textwachstum beobachten, das im Laufe der handschriftlichen Überlieferung offenbar weiterging. Im Folgenden wird mit Klammern [+ …] gekennzeichnet, was ausschliesslich 88-Syh überliefern:

> καὶ ἐδόξασεν αὐτοὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς [+ καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας] καὶ ἀπέδειξεν [stattdessen: ἀνέδειξεν αὐτοὺς σοφοὺς παρὰ πάντας τοὺς αὐτοῦ] ἐν πράγμασιν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ [+ γῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ] ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείᾳ [stattdessen: βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ].[20]

Dieses langfädige und wenig konkrete Plus erinnert an andere Daniel-Legenden,[21] in denen jedoch dieselben Formulierungen anschaulicher wirken. Dasselbe

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sieren. So z.B. der Neutestamentler Eldon J. Epp, "The Multivalence of the Term 'Original Text' in New Testament Textual Criticism," *HTR* 92 (1999): 245–81 (Zitat 268): „When does a writing's literary existence begin? Can the beginning of a writing's literary history be limited to the moment when copies were made and circulated (that is, the time of its 'publication')? And if earlier composition levels can be detected, especially when signaled by textual variants, have textual critics not uncovered an earlier 'beginning' of that writing's literary history? Or, to move forward in time, could not a literary process (such a revision or rearrangement of the text) have taken place after the first copies were made and released, thereby turning the earlier, copied version itself into a predecessor literary layer of the writing? Hence, the term 'beginning' begins to take on multiple dimensions, just as 'original' does."

19. 88-Syh setzen den ganzen Satz (καὶ ἐδόξασεν bis Versschluss) unter Asteriscus.

20. Eugene Ulrich vermutet in 4QDanᵃ das Aequivalent des griechischen Textes von 967: *Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 242f.

21. Dan 2,6 (δοξάζειν); 2,48; 3,97 (mt 30).

gilt für das Plus der lxx in V. 17,[22] und ebenfalls entbehrlich ist das Plus von 88-Syh in V. 21.[23] Das literarische Niveau des lxx-Erzählstils überzeugt in V. 17–21 weniger als sonst in Dan 1.

3.2. Dan 6,18b (mt: —)

Bereits oben (1.2.) wurde dieser fromme Zusatz in lxx und Θ vorgestellt. An diesem Ort soll die Aufmerksamkeit auf die überdurchschnittlich zahlreichen Varianten in den Handschriften fallen.

lxx	Θ
ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦ Δανιηλ πρόνοιαν ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ	—
ἀπέκλεισε τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων,	καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ θεὸς τὰ στόματα τῶν λεόντων
καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ.	καὶ οὐ παρηνώχλησαν τῷ Δανιηλ.
• ὁ δὲ θεὸς 967 :: τότε ὁ θεὸς 88-Syh • ποιησάμενος 967 :: ποιούμενος 88	• gesamtes Plus fehlt in 62' L (ausser 36) samt 449 230 • Var. ἔκλεισεν ὁ θεὸς :: ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀπέκλεισεν • Var. τὸ στόμα • Var. τὸν Δανιηλ

Bei Θ sind es vier Varianten. In der lxx begegnen trotz der wenigen Textzeugen zwei Varianten, darunter der unterschiedliche Anschluss des Zusatzes durch die griechischere Variante ὁ δὲ θεός (967) oder die semitischere τότε ὁ θεός (88-Syh). Dass dieser Zuwachs also vergleichsweise instabil überliefert ist, kann im Zusammenhang mit kontinuierlichem mündlichem Erzählen stehen, dessen variantenreiche Überlieferung auch in der Zeit der uns erhaltenen Handschriften weiter ging. Gleicherweise können die Unterschiede zwischen Θ und lxx an dieser Stelle als mündlich entstandene Varianten gedeutet werden.[24]

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22. V. 17 (Plus unterstrichen): καὶ τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος ἐπιστήμην καὶ σύνεσιν <u>φρονήσεως (Var. καὶ φρόνησιν)</u> ἐν πάσῃ γραμματικῇ τέχνῃ καὶ τῷ Δανιηλ ἔδωκε (anders mt: ודניאל הבין) σύνεσιν ἐν παντὶ ὁράματι (Munnich: lectio duplex ῥήματι) καὶ ἐνυπνίοις <u>καὶ ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ</u>. Beachte den kritischen Apparat der Göttinger Septuaginta.

23. lxx: καὶ ἦν Δανιηλ ἕως τοῦ πρώτου ἔτους τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας [88-Syh: βασιλείας Κύρου βασιλέως Περσῶν]. Die Präzisierung „König der Perser" ist an dieser Stelle entbehrlicher als in 6,29.

24. Vielleicht darf man ebenfalls so erklären, warum zwei handschriftliche Vertreter der lukianischen Rezension aus ihrer Familie ausscheren: Obwohl die lukianische Rezension den Zusatz weglässt, bringen ihn die Minuskeln 36 und 311.

3.3. Dan 2,28

Im Laufe von Daniels langer Rede an Nebukadnezar (V. 27–45) bringen die LXX und (wahrscheinlich)[25] auch 4QDanᵃ als Plus: „König, du wirst/mögest ewig leben!" Diese geläufige Formel passt schlecht an dieser Stelle, denn nur hier begegnet sie *inmitten* einer Rede, wogegen sie an den restlichen sieben Belegen stets die *Eröffnung* einer Rede bildet.[26] Es handelt sich darum in Dan 2,28 um eine sekundäre Ergänzung, die zudem auch noch in der lukianischen Rezension des Θ-Texts belegt ist.[27]

MT = Peschitta, Vulgata	4QDanᵃ	LXX	Θ
בְּרַם אִיתַי אֱלָהּ בִּשְׁמַיָּא גָּלֵא רָזִין וְהוֹדַע לְמַלְכָּא נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מָה דִּי לֶהֱוֵא בְּאַחֲרִית יוֹמַיָּא	wie MT	wie MT	wie MT
—	מ]לכא …	βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσῃ (Syh: ζῆθι)	— • L: βασιλεῦ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι
… חֶלְמָךְ וְחֶזְוֵי רֵאשָׁךְ	[וחזוי … wie MT	wie MT	wie MT

Es fällt auf, dass dieser Zusatz in LXX (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήσῃ) anders formuliert ist als in Θ^L (εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ζῆθι). Wiederum lässt sich der instabile Zustand des Textes als Variationsreichtum mündlicher Überlieferung erklären.

3.4. Dan 2,30

Die Stelle ist insofern aussergewöhnlich, als hier—selten genug—Qumran und Peschitta zusammengehen, und zwar gegen den gemeinsamen Text von MT, Θ und LXX: Nur 4QDanᵃ sowie Peschitta bezeugen (א)יתיר, was eine verdeutlichende Qualifizierung von Daniels Weisheit ist, welche sozusagen in der Luft lag.[28] Qumran und Peschitta haben deshalb unabhängig voneinander dieses Wort eingefügt. Dies kann sowohl das Werk von frühen Abschreibern als auch von Erzählern sein. Vielleicht sind beide Tätigkeiten in Personalunion zu denken.

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25. Siehe Text und Kommentar von Eugene Ulrich in DJD 11, 244–45.

26. Dan 2,4; 3,9; 5,10; 6,7.22; ferner 1Kön 1,31; Neh 2,3.

27. Auch an einigen anderen Stellen geht 4QDanᵃ mit LXX (gegen MT) zusammen, z.B. in 2,20.31.40; 5,7. In 1,20 ist die Text-Lücke möglicherweise mit dem Langtext der LXX aufzufüllen (siehe 3.1.).

28. Vgl. Dan 5,14.—Zum seltenen Zusammengehen der Peschitta mit Qumran siehe Munnich, "La Peshitta de Daniel," 237.

MT (vgl. LXX, Θ, Vulgata)	4QDan^a	Peschitta
וְאַנָה לָא בְחָכְמָה דִּי־אִיתַי בִּי מִן־כָּל־חַיָּא רָזָא דְנָה גֱלִי לִי ...	... בחכמה יתירא ... sonst wie MT	... ܡܟܬܪܐ ܠܝܬ ... sonst wie MT

3.5. UNTERSCHIEDLICHE ERZÄHL-ZIELE IN DAN 4–6

Im Laufe des kontinuierlichen Erzählens entwickeln sich Verschiebungen des Interesses, was zeitgeschichtliche und geographische Hintergründe haben kann. So hat Albertz für Dan 4–6 herausgearbeitet,[29] dass die LXX-Fassung ein missionarisches Interesse an der Abwendung von Idolen und Bekehrung zum wahren Gott zeigt, wogegen die MT-Fassung ein apokalyptisches Erzählziel zu erkennen gibt: Gottes Königsherrschaft setzt sich auch gegenüber dem totalitären Machtanspruch der heidnischen Herrscher durch. Interessant ist nun, dass sich das Anliegen der LXX fragmentarisch auch in funktionslosen Wendungen des MT zeigt: So ist z.B. die Aufforderung zum Bussgebet Nebukadnezars im Kontext einer Bekehrungserzählung in 4,27 LXX gut verwurzelt, hingegen in Vers 24 des MT funktionslos.[30] Es lassen sich also Vermischungen zwischen den je konkreten Erzählanliegen von MT und LXX beobachten. Solche Vermischungen lassen sieh besonders gut als Beeinflussung durch eine konkurrierende mündliche Erzähltradition erklären.

Allerdings lassen sich nicht alle Züge einer Erzählfassung auf ein einziges Erzählziel festlegen. Im Laufe des „re-telling" können zusätzliche Interessen hinzukommen, welche sich in neuen Zügen kristallisieren. So wird z.B. der Traum vom Weltenbaum (Dan 4) im Sondergut der LXX kosmologisch ausgeprägter erzählt: Sonne und Mond wohnen in ihm (V. 11), seine Zweige sind 30 Stadien lang (V. 12) usw. Dieses kosmologische Anliegen erscheint unabhängig vom missionarischen Hauptinteresse der LXX-Fassung.

Ein beliebtes Einfalltor für erzählerische Erweiterungen sind so genannte „Erzähl-Lücken", wie z.B. die knappe Zweckangabe für die Versiegelung der Löwengrube (6,17 MT; in 1.3. erwähnt). Einem besonders eindrücklichen Beispiel der Auffüllung einer Erzähl-Lücke werden wir in Dan 3 begegnen.

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29. Rainer Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel. Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4-6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* (SBS 131; Stuttgart: Kath. Bibelwerk, 1988).

30. Umgekehrt passt das LXX-Plus von Vers 34C besser zum Anliegen des MT. Weitere Beispiele bei Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel*, 71ff; er nennt diese Phänomene „Blindmotive".

3.6. Dan 3

Der letzte Teil dieses Aufsatzes beschäftigt sich mit Beobachtungen zu Kap. 3, vor allem zu den beiden komplexen Nahtstellen vor und nach dem umfangreichen Plus der antiken Übersetzungen. An diesen Nahtstellen begegnen auffällige Dubletten und Unregelmässigkeiten, und zwar überraschenderweise sowohl im Langtext wie auch im masoretischen Kurztext.

3.6.1. Dan 3,21–23 (vor dem grossen Plus)

	MT	LXX	Θ
21	בֵּאדַ֨יִן גֻּבְרַיָּ֤א אִלֵּךְ֙ כְּפִ֔תוּ	τότε οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι συνεποδίσθησαν	τότε οἱ ἄνδρες ἐκεῖνοι ἐπεδήθησαν
	בְּסַרְבָּלֵיהוֹן֙ פַּטְּשֵׁיה֔וֹן וְכַרְבְּלָתְה֖וֹן וּלְבֻשֵׁיה֑וֹן	ἔχοντες τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐ-τῶν καὶ τὰς τιάρας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν σὺν τῷ ἱματισμῷ αὐτῶν	σὺν τοῖς σαραβάροις αὐτῶν καὶ τιάραις καὶ περικνημῖσι
	וּרְמִ֕יו לְגֽוֹא־אַתּ֥וּן נוּרָ֖א יָקִֽדְתָּֽא׃	καὶ ἐνεβλήθησαν εἰς τὴν κάμινον τοῦ πυρός	καὶ ἐβλήθησαν εἰς μέσον τῆς καμίνου τοῦ πυρὸς τῆς καιομένης
22	כָּל־קֳבֵ֣ל דְּנָ֗ה מִן־דִּ֞י	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπεὶ
	מִלַּ֤ת מַלְכָּא֙ מַחְצְפָ֔ה	τὸ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἤπειγε	τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπερίσχυε
	וְאַתּוּנָ֖א אֵזֵ֥ה יַתִּֽירָא	καὶ ἡ κάμινος ἐξεκαύθη ὑπὲρ τὸ πρότερον ἑπταπλασίως[31]	καὶ ἡ κάμινος ἐξεκαύθη ἐκ περισσοῦ
	—	<u>καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ προχειρισθέντες συμποδίσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ προσαγαγόντες τῇ καμίνῳ ἐνεβάλωσαν εἰς αὐτήν.</u>	—
	גֻּבְרַיָּ֣א אִלֵּ֔ךְ דִּ֚י הַסִּ֔קוּ	23 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄνδρας <u>τοὺς συμποδίσαντας</u>	• A *O L* (mit vielen Textvarianten!) = MT
	לְשַׁדְרַ֥ךְ מֵישַׁ֖ךְ וַעֲבֵ֣ד נְג֑וֹ	τοὺς <u>περὶ τὸν Αζαριαν</u>	• *die Tötung der Schergen wird erst in Vers 47 erzählt (d.h. im Verbindungsstück zwischen Bussgebet und Lobgesang)*
	קַטִּ֕ל הִמּ֖וֹן שְׁבִיבָ֥א דִּ֥י נוּרָֽא׃	<u>ἐκκαεῖσα</u> ἡ φλὸξ ἐκ τῆς καμίνου <u>ἐνεπύρισε καὶ</u> ἀπέκτεινεν	

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31. MT erwähnt das „siebenfache" Heizen des Ofens nur in V. 19.

23	וְגֻבְרַיָּא אִלֵּךְ תְּלָתֵּהוֹן	*(vgl. Vers 22b* MT*)*	καὶ οἱ τρεῖς οὗτοι
	שַׁדְרַךְ מֵישַׁךְ וַעֲבֵד נְגוֹ		Σεδραχ Μισαχ Αβδεναγω
	נְפַלוּ לְגוֹא־אַתּוּן־נוּרָא יָקִדְתָּא		ἔπεσον εἰς μέσον τῆς καμίνου τῆς καιομένης
	מְכַפְּתִין: פ		πεπεδημένοι.
	—	αὐτοὶ δὲ συνετηρήθησαν	—

Wie kommen die Drei in den Feuerofen? Im MT werden sie gefesselt hineingeworfen (V. 21), doch wird in V. 23 nochmals erzählt, dass sie in den Ofen fielen. Nach dem exkursartigen Zwischenvers 22, der das extreme Heizen sowie die Tötung der Peiniger erzählt, handelt es sich in V. 23 um eine notwendige «Wiederaufnahme»; diese beginnt mit der auffällig umständlichen Formulierung „und diese drei Männer Sadrach, Mesach und Abednego".[32]

Auch in den beiden griechischen Übersetzungen sowie der Peschitta schiebt sich das extreme Heizen zwischen die Verse 21 und 23 und macht darum ebenfalls eine entsprechende Wiederaufnahme nötig.[33] Verdächtig ist zudem das zweimalige συμποδίσαντε/ας in V. 22 und 23 LXX. Ferner ist immer aufgefallen, dass der hebräische Name Azarja nicht erst im Plus ab V. 24ff, sondern—entgegen MT!—bereits in V. 23 LXX begegnet.

Keine einzige Fassung macht einen syntaktisch und stilistisch überzeugenden Eindruck, auch nicht der Kurztext des MT.

3.6.2. Dan 3,24f MT (nach dem grossen Plus)

Auch nach dem Plus macht der Kurztext einen gestörten Eindruck, insofern dass das Erstaunen des Königs merkwürdig unmotiviert erscheint.

> 24 (91): Nun erstaunte/erschrak (תוה) der König Nebukadnezar und stand eilends auf, er hob an und sprach zu seinen Ministern: „Haben wir nicht drei Männer gebunden mitten ins Feuer geworfen?" Sie hoben an und sprachen: „Gewiß, König."

Gemütsbewegungen werden in den Daniel-Legenden sonst immer erst erzählt, wenn zuvor die Ursache des Entsetzens usw. genannt worden ist.[34] Nur an dieser Stelle ist dies seltsamerweise anders. Warum? Dürfen wir etwa annehmen, dass

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32. Dieselbe Formulierung „diese Männer" (גבריא אלך) wird bereits in V. 22b verwendet, dort aber auf die Peiniger bezogen.

33. Dies gilt auch für Θ, obwohl dort die Tötung der Peiniger erst in V. 47–48 erzählt wird.

34. Siehe Dan 2,1.3; 3,13.19; 4,2.16; 5,6.9; 6,14.23 (Verszählung stets nach MT).

der aramäische Erzähler um den Lobgesang im Feuerofen wusste,[35] ohne dass dies direkt in den MT einfloss? Für diese Vermutung spricht die erstaunlich kurze Erwähnung des vierten Mannes:

> 25 (92): Er hob an und sprach: „Da sehe ich vier Männer gelöst sich mitten im Feuer ergehen, und ein Schaden ist nicht an ihnen, und der Anblick des Vierten gleicht dem eines Gottessohnes."

Eigentlich würde man hier mehr Informationen über die Aktivität dieser rätselhaften Gestalt erwarten—etwa so, wie das Plus der Übersetzungen in V. 49f erzählt. Wusste der aramäische Erzähler mehr, als im MT erscheint?

3.6.3. Ein neutestamentliches Analogie-Beispiel: Ungesagtes in Joh 5*

Als Exkurs soll auf eine analoge Beobachtung aus dem Neuen Testament hingewiesen werden: Der Engel, der am Teich von Bethesda das Wasser bewegt (Joh 5,4), ist zwar eine apokryphe Ergänzung, welche in den zuverlässigsten Handschriften fehlt.

	zuverlässigste Textzeugen	restliche Textzeugen
3	ἐν ταύταις κατέκειτο πλῆθος τῶν ἀσθενούντων, τυφλῶν, χωλῶν, ξηρῶν	+ πλῆθος <u>πολυ</u> A Θ Ψ 078 $f^{1.13}$ Mehrheitstext lat sy^{p.h}
	— (**fehlt** in: p^{66.75} ℵ A* B C* L T *pc* q sy^c co)	+ (, παραλυτικων D it), <u>εκδεχομενων την του υδατος κινησιν</u> A^c C³ D (W^s) Θ Ψ 078 $f^{1.13}$ 33 Mehrheitstext lat sy^{p.h} bo^{pt}
4	— (**fehlt** sowohl in den oben genannten Textzeugen [ausser A* L] sowie auch in D W^s 33 f l)	+ <u>αγγελος γαρ</u> (δε L; + κυριου A K L Δ f^{13} (1241) *al* it vg^{cl}) <u>κατα καιρον</u> (- a b ff²) <u>κατεβαινεν</u> (ελουετο A K Ψ 579. 1241 r¹ vg^{mss}) <u>εν τη κολυμβηθρα</u> (- a b ff²) <u>και εταρασσε</u> (—σσετο C³ 078 *al* c r¹ vg^{cl}) <u>το υδωρ· ο ουν πρωτος εμβας μετα την ταραχην του υδατος</u> (*om.* μετα … υδ. a b ff²) <u>υγιης εγινετο ω</u> (οιω A L *pc*) <u>δηποτε</u>

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35. Rabbinische Texte (vor allem bPes 118a–b) erzählen ebenfalls von einem Lobgesang, jedoch in anderer Weise als das Plus: die Drei rezitieren das Hallel. Die Rettung geschieht nicht durch einen Engel mit kühlendem Tau (so Dan 3,50 sowie ähnlich 3Makk 6,6), obwohl der Hagel-Engel Jurqami bereit wäre, den Ofen zu kühlen (צנן). Weil jedoch jedermann weiss, dass Wasser das Feuer löschen kann, „kühlt" (קרר) stattdessen paradoxerweise der Feuer-Engel Gabriel und wirkt so „ein Wunder im Wunder" (נס בתוך נס). Die ganze Passage erscheint wie eine Polemik gegen das nichtmasoretische Plus (Dan 3,24–90).

	(δ' αν K *pc*; + ουν A) <u>κατειχετο νοσηματι</u> A C³ L Θ Ψ 078^vid *f*^1.13 Mehrheitstext it vg^cl sy^p.h** bo^pt; (Tert)

Doch bereits die johanneische Erzählung muss eine ähnliche Vorstellung gekannt (oder gar vorausgesetzt) haben; denn der textkritisch unbestrittene Vers 7 setzt ebenfalls voraus, dass die Bewegung des Wassers den ersten, der ins Wasser steigt, heilt:

> 7 ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ ἀσθενῶν· κύριε, ἄνθρωπον οὐκ ἔχω ἵνα ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ἔρχομαι ἐγώ, ἄλλος πρὸ ἐμοῦ καταβαίνει.[36]

Dieselbe Vorstellung floss dann, durch die Erwähnung des Engels weiter ausgebaut, in die verschriftete Überlieferung ein, so wie sie jetzt bei den meisten Textzeugen in V. 4 vorliegt. Dieser Zusatz aus dem mündlichen Erzählfundus fällt typischerweise durch besonders zahlreiche textkritische Varianten auf; der Text ist hier also instabiler als andernorts. Und der vorangehende Zusatz am Ende von V. 3 wird nicht von den genau gleichen Textzeugen vertreten: Dieser Zusatz fehlt z.B. in den Majuskeln A* und L, welche andrerseits das Plus von V. 4 bezeugen. Umgekehrt bezeugen D und W^s das Plus in V. 3, aber nicht in V. 4. Ein ähnlich disparates Bild ergibt sich aus den Minuskeln und alten Übersetzungen. Erzähl-Lücken werden im Laufe der Tradierung auf unterschiedliche Weise aufgefüllt.

3.6.4. Dan 3,91f in den griechischen Übersetzungen (Nahtstelle nach dem Plus)

	MT	LXX	Θ
91a		καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν • 88-Syh: Obelos	καὶ Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἤκουσεν ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν
		<u>καὶ ἑστὼς</u> ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας • 88-Syh: Obelos	

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36. Am Ende fügt die Minuskel 64 hinzu: και λαμβανει την ιασιν (stattdessen 69: εγω δε ασθενων πορευομαι).

91b (24)	אֱדַיִן נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר מַלְכָּא תְּוַהּ	τότε Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε	καὶ ἐθαύμασε
	וְקָם בְּהִתְבְּהָלָה	<u>καὶ ἀνέστη</u> σπεύσας	καὶ ἐξανέστη ἐν σπουδῇ
	עָנֵה וְאָמַר לְהַדָּבְרוֹהִי	καὶ εἶπε τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ	καὶ εἶπε τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ·
	הֲלָא גֻבְרִין תְּלָתָא	• 88-Syh mit Asteriscus = Θ MT	οὐχὶ ἄνδρας τρεῖς
	רְמֵינָא לְגוֹא־נוּרָא מְכַפְּתִין		ἐβάλομεν εἰς μέσον τοῦ πυρὸς πεπεδημένους;
	עָנַיִן וְאָמְרִין לְמַלְכָּא		καὶ εἶπαν τῷ βασιλεῖ·
	יַצִּיבָא מַלְכָּא:		ἀληθῶς, βασιλεῦ.
92 (25)	עָנֵה וְאָמַר		καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεύς
	הָא אֲנָה חָזֵה גֻּבְרִין אַרְבְּעָה שְׁרַיִן	ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ θεωρῶ τέσσαρας ἄνδρας λελυμένους.	ὅδε ἐγὼ ὁρῶ ἄνδρας τέσσαρας λελυμένους
	מַהְלְכִין בְּגוֹא־נוּרָא	καὶ περιπατοῦντας ἐν τῷ πυρί	καὶ περιπατοῦντας ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πυρός
	וַחֲבָל לָא־אִיתַי בְּהוֹן	καὶ φθορὰ οὐδεμία ἐγενήθη ἐν αὐτοῖς,	καὶ διαφθορὰ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς,
	וְרֵוֵהּ דִּי רְבִיעָיָא דָּמֵה לְבַר־אֱלָהִין	καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ	καὶ ἡ ὅρασις τοῦ τετάρτου ὁμοία υἱῷ θεοῦ.

Die Nahtstelle nach dem Plus zeigt ebenfalls in den beiden griechischen Übersetzungen Probleme.[37] In der LXX steht Nebukadnezar zweimal auf: einmal beim Hören des Lobgesangs (V. 91a), und dann—MT entsprechend—nochmals in V. 91b.[38] Auf diese Dublette folgt in der LXX ein überraschender Kurztext, der nur eine einzige Rede des Königs kennt, wogegen MT zwei solche Reden samt einer Antwort der Räte erzählt. Θ geht zwar hier mit MT zusammen, doch erwähnt auch er—im Gegensatz zu MT—Nebukadnezars Hören des Lobpreises.

Die beobachteten Unregelmässigkeiten in Dan 3 lassen sich m.E. besser erklären durch ein Neben- und Miteinander von schriftlicher und mündlicher Überlieferung, als durch die bisherige Annahme einer Redaktion von schriftlich vorliegenden Texten. Die syntaktischen und stilistischen Unebenheiten sowohl in MT wie LXX weisen auf sozusagen „wilde" Textpassagen hin,[39] die ich mir besser erklären kann, wenn hier mündlich kursierende Erzähl-Varianten ungeglättet miteinander kombiniert wurden. Und schliesslich wird so auch erklärbar, dass Forscher mit ebenso plausibeln Argumenten sowohl die Priorität der einen wie der andern Fassung postulieren konnten.

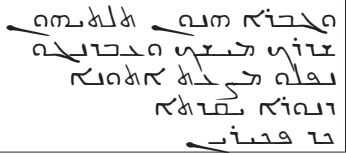37. Ebenfalls Probleme zeigen Peschitta und Vulgata, siehe 3.6.5.

38. Eine andere Erklärung von V. 24 LXX bei Timothy McLay, "The Relationship between the Greek Translations of Daniel 1-3," *BIOSCS* 37 (2004): 29–53 (hier 48f).

39. Drastisches Beispiel: Dublette καὶ ἡ ὅρασις αὐτοῦ μεγάλη in 4,7.8 LXX.

3.6.5. Zum Anteil von Mündlichkeit („re-telling") und schriftlicher Redaktionsarbeit
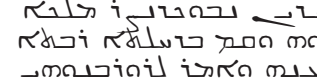
Die Realität einer schriftlichen Redaktionsarbeit ist nicht überall auszuschliessen. Sie gilt in der Rezensions-Tätigkeit von Origenes und Lukian. Vielleicht ist auch der glattere Text von Θ durch redigierende Hände geprägt. Redaktionelle Tätigkeit besteht allerdings nicht immer aus Glätten und Ausgleichen, sondern kann divergierende Traditionen u.U. eher mechanisch verbinden. Ein instruktives Beispiel begegnet in Dan 5: Das Proömium,[40] das die LXX vor 5,1-30 stellt, ist mit seiner besonderen Akzentsetzung eine eigenständige Erzählung. Diese bringt trotz ihrer Kürze auch ein Plus gegenüber der ausführlichen LXX-Fassung, nämlich den Wortlaut (samt Erklärung) der Inschrift Μανη φαρες θεκελ (in dieser Reihenfolge entgegen MT, wobei in LXX die entsprechenden Verse 24f MT fehlen).

In Dan 3 zeigt sich eine ähnliche mechanische Verbindung in Peschitta und Vulgata. Diese beiden Fassungen übersetzen zwar das Plus der poetischen Stücke samt dem prosaischen Mittelstück. Doch bei der Nahtstelle nach dem Plus lassen beide die Passage weg, dass Nebukadnezar den Lobgesang hört (V. 91a LXX Θ). Die Verbindung zwischen dem Plus und dem masoretischen Kurztext wird dadurch schwieriger und wirkt mechanisch.

	MT	Peschitta	Vulgata
23	wie Peschitta	[Syriac text]	Viri autem hii id est tres Sedrac Misac et Abdenago ceciderunt in medio camini ignis ardentis conligati.
24–90	—	*Plus (Bussgebet, Prosa-Verbindungsstück, Lobgesang)* wie in Θ[41]	
91a	— • nur in LXX Θ (siehe 3.6.4.)	—	—

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40. Munnich, "Texte massorétique et Septante," 108: „la curieuse préface".

41. Bei der umstrittenen Reihenfolge einiger Kola des Lobgesangs folgt die Vulgata jedoch der Reihenfolge in Θ[L] LXX.

| 91b (24) | MT wie Peschitta | ܡܝܢ ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܩܡ ܒܣܡ ܒܘܗܠܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܕܠ ܠܗܕܝܒܪܘܢܝ ... ܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܪܡܝܢܢ ... ܒܓܘ ܐܬܘܢܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ... ܦܣܝܩܝ ܕܝ ܡܢܝܢ ... ܗܢܘܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܐ ... ܐܝܢ ܩܫܝܬܐ ܡܠܟܐ. | Tunc Nabuchodonosor rex obstipuit et surrexit propere et ait optimatibus suis:

 Nonne tres viros misimus in medio ignis compeditos?

 Qui respondentes dixerunt regi: Vere, rex. |

Im Plus selber fällt auf, dass nur hier die beiden griechischen Übersetzungen weitgehend identisch in Vokabular und Syntax sind, so dass man auf die Existenz einer einzigen Übersetzung schliessen sollte.[42] In den poetischen Stücken gibt es nur wenige Erweiterungen, aber überdurchschnittlich viele Zeilen-Umstellungen im Lobgesang. Bogaert erklärt sie mit unterschiedlichen Systematisierungskonzepten der aufgezählten Naturphänomene;[43] doch möglicherweise werden hier die Grenzen einer aufs Gedächtnis gestützten mündlichen Überlieferung sichtbar.

Zwei weitere Phänomene seien wenigstens noch kurz angetönt: erstens die gelegentlichen Angleichungen von LXX und Θ (z.B. in 3,91b), und zweitens die zahlreichen Doppelübersetzungen (*lectio duplex*).[44] Auch hier finde ich Anzeichen von mündlichen Überlieferungsprozessen, die sich während der Entstehung der Übersetzung sowie bei deren weiterer Tradierung ereigneten. Dies dünkt mich wahrscheinlicher als die Vorstellung, dass die Abschreiber in der Lage gewesen wären, jeweils ein Exemplar der Konkurrenz-Übersetzung gleichzeitig auf ihrem Schreibtisch zum Vergleichen und Ergänzen zu konsultieren.[45]

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42. Unterschiedlich formuliert sind allerdings die Nahtstellen zwischen den poetischen Stücken und den Prosa-Teilen (V. 21–25.46.51.91–97); vgl. dazu Timothy McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (SBLSCS 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 146–48.

43. Pierre-Maurice Boegart, "Daniel 3 LXX et son supplément grec," in *The Book of Daniel* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Peeters 1993), 13–37 (besonders 28ff). Dabei ist ebenfalls die Peschitta mit ihren z.T. abweichenden und gar zusätzlichen Zeilenumstellungen zu beachten.

44. Weitere Beispiele: Dan 5,4; 6,18 (vgl. oben 3.2.). Siehe auch McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 245–48 sowie (zu Dan 3,2) derselbe, "The Relationship between the Greek Translations of Daniel 1–3," 46–47.

45. McLay hingegen will die Doppelübersetzungen einseitig als Eindringen von Θ in den LXX-Text erklären ("Double Translations in the Greek Versions of Daniel," in *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* [ed. F. G. Martínez; BETL 192; Loewen: Peeters, 2005], 255–67). Ein weiteres Beispiel, das Θ und Peschitta betrifft: Dan 2,34 (המון = Θ αυτους / εις τελος; Peschitta ܐܝܟ / ܐܟܠ.

Servant or Slave?: The Various Equivalents of Hebrew *'Ebed* in the Septuagint of the Pentateuch

Arie van der Kooij

Abstract: The Old Greek version of the Pentateuch is marked by four equivalents of Hebrew *'ebed*: δοῦλος, θεράπων, οἰκέτης, παῖς. Some scholars have suggested that these renderings reflect different connotations, while others are of the opinion that the terms used are roughly speaking to be seen as synonymous. In this contribution the focus is on the instances where the terms are employed in the secular sense, leaving aside passages where they refer to servants or slaves of God. In discussing the terms involved Greek sources of the time are taken into account. It is argued that the equivalents each convey specific meanings and connotations.

I

The Septuagint of the Pentateuch (lxx Pentateuch) is marked by a variety of equivalents—δοῦλος, θεράπων, οἰκέτης, παῖς—of Hebrew *'ebed* (עבד). The interesting question is whether these renderings are to be seen as synonymous, or not. It has been suggested that the terms employed may reflect different connotations. According to Thackeray the words used can be defined and distinguished as follows: θεράπων "confidential attendant," δοῦλος "bond-servant," οἰκέτης "member of household implying close intimacy," and παῖς "more colorless, but still familiar."[1] In a balanced contribution to the subject, Wright, on the other hand, reached the conclusion that "for the translators of the Pentateuch, the several words for slaves used here *doulos*, *pais*, *oiketes* and perhaps *therapon* are roughly synonymous, or at least in some cases interchangeable." And "the translators may have used these words for slaves/servants as relative synonyms, with only minor distinctions."[2] In his recent dissertation, entitled "Multiple Authorship of

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1. Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 8.

2. Benjamin G. Wright, "Ebed/Doulos: Terms and Social Status in the Meeting of Hebrew Biblical and Hellenistic Culture," *Semeia* 83/84 (1998): 83–111, 93. See also his "Δοῦλος and Παῖς as Translations of עבד: Lexical Equivalences and Conceptual Transformations," in B.A.

the Septuagint Pentateuch," Kim holds a similar view: the translators disregarded the different contexts in the Pentateuch; they "used the various Greek equivalents . . . without any lexical distinction or theological bent. The choices simply reflect their individual preferences for certain synonyms."[3] It is to be noted, however, that both scholars tend to make an exception for the word θεράπων in Exodus.[4]

In this essay I shall discuss the four above mentioned equivalents used in LXX Pentateuch in order to see whether these terms can be seen as synonyms, or whether they reflect in one way or another particular distinctions or different shades of meaning. I shall do so by dealing with a number of passages in LXX Pentateuch, thereby focusing on instances where the terms are used in the secular sense, leaving aside passages where they are referring to servants or slaves of God. It seems to me the best way first to try to understand the connotations of the terms employed in their non-religious usage because it is reasonable to assume that the religious usage of the terms was based on their secular usage, and not the other way around.

In discussing the terms in LXX Pentateuch I shall also take into account the terminology and the way these words were used in the Greek literature of the time. In doing so I shall not limit myself to the sources dating to the Hellenistic period, but, since LXX Pentateuch was produced in the early Hellenistic period (first half of the third century B.C.E., as is commonly assumed), I shall also include pre-Hellenistic sources. This is important because, compared to their usage in these earlier (classical) sources, terms used for servant or slave in Greek literature of the Hellenistic and Roman times testify to changes in meaning or connotation. Wright touches upon this issue by stating: "each of these (sc. words, vdK) had important distinctions in the classical period, but evidently during the Hellenistic period, the several different terms for slaves began to be used more often as synonyms, the older distinctions being generally abandoned."[5] There was indeed a tendency to abandon the older distinctions, but this does not mean that these (older) distinctions were no longer used at all in the Hellenistic period, particularly so as early as the third century B.C.E., the period in which the Old Greek version of the Pentateuch was made.

As may be clear, the discussion of the terminology involved is also of interest for the question whether LXX Pentateuch can be regarded a unity. The issue here is whether the five books share a particular usage, or usages, of the various terms, or not. According to Zimmerli, the translator of Genesis is not the same

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Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the IOSCS Cambridge 1995* (SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 263-277 (shortened version of the publication in *Semeia*).

3. Hayeon Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch" (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem, 2006), 115.

4. Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 92 note; Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 115 note.

5. Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 89.

as the one of Exodus since the former book is characterized by the use of παῖς while the latter has θεράπων as its favorite rendering: "Die ägyptische Höflinge, die Gn παῖδες nennt, sind hier (sc. in Exod, vdK) als θεράποντες bezeichnet."[6] Yet, as Zimmerli observed, the books of the Pentateuch (and Joshua) have a striking feature in common, namely, the fact that the term δοῦλος almost never occurs (p. 673). This is the more interesting since, as he rightly noted, this word is common in the books Judges up to and including Kings, books which he regards the second phase in the "Übersetzungsgeschichte der LXX" (p. 674). I shall come back to this issue in dealing with the term δοῦλος (see part II,4), as well as to the question concerning the unity of LXX Pentateuch as far as the vocabulary to be discussed in this article is concerned (end of part III).

II

(1) θεράπων

The equivalent θεράπων mainly occurs in Exodus. Regarding its secular use it is clear that it is related to a particular setting, that of the royal court, the court of Pharaoh. The term, always in the plural in chapters 5–14 (cf. plural in MT), designates particular servants of the king, members of the royal household; e.g., 5:21: ἐναντίον Φαραω καῖ ἐναντίον τῶν θεράποντων αὐτοῦ.

These instances are not limited, however, to the book of Exodus. The term is also found in Deut 29:1 and 34:11—again places about the Pharaoh and his servants. But what about Genesis? Is this book, unlike Exodus, characterized by the use of παῖς at places where the text refers to servants of the king of Egypt? It is true that in Genesis παῖς occurs in passages where the king of Egypt plays a major role, but the question is whether in all these cases it refers to the same group of Pharaoh's servants as in Exodus. An interesting instance is to be found in Gen 45:16 where it says:

"it pleased the Pharaoh and his servants (ἡ θεραπεία αὐτοῦ)."

The Old Greek does not offer here a text with παῖς, but contains a word that carries the same meaning as the related term in Exodus and in Deuteronomy— θεραπεία, the suite or retinue of a king.[7] Thus, although the word is not the same as in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, the idea clearly is.[8] There is, however, another

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6. Walter Zimmerli, "παῖς θεοῦ," *TWNT* 5:672–76. See also John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 46; Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 119.

7. See John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSCS 14; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 33.

8. The word is also found in LXX Esther D:16.

passage in Genesis about servants of the Pharaoh where παῖς is used—Gen 41:37–38. Gen 41 contains the story of Pharaoh's dreams and their explanation by Joseph (vv. 25–32), followed by a proposal of how to proceed in the near future (vv. 33–36). It is told that all the words spoken by Joseph pleased Pharaoh and "all his servants" (πάντων τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ)(v. 37). Pharaoh then spoke "to all his servants" (πᾶσιν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ)… (v. 38). The question arises which servants of the king are meant here. Contextually, the servants referred to in both verses are to be understood as the scholars mentioned in vv. 8 and 24. There is reason to believe that these scholars as servants of the king are to be distinguished from the servants belonging to the retinue of the king. Exod 7:10–11 is an important passage in this regard. According to v. 10 Moses and Aaron went to the king, and Aaron threw down his staff before Pharaoh and "his servants" (τῶν θεράποντων αὐτοῦ), and it became a serpent. The story then continues in v. 11 by telling that the king summoned his wise men to do the same. A clear distinction is made here between the diviners, on the one hand, and the servants, θεράποντες, on the other. This may explain why the word παῖς is found in Gen 41:37–38, and not θεράπων.

Both words, θεραπεία and θεράπων, are well known from Greek sources. They occur, e.g., in the works of Herodotus and Polybius, the latter using θεραπεία more often than the plural of θεράπων, whereas in the case of Herodotus it is the other way around.[9]

Thus, the equivalents used in LXX Pentateuch, θεράπων and θεραπεία, represent words with a specific meaning, referring to particular servants of a king, namely, the ones making up his retinue. As noted above, Thackeray described the connotation of θεράπων as "confidential attendant," presumably because of the position close to the king. It seems more in line with the ancient culture, however, to define the word in terms of honor than of confidentiality.[10] Be this as it may, the specific meaning of the words involved sheds light on the question why they do not occur in Genesis, except in one instance (45:16), since this is the only passage in the book referring to the attendants of the king; other places are about servants or slaves of the king in a different sense (see also below).

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9. See John Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (2nd ed.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), s.v.; *Polybios-Lexikon*, Bd. I, Lfg. 3 (ed. Hadwig Helms; Berlin: Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), s.v. Beside the meaning of "retinue" the word θεραπεία can also refer to the royal bodyguard (both meanings in Polybius).

10. See also the note on θεράπων in Cécile and Marguerite Harl, eds., *La Pentateuque d'Alexandrie* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), 902: "avec la nuance d'une soumission noble de vassal."

(2) οἰκέτης

The Greek οἰκέτης, the second term I want to deal with, is used throughout LXX Pentateuch. As to its secular usage, three types of contexts can be distinguished.

(a)   The term, first of all, occurs in passages referring to the time of Israel in Egypt. Hebrew *ebed* in the well-known phrase "You were *ebed* in Egypt" has been rendered in all instances as οἰκέτης. See Exod 5:15–16; Deut 5:15; 6:21; 15:15, 17; 16:12; 24:18, 20, 22.

(b)   At other places, the Greek οἰκέτης is typical of legal stipulations.

   Exod 12:44: According to this passage about Passover, a foreigner shall not eat of it, but "every slave or servant bought with money (πᾶν[11] οἰκέτην τινὸς ἢ ἀργυρώνητον)—you shall circumcise him and he shall eat."

   Unlike MT ("every slave that is bought for money"), LXX distinguishes two classes of slaves, a household servant, that is, one born in the household, and a servant purchased.[12] One may compare this interpretation with LXX Gen 17:12, 13, 27 where a similar distinction is made between the οἰκογενής, the houseborn one, and the ἀργυρώνητος, the one bought with money.

   Exod 21:26–27: In this section of the Law of Covenant it is stated in v. 26: "When a man strikes the eye of his slave, male or female, … he shall let the slave go free." V. 27 has a similar stipulation. In both verses LXX offers οἰκέτης and θεράπαινα (for this latter term, see also Exod 11:5) as rendering of Hebrew *ebed* and *amah*, respectively.

   Lev. 25:39–40: "If your brother … be sold to you (MT "sells himself to you"), he shall not serve you with the servitude of a slave (δουλείαν οἰκέτου). (40) Like a hireling or sojourner shall he be to you." Note also the final clause of v. 42 which reads: "he shall not be sold with the sale of a slave (ἐν πράσει οἰκέτου)."

   According to this passage, one should not treat "a brother" in case of debt slavery as a slave (οἰκέτης) because, unlike in the case of a hireling, the slave is not supposed to become free after some time (unless there is someone who redeems him, as God did to the Israelites in Egypt).

   Deut 15:17: This passage is close to the one in Lev 25. It reads: "If a Hebrew man who serves you as being sold to you declares that he will not go out because he loves you and your house, then he shall be to you a slave (οἰκέτης) for ever."

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11. Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 191: παν error for παντα.
12. See Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 191.

This means that only in case a "brother" wishes to be a slave for ever, he will become οἰκέτης. The οἰκέτης is supposed to be a permanent slave. See also Exod 21:7 where it is stipulated that a female slave (οἰκέτις) shall not "go away"[13] as do female slaves called δούλη.

(c)   There is yet another group of texts that share a particular notion as far as the use of οἰκέτης is concerned:

Gen 9:25: "Cursed be Canaan; a 'slave of slaves' shall he be to his brothers"; LXX reads παῖς οἰκέτης, "a slave, a household slave."

The rendering in Greek is not a literal one. According to Rösel, the second term (οἰκέτης) "betont das Sklavenverhältnis."[14] Wevers suggests that the rendering in Greek is in line with the superlative degree of the MT: "a slave, even a household servant," i.e., so he states, "the lowest of all possible ranks in the community of slaves."[15] Wright notes that the two terms are used synonymously,[16] conveying though two different connotations—the first one (παῖς) being a word for slave "in a more general fashion," while οἰκέτης "has more specificity regarding the duties of the slave."[17] In line with the evaluation by Rösel and Wright, it will be argued below (II, 3) that, in light of similar cases, the second term is best understood as a specification of the first one (παῖς) which is the more general word.

Gen 27:37: "Isaac to Esau: If (MT: "Behold") I have made him your lord, and all his brothers I have given to him for servants (οἰκέτας)."

Gen 44:16.33: See below (II,3).

Gen 50:18: The brothers to Joseph: "We here (will be) servants (οἰκέται) to you."[18]

Num 32:5: The Rubenites and Gadites to Moses: "If we find favor before you, let this land (i.e., the land of Jazer and Gilead, east of the Jordan) be given to your slaves (οἰκέταις) in possession."

