XII CONGRESS OF THE
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Melvin K. H. Peters
Series Editor

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Contents

Abbreviations

AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary.* Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doublday, 1992.
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BAGD/BDAG	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. *Greek English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature.* 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979; 3rd ed., 2000.
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BDB	Brown, F., A. Debrunner, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Oxford: Clarendon, 1907.
BDR	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf. *Grammatik de neutestamentlichen Griechisch.* 17th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990.
BGU	Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia.* Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983.
Bibl	*Biblica*
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BRGA	Beiträge zur Religiongeschichte des Altertums
BT	Bibliothèque de théologie. Paris
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament

CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CPJ	Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum
DBS	Dictionnaire de la bible. Supplément
DCH	*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew.* Edited by D. J. A. Clines. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993–.
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EdF	Erträge der Forschung
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testamentum
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
HALAT	Koehler, L., and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament.* 5 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1967–1995.
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. Brill, 1994–2000.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IF	Instanbuler Forschungen
IKO	Internationaler Kongreß der Orientalisten
IOSCS	International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
L.A.B.	*Liber antiquitatum biblicarum*
L.E.H./LEH	Lust, J., E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. *A Greek English Lexicon of the Septuagint.* Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992.
LSJ	Liddell, H., R. Scott, H. S. Jones. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

MM	Moulton, J. H., and G. Milligan. *The Vocabulary of the Greek New Testament.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1930
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NICOT	New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDNTT	New International Dictionary of New Testament Theology
NTT	Norsk teologisk tidsskrift
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OLA	Orientalia lovaniensia analecta
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha.* Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983–1985.
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PGL	Patristic Greek Lexicon
PSI	Papiri Greci e Latini
RAC	Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevScRel	Revue des sciences religieuses
RGG	Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart
SB	Studia Byzantina
SBLBSNA	Society of Biblical Literature Biblical Scholarship in North America
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Text and Translations
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SDB	Dictionnaire de la bible. Supplement
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum
SMHVL	Scripta minora. K. humanistika Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SubBi	Subsidia biblica
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörter buch zum Neuen Testament
TLG	Thesaurus linguae graecae
TM/MT	Masoretic Text
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TthZ	Trierer theologische Zeitschrift
TU	Texte und Untersuchen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur
TWAT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Supplements to 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*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Introduction by the Editor

The present volume continues a well-established tradition of presenting the proceedings of the triennial Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) in published form. The IOSCS, now the premier learned society for the study of the Septuagint and Old Greek translations, had a quiet beginning on December 19, 1968, in Berkeley, California, at a session in conjunction with the annual meeting of the SBL, when, with Harry M. Orlinsky presiding, John W. Wevers moved that the meeting "constitute itself as an organizing meeting of the IOSCS." On the passage of that motion, the IOSCS was born, with Orlinsky as its first President, C. Fritsch as Secretary, and S. Jellicoe as Editor.

In an October 1969 presidential message in *Bulletin* no. 2 of the IOSCS—technically, the first published *BIOSCS;* no.1 had been circulated in mimeograph form in June 1968 by S. Jellicoe (and later published) under the rubric *Coordination Project for Septuagintal and Cognate Studies*—Orlinsky articulated his vision for the organization with these words:

> The purpose of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS) is to constitute a center of Septuagint and related research, and to help relate this to the textual criticism of the Bible as a whole. That is why we are happy and grateful to have been able to begin our activity as an independent group within the larger framework of the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature (Berkeley, December 19, 1968). It is our hope to function thus in relation to similar learned meetings outside the American continent.

In keeping with this hope of the founding president, two years later in 1971 the first international IOSCS meeting was held in Uppsala in conjunction with the Seventh Congress of the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) and has continued triennially since then in the following venues: Edinburgh 1974, Göttingen 1977, Vienna 1980, Salamanca 1983, Jerusalem 1986, Leuven 1989, Paris 1992, Cambridge 1995, Oslo 1998, Basel 2001, and Leiden 2004.

From the beginning, there was a felt need among participants to publish the proceedings of the congress. Detailed abstracts of the Uppsala papers appeared in the *BIOSCS* no. 5 (1972) and of the Edinburgh papers in no. 8 (1975). As early as the 1980 Vienna Congress, a portion of the proceedings was edited and pub-

lished as *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel: 1980 Proceedings IOSCS—Vienna* (ed. Emanuel Tov; Jerusalem: Academon, 1980); abstracts of the remaining papers were published in *BIOSCS* no. 14 (1981). It was not until the following Salamanca Congress (1983) that the first complete proceedings were edited by Natalio Fernández Marcos and published beautifully as a volume, *La Septuaginta en la investigación contemporánea (V Congreso de la IOSCS)* in the series Textos y estudios "Cardinal Cisneros" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense Instituto "Arias Montano" C.S.I.C. (Madrid: 1985).

The tradition of publishing the proceedings in the SBLSCS series (initiated in the early 1970s) began with the 1986 Jerusalem Congress. Participation in the international congresses increased steadily over the years so that by 1998—the last congress for which a complete set of proceedings is available in one volume—a program was presented in Oslo that was, in the words of the European Vice President in his introduction to that volume, "rich and almost overloaded. Sixteen papers were presented in plenary sessions, and another eighteen were delivered in parallel sessions. In addition to these, a panel discussed the aims and methods of modern annotated translations of the Septuagint."

All these papers were published together as SBLSCS 51. Given the sheer size of that congress volume (almost 600 pages), it did not appear in print until 2001, and it exposed the increasing challenge faced by the Editor of the congress volume, who until that time was usually also Editor of the SBLSCS monograph series. Thus, at the 2001 meetings in Basel, when, in addition to plenary and parallel sessions, there was again a dedicated panel discussion on the relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew base of the Septuagint, the IOSCS executive decided that the panel papers for that Congress would be published separately and also that someone other than the SBLSCS Series Editor would prepare that congress volume. The panel volume appeared as *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible* (SBLSCS 52) in 2003, but the main volume of the proceedings of the XIth Congress was not published. Thus it is my pleasure to restore the tradition and present herein papers from the XIIth Congress of the IOSCS.

The meetings in Leiden were rich and diverse and took place in conjunction not only with those of the customary IOSOT but also with those of the International Organization for Targum Study and the International Organization for Masoretic Study. A week earlier, the International Meeting of the SBL had been held in Groningen, The Netherlands, in conjunction with other biblical studies associations. The XIIth IOSCS Congress consisted of some thirty-six papers presented over two days in plenary and parallel sessions, including two panel discussions: one on Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and the LXX; and another on the Hexapla. All ten of the panel papers—six from the DTS panel and four from the Hexapla panel—are appearing separately. Two or three of the remaining twenty-six were not submitted for inclusion. Other colleagues had made prior commitments to publish their papers in other places and duly informed me, and a few felt unable to make the submission deadlines.

The seventeen papers published here are highly representative of the congress and of the flourishing field of Septuagint studies. They include those of long-standing distinguished scholars and, as is always a sign of a healthy organization, those of promising younger scholars in whose hands rests the future of the field. The order of presentation of the papers follows what I hope is a logical pattern. Those dealing with general conceptual matters are presented first, followed by those concerned with specific textual issues in the Septuagint corpus arranged in "canonical" order.

I wish to thank the various contributors for their cooperation and patience during the process of the preparation of this work. Most returned proofs promptly and supported the production in every way. I wish to thank also and especially SBL publications for their assistance in getting this volume together. Until now, all of my dealings there had been in my role as SBLSCS Editor—evaluating, approving, refining, and editing the work of other authors/editors. This time, functioning both as Series and Volume Editor, I was privileged to enjoy an even clearer vision of the skill, talent, and dedication of Leigh Andersen, Managing Editor, and Bob Buller, Editorial Director. I am (and the contributors are) in their debt.

Durham, North Carolina
September 11, 2006

The *Kaige* Recension: The Life, Death, and Postmortem Existence of a Modern—and Ancient—Phenomenon

Leonard J. Greenspoon

Abstract: There is broad agreement that, at some point in antiquity, revision of the Old Greek (or an older Greek) took place in at least some books (or parts of books) of the LXX with a view toward standardizing certain representations of the Hebrew in the Greek text. Although this phenomenon is sometimes referred to as a recension, such a designation no longer seems tenable. Moreover, it cannot always be identified with the version of Theodotion. On the other hand, it does seem appropriate to retain *"Kaige"* as part of the modern description of this ancient enterprise. Careful research into proper terminology sheds light both on the translators and transcribers of the past and scholars of the present.

> [It] was not the work of a single author. Instead, it was a project or tradition of non-uniform revisions made by a group of authors which was to include a slight Hebraising revision in favour of the proto-Masoretic text—without attaining the consistency apparent in Aquila—and a desire to standardize and extend to various books of the LXX certain translation choices already used by some translators.… Hence [it] has certain peculiar characteristics in particular books.… there are still many unknowns.[1]

What Natalio Fernández Marcos describes here, in my opinion with considerable accuracy, is what he calls "the *Kaige* revision." Elsewhere it has been termed "the *Kaige*-Theodotion (Th) revision," "the *Kaige* recension," or "the *Kaige*-Th recension," among other designations. In this article I will look at the various ways in which this ancient phenomenon has been described in the modern literature. Along the way I will observe that this discussion, often to the point and quite useful, has nonetheless suffered from terminological imprecision. Although I am aware that any solution I offer will be at best tentative, nonetheless I remain hopeful that this exploration will encourage colleagues to consider anew the need for and value of precision in such matters.

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1. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 148.

In his research Tim McLay determined: "As far as I know [Emanuel] Tov first employed the term *Kaige*-Theodotion in 'Transliteration of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament,' *Textus* 8 [1973]: 78–92."[2] It was fifteen years later, in 1988, that John Wevers strongly urged "that we ban from academic usage the term kaige recension, reserving the term kaige either for the kaige group [of manuscripts] or simply as the common, in fact the excellent, rendering for 'gam' and 'wgam.'"[3] Like the ban on changing the text of the Septuagint (or better, the Old Greek) of the Pentateuch that is found near the end of the *Letter of Aristeas,* this prohibition has been transgressed as often as, or more often than, it has been followed. The world, academic and otherwise, may well have been better off if both of these bans had been more widely observed; better off, perhaps, but not more interesting.

Biblical scholars are prone to disputes over terminology where the same word or phrase means different things to different people and/or two terms are said, at least by some, to mean virtually the same thing and/or biblical scholars agree on the meaning, but it flies in the face of common usage (and often common sense). Previously I explored this in connection with the term "Septuagint."[4]

No one has been more perceptive in looking at issues relating to the term "revision" than Emanuel Tov. Under the section, "The Relationship between the Textual Witnesses in Research until 1947," he writes:

> [In certain literature of that period] 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.[5]

> As a rule, the text of the Torah has been represented as an entity subdivided into three recensions or text-types: MT, Samaritan, and LXX.… The text of the Prophets and Hagiographa was similarly presented as consisting of two recensions.… Until the beginning of the present [that is, twentieth] century the three main texts were usually called recensions.[6]

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2. R. Timothy McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 9 n. 16. It is worth noting that in the same year Sidney Jellicoe published an article with this title, "Some Reflections on the *Kaige* Recension," *VT* 23 (1973): 28–49.

3. John W. Wevers, "Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 23–24.

4. See Leonard J. Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term 'LXX' and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 21–29. See also the still useful D. W. Gooding, "An Appeal for a Stricter Terminology in the Textual Criticism of the Old Testament," *JSOT* 21 (1976): 15–25.

5. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 155.

6. Ibid., 156.

> A change in terminology began to occur with Kahle, who referred to three text-types which differed from each other recensionally, that is, each of them had undergone a different recension.… It should be noted that in the past (as in the present), there existed no uniform terminology for the textual witnesses. Various scholars used, and continue to use, different terms when referring to the same entity. For example, de Lagarde used the terms *recension* and *family* interchangeably.[7]

In the section "The Relationship between the Textual Witnesses in Research after 1947," Tov observes: "Scholars continued the previous line of approach in their view of the characterization of the Qumran texts as recensions or text-types."[8] And in the following section, "A New Approach to the Relation between the Textual Witnesses," he concludes:

> It was erroneous then, as it is today to describe these texts [MT, LXX, and Samaritan] as recensions or text-types. It should be noted that this is not merely a matter of terminology, since scholars indeed believed that these traditions reflected three separate recensions that had reached their present form after various stages of editing and textual manipulation. As an alternative to the generally accepted theory of a tripartite division of the textual witnesses, it was suggested by Tov that the three above-mentioned textual witnesses constitute only three of a larger number of *texts*.[9]

Tov goes on to describe or define two key terms that are in this discussion virtually synonymous, "text-type" and "recension":

> The use of these terms requires that the witnesses actually differ from each other typologically, that is, each of them be characterized by distinctive textual features. A witness reflecting a text-type or recension by definition should show a conscious effort to change an earlier text systematically in a certain direction. Textual recensions bear recognizable textual characterizations, such as an expansionistic, abbreviating, harmonizing, Judaizing, or Christianizing tendency, or a combination of these characteristics. [Since these don't apply to MT, LXX, or Samaritan] the theory of the division of the biblical witnesses into three recensions cannot be maintained.[10]

In his comments specifically about the LXX, Tov makes several important observations. For example, he speaks of "The revisions (recensions) of LXX: among them *Kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, and the fifth column of the

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7. Ibid., 157. See also p. 186, where Tov states that the adherents of the theory of local texts use the term recensions and families interchangeably.

8. Ibid., 158.

9. Ibid., 160.

10. Ibid., 160–61.

Hexapla."[11] And he refers to "an early revision (recension) of LXX, *Kaige*-Theodotion."[12] More expansively, under the section, "The Revisions of the Septuagint" (this includes Pre-Hexaplaric Revisions, *Kaige*-Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus; the Hexapla; and Post-Hexaplaric Revisions, of which Lucian is "the most important") he explains:

> A given textual tradition is considered a revision (recension) of LXX if two conditions are met: (1) LXX and the revision share a common textual basis.… The existence of a common basis is based upon the assumption of distinctive agreements in vocabulary between the two texts which set them apart from the remainder of the books of the LXX. (2) The revision corrects LXX in a certain direction, generally towards a more precise reflection of its Hebrew source.[13]

Tov isolates three factors that, in his opinion, are instrumental in the creation of these revisions: (1) differences between LXX and the Hebrew text; (2) the abandonment of LXX; and (3) Jewish exegesis.[14] He then refines his discussion in several directions:

> The revisions corrected LXX in different and sometimes opposing directions. What is common to most of them is the desire to present the Bible more precisely and consistently than the original translation, the "Old Greek." The general development is from slight and unsystematic corrections in the early revisions to the extensive and consistent changes in the later ones, but this does not necessarily apply in all cases.[15]

Moreover, "In most cases, it is not known how many of the biblical books the revision encompassed. Some may have contained merely one book";[16] and "The revision is now called *Kaige*-Theodotion, though it should be noted that its various attestations are not uniform in character."[17]

For the most part, Tov's discussion is characteristically clear and thorough. However, a certain degree of confusion is introduced by his tacit equation of recension with revision. Thus, we find him saying, "A witness reflecting a text-type or recension by definition should show a conscious effort to change an earlier text systematically in a certain direction." But then: "The general development is

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11. Ibid., 25. For this and the following, see also relevant sections in Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem Bible Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997).

12. Tov, *Textual Criticism,* 30.

13. Ibid., 143.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., 144.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 145.

from slight and unsystematic corrections in the early revisions to the extensive and consistent changes in the later ones."

Here I think we would be better off if we can clearly distinguish between revision and recension. My point is that all recension is revision, but not all revision is recension. As I have written on many occasions, admittedly in connection with modern versions, a revision, or better a reviser or group of revisers, begins with an earlier text in their own language—be it in English in the modern world, or Greek in Alexandria. When that prior rendering is judged adequate as a representation of the foreign language text being translated, it is retained; when not, it is changed.[18] This is the principle at work in the RSV and NRSV, for example. It is most starkly demonstrable with respect to the Jewish Publication Society (JPS) translation of 1917, where editor-in-chief Max L. Margolis had large-print pages of the Revised Version of 1885, into which he inserted requisite modification.[19]

On the other hand, translations—or better, translators—look first at the foreign language they are working with and only later (if ever) at earlier translations (if they exist) in their own tongue. Although set in a modern context, this discussion, it seems to me, also provides appropriate contours for making similar distinctions in the ancient world.

So, if it is determined that a text associated with Theodotion is not a revision but rather a translation, then it is not a recension—and does not have any further place in discussion of a *Kaige*-Th recension. In the opinion of Tim McLay (see below), this applies to at least some of the Th material in Daniel. It does not, however, apply to all the material identified with Th.

For example, to my knowledge, no one has disputed my determination that Th in Joshua is indeed a revision of an older Greek in the direction of the developing MT text.[20] Perhaps that is all we need to have a revision or even recension, since Tov allows for the possibility that some revisions or recensions may have covered only one book. Not everyone would agree.

I might also add that I am not convinced that the Jews, or at least all of the Jews, abandoned the LXX or OG. Allow me to use another modern analogy to make my point. Max Margolis, more than any other person involved in the JPS

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18. See Leonard J. Greenspoon, "Biblical Translators in Antiquity and in the Modern World," *HUCA* 60 (1989): 91–113; and, most recently, "10 Common Misconceptions about Bible Translations," *Creighton University Magazine* (Summer 2004): 12–17. See also Sebastian P. Brock, "To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint, Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings (Manchester 1990)* (ed. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 301–38.

19. See Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Max Leopold Margolis: A Scholar's Scholar* (SBLBSNA 15: Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 55–75.

20. See Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua* (HSM 28; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

version of 1917, was perfectly capable of providing a brand-new translation of the Hebrew Bible. His choice, to revise KJV, had both pragmatic and pedagogical dimensions but at heart is indicative of his (and JPS's) respectful attitude toward KJV, which they sought to retain as much as possible. In like manner, Th (*Kaige* or not) sought to retain as much of his older Greek text as he could.[21] This does not seem to have been the case with Symmachus.

I turn now to the recent work of Natalio Fernández Marcos, from which I quoted at the beginning of this article. As with Tov, we are using the English translation of a work originally written in another language. I am sensitive to this fact, but I do not think it alters the contours of our discussion. From the table of contents we find the following designations:

Under: "The Septuagint in the Jewish Tradition"
- Aquila … This Version
- Symmachus the Translator
- Theodotion and the *Kaige* Revision
- Other Ancient Versions

Under: "The Septuagint in the Christian Tradition"
- The Lucianic Recension
- Hesychian Recension or Alexandrian Group of Manuscripts?
- Other Revisions: Pre-Hexaplaric and Para-Hexaplaric.

In his glossary, Fernández Marcos defines or describes Proto-Theodotion as "an early revision of the Septuagint equated by many specialists with the *Kaige* revision.…"[22] He writes extensively about the "Theodotionic material" and its connection with the "*Kaige* recension":

> At present it is quite difficult to identify the Theodotionic material, and a new systematic analysis of all the sources is required in order to verify these attributions.… the material that certainly comes from Theodotion has been considerably reduced as a result of the discoveries and studies of recent years.[23]

> It can be asked whether it might not be [more] prudent to accept the *Kaige* recension as a first stage in the Theodotionic revision (= proto-Theodotion) without removing from the scene the later revision attributed to the historical Theodotion.… Theodotion's existence and activity are too well documented by tradition for him to be eliminated *tout court.*[24]

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21. On this see further, Greenspoon, "Biblical Translators."
22. Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context,* 266.
23. Ibid., 145.
24. Ibid., 150,

In the quotation cited at the beginning of this article, Fernández Marcos had spoken of the *Kaige* revision, not recension, as just above. He also uses the term "revision" in this extended description:

> The *Kaige* revision is described as a non-uniform group of a Hebraising revision, or a project marked by the desire to extend to the various books of the LXX certain translation choices already present in the translators of some books of the LXX such as Psalms.… As they depended more on literary influences than on doctrinal principles, the members of the group did not treat the text in a systematic way. This explains the different criteria among the texts attributed to Theodotion.[25]

Like Tov, Fernández Marcos tends to use the terms *revision* and *recension* interchangeably, although he appears to favor "recension" for the texts in the Christian tradition. He also uses the terms *group, project,* and *tradition* and allows for the possibility that the text of Aquila might merit a different designation than the *Kaige*-Th project.

As is the case with Tov, and even more so in the very precise and careful work of Peter Gentry (see below), it becomes more and more problematic to speak of a *Kaige*-Th recension or revision or group, as if the material attributed to Th. is uniform. As Gentry notes (see below), Origen was undoubtedly very careful to transmit the text of the Three with the attributions he himself found, but, of course, these attributions were themselves susceptible to all sorts of unconscious (and perhaps conscious) change. So, I would favor a ban on linking *Kaige* and Th, at least in any wholesale fashion.

In defining and describing a revision or recension, Tov spoke of a "conscious effort." It is an open question whether the phenomenon described by Fernández Marcos is in fact a conscious effort or something more impressionistic or imprecise.

Fernández Marcos also speaks of this project as dependent "more on literary influences than on doctrinal principles." In so doing, he moves, as have most scholars, decisively away from Dominique Barthélemy's close identification of *Kaige* material with specific rabbinic principles (which we might designate doctrinal) and, it seems, in the direction of Lester Grabbe, who concludes that Aquila's translation was not motivated by any particular method of biblical exegesis but by an "almost mystical notion of being 'faithful to the original.' "[26]

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25. Ibid., 152–53. On *Kaige* and Psalms, see, among others, Olivier Munnich, "La Septante des Psaumes et la groupe *Kaige*," *VT* 33 (1983): 75–89; and Stefan Olofsson, "The *Kaige* Group and the Septuagint Book of Psalms," in *IX Congress of the IOSCS* (ed. Bernard Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 189–230.

26. Lester Grabbe, "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis," *JJS* 33 (1982): 527–36. For Dominique Barthélemy, see his classic and still valuable *Les devanciers d'Aquila: Première publi-*

I tend to believe that the notion of being faithful to the original is a profoundly doctrinal or theological principle, as well of course as having literary ramifications. When, for example, I discerned in Joshua-Th an effort to have a single Greek term reflect a single Hebrew word, where the old(er) Greek allowed for variation, this practice represents a particular way of being faithful to the original. Were we able to question the Old Greek translator of Joshua, he—along, I might add, with almost all modern translators—might very well insist that this variation was also in line with faithfulness to the original and may, in fact, have enhanced it. The one-to-one correspondence sought in Joshua-Th has its modern counterpart in certain late nineteenth-century British revisions of the KJV, in particular the Revised Version.

I turn now to a recent publication coauthored by Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*.[27] In their glossary they define "recension" as: "a deliberate, systematic revision of an entire text."[28] In their text, they expand upon this definition:

> In this book we use the term *recension* to indicate a self-conscious, systematic and clearly identifiable revision of an existing text. The resulting work is viewed not as a new entity, but as the updating (or restoration or improvement) of an earlier work.[29]

Shortly thereafter, under the section, "Recensions of the Septuagint," they speak of the Three in terms that would exclude them from the designation "recension":

> 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 [but Lucian is also discussed in this section]) were meant to provide reliable editions of the Septuagint itself.[30]

Nonetheless, to return to their glossary, they do speak of "*Kaige* (also *Kaige* recension)" as well as "revision":

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cation intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963). For another analysis of Barthélemy and his contributions, see Leonard J. Greenspoon, "Recensions, Revision, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Traditions," *Textus* 15 (1990): 153–67.

27. Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Introduction to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000).

28. Ibid., 327. There is no parallel definition for "revision."

29. Ibid., 46 n. 1.

30. Ibid., 47.

> This work sought to bring the Greek translation into greater conformity with the Hebrew text that was becoming standardized in the first century of our era. The recension…[31]

They also title another section of their book, "Reconstructing the *Kaige* Recension," and continue:

> A confusing situation now exists because the term *Kaige recension,* with its close, though possibly incorrect, association with Theodotion, cannot be precisely defined and has been used to refer to several entities.… While it is true that a group of manuscripts represents *kaige* as "gam," the texts of this group do not otherwise share all of the characteristics subsequently identified as distinctive of the *Kaige* "recension." This therefore calls into question whether such traits actually derive from the deliberate, unified work of one translation school or from several other possibly unrelated sources.[32]

Overall, it appears, Jobes and Silva would have better off to maintain their own distinctive use of "recension," such that they would never have used it with respect to *Kaige* material.