These passages are all about relatives in the sense of "brothers." As is clear from Gen 9:25 and Gen 27:37 it is regarded a shame (cf. the notion of curse in Gen 9:25 and 27:37) to become οἰκέτης of someone who is one's "brother." Hence, one acts very submissively by presenting oneself as οἰκέτης to a "brother." From a rhetorical point of view, this apparently was deemed an adequate way of persuading the other party (see Gen 44:16, 33; 50:18; Num 32:5).

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13. On the verbs used here (ἀπέρχομαι, ἀποτρέχω) see Lee, *Lexical Study*, 125–27.

14. Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta* (BZAW 223; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 142.

15. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 124.

16. See also Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 115.

17. Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 93.

18. For this rendering of the LXX, see Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 849.

In Greek sources of the time, οἰκέτης is a specific term for "slave," designating the household slave, i.e., a member of the household of a master (κύριος). The word is found, e.g., in the writings of Herodotus and Polybius, in the sense of a personal servant or slave of someone. Polybius uses the term several times (see, e.g., 5.35.5; 5.38.4; 8.30.6; 18.53.3), denoting, among other things, someone who is not free (12.2.5; 12.9.5; as to the "master," see 12.6a.2; 12.6b.4, 10). The word οἰκέτης does, however, not occur so often in Ptolemaic documents. In the Zenon archive it is found only twice.[19] In a papyrus dating to the third century B.C.E., P.Lille I 29, representing a compilation of legal documents, the word is found in a legal context: κατὰ τοὺς νόμους περὶ οἰκετῶν.[20]

Interestingly, Philo of Alexandria provides us with the following inside information as far as the position and estimation of the slave under discussion is concerned: "the οἰκέται … are always with us and share our life: they prepare the bread, the drinks, and the dishes for their masters, they serve at the table" (Philo, *Spec. Laws*, 1, 127).

Thus, οἰκέτης designates a slave belonging to a particular household permanently, a setting implying loyalty and strict obedience to the master. Yet, this slave has also certain rights (Exod 21:26–27). He is a houseborn slave (Exod 12:44), but can also be one acquired by sale (Lev 25:42; see also Exod 12:44). It is, however, forbidden to treat "a brother," in case of debt slavery, as οἰκέτης (Lev 25:39–40). Presumably, it was considered a shame to be the slave of one's "brother" because of the permanent status (cf. Philo's "always") implied.

(3) παῖς

Unlike θεράπων and οἰκέτης the third term to be discussed, παῖς, is of a more general and less specific nature.[21] It covers a range of meanings. First, it carries the connotation of "child"; so a few times in LXX Pentateuch: Gen 24:28; 34:4; Deut 22:15. In most instances, however, it refers to a servant or slave. One can distinguish two usages here—that of "servant" and of "slave."

(a) The connotation of "servant": This applies first of all to passages about high ranking persons such as at the court of a king; see, e.g., Gen 22:8;

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19. See Pieter W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive* (P.L. Bat. 21B)(Leiden: Brill, 1981), 686; Reinhold Scholl, *Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri: Eine Untersuchung zu den Sklaventermini, zum Sklavenerwerb und zur Sklavenflucht* (Trierer Historische Forschungen, 4; Trier: Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1983), 7.

20. See Reinhold Scholl, *Corpus der ptolemäischen Sklaventexte* (Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei Beiheft, 1; Stuttgart: Steiner, 1990), 1. Tl., Text Nr. 1.

21. Cf. Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 92.

24:2 (the house-manager[22] of Abraham); 41:37 (scholars at court, see v. 8 and v. 24). In other instances, the term is used as the polite self-designation of people addressing a king or a leader: "I am 'your servant'." This usage is typical of the Joseph story (e.g., Gen 42:10, 13; 43:18), but see also Exod 5:16 (on this text, see below [part III]); Num 32:4, 25, 27.

(b) The connotation of "slave": So particularly in the case of the word pair παῖς + παιδίσκη; see, e.g., Gen 12:16; Exod 20:10; 21:20, 32; Deut 5:14; 28:68.

Gen 44 may serve as an illustration of both meanings. Παῖς in the sense of the polite self-designation occurs at several places (e.g., vv. 7, 9, 16, including the phrase referring to Jacob as "your servant, our father" [v. 27]), whereas in the verses 9, 10, 17, 33 it clearly carries the notion of "slave." V. 9 testifies to both usages: "With whomsoever of your *servants* (τῶν παίδων σου) you shall find the cup, let him die; and we will be *slaves* (παῖδες) to our lord." The second occurrence differs from the first since it is the latter refers to the present situation—the brothers designate themselves, politely so, as servants of Joseph, whereas the former ("we will be slaves") is about the future: if the cup is found with one of them, the brothers will be real slaves.

Notably, the term οἰκέτης also occurs in this chapter—in v. 16 and in v. 33, in words spoken by Judah to Joseph:

V. 16b: "Behold, we are slaves (οἰκέται) to our Lord";

and v. 33, at the end of his long speech (vv. 18–33), by way of concluding statement:

"Now then, let me remain a slave to you (σου παῖς) instead of the lad, a domestic servant of my lord (οἰκέτης τοῦ κυρίου)."[23]

In both verses Judah is the one who uses the specific term οἰκέτης. It functions as a specification of παῖς in the sense of "slave," as in Gen 9:25. As noted above, the term οἰκέτης implies the loss of freedom for ever. Thus, Judah is willing to give up his freedom in order to save the life of Benjamin, and that of his father.

As far as Greek sources of the time are concerned, it is to be noted that παῖς does not yet carry the notion of servant or slave in the work of Herodotus; it is used here in the sense of "child" only. Later on, however, the word also designates a servant or a slave. In some instances, the word refers to the servants at the court of a king; so, e.g., in the Letter of Aristeas, 186: βασιλικοὶ παῖδες, in

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22. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), s.v.

23. On the difference between lxx and mt, see Wevers, *Notes on Genesis*, 754.

line with the first usage above; see also Polybius 5.82.13; 30.25.17. As far as the second usage is concerned, παῖς, together with παιδίσκη, is frequently attested in the Zenon archive, pertaining to slaves.[24] Used in this sense it is also found in Polybius' work, in some cases parallel to οἰκέτης (12.16.1; 31.14.2, 5, 6, 11). It is not that common in legal documents of the time, however, perhaps because it lacks specificity.

Thus, the term παῖς covers a range of meanings. It still was used in the sense of boy, or child, but could also denote a servant or a slave.[25]

(4) δοῦλος

This equivalent is found only three times in LXX Pentateuch: Lev 25:44; 26:13; Deut 32:36. (For δούλη, see Exod 21:7; Lev 25:44.) The three passages read as follows, both in MT and LXX:
- Lev 25:44: MT "As for your male and female slaves whom you may have—from among the nations that are round about you you may buy male and female slaves";
  LXX "And how many male and female slaves (παῖς καὶ παιδίσκη) you may acquire from the nations as many as are round about you—from them you shall buy them δοῦλον καὶ δούλην."
- Lev 26:13: MT "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt that you should not be their slaves; and I have broken the bonds of your yoke and made you walk upright";
  LXX "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of the land of Egypt when you were slaves (ὄντων ὑμῶν δούλων), and I broke the band of your yoke, and brought you out openly."
- Deut 32:36: MT "For the Lord will vindicate his people and have compassion on his servants, when he sees that their power is gone, and there is none remaining, bond or free";
  LXX "For the Lord shall judge his people and shall be comforted over his slaves (ἐπὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτοῦ), for he saw that they were utterly paralyzed, and exhausted in affliction,[26] and weakened."

Scholars have raised the question of why δοῦλος is used so sporadically in LXX Pentateuch. According to Zimmerli it was only used in cases of severe bond-

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24. See Scholl, *Sklaverei in den Zenonpapyri*, 8. See also Heinz Heinen, "Zur Terminologie der Sklaverei im Ptolemäischen Ägypten: ΠΑΙΣ und ΠΑΙΔΙΣΚΗ in den Papyri und der Septuaginta," in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Vol. Terzo (Napoli: Centro Internazionale per lo Studio dei Papyri Ercolanesi, 1984), 1287–95.

25. In Polybius it occurs eighty-one times in the sense of "child," and eighteen times in that of "servant, slave."

26. John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 529: "captivity" instead of "affliction" for ἐπαγωγή.

age; in his view, the term refers to "die eigentliche, unfreiwillige Sklavenschaft."[27] Others have suggested that it might have been avoided because it was considered derogatory or insulting.[28] In line with this view, Kim put forward an interesting theory in order to explain the sporadic use of the word. "When the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, many Jews in Alexandria might have been slaves who had been captured by Ptolemy I. . . . This historical reality could explain the Pentateuch translators' reluctance to use δοῦλος, the most popular word for "slave," because it would have constantly reminded them of their humiliating status in Egypt."[29]

These scholarly views are all based on the assumption that δοῦλος was the general and popular word for "slave." However, this assumption is questionable because at the time when LXX Pentateuch was produced, δοῦλος was not (yet) the general word for "slave." In the Hellenistic period, roughly speaking the term παῖς was the general word used (beside ἀνδράποδον, and σῶμα[30]), whereas δοῦλος was to become the general word later—particularly so in Roman times.[31] This is, of course, not meant to say that δοῦλος was not used in the Hellenistic period at all, but in general it is true that παῖς was the more common word. For instance, in the Zenon archive (third century B.C.E.), παῖς is used very frequently, together with σῶμα, whereas δοῦλος does not appear in this large corpus of texts at all. Thus, the fact that the word is used only sporadically in LXX Pentateuch needs not surprise us.

But what then about the meaning or connotation of δοῦλος? Do the three occurrences in LXX Pentateuch share a particular notion? In Greek sources dating to pre-Hellenistic times the primary meaning of δοῦλος was not "slave," but carried the notion of someone being unfree, also if referring to a slave.[32] In Herodotus' work the use of the term is marked by the connotation of someone

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27. Zimmerli, "Παῖς θεοῦ," 673 (S. 674: "hart").

28. See S. Daniel, *Recherches sur la vocabulaire du culte dans la Septante* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1966), 103 note; Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 93; *La Pentateuque d'Alexandrie*, 901–2. As to Lev 25:44, Wevers suggests that the terms δοῦλος and δούλη have been chosen because they refer to "products of the market"; see John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SBLSCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 428.

29. Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 57.

30. The first of these words does not occur in LXX Pentateuch, but the second does (see Gen 34:29; 36:6) albeit it not as rendering of Hebrew *ʿebed*. For σῶμα, see also the Letter of Aristeas 151, 155.

31. J.-A. Straus, "La terminologie de l'esclavage dans les papyrus grecs romaines trouvés en Egypte," in *Actes du colloque 1973 sur l'esclavage* (Annales Litteraires de l'Université de Besancon, 182; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1976), 335–50.

32. Fritz Gschnitzer, "Studien zur griechischen Terminologie der Sklaverei. 1. Grundzüge des vorhellenistischen Sprachgebrauchs," in *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse*, Jahrgang 1963. Heft 9–15 (Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1964), 1286.

being unfree in the political sense, as being subjected by another people.[33] This connotation is also attested in the Hellenistic period, albeit less prominently. An interesting case is to be found in the book of 1 Maccabees where it is stated in 2:11:

> ἀντὶ ἐλευθέρας ἐγένετο εἰς δούλην.

This passage is part of the complaints of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:7-11) about the calamities that befell the city of Jerusalem and its temple by the Seleucid king. Jerusalem is no longer free, but became enslaved by being subdued by another, foreign nation. This is supported by v. 10 which reads: "Is there any nation that has not usurped her sovereignty, any people that has not taken plunder from her?"

The same idea is attested by three passages in the Third Book of the Sibylline Oracles, lines 508.537.567, where the phrase "yoke of slavery" (l. 537: δούλειος ζυγός) is found.[34]

It is my contention that this usage of δοῦλος sheds light on the three passages quoted above.

- Lev 25:44 is about slaves who are bought from "nations that are round about you." It thus concerns foreigners, persons who became subject to another people, in this case the people of Israel. One may think here of persons who were made captive when Israel conquered and plundered a city in a neighboring country, and who then were sold as slaves.[35]

- In Lev 26:13 the Israelites are seen as δοῦλοι in Egypt, and not as οἰκέται as is the case at other places in LXX Pentateuch. The terminology of "band of yoke" (δεσμὸς τοῦ ζυγοῦ), elsewhere referring to the domination by an enemy (cf. "the yoke of Babylon" in LXX Jer 35), presumably evoked δοῦλος as rendering conveying the meaning of being unfree from the political point of view.

- Deut 32:36 is a special case since it belongs to the religious use of the terminology under discussion which falls outside the scope of this paper. However, since the number of instances where δοῦλος is used is very small indeed, it may be appropriate to comment on this case too. God will have compassion with his people, here designated as his δοῦλοι who are depicted in the second part of the verse as "utterly paralysed, and exhausted in affliction, and weakened." Israel is presented here as a suffering people. This suffering was brought on them by enemies (see

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33. See also a related word like δουλοσύνη "captivity, subjection" in Herodotus.

34. See also Polybius 9.42.6 (δοῦλος); 1 Macc 8:10, 18 (καταδουλόω); 8:11 (δουλόω).

35. Prisoners of war being sold as slaves are referred to in pre-Hellenistic texts as ἀνδράποδα. See, e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.27.

vv. 26, 41, 42, 43). Having been subjected by other nations they became
exhausted and weakened—a situation that stirred the compassion of the
Lord.

Thus, the occurrences of δοῦλος in LXX Pentateuch share a specific connotation, in
line with a particular usage of this word attested in Greek sources—being unfree
due to subjection by another people (Lev 26:13; Deut 32:36; cf. 1 Macc 2:11). If
such a person is sold or bought as slave he (or she) is called δοῦλος (δούλη)(Lev
25:44). It is important to note that the latter instance is about a foreigner, belong-
ing to the surrounding nations, not a foreigner who lived in the land of Israel
(compare Lev 24:45). So basically the term does not denote a slave in the usual
sense of the word, but rather someone who is unfree from the political point of
view. As noted above it has been suggested that the term might denote the idea of
severe bondage, or might have been considered insulting, but the use of δοῦλος
in LXX Pentateuch does not reflect these connotations, at least not primarily so.

<div align="center">III</div>

Summarizing, as far as their secular usage is concerned the four equivalents of
Hebrew ʿebed in LXX Pentateuch turn out to carry the following meanings:

1. θεράπων: servant, attendant of a king (setting of a royal court; position
    of honor);
2. οἰκέτης: slave belonging to someone's household permanently (either a
    house-born slave, or one acquired by purchase);
3. παῖς: (apart from "child," "boy") general term for servant or slave;
4. δοῦλος: someone unfree from the political point of view; prisoner of
    war being sold as slave.

Three of the four words (θεράπων, οἰκέτης, δοῦλος) carry a specific mean-
ing, whereas one of them (παῖς) is marked by a variety of uses. This all is in line
with usages of these words in Greek sources of the time.[36] The range of meanings
of παῖς can be summarized as follows:

(a) "servant": high-ranking persons in service of a leader or king; polite self-
     designation;
(b) "slave": parallel to οἰκέτης (e.g., the cases of specification [Gen 9:25;
     44:33]), or to δοῦλος (Lev 25:44).

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36. That is to say, with particular usages, not with all usages attested in Greek sources
dating to the pre-Hellenistic as well as to the (early) Hellenistic periods. For instance, the mean-
ing of δοῦλος as given above is not *the* meaning of this word in all contemporary documents,
but one of the connotations attested. The situation is rather complex since the picture can even
differ from source to source (due to a process of shifts of meaning in the course of time, as
noted in part I, or due to the nature of the sources, e.g., legal versus other kind of documents).

As far as the second category is concerned, it should be added that the term can also refer to a slave who does not have the status of οἰκέτης, nor of δοῦλος. So for example in Exod 21:1 where the word παῖς designates an Israelite person as "slave" of another Israelite, for a period of six years. He does not have the position of οἰκέτης because that would imply that he is to be a slave forever (see above, ad Lev 25:39), nor of δοῦλος because he is not a foreigner who was made captive. Thus, παῖς is not a synonym of οἰκέτης, nor of δοῦλος in the strict sense of the word, but could be used, in a given context, synonymously with one of these terms.[37]

Unlike παῖς the word οἰκέτης is a specific word for "slave" in LXX Pentateuch: Someone belonging to someone's household, permanently so, a house-born slave, or someone bought (from foreigners in the land). A "brother" should not treat his "brother" as οἰκέτης. This was regarded very shameful (Gen 9; 27) because of the permanent status implied. However, if an Israelite who was sold out of debt to another Israelite man, wished to be his slave permanently; he then got the status of οἰκέτης (Deut 15:17).

As noted above, the term οἰκέτης is used for the Israelites in Egypt. The question may arise, why was this equivalent of Hebrew ʿebed chosen, and not δοῦλος? One would expect the latter in view of the expression οἶκος δουλείας as rendering of the phrase "the house of slaves/slavery." However, this expression does not necessarily imply the status of δοῦλος as is clear from Lev 25:39 where the phrase δουλεία οἰκέτου is found. Moreover, the term δοῦλος would not fit since the Israelites were enslaved as foreigners who were already in the country of Egypt, and not as persons who were made captive outside Egypt and then sold as slaves in Egypt.

But what then about the use of δοῦλος in Lev 26:13? As argued above, the Israelites are envisaged here from a different perspective, namely, as being unfree from a political point of view.

Thus, the Israelites were domestic slaves in Egypt. Exod 5:15–16 is interesting in this regard. In this chapter (see also Exod 1:12–14) the Israelites are depicted as being oppressed by the Egyptians who made life bitter to them with harsh demands. Because of this bad treatment, officials, "scribes" (γραμματεῖς), of the Israelite people cried to Pharaoh:

(15) "Why do you act thus to your slaves (τοῖς σοῖς οἰκέταις)?
(16) Straw is not given to your slaves (τοῖς οἰκέταις σου). …
and behold, your servants (οἱ παῖδές σου) have been beaten.
You will therefore injure your people (ἀδικήσεις οὖν τὸν λαόν σου)!"

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37. Kim may be right that παῖς in Exod 11:8 refers to the same category of servants as in v. 3 (θεράπων)("Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 118 note), but in the light of Gen 41:37–38 (see above) this is not certain.

This passage is marked by a distinction between οἰκέτης and παῖς. The latter is not used here synonymously with the former[38] because it does not refer to the people as a whole, but to the officials only (polite self-designation). As is clear from v. 14, they were the ones who had been beaten. The Israelites, the people as a whole, are called "your slaves," thus seen as belonging in a sense to Pharaoh's household. At the same time, they are also called "your people." This goes well together with their position as οἰκέται. The notion of being Pharaoh's people is also present in the Old Greek of v. 4 (LXX "my people"; MT "the people"). Since the term οἰκέτης implies a status of someone who had certain rights (Exod 21:26–27), the Pharaoh is urged not to injure[39] the Israelites by treating them so harshly.

Finally, I would come back to the issue of the unity of LXX Pentateuch. Scholars agree that each of the Pentateuchal books was the work of a separate translator, and therefore can not be considered a unity in the strict sense of the word.[40] This does not exclude, of course, the possibility that the Old Greek of the five books of Moses represents a translation produced by a particular team of scholars. Be this as it may, LXX Pentateuch is marked by some variety, on the one hand, and by lexical features the books have in common, on the other.[41] As to the terminology discussed in this contribution, it is my conclusion that—although more is to be said, particularly regarding the religious use of the terms—the books share the same pattern.[42]

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38. Pace Wright, "Ebed/Doulos," 91; Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch," 116.

39. For ἀδικέω as rendering of Hebrew חטא, see Gen 42:22; Jer 44(37):18.

40. See, e.g., John William Wevers, "The Göttingen Pentateuch: Some Post-partem Reflections," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 57–59; Kim, "Multiple Authorship of the Septuagint Pentateuch."

41. See further, e.g., Daniel, *Recherches*, 382–89; Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 257; Cécile Dogniez, "Les noms de fêtes dans le Pentateuque grec," *JSJ* 37 (2006): 344–66.

42. I like to thank Michaël van der Meer for his valuable suggestions regarding publications in the field of papyrology.

Towards the Old Greek: New Criteria for the Analysis of the Recensions of the Septuagint (Especially the Antiochene/Lucianic Text and Kaige Recension)

Siegfried Kreuzer

Abstract: It is a well-established fact that the so-called Lucianic or Antiochene text consists of different layers, yet the descriptions of the text since Rahlfs always suppose without differentiation, that the Antiochene text is the youngest of the Greek text forms and that all differences to the other text forms are changes by the Lucianic redaction from around 300 C.E. This paper takes up the task of finding criteria for evaluating the recensions by taking into account Early Jewish hermeneutics, and analyzes two of the supposed main traits of the Lucianic recension, the addition (but sometimes also deletion) of the article and of explaining words.

1. Introduction

Anyone who is interested in the Septuagint soon realizes that there is not just *the* Septuagint, but that the Septuagint is a very complex issue. Among other aspects, there is the phenomenon of the different revisions, and, before that, also the phenomenon of some development in style and translation technique, which has changed, maybe not from book to book, but at least within the different parts of the Septuagint.

The translators evidently started with a style and a translation technique that, although keeping closely to the Hebrew parent text, tries to render the meaning of the text in a more-or-less understandable Greek. Over the course of a century, that is, from about the middle of the third century to the middle or the second half of the second century, this has changed towards a translation technique that keeps close to the Hebrew parent texts, not only in vocabulary, but also in word order and in other phenomena. In the historical books this can be observed in the development of the translation from the books of Joshua and Judges down to Chronicles and Esra-Nehemia/Esdras *β*.

This development was followed by another phenomenon, namely the revisions of the Septuagint. As we know by now, especially because of the findings of

the texts from the Judaean desert, and through the works of Dominique Barthé-lemy,[1] the process of revision started in pre-Christian times already.[2] The first, or at least most notable, of these revisions, the so-called kaige recension, was caused by at least two factors. First there was the discovery that the Septuagint was not in accordance with the proto-Masoretic text, which had by then become the standard text of the Holy Scriptures,[3] and second, there had developed new hermeneutical principles for the understanding of the scriptures, principles that also led to new requirements for a translation. This kaige recension, which has affected many parts of the Septuagint, is one of several reasons why it is difficult to get access to the original Septuagint, that is, the so-called Old Greek or the Ur-Septuaginta.

If we go to the work of Origen, his famous Hexapla also can be understood as a revision towards the Hebrew text. By the time of Origen, the standard Hebrew text was without doubt the Masoretic text, even though there may have been some minor differences over against the vocalization as it was later on fixed by the Masoretes. Interestingly, Origen was very careful with the text as it was passed on to him. He used the famous Aristarchean text-critical signs[4] to mark the plus-ses over against the Hebrew text, and he filled in the gaps from the other Greek translations available to him, that is, from the so-called "three." But—and this is noteworthy—he did not make his own translations.

The third and probably last revision[5] was that of Lucian. Lucian, the pres-byter from Antioch, at that time the capital of Syria, supposedly was the head of a theological school at Antioch and he became a martyr in 312 C.E.[6] Accord-ing to Jerome, this Lucian also did a revision of the Septuagint. His text is not found in one of the great codices like Vaticanus or Alexandrinus, but in younger

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1. Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill 1963).

2. This dating is confirmed by the date of the Naḥal Ḥever Dodekapropheton scroll; see Emanuel Tov/Robert A. Kraft, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon, 1990; corrected repr. 1995).

Barthélemy tended to a dating in the first century C.E. because of his assumed relation of the גם/καιγε phenomenon with Rabbi Ishmael's exegetical rules. But this relation is not neces-sary, because many exegetical and hermeneutical practices had been developed and used before they were declared as a rule and before they became related to the authority of this or that rabbi.

3. Cf. Siegfried Kreuzer, "From 'Old Greek' to the Recensions: Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Reference-Text of the Septuagint?" in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. W. Kraus and R. G. Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature 2006), 225–37.

4. Named after Aristarchos from Samothrake, one of the leaders of the Alexandrian Library.

5. We leave aside the problem of the rather elusive Hesychian recension.

6. To his person and on the problem of the relation between him and the "Lucianic" text see, e.g., Hanns Christoph Brenneke, "Lucian von Antiochien," *TRE* 21: 474–79.

minuscles only. The Lucianic text was widely used in the Syrian church, and it can be identified and verified by the biblical quotations of the Antiochene theologians, especially in their biblical commentaries; so we also can talk about the Antiochene text. Now the Lucianic recension is supposed to be different from the previous ones, as Lucian improved the text in its Greekness. For a better style he seemingly added the article where appropriate, and he added explanatory words, especially making explicit the names of the persons speaking or acting or being addressed.

Now the problem is that this Lucianic text is to be found not only from the fourth century onward, but also already in the New Testament and in the writings of Josephus, and indirectly many times in the Old Latin version. Evidently, the Lucianic text has two aspects: the recensional activity of Lucian (or whoever it was) around 300 c.e., and an old textual tradition, going back at least to the first century. As this older textual tradition has escaped the kaige recension, it may be close to the original Septuagint or even identical with it. Therefore the challenge is to differentiate between the Lucianic recension and the older contents of the Antiochian text so that we can get closer to the Old Greek. For this, we have to develop criteria, and this is the theme of this paper.

2. The Lucianic Text and Its Characteristics

In 1871 Wellhausen published his famous work on the text of the books of Samuel. At the end of his book he reports that he was made aware of some manuscripts of the Septuagint, where he found support for many of the conjectures he had made.[7] These manuscripts, with the numbers 19, 82, 93, and 108, are the so-called Lucianic manuscripts, identified as a group in 1861 by Antonio M. Ceriani (and evidently also by C. Vercellone, 1860/64), later on followed by Frederick Field, 1867.[8] Because in the edition of Holmes-Parson these manuscripts were mixed with others, for the sake of clarity Wellhausen suggested making a separate edition. This wish is now, after some precursors,[9] fulfilled by the critical edition

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7. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vendenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 221–24.

8. For a history of research see, e.g., Natalio Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000) and Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000).

9. In his time Paul de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior Graece*, Göttingen, 1883. In recent time especially Bernard A. Taylor, *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns*. Vol. 1: *Majority Text*; Vol. 2: *Analysis* (HSM 50 and 51; Atlanta: Scholars Press 1992 and 1993). This edition is a majority text edition.

of the Antiochene text of the books Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles, by Natalio Fernandez Marcos and José Ramon Busto Saiz, Madrid[10]

Is the high expectation of Wellhausen justified? Alfred Rahlfs came to the opposite judgement. In his examination of the Lucianic text, especially in 2 Kings (= 4 Kingdoms; today understood as one of the kaige sections), the result was that this text form is only secondary.[11] His low esteem of the Lucianic text is not only expressed in his Septuaginta-Studien from 1911, but it also had its consequence for his edition of the Septuagint, the "Handausgabe" from 1935. In the famous line at the beginning of Samuel he declares in regard of the Lucianic tradition: "huius editionis innumeras lectiones singulares . . . praetereo"—"I pass by the innumerable single readings of this text." But Rahlfs also knew that part of the Lucianic tradition goes back to the second and even the first century, because many of the Lucianic readings can also be found in Josephus, in the Old Latin version, and in the New Testament. Yet, these readings to him seemed too much scattered, and the main part of the text seemed to be younger, that is, from Lucian and his co-workers around 300 c.e.

The important point is his characterisation of the text. According to Rahlfs, the Lucianic text is based on an old, prehexaplaric text that was reworked in many aspects: corrections in grammar and syntax, improvements in syntax and style, changes and improvements in vocabulary and phraseology, but also shortenings, and mistakes and, last but not least, irregularities in all these phenomena.[12]

These results of Rahlfs were passed on and also confirmed by several authors since then and not only in regard of the historical books, but also in view of prophetic books. For instance Sebastian P. Brock in his research on 1 Samuel gave the following characterization: "The most characteristic 'recensional' feature of the text of *L* are the stylistic improvements, concerning both grammar and lexicon."[13] Among these improvements are especially the additions of the article and of names, which make explicit, for example, who is talking or being addressed.

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10. Natalio Fernández Marcos und José Ramon Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I–III*, (TECC 50, 53, 60, Madrid: CSIC, 1989, 1992, 1996). In this edition there is also an apparatus that gives the quotations from Josephus and the Old Latin version, and it indicates where the text used by Theodoret is extant.

11. Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (Septuaginta-Studien III, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1911; reprint 1965).

12. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, passim. Also in regard to the Atticism, Rahlfs finds this ambiguity: "Diese Änderungen sind großenteils durch die Zeitströmung des Attizismus hervorgerufen. Aber Lucian ist keineswegs strenger Attizist, er hätte sonst viel mehr ändern müssen, als er getan hat. Auch kommen Fälle vor, wo gerade L eine nichtattische statt der attischen Form hat" (281). Then he declares in his "Schlusswort": "Denn der Hauptcharakter dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips" (293).

13. Sebastian P. Brock, "The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel" (Ph.D. diss.: Oxford, 1966); idem., *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9, Torino: Silvio Zamonrani, 1996), 298.

The results of the statistical analyses by Bernhard A. Taylor are quite similar, he also notes the article as the most frequent type of change, and he notes both, the addition and the omission.[14]

The addition of the article as the probably most famous characteristic of the Lucianic text can easily be seen in the text of 2 Sam 15, for example, at the end of v. 2: ἐκ μιᾶς **τῶν** φυλῶν **τοῦ** Ισραηλ, and at the end of v. 6: **τῶν** ἀνδρῶν **τοῦ** Ισραηλ, or in v. 10: εἰς πάσας **τὰς** φυλὰς **τοῦ** Ισραηλ. The addition of words can be found in v. 2: καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο, or in v. 4: **ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ**.

But there is also always a problem. Lucian is not consistent at all. Sometimes he does not add the article or an explanatory word, but rather he deletes such a word: for example, in v. 2 where the πρὸς is left out, or in v. 4, where the **ἀντιλογία** is deleted. The article is also deleted in v. 10, where we only find φωνὴν σάλπιγγος without article.

4. Synopsis of Masoretic Text—Kaige Text (Rahlfs)— Antiochene Text (Madrid) [15]

Masoretic Text		Kaige Text (Rahlfs)	Antiochene Text (Madrid)
וַיִּקְרָא	**2**	καὶ ἐβόησεν	καὶ ἐκάλει
אַבְשָׁלוֹם אֵלָיו	**bβ**	πρὸς αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ	αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ
וַיֹּאמֶר		καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ	καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ
אֵי־מִזֶּה		ἐκ ποίας	ἐκ ποίας
עִיר אַתָּה		πόλεως σὺ εἶ	πόλεως εἶ σύ
			καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο **ὁ** ἀνήρ
וַיֹּאמֶר		καὶ εἶπεν [ὁ ἀνήρ]	καὶ ἔλεγεν

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14. E.g., "The one figure that stands out from all the rest [sc. of single word additions in the Lucianic text] is that for the article. It is higher than the combined totals for names and nouns. […] The single word readings consist of a vast array of words that have been 'added' to the text as viewed from the perspective of both the Old Greek and the majority non-Lucianic text. Their use can be summarized as explanatory or explicative and editorial. Within the first category are such items as the definite articles, the nouns, both proper and common, and the pronouns. As noted, the largest category is the addition of the definite articles. That careful attention was given to the use of the article in the redaction of the Lucianic text can be seen not only from the number of additions here, but also from the number of omissions noted in that category." Taylor, *Lucianic Manuscripts*, 2, 92. The difference to the other authors is only, that Taylor interpreted the fact, that there were also omissions, that "careful attention was given to the use of the article." But this is only a friendly interpetation of the fact, that both phenomena occur. The fact, that it was done inconsistently remains.

15. The Rahlfs edition in the kaige section is basically identical with Codex Vaticanus and this Codex is the best witness for the kaige recension. In v. 2 Rahlfs has added ὁ ἀνήρ, evidently from the Lucianic text; this means that the kaige text (Codex Vaticanus) in this case is identical with мт. In v. 3 Rahlfs followed σοι from the Lucianic text; B reads σου.

Hebrew	#	Greek (col 1)	Greek (col 2)
מֵאַחַד שִׁבְטֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַבְדֶּךָ:		ἐκ μιᾶς φυλῶν Ισραηλ **ὁ** δοῦλός σου	ἐκ μιᾶς **τῶν** φυλῶν **τοῦ** Ισραηλ **ὁ** δοῦλός σου
וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו אַבְשָׁלוֹם רְאֵה דְבָרֶךָ טוֹבִים וּנְכֹחִים וְשֹׁמֵעַ אֵין־לְךָ מֵאֵת הַמֶּלֶךְ:	3	καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ ἰδοὺ **οἱ** λόγοι σου ἀγαθοὶ καὶ εὔκολοι καὶ ἀκούων οὐκ ἔστιν σου [σοι] παρὰ **τοῦ** βασιλέως	καὶ ἔλεγε πρὸς αὐτὸν Αβεσσαλωμ ἰδοὺ **οἱ** λόγοι σου καλοὶ καὶ κατευθύνοντες **ὁ** ἀκουσόμενος οὐχ ὑπάρχει σοι παρὰ **τοῦ** βασιλέως
וַיֹּאמֶר אַבְשָׁלוֹם מִי־יְשִׂמֵנִי שֹׁפֵט בָּאָרֶץ וְעָלַי יָבוֹא כָל־אִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־ יִהְיֶה־לּוֹ־רִיב וּמִשְׁפָּט וְהִצְדַּקְתִּיו:	4	καὶ εἶπεν Αβεσσαλωμ τίς με καταστήσει κριτὴν ἐν **τῇ** γῇ καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐλεύσεται πᾶς ἀνήρ ᾧ ἐὰν ᾖ **ἀντιλογία** καὶ κρίσις καὶ δικαιώσω αὐτὸν	καὶ ἔλεγεν Αβεσσαλωμ τίς καταστήσει με κριτὴν ἐν **τῇ** γῇ **ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλ** καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ ἐλεύσεται πᾶς ἀνήρ ᾧ ἐὰν γένεται κρίσις καὶ δικαιώσω αὐτόν
וְהָיָה בִּקְרָב־אִישׁ לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוֹת לוֹ וְשָׁלַח אֶת־יָדוֹ וְהֶחֱזִיק לוֹ וְנָשַׁק לוֹ:	5	καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν **τῷ** ἐγγίζειν ἄνδρα **τοῦ** προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξέτεινεν **τὴν** χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπελαμβάνετο αὐτόν καὶ κατεφίλησεν αὐτὸν	καὶ ἐγίνετο ἐπὶ **τῷ** προσάγειν **τὸν** ἄνδρα **τοῦ** προσκυνεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξέτεινε **τὴν** χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπελαμβάνετο αὐτοῦ καὶ κατεφίλει αὐτόν
וַיַּעַשׂ אַבְשָׁלוֹם כַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־יָבֹאוּ לַמִּשְׁפָּט אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיְגַנֵּב אַבְשָׁלוֹם אֶת־לֵב אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל:	6	καὶ ἐποίησεν Αβεσσαλωμ κατὰ **τὸ** ῥῆμα τοῦτο παντὶ Ισραηλ **τοῖς** παραγινομένοις εἰς κρίσιν πρὸς **τὸν** βασιλέα καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖτο Αβεσσαλωμ **τὴν** καρδίαν ἀνδρῶν Ισραηλ	καὶ ἐποίει Αβεσσαλωμ κατὰ **τὸ** ῥῆμα τοῦτο παντὶ Ισραηλ **τοῖς** παραγινομένοις εἰς κρίσιν πρὸς **τὸν** βασιλέα καὶ ἰδιοποιεῖτο Αβεσσαλωμ **τὰς** καρδίας παντων **τῶν** ἀνδρῶν **τοῦ** Ισραηλ

	10	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν	καὶ ἀπέστειλεν
וַיִּשְׁלַח		Αβεσσαλωμ	Αβεσσαλωμ
אַבְשָׁלוֹם		κατασκόπους	κατασκόπους
מְרַגְּלִים		ἐν πάσαις φυλαῖς	εἰς πάσας **τὰς** φυλὰς
בְּכָל־שִׁבְטֵי		Ισραηλ	**τοῦ** Ισραηλ
יִשְׂרָאֵל		λέγων	λέγων
לֵאמֹר			
כְּשָׁמְעֲכֶם		ἐν **τῷ** ἀκοῦσαι ὑμᾶς	ἐν **τῷ** ἀκοῦσαι ὑμᾶς
אֶת־קוֹל		**τὴν** φωνὴν	φωνὴν
הַשֹּׁפָר		**τῆς** κερατίνης	σάλπιγγος
וַאֲמַרְתֶּם		καὶ ἐρεῖτε	καὶ ἐρεῖτε
מָלַךְ		βεβασίλευκεν βασιλεὺς	βεβασίλευκεν
אַבְשָׁלוֹם		Αβεσσαλωμ	Αβεσσαλωμ
בְּחֶבְרוֹן׃		ἐν Χεβρων	ἐν Χεβρων

There are typical changes, but without regularity or consistency in them. This characterization of the Lucianic recension was confirmed by Josef Ziegler as result of his studies on Jeremiah[16] and is shared by many other authors and in the textbooks on the Septuagint.[17] Besides these characteristics, there is also always the reminder, that the Lucianic text is based on an old text. "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 Lucian, 2. an underlying layer of very ancient readings, earlier than the time of Lucian. The hypothesis of the proto-Lucianic text has been used to explain this first layer of the recension and its insertion into the history of the LXX."[18]

Yet, the problem is how to differentiate between these layers. Wevers considered this as the most difficult problem in Septuagint research: "All in all, the so-called proto-Lucianic text is to my mind the most difficult problem in modern Septuagint work."[19] Siegert is very sceptical about the possibility of an answer. He says:

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16. Joseph Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta*, (MSU VI; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1958), 114–69 (=chapter 4: "Der Artikel in der Ier.-LXX"): "Lukian hat sehr oft den Artikel eingefügt. Für ihn war nicht in erster Linie die hebr. Vorlage, sondern die griech. Sprachregel maßgebend" (162); "Die Beispiele zeigen deutlich, daß Lukian gern den Artikel beifügt. Jedoch hat er dies nicht immer getan; Konsequenz ist nicht seine Stärke" (163).

17. See, e.g., Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 230–31.

18. Fernandez Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 232.

19. John William Wevers, "Proto-Septuagint Studies," in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of Theophile J. Meek* (ed. W. S. MacCullough; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 69.

> Wichtig ist, dass die Vorlage dieser Rezension sehr alt war . . . Wir gäben viel darum diesen „antiochenischen Text" noch zu haben. Leider besitzen wir nur noch eine „antiochenische Rezension" und die Rekonstruktion ihrer Vorlage ist nicht mehr möglich. [It is important, that this recension has a base that is quite old. . . . We would give much to have this (old) Antiochene Text. Unfortunately we only have the Antiochene Recension. A reconstruction of its Vorlage is not possible anymore.][20]

Jennifer Dines puts it a little bit more optimistic by saying: "Much remains to be done . . . above all, to sort out the 'proto-Lucianic' elements from those belonging to the later 'updating.'"[21]

Before going on to find out some criteria, we have to become aware of a methodical problem. Much work has been done to describe the characteristics of the Lucianic text/the Lucianic recension. The descriptions by Rahlfs, Ziegler, Brock, Taylor, and others mention many common features, the most prominent of which I have mentioned above. These descriptions were made by comparison with an older text that was either given by important manuscripts (e.g., Rahlfs, comparing 4Kingdoms—nowadays defined as a kaige text—based mainly on Codex Vaticanus) or a text that was defined or reconstructed as an old, or as the oldest, text (Ziegler, Brock), but reconstructed under the exclusion of the Lucianic text (cf. the above-quoted statement by Rahlfs, 1935). These analyses produced clear results, but they are basically statistical, and therefore time-neutral. In other words, the descriptions confirm or seem to confirm what was known before. For example, if there are more words in the Lucianic text, it is understood to be an addition, because the Lucianic text is the latest. If there is an additional article, Lucian has added it, although sometimes he also deleted the article or a word.[22]

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20. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta*, (Münsteraner Judaistische Studien, 9; Münster: Lit, 2001), 90.

21. Jennifer Dines, *The Septuagint*, (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 105. It would be helpful if there were semantic or grammatical criteria. Unfortunately, not much has been found so far. The supposed Atticizing tendencies seem to suggest Lucian's time, but they were also quite strong in early Hellenistic times, especially in Alexandria. Also on the semantic level, it is very hard to find words in the Lucianic text that had not been in use in the Hellenistic period as well.

22. The presupposition that Codex Vaticanus is the best witness and closest to the Old Greek (Ur-Septuaginta) can be seen throughout in Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*. Taylor (*Lucianic Manuscripts,* 6) states this view most clearly in general and as the basic assumption for his interpretation of the statistical data: "Assumptions: From the results of previous work in Septuagintal studies in general and the Lucianic manuscripts in particular come six conclusions that relate directly to this present work, and combine to form important background material. These conclusions have not been restudied; rather they are assumed on the authority of the research and their general acceptance within the field. The first assumption is that for 1 Reigns Ms B is the best witness to, and lies close to, the Old Greek."

This way of describing has stayed the same since Rahlfs and his downplaying of the agreements with Josephus and the Old Latin version, although we have a new picture of the early history of the biblical text, especially as there are now the Samuel texts from Qumran and as there is a clear evidence and a better understanding of the kaige recension.

This means that we must become aware of the danger of circular reasoning, and we have to differentiate between the description of differences in the textual forms and their historical placement. For the sake of testing the traditional assumptions, we should at least tentatively try to change the perspectives and then compare the results.

As Rahlfs had already compared the Lucianic text with (what today we call) a kaige text, and especially because today we have a clear idea about the kaige recension and its place in the history of the Septuagint, we turn now to the kaige recension.

5. The Kaige Recension and Early Jewish Understanding of the Biblical Text

Some characteristics of what later on was called the kaige recension have been put forward already by Thackeray.[23] In his research on the books of Kingdoms he identified the Hebraizing translation in the sections βγ and γδ and related its characteristics to Ur-Theodotion.[24] The discovery of the famous scroll of the minor prophets from Naḥal Ḥever proved the high age of this recension and Barthélemy in his famous book *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*[25] could clarify its characteristics. The name-giving characteristic of the recension was its rendering of Hebrew גם with Greek καιγε, but there are more and probably more important and significant characteristics, for example, the different renderings of the personal pronoun first person singular. The short form אני is rendered by εγω and the long form אנכי is rendered by εγω ειμι, whether there followed a finite verb or not. Evidently, the revisors of the kaige group did not mind a sentence like εγω ειμι ασομαι, which was—to put it mildly—impossible in Greek. Why did they do so?

At this point it should be remembered that Barthélemy (*Les Devanciers d'Aquila,* 127) had come to a very different view. The result of his analysis was that the Antiochene text, at least in the books of Kingdoms, represents more or less the Old Greek, only with some deterioration and mistakes ("plus ou moins abâtardie et corrompue") and that Codex Vaticanus, at least in the kaige sections, of Kingdoms but also in Judges B, represents the kaige recension.

23. Henry St. Jones Thackeray, "The Greek translators of the four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907): 262–66.

24. Henry St. Jones Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: Published for the British Academy by H. Milford, 1921), 17.

25. *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963).

The reason for this and the other phenomena was the contemporary under-standing of the Holy Scriptures. In early Judaism, the Holy Scriptures came to be understood as a perfect text, that is, a text that had no real contradictions and that contained everything that is needed. This understanding of the scriptures led to the development of the so-called rules of rabbinic exegesis—the six rules of Rabbi Hillel, the thirteen rules of Rabbi Ishmael, and the thirty-two rules of Rabbi Eliezer.[26] The rules were assigned to the authority of those rabbis of the first and second centuries c.e., but most of the rules, or, probably better, procedures, were older and partly developed from biblical texts; for instance the rule of the Notari-con. This rule says that new meanings can be derived from a single letter or by dividing up words differently.[27] A precursor of this rule is the well-known renam-ing of Abram to Abraham in Gen 17. The additional "h" in Abraham is explained as an allusion to the word hāmōn, meaning the noise of a multitude. The new name is a hint to the multitude of the progeny of Abraham.

The rule of the Notaricon was already also used by the Septuagint translators. In the book of Ruth the famous appellation of God as Shadday is translated as ὁ ἱκανος, the one who is enough. The translator split the inexplicable שַׁדַּי, shadday, into the relative particle שֶׁ and the adjectiv דַּי, which means "enough." So Shad-day is the God who is enough, ὁ ἱκανός.