In his excellent book on LXX and NT, Tim McLay has an extensive discussion of *Kaige*-Th in his introductory section on "Issues in LXX Research." As he relates:

> The terminology "*Kaige* recension" is now common and is in large part due to the influence of the Harvard school. Furthermore, the growth of the list of *Kaige* traits is attributable to the common assumption by these scholars that the *Kaige* recension is in most books of the Septuagint a homogeneous recension of the OG towards the developing MT by an individual or school of translators. However, in very recent years there has been significant criticism of both the view that *Kaige* represents a monolithic recension and the methodology employed to isolate all of the proposed kaige characteristics. It has been argued in detail that the Theodotionic revisions of Job or Daniel neither can be connected with *Kaige* nor are revisions of the OG at all. The primary criticism of the research on the supposed *Kaige* recension is that *Kaige* research was biased in its approach. The characteristics that were adduced for *Kaige* are not shared consistently by all the so-called members of the recension, nor was there any significant recognition of the differences among the texts that contain the so-called kaige traits. Many of the so-called characteristics appear in only one book![33]

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31. Ibid., 326.

32. Ibid., 285.

33. McLay, *Septuagint in New Testament Research,* 12. See also R. Timothy McLay, "*Kaige* and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998): 121–34. Included among the members of the "Harvard School" whom McLay discusses are James D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recension:*

Earlier, in the published form of his Ph.D. dissertation, McLay had argued: "The terminology *Kaige* tradition rather than recension is employed [here] because there is no justification for treating the texts identified with *Kaige* as a monolithic group."[34] He expresses the goals and particular contributions of his approach in this way:

> Our purpose is to determine whether Th. is a recension, but how do we distinguish between revision and translation? … In order to determine whether Th. is a revision of OG it is necessary to work with well-defined criteria. In previous research there have been two criteria proposed: (1) there must be a sufficient number of distinctive agreements between the texts to prove that one used the other as its basis; 2) that the revisor worked in a certain way, i.e., in our case, towards the proto-MT.… Unfortunately, even the criterion of distinctive agreements has to be applied cautiously, because agreements are sometimes due to textual corruption. Therefore, we have to add a third criterion to our list: distinctive disagreements [which] are features that indicate the work of an independent translator.[35]

For Joshua, I would argue, we could characterize Th.'s relation to OG in a way rejected by McLay (at least for Daniel):

> It could be a recension in the way that is generally understood. That is, Th. had the OG and proto-MT before him and copied OG as long as it formally reproduced the *Vorlage.* In certain cases Th. standardized the terminology, though not always consistently, and Th. introduced corrections to the OG where it departed from his proto-MT *Vorlage.* These corrections may have resulted from Th.'s perception that OG translated incorrectly or too freely.[36]

At the same time, I wonder if McLay is indeed correct that this is a description of "a recension in the way that is generally understood." We might also introduce at this point a comment by Kristen De Troyer: "I use the term 'recension' here

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Development in the Greek Text of Kings (HSM 1; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968); Kevin G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus: A Contribution to the Study of the Early History of the Transmission of the Old Testament in Greek* (HSM 3; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Walter R. Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments* (HSM 23; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1980); and "*Kaige* and Other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges," *BIOSCS* 13 (1980): 45–57; and Greenspoon, *Textual Studies,* and "Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, and the Old Greek of Joshua," *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982): 82–91 (with summary in Hebrew).

34. R. Timothy McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (SBLSCS 43; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 12 n. 34.

35. Ibid., 13–14.

36. Ibid., 15.

in its strict technical meaning, namely: a revision of the Old Greek towards a Hebrew *Vorlage*."[37]

Near the end of his monograph, McLay devises this ingenious way of thinking about the possible relationships he has been discussing: "The most that we can say that Th. has in common with *Kaige*-Theodotion is that they share a similar approach to translation, i.e., formal equivalence. If we were to depict their relationship in kinship terms, they might be described as distant cousins."[38]

Peter John Gentry published his dissertation as *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* in 1995.[39] His table of contents includes these items:

> R [the revisor's text] and the So-Called *Kaige* Group
> R and Other *"Kaige"* Patterns.

In terms of the latter, he writes:

> For several reasons, most of the patterns gathered post-Barthélemy are of little value: (1) Some characteristics have rather scant support statistically, or (2) are proposed hesitantly by one scholar and considered bona fide by the next. (3) O'Connell contributed a large number of characteristics which in fact are renderings of technical terms … and therefore are hardly universal markers of the *Kaige* group. (4) In certain books of the Greek Old Testament no critical edition was available.… (5) Frequently characteristics are not compared and contrasted thoroughly.… Thus, a number of patterns are hardly unique to the *Kaige* group.[40]

With respect to the former, he concludes:

> While R is related somehow to the *Kaige* group, the differences are by no means insignificant and should not be ignored in a blind attempt to connect R to a so-called *Kaige* Recension.… [Much analysis] is focused so intensively on establishing *agreement* that the *differences* are not sufficiently considered.[41]

Like McLay, Gentry has some specific suggestions concerning terminology:

> In fact, we must cease all together speaking of a *Kaige* Recension as if there were a monolithic revision behind the members of this group. There is no *Kaige* Recension as such. Instead, there is a continuum from the Greek Pentateuch to

37. Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the Old Greek Tells Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (SBLEJL 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 62–63.

38. McLay, *OG and Th Versions,* 240.

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

40. Ibid., 402–3.

41. Ibid., 416.

> Aquila in which approaches and attitudes to translation are on the whole tending toward a closer alignment between the Greek and the Hebrew. Moreover, there is a tradition which developed within this continuum and involved the interplay between various forces in Judaism. To this tradition the *Kaige* texts belong. We have yet to demarcate clearly between this tradition and the LXX. Theod in Job is a part of this tradition … sharing … the attitudes of the *Kaige* tradition.[42]

On the basis of my reading and analysis of the relevant materials, ancient and modern alike, I have come to believe that there is a *Kaige* revision, encompassing some, but not by any means all, of the Theodotionic material bequeathed us by Origen and others in antiquity. At present, this material does not appear to rise to the definition of "recension"—although I admit that we do not yet have total agreement on what a "recension" is, in terms of how much material it needs to cover, how uniform and unified it must be, how conscious or self-conscious its creator(s) should appear, etc. At the least, it seems to me, a "recension" is a "revision" + (with the exact nature of this "plus" still to be determined). I would also like the definition or description of "recension" to be sufficiently self-contained that modifiers such as "monolithic" are unnecessary.

In the meantime, we also have other designations, such as distant cousins, group, project, tradition, and continuum. The latter two, it seems to me, privilege the diachronic at the expense of the synchronic; that is, they emphasize the dynamic quality of the process—which is all for the good—but fail to pinpoint the distinctive characteristics or qualities of the particular moment. As for group or project or even revision, these terms are acceptable but rather colorless, as is, I suppose, the all-purpose designation "version."

If, as I conclude, I am without a definitive conclusion, I offer no apologies. This exploration carries us further along the path toward understanding an ancient phenomenon and modern perceptions of and explanations for its occurrence. I am confident that my colleagues will continue to engage in vigorous and fruitful discussion of this and a wide variety of other topics relating to the LXX and its study.

42. Ibid., 497.

Approaches in Translation Studies and Their Use for the Study of the Septuagint

Theo van der Louw

Abstract: For a long time Septuagint studies and translation studies have lived in virtual isolation, but the tide seems to be turning. Both areas can profit from a cross-fertilization. But the LXX scholar can easily get lost in the terminological and methodological jungle of the various approaches that coexist under the umbrella of translation studies. Which approach can be fruitfully applied to the study of the Septuagint? Process-oriented research, early translation studies, the communication-oriented approach, the cultural or ideological approach, the functionalist approach, descriptive translation studies, and historical translation studies pass under review. Some of these approaches are difficult to apply to the study of the Septuagint as they have been developed for modern translations and presuppose, such as the existence of native informants or the intimate knowledge of cultural systems. Other approaches are prescriptive in character and ill-suited to the study of an ancient translation. In my view the following approaches are especially promising for LXX studies: (1) historical translation studies; (2) process-oriented research; and (3) early (linguistic) translation studies. While applying insights from translation studies to the Septuagint, it is at all times imperative to avoid anachronistic assumptions and conclusions.

Introduction

Let me begin by congratulating the organizing committee of this congress for their interest in the relationship between translation studies and Septuagint studies. It is astonishing that this initiative has not been taken until now. The Septuagint is a translation, and what could be more natural than studying it with insights from translation studies? As a professional Bible translator, well versed in translation studies, I was surprised to find only some articles by Jan de Waard[1] on this subject, but these have gone virtually unnoticed.

1. J. de Waard, "Gleiche Übersetzungsprobleme über zwei Jahrtausende," *Die Bibel in der Welt* 18 (1978): 63–64; idem, "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Ruth," *Bibl 54* (1973): 499–515; idem, "Old Greek Translation Techniques and the Modern Translator," *BT* 41/3 (1990): 211–319 gives a similar presentation of translation techniques in LXX-Isaiah; idem, "Translation Techniques Used by the Greek Translators of Amos," *Bib 59* (1978): 340–50.

But the tide is turning. This can be deduced not only from this congress but also from recent articles by Septuagint scholars making a case for an interdisciplinary approach and using publications from the field of translation studies. Boyd-Taylor draws upon the work of Gideon Toury to elucidate the characteristics of linguistic interference and their disheartening implications for projects aiming at a lexicon of the Septuagint.[2] Benjamin Wright suggests that translation studies and Septuagint studies could entertain a fruitful relationship. Wright's article represents his initial steps in the direction of engaging the insights of these disciplines that in my experience have been too isolated from each other.[3] He then proceeds to offer an analysis of the translational attitudes of Cicero, Ben Sira's grandson, and the translators of the LXX-Pentateuch with the help of historical translation studies.

That translation studies and Septuagint studies have lived in isolation is understandable in a sense. Not only Septuagint scholars are to blame for that; the opposite is also true. Translation scholars have taken very little notice of the Septuagint, and textbooks usually limit themselves to some clichés about the *Letter of Aristeas*.[4] In this paper I would like to give a survey of approaches within the field of translation studies and evaluate their usefulness for the study of the Septuagint.

While it is true that Septuagint studies can profit from translation studies, and vice versa (!), we should not expect wonders of it. An uncritical and massive take-over of methods or results would only import a Trojan horse. Before expounding the usefulness of translation studies I will therefore express some words of caution.

The scholarly study of translating and translations roughly dates from the 1950s. The emerging discipline numbers several "schools." A complication is that the positions of the different approaches develop at a rapid pace: "in research terms, work published in the early 80s is already out of date."[5] In recent years, surveys have appeared that provide a helpful overview of the field of translation

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2. C. Boyd-Taylor, "The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001): 47–80

3. B. G. Wright III, "Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and Their Audiences," *JSJ* 34 (2001): 3.

4. Exceptions are J. Delisle and J. Woodsworth, *Translators through History* (Benjamins Translation Library 13; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995); H.-J. Vermeer, *Anfänge—Von Mesopotamien bis Griechenland Rom und das frühe Christentum bis Hieronymus* (vol. 1 of *Skizzen zu einer Geschichte der Translation;* Translatorisches Handeln Wissenschaft 6.1; Frankfurt: IKO, 1992) (caution: carelessly written).

5. M. Baker, "Linguistics and Cultural Studies: Complementary or Competing Paradigms in Translation Studies?" in *Übersetzungswissenschaft im Umbruch: Festschrift für Wolfram Wilss zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. A. Lauer; Tübingen: Narr, 1996), 15.

studies.[6] Since its emergence translation studies developed, roughly speaking, from attention to word level via attention to the sentence, discourse, and style, to the sociocultural, literary, economic, and political setting of translating. Work on translation has assumed an increasingly interdisciplinary and general character. This development certainly resulted in new insights, but it had drawbacks too.

My first word of caution concerns the lack of thoroughness in the field. An illustration from a prolific scholar, the late André Lefevere: "[T]he Aramaic Jesus Christ is supposed to have spoken did not have a copula. He can therefore never have said: 'This is my body' when pointing at a loaf of bread. The copula was put in by translators for ideological rather than linguistic reasons."[7] Lefevere here connects a translational issue with the medieval controversy about the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, more than a thousand years later, in order to detect "ideology" in translation. Examples of such nonsensical statements could easily be multiplied. Really learned works are rare in the field of translation studies. I find it discouraging that one of the most excellent and well-researched studies that I have ever read has gone virtually unnoticed.[8] It is probably too learned for the field. We should thus always critically sift those statements that present themselves as facts, conclusions, results, or laws. Professor Toury, to whom the field of translation studies is highly indebted and with whose presence we are honored here, has put forward several "laws of translation."[9] However, as critics have rightly observed, these are no established results of scholarly research, but intuitions.[10] To do him justice, I hasten to add that I regard his intuitions as sound, but still they are no laws.

My second word of caution relates to the accessibility of the field. An outsider exploring the field of translation studies will find it confusing. Scholars often create a jargon of their own, dependent on the branch of linguistics they follow. Some textbooks are simply unreadable. Work on translation sometimes gives the impression that it radically departs from its predecessors, thereby couching theories in a novel terminology, but a closer look reveals that there is not so much

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6. R. Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien: Eine Einführung* (2nd ed.; Narr Studienbücher; Tübingen: Narr, 1997); E. Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories* (2nd ed.; Topics in Translation 21; Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2001); B. Hatim, *Teaching and Researching Translation* (Applied Linguistics in Action; London: Longman, 2001); J. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, (London: Routledge, 2001). For the sake of introduction I will refer mainly to these textbooks.

7. A. Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (Translation Studies; London: Routledge, 1992), 40.

8. F. M. Rener, *Interpretatio: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler* (Approaches to Translation Studies 8; Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989).

9. G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Benjamins Translation Library 4; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995), part 4.

10. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies,* 117.

difference altogether. Thus the age-old polarity—literal versus free—serves as the background of almost every book, only under different disguises:

literal	↔	free
verbum de verbo	↔	*sensus de sensu* (Jerome)
verfremdend	↔	*eindeutschend* (Schleiermacher)
domesticating	↔	foreignizing (L. Venuti)
direct	↔	oblique (Vinay and Darbelnet)
direct	↔	indirect (E.-A. Gutt)
overt	↔	covert (J. House)
documentary	↔	instrumental (C. Nord)
semantic	↔	communicative (P. Newmark)
formal-equivalent	↔	dynamic-equivalent (E. A. Nida)
	↔	functional-equivalent (Nida and de Waard)

Some seemingly new insights even go back to classical antiquity, for example Katharina Reiss's text typology. On the basis of Bühler's functions of language she defines three text types: "inhaltsbetont," "formbetont," and "appellbetont."[11] This corresponds to the division into *historia, poetica,* and *rhetorica* that Cicero already knew.[12] Even translation scholars lament the fact that so little new insights have been gained. Textbooks from the 1950 and the 1960s are being reprinted.[13] Apparently these works have not been outdated by recent textbooks, despite constant claims of the opposite.

Evaluation of Approaches

With these caveats in mind, we now turn to areas where an interaction between Septuagint studies and translation studies promises to be fruitful.

Process-oriented research,[14] although still in its infancy, can offer much of interest to the study of the LXX. Septuagint scholars are often trying to recon-

11. K. Reiss, *Möglichkeiten und Grenzen der Übersetzungskritik* (Munich: Hueber, 1971); trans. as *Translation Criticism, The Potentials and Limitations: Categories and Criteria for Translation Quality Assessment* (trans. E. F. Rhodes; Manchester, U.K.: St. Jerome; New York: American Bible Society, 2000).

12. Rener, *Interpretatio*, 172.

13. J.-P. Vinay and J. Darbelnet, *Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation* (Benjamins Translation Library 11; Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995) is a translation of *Stylistique compare du français et de l'anglais* (Paris: Didier, 1958); E. A. Nida, *Toward a Science of Translating* (Leiden: Brill, 1964; repr. 2003).

14. Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, ch. 17. See also the articles "Decision Making in Translation," "Psycholinguistic/Cognitive Approaches," and "Think-Aloud Protocols," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (ed. M. Baker; London: Routledge, 1998).

struct what went on in the translators' minds. If there are universal elements in translators' behavior, knowledge of them is essential for our understanding of the Septuagint. The idea that research into the thought processes and working methods of modern translators can shed light on the Septuagint may provoke frowning on the part of Septuagint scholars. But we only need to remind ourselves of Milman Parry, who in the early decades of the twentieth century recorded and studied oral epic poetry of Yugoslavian bards. His findings revolutionized the study of Homer.[15] A review of the "dragoman hypothesis" will illustrate the usefulness of process-oriented research for Septuagint studies.

In 1968 Chaim Rabin claimed that the working method of Egyptian "dragomans" or commercial interpreters served as a model to the Septuagint translators, because their enterprise was without precedent. Now, what is considered typical of the dragoman style? Rabin lists the following characteristics of the Septuagint, which in his view are due to the dragoman technique: (1) nonappreciation of poetic diction; (2) the tendency to replace metaphors by plain statements; (3) omission of parts of the text; (4) mechanical renderings (*Verlegenheitsübersetzung*); (5) lack of consistency; and (6) translating word for word without regard for the word order or the syntax of the target language.[16] It is of course possible to criticize this theory with the help of common sense. For example, that interpreters do not pay attention to poetic diction seems an obvious claim, but interpreters are seldom confronted with poetry. And replacement of metaphors we find in any written translation.

Since Rabin's article, process-oriented research into translating and interpreting has come up. Translators were trained to think aloud, so that the translation process could be tape-recorded, pairs of cooperating translators were filmed, the working methods of translators and interpreters were compared, and other experiments were executed. The aim is to reconstruct what goes on in the "black box" during the complicated process of translating—*Was in den Köpfen von Übersetzern vorgeht,* as an important monograph by H. P. Krings is titled. The results are enlightening. The so-called "features of the dragoman style" are by no means characteristic of interpreters versus translators but of beginning versus professional translators! They differ in the following respects. First, beginning translators are satisfied with lexical transfer ("sign-oriented"), whereas professional translators reduce signs to sense and accordingly translate meaning ("sense-oriented"). A second difference is that beginning translators focus on form rather than function, whereas experienced translators pay attention to style and keep the needs

15. See "Milman Parry," in *Classical Scholarship: A Biographical Encyclopaedia* (ed. W. W. Briggs Jr. and W. M. Calder; Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 928; New York: Garland, 1990).

16. C. Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968): 22ff.

of the target audience and the intended function of the translation continually in mind.[17] In the course of several experiments, something wholly unexpected came to light. Researchers had taken for granted that beginning translators spend much time solving problems, whereas the translation process of experienced translators is highly automatized. "However, further research has shown that professional translators often identify more problems and spend more time and energy on solving them than language learners.… a higher level of competence leads to heightened awareness of problems among professional translators."[18] As a consequence, they do not always work quicker.

What are the features of interpreting according to modern research? The characteristics of interpreting are of a social and cognitive nature and therefore independent of time, place, or language. First, interpreters often work in a context where a difference of power exists between two parties, for example, when a general is interrogating a captive. This can bring interpreters in a loyalty conflict and can seriously harm the faithfulness of the translation.[19] Second, interpreters are subject to time pressure. They have no time to ponder about an ideal rendering. If they wait too long, this may harm the content of their "output" because of the limited capacity of their short-term memory; if they begin too quickly, it may result in mistakes.[20] This is the reason that consecutive interpreters in synagogues were instructed to translate one Torah verse before hearing and translating the next one.[21] Third, interpreters have a limited knowledge of the text to be translated; that is, they do not know how the speech, discussion, or negotiation is going to evolve.[22] This is why they often operate at a lexical level. But, fourth, they have many contextual communicative clues at their disposal: the goal of the communication is clear; the parties stand face to face; one can point to things one does not know the word for; and there is always the possibility to ask for clarification. Thus the setting of those preparing a written translation of the Hebrew Bible is not at all like the setting in oral interpreting.

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17. R. T. Bell, "Psycholinguistic/Cognitive Approaches," in Baker, *Routledge Encyclopaedia,* 189b, R. Jääskeläinen, "Think-Aloud Protocols," in Baker, *Routledge Encyclopaedia,* 268b. See also R. Jääskeläinen and S. Tirkkonen-Condit, "Automatised Processes in Professional vs. Non-professional Translation: A Think-Aloud Protocol Study," in *Empirical Research in Translation and Intercultural Studies: Selected Papers of the TRANSIF Seminar, Savonlinna, 1988* (ed. S. Tirkkonen-Condit; Language in Performance 5; Tübingen: Narr, 1991).

18. Jääskeläinen, "Think-Aloud Protocols," 268b.

19. For a discussion of these problems, see C. Wadensjö, *Interpreting as Interaction* (Language and Social Life Series; London: Longman, 1998). For the power difference in literature, see "The Adventure of the Greek Interpreter" in Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *Memoirs of Sherlock Holmes.*

20. See R. T. Bell, *Translation and Translating: Theory and Practice* (Applied Linguistics and Language Study; London: Longman, 1991).

21. *m. Megillah* 4.

22. C. Wadensjö, "Community Interpreting," in Baker, *Routledge Encyclopaedia*, 33–37.

Interpreters do not consistently operate at a lexical level. Of course many things can be translated literally, such as the goods to be traded or the precise facts pertaining to a crime in a courtroom. But a good interpreter is a cultural broker. He must know what is culturally appropriate for either of his parties.[23] Vermeer summarizes the difference between interpreting and translation as "Primat von Textsinn" and "Primat des Wortinhalts."[24] This becomes clear when we consider what the task of an interpreter is. His task begins, of course, with the exchange of greetings, which are usually highly language-specific. He will not translate "How do you do?" into German as "Wie tun Sie tun?" but "Wie geht es Ihnen?" or "Angenehm!" The same holds true for idiomatic expressions, or curses and blessings, with which negotiations can end.

Process-oriented research makes use of experiments to test assumptions. This has never been done in Septuagint studies, and it may sound odd. But it is not impossible. One could try to imitate the circumstances in which the Septuagint originated and, if Islamic law and custom would permit it, have persons from, for example, the Moroccan community in the Netherlands translate Qur'an passages into Dutch. It would be interesting to see how elements from the Qur'an would be handled by them. I would expect that their translation would have several traits in common with the Septuagint.

The contributions of *early translation studies* are, in my opinion, useful for the study of the Septuagint. In the early days of translation studies, attention was mainly focused on the word and sentence levels. Several authors identified and described "shifts" or "transformations" that occur in the transfer from one language to another.[25] Transformations were categorized according to the semantic relationship they express: generalization ("spear" → "weapon"), specification ("weapon" → "spear"), omission, addition, explicitation, literal translation, and so forth.

These labels are so useful because, first, the transformations are micro-level phenomena, which in general suits well with the character of the LXX. A method that starts with the micro-level is essentially inductive (bottom-up) and is therefore less dependent on hypotheses about the intended function of the translation, the target culture, and the like, than other approaches. Second, categories of transformations are descriptive labels and can be fruitfully used in descriptive research.

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23. C. B. Roy, *Interpreting as a Discourse Process* (Oxford Studies in Sociolinguistics; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). An anecdote from Vinay and Darbelnet (*Comparative Stylistics*, 39) shows how well-meant bridging of cross-cultural gaps can work out: "[T]here is the story of an interpreter who, having adapted 'cricket' into '*Tour de France*' in a context referring to a particularly popular sport, was put on the spot when the French delegate then thanked the speaker for having referred to such a typically French sport. The interpreter then had to reverse the adaptation and speak of cricket to his English client."

24. Vermeer, *Anfänge,* 56.

25. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies,* ch. 4; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, chs. 4–5.

Those phenomena that have often been termed vaguely "translation techniques" or "free renderings" can now be categorized, counted, and described. Third, when we relate a Greek rendering to a recognized transformation, we implicitly acknowledge that the translator adopted a solution, which forces us to ask *why* this transformation was actually employed. Fourth, the linguistic orientation of this method will stipulate that linguistic explanations of certain renderings are sought before either text-critical or cultural and theological factors are called in. This procedure can offer a helpful correction to the methods used in Septuagint research, in my opinion, since they force the researcher to explain more precisely which "free renderings" result from linguistic demands and which are the result of the translator's exegesis or a different parent text.