Scripture contains everything; you just have to find it out, and scripture has no contradictions, everything fits together. In the famous words of the so-called small creed in Deut 26.5 "A perishing[28] Aramaean was my father" there is a prob-lem: Who was this father? It must have been one of the fathers from Genesis. Although they are not considered as Aramaeans by themselves, at least they had Aramaean relatives, but neither Abraham nor Jacob was perishing, as they came to Canaan. In the Septuagint we read: Συρίαν ἀπέβαλεν ὁ πατὲρ μου: my father left/abandoned Syria. This fits the Genesis tradition; Jacob had left Syria. Is this a forced translation for the sake of hamonization? Or does it correspond to the Hebrew text? The answer is that it is just a different division of the Hebrew words ארמי אבד. If the division is made between the מ and the י, the result is ארם,[29] which is "Syria," and a finite verb יאבד, which can be rendered as "leaving, aban-

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26. For these rules and for early Jewish hermeneutics see Christoph Dohmen and Günter Stemberger, *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments* (KST 1.2; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1996). See also the chapter on Rabbinical Hermeneutics in Gunter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash* (London: T&T Clark, 1996).

27. The rabbis probably would not have said that the new meaning was made by the exe-gete, but only that it was brought forward, out from the text where it had been hidden.

28. There has been much discussion about the translation of אבד; this needs not to be discussed here (cf. the dictionaries and the commentaries), but "wandering" certainly is to weak and is in itself a kind of harmonization for the above-mentioned problem.

29. Probably the change was made before the use of final letters, although this would not have hindered it.

doning, going away." The minor change in word division allows an understanding that is in accordance with the book of Genesis.[30]

Scripture is perfect. This understanding was not there at once, it developed. It grew stronger and unfolded its consequences. One consequence is that if scripture is perfect and contains everything, then this also means that nothing is missing and nothing is too much. Each detail must have its meaning, or at least the potential for meaning, and nothing is unnecessary. On the contrary, especially those little things that seem unnecessary must be of importance, otherwise they would not be there. One such unimportant detail in our eyes is the difference between the short and long form of the personal pronoun, אני and אנכי, which, as mentioned above, the kaige text wanted to make visible also in Greek.

With these observations we are back at the kaige recension. With features like the famous εγω ειμι, the kaige recension not only translates the meaning of the Hebrew text, but it wants to show the form of the Hebrew text in its Greek rendering. The reader of the Greek text should be made aware of special features of the Hebrew text. To make a point, the original Septuagint was, so to speak, a one-way undertaking. It translated the Hebrew biblical texts into Greek. The kaige recension added—and emphasized—the other direction. It became a two-way street; the reader should get the meaning of the Hebrew Scriptures, and at the same time he should be pointed back to the Hebrew text.

This has more consequences than are yet recognized. A look at the column with the kaige text shows that this text is very close to the Hebrew text; in most cases the texts match almost word by word. But if we take a closer look, we discover that the author of the kaige text would not be applauded by a modern teacher of Hebrew. For instance the genitival group (*Genitivverbindung*) אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל, "the men of Israel" at the end of v. 6 is determined, because the name Israel is determined by itself. The same is the case with the שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, the tribes of Israel, in v. 10. On the other hand, the שֹׁפָר in the genitival group אֶת־קוֹל הַשֹּׁפָר needs the article הַ in order to be determined. Now, if such a genitival group is determined in English or in German, and, in most cases, in Greek as well, this determination would be expressed by an article. This is the case with the sound of the שֹׁפָר in v. 10: אֶת־קוֹל הַשֹּׁפָר is rendered by τὴν φωνὴν τῆς κερατίνης. But if we look at the tribes of Israel in the same verse, there is no article. The שִׁבְטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל have become the φυλαῖς Ισραήλ only. A modern teacher of Hebrew would classifiy this as a grammatical error. Why did the kaige revisors make grammatical errors?

The answer is simple: Because they had different intentions. They not only wanted to render the meaning of the Hebrew text, they also wanted to render the surface of the text. The point is not whether the noun is determinated or not; the

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30. It can be left open, if this change was made by the Septuagint translators or if they only translated this exegetical solution they knew about.

point is whether or not there is a (visible) article. In v. 10, הַשֹּׁפָר has an article, so it becomes τῆς κερατίνης. A few words before, יִשְׂרָאֵל has no article, so in Greek, there is no article for Ισραήλ either.

We have to add another observation. In Hebrew, there is the *nota accusativi*. The *nota accusativi* is used only with determinated objects. This means at the same time that the *nota accusativi* indicates determination. This for instance is the case with אֶת־קוֹל הַשֹּׁפָר in v. 10: The אֶת indicates, that קוֹל is determinated (because of the determinated *nomen rectum*). Accordingly there is an article in the kaige text: τὴν φωνὴν τῆς κερατίνης.

This insight is confirmed at the end of v. 6: Absalom has taken away אֶת־לֵב אַנְשֵׁי יִשְׂרָאֵל׃, "the heart of the men of Israel." All three nouns are determinated; the Antiochene text (correctly) uses the article three times. But the kaige text is rendered according to the text surface, grapheme by grapheme: τὴν καρδίαν ἀνδρῶν Ισραηλ. The article in the Greek text corresponds to the אֶת, the other words have no article, as there is no visible article (or other grapheme) in the Hebrew text either.

The article is not used because of grammatical reasons, but according to the surface of the text. If there is a grapheme in the Hebrew, then there is an article in Greek, and the other way around. Before going on, we have to mention that not only do the article and the *nota accusativi* count for this graphemic principle, but also other graphemes, like prepositions or particles.[31] At the beginning of v. 5 we have בְּקָרָב־אִישׁ . The בְ counts as a grapheme that is equalled by the Greek article. The אִישׁ has no grapheme, accordingly, ἄνδρα is without an article.

We could cite many more examples and other texts as well. Certainly, there are exceptions, as in 2 Sam 15, but the basic rule is clear and cannot be pushed aside. This insight certainly gives a better understanding of the kaige recension. But the really important thing is what this insight means for the analysis of the Antiochene text. Basically it means the following: The article is not an irregular addition by the Lucianic recension; it rather is a feature of the pre-kaige text and therefore most probably of the Old Greek itself. The Old Greek used the article according to the grammar and the meaning of the Hebrew text and according to Greek grammar. The kaige recension had other ideals and changed it according to its rules, that is according to the textual surface of its Hebrew reference text.

With this insight we return to the Antiochene text and the problem of the Lucianic recension.

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31. Ziegler, *Beiträge zur Jeremias-Septuaginta*, under the heading "Die Wiedergabe hebr. Partikeln mit dem Artikel" 121–24 refers exactly to this phenomenon. He mentions ʾät, lᵉ, ʾasher, ʾäl, ʿal, and bᵉ. The problem is just that he considers this phenomenon as a sign of literal translation (which is true on the graphemic level, but not on the grammatical and semantic level), and takes this as a sign for the original text. Strangely, for the Hebrew text Ziegler talks only about the article and not about determination.

6. The Characteristics of the Antiochene Text and the Problem of Criteria for the Lucianic Recension

The new insights on the kaige recension in turn lead to a new evaluation of one of the most famous traits of the Lucianic recension. It is not the Lucianic recension that—inconsistently!—added the article, but rather it was the kaige recension that deleted (or sometimes added) the article—consistently according to its rules. This has a clear consequence for the Old Greek as well. It means, at least in regard to the article, that the Old Greek interpreted its *Vorlage* according to Hebrew Grammar and translated it into correct Greek.

This insight opens the perspectives and leads to a further discovery: The other most famous feature of the Lucianic recension is the addition of words that clarify the meaning, like making explicit personal pronouns. There are two problems with this: 1) As far as I can see nobody has ever asked if this is at all probable. I mentioned that Origen was very careful in his editing of the Greek biblical text. Is it really probable that Lucian in his rather late time made such far-reaching changes in his text of the Holy Scriptures? I have serious doubts about this assumption. 2) This supposed feature is very close to a well-known feature of the Hebrew biblical texts, namely the addition of explanatory words, especially names, and making explicit the person who is acting, talking, or being addressed. Such texts usually are called vulgar texts (*Vulgärtexte*). Many such texts have been found at Qumran, so that Emanuel Tov also speaks about texts in the Qumran scribal practice. And, as is well known, the Samaritan Pentateuch also represents this text type.[32]

This means that those seeming—but also irregular—plusses consisting of expansions and explanations in the Antiochene text[33] may not automatically be considered as the result of a late Lucianic recension; they could as well have been in the Hebrew *Vorlage* already. This alternative explanation has at least to be taken into account and checked without the old prejudice.

For an answer, a comparison of the two versions is helpful again. At the end of v. 6, there is an additional παντῶν in the Antiochene text. The traditional explanation is that the Lucianic recension added it. But, considering what we have found in regard to the article, it may be as well that kaige deleted it, because it was not in its Hebrew text.

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32. See, e.g., Esther and Hanan Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls" in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emauel Tov* (ed. A. M. Paul, R. A. Kraft, L. H. Schiffman, and W. W. Fields; VTSup 94, Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40.

33. Basically the differences had been defined as plusses because of the comparison with Codex Vaticanus (so already Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*; cf. above, note 22) resp. the kaige text, and under the assumption that the Lucianic text is *eo ipso* the youngest.

In the kaige text of v. 4 there is the double expression **ἀντιλογία καὶ** κρίσις. In the Antiochene text there is only one expression, namely κρίσις. The traditional explanation is about the same as with the article. Lucian many times added a word, but sometimes he deleted a word, as he would have done in this case. But why? If we look at the text according to the features of the kaige text, then the second expression was added by the kaige text because its Hebrew reference text had a double expression: רִיב וּמִשְׁפָּט.[34]

Another example can be seen in v. 10. Absalom sends his messengers εἰς πάσας **τὰς** φυλὰς **τοῦ** Ισραηλ. The preposition εἰς and the following accusative fit well with the verb. In the kaige text we read ἐν πάσαις φυλαῖς Ισραηλ. The preposition and the case are different. ἐν with dative does not really fit to the verb, which expresses a movement. But it is an exact rendering of the Hebrew בְּ.

If the overall picture is correct, we have to assume that the Antiochene text—at least in the two traits we examined—represents the Original Greek and that the kaige recension changed it according to its hermeneutical rules in regard to the textual surface.

7. Conclusions

1) We have to take seriously the insight that the Lucianic/Antiochene text has many agreements with Josephus and with the Old Latin translation and often is confirmed by the Qumran Samuel texts, which means that the Antiochene text contains an old text form. This does not exclude a Lucianic revision nor does it exclude an early so-called proto-Lucianic revision. But we must open up the analysis and the comparison with other text forms. A correct comparison cannot automatically start with the old presupposition, that any differences to the other text forms are the work of Lucian respectively the Lucianic revision from around 300 C.E. This only proves what is presupposed and leads to descriptions of the presupposition. Rather we have to be open for different ages within the text and therefore for different directions of the relations and dependencies. With this openness, the challenge is to develop criteria for evaluating the differences.

2) Looking at the two most famous traits of the assumed Lucianic revision, i.e., the addition (but also sometimes deletion) of the article and the addition (but also sometimes deletion) of explanatory words, we have found out, that the Antiochene text—at least in this regard—is close to the Old Greek and that the kaige recension changed the text according to its hermeneutical rules that is according to the surface of the Hebrew text. By taking into account the Early Jewish understanding of the biblical text, we could give a consistent explanation for the differences between the kaige text and the Antiochene text. The differences are not the result of an irregular or careless recensional activity by some

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34. Also in Josephus, *Ant.* 7.195, only κρίσις is presupposed.

Lucianic recension, but they are the result of the kaige recension with its own hermeneutics.

3) This being the case, it means that two of the most accepted and famous features of the Antiochene text are not the feature of some Lucianic redaction around 300 C.E., rather, they are features of the original Septuagint from around 200 B.C.E. This makes a difference of about five hundred years, and last but not least, makes an important difference for the characterization of the Old Greek. As mentioned, this does not exclude the existence of an early so-called proto-Lucianic and a late Lucianic revision in the Antiochene text, but they have to be shown.

4) If this evaluation of the Antiochene text holds true, it must be the same outside the kaige sections of the books of Samuel and Kings as well, and it is. There is not room here to present an analysis of texts from the non-kaige section of Samuel-Kings or in the book of Jeremiah, but it confirms what has been presented here. By leaving aside the traditional chronological presuppositions, the inconsistent picture of the assumed late Lucianic revision can be replaced by a consistent explanation.

5) By opening up the traditional assumptions and by taking into account the hermeneutical approaches to the biblical text in Early Jewish time we have found at least some criteria for the evaluation of the text and the development of the textual traditions, especially in regard of the Antiochene text. In other words, we have found some criteria for the way towards the Old Greek.

The Constantinople Pentateuch within the Context of Septuagint Studies

Julia G. Krivoruchko

Abstract: The paper presents an outlook of recent scholarship about the origin and main features of the Constantinople Pentateuch (1547). The historical background of the edition is outlined, and the text of its title page analyzed. The Greek and Judeo-Spanish Pentateuch of 1547 is further compared to the Judeo-Arabic and Persian Pentateuch of 1546. It is concluded that the former was an edition on its own right, and not a reworking of any previous edition. The author argues that the Greek text of Constantinople Pentateuch represents a *laaz*, that is, a popular "vulgar" translation, which functioned mostly orally. Editorial work, if any, was minimal and not viewed as particularly valuable. It is unlikely that the edition was sponsored by Ottoman authorities, neither was it based on any authoritative text. The primarily didactic function of the Constantinople Pentateuch is evident both in the physical features of the edition and the characteristics of its language.

1. Introduction

A polyglot Bible, commonly known as the Constantinople Pentateuch (CP), was printed in 1547 by Eliezer (Albert) Soncino, a member of the prominent Italian printers' dynasty of Ashkenazi origin. Apart from the Hebrew text with parallel Greek and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) translations, the Pentateuch also contains Targum Onkelos and Rashi. As happens with early prints, not all copies of this edition are absolutely identical.[1]

The interest of biblical scholars and translation specialists in this unique book takes its origin at least from the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries. In particular, as early as 1924, D. S. Blondheim drew the attention of the learned community to the fact that the Greek column of CP may constitute a link in the long chain of Jewish Biblical translations starting in antiquity. Apart from CP, the landmarks of this tradition were, in his mind, a fragment of Greek Ecclesiastes found in the Cairo Genizah, medieval glosses in *Arukh* by Nathan ben Jehiel

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1. Julia G. Krivoruchko, "Textual Variants in the Constantinopolitan Pentateuch" (paper presented at the VIII European Congress of Jewish Studies, Moscow, 26 July 2006). The text of the paper is being prepared for publication.

(1101), later glosses of Aféda Béghi (1627) and modern Jewish translations into Greek that were still current in Blondheim's time.[2]

A major landmark in CP research was the publication of the full text of CP in Greek letters by D. C. Hesseling in 1897. The latter, being a neo-Hellenist rather than a biblical scholar, characterized CP as a translation totally independent from the LXX.[3] This understanding was questioned only very recently in the pioneering works of N. Fernández-Marcos.[4] In his opinion, "the agreements [of CP] with the LXX in the lexicon and in some constructions—sometimes against the 'three'— are . . . striking" and call for further investigation.[5]

An additional impetus to CP research came from the editorial practice. Since it was noticed that the marginal hand F[b] of Codex Ambrosianus provides in many cases translational equivalents similar to that of CP, J. Wevers included CP in the second apparatus of his edition of Exodus.[6] Thus, there seems to be an agreement as to the potential value of CP for LXX studies. At the very least, inasmuch as CP preserves the ancient readings, it may be used for their verification if not for reconstruction.

In order to make full use of CP, a Septuagint scholar would naturally want to have a reliable edition along with some basic information on the prehistory of the text. When and where did it originate? What personalities or groups shaped it? On which principles? What degree of preservation of Septuagint and Hexaplaric material should be expected?

The purpose of this paper is multiple. I will start with summarizing our current knowledge about the historical background and textual features of CP translations. The first attempt of this kind was undertaken in 1985 by N. Fernández-Marcos. The twenty years that have passed since then have been marked by significant developments in many fields, and a new summary is necessary to recapitulate recent advances. Next, I will address the accumulated data in order to draw some preliminary conclusions about the nature of CP and its relationship to the Septuagint. I am well aware that going over a number of highly specialized

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2. David S. Blondheim, "Échos du Judéo-Hellénisme. Étude sur l'influence de la Septante et d'Aquila sur les versions néo-grecques des Juifs," *REJ* 78 (1924): 1–14.

3. Dirk C. Hesseling, *Les cinq livres de la loi (le Pentateuque): traduction en néo-grec publiée en caractères hébraïques à Constantinople en 1547, transcrite et accompagnée d'une introduction d'un glossaire et d'un fac-simile, par D.C. Hesseling* (Leiden: van Doesburgh-Harrasowitz, 1897), II.

4. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "El Pentateuco griego de Constantinopla," *Erytheia* 6 (1985): 185–203; idem, "Some Thoughts on the Later Judaeo-Greek Biblical Tradition," *Bulletin of Judaeo-Greek Studies* 2 (1988): 14–15; idem, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

5. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 178.

6. John W. Wevers and Udo Quast, eds., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Exodus* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 43–44.

fields makes exhaustiveness unachievable and imprecision inevitable. Still, I hope that this article will permit me at least to point out the problems that deserve further investigation.

2. Current Achievements in the CP and Cognate Studies

Uneven consideration has been given to different aspects of CP. Unfortunately, both the Hebrew text of CP with traditional Targum and Rashi's commentary have failed to attract the attention of researchers. Several notes on the CP edition interspersed with biblio-historical descriptions (see below) have remained essentially unknown to the researchers of the Greek text.

With few exceptions, Greek and Ladino translations of CP continue to be studied independently of each other. As for the Romance part, early monographs on the translation technique of CP by H. V. Sephiha, concentrating mainly on Deuteronomy, and L. Amigo Espada have not been superseded.[7] However, a full transcription of the Ladino version by M. Lazar made the material more accessible, and a large range of comparable texts has been made available for analysis, such as codex I.J.3 of Escorial and the Bible of Ferrara.[8] An introductory volume has been dedicated to the latter.[9] Ladino versions of traditional Jewish texts have been studied, notably Mishnaic tractate *Pirkei Avot* by O. Schwarzwald (Rodrigue).[10] An important contribution to comparative translational studies has been made by D. M. Bunis, who also brought to notice the oral biblical translations current in the Sephardic milieu.[11] The written Ladino translations of biblical

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7. Haïm Vidal Sephiha, *Le Ladino, judéo-espagnol calque: Deutéronome, versions de Constantinople, 1547 et de Ferrare, 1553: édition, étude linguistique et lexique* (Paris: Centre de Recherches Hispaniques, Institut d'Études Hispaniques, 1973); Lorenzo Amigo Espada, *El Pentateuco de Constantinopla y la Biblia medieval judeoespañola: Criterios y fuentes de traducción* (Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca, 1983). See also idem, "Una aproximación al Pentateuco de Constantinopla (1547)," *Estudios Bíblicos* 48 (1990): 81–111.

8. Moshe Lazar and Robert J. Dilligan. *The Ladino Bible of Ferrara, 1553: A Critical Edition* (Culver City, Calif.: Labyrinthos, 1992); Moshe Lazar, *Biblia ladinada: Escorial I.J.3: A Critical Edition.* (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1995).

9. Iacob M. Hassán and Ángel Berenguer Amador, eds., *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara: Actas del simposio international sobre la Biblia de Ferrara, Sevilla, 25–28 de noviembre de 1991* (Madrid: CSIC, 1994).

10. Ora Schwarzwald (Rodrigue), *The Ladino Translations of Pirke Aboth* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989). (Hebrew)

11. David M. Bunis, "Tres formas de ladinar la Biblia en Italia en los siglos XVI–XVII," *Introducción a la Biblia de Ferrara: Actas del simposio international sobre la Biblia de Ferrara, Sevilla, 25-28 de noviembre de 1991* (ed. I. M. Hassán and A. Berenguer Amador; Madrid: CSIC, 1994), 315–45; the same, "Hebrew Elements in Sefer Ḥešeq Šelomo," *Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Hebrew and Aramaic*

and para-biblical books are actively perused by linguists researching the history of Spanish.

Meanwhile, the researchers of Greek CP continue to use D. C. Hesseling's transcription, although from time to time voices are heard urging the re-edition of the text.[12] In general, while a ritual bow in the direction of CP is performed in many general histories of Greek literature and language, the actual research on it remains rather limited.[13] Among the linguistic topics addressed with the help of CP material in recent decades were the history of the infinitive by B. Joseph and nominal derivation by E. Karandzola.[14] The recent dissertation by D. Arar does not deal with *strictu senso* linguistic information.[15] The tendency towards decreasing use of CP data is understandable, inasmuch as Hesseling's edition itself became a rarity. Meanwhile, numerous early Modern Greek texts appeared in excellent editions, and old Demotic forms of CP, which sounded exotic to nineteenth-century western scholars, do not lift brows any longer. A few attempts to compare both translations were undertaken, albeit they were limited in scope.[16] The conclusion of C. Aslanov, made on the first chapter of Genesis, that CP represents a "revision of the Septuagint text in a more vernacular and literal way" would require a thorough reexamination of the totality of the text.[17]

Elements in Jewish Languages (Milan, October 23–26, 1995) (ed. S. Morag, M. Bar-Asher and M. Mayer-Modena; Milano: Centro di Studi Camito-Semitici, 1999), 153–81.

12. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Some Thoughts on the Later Judaeo-Greek Biblical Tradition," *BJGS* 2 (1988): 15.

13. E.g., Henri Tonnet, *History of Greek Language* (trans. M. Karamanou and P. Lialiatsis; ed. Ch. Charalampakis; Athens: Papadimas, 1995; transl. of *Histoire du grec moderne*. Paris: L'Asiathèque, 1993), 110–19 (Greek); idem, "Writing Modern Greek with Hebrew Characters in the Constantinople Pentateuch (1547)," in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Modern Greek Language, Sorbonne, 14–15 February 1992* (ed. Ch. Clairis; Athens: OEDB, 1992), 209–14 (Greek).

14. Brian D. Joseph, *The Synchrony and Diachrony of the Balkan Infinitive: A Study in Areal, General and Historical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983; the same, "Processes of Spread for Syntactic Constructions in the Balkans," *Balkan Linguistik: Synchronie und Diachronie* (ed. C. Tzitzilis and C. Symeonidis; Thessaloniki: University of Thessaloniki, 2000), 139–50; Eleni Karantzola, "Morphological and Semasilogical Aspects of Nominal Suffixation in Early Modern Greek," *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 24 (2004): 218–29 (Greek).

15. David Arar, "Le Pentateuque de Constantinople (1547): une traduction littérale?" (Ph. D. diss., University of Paris IV, 2005).

16. Micheline Chaze, "Remarques et notes sur les versions grecque et ladino du Pentateuque de Constantinople, 1547," in *Hommage à Georges Vajda* (ed. Gérard Nahon and Charles Touati; Louvain: Peeters, 1980), 323–32 ; Cyril Aslanov, "The Judeo-Greek and Ladino columns in the Constantinople edition of the Pentateuch (1547): A Linguistic Commentary on Gen. 1:1–15," *Revue des Études Juives* 158 (1999): 385–97; cf. Daniel Goldschmidt, "The Bible Translations into Greek by the Sixteenth Century Jews," *Qiryat Sefer* 33 (1958): 133 (Hebrew).

17. Aslanov, "Judeo-Greek and Ladino columns," 391.

Most significant progress has been achieved in understanding the historical framework in which CP was created. Several collections of articles have been dedicated to the cultural background and editorial activities of Italian printers and specifically the Soncino family.[18] Studies of early Jewish Ottoman society have proliferated as two major kinds of sources were perused: Ottoman archives and fiscal documents, and *responsa* literature. A veritable flood of literature enriched our perception of the economic and social history of the period, and its distinguished personalities included Moses Capsali, Eliyahu Mizrahi, Mordekhai Comatiano, Eliyahu Bashyadzi, Caleb Afendopoulo, Moses Hamon, Joseph Nasi, Grazia Nasi, Joseph Taitazak, among others.[19]

3. CP Text and Its Historical Background

For the purposes of the LXX research, a critical edition of CP is a must. The latter presupposes a full list of *variae lectiones*, and to achieve that, it would be helpful to know how many CP exemplars have survived until today. Unfortunately, the exact number and location of CP copies is still unknown. Sixteenth-century editions are not fully catalogued, although they do not essentially differ from the *incunabulae* neither in their technology nor in their rarity. No records about the initial number of books produced by Eliezer Soncino remain, and we lack indirect information, such as time spent for printing, that would permit us to calculate the number. In very approximate estimation, of several hundred copies, less than a dozen complete or almost complete ones survived. It is indeed auspicious, since many contemporaneous Constantinople prints are known to us only by their names.

The scarcity of early Constantinople editions should perhaps be attributed to the extensive fire that devoured almost the whole Jewish quarter of the Ottoman capital in 1569. The few copies that might have found their way to the West would have also suffered, inasmuch as in 1568 the Venetian government collected and burnt Hebrew books. If our suggestion is correct, CP became a sought-after book in the space of less than one generation. Indeed, in Venice in 1588 Moses Cordovero justified the publication of *Sefer Heshek Shelomo*, a glossary of difficult biblical words, by the fact that Jews of moderate income (*medios modestos*) could not afford the complete biblical texts that appeared in 1540–1585 in Constantinople and Salonika.[20] Of course, Cordovero's lament might mean that the

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18. Giuliano Tamani, ed., *I tipografi ebrei a Soncino 1483–1490: Atti del convegno, Soncino, 12 giugno 1988* (Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1989); the same, *L'attività editoriale di Gershom Soncino, 1502–1527: atti del Convegno, Soncino, 17 settembre 1995* (Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1997).

19. The relevant bibliography is too large to be covered here.

20. Bunis, "Formas de ladinar," 315–16. Further evidence of the rarity and popularity of CP is supplied by Joseph ben Hayim of Belgrade in the introduction to his edition of

Pentateuchs were costly from the very beginning: it is hard to determine, as on the book itself no price was stated.[21] Yet it is important to mention that all the CP copies described in the bibliography are printed on paper, while with the dawn of printing other alternatives were available. We know about the existence of parchment copies of a Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian Polyglot Pentateuch produced by Eliezer Soncino in 1546.[22] Parchment exemplars were normally less damageable, and one would be tempted to conclude that this luxurious technology was not implemented in the case of CP. Possible reasons for such a decision will be discussed below.

It has been suggested that the Masoretic text, which was typeset for the polyglot Pentateuch in 1546, could have been reused for a new edition a year after, thus resulting in an economy of printers' time.[23] However, the more texts that are printed in parallel, the more complicated the page layout becomes. So, if Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian translations happen to be shorter or longer than Greek or Ladino, a different arrangement of Torah, Rashi, and Onkelos would be in order.[24] As a result, complex rethinking and rearranging of individual pages would be needed, so that planning a new layout from scratch might be an easier solution. Whatever the case may be, M. Lazar has measured the letters used for

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Hamisha Humshey Tora in Wien, 1813: "ansí tupí in una akdamá ki.trai in anyu de SH"Z si instanparun in.Kustantina Arbá Viisrim kun targum sifaradí shpaniol i gregu i.no dizi kén lus istanpó . . . I di.todus estus no.vimus nada i si.topan de eyus in la livriría di il rey di Prusia" ("I also encountered in a preface [an information] that in year 307 (1547) the Twenty Four [books of Torah] were published in Constantinople with Ladino and Greek translation without mentioning who published them . . . We have not seen anything of all these, but in the Library of Prussian King there should be such [books]") (quoted after Bunis, "Formas de ladinar," 341 no. 17). Cf. also the note on the rarity of Constantinopolitan Soncino prints, made by either N.-C. Fabri de Peiresc or Salomon Azubi between 1630 and 1632, in Peter N. Miller, "The Mechanics of Christian-Jewish Intellectual Collaboration in Seventeenth-Century Provence: N.-C. Fabri de Peiresc and Salomon Azubi," in *Hebraica Veritas? Christian Hebraists and the Study of Judaism in Early Modern Europe* (ed. Allison P. Coudert and Jeffrey S. Shoulson; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 82–83.

21. This practice was generally rare.

22. Aharon (Aron) Freimann, "Die Hebräischen Pergamentdrucke," *Zeitschrift für Hebraische Bibliographie* 15 (1911): 56.

23. Nicholas R. M. de Lange, "The Greek Bible in Byzantine and Ottoman Judaism" (paper presented at the "Touching Base: A Joint Seminar of the IOSCS Hexapla Project and the AHRC Greek Bible in Byzantine Judaism Project", Cambridge, 17 August 2006).

24. The examination of copies shows that layout is adapted to the length of translation, and not *vice versa*. Also, corrections in CP, although they change the length of the text, do not aim to fit the text in the available space.

both multilingual Pentateuchs and discovered that they differ in size.[25] Therefore, we should assume that each of them was produced individually.

Currently the largest number of CP copies is to be found in Jerusalem (Jewish National and University Library and Schocken Institute).[26] Other publicly accessible copies are preserved in the National Library in Paris, the Bodleian, the British Library and the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary. D. C. Hesseling mentioned also a copy in Modena (n.v.).

A number of pages of CP were retrieved from Cairo Genizah; they are currently preserved in the Taylor-Schechter Genizah Collection in the Cambridge University Library.[27] All the five books of Pentateuch are represented, albeit by insignificant fragments: Gen 4:25–5:3; 5:11–16 in Misc. 32.22 and NS 291.6; Gen 37:2–38:11 in Misc 32.54 (three leaves), Exod 17:12–18:10, as well as 20:25–21:10 and 33:21–34:26, in Misc. 32.54 (two leaves); Lev 21:5–17 in AS 190.105 and AS 190.106; Num 1:1–6, 13-20 in AS 191.427 (few Greek prepositions only); Num 6:22–7:28 in Misc. 32.54 (two leaves); Deut 7:5–19 in Misc 32.36; Deut 9:20–10:6 in Misc 32.54 and AS 190.281 (few Greek words only). The fragment AS 192.7 is tiny, and the precise Biblical reference cannot be established; AS 190.334 seems also to belong to CP, but it does not contain any Greek or Ladino text. Most probably, all the Cambridge fragments originate from a single copy, as no biblical text occurs twice.

Regrettably, the directory of surviving Constantinople prints composed by A. Yaari in 1967 mostly concentrates on the libraries of Israel and the USA and includes only limited data about European collections.[28] No newer work has replaced his list.

When compiling a new catalogue, close attention should be given to each CP copy, as they may comprise pages from more than one original print.[29] Very early CP copies must have been chased by collectors, some of whom were illiterate in Hebrew and could only judge the completeness of the copy by the number of pages in it. Therefore, to cater for such clients, random pages of more poorly preserved Pentateuchs would have been bound into other incomplete copies to create presumably complete ones. Individual leaves must have been traded as fillers, while the absence of modern page numbering made it easier for book traders

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25. Moshe Lazar, "The Judeo-Spanish Translations of the Bible," *Sefunot* 8 (1964): 344, no. 26 (Hebrew). A thorough comparison of both editions should further clarify the issue.

26. The copy owned previously by I. Mehlman is now preserved in the JNUL (Jerusalem).

27. I am grateful to Prof. N. de Lange who brought this information to my notice.

28. See Joseph R. Hacker, "Constantinople Prints in the 16th Century," *Areshet* 5 (1972): 459 (Hebrew).

29. J. Hacker believes that some pages in the beginning of the book were replaced close to the printing time, and connects this change to the revision of the text. However, in a Jerusalem exemplar checked by us the same pages appear twice, which would suggest that they were supplied rather than replaced.

to conceal these tricks. The existence of chaotically blended exemplars empha-
sises the need for full collation of all existent CPs.

In order to position the CP among other Greek Jewish biblical translations,
information about the provenance of its text is crucial. Unfortunately, in our case
no direct evidence of such a kind seems to be available; Eliezer Soncino did not
leave us any testimony that would shed light on the motives for his choice. Thus,
a researcher is faced with the thankless, but not wholly impossible, task of deduc-
ing the qualitative characteristics of the published text from the way in which it
was published. Apart from the physical appearance of the book, our only source
of information about the edition is a brief declaration of its scope and purposes
placed on the title page. Further on we would like to profit from the achievements
of historical and philological science to extract every possible bit of information
from this concise passage. It is customary among the researchers of early Hebrew
prints to refer to it as colophon rather than title page, and we will adopt this prac-
tice further.[30]

In the copies of CP preserved in Jerusalem, the main colophon runs as fol-
lows:

השבח למחוייב המציאות אשר העיר אותנו להדפיס ספר כלו מחמדים חמשה
חומשי תורה כתובים בכתב אשורי עם הפטרות וחמש מגלות וכדי להועיל לנערי
בני ישראל ולשונם תמהר לדבר צחות ראינו להדפיס בו תרגום המקרא בלשון יוני
ולשון לעז שתי הלשונות המורגלות בבני עמינו גלות החל הזה שועי יהודה וישראל
השוכנים בארצות תוגרמה. ולהיות כל בר ישראל מחוייב להשלים פרשיותיו עם
הצבור שנים מקרא ואחד תרגום ראינו להדפיס בו גם כן תרגום אנקלוס ופרוש
רש"י ע"ה: והאל יעזרנו חיל בהדפסת הספר הזה ויזכנו להדפיס ספרים רבים
להרביץ תורה בישראל: והיתה התחלת הספר הזה בראש חדש תמוז שנת הש"ז
ליצירה פה קושטנדינה בבית צעיר המחוקקים אליעזר בכ"ר גרשום שונצין ז"ל.[31]

"Praise be to the Provider of Benefit that enlightened us to print the book, "alto-
gether lovely" (Cant 5:16), five parts of Torah written in Assyrian script with
haftaroth and five *megilloth*. And in order to aid the young of the house of Israel,
"and their tongue shall be ready to speak plainly" (Isa 32:4), we decided to print
in it the translation of Mikra into the Greek tongue and the foreign tongue, two
tongues widespread among the sons of our people, "the captivity of this host"

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30. CP possesses also an actual colophon, i.e., short record marking the end of the venture.
This final note contains traditional blessing formula together with the names of two printers:
נותן לעיף כוח ולאאע"י יוסף כהן ב"ר יצחק כהן ז"ל: אביגדור בן הר"ר אליעזר צריט אשכנזי שליט
ברוך.
The Arabic-Persian Polyglot has been reported to have different text of final colophon in
different copies (see Hacker, "Constantinople Prints," 482), but nothing similar is known about
CP.

31. Unfortunately, this important evidence was often imprecisely transcribed and trans-
lated. For inaccuracies in Abraham Yaari, *The Jewish Press in Constantinople* (Jerusalem:
Magnes, 1967) (Hebrew), see the review of Hacker, "Constantinople Prints," 482.

(Obad 1:20), noblemen of Yehuda and Israel dwelling in the country of Toga-rma. And since every son of Israel must complete his weekly readings with the congregation twice in Mikra and once in Targum, we decided also to print in it Targum Onkelos and the commentary of Rashi, peace be upon/with him. And let God give us strength to print this book and grant us to print many [more] books to spread Torah among [the people of] Israel. And the commencement of this book was at the beginning of the month Tammuz in the year 5307 of the creation, here in Constantinople in the house of the youngest of printers, Eliezer, son of honourable R. Gershom Soncino, of blessed memory."

Generally, the minimalism of the title page of CP surprises those familiar with the florid and verbose style of the epoch; "the Constantinople prints are noted for their long colophons".[32] While it is definitely not the shortest of the Soncino colophons, it includes no poems, no acrostics and no rhymed prose. The biblical allusions are minimalist and self explanatory. To compare, the colophon of the polyglot Pentateuch printed a year earlier is two and a half times longer.

From the opening phrase we learn that the book in front of us is ספר כלו מחמדים חמשה חומשי תורה. The Soncino family, as well as local Constantinople printers produced numerous editions of Torah, Prophets and Writings, so that rich material for comparison is available. Bibles were printed in different formats to serve different needs and readership, and the choice of format by the publishers was often explained at length. For example, small pocket Bibles (32° and 16°) in Rashi script allowed to follow the reading during the synagogue liturgy:

כוונת המדפסים היתה לשלושה סיבות האחת להועיל ליראי ה'ולחושבי שמו
ולישרים בלבותם בהיותם בבית תפלתם חגים ושבתם יביטו וישמעו הקריאה
מפי שליח צבור ואל ישעו בדברים בטלים כי אפילו בדברי תורה אסרו רז"ל
לספר בעוד שליח צבור קורא וכל שכן בדברים בטלים.[33]

 The printers were drawn by three considerations: first, to aid worshiping God, and to support those, who revere His name, and those honest in their heart, [so that] when they are in their prayer houses on holidays and Shabbat [days], they will watch [the text] and listen to the reading of the emissary of congregation, and not indulge in idle talk, since our rabbis of blessed memory forbade to utter even the words of Torah, when the emissary of congregation is reading, and much more so the idle talk.

Folio, as a less portable format, would be intended for group or family usage rather than individual reading. Indeed, the very formulation וכדי להועיל לנערי בני ישראל suggests it was intended primarily for an educational setting.

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32. Joseph Jacobs and Richard Gottheil, "Colophon," *JE* 4:171.
33. Yaari, *The Jewish Press in Constantinople*, 79.

As we move further in the colophon, the CP is advertised as printed in square letters (בכתב אשורי). Today square letters are perceived as default and mention sounds superfluous. Ironically, this very perception derives historically from the aesthetic and marketing choices made in the late-fifteenth–early-sixteenth century by Soncino, when the options that we nowadays consider closed were still open. As pioneers of printing, Soncino commissioned graphic designs and occasionally created letter-shapes adapted to the content and prospective readership of the book, for example, characteristic Ashkenazic font for a prayer book inspired by Ashkenazic semi-cursive.[34] However, since the Pentateuch was addressed to a mixed audience, its fonts needed to be universally acceptable. Soncino square letters were precisely of this kind. Morphologically Sephardic with slight influences from Ashkenazic handwriting style, they aspired to be deprived of regional associations.[35] Instead, they were superbly functional from the viewpoint of printing technology and readability.

It is remarkable that Sephardic semi-cursive, ordered earlier by Soncino themselves in Italy and further popularized in Constantinople by the publishers of the Ibn Nahmias family, was *not* chosen for the CP translations. Moreover, both Greek and Ladino texts are vocalized throughout, which makes them easy to read even for complete beginners; the outer appearance of the book hints again at its didactic function. Obviously, pointing Judeo-Spanish would make it more accessible for Greek speakers and vice versa. This however appears to be a consequence of the initial layout choice rather than a purpose in itself.

Further on, the title page of CP promises *haftaroth* and *megilloth*, but in all the preserved copies none is found. It is believed that title pages were normally prepared at the beginning of the printing process, so changes made under the pressure of circumstances would not be reflected in the colophon, as it would have already been executed.

Several options should be considered here. First, one may suggest that the *haftaroth* and *megilloth* were printed out, but circulated independently, not bound with the rest of the Torah. In Soncino's time, the works of religious content were issued in weekly portions and sold in the synagogues. The practice was so widespread in Constantinople that intellectuals felt sorry for simple Jews who could not withstand social pressure and had to buy books without really needing

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34. It has even been suggested that the peculiar way the letters were decorated could be related to the content of the weekly readings (*parashiyot*) executed with these letters, see Adri K. Offenberg, "The Speckled Letters of Joshua Solomon Soncino (1487)," *The Library* 19:2 (1994), 138–44.

35. Malachi Beit-Arié, *The Making of the Medieval Hebrew Book: Studies in Paleography and Codicology* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), 259; Mordechai Glatzer "Early Hebrew Printing," in *A Sign and a Witness: 2,000 Years of Hebrew Books and Illuminated Manuscripts* (ed. Leonard S. Gold; New York: New York Public Library, 1988), 88.

them.[36] To be sure, it is very probable that the Arabic-Persian Pentateuch was executed to be distributed book by book.[37] As to CP, there is no evidence that it was intended for sale in installments; the known copies consist of sixty-five quires of six pages each.[38] However, even if the Torah was meant to be sold as a whole, there is still a possibility that *haftaroth* and *megilloth* would be bound into a separate volume. Such division would be justified by the fact that different communities, for example, Rabbanite and Karaite, required different texts for the relevant parts of their liturgy.[39]

A second possibility, which seems to be favored by most scholars, is that *haftaroth* and *megilloth* were actually never printed.[40] If so, some *force majeure* must have prevented the book from being properly executed.[41] An unfinished edition might have been caused by a variety of circumstances from minor technical problems to the conscious decision of the publisher, or even his death. As to the technical reasons, it was customary among the printers of that time in general and Soncino in particular, that a publisher would hire a distinguished scholar to create a layout, edit a text, and proofread it. There was no shortage of educated people or craftsmen in Constantinople at that time, so an editor or even a printer could have been replaced, should the need arise. It is more probable, therefore, that the enterprise was terminated because of the personal circumstances of E. Soncino.

We do not know how old Eliezer Soncino was on the day when the title page appeared, first of Tammuz 5307 (= 11 June 1547), as no relevant personal records survived. The expression צעיר המחוקקים at the end of the colophon should by no means be understood as reference to real age or experience. It is a relic of an old tradition originating from manuscript copyists who humbly called themselves

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36. Joseph R. Hacker, "The Intellectual Activity of the Jews of the Ottoman Empire during the 16th and 17th Centuries," *Jewish Thought in the 17th Century* (ed. I. Twersky and B. Septimus; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1987)**,** 103.

37. J. Hacker ("Constantinople Prints", 482) observed that quires in the beginning and end of each Pentateuch book differ in size from the middle quires, so that each book starts with a new quire. A separate colophon marks the end of Genesis, see Lazar, "Judeo-Spanish Translations," 344, no. 26. The existence of a copy of this edition comprising *haftaroth* and *megilloth* was mentioned in the bibliography, but the accuracy of the statement was doubted (see Lazar, "Judeo-Spanish Translations," 344–35, no. 26 and Hacker, "Constantinople Prints", 482).

38. Goldschmidt, "Bible Translations," 131; Hesseling, *Cinq livres*, II; Yaari, *The Jewish Press in Constantinople*, 103.

39. According to Alexander Marx, ("Bemerkungen zu: Die Druckereien in Konstantinopel und Salonichi," *ZHB* 12 (1908): 29), the Pentateuch produced in 1522 was available in the Karaite and the Rabbanite versions, cf. Yaari, *The Jewish Press in Constantinople*, 84.

40. J. Hacker even suggested that A. Yaari should have noted it as a sure fact, see "Constantinople Prints", 471, no. 102 and 483.

41. It is unclear, whether partial revision of Genesis and Numbers, with which we dealt in Krivoruchko, "Textual Variants," 2–6, has something to do with the fact.

"apprentices," "pupils," and so on. This habitual rhetoric of self-denigration was much favored by the printers of the epoch, including, for example, D. Bomberg.[42] Gershom Soncino, "Nestor of Hebrew printers," used this phrase often, indeed until his death at a relatively advanced age.[43]

By the time of the execution of our text, Eliezer Soncino had worked in book production for at least thirty years, and there are reasons to suspect that at that time he already had health problems.[44] In fact, it is quite possible that Eliezer Soncino tried to elude his fate by wishing to himself ויזכנו להדפיס ספרים רבים— if we are permitted to extrapolate from a standard *topos* about real biographical content. CP might well be his swan song, since the next book, published just a few months later at the end of Elul of the same year, *Responsa of Rabbi Itshak ben Sheshet*, states in its colophon that it was produced by Moshe Parnas in the print-shop of Eliezer Soncino, but not by E. Soncino. The respectful praise of Eliezer מצינו גדול ששמש תלמידי חכמים בפועליו בכליו והאותיותיו מאל"ף ועד תי"ו זאת נחלת עבדי י"י נחלת אבתיו ("who served the Torah scholars through his deeds, his possessions and his letters, from *alef* to *tav*, [which are] the heritage of the God's servants, heritage of his forefathers") found in this colophon might therefore be read as his eulogy. Deteriorating marketing conditions and/or the inferior personal skills of the remaining associates must have led to the situation that the work was left unfinished.[45] Naturally, other explanations of these facts may be offered.

Further on, the CP colophon explains that the edition includes translations into לשון לעז and לשון יוני. It has been suggested that the very idea of printing a Polyglot Bible, first attempted by Aldus Manutius in 1501, belonged essentially to Gershom Soncino.[46] The particular choice of the languages, that is, pairing Greek with Ladino versus Arabic with Persian, could have been conditioned by the issues of promotion and authorship to be discussed below. It may also wit-ness E. Soncino's perception of cultural affinity of Jews from Islamic countries,

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42. Giacomo Manzoni, *Sefer ger-sham ovvero Annali tipografici dei Soncino, contenenti la descrizione e illustrazione delle stampe ebraiche . . ., greche, latine ed italiane . . . con introduzione e tavole scilografiche* ([Farnborough, Eng.]: Gregg International Publishers, 1969; repr., Bologna: Gaetano Romagnoli, 1883–1886) II, 2:8.

43. The expression belongs to Aharon Freimann "Die Soncinaten-Drucke in Salonichi und Constantinopel (1526–1547)," *ZHB* 9 (1905): 21.

On the date of Gershom Soncino's death see Moses Marx, "Contributions to the History of His Life and His Printing," *Sefer Ha-yovel: A Tribute to Professor Alexander Marx* (ed. D. Fraenkel; New York: Alim, 1943), IX. In his opinion, Gershom left Italy in 1527 about the age of sixty, "poor and concerned for his livelihood." See "Gershom (Hieronymus) Soncino's Wander-Years in Italy, 1498-1527: Exemplar Judaicae Vitae," *HUCA* 11 (1936) 473.

44. Marx, "Soncino's Wander-Years," 467.

45. On the decline of Constantinople printing after the death of E. Soncino see Hacker "Constantinople Prints," 468.

46. Marx, "Soncino's Wander-Years," 456.

as well as frequency of contacts between the groups. However, we would rather refrain from ascribing to him any "'ecumenical' intention of bringing the Greek and Spanish communities close together."[47] The edition might have contributed to rapprochement, whose major stimuli were obviously socio-economical rather than ideological, but we would suggest viewing it as an indirect consequence rather than a goal.

The reader of the title page would assume that pride of place in the edition would be given to the Greek, since it is mentioned first. This would make good financial sense. According to Ottoman taxation documents, Romaniotes, who arrived earlier, were better off in 1547 then their Sephardic brethren and therefore would make better buyers.[48] The order of languages also reflects the historical priority of Romaniote Jewry, a consideration of importance in Judaism. Inside the book, the expected hierarchy is reversed: Greek is set on the outer part of the page, to which modern tradition attaches less importance. This is, however, entirely consistent with the requirements of design. The widespread impression of the "subservient" position of the Greek text is misleading: to create the impression of visual integrity, the right part of the page should look full rather than holed. And since translation into Greek takes more space, it is the Greek text that wraps the MT from outside, while the internal Judeo-Spanish half of the leaf is filled with decorative letters (graphic fillers).

Notably, no individual reference to any of the two languages is made in the colophon, which obviously does not distinguish between the status of Greek and Ladino, connecting them into one syntactic unit. Both are characterized in a succinct text of our colophon as שתי הלשונות המורגלות בבני עמינו גלות החל הזה שובי יהודה וישראל השוכנים בארצות תוגרמה. While it is logical to notify the reader from which language into which the text was translated, the information about the dispersal or usability of these languages is not of direct relevance, and researchers tend to ignore it as a redundant rhetorical embellishment. The deeper sense of E. Soncino's statement seems to have escaped them, as it is only evident in the background of contemporary writings. The introductions to the books of that period abound in excuses by authors and translators, who justify themselves for applying a gentile language to Jewish content. For example, Rabbi Zadik ben Josef Formon introduced his translation of *Hovot Halevavot* printed in Constantinople in 1567 in the following words: בגלל הסיבות הללו אני צדיק בכמה"ר יוסף פורמון נר"ו תרגמתי ספר זה מלשון הקודש ללאדינו משום שלשון זו היא נפוצה ביותר בינינו בעוונות (emphasis added) ("for these reasons I … translated this book from Sacred Language [Hebrew] into Ladino, as this language is

widespread in our times *because of [our] sins*").[49] Serious writing on religious, theological, and legal matters seemed acceptable only in Hebrew, while the use of other languages was but a lamentable and essentially unwelcome compromise. In particular, translating the Bible was far from being a commendable or natural activity—it was a "disgrace to the Scripture" (ביזיון לתורה).[50]

Interestingly, not all the languages were judged as equally bad and uncalled-for. הסיבות הללו ("these reasons"), to which Rabbi Formon alludes in the above explanation, consist in the precedent of Ibn Pakuda, who turned his back on Hebrew. Similarly, when Rabbi Meir ben Shmuel Benveniste of Thessaloniki intended to translate the *Shulhan Arukh* into Ladino, he tried to argue that translations into Arabic have previously been done. His opponents objected that Arabic is similar to Hebrew, while Ladino is not; that Oral Torah was not meant to be written down, much less so to be translated; and in general there is a tradition of Arabic writing and translating, while hardly any in Ladino.[51] Quite consistently with the ideological climate described above, no explanation about the popularity of the Arabic language is found in the colophon of the 1546 Polyglot; the legitimacy of Judeo-Arabic was unquestionable.

We may imagine that exactly the same arguments, that is, lack of genetic connection and established authoritative texts of Jewish content, could be used against translating into Greek. Yet, in terms of Halachic status, Greek language was superior, as Talmudic sages had repeatedly shown their preference for Greek over other means of conveying the Divine message.[52] Thus, in stricter terms, the covert justification in our colophon refers rather to Ladino than to Greek, but conveniently covers both.

In all probability, Eliezer Soncino was too much of a secular rationalist and too much of a skilled marketer to burden his readers with their "faults" and "sins" straight from the title page. Finally, it was he who published the famous knight errantry tale *Amadis de Gaula* (1539) along with the sensual poetry of Imanuel of Rome (ca. 1535), and it was his father who published *Sefer Habakuk Hanavi*, a parody on the Talmud, and an illustrated—and thus illegal—*Mashal Hakadmoni* (ca. 1490). Religious allegiances and Halachic subtleties were never too important for them. Under the name Hieronymus, Gershom Soncino produced many Christian books, including those with anti-Jewish content, and put into type the first Karaite work ever printed, Bashyadzi's *Adderet Eliyahu*, in 1531. But the turn

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49. Quoted after Aldina Quintana, "The Use of Hebrew and Gentile Languages among the Sepharadim in Ottoman Empire During the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries" (paper presented at the 2nd International Congress of the Center for Studies of Jewish Languages and Literatures, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, June 26–29, 2006), 4 (Hebrew).

50. Ibid. 5.

51. The discussion is well documented, see ibid., 3–6.

52. See Meg. 9a. Some sages even tolerated Greek studies in their own households, e.g., Rabban Gamliel (Sotah 49b).

of phrase הלשונות המורגלות בבני עמינו resounds a gentle excuse—at least for those of his contemporaries who were expecting such—in which the blame for using gentile languages and profaning the Scripture is conveniently put not on lazy or otherwise imperfect Jews, but on the inauspicious historical conditions of the exile (גלות). The details of the Sephardic exodus are well known and there is no need to repeat them. To complete the picture, it should be added that Ottoman records from 1540, showing only congregations established before 1492, list about fifty communities transferred by the authorities from every corner of the empire to populate the plundered Contantinople.[53] Most Greek-speaking Jewish communities were destroyed or decimated because of this forced resettlement policy. In Constantinople in 1547, every Greek or Spanish speaker was a refugee or a son of a refugee, and would therefore feel comforted by Soncino's words.

However, most interesting about the CP colophon is what is omitted from it rather than what is said. First, no author or source of either translation is mentioned. This is highly unusual. Although the sixteenth-century copyright was substantially different from the modern, even an insignificant contemporaneous author or his descendants would want a credit. It was quite common for family members to subsidize the publication of the works of their deceased relatives in order to see their names printed. Generally, the PR potential of printing was recognized very quickly in the epoch, which did not appreciate fake modesty. For example, humanist Lorenzo Abstemio, who was employed by G. Soncino, exhorted all owners of good and previously unpublished Latin manuscripts "to insure immortality by sending them to him for publication."[54]

On the other hand, should the author be a personality of some prominence, it would make sense to have his name mentioned if only for publicity purposes. For example, in the Arabic-Persian Pentateuch, no recommendation is deemed necessary for Saadia Gaon, but Rabbi Jacob ben Joseph Tavus is introduced with a standard laudation "intelligent and wise man": ותרגום ערבי לרב סעדיה גאון ופרסי אשר באר לנו איש נבון וחכם כ"ר יעקוב בכ"ר יוסף טאווס. At times, even the merits of unknown authors were praised; for example, the editor of *Heshek Shelomo* could not but express his admiration of the author: "Este livro . . . no save kyén fwe el awtor mas se ve por la ovra ke era gran savio" (p. 2b) ("I do not know who was the author, but it can be seen from the work that he was a great scholar").[55]

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53. Yerasimos, "La communauté juive d'Istanbul," 109–11.

54. Cecil Roth, "Jewish Printers of Non-Jewish Books in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Studies in Books and Booklore: Essays in Jewish Bibliography and Allied Subjects* ([Farnborough, Eng.]: Gregg International Publishers, 1972), 51. Repr. from *JJS* 4 (1953): 102–32.

55. Bunis, "Formas de ladinar," 340 no. 13.

Not surprisingly, printing worthwhile texts was considered conferring glory on the publishing house. Since competition among printers was fierce, even relatively minor advances in text-critical quality were advertised. For example, introducing the *Iqarim* of Rabbi Joseph Albo, edited in 1522 in Rimini, Gershom Soncino underlines that his grandfather Israel Nathan, who was the first to publish this work thirty-seven years ago, possessed a text left behind by its author, which is therefore superior to that of his competitor Don Solomon Valid (Gualitti).[56] When Aldus Manutius issued his Petrarch supposedly on the base of the autograph, Gershom argued that in order to compile his edition (Fano, 1503), he collated three privately owned manuscripts containing more material, and it was therefore more complete.[57]

Manuscript sources of good quality were explicitly appreciated even when the published matter had no individual authorship and therefore no autograph existed, for example, a prayer book from Ferrara (1552) was printed, according to its colophon, "after the most ancient copies" ("según ejemplares mas antiguos").

The publisher often functioned as the editor and prepared the text for publication on the basis of several manuscripts. Such cases were considered an opportunity to extol editorial insights and knowledge. For example, in the Rashi edition of 1525 (Rimini), Gershom Soncino claims that he removed from the text numerous errors introduced by generations of ignorant scribes, who erroneously believed they had clarified Rashi, but essentially only obscured him. That editorial capacity was of importance for him can be seen from the colophon to *Mikhlol* by David Kimkhi, his last book, where he summarized the main achievements of his life in the following words: והוצאתים לעין השמש הזאת יזהירו כזוהר הרקיע יגעתי ומצאתי ספרים היו סתומים וחתומים מאז ("With great labour I have found books which have, since days of old, been concealed dark and obscure, and I have made them as clear as the light of day, so that they shine like the brightness of the firmament.")[58]

Meticulous and attentive proofreading was regularly praised in Bible editions, for example, the Pentateuch with *haftaroth* and *megilloth*, published by E. Soncino in 1544 or 1545 is characterized as prepared עיון מוגה ומדויק בתכלית הדיוק עם רב "with great care, proofread and checked most thoroughly", while in the Arabic–Persian Polyglot the text is אמרת י"י צרופה שבעתים בהשגחת דיוק על כל לשון ולשון כיד אל'ינו הטובה "Divine word, perused seven times, attentively checked word by word as appropriate."[59] The absence of the comparable men-

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56. Marx, "Soncino's Wander-Years," 479–80.

57. Ibid., 445–56.

58. Text quoted after Yaari, *The Jewish Press in Constantinople*, 92; transl. by Marx, "Soncino's Wander-Years," 485.

59. Ibid., 102.

tion in CP may be, of course, just accidental, but may also reflect the lack of the publisher's confidence as to the quality of his final product.

Remarkably, CP was not supported by any commendatory rabbinic reference. Neither does it contain any *herem* against potential violators of the editor's copyright, such as the one issued by the Roman Rabbinate in 1518 in connection with *Sefer Habahur* by Elijah Bahur, or the one accompanying the 1579 Bragadin's edition of Abravanel's commentary to Pentateuch. The Arabic-Persian Pentateuch is very different in this respect: it appears to be recommended by a person of high social standing: הביא אדונינו ... חכם הרופא המובהק שר וגדול בישראל מורנו ואדוננו כמה"ר משה המון יצ"ו יהיה שמו לעולם אמן וכי"ר ("brought . . . by our master, the wise man, the distinguished doctor, the minister and leader of Israel, our teacher and master, his honour, our teacher (sic, repeated) R. Moshe Hamon, let his Rock (= God) protect him and preserve him, let his name remain in eternity, amen, and let there be His (= God's) will").[60]

No less notable is the absence of Ottoman authorities. Our book does not contain habitual wishes of good health to Suleiman the Magnificent. To compare, in the Pentateuch of 1544 or 1545, the place of publishing (Constantinople) is described as אשר למלך אדוננו האדיר שולטן ירום הודו ותנשא מלכותו בימיו ובימנו "belonging to the King, Our Mighty Ruler Sultan Suleiman, let His glory be extolled and His kingdom be hailed in His and our days." The same formula appears almost without changes in *Shirim ve Zmirot*, the collection of liturgical poems printed just before the multilingual publications under analysis: עם כסא כבוד המלך שולטאן שולימאן ירום הודו ותנשא מלכותו בימיו ובימינו. Given the fact that rulers of every scale and denomination were commonly lauded in Soncino colophons, we would question the possibility that CP was commissioned by the sultan.[61] If this were the case, much more articulate thanks would be in order and the absence of any mention whatsoever would be inconceivable.

Naturally, printers were under no obligation to produce colophons, and some early prints lack them. But given the practice of Soncino editions and their historical background—and we could have adduced dozens of examples similar to those above—it is more than surprising that CP is so hermetically silent about its Greek and Ladino versions. Absolute orphans, they emerge from nowhere: no authors to praise, no authorities to rely on, no pristine manuscript heritage to uncover, and no textual criticism to boast. All these four deficiencies, being unusual, require attention and bring out specific premises as to the text to be published.[62]

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60. Ibid., 102.

61. Fernández Marcos, "Some Thoughts on the Later Judaeo-Greek Biblical Tradition," 15.

62. Cf. the assumption of D. Goldschmidt ("Bible Translations," 131–33), who believes that the Greek translation was made specifically for printing.

Again, a closer look at historical context suggests an explanation. As is evident from contemporary writings, the intellectuals of the empire were becoming more and more conscious of the importance of translation into a living language. An essentially Renaissance vision of religious education with its strong preference for rationality and creativity rather than blindly following established prototypes has already made its appearance. Rejection of established translations is clearly heard, for example, in the voice of Rabbi Issachar ben Mordecai ibn Susan, famous for his activity in Safed and later in Thessaloniki, an author of a *sharh* on the Torah:

> the great Gaon, R. Saadia . . . compiled a commentary . . . Reading it was difficult for some people speaking Arabic . . . and even teachers found it bothersome . . . It was eventually almost forgotten, so that even their Torah scholars were not properly familiar with even single Torah pericope in Arabic . . . I swear I heard from a great veteran scholar how this situation developed. "We do not benefit from R. Saadia's translation because we do not understand its language," I was told by this leader of great community. And if this is his opinion, what can we say of the others? . . . On the other hand our brethren, our Spanish teachers, whose teachers teach them Torah word for word as it is written in their Ladino tongue, and they know both. They have only few unlearned amongst them, except for the *conversos* who have only recently returned to Judaism, and they too have produced a number of wise and educated scholars . . . because they were familiar with the language in which Torah was studied.[63]

In Sephardic studies there is a consensus that in the epoch of CP there was no universally accepted authoritative Torah version in Ladino. Instead, numerous oral versions, unstable and ever-changing by their very nature were produced and occasionally written down. They scarcely had an authorship, since every qualified male member of the community was supposed to be able to produce such, and could be easily challenged, as every oral performer/composer had his own slightly different understanding of the source. They were, however, modernized when needed, and have indeed survived until modern times.[64]

As every product of chronologically remote oral culture, medieval and early modern Torah translations are not immediately accessible for the researcher. Yet the characteristics of those that were committed to writing or to print bear witness to the oral mechanisms of their generation. In particular, the observations of

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63. Published selectively in David S. Sassoon, *Ohel David*: *Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the Sassoon Library* (2 vols.; London: Oxford University Press, 1932) 1:63–66; transl. by Hacker, "Intellectual Activity," 108.

64. See David M. Bunis, "Translating from the Head and from the Heart: the Essentially *Oral* Nature of the *Ladino* Bible-Translation Tradition," in *Hommage à Haïm Vidal Sephiha* (ed. W. Busse and M.-C. Varol-Bornes; Berne: Peter Lang, 1996), 337–57.

L. Amigo Espada on the exegetical character of the Ladino text of CP show it to be a typical spontaneous translation:

> Los traductores han conservado su libertad y creatividad frente a la tradición judía y frente a las versiones castellanas ya existentes. Su actitud ha sido bastante ecléctica. Conocedores de la exégesis, han traducido cada pasaje según su buen entender, sin tener demasiado en cuenta las autoridades. La tradición es algo consustancial en ellos, y no necesitaban estar consultando a cada momento las diversas interpretaciones, que debían conocer de memoria, aunque no siempre supiesen de donde procedían.

> The translators preserved their freedom and creativity both against Jewish tradition and already existing Spanish translations. Their activity was quite eclectic. Being knowledgeable in exegesis, they translated each passage according to their common sense, without considering the authorities too much. Translation was something inherent to them, and they did not need to consult every time different interpretations, which they remembered by heart, often without knowing their origin.[65]

A similar opinion about CP and post-exilic Ladino versions in general is held by O. Schwarzwald, who insists that the latter were not based on already-existing texts brought by the Spanish emigrants to their new homelands, but were new compositions developed on traditional principles.[66]

The very juxtaposition of the Greek translation with the Ladino one, as well as the fact that neither of them was paired with Saadia Gaon or Jacob Tavus, is already indicative of their typological similarity.[67] Both of these latter texts were attributed to prominent scholars, while the Ladino and Greek texts were not. Printing on cheaper material might also show the less-authoritative character of CP translations in comparison with Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian ones. Thus, it is possible to suggest that Greek CP was an example of an oral translation, or, as M. Banitt put it, a "popular version" (*laaz haam)* or a "common version" (*laaz haolam)* normally recorded only in the form of glossaries.[68] As with every

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65. Amigo Espada, *Pentateuco de Constantinopla*, 237.

66. Ora Schwarzwald (Rodrigue), "Proper Names in Ladino Translations: Problem of Source and Jewish Identity," *Peamim* 84 (2000): 66–77, esp. 67 (Hebrew).

67. The researchers disagree about the place and time of composition of the Judeo-Persian translation (see Lazar, "Judeo-Spanish Translations," 345; Uriel Heyd, "Moses Hamon, Chief Jewish Physician to Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent," *Oriens* 16 (1963): 152–70), but nobody seems to question the fact that it was firmly associated with the name rather than being anonymous.

68. Menaham Bannit, "L'Etude des glossaires bibliques des Juifs de France au moyen âge," *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1968): 188–210. For comparable Greek glossaries see Nicholas R. M. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from Cairo Genizah* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996) 79–84, 155–63.

anonymous *laaz*, CP was not associated with any authority, or rather might be associated with too many authorities at once. This type of Greek text would leave plenty of space for various equivalents inherited from Byzantine and ultimately Hellenistic tradition, as well as those invented *ad hoc* or even reintroduced through contacts with Christian tradition.

Anonymity of Greek and Ladino texts would make sense for yet another reason. As we have already seen, the didactic superiority of a modern translation could not be divorced from its suspicious novelty. The conservative part of the rabbinic establishment would oppose each new version as yet another "disgrace." On the other hand, intellectuals, differently motivated, would like to test or even to confront it, because publication of a book in the mid-sixteenth century Ottoman capital was an important event often accompanied by public polemics. Some scholars were intimidated by this atmosphere to such extent that they even considered renouncing their intellectual pursuits.[69] Given such social climate, no author would like to expose himself to virtually endless showers of criticism, since too many places in the Pentateuch are open to various interpretations, and almost everybody was sure to have his favorite explanation and defend it vigorously. Dishonor loomed over sophisticated exegetes, but also *a fortiori* over those who to dared to pronounce their opinions on the *peshat*. Remaining anonymous was by far a wiser option allowing the safeguard of personal opinions, however eclectic.

Our discussion of CP in light of its colophon would not be complete without commenting on the officially proclaimed purpose of the edition, to serve as a language aid: להועיל לנערי בני ישראל ולשונם תמהר לדבר צחות. Didactic activity was very much a part of the self-image of Soncino.[70] Throughout his life Gershom Soncino perceived education as a major social function performed by printers and was understandably very proud of it, often mentioning it in his colophons. While still a teenager, he composed a manual *Introductio perbrevis ad hebraicam linguam* (1501), further reprinted by Aldus Manutius.[71] In that epoch, knowledge of language was perceived quite mechanically as knowledge of individual words in their precise context rather than an analytical or productive ability. Dictionaries, or rather, in modern terms, contextual glossaries, were the main tools for Hebrew study, certainly the most effective of them, and frequently the only tools available. In agreement with the spirit of the time, Gershom endeavored to produce didactic aids that would give their users the precise picture of each and

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69. Hacker, "Intellectual Activity," 98–101.

70. On didactic texts, mainly in Romance languages, printed by G. Soncino, and their importance for the studies of educational practice see Ennio Sandal, "I libri scolastici," *L'attivita editoriale di Gershom Soncino, 1502–1527: Atti del Convegno (Soncino, 17 settembre 1995)* (ed. G. Tamani; Soncino: Edizioni dei Soncino, 1997), 99–109.

71. This work was also reprinted under the title *Introductio utilissima hebraice discere cupientibus,* while Gershom in his edition of 1510 refers to it as *Introductio ad litteras hebraicas.*

every word's meaning. Enlightening insight into this type of instruction is found in the introduction to the multilingual edition of Psalms (1510):

> Deinceps psalmorum codicem hebraice, graece, et latine . . . excusum expectato, a divo Hieronymo de verbo ad verbum secundum veritatem hebraicam traductum, additis nonnullis nostris glossis, loca plurima a scriptoribus indoctis corrupta aperientibus. Adde et lector candidissime, hic psalmorum codex poterit tibi ad linguam hebraicam, graecam et latinam *pro diccionario succurrere.* (emphasis mine – J.K.)[72]

Having complemented himself for the technically difficult achievement of printing in three different scripts, Gershom adds the final and weighty praise: the book is a highly usable study aid. It is worth perhaps mentioning here that L. Amigo Espada, who was hardly aware of the above passage, in the concluding chapter of his book characterised CP as "continuous glossary of Biblical text" ("un glosario continuado del texto bíblico") and "a most useful instrument for the analysis of Hebrew text" ("un instrumento utilísimo para el análisis del texto hebreo").[73] The above characteristics are equally applicable to the Greek counterpart of CP. Indeed, Eliezer Soncino could not have implemented the didactic ideas of his father more precisely.

4. Summary

Should we rely on the published findings of biblio-historians, CP is to be defined not as a reworking of another edition, but as an edition on its own right. It is unlikely that it was initiated or sponsored by Ottoman authorities, but must have originated as an answer to the internal demand of Constantinople communities, who wished to provide basic education to their younger members. The book's format and script suit this purpose perfectly.

If any translations of *haftaroth* and *megilloth* existed, they were printed to be sold as a separate installment. However, it is highly probable that they were not executed because of the publisher's death.

On the basis of available evidence, there is no reason to suspect that the 1547 edition is a printed version of a manuscript cherished for its antiquity, or even of a recent manuscript that was deemed to represent some important interpretative tradition. Editorial work, if any, was minimal and not viewed as particularly valuable.

All the above considerations permit us to place both Ladino and Greek texts in the category of *laazim*, that is, popular versions, which functioned mostly orally, but could be committed to writing should the need arise. In all probability,

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72. Manzoni, *Sefer ger-sham,* III: 257.
73. Amigo Espada, *Pentateuco de Constantinopla*, 235.

both Greek and Ladino texts were created *ad hoc* on the basis of oral perfor-mance, although the use of translation aids (e.g., glossaries and continuous texts) during their production cannot be excluded. Greek oral tradition and its relevant translation aids might have integrated the echoes of ancient versions, including the LXX and Hexapla.

Further investigation of the *raison d'être* and the background of CP is a demanding task that will require the cooperation of scholars from many dis-ciplines. First and foremost, a biblio-historical description of CP is needed. It should include full collation of the existing copies and establishment of *variae lectiones* in all the texts, as well as the reconstruction of the order in which the copies were produced.

It would be useful to check whether the version of Rashi's text that appears in CP coincides primarily with the Sephardic tradition represented in the Híjar and Lisbon editions, or with the Franko-Ashkenazic version found in the earlier prints of Rome and Bologna etc.[74] This information would be of value, since it may provide some clue about the background and identity of the polyglot editor.

A revision of D. C. Hesseling's edition may enrich our understanding of the basic Greek *laaz* and its relationship to earlier *laaz* materials. The next stage should be a philological comparison between Ladino and Greek translations, and the level of *peshat* might be of particular interest. Students of rabbinics would undoubtedly find it helpful to assess the relationship of Greek and Ladino trans-lation on other levels of exegesis. Taken together, the results of these inquiries will reveal a fine interplay between tradition and innovation in the fascinating cultural milieu of early Ottoman Constantinople.[75]

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74. Cf. Yeshayahu Sonne, "On Textual Criticism of the Rashi's Commentary on the Torah," *HUCA* 15 (1940): 1–56.

75. The author wishes to thank to Dr M. Mishor and Prof. N. De Lange for wise counsel and encouragement, and to Prof. D. Bunis and Dr A. Quintana for the texts of their papers.

The Translation of Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms)

Timothy M. Law

Abstract: This study will examine the fragments attributed to Symmachus that are extant in the book of 1 Kings. These have been collected for a new critical edition and represent the latest collection of the fragments of Sym's translation for 1 Kings. For the purposes of obtaining accuracy in this study, only those readings which are uniquely attributed to Sym will be examined, leaving aside even mixed attributions that might also include Sym. These readings will be analysed in three parts. First, lexical and grammatical features utilised in Sym's translation; second, the readings that might be considered exegetical translations; and finally, the influence of Symmachus' translation in later textual history. Constant reference to previous works on Symmachus—most notably those of Busto Saiz, González Luis, and Salvesen—will help identify the elements in 1 Kings that are consistent with what is now known about Symmachus in the Psalms, the Major Prophets, and the Pentateuch, respectively.

1. Introduction

From 1978 to 1988, three doctoral dissertations were completed that offered, for the first time, exhaustive studies on the translation of Symmachus (Sym). Two theses from Madrid by J. R. Busto Saiz (1978) and J. González Luis (1981) examined Sym's translations of the Psalter and the Major Prophets. In Oxford, A. Salvesen (1988) completed another work on the Pentateuch.[1] The two Spanish scholars provided in their monographs not only detailed lexical, grammatical, and syntactical observations, but also the Hebrew-Greek and Greek-Hebrew indices that many have used since in an attempt to understand the lexicon of Sym. Salvesen's is unique among these works. She did not carry out the type of detailed grammatical analysis that came from Madrid; rather, her focus was more exegetical. In the Pentateuch, we learned that Sym often produced renderings that, though conveying the meaning of the Hebrew, were nevertheless exegetical in their intention. One of the most important conclusions of this thesis was the

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1. J. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco en los Profetas mayors" (Ph.D. diss., Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1981); J. R. Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: CSIC, 1985); and, A. G. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSSM 15; Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1991).

recognition that Sym worked within a Jewish, rather than an Ebionite or other tradition.[2]

The present study is more general, a microcosm of the aforementioned. For now, we will omit discussion of the fine points that would issue from a grammatical study of Sym's version, and we will attempt instead to give a broader picture of the type of work Sym did when translating 1 Kgs.[3] But before we begin to look at Sym in 1 Kgs, a couple of caveats are in order. First, the relative paucity of material preserved for Sym in 1 Kgs compared to that found in the Pentateuch, the Psalter, and in the Major Prophets should be kept in mind. One remembers that in a recent study of Sym in Ezekiel, N. Fernández Marcos turned up 150 unique Sym readings in only 11 chapters of this prophetic book.[4] Here in 1 Kgs, only 117 readings are extant in the entire 22 chapters. Secondly, even in those 117 readings that do exist, many are retroverted from Syriac and Armenian sources. The difficulty of retroversion was noted by each of the previously mentioned authors in their respective works on Sym. For our study, we note just a couple of examples where this proves treacherous. At 5:9, Barhebraeus gives ܪܘܚܬܐ for Sym. This could be retroverted as εὐρύχωρος or πλατεῖα, and Sym uses both of these as equivalents for רחב. In 9:21, the distinction between an imperfect medio-passive and an aorist passive is difficult to mark in a retroversion from Syriac. The reading Field gave for Sym is ἠδυνήθησαν for ܐܬܡܨܝܘ. Finally, at 18:27, the Syrohexapla's (Syh) ܟܒܪ is retroverted to ἴσως, but could just as well have been the μήποτε of Ant. The danger is clear. While we should not shy away from the material because it is only preserved in an oriental language, we should nonetheless keep in mind the speculative nature of such retroversions.

With these cautions noted, we can see that any hopes that a study could be carried out in 1 Kgs like Busto Saiz's on the Psalter will be dashed against the rocks. This is not to say that a grammatical study is impossible, for it has already been done. But because the data are so few, we can only gain a partial picture of the situation, and we end up with something of a Busto-lite. In spite of that, a partial picture is better than no picture at all, and with that in mind we proceed.

We will now make note of some of the characteristics of our translator's style, including the translation's proximity to the Hebrew text. Next, we will look at those few examples where it appears Sym is leaning more towards exegesis than towards a straightforward translation. Finally, we will look at what I believe to

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2. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 293–97.

3. Sym's translation should be referred to as a translation of 1 Kgs, while the LXX text is referred to as 3 Kgdms.

4. N. Fernández Marcos, "On Symmachus and Lucian in Ezekiel", in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne, with the collaboration of Brian Doyle; Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 151–61.

be the most fascinating possibility in Hexapla research, that of determining the impact these versions had on later text history.

2. The Language of Symmachus

2.1 Style

2.1.1. "Middle-Browed" Hellenistic Style.

The style of our translator has been characterized as a Greek for "middle class, middle-brow Hellenised Jews" by Salvesen,[5] and as "un griego fluido y elegante" by González Luis.[6] The translation of 1 Kgs has confirmed these assessments, but again, because the material is so few, we do not want to push the following statements too far.

Sym betrays his Hellenistic style in his use of particles. First, we note the use of ὥστε + infinitive for purpose clauses (e.g., 6:19).[7] In classical usage, ὥστε + infinitive was usually reserved for result clauses and the natural construction of the purpose clause was ἵνα + infinitive.[8] But in the LXX and in the NT, we find the scope of the ὥστε + infinitive construction widening from result clauses to include purpose clauses, and in some cases blurring the distinction between the two.[9] Busto Saiz also found this in several cases for Sym in the Psalms.[10] Also in the Hellenistic period, οὗ was giving ground to ὅπου as the definite relative, as can be seen in the NT, where ὅπου is preferred over οὗ in Matt, Mark, and John.[11] Sym likewise uses ὅπου in 7:7 and 14:28. Finally, a different type of adverb was on the rise in Hellenistic, and consisted of attaching a preposition to an already existing pronoun;[12] thus, at 7:20, Sym uses ἐπάνω for עַל, a practice also found in four cases in the Psalms.[13]

With regard to Sym's syntax, previous studies have shown that Sym produces a more elegant Greek, avoiding the barbarisms of the older Greek translation. In 11:22, we see our translator avoiding the parataxis of the other Greek translations

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5. Salvesen, *Symmachus*, 264, and also 250–54.

6. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 280.

7. Cf. González Luis, ""La versión de Símaco," 261–62.

8. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1961), §390–391, hereafter BDF; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (rev. ed. G. M. Messing; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956), §1063, 2011, 2239, 2250-78, hereafter Smyth.

9. BDF §391(3).

10. Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 241.

11. BDF §293.

12. BDF §116(3). Cf. 14:15, where Sym uses ἀπὸ ἄνω for מֵעַל.

13. Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 198.

by rendering the *waw* according to its function in the clause, and not simply by καί.[14] Moreover, in this same example, he avoids the use of ἰδού, again because he understands its function, and makes the decision not to represent this element in his translation. So where the Hebrew reads כִּי מָה־אַתָּה חָסֵר עִמִּי וְהִנְּךָ מְבַקֵּשׁ, LXX reads Τίνι σὺ ἐλαττονῇ μετ' ἐμου, καὶ ἰδοὺ σὺ ζητεῖς. Sym's Greek is much smoother: τί γὰρ ὑστερεῖς παρ' ἐμοὶ, ὅτι ἐζήτησας.[15] Also, where the כִּי intro- duces indirect speech in כִּי־שָׁלַחְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ (20:5), Sym shows his understanding and translates ὁ ἀποστείλας πρὸς σέ.

Only two examples of the genitive absolute construction have been found in Sym's translation of 1 Kgs.[16] In 2:46, where one also notices the use of δέ rather than καί,[17] Sym has τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἐδρασθείσης ἐν χειρὶ Σαλωμών for וְהַמַּמְלָכָה נָכוֹנָה בְּיַד־שְׁלֹמֹה. In 18:4, we find the second reading. Unfortunately, only part has been preserved; but it nonetheless appears to be part of the genitive absolute construction. Thus, וַיְהִי בְּהַכְרִית אִיזֶבֶל is rendered καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ τύπτειν τὴν Ἰεζάβελ by the LXX.[18] The lone word we have preserved for Sym is πατασσούσης, which, as we noted, appears to form part of the genitive absolute construction.

2.1.2. *ATTICISTIC.*

Rarely does our translator revert to Attic usage, in contrast to the picture painted by González Luis in the Major Prophets.[19] We have only one clear case where he chooses an Attic form against what would have been more common in Koine. In 12:10, he uses σμικρότατος for קָטֹן instead of μικρός, as the latter was becoming more popular in the Hellenistic period. Moreover, he uses the older superlative form which was dying out in Hellenistic. This death is evidenced especially in the NT where only three of these forms survive.[20]

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14. Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 226–28.

15. Moreover, this use of ὅτι for the *waw* is taken up by Ant.

16. See González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 228–32. The genitive absolute was used more in the Major Prophets than in 1 Kgs, and in the Pentateuch where Salvesen only found two cases. Cf. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 222. For this construction in LXX, see I. Soisa- lon-Soininen, "Der Gebrauch des *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* absolutus in der Septuaginta," in *Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen: Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax. Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and R. Sollamo; Helsinki: Suomelainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 175–80.

17. Cf. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 220–23.

18. This is a common construction in Biblical Greek. González Luis has also found Sym using the same construction in the Major Prophets and Busto Saiz in the Psalms. Cf. González Luis, "La versión," 199–202; and Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 144–47.

19. But see González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 284–86.

20. BDF §60(1). The NT superlatives in –τατος are ἀκριβέστατος (Acts 26:5), ἁγιώτατος (Jude 20), and τιμιώτατος (Rev 18:12, 21).

2.2. Morphology and Lexicography

2.2.1. *Vocabulary*.

Sym's lexicon is more varied than the other Greek versions, as we have come to know through previous studies. Lust's lexicon is being built on the methodological premise that only readings not also found in the lxx are to be included, and yet there is no shortage of material. In 1 Kgs, unfortunately, almost all of Sym's vocabulary is attested elsewhere, and there do not seem to be any neologisms such as are catalogued for the Major Prophets by González Luis.[21] But for the two examples here, the only thing unique about Sym's vocabulary in 1 Kgs is the way in which he varies his word choices, and when he uses more obscure words when the lxx uses more common ones. Three quick examples: for פֶּחָה in 10:15, Sym has ἄρχων, instead of the σατραπῶν of lxx. In the lxx, ἄρχων is used for nearly forty different Hebrew words, mostly for רֹאשׁ, נָשִׂיא, and שַׂר, but for פֶּחָה only four times in Neh. Sym's use of ἄρχων for פֶּחָה is not limited to 1 Kgs; Field noted the same equivalent for Isa 36:9 and Jer 51:57. For צוּר in 15:27, Sym has πολιορκέω, instead of περικάθημαι of LXX. This is most interesting, because in the 8 occasions where πολιορκέω is used for צוּר in the LXX, 5 are in the καίγε sections of 3-4 Kgdms, 1 is in the A text of Judg, 1 is in Dan-Th, and only one occasion in the OG of Jer 39(46 LXX):1. One must ask, then, whether or not the case in Jeremiah is also recensional. In 20:43, σκυθρωπάζω ("to be of a sad countenance") is used for זָעֵף,[22] though the lxx uses σκυθρωπάζω only for קָדַר, רוּחַ נְכֵאָה, and שָׁמֵם. The two items of special vocabulary that have been identified are at 7:9 (7:46 lxx) where for עַד־הַטְּפָחוֹת Sym has τῶν ἀπαρτισμάτων (from ἀπαρτισμός, "completion"), and at 20:43 where for סַר the lxx uses συγχέω but Sym διαταράσσω ("thrown into confusion"). This word is not used elsewhere in the lxx.

2.2.2. *Variatio*.

Also characteristic of Sym is *variatio*, such as at 7:7 where he uses βασιλική for the first אוּלָם, and πρόπυλον for the second. Or, such as his use of seven different prepositions for עַל, consistent with the great variety Sym displayed when translating particles in the Major Prophets.[23] When a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek lexicon is made for the Three in Sam–Kgs/1–4 Kgdms, we will be able to see more clearly the variety of lexical choices Sym makes for the same Hebrew words. This is, of course, the opposite of what we have seen in Aquila (Aq). We cannot,

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21. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 387–424.
22. Cf. Sym at Jer. 14:2.
23. See González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 277–79.

however, be led to believe this is always the practice of Sym, since Salvesen has demonstrated that Sym also standardizes certain Greek verbs.[24]

2.3. Translation vs. Transliteration

Usually, when the LXX has transliterated a Hebrew word,[25] one can find the translation in Sym: πρόπυλον for אוּלָם, instead of αἰλάμ (6:3; 7:6 [2x], 7); βάσεις for מְכֹנוֹת instead of μεχωνώθ (7:27); ἀντικείμενον for שָׂטָן, instead of σατάν (11:14);[26] and χρηματιστηρίον for דְּבִיר, instead of δαβείρ (6:5, 16, 19, 20).

The latter choice could be exegetical, but it is more likely that Sym is here following Aq, even if for different reasons. While he may have chosen χρηματιστηρίον to reflect his understanding of the meaning of דְּבִיר as a "place of revelation," in all four of our cases here in 1 Kgs, parallel readings for Aq exist in which χρηματιστηρίον is used. The choice here is to use χρηματιστηρίον from χρηματίζω ("to direct, warn"), reading דְּבִיר as derived from דבר Pi.

Similarly, at 10:11, there is a case where the Greek translators offer a translation, and yet the Hebrew is still ambiguous. Interestingly, Sym offers a translation that has been supported by later developments in our understanding of the Hebrew. In English, the Hebrew אַלְמֻג is usually translated "almug."[27] The word here may be a form that was corrupted early; otherwise, it is a hapax and very difficult to describe.[28] P. Smith gives the gloss "sandal-wood" for ܡܣܐܢ. But this lexicography is suspicious since this definition is the same given in some of the commentaries on the Hebrew text. M. Cogan argues that the אַלְמֻג is a tree from the Mediterranean coast. A Talmudic source (*b. Rosh. Hash*. 23a) identifies the אַלְמֻג near the Red Sea as "coral."[29] In the narrative, the trees came from Ophir, which some identify as a port on the Mediterranean Coast of Africa, others on the coast of modern day Somalia.[30] B has "cut wood", but *O* (A + x [x = Rahlfs

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24. E.g., Salvesen notes that the commonly cited translation of ירה Hi. by φωτίζω in Aquila, is met with the standardized translation of ὑποδείκνυμι in Sym. See Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 242–49.

25. See also E. Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament; a further characteristic of the καίγε-Th Revision?," *Textus* 8 (1973): 78–92.

26. Cf. at Num 22:32: σ′ ἐναντιοῦσθαι, θ′ ἀντικεῖσθαι

27. Cf. also II Chron. 2:7, where the form is אַלְגּוּם and usually translated "algum".

28. But see M. Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 10; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 313 for a discussion of the possibilities for identifying this wood.

29. See also Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation*, 313.

30. See discussion in ibid., 306.

247]) and the Antiochian text (Ant)[31] "uncut, rough wood" (cf. 7:12). The Armenian (Arm) and Syh follow *O* and Ant.[32] Sym understood the אַלְמֻג to be a citrus tree, and the Vulgate (V) follows him exactly. It is noteworthy that Sym believes this to be a citrus tree, when the evidence available to us now suggests that it came from a tropical origin.

2.4. Symmachus' Relationship to the Hebrew Text

2.4.1. Economy.

Sym communicates the sense of the Hebrew using fewer words than lxx, which often stems from an avoidance of the type of inelegance found in lxx.[33] Because Sym knows both his source and his target language well, he does not have to represent every element from the Hebrew text, as at 2:2 where וְחָזַקְתָּ וְהָיִיתָ לְאִישׁ is rendered καὶ ἰσχύσεις καὶ ἔσῃ εἰς ἄνδρα in lxx (καὶ κραταιωθήσῃ καὶ ἔσῃ εἰς ἄνδρα δυνάμεως Ant) but by ἀσφαλίζου καὶ ἔσο ἀνδρεῖος in Sym. In 8:24, the Greek dative case can convey the sense of agency, so instead of ἐν χερσί σου in lxx (ἐν ταῖς χερσί σου Ant) for וּבְיָדְךָ, Sym has ταῖς χερσί σου.[34] Also, at 16:3, where LXX has ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξεγείρω for הִנְנִי מַבְעִיר, Sym has simply τρυγήσω.[35] This case can be compared to 22:16, where Sym has ἐγὼ ὁρκίσω σε for מַשְׁבִּעֶךָ אָנִי. On the one hand, this could be seen as Sym's *variatio* even in stylistic matters, but more likely we see Sym avoiding the translation of הִנֵּה. Aq and Theodotion (Th) translate הִנֵּה with lxx's ἰδού, but Sym often ignores it altogether.[36] His economy is shown again at 17:20 where he has τὴν χήραν ᾗ παροικῶ ἐκάκωσας for עַל־הָאַלְמָנָה אֲשֶׁר־אֲנִי מִתְגּוֹרֵר עִמָּהּ הֲרֵעוֹתָ, where, for example, lxx has τῆς χήρας μεθ᾽ ἧς ἐγὼ κατοικῶ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς, σὺ κεκάκωκας. Finally, in 18:17 lxx has Εἰ σὺ εἶ αὐτὸς ὁ διαστρέφων for הַאַתָּה זֶה עֹכֵר, but Sym has εἰ σὺ ὁ ταράσσων.

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31. For this study, I have used the edition of N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz (eds.), *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II: 1-2 Reyes*, (TECC 53; Madrid: CSIC, 1992).

32. There is also a marginal note in Arm that reads Եբր. ալմուկ ("Heb. 'Almouk'").

33. Cf. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 272–75.

34. Sym is also reading the plural in his unpointed text.

35. Could Sym have read בצר for בער? This seems to be why he used τρυγάω, even though there is no Hi. ptc. of בצר in the Hebrew Bible. Alternatively, a metaphorical meaning for τρυγάω ("rob") exists which could have been Sym's intention here.

36. See also González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 278–79, and Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 234.

2.4.2. STYLISHLY LITERAL.

Even though Sym is often noted for his style, he does produce a very literal trans-lation of the Hebrew text. It may be surprising to some that Busto Saiz was able to characterize Sym by concluding that his translation was "tan literal como Aquila."[37] The difference between Aq and Sym, then, is not a matter of a literal vs. a free translation, but rather of an artificial vs. a natural translation. As Busto Saiz noted, Sym was free of the "artificiosidad" of Aq.[38]

So even when Sym does not represent formally every element of the Hebrew text, this does not mean he is not translating literally, but that he is adjusting the discourse from his source language to the conventions of his target language. In 15:4, Sym omits the αὐτῷ for לוֹ; perhaps he saw the resumptive pronoun as a redundant element, or perhaps he made the change on the basis that YHWH did not give this lamp to David directly, but that the lamp was something YHWH set up on David's behalf. This explanation is possible, especially since Salvesen has shown that in those occasions where Sym avoids grammatical accuracy in the Pentateuch, he often does so for exegetical reasons.[39] Or, what is also likely, he could have omitted the αὐτῷ because of the ensuing αὐτοῦ, omitted in LXX; keeping both would have exactly reproduced MT, but would have made the Greek more awkward.