The approach of *translation assessment* provides models for a multidimensional analysis of source texts, which can serve as a criterion for the evaluation of a translation. This analysis includes aspects as text type, aim, style, content, context, and so forth.[26] In my opinion, these models are not really suitable for the study of the LXX. First of all, translation assessment proceeds from a normative starting point. It seeks to improve the quality of translations by analysis of errors. This aim is not relevant in the case of an ancient translation. Second, contemporary models for translation assessment are based on a comprehensive source text analysis, which includes dimensions such as text type, pragmatic function (aim), theme, style, register, and so on. Although such an analysis may be suitable for the evaluation of modern translations, it is improbable that the Septuagint translators started from such an analysis. It does not seem very sensible, therefore, to judge the LXX by the results of such a multidimensional analysis. It would betray a lack of cultural-historical awareness to do so. Third, it is very difficult to determine errors and their sources. The Septuagint translators did not share our concept of linguistics. From a modern perspective we could call certain renderings erroneous that were legitimate according to the translators' understanding of language.

The *cultural* or *ideological approach* to translation,[27] which is sometimes nicknamed "new prescriptivism," seeks to change current practice and has little to contribute to the study of a two-thousand-year-old translation. Nevertheless, it may be helpful in suggesting new areas of research. From the point of view of gender studies, for example, the question could be raised whether gender stereotypes influenced the LXX-translators. Similar studies of modern Bible translation have already appeared. But there it is hazardous, as ideological zeal has sometimes resulted in rash denigration of translators without an adequate discussion

26. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, 92ff.; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien,* 121ff.

27. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, chs. 6–7; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 30ff.

of the linguistic difficulties of the texts in question. This type of research should therefore base itself on a sound methodology.

The *functionalist approach,* originating in Germany, is decidedly nondescriptive but tells the translator how to work.[28] A good translation is not "a text that says the same thing in a different language." The perspective is much wider, for the translator operates in a social context. There is a commissioner who needs the translation and pays for it, a target text producer, there is a source text, there are financial restrictions, target text recipients, and the function the text is intended to fulfill (the *Skopos*). The act of translation is successful only when it adequately meets the intended function ("skoposadäquat"), no matter what it entails. Reiss and Vermeer put it radically: "Für Translation gilt: Das Zweck heiligt die Mittel."[29] The source text is no longer the norm. The *Skopos* of the target text is by definition different from the *Skopos* of the source text. "Translatorial action" may therefore include adaptation, reworking, and other kinds of changes.

Despite its prescriptive character, the functionalist approach offers a conceptual framework that forces us to take into account the social and material reality in which the production of a translation is embedded. Also, the emphasis on the determinative role of the function (*Skopos*) in the production of the translation is valuable for the study of the Septuagint. Scholars who are already working on similar lines might profit from a more consistent application of the functionalist model. It could be that the surprising alternation between Hebraisms and idiomatic renderings is related to the function of the LXX. The same holds true for exegetical renderings or the translators' treatment of anthropomorphisms, the omission or addition of phrases or passages, and so forth. These elements could perhaps be brought together in a more comprehensive model in which the function of the translation is a determinative factor. Of course, it is not one and the same function that governed each individual book of the Septuagint.

A major problem remains, in my opinion. It is still widely believed that the LXX-Pentateuch had to fulfill a function in the Jewish community of Alexandria, but the exact nature of its function is a matter of debate. Besides, a few scholars hold that the translation of the Torah was commissioned not by Jews but by King Ptolemy II, as the *Letter of Aristeas* has it. Thus in Bickermann's view, the translators translated literally in order "to express the otherness of the Mosaic revelation."[30] Within a functionalist approach of the Septuagint, therefore, this

28. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, ch. 5; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, chs. 12–13; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, 65ff.

29. K. Reiss and H. J. Vermeer, *Grundlegung einer allgemeinen Translationstheorie* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1984), 101. N.B. Functionalist authors prefer the word "Translat" over "Übersetzung" and "Translation" over "Übersetzen."

30. E. Bickermann, "The Septuagint as a Translation," in idem, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (AGJU 9.1; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 198. This hypothesis has now resurfaced in N. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (VTSup 82; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

uncertainty means that an *assumed* function has to serve as a working hypothesis, from which micro-level features should be explained. But the reverse is perhaps preferable: micro-level analysis can correct existing hypotheses on the *Skopos* of the Septuagint. To say it more plainly: we have theories enough; what we need are means of checking them on the micro-level.

The approach called *descriptive translation studies,* which is related to polysystem theory,[31] seems to be an ideal tool for the study of the Septuagint, which is also descriptive. Let us apply the model of Gideon Toury, its main representative, to the Septuagint.[32] We should begin the descriptive study of the Greek translations of various biblical books by analyzing their "acceptability" in the light of the target culture, that is, Greek-speaking Jewry in the Hellenistic period. Simple as its sounds, this starting point presupposes an extensive knowledge of the target culture that enables one to determine which standards a translated text had to meet in order to be considered "acceptable." For the Torah, most scholars hold that Alexandrian Jewry was the target culture, but we know very little about the life and thoughts of that Jewish community. And in the case of a characteristic translation as LXX-Proverbs, the place of origin is debated: Egypt, Palestine, and Asia Minor have been suggested. It is thus not surprising that Toury's own analyses are limited to translations from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The main drawback of his model for LXX studies is that it presupposes an intricate knowledge of both source and target culture. However, Toury's model features also a stage of a bottom-up analysis that presupposes less such prior knowledge.

The second step in Toury's model is the analysis of the "adequacy" of the translation by way of comparison of source and target text, a procedure that is highly relevant to Septuagint studies. The attested nonobligatory "shifts," that is, the shifts that do not flow from language constraints, should be related to one another in order to construct a hierarchy of translational norms that the translator followed, perhaps unconsciously. I think this procedure offers many stimulating elements for students of the Septuagint, as the construction of such a hierarchy provides a more comprehensive framework than much current Septuagint research. The identification of nonobligatory, translator-specific shifts has to be carried out with great care. When you are in search of the translator's interpretation, you may easily be tempted to "detect" translator-specific shifts, where simply the norms of the target language have been obeyed or where another translational problem has been solved. Quite a few authors yield to this temptation in the study of modern translations[33] and even more in the realm of the Septuagint.

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31. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, ch. 7; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, chs. 9–10; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, ch. 5.

32. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*.

33. See, e.g., the detailed criticism on K. van Leuven-Zwart by P. Verstegen, *Vertaalkunde versus vertaalwetenschap* (Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers, 1993).

Toury's concept of "assumed translation" could open a new area of research for Septuagint scholars. Any text the target culture regards as translation should be studied as such, in his view. Not merely real translations should be studied, but pseudotranslations, original texts that are erroneously regarded as translations, have to be included. Pseudotranslations are revealing because they often (deliberately) display features that the target culture considers characteristic of translations. It might be that some biblical books that were probably directly written in Greek fall into this category, for example Wisdom, 3–4 Maccabees, and the additions to Daniel and Jeremiah.[34] Of course it remains possible that one day a source text will be found.

The *communication-oriented contributions* by Nida, Hatim and Mason, and Gutt, inter alia,[35] with all their differences, are prescriptive in character and therefore cannot simply be taken over for the study of an existing translation. Nevertheless, concepts originating in these approaches can be fruitfully applied to the study of individual passages in the LXX (e.g., reader response, register, semiotic value of signs, implicatures and explicatures).

As for *historical translation studies,* its relevance for the study of the Septuagint is so evident that we can spare ourselves the trouble of explaining it.[36] The study of translation in the Greek and Roman world could be a field of common interest.[37] This area is a bit neglected in translation studies, since Latin and Greek are not widely known any longer, and I think that Septuagint scholars, broadening

34. G. Dorival, M. Harl, and O. Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 85.

35. Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies*, ch. 3, 6; Stolze, *Übersetzungstheorien*, ch. 6; Gentzler, *Contemporary Translation Theories*, ch. 3.

36. Some historical surveys: L. G. Kelly, *The True Interpreter: A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979); M. Ballard, *De Ciceron à Benjamin: Traducteurs, traductions, réflexions* (Étude de la traduction; Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1992); R. van den Broeck, *Over de grenzen van het vertaalbare: Een historische verkenning in het gebied van de vertaaltheorie* (Nieuwe Cahiers voor Vertaalwetenschap 1; Antwerpen: Fantom, 1992); D. Robinson, ed., *Western Translation Theory from Herodotus to Nietzsche*, (Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997) [historical anthology of seminal texts on translation]; J. Albrecht, *Literarische Übersetzung: Geschichte, Theorie, kulturelle Wirkung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998).

37. W. I. Snellman, *De interpretibus romanorum deque linguae latinae cum aliis nationibus commercio*, vol. 1: *Enarratio;* vol. 2: *Testimonia veterum* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1914–1919); H. E. Richter, *Übersetzen und Übersetzungen in der römischen Literatur* (Erlangen, 1938); H. Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit: Interpretation von Selbstzeugnissen* (Studia et testimonia antiqua 14; Munich: Fink, 1974); Rener, *Interpretatio;* R. Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 11; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Vermeer, *Anfänge;* A. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer, Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten: Verfahren des literarischen Übersetzens in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995).

their horizon, could materially contribute to the study of translation in antiquity, for example in the study of bilingual texts. It will also be necessary to go back to the sources to disprove some widely held beliefs that are constantly being copied.

For example, Cicero's utterances on translation are usually taken out of their context. It is often claimed that Cicero distinguished two methods of translation, "as an orator" and "as an interpreter,"[38] equated with free and literal. Cicero is said to have favored the first one. But we should keep in mind that he says these things when clarifying how he translated the speeches of the Greek orators Aeschines and Demosthenes. As Cicero's translation of the two speeches is lost, we do not know how translating *ut orator* "as an orator" worked out in practice. It is certainly dangerous to generalize this statement into a general translator's precept, as if translating *ut orator* is at all times the sole approach. For we know that in his translations of Greek philosophers Cicero proceeds quite literally. And he expressly denies that philosophers can be treated as playwrights,[39] which means that he applied different approaches to various literary genres. According to Springer's analysis,[40] Cicero seems to distinguish three text types, for which he follows different strategies: rhetoric (translating "as an orator"); poetry (competitive translation); and science and philosophy (literal translation). This represents the classical tripartite division into *rhetorica, poetica,* and *historia,* which survives in text typologies up to the present day.[41] Cicero's *ut orator* approach was designed for translating orators. Had he translated Thucydides, he would have worked *ut historicus,* and Aristophanes *ut poeta.* Similar misunderstandings reign regarding rabbinic views on language and translation, and it would be worthwhile to clear them up.

To sum up, I believe that especially process-oriented research, early translation studies, the functionalist approach, and descriptive translation studies can offer insights. With this short review of the different approaches in the field of translation studies, I hope to have demonstrated that an interaction between Septuagint studies and translation studies promises to be fruitful for both parties and that there is enough work to do.

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38. *De optimo genere oratorum* §23 (nec converti ut interpres, sed ut orator).

39. Seele, *Römische Übersetzer*, 80–83.

40. Quoted by Vermeer, *Anfänge,* 214. By audaciously utilizing the source material, whereby he equates rhetoric with "translatorisches Handeln" (!), Vermeer (224–49) reconstructs from Cicero's oratorical writings a complete theory of translational text production, about which Cicero says little.

41. Rener, *Interpretatio*, 172. Cf. K. Reiss's division into "appellbetont," "formbetont," "inhaltsbetont."

The Translation of a Translation: Some Methodological Considerations on the Translation of the Septuagint*

Johann Cook

Abstract: The translation of the Septuagint constitutes Bible translation. Hence it is necessary to approach this translation from a Bible translation methodological perspective. Another important insight is that Bible translation is normal translation.

This paper indicates various novel developments that have taken place in translation studies over the past decades. Earlier, equivalence was the main aim of Bible translations. However, it is impossible to create a perfect equivalence. This knowledge has led to a definite move away from normative, prescriptive methodology toward descriptive methodologies.