The Hebrew in 15:19 is לֵךְ הָפֵרָה, for which Sym produces πορευόμενος λῦσον, while LXX gives δεῦρο διασκέδασον. Again, our translator renders the Hebrew literally, but with a bit more panache than LXX.

There are exceptions, however. At 17:2, Sym has the very Hebraistic λέγων for לֵאמֹר, a standard equivalent in the LXX. Against LXX, he translates סוּס וָפֶרֶד with ἵππον καὶ ἡμίονον at 18:5, even though the context suggests that more than one of each animal is intended. Salvesen noted that achieving grammatical consis-tency, e.g. in number and gender, was a goal of all three revisers.[40] At 22:7, Sym's awkwardness is completely uncharacteristic: ἄρα οὐκ ἐστιν ὧδε προφήτης τοῦ κυρίου οὐδὲ ἔτι awkwardly translates הַאֵין פֹּה נָבִיא לַיהוָה עוֹד, but does preserve the Hebrew literally. We may even question the authenticity of this attribution to Sym.

Thus, while we can admire Sym's style as an example of, for the most part, elegant Hellenistic Greek, we also keep an open eye to those cases where our translator is pulled more towards the Hebrew text. We agree with Salvesen that

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37. Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 279.
38. Ibid.
39. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 201–2.
40. Ibid., 199.

our translator is "very inconsistent in his attitude towards both Hebraistic constructions and Hellenisms."[41]

2.4.3. *Understanding of Hebrew Sense.*

Most of the time, Sym displays his understanding of the Hebrew sense. This is evidenced especially in his treatment of highly Semitic elements, which he usually translates into a smoother Greek.[42] At 4:13, мт reads לֹו חֶבֶל אַרְגֹּב. lxx uses τούτῳ, but Sym understands the idea of possession in this nominal clause and renders αὐτὸς εἶχε. The addition of ἔχω to translate nominal clauses was noted by González Luis in the Major Prophets.[43] At 5:7 (lxx 4:20), instead of the overly literal οὐ παραλλάσσουσιν λόγον, Sym has οὐκ ἐξέλιπον οὐδέν for לֹא יַעְדְּרוּ דָּבָר. On other occasions, it is unclear whether Sym knew the form as a participle, or if he read it as a noun, but in any case his translation is sufficient for the sense: φατνώματα for סְפֻן, a passive participle, which could have been read as סְפֶן. For עֹבֵד at 9:22, Sym's δουλεύειν is better than πρᾶγμα in B, or εἰς πρᾶγμα in O and Ant. In 10:29, the Greek translators misread בְּיָדָם as בְּיָם, and thus render κατὰ θάλασσαν. But Sym understands the meaning of the Hebrew, and uses δι᾽ αὐτῶν.

2.4.4. *Clarifications.*

Sym sometimes represents the Hebrew meaning without adding any elements to the Greek. This is necessary in 6:9(14 lxx): for אֶל־הַשְּׁלִשִׁים Sym has τρίστεγα, which also happens to be a Hellenistic form against the more classical τριώροφα of lxx.[44] Also, at 20:37, he supplies the pronoun in καὶ ἐτραυμάτισεν αὐτόν to clarify the object of the verb, where мт simply has וּפְצֹעַ.

2.4.5. *Difficulty Understanding the Hebrew?*

At times Sym does not render the Hebrew exactly, and it may be a result of the difficulty of understanding what the source text meant:[45] חַלּוֹנֵי שְׁקֻפִים אֲטֻמִים is rendered by Sym θυρίδας καὶ ἐκθέτας ἐπισκέποντας (6:4); הַסִּפָּחוֹת by τῶν ἀπαρτισμάτων (7:9); דְּבַר־הַמַּס by ὁ λόγος τοῦ φόρου (9:15); and הַמִּלּוֹא by τὴν τελείωσιν (9:15; 11:27). However, there are times where Sym may not have understood the Hebrew, but may have used the context to help him choose an

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41. Ibid., 227.

42. Cf. ibid., 237.

43. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 290–91.

44. See also ibid., 440, and Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 252.

45. Cf. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 213: "At other times his rendering may be simply wrong, through ignorance or misinformation; a reviser was not always more accurate than his predecessor." Though, we do not call Sym a reviser but a translator.

appropriate word. This is the case at 19:4, where he has σκέπης for רֹתֶם. The Hebrew רֹתֶם is a tree, but Sym takes clues from the context and renders, "covering." In 8:2, Sym renders (ἐν μηνὶ) τῷ ἀρχαίῳ for בְּיֶרַח הָאֵתָנִים. Sym translates with ἀρχαῖος, which usually means "original, ancient, old." But he could have been thinking of אֵיתָן, an adj. that refers to permanence and endurance. If this is what Sym had in mind, his reading would not be built upon the usual nuance of ἀρχαῖος ("the original month"). Instead, Sym would be extending the semantic range of ἀρχαῖος to encompass the shades of meaning provided by אֵיתָן.

2.4.6. Kethib/Qere.

There are two cases of Kethib/Qere readings in Sym, and on both occasions he renders the Kethib. At 6:5, he has καταστρώματα with יְצוּעַ in mind, rather than יְצִיעַ, and at 22:13, he has ὁ λόγος σου, reading דְּבָרְךָ instead of דְּבָרֶיךָ.

2.5. Multiple Readings

There is also the problem of multiple readings in Sym. This could indicate a tradition of translation begun prior to the historical Sym, in which Sym later found himself, much like the proposed theories for Th. "Sym" readings in Josephus, Sir., and the NT suggest this theory. There is also the possibility that these multiple readings came about from corruptions in the transmission of Sym readings, or from a double edition of Sym.[46] In 7:12, we find λατομητῶν and λελατομημένων for גָּזִית; in 14:28, both εἰς τὸν τόπον and εἰς τὸ θεκουέ are preserved for אֶל־תָּא. There is one doublet in Sym at 15:12: τὰ εἴδωλα πάντα καὶ πάντα τὰ βδελύγματα is given for אֶת־כָּל־הַגִּלֻּלִים. Sym is also credited with τὰ εἴδωλα for גִּלֻּלִים in Ezek 20:7, 16, 24; and 23:30, but for βδελύγμα, one would, for Sym, expect תּוֹעֵבָה, as at Ps 88(87 LXX):9 and Jer 44(51 lxx):4. Most of these readings, we suspect, are probably due to corruptions in the transmission history. Salvesen noted how some conflations are readings of Sym and Th melded together. This seems to be the best explanation for many of these readings, but if we would be inclined to suppose a second edition, we would agree with González Luis: while it is not possible to be confident about a second edition with the fragmentary nature of the material, it is possible that there were slight adjustments made to the translation of Sym.[47]

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46. This was first suggested by Jerome in his commentaries on Jeremiah and Nahum. See Busto Saiz, *La traducción*, 309–10 and González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 46–49.

47. González Luis, "La versión de Símaco," 49.

3. The Exegesis of Symmachus

The exegesis of Sym was the key concern in Salvesen's study of the Pentateuch. She was able to show that at certain places, Sym's translation was aligned with other rabbinic interpretations. As might be expected from the nature of the material, in 1 Kgs the exegetical tendencies of Sym are less pronounced. Here, we will see a few examples, but even these are questionable.

2:2

There is considerable exegesis in the versions on what it meant for David to be a man. As for the Greek evidence, Sym's ἀσφαλίζομαι may carry a more exegetical tone, meaning "to safeguard oneself" rather than simply ἰσχύσεις "to strengthen oneself."[48]

9:15

The Hebrew reads "the account of the levy." The levy refers to the group of laborers that Solomon brought up to build the Temple and Palace and could be understood as "forced labor."[49] The Greek tradition[50] is somewhat different and must connect the מַס with the idea of "the plunder".[51] Thus, the מַס, while no doubt people, are given a more derogatory label by these Greek translators and interpreters. Sym renders מַס with φόρος, which could mean vaguely, "that which is brought up", it was often used for "tribute" that subjects would bring to their rulers, as in Thucydides, Herodotus, and Demosthenes. Sym's reading is also found in Arm^mg: աակ հարկինի, "account of the tribute."

12:32 (cf. 13:33)

The כֹּהֲנֵי הַבָּמוֹת, "priests of the high places", were idolatrous priests. We do not have the first part of this construct phrase for Sym, but his βωμός appears 46 times in lxx, mostly in contexts referring to pagan altars. Nine cases in 1 and 2 Macc support this same nuance, but in Sir 50:12 and 14, the use of βωμός is used

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48. In Deut. 12:23, the lxx has πρόσεχε ἰσχυρῶς and Sym ἀσφαλίζου. Cf. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 239.

49. Thus, C. A. Dray, *Translation and Interpretation in the Targum to the Books of Kings* (SAIS 5; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 23.

50. The text of B O and Ant might be Theodotion, since vv. 15–25 are a hexaplaric plus.

51. LSJ gives the rendering, "store, provision." But 3 Kgdms 9:15 is the only citation for this meaning. More likely, it refers to the "foraging" or "plunder, booty" that is attested elsewhere.

in a positive manner. Nevertheless, the connection Sym is making is clearly that of the pagan type.[52]

12:33

The Hebrew לְהַקְטִיר is translated by an infinitive in B and Sym. B's τοῦ ἐπιθῦσαι can mean "to offer incense", but is more generally used for offering anything. Sym's ἐπιθυμιάω is precisely an offering of incense. Verbs with endings in –ιαω usually express desire or affection.[53] Sym's intention, therefore, could have been to portray Jeroboam in a more sinister light, i.e., Jeroboam went up to the altar with a great desire to offer this pagan sacrifice.

14:24

The Hebrew קָדֵשׁ is a collective sg. (cf. MT 22:47) meaning "temple prostitutes." Sym translates τελετή, which could mean "initiation rites" or "a festival in which initiation rites are celebrated."[54]

22:44

In 22:44, MT reads אַךְ הַבָּמוֹת לֹא־סָרוּ, which Sym renders πάντα τὰ ὑψηλὰ οὐκ ἀφεῖλεν. The Hebrew particle אַךְ usually has an asseverative (*doch*), or a restrictive function. But, it can also be used with the following word in the sense of "exclusively" or "only, just."[55] In this context, Sym could have read this function of אַךְ, attaching it to הַבָּמוֹת so that Solomon did almost everything right, but the high places—and all of them—were left alone.

These were the only six cases that might be related to some sort of exegetical tendency on Sym's part. It is apparent, however, that some of these cases are speculative. Unfortunately, Sym has left us precious little traces of rabbinic exegesis in his translation of 1 Kgs, compared to what we have in the Pentateuch.

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52. Cf. 4 Kgdms 23:20.
53. Smyth, §868.
54. LSJ, 1771.
55. F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907; repr., Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1996), hereafter BDB; and Christo H. J. Van der Merwe, Jackie A. Naudé, Jan H. Kroeze, *A Biblical Hebrew Reference Grammar* (Biblical Languages-Hebrew 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), §41.4.2(i), hereafter VMNK.

4. The Influence of Symmachus

In the history of research on the relationship of 3 Kgdms to the rest of the Greek textual history, little attention has been directed towards the Hexaplaric versions. This may be due to the fact that many assume that the Hexaplaric versions are only relevant for comparing the lxx text to the Hebrew, or that the influence of the Hexaplaric versions is confined to the Hexaplaric recension. Instead, what I intend to show is that the Hexapla, and in this study I am only concerned with Sym, exerts a powerful influence on later textual history. This impact can be seen not only within the Greek transmission history, but also in the Latin and Armenian as well.[56]

4.1. The Greek Textual Tradition

There are instances where readings of Sym are found in the Hexaplaric (*O*) and Antiochian (Ant) recensions, as well as in other non-aligned Greek manuscripts.

2:46–3:1	τῆς δὲ βασιλείας ἑδρασθείσης ἐν χειρὶ Σαλωμὼν ἐπιγαμίαν ἐποιήσατο Σαλωμὼ πρὸς Φαραὼ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου Sym = *O*
3:10	ὁ λόγος = *O* Ant
3:13	πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας σου = *O*
6:5	καὶ ἐποίησεν = Ant (6:10)
6:18	καὶ διὰ κέδρου πρὸς τὸν οἶκον ἔσω πλοκὴν ἐπανάστασις, καὶ πέταλα καὶ ἀνάγλυφα πάντα κέδρινα· οὐκ ἐφαίνετο λίθος = *O*
6:27	καὶ ἔθηκεν = *O* 52 123 236 242 Comp
7:27	βάσεις = 127 Thdt
8:24	ἃ ἐλάλησας = Ant
11:18	ἀπὸ Φαράν = *O*
11:36	Δαυὶδ τῷ δούλῳ μου = 247 Thdt
14:16	καὶ παραδώσει = *O*
14:28	εἰς τὸ θεκουέ = Ant 158 243 246 554 Thdt
15:14	ἐν Ἰερουσαλὴμ = sub + 127
	κύριος ὁ θεός = *O* Thdt

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56. The following lists are not intended to be exhaustive.

17:12	αὐτό = A
18:25	τὸν βοῦν = Ant Jos (om τόν) Eust (βοΐδιον)
18:46	ἐγένετο = O Ant LXX-rell (243) Comp Ald
20:5	ὁ ἀποστείλας = 247 (Εγὼ ἀπέστειλα) Ant (Εγὼ ἀπέσταλκα) πρὸς σέ = Ant
20:14	πόλεως = πόλεων A
20:27	οἱ υἱοί = A 92 158 242
20:37	αὐτόν = Procop Chr
22:7	ἄρα οὐκ ἐστιν ὧδε προφήτης τοῦ κυρίου οὐδὲ ἔτι = A (but, οὐκέτι)
22:16	ποσάκις = Bᵇ Ant LXX-rell (-55 121 245 246 247) Thdt

4.2. The Latin Versions

At times, Sym and the Vetus Latina (VL) agree, but these readings probably came into VL via Ant. Nonetheless, they still have as their ultimate source Sym. As for the Vulgate (V), previous studies have already proven Jerome's preference for Sym.[57]

4.2.1. Vetus Latina

3:13	πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας σου = *omnibus diebus tuis*
6:5	καὶ ἐποίησεν = *fecitque*[58]
18:25	τὸν βοῦν = *bovem*
18:46	ἐγένετο = *erat*[59]

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57. J. Ziegler, *Die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen als Vorlagen der Vulgata in den prophetischen Scriften* (Braunsberg, 1943); M. Johannessohn, "Hieronymus und die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen des Alten Testaments," *TLZ* 73 (1948): 145–52; ibid., "Zur Entstehung der Ausdrucksweise der lateinischen Vulgata aus den jüngeren griechischen alttestamentlichen Übersetzungen," *ZNW* 42 (1952): 90–102; and Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 265–81.

58. This reading came via Ant, but is still ultimately traceable to Sym.

59. Luc=Lucifer of Cagliari, a Latin writer whose text is often helpful for VL readings because long, continuous portions are preserved. The most up to date edition is G. F. Diercks, ed., *Luciferi Calaritani Opera quae supersunt* (CCSL VIII; Turnholt: Brepols, 1978), 32.

4.2.2. Vulgate

7:27	βάσεις = *bases*
10:11	θύϊνα = *thyina*
11:5	θεᾶς = *deam*
14:16	καὶ παραδώσει = *et tradet*
17:21	εἰς τὰ ἔγκατα αὐτοῦ = *in viscera eius*
18:21	δυσὶν ἀμφιβόλοις = *duas partes*
18:25	τὸν βοῦν = *bovem*

4.3. The Armenian Version

Arm has proven a valuable resource for uncovering Hexaplaric readings, especially in the marginalia of Arm manuscripts. In particular, these marginalia have a preference for Sym. Nonetheless, there are still several links that have been found in the main text of Arm that can be traced back to Sym. These have come via *O* or Ant.

3:10	πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας σου = ամենայն աւուրս քո = *O* Ant[60]
11:18	ἀπὸ Φαράν = ի Փառանէ = *O*
11:36	ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαμένειν λύχνον = վասն մնալոյ ճրագի = 247 Thdt
17:12	αὐτό = զայն = A
18:46	ἐγένετο = եղեւ = *O* Ant lxx-rell (243) Comp Ald
20:5	ὁ ἀποστείλας = եւ յղեցի = 247 Ant
20:27	οἱ υἱοί = որդիքն = A 92 158 242

More work should be done in this area because there are doubtless readings from the Three buried in the later textual traditions, Greek and daughter versions alike. These readings, though originating in the Three, have long since lost their identity, having been absorbed by later recensions and versions.[61] This is one of the most fascinating possibilities for Septuagint research.

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60. Arm probably took the reading directly from *O*.

61. See my "Symmachus in Antioch? The Relationship Between the Antiochian Text and Symmachus in 1 Kings (3 Reigns)," *Textus* (forthcoming).

5. CONCLUSION

Sym, as other studies have shown, remains a very intriguing translator for students and scholars not only of the LX, but also of Greek philology and of early Judaism and Christianity. This study was a first step towards understanding Sym's work in the historical books. In the future, it is hoped that the contributors of Hexapla Project, together with Lust's team of lexicographers, will continue discovering new insights and refining older ones, as the work of these two projects takes into account the latest findings. Moreover, those with expert skill in Hellenistic Greek will doubtless help us to understand more clearly the language of Sym. Part of the problem at the present is the necessity for those working on Sym to consult no less than a half dozen lexica, and in some cases more, when attempting to understand his usage of a particular word. When a full lexicon is published, one that can rest upon the foundation of the latest edition of fragments, we will be closer to appreciating this ancient translator.

I have not yet studied in depth the relationship between Sym and Aq. As a tentative suggestion, my hunch is that Sym took Aq's work into consideration, and at times mirrored his predecessor, but in no way can it be said he depended on Aq, especially with regard to the "artificiosidad" mentioned above. This would confirm the findings of my forebears. Other questions that need to be answered concern the translator's knowledge and use of the καίγε text, though this question will probably only be solved when larger swaths of καίγε can be compared to Sym, as in 2 Kgs/4 Kgdms. What these proposed studies may help to confirm, however, is that Sym was not a reviser in the sense that he worked with another Greek text as his starting point, but that he was a translator who used the resources that were already known to him and who worked, as it were, "within a tradition of Greek biblical translation."[62] The similarities between Sym and some of the other Greek translations do not permit us to view him as an independent translator, completely unaware of what had been accomplished before him.[63] To hypothesize coincidence would be to ignore the obvious. And yet, it is equally impossible to see his work as unoriginal, as more dependent than ingenious; and for that, we err on the side of calling him a translator rather than a reviser.

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62. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch*, 255.
63. Thus ibid., 256.

Recension and Revision: Speaking the Same Language with Special Attention to Lucian and *Kaige*

R. Timothy McLay

Abstract: The words "revision" and "recension" are used inconsistently when applied to the ancient Greek versions. In addition, it is quite apparent there are occasions that scholars are working with entirely different presuppositions when discussing revisions and recensions in the Greek witnesses, which only serves to exacerbate the problem. This issue is particularly noticeable in discussions related to Lucian and *kaige*. Thus, the aim of this article is to articulate the problem of terminology and provide the basis for a stricter use of these terms for the understanding and analysis of the Greek witnesses of the Jewish Scriptures. As part of the discussion of Lucian, the work of Bernard Taylor, who argued that Lucian cannot be equal to the OG in the kaige sections of Reigns, is highlighted.

Far too many times scholars may be accused of being collectively guilty of Humpty Dumpty's sin: employing vocabulary that is right in their own eyes. Common terminology is essential for communicating (assuming as authors that we do write with a specific intention) ideas to other scholars as well as to novices, yet fundamental concepts are often misunderstood because of a lack of clarity. An easy example of this communication breakdown is the terms "Septuagint" and "Old Greek." I assume it is second nature for Septuagint specialists to distinguish between the two, but I have received a number of emails in recent years from doctoral students seeking some enlightenment with respect to the vocabulary. At the same time, I note that much of the secondary literature is much more sensitive to clarifying these terms; so it appears that there is a greater awareness of the need to communicate more clearly in this area. However, two other terms that are just as fundamental to Septuagint studies have not fared so well. Scholars have not noticed that the words "revision" and "recension" are used inconsistently when applied to the ancient Greek versions. In addition, it is quite apparent there are occasions that scholars are working with entirely different presuppositions when discussing revisions and recensions in the Greek witnesses, which only serves to exacerbate the problem. This issue is particularly noticeable in discussions related to Lucian and *kaige*. Thus, the aim of this article is to articulate the problem of

terminology and provide the basis for a stricter use of these terms for the under-standing and analysis of the Greek witnesses of the Jewish Scriptures.

Even though a colleague has said to me a couple of times, "I would have thought that 'recension' means something more than 'revision,'"[1] it does not seem to me that a clear distinction is drawn in the literature. For example, Kristen de Troyer states, "I use the term 'recension' here in its strict technical meaning, namely: a revision of the Old Greek towards a Hebrew Vorlage."[2] Elsewhere, in his recent volume that provides the new compendium for resources and research in the LXX, Natalio Fernández Marcos employs the terms revision and recension but does not define them.[3] It is possible that Fernández Marcos shares de Troy-er's understanding of the terms that a recension is "a revision of the Old Greek towards a Hebrew Vorlage," but it is not clear. Though Marcos can refer to both the *kaige* revision and the *kaige* recension (see previous note), which assumes that *kaige* is understood to reflect a revision of the Old Greek (OG) toward the proto-MT,[4] why would he employ chapter titles like "The *kaige* Revision" and "The Lucianic Recension" if a revision and recension were essentially the same? At the same time, Marcos studiously avoids referring to Aquila or Symmachus as recen-sions.[5] Since he affirms that these are both translations,[6] it is possible to infer that he does not identify them as recensions because of his view that they were not revisions. Karen Jobes and Moisés Silva also seem to share the opinion that a revision and recension are equivalent when they describe *kaige* as an "early revi-

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1. From an email by Leonard Greenspoon, July 9, 2004. Greenspoon treats some of these same issues in "The *Kaige* Recension: The Life, Death, and Post-Mortem Existence of a Modern—and Ancient—Phenomenon," in *XII Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 5–16.

2. Kristen de Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 62–63.

3. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). At first glance it seems that he employs a distinction because he entitles one chapter "The *kaige* Revision" (pp. 142–54), but another "The Lucianic Recension" (pp. 223–38). However, there is nowhere that he explains the difference in his terms and he refers to the *kaige* recension on p. 158.

4. For the time being we will set aside the questions that have been raised about the legiti-macy of referring to *kaige* as a recension. The fact is that this terminology is still employed as a description and scholars have some concept in mind when they use the term. For arguments that *kaige* is better described as a tradition of translating that reflects revision and/or formal equivalence to the MT, see my "*Kaige* and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998): 127–39; Peter Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 497.

5. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 109–41.

6. Ibid., 110.

sion of some books in the Old Greek, characterized by a number of distinctive features. . . . The recension [i.e. *kaige*] . . ."[7]

Though it is possible to conclude that de Troyer, Marcos, and Jobes and Silva are using the terms in the same way, several problems with this usage are immediately apparent. For example, how is it that there is the Lucianic Recension and Origen's Recension, but, to this writer's knowledge, these projects are rarely referred to in the scholarly literature as revisions? A notable exception to the common way that these works are designated is Emanuel Tov who describes *kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, the Hexapla, and Lucian all as revisions,[8] yet he does not refer explicitly to the Lucianic and Origenic texts as recensions.[9] Tov also includes a helpful discussion of the term recension and how it has been employed in the literature (to which we will return below), but there would seem to be no reason why Origen's text would not classify as a recension in Tov's usage.[10] Regardless of Origen's attempts to clarify the relationship of the Greek texts to the Hebrew, he employed the Aristarchian symbols to demarcate additions and omissions to the Greek compared to the Hebrew text that he knew. On the other hand, Jobes and Silva do see a difference between the activity of Origen as opposed to Aquila or Theodotion. They explain their distinction in terminology as follows: "It remains true that the Three were historically perceived and probably intended as new works more or less in competition with the Septuagint, whereas the "recensions" (Origen's in particular) were meant to provide reliable editions of the Septuagint itself."[11] Their description may be generally accurate, but there remains an inconsistency in how the terms are applied.

Regarding the works that have been generally identified as recensions, there is less known about the Lucianic and there are many questions about the extent of the work.[12] Much of the research on the Lucianic text has concentrated on 1–4 Reigns where a Lucianic text is most clearly identifiable. Bernard Taylor, whose labors on the Lucianic Recension in these books is inexplicably under-appreciated in the scholarly literature, has clearly demonstrated that the Lucianic text in

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7. Karen Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001) 326.

8. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 144–48.

9. Tov (ibid., 25) does refer to the "revisions (recensions) of LXX: among them *Kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, and the fifth column of the Hexapla."

10. Tov (p. 143) argues that a textual tradition can be characterized as a revision (recension) of LXX based on two conditions: 1) there are a sufficient number of distinctive agreements between the LXX and the revision to prove they have a common textual basis; 2) that the reviser worked in a certain way, which in this case would be towards the proto-MT.

11. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 47.

12. For example, Albert Pietersma argues that no Lucianic witnesses can be identified for the Psalter in "Proto-Lucian and the Greek Psalter," *VT* 28 (1978): 66–72.

1–4 Reigns is characterized by a high percentage of hexaplaric readings.[13] Marcos would agree with Taylor in this regard,[14] but there is a significant difference in how these scholars interpret these findings. In order to understand the differences in their interpretations, and to appreciate the implications of these views for the purposes of this paper, a brief excursus on the Lucianic text is necessary.

Any foray into Lucian leads inevitably into the murky waters of the so-called proto-Lucianic text.[15] The texts that have been identified as Lucianic in 1–4 Reigns are boc_2e_2. As mentioned above, these manuscripts contain hexaplaric additions, but it has also been noted that there is an underlying base text, which contains minority readings that are unique to the Lucianic witnesses. Among these minority readings that are exclusive to the Lucianic manuscripts are readings sometimes identified as proto-Lucianic. The reason why the nature of this underlying text becomes particularly important in Reigns is because Barthélemy argued that there are sections of these books where there are no witnesses to the Old Greek text. According to Barthélemy, whose results are commonly accepted, the majority of the witnesses in the βγ and γδ sections of Reigns,[16] excluding the Lucianic ones, witness to the *kaige* text. Therefore, the nature of the underlying text of the Lucianic manuscripts is crucial to establish because it has implications for understanding the history of the transmission of the texts and reconstructing the OG. If, for example, the Lucianic manuscripts are witnesses to the OG, then there would be the means to construct a critical text for the OG in the βγ and γδ sections of Reigns.

Indeed, Barthélemy argued that the Lucianic manuscripts witnessed to the OG, particularly in the βγ section of Reigns.[17] Though they have offered slight modifications of Barthélemy's position, influential scholars such as Frank Cross and Emanuel Tov have accepted his basic view that the Lucianic manuscripts are witnesses to the OG. Cross added that the Lucianic manuscripts provide evidence of a Greek text that was revised toward a Hebrew text similar to 1QSam[a].[18]

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13. Bernard A. Taylor, *The Lucianic Manuscripts of I Reigns* (2 vols.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992–1993) II.49–50.

14. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Some Reflections on the Antiochian Text of the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta – Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. Wevers; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 228.

15. E. Tov, "Lucien and Proto-Lucien: Toward a New Solution of the Problem," *RB* 79 (1972): 101–13.

16. Since the research of Thackeray, 1–4 Reigns is normally divided into five sections: α = 1 Reigns; ββ = 2 Reigns 1:11–11:1; βγ = 2 Reigns 11:2–3 Reigns 2:11; γγ = 3 Reigns 2:12–21:43; γδ = 3 Reigns 22 + 4 Reigns. Shenkel has argued that the second section should end at 9:13. See James D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge: Harvard, 1968), 117–20.

17. Dominic Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSupp 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 127.

18. Frank M. Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank M. Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard

Cross's notion is driven by his theory of local texts in which he envisages different stages of literary development within the Hebrew text have a corresponding Greek translation.[19] Tov supported Barthélemy's position by suggesting that Cross's notion that there was a proto-Lucianic revision is unnecessary, though he did argue that the Lucianic readings witnessed to a second layer of Lucianic revision.[20] It is in the light of these proposals that the value of Taylor's research becomes so significant and all the more surprising that it is so often overlooked.

In order for the Lucianic texts to be witnesses to the OG in the βγ and γδ sections of Reigns, presumably these same texts would demonstrate a similar relationship to the OG in the other sections of Reigns. Otherwise, on what basis could it be established that they witness to the OG in the βγ and γδ sections? The fact that there is no critically reconstructed OG text for the books of Reigns (although the work is in progress) also muddies the waters of the discussion. However, B has been generally regarded as the best witness. Taylor analyzed the minority readings in 1 Reigns and discovered that the relationship between the OG as it is currently known (represented primarily by B and its congeners) and the Lucianic manuscripts in 1 Reigns varies between 10–12 percent in the Lucianic manuscripts. The relatively insignificant agreement between the OG and the Lucianic manuscripts is readily apparent when one contrasts that relationship with the textual affinity between A and B. Manuscript A, which is well known to be heavily influenced by hexaplaric readings, shares minority readings with B over 38 percent of the time.[21] In other words, based on the analysis of shared minority readings in 1 Reigns and the assumption that B is a relatively good witness to the OG, the Lucianic manuscripts have limited value for reconstructing the OG. If that is true in I Reigns, it is true elsewhere in Reigns; for this reason, the Lucianic manuscripts do not witness to the OG in the βγ and γδ sections of Reigns.[22] Herein lies the chief advantage and significance of Taylor's reconstruction of the Lucianic text according to the majority text. The Lucianic text is presented against the background of the Old Greek, so that its position in the history of the transmission of the Greek texts is clearly understood.

How then is one to describe the numerous hexaplaric additions contained in the Lucianic manuscripts. While Taylor interprets these hexaplaric additions as later contaminations to the Lucianic manuscripts, Marcos suggests that the hexaplaric readings characterize the Lucianic text.[23] He states, "there has been a posthexaplaric reworking of the text which must have taken place in Antioch and

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University Press, 1975), 315.

   19. Ibid., 306.

   20. See n. 9.

   21. Taylor, *Lucianic Manuscripts of I Reigns*, II.46–47. In order to appreciate Taylor's findings it is best to read the whole of chapter 2 of his analysis.

   22. Ibid., II.53.

   23. Ibid., II.49; Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 236.

so can be called Lucianic."[24] At the same time, Marcos has also stated, "Certainly in the *kaige*-sections this [the Antiochene text for the historical books] text is closer to the Old Greek than Rahlfs,"[25] so his position is somewhat unclear. He has advocated that his text is both Lucianic and closer to the Old Greek, even though in an earlier article he suggested that the Lucianic manuscripts do not witness to the OG.[26] As we have noted, Taylor's work offers the evidence that Lucian cannot be equal to the OG in the *kaige* sections of Reigns based on the current assumption of the priority of B. Though Marcos seems to understand the Lucianic text to be a reworking toward a Hebrew text, he also notes that there is little indication that Lucian knew any Hebrew. Thus, regardless of who was responsible for the addition of the hexaplaric readings, it may be legitimately questioned whether they originate from an attempt to conform a text more closely to a Hebrew *Vorlage*. If these additions were introduced to conform the text more closely to another Greek text, then the definition of a recension offered by de Troyer would not apply to the Lucianic Recension. Given the fact that Taylor characterizes the hexaplaric readings as corruptions of the Lucianic text, it would seem that he would argue that the proper Lucianic text refers to the (presumed) proto-Lucianic text that was edited by the historical Lucian, to which the hexaplaric additions were later added.

Of course, much of this discussion above about the relationship between the texts in Reigns is dependent upon the role of B in the reconstruction of the OG. Indeed, when I delivered this paper, Professor Aejmelaeus immediately argued that Taylor's conclusions were invalid because they were based on faulty presuppositions (which by definition is the presupposition that B is the primary witness to the OG). Since Professor Aejmelaeus is currently preparing the Göttingen edition for 3 and 4 Reigns, her assertion may in fact be correct. However, to my knowledge she has not published anything that would support this claim as of yet. Furthermore, her assertion raises significant methodological concerns for reconstructing the OG and the history of its transmission. Her claim must rest on the presupposition that B and its congeners are not the primary witnesses to the OG in Reigns. If not, then what are? What would one use to reconstruct the OG in the *kaige* sections? Moreover, if the reconstruction of the OG could be so completely overhauled for the books of Reigns, would that not have implications for the reconstruction of the OG for other books? Similar logical problems accompany any notion that the Lucianic or Antiochene tradition is "closer" to the

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24. Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 236.

25. Email to the IOSCS executive, March 14, 2005.

26. See Marcos, "Some Reflections on the Antiochian Text," 228. There is no basis provided in the article to explain how he came to that determination. Given his more recent comments, it seems that he has changed his mind, but Taylor's findings demonstrate that he was correct in his earlier opinion.

OG than *kaige*. Exactly what criteria would define Lucianic manuscripts as closer to the OG? Regardless of the current discussion about terminology, whether we call *kaige* and Lucian recensions or revisions, neither one is equivalent to what we refer to as the OG unless one of these is itself the earliest translation of the Hebrew text. The issues at hand raise significant questions about the transmission of the Greek scriptures.

Returning to revision and recension, it is unfortunate that there are still more ways that these terms may cause the reader to become befuddled. For example, in his discussion of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, Sydney Jellicoe clearly identifies Aquila as a translation; yet, he refers to the three as "Jewish revisers."[27] Elsewhere, he explains that Symmachus "the recensionist was an Ebionite whose translation. . . ."[28] Thus, it would appear that Jellicoe used the terms recension and translation interchangeably, and he did not have in mind revision toward a Hebrew text when he refers to a recension. Cross, on the other hand, refers to the "recensions of Aquila and the Hexapla," but it is unclear whether he understands Aquila to be a revision of the OG toward the proto-MT.[29] More recently, Kraft juxtaposes "translation/recension" when referring to the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll, which at first might seem to be an odd combination. However, Kraft argues that the scroll reflects a translation that is significantly different from the Old Greek, so that it is unclear whether the Minor Prophets Scroll is a revision of the Old Greek.[30] Kraft observes that the criteria and means to determine what constitutes an organized attempt by an individual or school of translators to produce a translation or a revision and how that process may have been conceptualized and practically applied is more complex than what has been conceived in the past. "It is now widely acknowledged that no single 'rule' or model can do service for all the phenomena encountered in the study of ancient translational activity on the materials that came to be valued as Jewish Scriptures."[31] Readers may be forgiven for occasionally being confused by the way terms are applied.

The present survey has revealed a number of discrepancies within the secondary literature, though different interpretations of the data are partially responsible for some of the inconsistencies. In other instances, however, it is obvious that scholars are working with different definitions of the terminology being employed. The term recension, for example, is used in some cases more broadly than that suggested by de Troyer. The key to understanding this difference is that

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27. Sydney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 86.

28. Ibid., 97.

29. Cross, "Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," 314.

30. Robert Kraft, "Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers* 40 Years Later," *BIOSCS* 37 (2004), 12. Kraft offers an excellent commentary on the implications of Barthélemy's work and how research has progressed.

31. Ibid.; see n. 4 above.

historically the term recension was employed as an equivalent to text-type. As Tov notes, prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls "the terms recension and text-type are generally applied to a textual tradition which contains some sort of editing of earlier texts, while the term recension is also used with the general meaning of textual tradition or simply text."[32] This usage of recension to mean text-type is apparent in Cross's article when he states, "The history of the Hebrew text parallels precisely the history of the Old Greek translation, and its recensions."[33] In this view, the recensions represent distinct and separate groupings of the way in which the Hebrew text was transmitted and within which various witnesses could be categorized. A particular textual witness might belong to the Palestinian recension (or text type) or the Babylonian recension (or text type). Cross's theory postulated that there were three separate recensions of the Hebrew text, but it is not necessary for the purposes of this article to debate the merits of his proposal. What is important to note is that this usage of the term recension is based on the concept that it describes a body of texts that are characterized by textual features that distinguish them from other recensions.

Given the identification of a recension historically with a body of texts that reflect distinctive textual features, it is not surprising that the term recension would be applied by various scholars to such disparate enterprises such as *kaige*, Aquila, Symmachus, Lucian, and Origen. The reason for this is that they are being guided in their usage primarily by the association of a recension with a group of texts that reflect identifiable common features (a text-type). I suggest that this is the fundamental quality that underlies this use of the term by scholars, even though that characteristic has often been implicit to their discussion rather than explicitly defined. Thus, Kraft can endorse a new translation as a recension while Tov does not. Tov does offer a helpful definition when he states: "Textual recensions bear recognizable textual characterizations, such as an expansionistic, abbreviating, harmonizing, Judaizing, or Christianizing tendency, or a combination of these characteristics."[34] Thus, according to this definition, Tov, like Kraft, would not restrict the term recension to "a revision of the Old Greek towards a Hebrew Vorlage," since a revision of a Greek text toward another Greek text would fit his criteria equally well. This adds to the confusion because elsewhere Tov does equate a recension with a revision.

An interesting case study for the way that recension is used is the group of texts that have been variously identified as *kaige*, *kaige*-Th, the *kaige* revision, and the *kaige* Recension. Though it is quite common to encounter references to the

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32. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 155.
33. Cross, "Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," 306.
34. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 161.

kaige Recension in the secondary literature,[35] there are reasons to question the validity of this designation. Not only have serious challenges been made to the notion that a sufficient number of characteristics have been delineated to identify the specific members of this group,[36] scholars did not originally tend to express that the books most closely identified with *kaige* exhibited such uniformity in the first place. For example, Barthélemy never referred to *kaige* as a recension. Instead, Barthélemy argued there may have been some sort of school of revisers and translators and that some of the texts that he identified as members of *kaige* were recensions (that is revisions).[37] He was not arguing that all the members of *kaige* were revisions. John Wevers has already pointed out this discrepancy between Barthélemy description of the *kaige* texts and the fact that the group as a whole is often referred to as a recension.[38] More recently, Kraft has also emphasized the variety that Barthélemy recognized within the *kaige* group, though Kraft also applies the term "translation" as a general description of the group.[39]

Despite the fact that Barthélemy never referred to the *kaige* group of texts as a whole as a recension, that is how the group is often described. Part of the reason for this probably lies in the connection that other scholars have made between a recension (as a text type) and a group of texts that share common textual features that distinguish them from other texts. Thus, there is confusion because some scholars are restricting the term recension strictly to a particular text that has been revised toward a Hebrew *Vorlage* (as reflected in de Troyer's definition) and others who are relating the notion of recension to a group of texts that share common features. The confusion is multiplied by the uncertainties associated with delimiting the so-called *kaige* group generally, as well as the inconsistency in the use of terms like revision, recension, and translation, which we have discussed above. At the very least, Wevers was correct to argue, "I would strongly urge that we ban from academic usage the term καίγε recension,"[40] because the *kaige* group fails to meet the criteria applied for either use of the term recension. *Kaige* has not been understood or been demonstrated to refer to a group of texts that are all revisions; neither has it been sufficiently proven that they are a group of texts that share textual features that may be typologically distinguished from

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35. Jobes and Silva (*Invitation*, 42) state, "most scholars now prefer to speak of *Kaige*-Theodotion, meaning by that term a well-defined, pre-Christian revision of the Old Greek," but as we have noted in this article the term recension is freely interchanged with revision by many of these scholars (e.g., Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context*, 158; Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 25).

36. See n. 4 above.

37. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, 267.

38. John W. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) 33–34.

39. Kraft, "Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers*," 8.

40. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," 33–34.

other texts. What the majority of *kaige* research did was show characteristics of formal equivalence translation toward the proto-MT. Formal equivalence toward the proto-MT may be equivalent to revision, but the fact that you have five or ten books exhibiting formal equivalence does not mean that you have a recension under either definition. It means you have a growing concern to have a closer formal relationship between the translation and its source. That probably reflects the concerns of a group, but it does not mean the group made a conscious decision to employ similar approaches to translating words, grammar, and syntax. Without that evidence it means at best that they said "we need to provide some more up-to-date translations that are closer to the Hebrew text."

Regardless of whether *kaige* meets the criteria for a recension (though it could be argued that the second way of defining a recension might apply to at least some books that have been identified as belonging to *kaige*), confusion remains in the way the term is employed. Though there have been influential voices that have encouraged the strict equation of a recension with a revision, there are two practical results that follow from defining a recension as a group of texts that share common textual features that distinguish them from other texts. First, it explains why scholars have used the term to refer to both revisions and translations; second, it provides a means to distinguish between the terms revision and recension. For example, scholars frequently employ "recensional activity" to describe the editorial proclivities of an individual or a group that is working cooperatively and employing the same principles for more than one book. They are assuming in this usage that a recension involves some kind of intentional editorial activity on a number of books. The term revision is often used differently. A revision is a more specific term than recension, because it refers to a text or texts that have been revised in a certain way as opposed to representing a new translation. Moreover, scholars frequently refer to the way in which a scribe has "revised" the text. Thus, my proposal is to distinguish between the most common ways that the terms recension and revision are employed. In the secondary literature a recension often describes a group of books that exhibit shared textual features in such a way that they can be determined to be typologically distinct from other texts or recensions. In contrast, a single text may often be described as exhibiting signs of revision, but most scholars do not commonly designate a single text as a recension. Moreover, to designate a text a "revision" does not necessarily communicate much information, because the nature of the revision (presumably toward a Hebrew *Vorlage* or another Greek text) has to be clarified. Thus, I would suggest that when the principles by which that text was revised are shared with other books or texts, then, as a group, those texts may be described as a recension.

Another advantage to accepting the basic distinctions in terminology proposed here is that it eliminates some of the confusion that may be introduced by discussions about whether a given work is a fresh translation or a revision. For example, Aquila has been identified as both a revision and a translation, yet no

one would question that Aquila is characterized by consistent features of transla-
tion that can be identified across a range of books that distinguish it from other
texts. The proposal here would clarify that Aquila has the character of a recension
regardless of whether it was primarily a translation or a revision of an existing
text toward a Hebrew *Vorlage*. In a similar fashion, virtually all scholars could
agree that the term recension would apply to the projects associated with Sym-
machus, Origen, and Lucian.

A significant obstacle in this discussion is that even as one pleas for more
consistent use of terminology in Septuagint studies, the paradigms and assump-
tions that undergird the research are shifting or under reconstruction. The
current discussion about the relationship of *kaige* and the Antiochene text to the
OG in Reigns makes this abundantly clear. The words of Kraft are worth repeat-
ing: "no single 'rule' or model can do service for all the phenomena encountered
in the study of ancient translational activity." As the nature and extent by the vari-
ous scribes and editors from the first century B.C.E. to the fourth century C.E. are
better understood and explained the terminology must be both flexible enough to
adopt slight nuances in the concepts that are described and standardized so that
people are working with shared assumptions. The present state of affairs illus-
trates this is not the case. Therefore, whether or not the suggestions for clarifying
the terms recension and revision presented here are accepted, it is obvious that
scholars need to clarify their use of terminology and seek greater uniformity.

Bridge over Troubled Waters? The Γέφυρα in the Old Greek of Isaiah 37:25 and Contemporary Greek Sources

Michaël N. van der Meer

Abstract: The present article offers a contribution to Septuagint Lexicography by examining the Greek word γέφυρα, which occurs in a free rendering of a problematic phrase in Isaiah 37:25. On the basis of a study of all available attestations of the word in contemporary Greek sources, it is argued that the word means "bridge" rather than "dike." It is further argued that the Greek translator had a very specific bridge in mind, one that is known from ancient historical writings by Herodotus and Ctesias.

1. Introduction

During the last decade or so, much progress has been made in the field of Septuagint lexicography, owing to the modern translation projects (*La Bible d'Alexandrie, New English Translation of the Septuagint*,[1] *Septuaginta Deutsch*) and the Septuagint lexica.[2] Yet, a comprehensive study of Greek lexemes from the Septuagint in the light of contemporary Greek sources, as envisaged by John Lee,[3] is still in an

1. Pending the publication of the New English Translation of the Septuagint of Isaiah, the publication on the Internet (http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition) has been consulted.

2. Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), hereafter LEH[2]; and Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), hereafter GELS[2].

3. John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSCS 14; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983); John A. L. Lee, "The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek," in *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography: Essays in Honor of Frederick W.*

initial stage. Such a contextual approach is particularly valuable in the case of a relatively free translation, such as the Septuagint version of Isaiah.[4] The method to be followed in this respect is to study words from the same semantic domains[5] with the help of all available printed[6] and digital tools.[7]

At present I am working on the semantic field of water management, of course a typically Dutch theme. I have chosen to demonstrate a piece of my work on the basis of a single lexeme, the Greek word γέφυρα, because it is a complex but interesting case. To my mind, study of this word demonstrates the need to construct bridges between the various compartmentalized fields of study of Greek writings from Antiquity, not only our own field of Septuagint studies, but also that of papyrology and Classics as well.