Even though translating the Septuagint is fundamentally Bible translation, there is a complication that makes translating the Septuagint extra problematic: it is the translation of a translation. Thus the modern translator actually has two source texts and two target texts to deal with!

This paper aims at addressing specific methodological issues pertaining to various contemporary translations of the Septuagint. Recent novel developments in Bible translation are dealt with. Moreover, issues such as an appropriate translational approach are addressed, particularly the so-called interlinear model (Pietersma) and the reigning paradigm in Septuagint studies, that of the LXX as a free-standing, replacement translation as represented by the Sorbonne-based project *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. The German project is also addressed.

1. Introduction

The translation of the Septuagint, the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, constitutes Bible translation. After all, the Septuagint was *the* Bible for the early church in Jerusalem, and, before the rift between Judaism and Christianity, it played an important role in Hellenistic Judaism too. It is therefore necessary to approach this translation from a Bible translation methodological perspective, what Naudé calls *translation criticism*.[1] Another important insight is that Bible translation is normal translation. The intention of a translation of the Septuagint should there-

* I hereby acknowledge the financial and other assistance of the University of Stellenbosch and the SANRF.

1. J. A. Naudé, "An Overview of Recent Developments in Translation Studies with Special Reference to the Implications for Bible Translation," in *Contemporary Translation Studies and*

fore *idealiter* be no different from what is intended in any translation. However, to what extent this is indeed possible in this case remains an open question, since the Septuagint is a translation of a translation. In this contribution I will therefore endeavor to take seriously novel developments in translation studies in recent times as they impact upon new modern translations of the Septuagint. I will also provide a methodological orientation that will have a bearing upon the Septuagint before demonstrating one example of how this text can be translated. First of all it is necessary to mention, albeit cursorily, some important pointers toward recent developments in Bible translation.[2]

2. Recent Developments In Bible Translation

Initially, practically all translation was carried out within the parameters of what could be called the *word-for-word* approach. This applies to many of the ancient translations of Hebrew texts—even though one would have to differentiate between certain translated units in, for example, the Septuagint (see my paragraph on translation technique below), but also to earlier Bible translations such as the *Afrikaanse Bybel* dating from 1933. To be sure, in Roman times both Cicero and Horace preferred the *sensus de sensu* (i.e., literary) mode of translation as opposed to the literal *verbum e verbo* (the literal) approach, which thus was also in use. In these earlier endeavors, the translator's focus was practically exclusively on the source text. However, the last quarter of the previous century saw a significant paradigm switch in translation studies.[3] Whereas previously the source text had been the primary focus in translation studies, subsequently the translation process, with a greater emphasis on the target text, became all-important. It is certainly no coincidence that in literary studies too the audience and hence the reception of any given text became an important consideration. The postmodernist move away from the authentic, the original, surely had an interplaying impact on this development.[4]

Methodologically speaking, according to Naudé,[5] the direction of this movement was from the normative *linguistic-based* theories of translation (e.g., the functional-equivalent approach), which had dominated translation work earlier, to either *functionalist approaches* to translation or *descriptive translation studies*

Bible Translation: A South African Perspective (ed. J.A. Naudé and C. H. J. van der Merwe; Acta Theologica Supplementum 2; Bloemfontein: UFS, 2002), 62.

2. See the collection by Naudé and van der Merwe, *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation*.

3. Naudé, "An Overview of Recent Developments," 44.

4. B. C. Lategan, "Aspects of a Contextual Hermeneutics for South Africa," in *The Relevance of Theology in the 1990s* (ed. J. Mouton and B. C. Lategan; HSRC Series on Methodology; Pretoria: HSRC, 1994), 23.

5. Naudé, "An Overview of Recent Developments," 47.

(DTS) and *reception-oriented* approaches. As far as the first goes, linguistic theorists regard the source text as a norm and evaluate any translation in terms of its equivalence to the source text. An appropriate example is the work by Nida and Taber,[6] who saw translation as the endeavor to reproduce in the *receptor language* the closest natural equivalent of the *source language,* in terms of both meaning and style, two fundamentally linguistic categories. Another example is the relevance-theory perspective of Ernst-August Gutt,[7] which is based upon the relevance theory of Sperber and Wilson.[8] Gutt views translation as a form of secondary communication, and, according to Smith,[9] he does not promote any particular translational approach, since he intends to provide a unified account of translation.[10] Clearly, the emphasis in this movement is on formal equivalence with its orientation directed at the source text. However, with his suggestions as to *direct* (this has nothing to do with formal equivalence) and *indirect* translations, Gutt does take the target audience seriously.

In contrast, or perhaps one should say, as an alternative, to this *functional-equivalent approach,* the functionalist theorists regard a translation "as a new communicative act that must be purposeful with respect to the translator's clients and readership."[11] The shift has clearly taken place from the source text to the target text, since the latter determines methods and strategies to be followed by the translator.

Both these approaches, however, have inherent problems. The problem with linguistic-based theories of translation is that linguistic and cultural differences between languages do not produce formal equivalences. Hence it is impossible to create perfect equivalence. The knowledge that perfect equivalence is not possible has led to a definite move away from a normative, prescriptive methodology toward descriptive methodologies. A burning problem as far as descriptive methods are concerned is that they tend not to take into account the cultural context in which texts originated.

From this rather cryptic discussion some implications can be drawn. First, it is clear that Bible translation is normal scientific translation. Second, it would seem that a descriptive rather than a normative approach toward Bible translation

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6. E. A. Nida and C. R. Tabor, *The Theory and Practice of Translation* (Helps for Translators 8; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 12.

7. E. A. Gutt, *Translation and Relevance: Cognition and Context* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 2000).

8. K. G. Smith, "Translation as Secondary Communication: The Relevance Theory Perspective of Ernst-August Gutt," in Naudé and van der Merwe, *Contemporary Translation Studies and Bible Translation,* 107.

9. Ibid.

10. In Gutt's words "It [the relevance-theoretic study of translation] does not constitute or advocate a particular way of translating" (*Translation and Relevance,* 203).

11. Naudé, "An Overview of Recent Developments," 50.

is more appropriate. Naudé holds the following view in this regard: "The focus is rather on a description and explanation of the translation in the light of the translator's ideology, strategies, cultural norms, etc."[12] Third, a distinction suggested by Naudé worth considering is a combination of the two approaches outlined above: "the one between a translation that brings the text to the reader (i.e. target-oriented) and one that requires the reader to go to the world of the text, i.e., source oriented."[13] The question naturally remains how to do just this!

There have been some creative suggestions as to how this can indeed be realized. One prominent approach is that by Gutt, who differentiates between *indirect* and *direct* translations. Indirect translation departs from the relevance theory and focuses on the source text and endeavors to resemble the original in certain respects in the receptor-language context.[14] Direct translation has the ideal of resembling the source language in the target language as if it is a direct quotation.[15] It therefore purports to produce a more comprehensive resemblance than the former does. It would therefore seem that Gutt is actually suggesting a multitude of translation methods.[16] Taking into account the complexity of translation, it is evident that any single translation cannot fully bring to bear the nuances intended by the original translator. One way of crossing this barrier is to provide additional information by means of applicable notes. I will return to this issue below. In this regard Smith has indeed compared the two translational modes suggested by Gutt and come to the conclusion that, whereas indirect translation is aimed at casual Bible readers, direct translation in fact targets serious Bible readers.[17]

3. Translating the LXX as a Multidisciplinary Science

To return to the Septuagint, in the beginning of my paper I stated that translating the Septuagint is fundamentally a matter of Bible translation. However, there is a complication that makes translating the Septuagint extra problematic, since it is the translation of a translation. Hence the translator actually has two source texts and two target texts! In the light of this major difference between Hebrew Bible translation and Greek Bible translation, I will deal with some of the translation projects currently in progress.

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12. Ibid., 64.

13. Ibid.

14. K. G. Smith, "Bible Translation and Relevance Theory: The Translation of Titus" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 2000), 52.

15. Smith, "Translation as Secondary Communication," 109.

16. This is also the view of Michael Fox, "Translation and Mimesis," in *Biblical Translation in Context* (ed. F. W. Knobloch, Bethesda, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 2002), 207–20.

17. Smith, "Bible Translation and Relevance Theory," 98.

To be sure, the translation of the Septuagint has largely fallen outside of the specialized field of translation studies that I outlined briefly above. Not that this Greek translation played no role in biblical translations. The first full American Bible, a translation of the LXX, appeared in 1808. As is well known, the LXX also had some impact upon the Jerusalem Bible.

This does not mean that there was no translational activity as far as the LXX is concerned. More than one translation saw the light based upon varying principles. The first appeared in 1808 by Charles Thomson and followed rather peculiar principles. The so-called deuterocanonical books were excluded, and the translation is based upon the fourth-century manuscript Codex Vaticanus (B). The second, by Brenton, appeared in 1844 under the title *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Text, Translated into English: With the Principal Various Readings of the Alexandrine Copy, and a Table of Comparative Chronology*.

Much progress has been made concerning methodological issues during this period of time. Much primary research has been done in the field of Greek lexicography.[18] Important new manuscripts were discovered, and the preparation of critical editions is progressing. Large parts of the Göttingen edition, for example, have been completed. Of late much thought has gone into the formulation of a suitable paradigm for Septuagintal studies.

3.1. Translational Approach

3.1.1 The Interlinear Model

Albert Pietersma recently suggested a new paradigm for ascertaining the origins of the Septuagint.[19] This theory is applicable only to the birth of the Septuagint, that is, the original *Sitz im Leben,* and does not account for its complicated transmission history. This model also takes seriously the fact that the LXX is a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. There is thus a natural link between the Greek and the Hebrew, or perhaps one should say the Semitic, since some texts were translated or written in Aramaic. To be sure, this paradigm does not focus exclusively on the Greek, even though in the final analysis the Greek is what is aimed at. Instead, the interlinear paradigm is meant to indicate a *linguistic* relationship between two texts, one in Hebrew and the other in Greek, and the term "inter-

18. R. A. Kraft, ed., *Septuagintal Lexicography* (SBLSCS 1; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975).

19. A. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance 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.

linear" is meant to indicate a relationship of subservience and dependence of the Greek translation vis-à-vis the Hebrew parent text. What is meant by subservience and dependence is *not* that every linguistic item in the Greek can only be understood by reference to the parent text, nor that the translation has an isomorphic relationship to its source, but that the Greek text *qua* text has a dimension of unintelligibility. Hence for some *essential* linguistic information, the parent text needs to be consulted, since the text as we have it cannot stand on its own feet.[20]

This model and the general approach of the NETS research project stand in stark contrast to the other comprehensive Septuagint project, namely, the French one, *La Bible d'Alexandrie* under the directorship of Madame Harl[21] from the Sorbonne. The main difference between these different projects is that, whereas NETS concentrates on the Old Greek, the French project includes as well the reception of the Septuagint especially in patristic literature. Thus this paradigm in Septuagint studies is that of the LXX as "a free-standing, replacement translation."[22] Harl and her colleagues study the Septuagint "pour elle-même," "an sich."[23]

I recently reviewed the book of Proverbs[24] in this series by D'Hamonville, and it became clear to me that it is practically impossible to deal with both the OG and its later reception at the same time. In many instances D'Hamonville seeks to expound the OG via the later reception which—to me at least—seems to be anachronistic.

Another important translational project is the German translation that is being executed in conjunction with the IOSCS. According to Utzschneider, this project fills a methodological position between that of NETS, on the one hand, and that of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, on the other.[25] He depicts NETS as (what he calls) *amont* orientated—"eine Aufwärtsperspektive" ("sie ist diachron und autorenorientiert" [15]). The Sorbonne project he sees as *aval* orientated ("Sie ist synchron und leserorientiert" [15]), "dass ihr Interesse der griechischen Bibel als einem 'oevre autonome, détachée de son modèle' gilt."[26] As I demonstrated above,

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20. Ibid., 350.

21. See M. Harl, "La Bible d'Alexandrie dans les débats actuels sur la Septante," in *La double transmission du texte biblique: Etudes d'histoire du texte offertes en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. Y. Goldman and C. Uehlinger; OBO 179; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 7–21; and my review article in *JNSL* 28 (2002): 118–22.

22. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 340.

23. I have argued that she is incorrect in accepting that the interlinear model as exercised by Pietersma does also not intend to approach the LXX "an sich" (Cook review article in *JNSL* 28 [2002]).

24. J. Cook, "Les Proverbes—La Bible D'Alexandrie," *JNSL* 28 (2002): 103–15.

25. H. Utschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text: Überlegung zum wissenschaftlichen Standort einer Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Deutsche," in vol. 1 of *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechische Bibel* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; BWANT 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 11–50.

26. Ibid., 20.

this project is primarily interested in the reception of the Septuagint. His own position Utschneider defines as "In Augenhöhe mit dem Text."[27]

There are pertinent differences between the German translation and the other two projects. Although there seems to be correspondence between these projects as far as the issue of the text basis is concerned, Utzschneider has a rather unique interpretation, based upon his interpretation of Micha, that indeed differs from the official basis of the project. On the one hand, with regard to the major project ("die Herausgeberkonferenz"[28]), he mentions that the Rahlfs text is to be used as a basis only where the Göttingen text is not available; on the other hand, he indeed deems the student edition by Rahlfs as more applicable for translation purposes than even the Göttingen edition.

Utzschneider puts forward pragmatic as well as theoretical arguments in this regard. First, Rahlfs is more user-friendly, since it is available in one smaller pocket edition.[29] Of more fundamental significance is the fact that the Göttingen edition is effectively a hypothetical edition whose text never functioned in any given religious society. It is an eclectic text based upon theoretical principles according to which a hypothetical text is reconstructed based on available textual material. The same also applies to the Rahlfs edition, even though the fact that it is based on a number of the larger *uncial* manuscripts makes it more akin to a diplomatic text. It has to be conceded that this edition at least better represents a text that was used in different religious societies than is the case with the Göttingen edition, which is more of a theoretical, eclectic text. If the issue of usability in a religious community was the ultimate intention of any given translation, then it would of course be much better simply to translate any of the *uncial* manuscripts, such as Codex Alexandrinus. However, there are many problems connected to the Rahlfs edition,[30] and therefore it remains, scientifically speaking, a more sound principle to take as point of departure the Göttingen edition, where available.

Utschneider opts for the Rahlfs edition of Micha on the basis of a collation he made between Rahlfs and the Göttingen edition of Ziegler. In the final analysis he comes to the conclusion that there is a definite tendency in the Göttingen edition to reconstruct the text in closer proximity to the MT.[31] According to Stipp,[32] this is typical of the textual work of Ziegler in the book of Micha.

As far as the book of Proverbs is concerned, I am forced to make use of the Rahlfs text, since the Göttingen edition has not yet been completed. However,

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27. Ibid.

28. H. Utschneider, "Das griechische Michabuch—zur Probe übersetzt und erläutert," in Fabry and Offerhaus, *Im Brennpunkt,* 214.

29. Utschneider, " Auf Augenhöhe," 21.

30. Cf. the systematic critique of H.-J. Stipp, "Bemerkungen zum griechischen Michabuch aus Anlass des deutschen LXX-Übersetzungsprojekts," *JNSL* 29 (2003): 103–32.

31. Utschneider, " Auf Augenhöhe," 21; idem, "Das griechische Michabuch," 214.

32. "Bemerkungen zum griechischen Michabuch," 107.

I agree in principle with the theoretical position of the steering committee of NETS, as well as that of the German project, that the Göttingen edition should be preferred when indeed available. From this it should be evident that I also think the Old Greek is of primary importance for translational and hermeneutical studies.

I am thus critical of the textual basis chosen by Utzschneider; however, I am in agreement with the German translation in one important respect, namely, in their endeavors to present to the modern reader as much additional information as possible as to the differences between the Hebrew (MT as represented in the NRSV) and the Greek in translation. In his German translation Utzschneider has neatly indicated underlying major differences between LXX and the Hebrew by means of cursive. This position is grounded in the point of departure of the functionalist school of translators, who argue that meeting the needs of the target audience, the readers, should be one of the aims of the translation.

In order to bridge the gap between the source culture and the target culture, Nord has suggested the concept of loyalty.[33] In her opinion, "It is the translator's task to mediate between the two cultures." Nord concedes that her personal version of the functionalist approach is based upon two principles, *function* and *loyalty*.[34] Loyalty refers "to the interpersonal relationship between the translator, the source-text sender, the target-text addressees and the initiator."[35] Loyalty, moreover, limits the number of justifiable target text functions for one specific source text and requires that there should be negotiations between translators and clients about the brief for the translation.[36] Hence the translator is supposed to be loyal to both the initiator as well as the text.

It should immediately be evident that this is a tall order. However, based upon this concept of loyalty, which is a central issue in functional translational practices, I deem it necessary to present the reader of the translation with more information than is expected by the steering committee of IOSCS. I will return to this issue below. I first of all have to address another issue basic to the understanding of the Septuagint of Proverbs.

3.1.2. Translation Technique

There is consensus that this unit exhibits a rather free translation technique.[37] I have demonstrated that the translator(s) of the Septuagint of Proverbs seems to

33. C. Nord, *Translating as a Purposeful Activity: Functionalist Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997), 125.

34. Ibid., 126.

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

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

have had a unique approach toward its parent text.[38] This is observed, first, on a *micro-level* but also on a *macro-level.*[39] As far as the first goes, some individual lexical items are rendered consistently, whereas many are varied. I have defined this translational approach as one of *diversity* and *unity.*[40] This is underscored by the rather large number of *hapax legomena* and neologisms that occur in LXX Proverbs.[41]

I have dealt exhaustively with the issue of the macro-level differences between LXX and, for example, MT. The most recent is in the Festschrift for Emanuel Tov.[42] I am convinced that the different order of chapters compared to MT and the other major textual witnesses is the result of the translator's intervention.

So when endeavoring to translate LXX Proverbs one has to account for a rather large number of issues. A prominent one is that the translator chose to interpret his subject matter rather freely; diversity was therefore an important guiding principle for him. This should therefore act as a critical directing principle for the contemporary translator, that is, after another obstacle, possible textual problems, has been removed.

3.1.3 Textual Problems

I have already demonstrated that LXX Proverbs has an intricate textual history. For one, the Old Greek of this text has not yet been determined. For my research in *The Septuagint of Proverbs* I did address this issue for a representative number of chapters (1; 2; 8; 9; 30; and 31). The rest of the chapters still need to be completed. Fortunately, LXX Proverbs has recently been allocated to Peter Gentry, who, however, is currently engaged with Ecclesiastes.

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38. J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs—Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? (Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs)* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 322.

39. J. Cook, "The Ideological Stance of the Greek Translator of Proverbs," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 479.

40. J. Cook, "Theological/Ideological *Tendenz* in the Septuagint—LXX Proverbs: A Case Study," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2005), 65.

41. J. Cook, "The Translator(s) of the Septuagint of Proverbs," *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 7 (2002). Online: http://rosetta.reltech.org/TC/vol07/Cook2002.html.

42. J. Cook, "The Greek of Proverbs—Evidence of a Recensionally Deviating Hebrew Text?" in *Emanuel—Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 605–18.

4. NETS Proverbs—Translational Example

Since I have completed my version of Proverbs for NETS,[43] I will include here one example that will demonstrate how problematic it is to translate this unit. The different order of some chapters toward the end of this book is indicative of the difficulties that the researcher encounters[44] and is relatively distinctive of the LXX Proverbs.[45] In this case, however, I will not address the textual and/or ideological issues at stake but merely concentrate on aspects of translation. Nevertheless, important in this regard is the fact that I deem it of the utmost importance to inform the reader of the dramatic differences between MT and LXX. I think this is necessary since, when the reader is confronted with this translation, an explanation, albeit a cryptic one, will illuminate these problematic aspects. Therefore I think footnotes should be used extensively in the translation, even though in practice I did not actually do so, since this is the policy of the NETS project. Fortunately, the planned exegetical commentary will provide an ideal possibility to inform the reader of these problems that in fact abound in the Greek version of Proverbs.

4.1. Example: Proverbs 28:1–4

Verse 1

נָסוּ וְאֵין־רֹדֵף רָשָׁע וְצַדִּיקִים כִּכְפִיר יִבְטָח׃

The wicked flee when no one pursues, but the righteous are bold as a lion.

Φεύγει ἀσεβὴς μηδενὸς διώκοντος
δίκαιος δέ ὥσπερ λέων πέποιθεν
The impious flees when no one is pursuing;
but the righteous is confident like a lion.

Verse 2

בְּפֶשַׁע אֶרֶץ רַבִּים שָׂרֶיהָ וּבְאָדָם מֵבִין יֹדֵעַ כֵּן יַאֲרִיךְ׃

When a land transgresses it has many rulers; but with men of understanding and knowledge its stability will long continue.

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43. See http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/prov.pdf. The first fascicle on the Psalms, by Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), has already appeared. It is envisaged that the whole of the translation will be published soon.

44. Cook, "The Greek of Proverbs."

45. Tov, "Recensional Differences between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to John Strugnell* (ed. H. W. Attridge et al.; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1990), 43–56.

δι᾽ ἁμαρτίας ἀσεβῶν κρίσεις ἐγείρονται
ἀνὴρ δὲπανοῦργος κατασβέσει αὐτάς
By the sin of the impious disputes arise;
but a clever man *will quell them*.

Verse 3

גֶּבֶר רָשׁ וְעֹשֵׁק דַּלִּים מָטָר סֹחֵף וְאֵין לָחֶם׃

A poor man who oppresses the poor is a beating rain that leaves no food.

ἀνδρεῖος ἐν ἀσεβείαις συκοφαντεῖ πτωχούς
ὥσπερ ὑετὸς λάβρος καὶ ἀνωφελής
A bold man blackmails the poor *with impious acts*.
Like *a violent and useless* rain,

Verse 4

עֹזְבֵי תוֹרָה יְהַלְלוּ רָשָׁע וְשֹׁמְרֵי תוֹרָה יִתְגָּרוּ בָם׃

Those who forsake the law praise the wicked, but those who keep the law strive against them.

οὕτως οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν νόμον ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἀσέβειαν
οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν νόμον περιβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς τεῖχος
So those who forsake the law praise impiety,
but those who love the law *build a wall around themselves*.

This chapter contains the largest number of occurrences of the noun תּוֹרָה in Proverbs. I have deliberately chosen this passage, since it has some residue of the "ideological" position of the translator. It includes a significant Jewish exegetical tradition concerning the law of Moses in verse 4. I could multiply the examples of applicable translations, but lack of space prevents me from doing so. I propose that any major differences between LXX and MT—for example, the issue of the changed order of chapters from Prov 24 onwards—should be explained to the reader in footnotes, if needed. The italicized phrases above act as an indication to the reader that there are differences between the Hebrew and the Greek.

5. Conclusion

From the above it should be clear that, even though the translation of the Septuagint can be deemed Bible translation, this notion must be qualified. The fact that it is a translation of a translation simply complicates the issue. For one, it is just not possible to approach the Septuagint purely, or primarily, from a descriptive perspective. The nature of the Septuagint—a translation of a Semitic text—forces the translator to work primarily from the perspective of the source text. This naturally does not mean that this is a plea for concordant translation; research has

amply demonstrated that absolute equivalence is simply not possible. It is exactly for this reason that the interlinear paradigm formulated by Albert Pietersma is an extremely helpful general theory. Even though it does not work equally well for all books—for example, not for LXX Proverbs—it is, generally speaking, more applicable than the Sorbonne-based theory. I also tried to demonstrate that a new development in translation studies, functionalism, has advantages to offer when applied to the translation of a translation such as the Septuagint. The combination of the concepts *functionality* and *loyalty* suggested by Nord, as well as the differentiation Gutt has suggested between *indirect* and *direct translations,* to me seems to be helpful in an endeavor to bridge the gap between the original and contemporary cultures. This is clearly a holistic approach rather than one concentrating on any single aspect of the communicative process. I think it can be applied successfully in order to overcome one of the shortcomings of the NETS paradigm, namely, that the target culture is not taken seriously enough.