Danker (ed. Bernard A. Taylor, *et al.*; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004), 66–74; John A. L. Lee, "A Lexicographical Database for Greek: Can it be Far Off? The Case of *amphodon*," in *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus; WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2007), 194–200.

4. Joseph Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (ATA 12/3; Münster i.W.: Aschendoffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934), especially the final chapter: "Der alexandrinisch-ägyptische Hindergrund der Js-LXX"; Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Mededelingen en verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux" 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948); Arie van der Kooij, "Schwerpunkte der Septuaginta-Lexicographie," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* 2 (ed. Siegfried Kreuzer and Jürgen Peter Lesch; BWANT 161; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2004), 119–32; Michaël N. van der Meer, "Trendy Translations in the Septuagint of Isaiah: A Study of the Vocabulary of the Greek Isaiah 3,18–23 in the Light of Contemporary Sources," in Karrer and Kraus, eds., *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, 581–96.

Other studies of the exegesis in the Greek Isaiah limit the frame of reference for comparison to the biblical books and the hermeneutical techniques known from later Jewish sources; see, e.g., Jean Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d'après les témoins textuels d'Isaïe* (VTSup 33; Leiden: Brill, 1982); Eugene R. Ekblad Jr., *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (CBET 23; Louvain: Peeters, 1999); David Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66* (JSOTSup 318; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

5. See Johannes P. Louw and Eugene A. Nida, *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (2nd ed.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1989).

6. Besides the lexica already mentioned: LSJ; DGE; Preisigke I–II. Similarly the later update of this lexicon by Emil Kiessling, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin: Selbstverlag, 1944; Marburg: Selbstverlag, 1958, 1966, 1971; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz 1993), hereafter Kiessling.

7. The lexical tools used for this study are: http://www.tlg.uci.edu/ for the literary Greek works, hereafter TLG, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/Texts/papyri.html for the papyri, hereafter DDBDP, http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/ for the Greek inscriptions, hereafter PHI, and http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/ for additional resources.

2. Isaiah 37:25 and its Interpretations

The word I have chosen, γέφυρα, occurs only once in the corpus of Greek translations of books from the Hebrew Bible, that is, in the Old Greek of Isaiah 37:25. This verse is part of the wider context of a prophetical oracle of judgement over Assyria, Isaiah 37:24–27.

The setting of this verse is well known: The Assyrian king Sennacherib has sent his general before the gates of Jerusalem and intimidates the inhabitants of the city. In verse 24 he boasts to have ascended the heights of the Lebanon and to have decapitated it. This claim is followed in verse 25b by an even bolder one: to have dried up all the streams of Egypt. In between these claims we find in the Hebrew text four little words: אני קרתי ושתיתי מים, which modern translations render with "I dug wells and drank waters" (NSRV). The passage continues with an oracle of judgement depicted in images of utter destruction and desolation (37:26–27).

The Old Greek version of this passage differs at numerous instances from the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew text from the Great Isaiah scroll (1QIsaᵃ). For the sake of convenience, a synopsis of the Greek and Hebrew (MT) texts of Isa 37:24–26 is presented below:[8]

37²⁴ ὅτι διʼ ἀγγέλων ---	ביד עבדיך 37²⁴
ὠνείδισας κύριον·	חרפת אדני
σὺ γὰρ εἶπας	ותאמר
--- Τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἁρμάτων	ברב רכבי
ἐγὼ ἀνέβην *εἰς* ὕψος ὀρέων	מרום הרים אני עליתי
καὶ εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τοῦ Λιβάνου	ירכתי לבנון
καὶ ἔκοψα τὸ ὕψος τῆς κέδρου αὐτοῦ	ואכרת קומת ארזיו
καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς κυπαρίσσου ---	מבחר ברשיו
καὶ εἰσῆλθον *εἰς ὕψος*	ואבוא מרום
μέρους --- τοῦ δρυμοῦ --- --- ---	קצו יער כרמלו:
37²⁵ καὶ *ἔθηκα γέφυραν*	אני קרתי 37²⁵
--- --- ---	ושתיתי מים
καὶ ἠρήμωσα ὕδατα --- --- --- ---	ואחרב בכף־פעמי
καὶ πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν ὕδατος.	כל יארי מצור:

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8. The Hebrew text is taken from Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein, *The Book of Isaiah* (The Hebrew University Bible; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1995). The Greek versions (Septuagint and Symmachus) are taken from Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939). The minuses in the Greek text *vis-vis* the Masoretic Text are marked by means of three hyphens for each lexeme; pluses and other divergences in the Greek text *vis-à-vis* the Masoretic Text are marked by italics. Indentation has been used in case the Hebrew or Greek clause extended the length of a single line.

37²⁶ οὐ ταῦτα ἤκουσας
   --- πάλαι,
ἃ ἐγὼ ἐποίησα;
ἐξ ἀρχαίων ἡμερῶν
--- συνέταξα ---,
νῦν δὲ ἐπέδειξα ---
--- ---
ἐξερημῶσαι ἔθνη ἐν ὀχυροῖς
   καὶ ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν πόλεσιν ὀχυραῖς·

הלוא־שמעת 37²⁶
למרחוק
אותה עשיתי
מימי קדם
ויצרתיה
עתה הבאתיה
ותהי
להשאות גלים נצים
ערים בצרות:

The New English Translation of the passage runs as follows:

> ²⁴Because by messengers you have reviled the Lord, for you said, 'With the multitude of my chariots I have gone up to the height of the mountains, and to the utmost limits of Lebanon; and I cut down the height of its cedar and the beauty of its cypress; and I entered into the height of its forest region, ²⁵and I built a bridge <or: dam> and desolated the waters and every gathering of water.' ²⁶Have you not heard long ago of these things that I have done? From ancient days I ordained them, but now I have exhibited them, to make desolate the nations that are in strong places and those who dwell in strong cities.

As could be expected from a relatively free translation such as the Septuagint of Isaiah, the Greek version of these verses differs considerably from MT. Most of the variants do not affect the meaning of the text, but this is clearly not the case in verse 25. Instead of the phrase "I dug waters," the Greek version has καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν. This clause may be either translated as "I built a bridge" or "I built a dam," as the footnote in NETS indicates. The older Greek translations of the Septuagint of Isaiah also oscillate between the two meanings "bridge" and "dam":[9]

> Brenton:[10] "and I have made a bridge, and dried up the waters, and every pool of water."
> Ottley:[11] "And have made a mound, and have dried up waters, and every gathering of water."

Apparently, then, the meaning of the word γέφυρα presents some troubles. The Greek lexica too reflect the same variation between "bridge" and "dam" and

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9. LEH² 119b also favors the meaning "bridge."

10. Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (London: Bagster, 1851), 871.

11. Richard R. Ottley, *Introduction and Translation with a Parallel Version from the Hebrew* (2nd. ed.; vol. 1 of *The Book of Isaiah according to the Septuagint (Codex Alexandrinus)*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 209.

even add a third meaning "tunnel" attested by Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*:

> LSJ 346b: "γέφυρα (Boeot. βέφυρα Stratt.47.5), Lacon. δίφουρα Hsch., Cret. δέφυρα *GDI* 5000ii*b*6 (Gortyn) … –*dyke, dam*, ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς χειμάρρῳ, ὅς τ' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας· τὸν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν Il.5.88, cf. γεφυρόω: metaph., πολέμοιο γέφυραι, expld. by Sch.Il. as αἱ δίοδοι τῶν φαλάγγων, i.e. the *open space* between hostile armies, but more prob. *limits* <LSJ RevSuppl. 76b: "read: *earthworks*"> of the battlefield, Il. 4.371, 11.160 etc.; πόντου γ. of the Isthmus of Corinth, *causeway* through the sea, Pi.*N*.6.39, cf. *I*.4(3).20; so, of the *causeway* between Athens and Eleusis, *Carm.Pop.*9; at the Euripus, Str.9.2. **II.** after Hom., in sg., *bridge*, γέφυραν ζευγνύμαι Hdt 4.97, cf. 1.75 (pl.); γ. γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν A.*Pers.*736; γ. λῦσαι X.*An*.2.4.17; πόρον ὑπὲρ γεφυρῶν ἄγοντες Lib.*Or*.11.243; also, of a *tunnel* ὑποστείχει γ. Philostr. *VA* 1.25."

The recent Spanish-Greek dictionary (DGE) follows the same structure, but relegates the attestations for "causeway" to the second category "bridge":

> DGE IV 805b: "… **I 1** *terraplén, dique* ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς χειμάρρῳ, ὅς τ' ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·*Il*.5.88. **2** *espacio intermedio* πολέμοιο γέφυραι *entre dos ejércitos Il*.4.371. **II 1** *puente* πόντου τε γέφυρ' ἀκάμαντας *puente infatigable sobre el mar* ref. al Istmo de Corinto, Pi.*N*.6.39, del que se encuentra entre Atenas y Eleusis *Carm.Pop.*31, γ. γαῖν δυοῖν ζευκτηρίαν A.*Pers.*736, γέφυραν ζευγνύμαι *unir con un puente* las orillas de un rio, Hdt 4.97. γέφυρᾳ συνεζευγμένος διπλέθρῳ Ephor.119, πόλιν γεφύραις … καὶ τείχεσιν περιφραγμένην LXX 2*Ma*.12.13, κεκόσμηται γεφύραις de Mitilene, Longus 1.1.1 cf. *Carm.Pop.*31, *IG* 2².1126.41 (IV a.C.), *PPetr.*2.4.11.6 (III a.C.), LXX *Is*.37.25, Luc.*VH* 2.43, *Hist.Cons*.15, *PRyl*.225.51 (II/III d.C.), Lib.*Or*.11.243; fig. del descenso de Cristo al Hades γ. πρὸς ἀναβίωσιν Procl.CP *Or*.M.65.785C. **2** *túnel* ποταμῷ ... ὃν ... ὑποστείχει γ. Philostr.*VA* 1.25. **3** *acueducto* τὴν γέφυραν ... ἀνέθηκεν *IEphesos* 3092 (I d.C.). **4** n. de un *impuesto sobre los puentes*, *Sammelb.*12834 (II/III d.C.) en *Berichtigungsl.*8.286. …"

These lexica cover a very broad stretch of time and place. One would expect to find a more precise definition of the word in the lexical tools for the Greek documentary papyri, since this corpus of writings stands much closer in time and space to the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, than the literary writings covered by LSJ and DGE. Yet, the dictionaries by Preisigke and Kiessling find it impossible to distinguish between the two meanings:

> Preisigke I 291–292: "*Damm, Brücke* (die Belege gestatten nicht, sicher zu unterscheiden)."[12]

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12. Similarly Kiessling, 399.

We do find a clear decision in favour of the meaning "dam" in the work of Dani-
elle Bonneau, who had dedicated almost her entire academic life to the study of
the Greek vocabulary for water management in the documentary papyri.[13] Unfor-
tunately, she based her argument not on the attestations in this corpus, but on a
statement in Herodotus. As we will see, this is a very special case. Worthwhile is
the fact that she referred to another word from the same semantic domain, and
that is χῶμα, the ordinary Greek word for "dam":

> Le sens de "digue" est assuré en Égypte au moins dans un composé dont se sert
> Hérodote à propos de Memphis: "Les prêtes (m')ont dit que Mîn, le premier roi
> de l'Égypte, mit à l'abri d'une digue (ἀπογεφυρῶσαι) l'emplacement de Mem-
> phis." … Si l'on cherche en quoi *géphyra* se distingue de *chôma*, on peut proposer
> que, tandis que le second est formé des débais de terre tirés du creusement d'un
> canal, la première est construite sur un terrain lui-même humide, imbibé d'eau
> d'infiltration, et permet de franchir des espaces de terre facilement embourbés.

Whatever the precise meaning of the phrase καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν may be, it most
certainly does not offer a strict interlinear correspondence of the Hebrew text of
Isaiah 37:25 אני קרתי. The Greek translation of Symmachus makes clear how a
literal rendering of мт-Isa 37:25 would look like:

> ἐγὼ ὤρυξα, καὶ ἔπιον ὕδωρ, καὶ ἠρήμωσα ἐν ἴχνει ποδός μου πάντας ποταμοὺς
> συνεχομένους (86.Eus) "I dug, and I drank water, and desolated with the sole of
> my foot all enclosed rivers."

The Greek version of Isa 37:25 further lacks an equivalent for the following clause
in the Hebrew text ושתיתי מים, "I drank waters." In the following clause we find
no Greek parallel for the phrase בכף-פעמי, "with the sole of my feet," whereas the
object phrase כל יארי מצור, "all the streams of Egypt" has been transformed into
πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν ὕδατος, "every gathering of water."

   Although the Hebrew verb קור I occurs only here in the Hebrew Bible and
its parallel in 2 Kgs 19:24, its meaning "to dig wells" is well assured by cognate
Semitic languages[14] and the cognate Hebrew noun מקור, "source." It was not only
understood in this sense by Symmachus, but also by the other ancient translators
of the Book of Isaiah, the Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate:

> אנא הויתי חפר גובין ושתי מיין וטפחית בפרסת רגלי עמא דעמי כל מי נהרין עמיקין:

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13. Danielle Bonneau, *Le Régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine
& byzantine* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 8; Leiden: Brill, 1993), 50–51.

14. *HALOT* 3: 1090b–1091a; Gregorio del Olmo Lete and Joaquín Sanmartín, *A Diction-
ary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (HdO 67; Leiden; Brill, 2003), 707, with
references to expressions like *qr mym*, "a gathering of water," in KTU 1.19 III 45–46.

"I was digging cisterns and drinking waters, and I trampled with the sole of the feet of the people that was with me all the waters of the deep rivers." (Stenning)[15]

ܐܢܐ ܐܚܦܘܪ ܐܘܫܬܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ ܡܝܐ. ܘܐܘܒܫ ܒܣܕܩܬܐ ܕܪܓܠܝ.
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܗܘܬܐ ܬܩܝܦܐ.

I will dig, and drink water; and with the hoofs of my horses will I dry up all the great rivers. (Lamsa)[16]

ego fodi et bibi aquam et exsiccavi vestigio pedis mei omnes rivos aggerum.[17]

It is interesting to note that in the inscription of Sennacherib's grandson, Ashurbanipal II (669–627 B.C.E.), prism A, col. VIII 73–107,[18] we find an striking parallel to Isaiah 37:24–25:

At the command of Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Urta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I mustered my forces. Against Abiate' I took the straight road. The Tigris and Euphrates they (the armies) crossed in safety at the height of their flood, they marched over distant trails, *climbed* high mountains, plunged through stretches of dense forests, between mighty *gissu*-trees and *amurtinnu*, over roads covered with thorn-bush they marched in safety. … In Laribda, a station (surrounded) with a wall of *kunukku*-stones, I pitched my camp, besides the cisterns of water. My soldiers dug for water (to quench) their thirst, then marched on, going over a parched and thirsty stretch, to Hurarina.

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15. Alexander Sperber, *The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan* (vol. 3 of *The Bible in Aramaic based on Old Manuscripts and Printed Texts* (third impression; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 75; the translation is taken from John F. Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1949), 122. See also Bruce D. Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum* (vol. 11 of *The Aramaic Bible*; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1987), 73.

16. Sebastian P. Brock, *Isaiah* (Part III/1 of *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version*; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 65. Pending the publication of a New Annotated English Translation of the Peshitta in the projected *Bible of Edessa* series, the translation by George M. Lamsa, *The Holy Bible from Ancient Eastern Manuscripts Containing the Old and New Testaments Translated from the Peshitta, The Authorized Bible of the Church of the East* (Philadelphia: Holman, 1959), 730, has been consulted.

17. Robert Weber, *Bibla sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem* (3rd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983), 1134.

18. Rylke Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals. Die Prismenklassen A, B, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 247. The present English translation is taken from Daniel D. Luckenbill, *Historical Records of Assyria from Sargon to the End* (vol. 2 of *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), 316 (§ 823).

The meaning "to dig a well" for Hebrew קור I thus seems well supported by various sources.

Writers from an earlier, pre-Christian period, however, held different views concerning the meaning of our phrase. They not only added the element of "strange" waters מים זרים – ὕδατα ἀλλότρια, but also offered different interpretations of the word קרתי. The scribe of the Great Isaiah scroll (1QIsaᵃ) seems to have interpreted the word קרתי as a form of Hebrew קרא, "to call:"

אני קראתי ושתיתי מים זרים ואחריבה בכף פעמי כול יארי מצור:

> I *called* and drank *foreign* waters, and with the sole of my foot I dried up all the rivers of Egypt.[19]

Although the possibility of orthographical variation can not be ruled out here, it is more probable that the writer of the scroll deliberately made an allusion to Genesis 1, as argued by Arie van der Kooij.[20] After all, the Assyrian king is said to have taunted the Creator God of Israel (Isa 37:24).

The Greek version of the parallel passage in 2 Kgs 19:24 offers yet another interpretation of our phrase:

ἐγὼ ἔψυξα καὶ ἔπιον ὕδατα ἀλλότρια, καὶ ἐξηρήμωσα τῷ ἴχνει ποδός μου πάντας ποταμοὺς περιοχῆς

(Sym probably had ἐξέκοψα thus Field's retroversion from Syh ⸖ܘܦܣܩܬ

> "I *sought the cool air*, and drank foreign waters, and I made desolate with the sole of my foot all the streams of enclosure." (NETS)

The kaige translator of 4 Kingdoms used the word ψύχω, "to cool." This verb renders in Jer 6:7 the graphically similar Hebrew verb, קרר II, "to cool." Jeremiah 6:6–7 shares with Isa 37:25 (2 Kgs 19:23) the imagery of felling trees (כרת עצה), besieging Jerusalem, and desolation:[21]
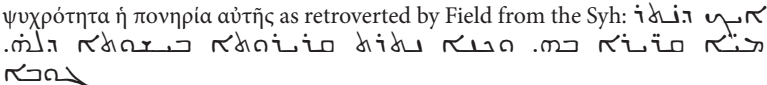
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19. Donald W. Parry and Elisha Qimron, *The Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ): A New Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 63; the translation is taken from Martin Abegg, Jr., Peter Flint, Eugene Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible Translated for the First Time into English* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999), 328.

20. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1QIsaᵃ)* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 283; Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1981), 77, n. 15.

21. *HALOT* 3: 1091a considers the possibility that the forms in Jer 6:7.7 are in fact Hiphʻil forms of קור I and should be understood as "to bubble up." See Richard S. Hess, "Hiphʻil forms of *qwr* in Jeremiah vi.7," *VT* 41 (1991): 347–50.

כי כה אמר יהוה צבאות כרתו עצה ושפכו על־ירושלם סללה היא העיר הפקד כלה עשק
בקרבה: כהקיר בור מימיה כן הקרה רעתה חמס ושד ישמע בה על־פני תמיד חלי ומכה:

For thus says the Lord of hosts: Cut down her trees: cast up a siege ramp against Jerusalem. This is the city that must be punished; there is nothing but oppression within her. As a well keeps its water fresh, so she keeps fresh her wickedness: violence and destruction are heard within her; sickness and wounds are ever before me. (NRSV)

ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἔκκοψον τὰ ξύλα αὐτῆς, ἔκχεον ἐπὶ Ιερουσαλημ δύναμιν· ὦ πόλις ψευδής, ὅλη καταδυναστεία ἐν αὐτῇ. ὡς ψύχει λάκκος ὕδωρ, οὕτως ψύχει κακία αὐτῆς·(…)

(Sym probably had ὡς τηρεῖ λάκκος ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν ἐν αὐτῷ, οὕτως ἐτήρησε ψυχρότητα ἡ πονηρία αὐτῆς as retroverted by Field from the Syh: ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ
ܗܟܢ ܩܘܪ ܡܝܐ ܟܘܡ. ܟܝܢܐ ܢܛܪܝܢ ܩܘܪܐ ܢܛܪܬ ܗܠܝܢ.
ܒܗܘܢ

For this is what the Lord says: Cut down her trees; pour out a force against Ierousalem. Ah false city, there is nothing but oppression within her. As a cistern keeps water fresh, so she keeps fresh her wickedness. (…) (NETS)

3. METHOD

What we see, then, is a relatively large variety of interpretations of a single Hebrew phrase אני קרתי, out of which the Greek rendering καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν is just one out of several options. Both the meaning of the Hebrew phrase and that of the Greek text are disputed. As far as the Greek text is concerned, we have encountered two different options: "I built a bridge" or "I built a dam."

As far as the Hebrew text is concerned, we have seen at least three different interpretations attested in antiquity. The phrase אני קרתי could be parsed as a form of:

[1] קור I "to dig wells," thus Symmachus in Isa 37:25 ὀρύσσω or ἐκκόπτω (Symm-4 Reg 19:24); or

[2] קרר "to keep cool," thus LXX-4 Reg 19:24 ψύχω (cf. LXX-Jer.6:7) or τηρέω … ψυχρόν (Symm-Jer 6:7); or

[3] קרא "to call," as found in 1QIsaᵃ.

In addition, two other possibilities have been raised by scholars over the past century. Johann Fischer made the suggestion that the Greek translator had a Hebrew *Vorlage* אני כרתי in front of him (cf. Jer 6:6–7). Nevertheless, he had to assume a fair amount of "Umdeutung" on the part of the Greek translator in order to arrive at the present Greek text.[22] A more plausible connection between the Hebrew

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22. Johann Fischer, *In welcher Schrift lag das Buch Isaias den LXX vor? Eine textkritische Studie* (BZAW 56; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1930), 52.

and Greek versions is offered by the old dictionary of Gesenius and the HUB edition of Isaiah by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein.[23] They propose either the nominal or verbal forms of the Hebrew root קרה II, "to build with beams."

Although this meaning involving "wooden beams" offers—to my mind—the most plausible connection between the Hebrew and Greek texts of Isa 37:25, it should be noted that everywhere the Hebrew verb קרה II occurs in the Hebrew Bible,[24] it has consistently been rendered by the Greek verb στεγάζω, which has precisely this same meaning: "to roof," "to cover."[25] The Greek translator of Isaiah, however, did not use this word, or any of the other Greek verbs that have been used in antiquity to render the same Hebrew clause (ὀρύσσω, ἐκκόπτω, ψύχω). Therefore, we are safe to conclude that the translator was not offering a literal and rather clumsy rendering of what he considered to be the meaning of the Hebrew text, but rather a deliberate, well-considered interpretation of his own. The question thus remains, why did he do so?

In order to unravel this complicated issue, I will follow the methodology developed in particular for the Greek Isaiah by Arie van der Kooij.[26] In a somewhat simplified way, this method can be subsumed under three basic questions: 1) What is the meaning of the Greek text taken in its own right?; 2) How did the translator arrive at his meaning?; and 3) Why did he do so?

As we have seen, the link suggested by Gesenius-Buhl and Goshen-Gottstein may help us to provide an answer to the second question dealing with the how of the translation. Before we can provide an answer to the third question, we will first have to answer the first one: What is actually meant by a γέφυρα? In order to resolve this question, we will first look at the immediate context of the word in Isa 37:25 and then draw ever widening circles of contexts, starting with the Greek Bible as a whole, then turning to the Greek documentary papyri as witnesses from approximately the same time and place as the Old Greek Isaiah, and finally some passages from Greek literary writings.

4. What is the Meaning of γέφυρα?

Ideally, the immediate context should decide what the proper meaning of the word is in that given context. Unfortunately, the context of the clause καὶ ἔθηκα γέφυραν in LXX-Isa 37:24–27 allows for either the meaning "bridge" or "dam."

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23. Goshen-Gottstein, *Isaiah*, 161; Wilhelm Gesenius, Frants Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (17th ed.; Berlin: Springer, 1959), 709b: "(LXX: קֹרֹת שַׁתִּי ich baute Brücken)." I owe this reference to Professor Frank Polak.

24. Ps 104(103):3; Neh 2:8; 3:3.6; 2 Chr 34:11

25. LSJ 1635b–1636a; Preisigke II 482–483; LEH[2] 566b.

26. Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre. The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and as Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

The preceding verse 24 seems to suggest that the trees of the Lebanon were cut down in order to construct a wooden bridge. Yet the following verse 25 seems to imply that the placing of a γέφυρα was instrumental to the drying up all the waters of Egypt, hence: "dam," or "dike."

The only other passage in the Greek Bible where the word γέφυρα occurs, 2 Macc 12:13, does not help us much either. The passage is enigmatic in itself:

> Ἐπέβαλε δὲ καὶ ἐπί τινα πόλιν † γεφύρουν † ὀχυρὰν καὶ τείχεσι περιπεφραγμένην καὶ παμμειγέσιν ἔθνεσι κατοικουμένην, ὄνομα δὲ Κασπιν.

> Judas also attacked Caspin, a walled and strongly fortified city *with bridges* (?) inhabited by a mixed population of Gentiles.

Perhaps the puzzling word γεφύρουν attested by Codex Alexandrinus is a scribal error for Γεφροῦν, "Ephron," as suggested by Jonathan Goldstein.[27] As an infinitive of γεφυρόω, "to bridge over," the word makes no sense in the present context. Be that as it may, it does not add much to our understanding of the word γέφυρα.

Therefore, we have to broaden our scope well beyond the biblical boundaries and study the extra-biblical sources. Here we find an enormous wealth of attestations.[28] Given the constraints of the present short contribution, it will be possible to deal with only a very selective number of these approximately thirteen hundred passages, starting with the documentary papyri.

Very instructive in this respect are the documentary papyri from the archive of Kleon and Theodorus, two engineers working in the middle of the third century B.C.E. These men were involved in a huge project to turn the Fayum oasis from arid marsh into arable land by means of a complex irrigation system. Their correspondence is filled with terms related to water management. Their archive was edited in a very incomplete and unsatisfactory way in the early years of papyrology.[29] Recently a fresh edition and examination of these documents appeared from the hand of Bart van Beek in Louvain.[30] Two of the documents from this

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27. Jonathan A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* (AB 41A; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 439, with a reference to Polybius 5.70.12.

28. TLG, accessed 21.iii.2007, gives 1265 results, the DDBDP, accessed on 4.1.2007, 52 results, the PHI Greek Epigraphy Search tools, accessed 10.vii.2007, has 33 matches. These numbers are somewhat inflated because of some double counts, due to re-editions of the same texts.

29. John P. Mahaffy, Josiah G. Smyly, *The Flinders Petrie Papyri with Transcriptions, Commentaries and Index* (3 vols.; Dublin: Academy House, 1891–1905).

30. Bart van Beek, *The Archive of the Engineers Kleon and Theodorus. Archive Study, Text Edition, with Translation and Notes* (PhD diss.: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 2006). His dissertation will eventually be published as P.Petrie II². The author kindly supplied me with a copy of his work, for which I am very grateful.

archive must suffice in order to demonstrate that γέφυρα has no other meaning than "bridge."

In text P.Petr. II² 25 (= P.Petr. II¹ 4, document 11; 7.viii.245 B.C.E.), we find a request to Kleon for wooden beams (ξύλα) for the construction of their γέφυραι:

> Alexandros to Kleon, greetings. (…) Send us the rest of the 200 *wooden beams* (ξύλα), as long and as thick as possible, so that we have them to serve as joists for our γεφύραις. For we are being held up by these. And send us ropes as well, 100 of them, but if there are more, 200. Farewell. Year 31, Payni 16.

In the following text, P.Petr. II² 91 (= P.Petr. III 43, 2; 27.i.245 B.C.E.), col. iii, line 77 up to col. iv, line 117, we find a contract given out by the state. It deals with the repair and construction of γέφυραι. Our lexeme occurs no less than thirteen times. Lines 100–103 clearly refer to a γέφυρα over a water-outlet (τὴν γέφυραν [τὴν ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ὑδραγωγοῦ):

> In the reign of Ptolemy, son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, sibling gods, year 2, Tlepolemos son of Artapates being priest of Alexander and the sibling gods, Ptolemais daughter of Thyion being *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos, on the […] of the month […], in Krokodilon Polis in the Arsinoite nome. A contract was given out from the Treasury through the *oikonomos* Hermaphilos, in the presence of Theodorus, the architect, and of Lon[…], agent of the royal scribe Petosiris (…) to take down the two bridges at Ker[…] (τὰς δύο γεφύρας τὰς ἐν Κ̣ε̣ρ[… ……….].ν κ̣α̣θ[ε]λ[εῖν]), to revet with brushwood at the foundations (καὶ παραφρυγανί[σ]αι κατὰ τὰ ὑποκείμ[ενα), to make the opening at the top of 8 cubits in width (…) to construct the bridge over the water outlet running to the *epoikion* of Pteropohorion likewise (τὴν γέφυραν [τὴν ἐ]πὶ τοῦ ὑδραγωγοῦ [το]ῦ̣ εἰς τὸ Πτεροφορίω̣ν̣ο̣ς ἐποίκιον ἐργάσασθαι ὡσαύτως·)

The context of the two documents requires the meaning "bridge" instead of "dam" or "dike" for γέφυρα. The same holds true for the other documentary papyri in which the word is attested.[31]

Something similar can be said about the twelve hundred fifty other attestations of the word γέφυρα in Greek writings before the Modern Era. The word

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31. P.Petr. III 56 C (258 B.C.E.), line 10; P.Petr. III 112 F (same period), *verso*, lines 2 and 9; P.Cair.Zen. II 59176 (255 B.C.E.), sixteen times in lines 70–121; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59745, *verso* col. iii, line 92; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59771, *verso* line 25; P.Cair.Zen. IV 59782a, col. ii, line 31 (all from the middle of the third century B.C.E.); P.Tebt. III/1 753 (197 or 173 B.C.E.), lines 11–14: γέφυραν πεπτωκυῖαν ἐπεστρέψαμεν εἰς Ὀξύρυγχα ἀργοῦντες, "[finding] the bridge fallen we returned to Oxyrhyncha with nothing to do"; P.Tebt. III/1 793 (183 B.C.E.), line 22; P.Mich. V 233 (25 C.E.), line 8; P.Stras. V 419 (134/135 C.E.), line 11; SB XVI 12816 (178/179 CE), col. v, line 66; P.Petaus 42 (tax account from 184-186 C.E.), col. i, lines 3 and 7, col. ii, lines 13, 17, 21, col. iii, lines 24 and 28; P.Ryl. II 225 (II/III C.E.), line 51; P.Ness. III 102 (sixth century C.E.), line 1. See also the sole epigraphical attestation for the word in Egypt: OGIS 175 (= SB V 8884; 104 B.C.E.), line 9.

γέφυρα almost always simply means "bridge." Usually these bridges are part of large-scale military operations. Thus we find a γέφυρα over the Hellespont when Darius and Xerxes invaded Greece.[32] Similarly, Hannibal had a γέφυρα constructed over the river Po, when he invaded Italy.[33] Like Sennacherib in the Greek Isaiah, these oriental leaders are the typical archenemies of Greece and Rome.

As it turns out, the sole support for the alleged primary meaning "dam"— thus the lexical tools just mentioned—comes from only two isolated instances, that by virtue of the popularity of their authors, Homer and Herodotus, have managed to dam off our proper understanding of the meaning of our lexeme. To my mind, even in these two cases, there is no firm ground for the meaning "dam" or "dike."

In the *Iliad* 5.87–92, we find a description of Diomedes, son of Tydeus. His violent attacks are compared to a winter torrent smashing away solid γέφυραι. Modern commentaries and lexica of Homer still favor the meaning "mound of earth along or across a river-bed."[34] Yet, the imagery of Diomedes's attack becomes much more forceful if it is compared to the sweeping flood that destroys the foundations of strongly built bridges (γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι), rather than the waves of a torrent that lash the banks of a river. Hence, Hans Lamer opted already

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32. Herodotus 4.85–98; 7.10.

33. Polybius 3.66.1–6. See also, e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 1.2.6; 2.4.21–24.

34. Geoffrey S. Kirk, *Books 5–8* (vol. 2 of *The Iliad: A Commentary*; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 63; Bernhard Mader, "γέφυρα," *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos* 2 (ed. Bruno Snell; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991): 141–42: "urspr. wohl Damm eines. Deich, anderers. Überbrückg. von Sümpfen . . . u. Flußbetten."

Additional support for this alleged original meaning "dam" would seem to come from the supposed Semitic origin of the word, according to J. T. Hooker, "γέφυρα: A Semitic Loan-Word?" in *Studies in Diachronic, Synchronic, and Typological Linguistics. Festschrift for Oswald Szemerényi on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. B. Brogyanyi; Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 11, part 1; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1979, pp. 387–98. Hooker argues that the word derives from the Semitic root *gb*, see, e.g., Ugaritic *gb*, Hebrew גב, Aramaic גבא, Syriac ܓܒܐ etc. Yet, only in Syriac does the word have the meaning "bank of a river," thus J. Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary Founded upon the Thesaurus Syriacus of R. Payne Smith* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1903), 58a. The primary meaning of the word in these languages is rather "back (of a human or animal)," "hump (of a camel)," or "height." Other problems with this etymology are the combination of the two elements γεφ (Semitic *gb*) and –υρα, the variation in the Greek dialects of the first letter (Boeot. βέφυρα, Lacon. δίφουρα, Cret. δέφυρα) and the way in which such a word could have been adopted into the Greek language, since "earthworks" are not items one can trade (as for instance many of the Semitic loanwords in Greek are, see χιτών – כתנת, χρυσός – חרוץ), which is the ordinary background for Semitic loanwords in Classical Greek. For these reasons, I deem it highly unlikely that the Greek word γέφυρα has a Semitic background.

over eighty years ago in a much-neglected article for the meaning "bridge" in Homeric Greek:[35]

θῦνε γὰρ ἂμ πεδίον ποταμῷ πλήθοντι ἐοικὼς
χειμάρρῳ, ὅς τ᾽ ὦκα ῥέων ἐκέδασσε γεφύρας·
τὸν δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἄρ τε γέφυραι ἐεργμέναι ἰσχανόωσιν,
οὔτ᾽ ἄρα ἔρκεα ἴσχει ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων
ἐλθόντ᾽ ἐξαπίνης ὅτ᾽ ἐπιβρίσῃ Διὸς ὄμβρος.

For he stormed across the plain like a winter torrent at the full which with its swift flood sweeps away (κεδάνυμι) the γέφυραι; this the close-fenced (ἔργω, "shut in," "fence in," hence "solid"?) γέφυραι do not hold back, nor do the walls of the fruitful vineyards stay its sudden coming when the storm of Zeus drives on it. (LCL)[36]

As a result, the passage on which Bonneau based her decision to define γέφυρα as "dam," that is, Herodotus 2.99, stands in complete isolation. As a matter of fact, we do not even find the word γέφυρα here, but the derivative verb ἀπογεφυρόω, "to dam off," which in turn happens to be a *hapax legomenon* within the entire corpus of Classical and Mediaeval Greek writings:[37]

The priests told me that Min was the first king of Egypt, and that first he separated Memphis from the Nile by a dam (ἀπογεφυρῶσαι τὴν Μέμφιν). All the river flowed close under the sandy mountains on the Libyan side, but Min made the southern bend of it which begins about an hundred furlongs above Memphis, by damming the stream (προσχώσαντα); thereby he dried up the ancient course (ἀποξηρῆναι), and carried the river by a channel so that it flowed midway between the hills. And to this day the Persians keep careful guard over this bend of the river, strengthening its dam every year, that it may keep the current in; for were the Nile to burst his dykes and overflow here (εἰ γὰρ ἐθελήσει ῥήξας ὑπερβῆναι ὁ ποταμὸς ταύτῃ), all Memphis were in danger of drowning. (LCL)

It remains unclear what one could possibly mean with "bridging off the river Nile" or even "damming off." Can it be that Herodotus had in mind the graphically

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35. Hans Lamers, "Grundbedeutung und Herkunft des Wortes γέφυρα," in *Philologische Wochenschrift* 123 (1923): 1067–74.

36. Unless otherwise indicated, all English translations for Classical Greek authors are taken from the Loeb Classical Library series (LCL). In this case, the translation is taken from William F. Wyatt, *Homer. Iliad Books 1–12* (LCL 170; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 213.

37. LSJ 194a; John Enoch Powell, *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (2nd ed.; Hildesheim: Olms, 1977), 38a; Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus: Book 2. Commentary 99–182* (EPRO 43; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 11.

similar Greek verb ἀπο-τρέπω analogous to the cognate verb ἐκ-τρέπω, which he used for the diversion of the river Halys a little earlier in his *Histories* (1.75) ?

> This is the story: As the bridges aforesaid did not yet exist (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναί κω τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας), Croesus knew not how his army should pass the river: then Thales, being in the encampment, made the river, which flowed on the left hand, flow also on the right of the army in the following way. Starting from a point on the river higher up than the camp, he dug a deep semicircular trench (Ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον διώρυχα βαθέαν ὀρύσσειν), so that the stream, turned from its ancient course, should flow in the trench to the rear of the camp, and, again passing it, should issue into its former bed (ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥεέθρων), so that, as soon as the river was thus divided into two, both channels could be forded. (LCL)

To my mind, the primary meaning of γέφυρα throughout all of our Greek writings from antiquity up to the modern age, including Homer, Herodotus, and the Septuagint, is simply "bridge." The word for "dam" is χῶμα, never γέφυρα, although the same construction could very well function as both a χῶμα and a γέφυρα at the same time. In such a case, our word "causeway" seems to be most suited. Note that in the case of the *Heptastadium* of Alexandria, the two functions remain clearly distinctive, as for instance in the description by Strabo 17.1.16:

> For the harbour which affords the entrance on the side of the above-mentioned tower of Pharos is the Great Harbour, whereas these two lie continuous with that harbour in their innermost recess, being separated from it only by the embankment called the Heptastadium. The embankment (χῶμά) forms a bridge (γέφυρα) extending from the mainland to the western portion of the island, and leaves open only two passages into the harbour of Eunostus, which are bridged over (γεγεφυρωμένους). However, this work formed not only a bridge to the island, but also an aqueduct (ὑδραγώγιον), at least when Pharos was inhabited. (LCL)

Likewise, the Letter of Aristeas, section 301, distinguishes between the two functions of the *Heptastadium*:

> Three days afterwards, Demetrius took the men with him, traversed the mile long jetty (τὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ σταδίων ἀνάχωμα) into the sea, crossed the bridge (διαβὰς τὴν γέφυραν), and went in the direction of the north.[38]

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38. Henry G. Meecham, *The Letter of Aristeas: A Linguistic Study with Special Reference to the Greek Bible* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935); the translation is taken from "Letter of Aristeas" translated by R. J. H. Shutt (*OTP* 2:7–34).

5. Which Bridge?

Once we have solved the first and second questions dealing with the what and how of the Greek rendering, we must now turn to the last of our three initial questions: Why did the Greek translator introduce a γέφυρα here? If his translation is a free one, as we have seen, why did he refer to a single bridge instead of a less specified plural: "I built bridges"? Which bridge had our translator in mind that was impressive enough to challenge the creative power of the God of Israel?

It was certainly not the relatively harmless *Heptastadium* in Alexandria mentioned by both Strabo and Aristeas.[39] One would be inclined to think of the pontoon bridges over the Hellespont that were part of the enormous military operations by the Persian kings Darius and Xerxes.[40] According to Philo, *On Dreams* 2:118, this human intervention in the natural order was nothing less than pure *hubris*, a taunting of the Deity:

> Thus Xerxes, the king of the Persians, wishing to strike terror into his enemies, made a display of action on a grand scale by creating a revolution in nature; for he converted two elements, earth into sea, and sea into earth, giving dry land to the ocean and ocean in exchange to the dry land, by bridging over the Hellespont (τὸν μὲν Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνὺς γεφύραις) and breaking up Mount Athos into deep hollows, which filled with salt water at once formed a new and artificial sea entirely transformed from its ancient nature. (LCL)

Yet, one wonders how such a hidden allusion would function in the Greek text of Isaiah, which also mentions the drying up of every gathering of water.

Following once more a suggestion made by my mentor, Arie van der Kooij, I would rather opt for another monumental bridge that stood right at the foundations of that other monument that challenged the authority of the God of Israel, which is the Tower of Babylon. According to Greek historians such as Herodotus and his younger contemporary Ctesias, a legendary queen, either named Nitocris or Semiramis, had an enormous stone bridge built over the river Euphrates. This bridge was built by diverting the original course of the river and thus *drying up* the ancient course of the river. Herodotus (1.185–186) uses the verb ἀποξηραίνω, which comes close in meaning to the verb ἐρημόω found in the Old Greek of Isaiah. The bridge consisted of a number of solid foundations that had been sunk down in the bottom of the river stream. Wooden beams were laid over these stone piers. As we know from excavations in Babylon, there really existed such a

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39. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 46, held the view that the free rendering of יארי מצור by συναγωγὴ ὕδατος was "to call upon an image from the Egyptian world of thought." To my mind, however, this rendering had precisely the opposite intention, i.e., to obliterate the reference to Egypt.

40. See IG XII/5 444, 51: Ξέρξης τὴν σχεδίαν ἔζευξεν ἐν Ἑλλησπόντωι.

bridge over the river Euphrates, although in all likelihood it was constructed only in the Neo-Babylonian period under Nebuchadnezzar and his father around 600 B.C.E.[41] According to studies in the field of water management in antiquity it was the first stone bridge of this size (115 meters) in antiquity.[42]

> (1.185) Such was this work; and she built an embankment (χῶμα) along either shore of the river, marvellous for its greatness and height. Then a long way above Babylon she dug a basin of a lake (ὤρυσσε ἔλυτρον λίμνη), a little way aside from the river, and making the circuit of the lake a distance of four hundred and twenty furlongs; all that was dug out of the basin she used to embank either edge of the river; and when she had it all dug, she brought stones and made therewith a coping all round the basin (τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χείλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ παραχέουσα). Her purpose in making the river to wind and turning the basin into a marsh (ἕλος) was this–that the current might be slower by reason of the many windings that broke its force, and that the passages to Babylon might be crooked, and that next after them should come also the long circuit of the lake. … (1.186) … When the digging of the basin of the lake was done, she made another monument of her reign out of this same work. She had very long blocks of stone hewn; and when these were ready and the place was dug, she turned the course of the river (ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ῥέεθρον) wholly into it, and while it was filling, the former channel being now dry (ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ῥεέθρου), she bricked with baked bricks (ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτῆσι), like those of the wall (κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ), the borders of the river in the city and the descents from the gates leading down to the river; also about the middle of the city she built a bridge (οἰκοδόμεε γέφυραν) with the stones which had been dug up, binding them together with iron and lead (δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ). She laid across it square-hewn logs (ξύλα τετράγωνα) each morning, whereon the Babylonians crossed; … Then, when the basin she had made for a lake was filled by the river and the bridge was finished (καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο), Nitocris brought the Euphrates back to its former channel out of the lake (τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ῥέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε); thus she served her purpose, as she thought, by making a swamp of the basin, and the citizens had a bridge ready for them. (LCL)

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41. Robert Koldewey, *Das wieder erstehende Babylon* (5th ed.; Munich: Beck, 1990), 195–97; David J. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* (The Schweich Lectures; London: Oxford University Press, 1985), 63–64; Robert Rollinger, *Herodots babylonischer Logos: Eine kritische Untersuchung der Glaubwürdigkeitsdiskussion an Hand ausgewählter Beispiele: historische Parallelüberlieferung–Argumentationen-archäologischer Befund–Konsequenzen für eine Geschichte Babylons in persischer Zeit* (Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft Sonderheft 84; Innsbruck: Verlag des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck, 1993), 74.

42. Wilhelm Wölfel, *Wasserbau in den alten Reichen* (Berlin: Verlag für Bauwesen, 1990), 110.

Another account of the same story makes clear that this bridge impressed people from Antiquity no less than the *ziggurat* that stood nearby. It is from Ctesias, a Greek physician from Asia Minor, who had served at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes Memnon and for that reason was probably better informed with respect to the history of Mesopotamia than his older and more sober fellow-historian Herodotus. His work is now only accessible through the long quotations in Diodore of Sicily (2.8.2–2.9.3).[43] Ctesias ascribed the construction to the Mesopotamian queen Semiramis, who is probably a dim reflection of the historical figure of queen Sammu-ramat, mother of king Adad-nirari III (811–783 b.c.e.). It is important to note that we are dealing here with an Assyrian queen operating in Babylon. It is also interesting that Ctesias adds the element of wooden beams of cedar and cypresses, two trees we have already encountered in Isaiah 37:24:

> (2.8.2) … she took for herself the construction of a bridge (αὐτὴ δὲ κατὰ τὸ στενώτατον μέρος τοῦ ποταμοῦ γέφυραν) five stades long at the narrowest point of the river, skilfully sinking the piers, which stood twelve feet apart, into its bed. … (2.8.3) This bridge, then, floored as it was with beams of cedar and cypress (ἡ μὲν οὖν γέφυρα, κεδρίναις καὶ κυπαριττίναις δοκοῖς) and with palm logs of exceptional size and having a width of thirty feet, is considered to have been inferior in technical skill to none of the works of Semiramis. … Semiramis also built two palaces on the very banks of the river, one at each end of the bridge, her intention being that from them she might be able both to look down over the entire city and to hold the keys, as it were, to its most important sections. … (2.9.1) After this Semiramis picked out the lowest spot in Babylonia and built a square reservoir (ἐποίησε δεξαμενὴν τετράγωνον), which was three hundred stades long on each side; it was constructed of baked brick and bitumen, and had a depth of thirty-five feet. Then diverting the river into it (εἰς ταύτην δ᾽ ἀποστρέψασα τὸν ποταμὸν), she built an underground passageway from one palace to the other (κατεσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ τάδε βασιλείων εἰς θάτερα διώρυχα·); … (2.9.3) And after this construction had been finished in only seven days she let the river back again into its old channel (ἀποκατέστησε τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν ῥύσιν), and so, since the stream flowed above the passage-way, Semiramis was able to go across from one palace to the other without passing over the river. At each end of the passage-way she also set bronze gates which stood until the end of the Persian rule. (LCL)

We also find another detail in this narrative, that of an underground tunnel under the river Euphrates, here expressed with the word διῶρυξ. This might account for the completely unique meaning "tunnel" for γέφυρα in Philostratus's miraculous history of Apollonius of Tyana (1.25):

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43. See now the collection of fragments and testimonies by Dominique Lenfant, *Ctésias de Cnide. La Perse. L'Inde. Autres fragments* (Collection Budé 435; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2004).

The fortifications of Babylon extend 480 stadia and form a complete circle, and its wall is three half *plethrons* high, but less than a *plethron* in breadth. And it is cut asunder by the river Euphrates, into halves of similar shape; and there passes underneath the river an extraordinary bridge which joins together by an unseen passage the palaces on either bank (ἀπόρρητος ὑποστείχει γέφυρα τὰ βασίλεια τὰ ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις ἀφανῶς ξυνάπτουσα). (LCL)

In all likelihood, then, the translator of Isaiah understood the claim made by the Assyrian king in Isa 37:25 against the background of these popular narratives about a bridge in Babylon constructed with wooden beams of cedar and cypress trees constructed by an oriental despot. The fact that this despot can be either an Assyrian king (Sennacherib), or Queen (Semiramis) need not surprise us. In the book of Judith we find a similar confusion of Babylonian and Assyrian emperors. The despot is rather a typical archenemy, here perhaps Nebuchadnezzar in the guise of Sennacherib. In the books of Maccabees we find a similar exchange of archenemies, when Judas compares his enemy, the Seleucid general Nikanor, to the very same general of Sennacherib (1 Macc 7:40–42; 2 Macc 15:22–24). As shown by Seeligmann, Van der Kooij, and others, the Greek translator regularly made similar actualizations. A fine example can be found in Isa 10:9, where we also find an Assyrian king boasting of his achievements, and where the Greek translator introduces a reference to the conquests of Antiochus III of territories north of Babylon.[44]

The conclusion must be that the Greek translator had this monumental achievement in mind when he rendered the Hebrew text of Isaiah 37:25. Hence, he introduced the bridge via the root association of the Hebrew verb קרה. As a result, the allusion to Egypt in the Hebrew phrase כל יארי מצור, "all the streams of Egypt" was avoided. Perhaps on the basis of the same equation in the Greek Isaiah 19:6 and perhaps on the basis of a creative interpretation of the singular phrase מצור on the basis of the Hebrew verb צור, "to tie up," "to enclose," our Greek translator transformed the reference to the streams of Egypt into the more general "gathering of water."

6. Conclusions

Let me summarize some of my conclusions:

1. The word γέφυρα first and foremost means "bridge," not "dam." We may now delete the footnote in the NETS version of Isa 37:25. Furthermore, the lem-

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44. Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version*, 78-79; Van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen*, 35–38; For a different view, see Ronald L. Troxel, "What's in a Name? Contemporization and Toponyms in LXX-Isaiah," in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. R. L. Troxel et al.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 327–44.

mata γέφυρα, γεφυρόω, and ἀπογεφυρόω in our extant lexical works require modification. The meaning "dam" should be reserved for the Greek word χῶμα.

2. Perhaps the text of Herodotus 2.99 requires a (conjectural) emendation from ἀπογεφυρόω into ἀποτρέφω. It can certainly not serve as the basis for the definition of the word γέφυρα, as Bonneau has proposed.

3. The Greek version of Isa 37:25 contains an allusion to the bridge over the Euphrates in Babylon, known from archaeological and literary sources (Herodotus, Ctesias).

4. The Greek translator effectuated his interpretation by means of creative but modest manipulation of the Hebrew roots קור into קרה and מצור in terms of some form of צור.

5. When studying these minor transformations in the Greek Isaiah it is therefore necessary to distinguish between the three questions I have posed at the beginning. The question *how* the Greek translator arrived at his text should be kept distinct from the question *why* he did so.

6. When dealing with a Greek word whose proper meaning is uncertain or disputed, it can be useful and sometimes is imperative to study all the attestations in contemporary Greek writings, both literary and documentary. Such an overall approach helps to differentiate between default and deviant meanings (Herodotus's "damming off" in 2.99; Philostratus's "tunnel"). Now that all the necessary digital tools are available, we only need to cross these cyber bridges. It enables us to bridge the gaps between the compartmentalized areas of Septuagint research, papyrology as well as Greek epigraphy, and the study of Greek Classical literature in general. The journey may take some time, but I think it's worth the effort.

Dionysus and the *Letter of Aristeas*

James M. Scott

Abstract: The *Letter of Aristeas* is a long and ponderous writing whose unity and historicity have often been called into question. In this paper it will be argued that implicit references to Dionysus and his cult, especially in the two major *ekphraseis* and in the seven royal symposia, provide an essential integrating factor for the writing as a whole. Moreover, far from being an almost extraneous framework to the composition, the material about the translation project and its execution is actually crucial to understanding how the *Letter of Aristeas* views the Greek Torah as a veritable *hieros logos* in the technical sense of the term used in the mystery cults. Once the Dionysiac connections between the various sections are seen, the Ptolemaic king's call for a copy of the Torah from the Jerusalem priesthood in the *Letter of Aristeas* is compared to *BGU* VI 1211, in which a Ptolemaic king (usually identified with Philopator) calls for the Dionysiac priests to submit a copy of their *hieros logos* to Alexandria. The paper concludes with a possible implication of this interpretation for the investigation of the translational corpus.

1. Introduction

The account of the translation of the Septuagint in the *Letter of Aristeas* has traditionally occupied an important place in scholarly reconstructions of the version's origins, including its time of composition, the circumstances under which it came about, and other such aspects. More recently, however, Septuagint scholarship has made a decisive move away from reliance on the *Letter* as a basis for scholarly reconstructions of this kind. In fact, Benjamin Wright has argued that the translational corpus itself is now the only available guide to the nature of the Septuagint, its original function, and the social location of its origins.[1] My purpose in this paper is not to overturn this *opinio communis*, but rather to raise

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1. Benjamin B. Wright III, "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SBLSCS 53; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature,

some new questions about the *Letter of Aristeas* that may have implications for how the translational corpus is investigated. I will argue that the *Letter of Aristeas* presents the Mosaic Law, both in its Hebrew original and in its Greek translation, as a veritable *hieros logos* in the technical sense of the term as it was used in the Greek mystery cults. This presentation of the Torah is part of a larger effort by the author of the *Letter* to offer an *interpretatio Graeca* from a purportedly Greco-Egyptian perspective, which equates the Jewish religion and its God with Dionysus and his cult. If this analysis is correct, then it becomes possible that the royal decree in *BGU* VI 1211, which calls for Dionysiac priests to submit a copy of their *hieros logos* in Alexandria, may provide the historical occasion that inspired the writing of the *Letter of Aristeas*. Further, this decree (or one like it) may have been the occasion that prompted the translation of the Torah into Greek. If this analysis is near the mark, then there are potentially significant implications for our understanding of the purpose, historicity and unity of the Letter, as well as our understanding of the nature and origins of the Septuagint.

2. *Hieroi Logoi*

Before examining the text of the *Letter* itself it will be helpful to make a few preliminary comments about *hieroi logoi* and the perceived relationship between Dionysus and the God of the Jews both in the *Letter of Aristeas* and in the Greco-Roman tradition. If we are to argue that the *Letter of Aristeas* portrays the Torah as a *hieros logos* then we must ask what exactly is a *hieros logos*? The answer to this question is not easy to ascertain, for there are precious few, if any, *hieroi logoi* preserved from the ancient world, and ancient authors who refer to *hieroi logoi* tend neither to quote them nor to disclose their contents. Many have been the attempts of scholars to designate this or that ancient writing as a *hieros logos*, although these designations usually suffer from circular reasoning. Without knowing what a *hieros logos* is, it is difficult or impossible to identify any given writing as being one, if the writing does not directly identify itself as such. The main reason for this critical lack of evidence is the extreme secrecy in which the *hieroi logoi* in general were held. That being said, it is possible to get some sense of the nature of *hieroi logoi* through an analysis of secondhand sources such as Herodotus and Pausanius. Albert Henrich's seminal article on this subject is a good starting place for this task.[2] Broadly speaking, Henrich's survey shows that the *hieroi logoi* are writings of reputedly divine origin whose hallmark is secrecy and exclusivity. The esoteric status of the unique master copy of a *hieros logos* is maintained by

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2006), 47–61; idem, "The Letter of Aristeas and the Reception History of the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 65–67.

2. Albert Henrichs, "*Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi*: The (Un)written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece," *HSCP* 101 (2003): 207–66.

a priesthood that has custody of it and provides for its dissemination exclusively within the cultus both through oral transmission to the initiated and authorized copies called "books."

For our purposes, it is interesting to observe how often *hieroi logoi* are connected both with mystery religions, especially the cult of Dionysus, and/or with places outside Greece proper, especially Egypt. It is hardly coincidental that the Dionysiac interpretation of native Egyptian religion (Osiris) begins with Herodotus, who also refers to *hieroi logoi* relating to the worship of Dionysus in Egypt (Hdt. 2.48, 81). The nature of such *hieroi logoi* is essentially twofold: (1) a blueprint for a τελετή initiation ritual and (2) an aetiological narrative that mythically explains the origin of the τελετή. Because *hieroi logoi* and Dionysiac religion were often connected in antiquity, the strong presence of Dionysiac imagery that we will see throughout the *Letter* serves to reinforce the presentation of the Jewish Law, in its Hebrew original and in its Greek translation, as a *hieros logos*.

3. Dionysus

As we have already mentioned, the portrayal of the Torah as a *hieros logos* is part of a larger attempt by the purportedly Greco-Egyptian author of the *Letter of Aristeas* to interpret Judaism as a Dionysiac cult and the Jewish God as Dionysus. We find our first clue that the author is presenting a thoroughgoing *interpretatio Graeca* as early as §16, where we are told that the Jewish people "worship God, the overseer and creator of all, whom all men worship, and we too, O King, although we call him by a different name (προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως), Zeus and Dis." Although this is not the full identification that the text wants the reader to make in the subsequent context, it is nonetheless a point of departure that prompts the reader to think in terms of correspondence rather than difference. Further, it should be noted that Sarapis, "the Supreme God of all" that Ptolemy I created in order to assimilate the native Egyptian god Osiris to the Greek god Dionysus, was identified with Zeus, as we find in amulets, papyri, and inscriptions.[3] The *verum nomen* of the god Sarapis is sometimes left unexpressed, indicating that even though the name of the god is left unexpressed in the *Letter*, we can still assert that what stands behind the identification that Aristeas makes for the Jewish God is none other than Osiris-Sarapis-Dionysus.[4]

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3. See, for example, *P.Oxy.* 11.1382: "one and the same is Zeus with Sarapis" (εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις). On the identification of Sarapis with Zeus, see Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis regina— Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1995), 73–74.

4. For example, Macrobius (*Saturnalia* 1.18.18) describes the unnamed *Allgott* (Sarapis) as "one Zeus, one Hades, one Helios, one Dionysus" (εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος).

Moreover, despite the fact that Dionysus is usually seen as a son of Zeus, the identification of Zeus and Dionysus is quite widespread in the ancient world, perhaps in part because of the identification of Osiris-Sarapis and Zeus.[5] "Zeus Bacchus" was worshipped at Pergamum,[6] in central Phrygia,[7] and possibly in Beth Shean.[8] The identification of Zeus and Dionysus is so common in Asia Minor that A. B. Cook, who wrote the magisterial, multivolume work on the Zeus cult, concludes: "The plain fact is that to the Phyrgians Zeus and Dionysos were but different aspects of the selfsame god."[9] Ptolemy II's Grand Procession subordinated all gods, including the Father of the Gods, to Dionysus.[10] Moreover, in Orphic tradition, Dionysus succeeded Zeus as king of the gods.[11]

The presence of distinct Dionysiac imagery throughout the rest of the *Letter* confirms that the author is equating the Jewish God with Dionysus. It is important to note that this equation is not unique to the *Letter of Aristeas*, but was rather widespread in the Greco-Roman world. A survey of Greco-Roman authors who commented on Judaism shows that at least some non-Jews saw a close relationship between the Jewish God and Dionysus. While this connection is made most explicitly by authors who postdate the *Letter of Aristeas* (e.g., Plutarch and Tacitus), there is evidence that such a connection was assumed much earlier in the Greco-Roman tradition. For example, Hecataeus of Abdera provides indirect evidence in his *Aegyptica* by juxtaposing Moses with Cadmus, the grandfather of

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5. See, for example, Aelius Aristides 29.15, 19–20, and 41.3–5.

6. Cf. *CIG* III 3538 = *IGRR* IV 360, line 32: Διὶ Βάκχωι.

7. Cf. C. M. Emilie Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia: Sites and Monuments* (2 vols.; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1971), 1.354 (no. 144), 2.pl. 638: a dedication to Zeus Dionysus by the *Neobacchoi* (μύσται Κοροσεανοὶ νεόβαχχοι ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν κὲ κώμης Διὶ Διονύσῳ εὐχήν).

8. Cf. B. Lifshitz, "Der Kult des Zeus Akraios und des Zeus Bakchos in Beisan (Skythopolis)," *ZDPV* 77 (1961): 189: Διὶ Βάκχ[ωι]. Note, however, that the reading for the inscription from Beth Shean is disputed. Cf. H. Seyrig, "Note sur les cultes de Scythopolis à l'époque romaine, Antiquités syriennes," *Syria* 39 (1962): 208–9; Achim Lichtenberger, *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis: Untersuchungen zu numismatischen, archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnizzen* (ADPV 29; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 154 with n. 1311.

9. Arthur B. Cook, *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion* (3 vols. in 5; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–40), 2/1.287.

10. Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1.194.

11. In the Orphic Theogony, it is Zeus himself who sets Dionysus on his own throne as king of the gods. For the sources, see Albert Bernabé, ed., *Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta, Pars II: Orphicorum et Orphicis Similium Testimonia et Fragmenta, Fasciculus 1* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana. Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum; Munich: Saur, 2004), 243–46 (frags. 296–300). On the enthronement of Chthonian Dionysus by Zeus, see further Gábor Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology, and Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 120, 340; Fritz Graf, "Orphic Literature," *OCD* (3rd ed., 1996), 1078–79; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1983), 74.

Dionysus and the person who introduced writing to the Greeks.[12] Later authors like Tacitus who more explicitly discuss the relationship between Dionysus and the Jewish God seem to be dependent on Hecataeus' account, which at the very least tells us that later generations read Hecataeus' words as equating Dionysus with Judaism. Overall, an analysis of the sources shows that a connection between Dionysus and Jews/Judaism was present in the Greco-Roman tradition in the early Hellenistic period, and seems to have found its original impulse in Ptolemaic Egypt. Thus, the Jewish author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, writing in the guise of a Greco-Egyptian, is adopting and using for his own purposes an understanding of Judaism that was already present in the Hellenistic world.

4. The *Letter of Aristeas*

Having offered a very brief and somewhat superficial discussion of *hieroi logoi* and the perceived relationship between Dionysus and the God of the Jews in the *Letter of Aristeas* and in the Greco-Roman world, we may now move on to explore evidence for our interpretation within several of the major sections of the *Letter* itself. This so-called "letter" is a long and ponderous writing whose unity and historicity has often been called into question. While the work claims to be written by a Greco-Egyptian named Aristeas, it is in fact a Jewish pseudepigraphon written in Egypt. Its relatively simple structure can quickly be summarized. First, the outermost framework of the *Letter of Aristeas* constitutes an introduction and a conclusion that Aristeas addresses directly to his brother, preparing him for the narrative to come and following up with some remarks about what has just been presented (§§ 1–8, 322). Second, within this framework comes the main part of the writing that contains the narrative itself. Three main parts are discernable: (1) the very thin framework of the narrative that describes the making of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch for the royal library, beginning with the initiative for the project by Ptolemy II's librarian, Demetrium of Phalerum, and ending with the successful completion of the project in Alexandria by seventy-two Jewish scholars in seventy-two days (§§ 9–11, 301–21 [esp. 301–7]); (2) an extensive portion of the narrative describing how the seventy-two Jewish scholars were sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria in order to work on the project (§§ 12–171); and (3) another large section of the narrative dealing with how Philadelphus interacted with the Jewish scholars once they arrived in Alexandria, before they set to work on the translation project per se (§§ 172–300).

Although the framework—that is, the events leading up to and culminating in the translation of the Pentateuch itself—receives relatively little space in the narrative, we should not therefore conclude that the translation of the Pentateuch is somehow unimportant or tangential to the main emphasis of the *Letter of Aris-*

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12. Cf. Diod. Sic.1.28; 40.3.1–8.

teas. Rather, practically everything in the narrative serves the same purpose: to underscore the sublime nature of the Jewish Torah as a *hieros logos*, whether the Torah be in the form of the Hebrew original that came from Jerusalem or in the Greek translation that the Jewish scholars made in Alexandria.

We see this portrayal of the Torah as a *hieros logos* as early as § 5, where Aristeas refers to it as "the sacred Law" (τὴν σεμνὴν νομοθεσίαν). The significance of this introductory remark should not be lost: for the very first time in the Old Testament and Jewish tradition the Torah is being called "sacred." Aristeas is also the first to call the Torah "holy" (ἅγιος [§ 45]) and "divine" (θεῖος [§§ 3, 31]).[13] These adjectives all emphasize the divine origins of the work that is to be translated.

As we move past the introduction into the thin framework of the narrative we find even more explicit evidence that Aristeas understands the Torah to be a *hieros logos*. In §§ 9–11, the ambitious plan of Demetrius of Phalerum to include all the books in the world in the royal library in Alexandria left the Torah as an urgent desideratum. When the king asks the librarian what is holding him up from including the Torah in his library, Demetrius replies, "Translation is needed. They use letters characteristic of the language of the Jews, just as Egyptians use the formation of their letters in accordance with their own language. The Jews are supposed to use Syrian language, but this is not so, for it is another form (of language)" (ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερος τρόπος [§ 11]). Although almost every aspect of this sentence is disputed, the important thing to notice is that the Jewish Law is deemed difficult to translate because of its esoteric script.

Interpretations of this text have failed to see that from the perspective of the Greco-Egyptians in the story, the Torah is a *hieros logos*. The Hebrew script in which the Jewish law was written helped to give the Torah the appearance of a sacred text from a mystery religion. The whole story in the *Letter of Aristeas* is predicated on the fact that the Torah was written "in Hebrew characters and language" (Ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνή [§ 30]), and that the archetypal copy of this sacred text exists only in Jerusalem. These Hebrew letters are also called "holy letters" (§ 98), which at the same time are analogous to Egyptian letters (§ 11), that is, to hieroglyphics, which, according to Artapanus, Moses taught to the Egyptian priests.[14] It is obvious that the *Letter of Aristeas* characterizes the Jewish sacred text and the holy characters in which it is written in direct analogy to Egyptian sacred texts that are written in hieroglyphs. Once we understand that, from a Greek perspective, Egyptian hieroglyphic texts were sacred and secret,[15]

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13. Pieter van der Horst, "*Sortes*: Sacred Books as Instant Oracles in Late Antiquity," in idem, *Japheth in the Tents of Shem: Studies on Jewish Hellenism in Antiquity* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 32; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 159–89.

14. Cf. G. Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion: Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (ed. M. H. van Voss et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1982), 89–120.

15. On Greek and Latin texts relative to Egyptian hieroglyphics and their function, see Pieter van der Horst, "The Secret Hieroglyphs in Ancient Literature," in idem, *Hellenism—Juda-*

we can appreciate how the purported Greco-Egyptian author of the *Letter of Aristeas* views the Torah, written in the sacred Hebrew language and script, as likewise secret. Although the issue cannot be pursued here, a good case can be made that the sacred master copy of the Torah that was sent for was written in paleo-Hebrew script, as opposed to the local copies in Alexandria, which may have been deemed insufficient because they were written in Hebrew square script. The arcane nature of the paleo-Hebrew script in which the scrolls were written may have contributed to the perception of the Torah as a *hieros logos*.

In §§ 301–21, which provide the other side of the narrative's framework, several things should be noticed about the translation which contribute to the thesis that the Torah, whether in its Hebrew original or in Greek translation, is being viewed as a *hieros logos*. First, the description of the actual translation process strongly suggests that the translation was not a product of human achievement, but rather a fundamentally inscrutable and ineffable act of divine superintendence over the activity of obviously divinely inspired men. We see this, for example, in the fact that the translation work took such a short amount of time (they worked only until 3:00 PM for a period of seventy-two days). The divine superintendence of the project is also alluded to in Aristeas' comment that the completion of the translation in seventy-two days was "just as if such a result was achieved by some deliberate design" (§ 307). An analogy to this process is found in *P.Oxy.* 11.1381 (second century CE), which alleges that divine inspiration was involved in the translation into Greek of the sacred text of an Egyptian deity. Interestingly, in Egyptian and Greco-Egyptian religion gods were often instrumental in the recording of sacred texts, some of which are explicitly identified as *hieroi logoi*.[16]

Second, a curse is laid on the text of the translation to prevent any future alterations. As Zuntz has observed, by attaching such a curse "The reader of Aristeas is therewith assured that any copy of the Septuagint which he may take to hand will be literally identical with the one produced for Philadelphus—which, in turn, is the perfect and sacrosanct rendering of the venerable original."[17] Any hypothesis on the purpose of the *Letter of Aristeas* must acknowledge that the *Letter* offers a twofold perspective on the relationship between the Septuagint and its Hebrew *Vorlage*. That is, the Septuagint is absolutely dependent on the Hebrew original, and yet it is absolutely equivalent with the Hebrew original. This equivalence means that the Septuagint itself is also understood to be a *hieros logos*, like the Hebrew original on which it is based.

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ism—*Christianity: Essays on Their Interaction* (2nd ed.; Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 8; Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 317–25; Henrichs, "Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi" 225 n. 60.

16. Cf. Henrichs, "Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi" 226–27.

17. G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies II: Aristeas on the Translation of the Torah," *JSS* 4 (1959): 123.

Third, the status of the translation as a *hieros logos* is underscored by the narrative's emphasis on the need to keep the text of the Torah secret. In response to the new translation, the king asks Demetrius, "How is it that after such great works were (originally) completed, none of the historians or poets took it upon himself to refer to them?" (§ 312). Demetrius replies, "Because the legislation was holy and had come from God, and indeed, some of those who made the attempt were smitten by God, and refrained from their design" (§ 313). Thereupon, Demetrius gives two examples of men who were so smitten by God after they attempted—or even merely contemplated—the dissemination of the Torah to others. We find something similar in Demetrius' report to Ptolemy in §§ 30–31: "These (books) also must be in your library in an accurate version, because this legislation, as could be expected from its divine nature, is very philosophical and genuine. Writers therefore and poets and the whole army of historians have been reluctant to refer to the aforementioned books, and to the men past (and present) who featured largely in them, because the consideration of them is sacred and hallowed, as Hecataeus of Abdera says." As I mentioned earlier, such secrecy is one of the hallmarks of *hieroi logoi*.

The sacred nature of the Jewish Torah continues to be emphasized in the first major section of the narrative itself, which describes how the seventy-two Jewish scholars were sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria in order to work on the translation project. Particularly interesting here are the two *ekphraseis* that are embedded within the narrative core (§§ 51–120). The first *ekphrasis* describes the excessive gifts that Ptolemy sent to be used in the Jerusalem temple (§§ 51–82), and the second describes in great detail the temple, its cult, and its environs (§§ 83–120). While these sections are often considered to be tangential, they do in fact, like other such *ekphraseis* in ancient literature, reflect, further, and reinforce the narrative frame in which they figure.[18] As we will see, both of the *ekphraseis* in the *Letter* contain strong Dionysiac imagery, which contributes to the *Letter*'s portrayal of Judaism as a Dionysiac mystery cult, with the Jewish Torah as its divinely revealed *hieros logos*. Such Dionysiac elements include the description of the table and the two golden drinking bowls in the first *ekphrasis*, which employs the common Dionysiac symbols of ivy/ivy cluster and grapes/grape cluster (§§ 63, 70, 75, 79). It is noteworthy that the presence of the grape motif in the temple was one of the major reasons why Gentiles in the Greco-Roman world often saw a connection between Dionysus and the God of the Jews.[19] While we do not have the time for such a discussion here, a comparison of this *ekphrasis* with the two (nearly) contemporary *ekphraseis* of the Grand procession of Ptolemy II Philadel-

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18. See, e.g., Elsner's comments on Euripides' *Ion*. Jaś Elsner, "Introduction: The Genres of Ekphrasis," *Ramus* 31 (2002): 1–18 (6–8).

19. See, e.g., Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.5.5.

phus[20] and the famous description of the cup in Theocritus' *First Idyll*[21] further confirms the Dionysiac significance of the ivy and grape decorations on the table and drinking bowls.

The second *ekphrasis*, which describes what Aristeas saw during his trip to Jerusalem, also contains strong Dionysiac elements. Particularly evocative is the description of the way in which the priests carry out their sacrificial duties, which is reminiscent of the Dionysiac *sparagmos*—the sacrificial rending of a live victim, which was the alleged climax of Bacchic ritual. There are several points of contact here. First, Aristeas describes the Jewish priests as tearing the limbs off of the sacrificial victim, something that has no parallel in Jewish literature, but that closely resembles descriptions of *sparagmos* such as the dismemberment of the Theban cattle (734–47) and the later dismemberment of Pentheus (1125–27, 1135, 1220) in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Second, Aristeas describes the Jewish priests as carrying out their duties in complete calm, silence, and discipline, which parallels the two examples of *sparagmos* in the *Bacchae*, where the women carry out the dismemberments with a similar calm, mechanical efficiency. Finally, the incident in the *Letter of Aristeas* and the two incidents of *sparagmos* in Euripides' *Bacchae* all take place on a mountain. These similarities, along with the use of similar vocabulary,[22] suggest that the *Letter of Aristeas* is dependent on Euripides at this point. It seems that the putative Greco-Egyptian author of the *Letter* wants the reader to infer that the priests who offered the sacrifices of bulls in the Jerusalem Temple were endowed with a supernatural strength similar to that of the Bacchae possessed by Dionysus on Mt. Cithaeron which would allow them to easily tear apart live heifers with their bare hands (735–36). Indeed, the picture that emerges in the *Letter of Aristeas* is that the God of the Jews, like the god Dionysus (or rather, as the God Dionysus), controls his followers, enabling them to do supernatural feats, whether they be exquisite craftsmanship (the gifts for the Temple), ritual *sparagmos*, profound wisdom (as displayed by the seventy Jewish sages at the seven successive royal banquets), or inspired translation.

The rest of the *Letter* continues the trend of portraying the Torah as a *hieros logos* and Judaism as a Dionysiac cult almost to the point of redundancy. For example, when the Torah scrolls from Jerusalem are presented to the king we are told that he "paused for a long time, did obeisance about seven times . . ." and

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20. Cf. E. E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983).

21. Cf. Kathryn J. Gutzwiller, "The Plant Decoration on Theocritus' Ivy-Cup," *AJP* 107 (1986): 253–55. On the cup and other Dionysiac associations in *Idyll* 1, see further Richard Hunter, ed., *Theocritus: A Selection. Idylls 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11 and 13* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 62, 74–75, 76–86; K. J. Gutzwiller, *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre* (Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 88–101.

22. See, e.g., ἀναρρίπτω (*Let. Aris.* 93) and ῥίπτω ἄνω (Euripides, *Bacchae* 741). The latter is clearly used in the context of Dionysiac *sparagmos*.

gave thanks "to the God whose oracles these are" (§ 177). The king's response of repeatedly falling down and worshiping the sacred text elevates the Torah to the very highest level in recognition of the text's status as divine revelation.

Dionysiac allusions surface again in the series of seven symposia (§§ 182–294), where the seventy Jewish sages display such brilliant erudition and wisdom that they receive universal acknowledgement from the king and the other banqueters, especially from the philosophers in attendance (cf. §§ 235, 296). This section of the narrative exhibits remarkable similarities with Plato's *Symposium*, which itself is strongly Dionysiac in orientation and message.[23] There are several lines of evidence that further substantiate the strongly Dionysiac context of the *Letter*'s symposia. First, Greek symposia, with their emphasis on drinking wine, were ipso facto Dionysiac in orientation. Indeed, Dionysus was the patron deity at a symposium.[24] Second, as Vössing brings out with particular clarity, the royal banquets of the Ptolemies had a special connection with the veneration of Dionysus.[25] Third, some of the answers of the Jewish sages indirectly evoke the specter of Dionysus, such as their positive reference to drama in § 284, a pastime that the rabbis prohibited, presumably because they were aware of its association with the worship of Dionysus.[26] In general, the answers of the Jewish sages demonstrate their outstanding wisdom, showing them to have a supernatural quality on par with that of the priesthood in Jerusalem, which helps to establish their reputation as hierophants.

In my forthcoming study on *Dionysus and the Jews*, I will expound further on each of the points raised above, as well as explore further evidence for my interpretation of the *Letter*. However, the evidence discussed thus far is sufficient to make us at least seriously consider the possibility that the *Letter of Aristeas* is portraying the Jewish Law, both in its Hebrew original and Greek translation, as the *hieros logos* of the allegedly "Dionysiac" mystery cult in Jerusalem. The fact that Dionysiac elements can be found in each of the major sections of the *Letter* supports our interpretation, and also suggests that there may be more unity in the composition than has often been generally allowed.

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23. Cf. Steven Robinson, "The Contest of Wisdom between Socrates and Agathon in Plato's *Symposium*," *Ancient Philosophy* 24 (2004): 81–100.

24. Cf. Burkhard Fehr, "What Has Dionysos to Do with the Symposion?" *Pallas* 61 (2003): 23–37. According to Plato, Symposium 176a, after the meal and before the symposium proper with its drinking, the dinner party made a libation and sang a chant to Dionysus.

25. Konrad Vössing, *Mensa Regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 193; Munich: Saur, 2004), 184–85.

26. Cf. Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), 61–62; also 481 n. 79.

5. *BGU* VI 1211

We may now move on to briefly discuss the interesting possibility of a relationship between the *Letter of Aristeas* and the royal decree in *BGU* VI 1211. This anonymous Ptolemaic decree, first published during World War I, calls for Dionysiac priests to register themselves, declaring from whom they received the mysteries to the third preceding generation and presenting a sealed copy of their *hieros logos* to officials in Alexandria:[27]

> By decree of the king. Persons who perform initiation rites for Dionysos in the interior shall sail down to Alexandria, those between here and Naukratis within ten days from the day on which the decree is published and those beyond Naukratis within twenty days, and shall register themselves before Aristoboulos at the registration office within three days from the day on which they arrive, and shall declare forthwith from what persons they have received the sacred rites/objects for three generations back and shall hand in a sealed copy of the *hieros logos*, inscribing thereon each his own name.

Although scholars have normally argued that Ptolemy IV Philopator was responsible for issuing this decree,[28] the document itself does not claim this, and a compelling argument can be made that it was in fact Ptolemy II Philadelphus who issued it. Although there are a number of other interpretive ambiguities that may make it impossible to ascertain whether the Jews were included in this decree, the fact that Greco-Egyptians seem to have viewed Judaism as a Dionysiac cult should lead us to at least consider this as a possibility. Regardless of whether the Jews were included, the fact that the *Letter of Aristeas* arguably refers to the same Ptolemaic king summoning what is perceived to be a Dionysiac cult to present its *hieros logos* creates grounds for comparison between the two texts. Unfortunately, such a comparison has hardly received the attention it deserves. Although he fundamentally doubts whether any Ptolemy would have had any interest in the Jewish Law, Folker Siegert at least considers whether *BGU* VI 1211 might have provided a kind of *analogy* for the purported interest of Ptolemy II in having a

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27. For the text of *BGU* VI 1211, see W. Schubart, "Ptolemaios Philopator und Dionysos," *Amtliche Berichte aus den königlichen Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 38 (1916–1917): 189–90; a photograph of the papyrus is found in cols. 191–92 (Abb. 59), which has now been reissued as *C. Ord. Ptol.* 29. Cf. Marie-Thérèse Lenger (ed.), *Corpus des Ordonnances des Ptolémées (C. Ord. Ptol.)* (2nd ed.; Académie Royale de Beligique, Mémoires de la Classe des Lettres, 2.64.2; Brussles: Palais des Académies, 1980), 68–71 (no. 29). The translation provided here is adapted from Henrichs, "Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi," 228.

28. Cf. Eric G. Turner, "The Ptolemaic Royal Edict BGU VI 1211 is to be Dated before 215/14 B.C.," in *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.). Festschrift zum 100-jährigen Bestehen der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Vienna: In Kommission bei Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1983), 148–52.

copy of the Jewish Law according to the Letter of Aristeas.[29] However, I believe we need to probe the possibility of a much more direct connection, asking the question: Is the Letter of Aristeas, regardless of whether or not it has even a kernel of historical plausibility, responding in its own idiosyncratic way to the substance of this or a similar decree? If the answer is affirmative, and I believe a good case can be made for this, then *BGU* VI 1211 may have provided the historical occasion that inspired the writing of the *Letter*, and may give us some important insights into what the author of the *Letter* is trying to do.

In addition to helping us better understand the *Letter* itself, a comparison between *BGU* VI 1211 and the *Letter of Aristeas* also has possible implications for our understanding of the origins and nature of the Septuagint. Although the majority of the *Letter* may be purely fictional, it is possible that it contains at least a kernel of historical truth about the impetus for the translation of the Septuagint—that it was made in response to, and in compliance with, the royal decree and perhaps even under the auspices of royal patronage.

6. Possible Implications for the Translational Corpus

I will conclude with some possible avenues for further investigation of the translational corpus. First, if, as the present study argues, the *Letter of Aristeas* views the Greek translation of the Torah as a veritable *hieros logos*, then it is incumbent upon us to investigate whether the Septuagint itself shows any signs of indeed being such a *hieros logos*. This investigation will, of course, be hampered by the fact that no *hieros logos* has otherwise been preserved from antiquity. Nevertheless, it may be possible to glean at least some secondhand information about the nature of *hieroi logoi* from other sources and then to compare that information with the Septuagint. No claim is made here about the possible outcome of such an investigation. Indeed, it may turn out in the end that there is no basis for seeing the Septuagint as a *hieros logos*, that applying our interpretation of the genre of the Septuagint according to the *Letter of Aristeas* amounts to nothing more than a superimposition upon the text as produced. Nevertheless, we shall not know that until the hypothesis has been tested.

Second, if, as the present study argues, the *Letter of Aristeas* presupposes that the translation was made in compliance with the royal edict of *BGU* VI 1211, is there any evidence that the translation itself was influenced either by the *interpretatio Graeca* that equated YHWH with Dionysus or by the language of the Dionysiac mysteries? For example, Elias Bickerman argues that certain texts in the Septuagint reflect a strong reaction against the Dionysiac mysteries, which

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29. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJS 9; Münster: Lit, 2001), 28–29.

were supposedly proving to be seductive for Diaspora Jews at the time.[30] On the other hand, in a paper delivered at the XIIIth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Ljubljana, 13–14 July 2007, entitled "Euripides and the Old Testament," Evangelia G. Dafni argued that the Greek version of the theophany at Sinai (Exodus 24) shows positive influence from Euripides' *Bacchae*.

Third, if the *Letter of Aristeas* presupposes that the translation was made in compliance with the royal edict of *BGU* VI 1211, then the translation was not made, at least in the first instance, in order to respond to the needs of Egyptian Jewry, whether those needs are characterized as liturgical or educational. In that case, the so-called "interlinear model" of Septuagint origins is perhaps in need of serious reconsideration. According to the interlinear hypothesis, the close correspondence between the Septuagint and its Hebrew *Vorlage* suggests that it may well have been the intention of Septuagint translators to provide a "crib" for Jewish speakers of Greek to facilitate their study of the Hebrew/Aramaic Scriptures.[31] Therefore, the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (*NETS*), which is based on the interlinear model, in the words of Pietersma and Wright, "presupposes a Greek translation which aimed at bringing the reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to the reader. Consequently, the Greek's subservience to the Hebrew may be seen as indicative of its aim."[32]

Obviously, however, the close correspondence between the two versions admits of more than one explanation. On our interpretation of the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Septuagint was originally conceived of as a *hieros logos*, at least from the perspective of the *Letter* itself. This could provide an alternative explanation for the extremely close relationship between the Hebrew *Vorlage* and its corresponding Greek version. If it was to be a *hieros logos* on par with the Hebrew original, then the Greek translation had to be absolutely "perfect" (cf. *Let. Aris.* 310–11). Therefore, what might look like a "crib" to guide the student into the reading of the Hebrew text could actually be a literalistic rendering that adheres so closely to the original that it in fact mirrors the Hebrew text. It can actually be argued that the close relationship between the two versions reinforces the notion that the Septuagint is a *hieros logos* on par with the venerable Hebrew original, which was

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30. Cf. Elias J. Bickerman, *The Jews in the Greek Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 253.

31. Cf., e.g., Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique "From Alpha to Byte," University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64.

32. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title: The Psalms* (ed. A. Pietersma; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix.

written in a holy language and an arcane sacred script. In some ways, the more incomprehensible a sacred text was, the more divine it appeared, just as oracular speech was often difficult to understand. Moreover, the incomprehensibility of the Greek of the Septuagint might actually augment its role as a secret *hieros logos* for the eyes of the initiated only. Conversely, if the Greek translation looked too polished, too idiomatic, that might even detract from its divine character. By the time of Porphyry (*apud* Jerome, *Commentarii in Danielem*, Prologue), detecting a good Greek wordplay in the story of Susanna was enough to cast aspersion on the idea that the writing had a Hebrew original.[33] How much more would that be the case if the Pentateuch came across as good Greek! It would need to be investigated whether, as the *Letter of Aristeas* seems to presuppose, the Septuagint goes back to a *Vorlage* from Jerusalem written in paleo-Hebrew script, and whether that could be an additional factor that made the Greek translation difficult.

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33. Cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 2.456.

Translation Technique and Translation Studies: The Problem of Translation Universals

Raija Sollamo

Abstract: Studying translation technique comes very close to translation studies in general. From the translation-studies side a challenge has been thrown to the Septuagint scholars for a closer collaboration. This challenge should be taken seriously because both parties would profit from it. Encouraged by the doctoral thesis submitted by Theo A. W. van der Louw on *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (2006) and his article on "Approaches in Translation Studies and Their Use for the Study of the Septuagint" in the Leiden congress of IOSCS, I decided to tackle the common ground for these two fields, translation technique and translation studies. I am interested in particular in the discussion on translation universals that should characterize all translations.[1] One feature that is suggested as a translation universal is interference, and it is a highly relevant aspect to be considered in translation technique as well. Translation technique of an old and literal translation, such as the Septuagint, gives new data and useful statistics to be considered in translation studies, for instance, when forming theories on translation universals. Translation technique might be able to either confirm or shake the foundations of the theories put forward in translation studies. I discuss some issues with examples from my translation-technical studies and van der Louw's doctoral thesis.

Translation Universals

Translation studies is a relatively new discipline, which investigates all kinds of translations and translation processes. It can take as its object one singular translation, but it also compares different translations of the same source text with each other and with non-translations in the target language. It may search for unique features of these translations, but for general characteristics or rules typical of all translations as well. The search for translation universals has much in common with the research of the translation techniques of the Septuagint. It is my purpose to tackle the problem of translation universals in order to see to what

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1. See, for example, A. Chestermann, "Hypotheses about Translation Universals" in *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies* (ed. G. Hansen, K. Malmkjaer, and D. Gile; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2004), 1–13.

extent the two fields (translation studies and translation technique) might profit from one another.[2]

The discussion on translation universals has played an important role in translation studies since the mid-nineties. This was a time when large electronic corpora were created and they offered better opportunities for studying large quantities of translated texts in comparison to the source texts and to untranslated target language texts. We can define a translation universal as Andrew Chestermann does:

> as a feature that is found (or at least claimed) to characterize all translations: i.e. a feature that distinguishes them from texts that are not translations.[3]

A translation universal must be found in translations regardless of language pairs, different text-types, different kinds of translators, different historical periods, and different culture-based norms. Chestermann further distinguishes between S-universals, that is, universal features between translations and their source texts, and T-universals, that is, universal features between translations and non-translations in the target language.[4]

But are there general characteristics typical of all translations, whatever the source language and the target language might be? The discussion has been vivid, and dealt with both the terminology and the feature itself. As for the terminology, some scholars, such as Gideon Toury, would prefer the term a general "law" to a "universal" of translation. In the article collection *Translation Universals: Do They Exist?* he has agreed to use the same term 'universal' as the other writers.[5] According to him interference and growing standardization are fundamental laws of translation.[6]

Several other suggestions about translation universals have been brought forward. The list includes such phenomena as interference, explicitation, disambiguation and simplification, growing grammatical conventionality, a tendency to

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2. Theo van der Louw has dealt with translation studies and the Septuagint from a broader perspective in his article "Approaches in Translation Studies and Their Use for the Study of the Septuagint," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Leiden 2004* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; SCS 54; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 17–28.

3. Andrew Chestermann, "Hypotheses about Translation Universals," in *Claims, Changes and Challenges in Translation Studies* (ed. Gyde Hansen, Kirsten Malmkjaer and Daniel Gile; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2004), 1–13, esp. 4.

4. Chestermann, "Hypotheses about Translation Universals," 1–13.

5. Gideon Toury, "Probabilistic Explanations in Translation Studies: Welcome as They Are, Would They Qualify as Universals?" in *Translation Universals: Do They Exist?* (ed. Anna Mauranen and Pekka Kujamäki; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 15–32.

6. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 259–79.

over-represent typical features of the target language, and cleaning away repetitions from translations.

It is of vital significance to discover regularities of translations. As a science, translation studies are—and must be—interested in general laws or regularities, that is, that which goes beyond the particular.[7] Without this basic knowledge it is impossible to define the unique features of a translation. Toury has pinpointed that the regularities of translation are not absolute or definite, but rather appear with high probability in a translation. He adopts a distinction between "regularities of performance" and "regularities in the system." The regularity of performance can be expressed as frequencies, for instance a certain lexeme occurs 99/100 times as an English equivalent of the Hebrew X in the translation of text A by translator B. If I understand Toury correctly, this is the same as what I have called a consistency of a certain translator of the Septuagint when rendering his Hebrew source text. To be able to converse with my colleagues in the field of translation studies I could well adopt the term "a regularity of performance," for example, "The Regularity of Performance of the Genesis Translator when Translating the Hebrew לפני."[8] That this kind of regularity would be attested with the other LXX translators, too, is very probable, but it is also very probable that this regularity consists of different elements. The translator may have a regular equivalent for all cases of לפני, or he might vary his counterpart according to the meaning of לפני (temporal, local, concrete, metaphorical . . .). The use of one favorite equivalent for all the לפני cases is likely to increase by literal translators and decrease by free translators. This could be called a regularity in the system in the spirit of Gideon Toury.

In translation studies as well as in translation technique, the general features are of the first importance because they show how the translators usually work in rendering their source text into their target text. To be able to evaluate what is an individual feature, a unique rendering, one should first be familiar with what is usual. The regularity of performance is statistical by nature, and never does it reach the limit of 100 percent. Mostly, whatever item or syntactical feature we select to be studied, the translator uses one and the same equivalent consistently in 50 to 90 percent of the cases. But there appear deviations depending on the item or feature, and the context and the translator. A few examples:

The semipreposition לפני has a favorite rendering in most books of the Septuagint in that this rendering is used in 30 to 80 percent of all cases. The favorite

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7. Andrew Chestermann, "Beyond the Particular," in *Translation Universals: Do They Exist?* (ed. Anna Mauranen and Pekka Kujamäki; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 33–49.

8. "An Example of Consistency: Interpretation by the Translator of the Greek Genesis in Rendering the Hebrew Semipreposition לפני," in *Lux Humana, Lux Aeterna. Essays on Biblical and Related Themes in Honour of Lars Aejmelaeus* (ed. Antti Mustakallio; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 89; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 3–12.

rendering varies according to the translator and the regularity of his performance also varies significantly from 29 percent in the book of Joshua to 77 percent in the B-text of the book of Judges. By a free translator the regularity of performance is closer to 30 percent, whereas by a literal or slavish translator it approaches 80 percent. The regularity of repeating the genitive of a personal pronoun, used as the equivalent of a Hebrew possessive suffix in the connection of two coordinate items, vacillates as follows: Genesis 51 percent, Exodus 40 percent, Leviticus 75 percent, Numbers 86 percent, and Deuteronomy 76 percent.[9] The coordinate conjunction ו in Hebrew is translated with καί in the Greek Pentateuch as follows: Genesis 63 percent, Exodus 72 percent, Leviticus 90 percent, Numbers 90 percent, and Deuteronomy 84 percent.[10]

The regularity of performance does not help us in explaining why a certain instance deviates from the regularity and implies a unique (free) rendering. The regularities of performance presuppose that deviating equivalents also occur now and then, but when and why they do occur often remains without explanation because multiple factors are active in the translation process and in the translator's head at the same time. In Toury's opinion, translation studies and the statements of universals (laws) cannot be deterministic, that, having a format such as "if a then b." The same holds true in the Septuagint. We cannot form an axiom that *if* there appears לפני in the Hebrew source text, *then* we will have ἐναντίον in Genesis or ἐνώπιον in 1 Samuel.

In addition, the probabilistic thinking is also conditioned by Toury.[11] He gives examples of how to use the format of a conditioned statement in translation studies. I quote:

> If a translator is both inexperienced (variable 1) and tired (variable 2), the likelihood that translational processing will be applied to small and/or low-level textual linguistic entities is rather great, and it is greater still if the target culture regards the results of such behaviour with considerable tolerance (variable 3). The effect of that tolerance may be so strong that experienced translators (variable 1 in a reversed form) would still stick to this strategy, which may therefore appear as more 'basic' to (or 'prototypical' of) translation.[12]

This statement by Toury can easily be changed to correspond to the achievements of the translation-technical studies of the Septuagint. We do not know whether or

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9. Raija Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronouns in the Septuagint* (SCS 40; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 81.

10. Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASF B Diss 31; Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 1982), 13.

11. Toury, "Probabilistic Explanations in Translation Studies," 25.

12. Ibid., 27.

when the LXX translators were tired, but we do suppose that most of them were rather inexperienced. We also know that the target culture, the Egyptian Jewry, had a very great tolerance for literal rendering because it was important that the target text closely corresponded to the source text. As a consequence, translational processing was applied to small and/or low-level textual linguistic entities which in translation-technical studies are often characterized as small segments. To translate the text in small segments tended to produce a target text that pertained to the make-up of the source text so that all the details of the source text had their counterpart in the target text. Since the target culture showed not only a great tolerance, but even a preference for such translational behavior, the more experienced translators who otherwise might have considered larger or higher-level textual linguistic entities also often stuck to this strategy, which therefore appears as more "basic" or "prototypical" of the LXX translation.

In Toury's opinion, if translation universals exist, they are only of a probabilistic nature and always conditioned. Thus far I agree with him. But as for the terminology, he thinks that the term "law" should be preferred to a "universal."[13] Here I disagree with him. For me the term "law" is too strict a one to describe a human process such as translation, even though a law allows exceptions and there might be another law in effect at another level. But one still asks "so what?" Are these laws universal? Are some laws more powerful than others? For me this avoids the issue. For me it is more relevant to ask whether there are universal features in the human process of translating and in the translated texts engendered as the outcome of this process. I would rather think of these universals in terms of trends and tendencies, not as strict laws or rules.

<div align="center">TESTING THE UNIVERSALS</div>

POTENTIAL S-UNIVERSALS

The candidates for S-Universals which have been proposed by different scholars are as follows:[14]

1. Lengthening: translations tend to be longer than their source text
2. Interference
3. Standardization
4. Dialect normalization
5. Reduction of complex narrative voices
6. Explicitation

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13. Ibid., 29–30.

14. My list closely adheres to Chestermann's; Andrew Chestermann, "Beyond the Particular," 33–49. See also Sarah Lind, "Translation Universals (or laws, or tendencies, or probabilities, or…?)," *TIC Talk* 63 (2007): 1–7.

7.   Sanitization (more conventional collocations)
8.   The retranslation hypothesis (later translations tend to be closer to the
     source text)
9.   Reduction of repetition

The purpose of the second part of the present paper is to test first these proposed
S-universals and then the proposed T-universals in the light of translation-tech-
nical studies of the Septuagint. If they do not hold true in the Septuagint, they
hardly can be universals, but if they are supported by the Septuagint evidence,
they remain as potential candidates for universals.

The first S-universal, the hypothesis of lengthening, has been dealt with by
Theo A. W. van der Louw in his recent doctoral dissertation *Transformations in
the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Stud-
ies* (2007).[15] There he used as proof texts Gen 2, Isa 1, and Prov 6. The selection
of texts is very limited from the perspective of corpus-based research in transla-
tion studies and translation technique. His observations are, however, referred to
here as tentative results. According to his study, the hypothesis that translations
tend to be longer than their source texts seems disproved in Gen 2, but the other
texts, Isa 1 and Prov 6, support it unambiguously. Van der Louw supposes that
the later Genesis chapters, which he has not scrutinized, conform more clearly to
the proposed translation universal.[16] Thus, the hypothesis that translations tend
to be longer than their source texts is supported at least by a few Septuagint trans-
lations.

I looked more closely at the instances interpreted by van der Louw as addi-
tions or added elements in Isa 1. According to him they are for the most part
"conjunctions that have the function of forging a coherent text, clarifying pro-
nouns, prepositions, and articles."[17] He also mentions a few clarifications and
stylistic improvements. Then he discusses the omissions. They usually relate to
articles, conjunctions, and pronominal suffixes, sometimes to semantically super-
fluous words and phrases. Examples:

Isa 1:3 ידע שור קנהו וחמור אבוס בעליו ישראל לא ידע עמי לא התבונן

ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραηλ **δέ**
με οὐκ ἔγνω, **καὶ** ὁ λαός με οὐ συνῆκεν (explicitation).

The added conjunctions δέ and καί are in my opinion explicitations, whereas van
der Louw describes them as "obligatory additions" (p. 238).

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15. Theo A.W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interac-
tion of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (CBET 47; Leuven: Peeters, 2007).

16. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 362.

17. Ibid., 235, 238–42.

Isa 1:15 ובפרשׂכם כפיכם אעלים עיני מכם גם כי־תרבו תפלה אינני שׁמע ידיכם דמים מלאו

ὅταν τὰς χεῖρας ἐκτείνητε **πρός με**, ἀποστρέψω τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐὰν πληθύνητε τὴν δέησιν, οὐκ εἰσακούσομαι ὑμῶν· αἱ **γὰρ** χεῖρες ὑμῶν αἵματος πλήρεις (explicitation).

I regard both added elements πρός με and γάρ as explicitations; van der Louw takes γάρ for a "non-obligatory addition" (p. 240). In this example the omission of the possessive pronoun after τὰς χεῖρας is considered by van der Louw a "non-obligatory omission" and an "obligatory generalization." The latter term is not reasonable here. For me this is a good example of implicitation: the possessor is expressed in Hebrew with a possessive suffix, while Greek uses the definite article only.

Then finally van der Louw proceeds to say that additions are more frequent than omissions. Thus, the outcome is that the translation is longer than the original,[18] and the potential universal seems to be confirmed.

It is apparent that the potential universals overlap with one another. Lengthening, for instance, overlaps with explicitations and clarifications in the broad sense of the word (adding conjunctions, articles, possessive pronouns, prepositions) or sometimes stylistic improvements. If lengthening implies these kinds of small details being different in different languages, it is not reasonable to speak about lengthening of a translation as a universal. Summa summarum, I do not dispute that counted in this way some lengthening happens in the Septuagint translations, but I propose that we abandon this candidate for a universal. We should not adopt the term lengthening if it mainly consists of explicitations and minor clarifications, such as conjunctions, articles, pronouns, and prepositions. Instead we should analyze the nature of the actual explicitations and clarifications more strictly. Along these lines, only Prov 6 remains of the texts studied by van der Louw. A surprisingly high number of explicitations are found there, but there also appear lengthy additions (Prov 6:8A–C and 6:11A), on the assumption that they are due to the translator (as van der Louw supposes) and not to his *Vorlage*.[19] This feature can properly be called a lengthening of the source text, but it is not typical of all translations, and therefore it is not a qualified candidate for a translation universal.

Interference is evidently the feature that is most debated in translation studies as to whether it is a universal or not. For Gideon Toury it was a general law of translations. Toury defines interference as follows:

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18. Ibid., 235.
19. Ibid., 342–43.

> In translation, phenomena pertaining to the make-up of the source text tend to be transferred to the target text.[20]

In translation studies and in translation-technical research, interference is generally understood as the influence of the source language on the target language, which usually was the translator's first language.[21] Whether the free conversation of the translators was characterized by the same kind of interference is another matter, and we leave it aside in this paper.

Translation-technical studies demonstrate as a rule that the Greek translations created by the Septuagint translators contain interference, that is, linguistic features that are typical of the source language, but not of the target language. Van der Louw has also stated this,[22] and all my studies show the same tendency. The Septuagint translators adhere strictly to the source text and its expressions, word order, and clause structure, and so the outcome is more or less Hebraistic Greek. Often the deviations are not marked as such by their plain existence in the translation, but by their un-idiomatic high frequency, which is due to the source text.

Of the next potential universals, standardization implies that the language and style of translation tend to be more standardized than that of the source text. I have not tackled such potential universals as dialect normalization and reduction of complex narrative voices in my studies and I leave them aside referring to van der Louw's dissertation.[23] But to return to the standardization hypothesis, it means that "language and style of translation tend to be more standardized than that of source text. In other words, a translated text exhibits a higher degree of lexical, grammatical, and stylistic standardization compared to original texts in the TL (target language) than the source text compared to original texts in the SL (source language)."[24] This standardization hypothesis is not valid in the Septuagint according to van der Louw. But for Gideon Toury standardization is an important general law of all translations. He defines it in several ways, but the starting point is that "in translation, source-text textemes tend to be converted into target-language (or target-culture) repertoremes" or "in translation, textual relations obtaining in the original are often modified, sometimes to the point of being totally ignored, in favour of (more) habitual options offered by a target repertoire."[25] In some ways this makes "interference" and "standardization" contrary

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20. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 275.

21. Anna Mauranen, "Corpora, Universals and Interference," in *Translation Universals: Do They Exist?* (ed. Anna Mauranen and Pekka Kujamäki; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2004), 65–82.

22. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 362.

23. Ibid., 363–65.

24. Ibid., 363.

25. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 268. His repertoreme is a difficult concept. It is a part of the culturally conditioned repertoire of the target community's

processes. One transfers the syntax and idiom of the source language into the target language and the other converts the syntax and idiom to that of the target.

The explicitation hypothesis is very interesting. A translation often has a tendency to make implicit information explicit, and different languages express different things. My translation-technical studies contain no good examples of it, but this is a result of their limited scope in this respect. Van der Louw has found support for it in his dissertation.[26] In addition, all those instances where the Hebrew coordinate conjunction ו is translated with a conjunction other than καί, can be considered as instances of explicitation.[27] Explicitation seems to be a strong candidate for a universal. This is also supported by my experience of translating Hebrew or Greek into my mother tongue, Finnish.[28] Examples:

> Isa 1:3   ידע שור קנהו וחמור אבוס בעליו ישראל לא ידע עמי לא התבונן
>
> ἔγνω βοῦς τὸν κτησάμενον καὶ ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ· Ἰσραηλ δέ **με** οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὁ λαός **με** οὐ συνῆκεν (explicitation).

The two additions of the accusative με are "non-obligatory explicitations." Here I agree with van der Louw (p. 238).

> Isa 1:24   לכן נאם האדון יהוה צבאות אביר ישראל הוי אנחם מצרי ואנקמה מאויבי
>
> διὰ τοῦτο **τάδε** λέγει ὁ δεσπότης κύριος σαβαωθ Οὐαὶ οἱ ἰσχύοντες Ισραηλ· οὐ παύσεται γάρ μου ὁ θυμὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, καὶ κρίσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου ποιήσω.

Van der Louw interprets τάδε as a "non-obligatory addition" (p. 241), while I regard it as an explicitation. Expression ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις without μου is implicitation, while van der Louw describes it as "omission (of suffix)" (p. 241).

Sanitization is one of Chestermann's potential S-universals, stating that translations use more conventional collocations than the source text. Here I have

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culture. Repertoires are sets of codified items in a community's culture.

26. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 148–50, 238–42, 344–49, 365.

27. For examples see Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*.

28. When translating the Bible into Finnish during the recent decades we often had to make explicitations, otherwise the translation would not have been understandable for Finnish readers. One example is the third person personal pronoun, where you cannot make a distinction between feminine and masculine in Finnish. If you use this pronoun "hän," your readers do not know whether you refer to a woman or to a man. To be explicit, you have to clarify it by using a noun "woman" or "man" or personal names, if they are mentioned in the text. In the Song of Songs this was a recurring problem for the translators.

no translation-technical studies to refer to and therefore I must leave this point unconfirmed.

The retranslation hypothesis maintains that later translations tend to be closer to the source text than the earlier versions of the same text. In the manuscripts of the LXX and in its recensions we have illuminative examples of corrections according to the source text (the MT). Of the later translators, Aquila, for instance, adhered more closely to the MT than the original LXX translators to their *Vorlage*. But this was not always the case; new recensions and new translations could also attempt to improve the Greek target language (Lucianic recension). In the long history of Bible translations the modern ones have rather aimed at a more idiomatic target language than a stricter adherence to the source text. I agree with van der Louw in that this hypothesis of retranslations tending to be closer to the source text seems debatable. Thus, it hardly is a translation universal.[29]

The last S-universal states that in translations repetition tends to be reduced. Van der Louw has found some evidence for it in his texts, at least in Isa 1 and Prov 6, but only occasionally in Gen 2.[30] The support for this universal is not strong. There are qualitative differences in repetitions that are crucial to take into account. For instance, we cannot regard the usage of the pronominal suffix in every coordinate item as a repetition, because it is idiomatic Hebrew. Similarly, the finite verb and the *infinitivus absolutus* of the same verbal stem cannot be considered as repetitions, because again it is a Hebrew idiom in question. Only repetitions that are not part of a Hebrew idiom can be taken into account here. The evidence is not sufficient; further studies are needed on the hypothesis of reduced repetition in the Septuagint.

Potential T-Universals

Chestermann has listed the following items as potential T-universals:
1. Simplification
2. Conventionalization
3. Untypical lexical patterning
4. Under-Representation of Target Language-Specific Items

In the case of T-universals, the way that the translators process the target language is at the focus. The translation is compared with non-translations in the target language. The first potential T-universal, simplification, we have to leave out at this time.

The second, conventionalization, implies that translators do not necessarily utilize the complicated grammatical constructions typical of the target language if they have no direct equivalent in the source text. In the Septuagint these kinds of

29. Van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint*, 365–66.
30. Ibid., 366.

conventionalizations are to be seen, for instance, in the lesser number of *genetivus absolutus* cases, in the lesser number and simpler structure of *participium coniunctum*, in a minor number of *attractio relativi* (or *attractio inversa*), and in the un-idiomatic large quantity of the possessive genitives of the personal pronouns in comparison to non-translation in the target language.[31]

The fourth potential T-universal, the under-representation of target language specific items, is supported by several observations and instances.[32] The point of departure of the translator consisting of the items of the source text, the items and expressions he produces adhere so closely to the source language items and idioms that they are over-represented in his translation. Unfortunately, they are often unidiomatic Greek and occupy the place of idiomatic expressions, which are then under-represented. A few examples: The most common renderings of לפני, ἐναντίον, ἔναντι, ἐνώπιον, πρὸ προσώπου, κατὰ πρόσωπον, occur in great quantity in the books of the Septuagint, which is not shared by any non-translated Greek texts from the same period. This is an example of untypical lexical patterning. The most illustrative example is πρὸ προσώπου, which does not occur in non-translated Greek at all. These equivalents pushed aside the more usual ones, such as ἔμπροσθεν, πρός and παρά. The frequent usage implies a number of instances where these prepositions have found their way into Greek idioms as well, with the effect that they were felt as deviations from Greek norms. One good example is the verb ἀρέσκω "to please somebody" which usually takes a dative in Greek. But because the Hebrew expression was usually read "to be good in one's eyes" (בעיני), the Greek rendering seldom was ἀρέσκω with a dative, but more often a literal "to be good in someone's eyes." Statistically, the Greek idiom ἀρέσκω with a dative is under-represented and prepositions, used as equivalents of the Hebrew semiprepositions, are over-represented in the Septuagint after ἀρέσκω.

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31. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint*, 88–109; Raija 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; Testos y Studios "Cardenal Cisneros" 34; Madrid: Instituto Arias Montano, 1985), 101–13; Raija Sollamo, "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the Greek Pentateuch," in *7th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (ed. Claude E. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 75–85; Raija Sollamo "The Pleonastic Use of the Pronoun in Connection with the Relative Pronoun in the LXX of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. Leonard J. Greenspoon and Olivier Munnich; SBLSCS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 43–62.

32. At this point van der Louw (*Transformations in the Septuagint*, 367–68) tackles the items I have put under the previous universal, conventionalization. This shows that the terminology is not yet crystal clear in translation studies.

Examples of the rectio of the verb ἀρέσκειν translating יטב (היה טוב) בעיני or ישר (היה ישר) בעיני:

Judg 14:3 ויאמר שמשון אל־אביו אותה קח־לי כי־היא ישרה בעיני

καὶ εἶπεν Σαμψων πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ Ταύτην λαβέ μοι, ὅτι **ἤρεσεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς** μου (A).

2 Sam 3:19 וילך גם־אבנר לדבר באזני דוד בחברון את כל־אשר־טוב בעיני ישׂראל ובעיני כל־בית בנימן

καὶ ἐπορεύθη Αβεννηρ τοῦ λαλῆσαι εἰς τὰ ὦτα τοῦ Δαυιδ εἰς Χεβρων πάντα, ὅσα **ἤρεσεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς** Ισραηλ καὶ **ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς** παντὸς οἴκου Βενιαμιν.

1 Kgs 3:10 וייטב הדבר בעיני אדני כי שׁאל שׁלמה את־הדבר הזה

καὶ **ἤρεσεν ἐνώπιον** κυρίου ὅτι ᾐτήσατο Σαλωμων τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο.

Jer 18:4 ונשׁחת הכלי אשׁר הוא עשׂה בחמר ביד היוצר ושׁב ויעשׂהו כלי אחר כאשׁר ישׁר בעיני היוצר לעשׂות

καὶ διέπεσε τὸ ἀγγεῖον, ὃ αὐτὸς ἐποίει, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸς ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἀγγεῖον ἕτερον, καθὼς **ἤρεσεν ἐνώπιον** αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποιῆσαι.

Gen 34:18 וייטבו דבריהם בעיני חמור ובעיני שׁכם בן־חמור

καὶ **ἤρεσαν** οἱ λόγοι **ἐναντίον** Ἐμμὼρ καὶ **ἐναντίον** Συχὲμ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐμμώρ.

Gen 20:15 ויאמר אבימלך הנה ארצי לפניך בטוב בעיניך שׁב

καὶ εἶπεν Ἀβιμέλεχ τῷ Ἀβραάμ Ἰδοὺ ἡ γῆ μου ἐναντίον σου· οὗ ἐάν **σοι ἀρέσκῃ**, κατοίκει.

In practice the under-representation of target language-specific items implies on the other hand that the most common equivalents of the Hebrew לפני and בעיני adopted new meanings in Greek and as a consequence they became translation loans with regard to semantics. Through the influence of the Septuagint the prepositions ἐναντίον, ἔναντι, and ἐνώπιον became so popular in biblical Greek that they invaded the New Testament in active use even outside Old Testament quotations.[33] They comprise one of the most typical characteristics of biblical Greek.

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33. Raija Sollamo, "Semitic Interference in Words Meaning 'Before' in the New Testament," in *Glaube und Gerechtigkeit: In memoriam Rafael Gyllenberg (18.6.1893–29.7.1982)* (ed. Jarmo Kiilunen, Vilho Riekkinen and Heikki Räisänen; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 38; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 1983), 181–200.

Conclusion

To sum up, a few of the potential universals seem to find strong support in translation-technical studies, interference, explicitation, untypical lexical patterning, and under-representation of target language specific items, in particular. The others, such as lengthening, standardization, reduction of complex narrative voices, and reduction of repetition, are not without support, but in their case some further research is required. The retranslation hypothesis seems to stand on the weakest ground.

From the perspective of the Septuagint, it seems that interference is a universal *par exellence*. In this respect, Gideon Toury is right. It is the most significant general law prevailing in all translations. We also noted that the presence of interference varies for different translators. The universals are probabilistic and conditioned. Their presence can be studied from the texts, and the instances of interference and the regularity of performance by a certain translator can be represented in statistics. It seems that many other potential universals are dependent on interference, such as conventionalization, untypical lexical patterning, and under-representation of target language specific items. They are consequencies that follow from interference. In contrast, such features as lengthening of the text, explicitation, sanitization (i.e., usage of conventional collocations), dialect normalization, reduction of complex narrative voices, and reduction of repetitions seem to be independent of interference. They often occur in translations, but are not necessarily universals, except for explicitation. These data about potential translation universals form the contribution of translation technique to translation studies in a nutshell.

The profit of translation studies for translation technique comes through linguistic terminology and grouping of different linguistic features, even though it has varied a great deal in different treatises of translation studies. It is important to know that the Septuagint as a translation is not *sui generis*, but shares several phenomena with other translations from different source texts into different target languages. Translation technique could adopt the terminology of translation studies whenever it is appropriate. Using the same terminology would prevent translation technique from remaining a small research field in isolation. Translation studies lend support to our observations and help us to understand better the process of translating and to describe it in more adequate and robust terms.

Translating the Greek Text of Jeremiah

Georg Walser

Abstract: Before translating the Greek text of Jeremiah, several questions have to be answered, for example, which Greek text should be translated? Into what language or variety of language should the text be translated? From what viewpoint should the text be translated? The present paper will focus on the last question. The Greek text of Jeremiah can be translated from several viewpoints, two of which are the viewpoint of the original translator and the viewpoint of the subsequent reader.

The viewpoint of the original translator of Jeremiah can sometimes be traced by comparing the Greek translation with its Hebrew equivalent, while the viewpoints of some early readers sometimes can be traced in their commentaries on the text. Though great caution has to be used when trying to find out how the translator of Jeremiah or a subsequent reader understood the text, it seems as if there are examples where the understanding of the translator and the understanding of the reader was not the same.

In the present paper some examples from the Greek text of Jeremiah will be discussed where there might be a difference between how the translator of Jeremiah understood his text and how the subsequent reader of this Greek translation understood it.

1. Introduction

The background of this article is my translation of the Septuagint version of Jeremiah for the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series. The article will address one important decision, which has to be made before translating the text, and it will also give some examples from Jeremiah, where this decision appears to be of some importance.

One of the first and most important decisions to be made is where the focus of the translation of the Septuagint version of Jeremiah should be. Different translation projects, such as La Bible d'Alexandrie, NETS, LXX.D (Septuaginta Deutsch), and Brill Septuagint Commentary Series, appear to make different decisions, and the decision is of great importance, because it has a big impact on the translation itself.

In an ideal situation, both translator and subsequent reader understand the Greek translation of Jeremiah in exactly the same way. Unfortunately, no text is understood in exactly the same way even by the author of a text and its subsequent reader. If a text is a translation, the chances are even less that the reader of the translation will understand it in the same way as the translator. This is especially true if the translation is a literal one, and if the languages of the original and of the translation are not related, as is the case with the translation of Jeremiah.

Two factors appear to be of decisive importance both for the translation of the text and for the reading of the translated text, namely, ambition, and ability. The ambition of the translator of Jeremiah could have been to produce a translation into idiomatic Greek, but the ambition could also have been to produce a more literal translation, preserving as much as possible of the *Vorlage*, such as syntax and word order. Or perhaps the translator just translated the text as well as he could, without considering any theories about translation technique. In any case the ability of the translator sets the limits for his ambitions.[1] This means that if we do not know the ability of the translator, it is very hard to get to know his ambitions. The translator could have had very high ambitions in either direction, but perhaps he did not have the ability to reach those ambitions.

The same seems to be true about the reader; he could have had the ambition to understand the text as the translator understood it, but he could also have had the ambition to understand the original behind the translation. Very common, of course, is the ambition to understand the intention of the supposed source of the text, presumably God, or to make a more-or-less allegorical interpretation of the text. Again the ability sets the limits for the ambitions.

Given the wide range of possibilities for how the translator and the subsequent reader could have understood the text, there is obvious reason to believe that the subsequent reader did not always understand the text in exactly the same way as the translator had understood his translation. Thus, before translating the text, it is necessary to decide the focus of the translation, which can be either on the translator himself or on the subsequent reader.

With the focus on the translator himself, the translation is made from the viewpoint of the original translator of the Hebrew text into Greek. This kind of translation can tell us something about the *Vorlage* of the translator, how the translator understood his *Vorlage*, and how he rendered it into Greek. This approach is of great importance for the textual criticism of the Old Testament, and for the understanding of the translation technique used by the translators of

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1. For a more detailed discussion of ambition and ability of the translator, see Georg Walser, "The Greek of the Bible, Translated Greek or Translation Greek?," in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta; JSJsup 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 449–61.

the Septuagint. The NETS project appears to be the translation project that is closest to this focus.[2]

The starting point for this kind of translation is, of course, a text that is as close to the original translation as possible. Thus it is only natural that the NETS project chooses the critical edition of the Göttingen project. The Göttingen project has the ambition to present all the variant readings of the various manuscripts, versions, and early commentaries, and to present a text that is as close to the original as possible.

With the focus on the reader, on the other hand, the translation is made from the viewpoint of the subsequent reader of the translated Greek text. This kind of translation can tell something about how the reader understood the text, that is, the reception history of the text. For the Brill Septuagint Commentary Series the focus is on the reader of the text. This approach is important for the understanding of the reception history of the Septuagint, that is, how the text actually was understood in the reading community.

A suitable starting point for this kind of project is not a critical text, with the ambition to present the original text, since the text actually read in a community differed quite a bit from the original. Thus the Brill Septuagint Commentary series uses one single manuscript as the starting point for the translation. This means that a text, which was actually read in the community, is the source of the translation and commentary, and thus also for the investigation of the reception history. For the translation of Jeremiah, the Vatican manuscript called Codex B, or just *Vaticanus*, has been used.

Though these approaches differ in many respects, they still have several problems in common.[3] To say something either about the focus of the translator or about the focus of the reader is to say something about what was in the mind of a person we do not know. To get to know the thoughts and impression of this person is, of course, almost impossible. Nevertheless, this is exactly what these translations try to do.

Now, with the focus on the translator it is possible to use the *Vorlage* as a means to come a step closer to the mind of the translator, by studying his translation technique. For Jeremiah the difference between *Vaticanus* and the Masoretic text is substantial. However, the differences are mostly quantitative, that is, the text of *Vaticanus* is approximately fifteen percent shorter than MT, but where the texts correspond to each other the translation mostly appears to be very literal.

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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." The quotation is taken from http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/prospectus.html.

3. The position of LXX.D seems to be an intermediate one.

Thus, it is possible to get quite a good idea about the translation technique of the translator, even though the exact *Vorlage* of the translator is not available.

With the focus on the reader one possibility to get at least an opinion about what could have been in the mind of these commentators, is to use the commentaries of some early readers of the text. For Jeremiah there are commentaries of four early readers: Origenes (185–254), Joannes Chrysostomus (344–407), Theodoretus Cyrrhensis (393–457) and Olympiodorus Alexandrinus (sixth century). Most comments by these early commentators are, of course, of an exegetical nature, from which it is only occasionally possible to find out how the reader actually understood the Greek text. But there are also comments on how to understand words and expressions from a more philological point of view. Since Chrysostomus, Theodoretus and Olympiodorus most probably had a quite limited access to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jeremiah, the commentaries give a glimpse of their understanding of the Greek text.

Apparently, these kinds of translations, whether the focus is on the translator or on the subsequent reader, are quite problematic. Thus it is very good that all current translation projects also have the ambition to present commentaries to the translations.

The following examples are all of the kind that the subsequent reader is likely to have understood the text in a different way than the translator of the text.

2. Examples

The first two examples are very similar and deal with the expression τίθημι εἰς First we have one example from Jer 13:16:

> δότε τῷ κυρίῳ θεῷ ὑμῶν δόξαν πρὸ τοῦ συσκοτάσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦ προσκόψαι πόδας ὑμῶν ἐπ᾽ ὄρη σκοτεινὰ καὶ ἀναμενεῖτε εἰς φῶς καὶ ἐκεῖ σκιὰ θανάτου καὶ τεθήσονται εἰς σκότος

There is a difference between the Masoretic text ישית לערפל, which nrsv renders by "makes it deep darkness," and what has been proposed as the *Vorlage* of the Greek text (ושתו).[4] However, the difference between mt and lxx is of minor importance here. Instead it is the construction τίθημι εἰς which will be examined. τίθημι εἰς looks like a quite literal rendering of שית ל, and it is very likely that the translator understood the Hebrew construction approximately as it is taken by nrsv. Thus a possible rendering could be "and they will be made into darkness." The question which will be dealt with here, on the other hand, is: How

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4. See William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah*, *Volume 1* (The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; ed. J. A. Emerton, C. E. B. Cranfield, G. N. Stanton; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986; corrected repr., 2001), 298.

did the subsequent reader understand καὶ τεθήσονται εἰς σκότος? The construction τίθημι εἰς has an asterisk in Muraoka's dictionary of the Septuagint,[5] which indicates that the construction was at least not a common construction in Greek outside the Septuagint at the time of the translation, and there are no indications that it should have been a common construction at the time of the reader either. Unfortunately, there are no discussions of this text in the early commentaries, which could indicate how the text was interpreted by the subsequent reader. One indication of how the text was interpreted could be the translation by Brenton, who takes τίθημι εἰς in a more general sense and renders it "they shall be brought into darkness."[6] It should be noted that Brenton usually is inclined to follow KJV, but that he here takes the Greek in a very general sense. Therefore, I think it is reasonable to believe that the construction τίθημι εἰς was taken in its general sense here by the early readers too, and I suggest the rendering: "they will be put into darkness."

The next example is from Jer 22:6:

ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος κατὰ τοῦ οἴκου βασιλέως Ιουδα Γαλααδ σύ μοι ἀρχὴ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἐὰν μὴ θῶ σε εἰς ἔρημον πόλεις μὴ κατοικηθησομένας

We have the same Greek construction as in the previous example, τίθημι εἰς, which is a rendering of the same Hebrew verb שׁית, but this time without the preposition ל. The Greek expression, θῶ σε εἰς ἔρημον appears to be a quite literal rendering of MT אשׁיתך מדבר. The text of MT is rendered by "I will make you a desert" in NRSV. Probably the translator of Jeremiah had something similar in mind, but again it is doubtful whether the subsequent reader could really interpret the text in the same way. Unfortunately, we have no comments in the early commentaries here either, but it is interesting to see that Brenton translates this example into "I will make thee a desert" (KJV "I will make thee a wilderness"). However, I still prefer to take the construction τίθημι εἰς in its general sense, and suggest the rendering "I will put you in a desert."

In the following two examples, which are also quite similar, there are again prepositions that cause some problems for the subsequent readers. The first is from Jer 31:2 (MT 48:2):

οὐκ ἔστιν ἔτι ἰατρεία Μωαβ ἀγαυρίαμα ἐν Εσεβων ἐλογίσαντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτὴν κακά ἐκόψαμεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἔθνους καὶ παῦσιν παύσεται ὄπισθέν σου βαδιεῖται μάχαιρα

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5. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon to the Septuagint; Chiefly to the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 555.

6. Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (1851; repr. Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2001).

Though there are many interesting details to discuss in the phrase ἐκόψαμεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἔθνους, only one small detail will be discussed here, viz. ἀπὸ ἔθνους. The Greek phrase ἐκόψαμεν αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ἔθνους seems to be a rendering of something similar to MT (48:2). MT reads נכריתנה מגוי, and is rendered by NRSV into "let us cut her off from being a nation." Perhaps this was also the interpretation of the translator of Jeremiah, but it is hard to see how the reader, without access to the Hebrew, could have interpreted ἀπὸ ἔθνους the same way. There are no comments in the early commentaries, but both Brenton and McKane, in his commentary to Jeremiah,[7] indicate that the rendering in the Septuagint is not identical in meaning with the meaning of MT. Brenton translates: "we have cut her off from *being* a nation." By the italics of *being* Brenton indicates that *being* is added by himself. Again, it is hard to see how this addition could be made without access to the Hebrew text. According to McKane, the Septuagint "produces a different sense." McKane's translation, "Let us cut her off from among the nations", is odd, but he is right that the meaning of the Greek text differs from the meaning of the Hebrew text. Hence, though the translator of Jeremiah probably had something similar to the meaning of MT in mind, it is hard to see how the reader could have interpreted the Greek text in that direction. Thus I suggest a literal rendering of the Greek text: "we have cut her off from a nation." Though it must be admitted that the meaning of such a translation is not very clear, it is at least as clear as the Greek text.

In Jer 31:42 (MT 48:42) we have a similar expression:

καὶ ἀπολεῖται Μωαβ ἀπὸ ὄχλου ὅτι ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἐμεγαλύνθη

MT (48:42) reads נשמד מואב מעם and NRSV renders it by "Moab shall be destroyed as a people." Perhaps the translator of Jeremiah had something similar in mind, or he just produced a literal rendering of the Hebrew expression. Anyway, the text he produced is likely to be interpreted otherwise. ἀπό with ἀπόλλυμι usually has a local or separative sense, which fits poorly in the present context. However, there are at least two examples in the Septuagint, where ἀπό is taken in an instrumental sense, or is used to denote the agent: Job 4:9 ἀπὸ προστάγματος κυρίου ἀπολοῦνται, and Ps 79:17 ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμήσεως τοῦ προσώπου σου ἀπολοῦνται. Thus I suggest that ἀπό is taken to denote the agent in the example in Jeremiah too, and render it by "Mōab will be destroyed by the crowd." Brenton renders it by "Moab shall perish from being a multitude," probably fol-

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7. William McKane, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Jeremiah, Volume 2* (The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments; ed. J. A. Emerton, C. E. B. Cranfield, G. N. Stanton; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996; corrected repr., 2001), 1157.

lowing KJV "Moab shall be destroyed from being a people." But this time he has no italics.

In the next example a common ellipsis in Greek will be discussed. The example is from Jer 17:11:

> ἐφώνησεν πέρδιξ συνήγαγεν ἃ οὐκ ἔτεκεν ποιῶν πλοῦτον αὐτοῦ οὐ μετὰ κρίσεως ἐν ἡμίσει ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ ἐγκαταλείψουσιν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἄφρων

Here ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ is a literal rendering of MT באחריתו, which is rendered by NRSV by "at their end." There is no reason to doubt that the translator had the same in mind, and this is also the rendering of Brenton: "at his latter end." However, in Greek the ellipsis of ἡμερῶν is very common, and though the ellipsis of ἡμερῶν was probably not the intention of the translator of Jeremiah, it is very likely that this is what the early readers had in mind. And, in fact, this is exactly what we find in the text of Chrysostomus: *fr. in Jer.* 63.917 ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἄφρων "in his last days he will be a fool." Chrysostomus, or someone else, has supplied τῶν ἡμερῶν, thus confirming that at least someone took ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ as an equivalent for ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτοῦ. Therefore I suggest the rendering "in his last days."

In the next example, which is from Jer 20:8, the verbal voice will be discussed:

> ὅτι πικρῷ λόγῳ μου γελάσομαι ἀθεσίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν ἐπικαλέσομαι ὅτι ἐγενήθη λόγος κυρίου εἰς ὀνειδισμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ εἰς χλευασμὸν πᾶσαν ἡμέραν μου

Here γελάσομαι seems to be a rendering of MT אזעק, (or did the translator perhaps read אצחק?) which is rendered by NRSV into "I must cry out." The Hebrew verbal form is active and the Greek middle verbal form usually has an active meaning, and this is most probably also the intention of the translator of Jeremiah, though Diamond in his article from 1990, renders it by "For by my bitter speech, I will be derided." Brenton renders it by "For I will laugh with my bitter speech." Nevertheless, γελάσομαι is taken in a passive sense by Chrysostomus and Theodoretus. They comment on the expression: Chrys. *fr. in Jer.* 64.928 τουτέστιν, ἐφ᾽ αἷς προλέγω συμφοραῖς γελῶμαι, ὡς ψευδόμενος ("I.e., by the misfortunes, which I foretell, I am laughed at, as if I was lying"). Chrys. *fr. in Jer.* 64.929 τουτέστι, γελασθήσομαι. οὐκ ἤρκεσέ μοι, φησίν, ἡ πικρία, ἀλλὰ καὶ γέλως· οὐκ ἤρκεσεν ἡ ὀδύνη τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ χλευασία ("I.e., I will be laughed at. The bitterness, he says, was not enough for me, but there was also laughter. The pain of the soul was not enough, but there was also mockery"). Thdt. *Jer.* 81.613 δάκνουσι τὸν προφήτην οὐχὶ αἱ εἰς αὐτὸν γιγνόμεναι ταλαιπωρίαι τε καὶ αἰκίαι, ἀλλ᾽ αἱ κατὰ τῶν θείων λογίων τολμώμεναι κωμῳδίαι ("Not the miseries and sufferings, which hit him, bite the prophet, but the ridicules, which are dared against the divine words").

By Origenes, on the other hand, γελάσομαι is taken in an active sense. It should be noted, however, that Origenes had access to the Hebrew text. After a long exegesis of πικρῷ λόγῳ μου γελάσομαι, Origenes sums up the word of the prophet: Or. *hom in Jer.* 20.6 οἶδα ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ πικρῷ λόγῳ μου τὸ τέλος ἐστὶ γελᾶν, γελᾶν δὲ τὸν τῶν μακαριζομένων γέλωτα ("I know that the result of my bitter word is to laugh, but to laugh the laughter of the blessed"). Olympiodorus, finally, takes γελάσομαι in an active sense and appears to have ἀθεσίαν as the object of γελάσομαι: Olymp. *fr. Jer.* 93.669 ὅτι πικρῷ λόγῳ μου γελάσομαι ἀθεσίαν· ἔστι γὰρ γέλως πικρὸς, ὑπὸ συνοχῆς ψυχῆς ἐκφερόμενος ("For with my bitter word I laugh at faithlessness. For bitter laughter exists uttered by an oppressed soul").

It is hard to decide in which sense γελάσομαι should be taken here. The passive meaning appears to make better sense in the context, but this meaning is not the common meaning and it is not apprehended by all readers. On the other hand, the active meaning requires quite a bit of exegesis to make good sense, which is indicated by both Origenes and Olympiodorus. Origenes who takes γελάσομαι in an active sense could also have been influenced by the Hebrew text. Thus I suggest that γελάσομαι should be taken in a passive sense here and I render it by "For because of my bitter word I will be laughed at."

In the next example, which is from Jer 39:30, the rendering of a Hebrew particle causes some problems:

> ὅτι ἦσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ Ιουδα μόνοι ποιοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐκ νεότητος αὐτῶν

MT (32:30) has כִּי־הָיוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וּבְנֵי יְהוּדָה אַךְ יִשִׂים הָרַע, which is rendered by NRSV by "For the people of Israel and the people of Judah have done nothing but evil." In the Septuagint μόνοι is apparently a rendering of the Hebrew particle אַךְ. According to the dictionary of Muraoka,[8] the use of μόνος is here "exceptionally (and erroneously?) for a postpositive μόνον (so one MS): ἦσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ . . . μόνοι ποιοῦντες τὸ πονηρὸν . . . ᾿ . . . were practising only wicked things . . .'" Muraoka is right that μόνον would have been a better rendering of אַךְ here, and that the translator of Jeremiah probably had this in mind, though he rendered אַךְ by μόνοι. However, with no access to the Hebrew text or to the mind of the translator, the reader could hardly have taken μόνοι to be an equivalent of a postpositive μόνον. Brenton renders it by: "For the children of Israel and the children of Juda alone did evil," while Stulman, apparently following the Hebrew text, and what was probably the intention of the translator renders it by: "For the sons of Israel and the sons of Judah have done nothing but evil." Olympiodorus, on the other hand, has the following comment on the passage: *fr. Jer.* 93.692 ὡς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πᾶσα μὲν ἡ γῆ τότε ἀθέων ἦν· μόνοι δὲ οὗτοι λέγονται ἁμαρτάνειν,

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8. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon to the Septuagint*, 381.

ἐπειδὴ τοῖς θείοις νόμοις πεπαιδευμένοι ἐν γνώσει ἡμάρτανον "As usually, the whole world was godless at that time, but only these are said to sin, since they were sinning consciously having been educated in the divine laws." Thus I suggest the rendering: "the sons of Israel and the sons of Iouda alone were doing the evil."

In the last example there is a verbal neologism. The example is from Jer 39:35:

καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τοὺς βωμοὺς τῇ Βααλ τοὺς ἐν φάραγγι υἱοῦ Εννομ τοῦ ἀναφέρειν τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτῶν τῷ Μολοχ βασιλεῖ ἃ οὐ συνέταξα αὐτοῖς καὶ οὐκ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ καρδίαν μου τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ βδέλυγμα τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἐφαμαρτεῖν τὸν Ιουδαν

In the last clause, MT (32:35) has למען החטיא את־יהודה,[9] which is rendered by NRSV by "causing Judah to sin." ἐφαμαρτεῖν is a rendering of החטיא, i.e., Hifil of חטא. According to the dictionary of Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, ἐφαμαρτάνω is a neologism. Liddell-Scott-Jones dictionary also gives the causal meaning of ἐφαμαρτάνω, but with the present passage as its only reference. Brenton follows the meaning of the Hebrew text, and perhaps the intention of the translator and renders it by "to cause Juda to sin." Unfortunately, there is only one comment in the early commentaries on the text, but it seems quite unlikely that the reader could really grasp the causal meaning of ἐφαμαρτάνω without any access to the Hebrew text, though this was probably the intention of the translator. Olympiodorus comments on the passage, though not directly on the term ἐφαμαρτεῖν: *fr. Jer.* 93.693 ἀνθρώπους δὲ οὐδὲ ἐμαυτῷ θύεσθαι ὅσιον ἔκρινα. ὡς οὐκ ἀρκούμενοι τοίνυν, φησί, τοῖς πρότερον ἁμαρτήμασι, καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεξεῦρον τὸ ἀτόπημα "Nor did I judge it pious that human beings were sacrificed to myself. Hence, as they were not content with the previous sins, they devised this absurdity besides." Perhaps ἐπεξεῦρον could be an interpretation of ἐφαμαρτάνω. Anyhow, I doubt that the reader, without access to the Hebrew text, could see that the verb ἐφαμαρτάνω here has a hitherto unknown meaning. Therefore, I suggest the rendering "that Iouda may sin again."

3. Conclusion

As can be seen from the examples the focus of the translation is of great importance for the translation of the text. Therefore, it is crucial to decide the focus of the translation before translating the text. This is especially true when translating a translation, since there is also the focus of the translator, which can be taken

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9. According to the *apparatus criticus* in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, the final א in החטיא is missing due to haplography. It is supplied here according to the Ketib.

into consideration. A translation as literal as the translation of Jeremiah is very likely to be understood in a different way by the reader than by the translator himself, especially if the reader had no access to the original, which was most often the case concerning the Septuagint. Thus it is also important that the translator of a translation clearly states his focus, and it is, of course, to be desired that the translation is accompanied with a commentary of some kind.

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