Finally, a recent development that could have a positive impact on the Septuagint is what Naudé[46] calls *corpus translation studies*. According to this approach, large corpora of texts are analyzed by means of powerful analytical tools. These tools can provide significant translation patterns along the lines demonstrated by Talstra and van der Merwe.[47]

46. Naudé, "An Overview of Recent Developments," 55.

47. E. Talstra and C. H. J. van der Merwe, "Analysis, Retrieval and the Demand for More Data: Integrating the Results of a Formal Textlinguistic and Cognitive Based Pragmatic Approach to the Analysis of Deut 4:1–40," in Cook, *Computer and Bible*, 43–78.

The Septuagint and the Vocalization of the Hebrew Text of the Torah

Stefan Schorch

Abstract: The translation of the Septuagint goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* that, apart from the casual use of *scriptio plena,* did not mark vowels. On the other hand, the Greek renderings of this *Vorlage* obviously imply certain vocalizations. But what was their source? Different answers have been proposed thus far, especially by F. Wutz (use of transcriptions), J. Barr, E. Tov (oral reading traditions), and A. van der Kooij (learned study of scripture), but the question still seems unsolved. The present paper suggests that the translators were dependent to a large extent on parabiblical traditions:

— Parabiblical traditions are eclectic and cover only parts of the biblical text. This feature explains why the translators of the Torah produced a translation that is very faithful in some parts, while it failed in others.

— Poetry can only be reproduced but not transformed into a new literary form. Paratextual traditions, which require the latter, were therefore of limited use for the understanding of the poetical parts of the Hebrew text.

— Sometimes, parabiblical traditions took the biblical text only as a point of departure for the expansion and the addition of new concepts. Obviously, the Greek text of the Torah shows many traces of this process.

The translation of the Septuagint goes back to a Hebrew *Vorlage* that, apart from the casual use of *scriptio plena,* did not mark vowels. On the other hand, the Greek renderings of this *Vorlage* obviously imply certain vocalizations.

Of course, the translators of the Septuagint had a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language,[1] which certainly gave them an appropriate understanding of the consonantal framework in most cases. On the other hand, the biblical text contains many Hebrew words and passages that can be vocalized in different ways involving different meanings. Why, then, did the translators choose the one

1. Note, however, that the Hebrew of the translators was different from the Biblical Hebrew of the Tiberian tradition in many aspects; see, e.g., Josua Blau, "Zum Hebräisch der Übersetzer des AT," *VT* 6 (1956): 97–99; Jan Joosten "The Knowledge and Use of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and the Septuagint," in *Diggers at the Well: Proceedings of a Third International Symposion on the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Ben Sira* (ed. J. F. Elwolde and T. Muraoka; STDJ 36; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 115–30; Jan Joosten, "On Aramaising Renderings in the Septuagint," 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), 587–600.

way and not the other? What was their understanding based on? The aim of the following investigation is to clarify this question.

1. State of Research

In response to this question, different answers have been proposed so far, especially by Franz Wutz, James Barr, Emanuel Tov, and Arie van der Kooij.

According to Wutz, the Septuagint was translated from a *Vorlage* that consisted of a Hebrew text transcribed in Greek letters including the Hebrew vowels as realized in reading.[2] However, except for Origen's *Secunda* (third century C.E.), there is no proof for the existence of such transcriptions. Accordingly, scholars generally have abandoned Wutz's theory.[3]

James Barr and Emanuel Tov reckon with oral traditions standing behind the vocalization implied by the Greek translations. Both scholars proceed from the assumption that the vocalization of the Torah was known to the translators of the Septuagint due to the regular reading of the Torah in public: "When the LXX was translated, unvocalized Hebrew texts were read publicly, so that some form of reading of the consonantal text must have been known."[4]

In fact, I shall not question the fact that the Torah was *read* in public.[5] It seems, however, that at that time when the Torah was translated into Greek, the public reading was restricted to certain occasions (see Neh 8),[6] and a *regular*

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2. See Franz Wutz, *Die Transkriptionen von der Septuaginta bis Hieronymus* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur vormasoretischen Grammatik des Hebräischen 2; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933). For an evaluation of this theory, see Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 70–73; and Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 61–62.

3. See the conclusion of Fernández Marcos, that Wutz's theory is "of no interest today as an explanation for the origins of the LXX" (*Septuagint in Context*, 61).

4. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2nd ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 107; and similarly James Barr, " 'Guessing' in the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (ed. D. Fraenkel et al.; MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1990), 23.

5. See Arie van der Kooij, "Zur Frage der Exegese im LXX-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zur Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen Original und Übersetzung," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 374; Rolf Rendtorff, "Esra und das »Gesetz«," *ZAW* 96 (1984): 178–79; idem, "Noch einmal: Esra und das »Gesetz«," *ZAW* 111 (1999): 91.

6. See David Goodblatt, "Judean Nationalism in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January, 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt et al.; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 16; Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 120–21.

reading of the Torah in public did not yet exist.[7] Moreover, firm vocalization traditions of the Torah did not develop before the late second century B.C.E.,[8] which means only after the translation of the Torah into Greek. Therefore, the assumption that the translators vocalized the consonantal framework in accordance with the public reading of the Torah is hard to accept.

James Barr, in addition to his assumption of vocalization based on an oral reading tradition of the Torah, suggested a second way in which the translators rendered certain parts of the consonantal framework. He suggests that the full vocalization of the consonantal framework is not necessarily part of the translation process. Instead, the translator may have rendered a certain word on the basis of its visual shape alone. Although less common than the full vocalization, this direct way seems to Barr the preferable explanation for the numerous cases in which the Greek rendering of the supposed Hebrew *Vorlage* seems to be far away from an understanding suggested by simple logic.[9] One of Barr's examples, taken from Gen 15:11, is the following:

("And when the vultures came down on the carcasses…")

MT: וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם אַבְרָהָם (וירד העיט על הפגרים)

LXX: καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοίς Αβραμ

*LXX: *וַיֵּשֶׁב אִתָּם אַבְרָהָם*

In this verse, the consonantal framework of the Masoretic Text and that of the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint were most probably identical. However, the two interpretations of this consonantal framework display a remarkable difference. As against the Masoretic vocalization וַיֵּשֶׁב אֹתָם ("he drove them away"), the Greek translator apparently read *וַיֵּשֶׁב אִתָּם* ("he sat down together with them"). Obviously, the reading suggested by the Septuagint does not seem to fit the context very well, as it speaks of a covenant ceremony between Abraham and God. The question why the Greek translator nevertheless chose the reading "he sat down" is answered by Barr with reference to the observation that the translator simply chose the most common interpretation of the consonants וישב, proceeding directly from the identification of its well-known visual shape to the rendering

7. This has already been stated by Bickermann: "The custom of public reading of the Law and within a cycle of lessons was not yet known in the third century B.C.E.… The continuous reading is not attested before the middle of the second century C.E., and the Mishna still gives a list of short appointed lessons" (Elias Bickermann, "The Septuagint as a Translation," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 1:171–72.

8. See Stefan Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes: Die samaritanische Lesetradition als Textzeugin der Tora, 1. Das Buch Genesis* (BZAW 339; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2004), 56–60.

9. Barr, " 'Guessing' in the Septuagint," 29–31.

followed in most cases, without any regard for existing reading traditions or the context.[10]

It is not my aim to discus Barr's suggestion at length here. It should be recalled, however, that it does not solve the question of how the Greek translators vocalized their Hebrew *Vorlage*. Barr himself suggested that it was a rather marginal phenomenon and by no means the general way the connection between consonantal framework and Greek rendering worked.

A further suggestion with regard to the question of how the Greek translators vocalized their Hebrew *Vorlage* was proposed by Arie van der Kooij. Van der Kooij suggested that the translators belonged to the milieu of learned scribes. Accordingly, their way of vocalization of the Hebrew text had its roots in the study of scripture in the circles of the intellectual elite.[11] The most obvious difference between the public reading of the Torah and the continuous study of the Torah in some kind of *bet midrash* is that the latter is focused on interpretation, while the aim of the former is just the reading aloud of the biblical text. As a consequence, the translators of the Septuagint read the biblical text in accordance with certain exegetical traditions. Therefore, and due to the fact that the vocalization was not yet fixed, the interpretation of a given single word depended mainly on the exploration of the context.[12] The advantage of van der Kooij's theory is that it does not refer to the existence of a public reading tradition. On the other hand, there are many examples in the Greek translation of the Torah that seem to contradict his explanation of context-dependent interpretation. If, for instance, the translators would have rendered the passage from Gen 15:11 discussed above in accordance with the context, how could they have arrived at καὶ συνεκάθισεν αὐτοίς? The conclusion that van der Kooij's theory is not suitable as a general explanation of the translation may be illustrated with further examples, as, for instance, the following taken from Gen 47:31:

("…'Swear to me.' And he swore to him. So Israel bowed himself…")

MT: עַל רֹאשׁ הַמִּטָּה (השבעה לי וישבע לו וישתחו ישראל)

LXX: ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ

*LXX: *עַל רֹאשׁ הַמַּטֶּה*

In this passage the Greek translation is obviously based on the reading הַמַּטֶּה "the staff" as against the Masoretic vocalization הַמִּטָּה "the bed." From the

10. James Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators," in *Hebräische Wortforschung: Festschrift zum 80. Geburtstag von Walter Baumgartner* (ed. B. Hartmann et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 3–4.

11. Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 121.

12. See van der Kooij, "Zur Frage der Exegese," 377; idem, "The Oracle of Tyre," 121–22.

perspective of both the immediate and the broader context, the Greek translator should have adopted the Masoretic reading, since the background of the passage is the illness and eventually the death of Jacob.[13] The fact that the Greek translator nevertheless read הַמַּטָּה shows that his reading was not dependent on the exploration of the context. Therefore, examples like this contradict the theory proposed by van der Kooij. Moreover, a further and more general argument seems in place. At the time when the Pentateuch was translated into Greek, neither the public reading nor the regular study of the Torah seems to have been part of Second Temple Judaism. According to Adiel Schremer, it was only in the first century B.C.E., when both emerged as the result of a reorientation of religious observance. While Second Temple Judaism was characterized by "tradition-based observance" prior to the first century B.C.E., it became "text-based observant" only afterwards.[14] On account of this observation, it seems improper to reckon with firm exegetical traditions developed in the framework of a *bet midrash*–like institution prior to the first century B.C.E.

Therefore, the survey of the explanations suggested so far with regard to the vocalizations standing behind the Greek translation of the Pentateuch leads to the conclusion that the question "On which source relied the Greek translator when rendering a Hebrew word in his written *Vorlage*, which could be vocalized in different ways, involving a different meaning?" is still open.

2. A New Suggestion

Obviously, Schremer's observation of tradition-based observance among Second Temple Judaism prior to the first century B.C.E. refutes the theories proposed by Barr, Tov, and van der Kooij. On the other hand, however, it may serve as the starting point for a fresh look.

The conclusion that the public reading and regular study of the Torah became a central part of Jewish life not before the first century does not mean that the Torah had not been handed down among scribes and was not known to the public. On the contrary, the Torah was of course known and had been handed down, but in a different sense than from the first century onwards. Prior to that time, even the Torah had been subject to the current tradition-based observance, which seems especially important with regard to the following two aspects.

It seems that Second Temple Judaism, in the environment of tradition-based observance, transmitted and learned Torah mainly through oral παράδοσις τῶν

13. This was already observed by Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew," 3–4.

14. Adiel Schremer, "'[T]he[y] Did Not Read in the Sealed Book': Qumran Halakhic Revolution and the Emergence of Torah Study in Second Temple Judaism," in Goodblatt et al., *Historical Perspectives,* 113.

πατέρων[15] and much less through reading and exploring the text itself. At that time, even someone who read the biblical text itself would have been strongly influenced by these paratextual traditions and would therefore have understood the text mainly on their basis.

It seems that these are the conditions under which the Greek translation of the Torah was carried out. If we wished to know, therefore, how the Greek translators read the biblical text, we should look for the parabiblical traditions that influenced them. Obviously, we will never know how many of such parabiblical traditions remained purely oral and were lost. Some of these traditions, however, seem to have left their traces in the so-called parabiblical literature from the Second Temple period.[16] And although obviously only parts of this parabiblical literature survived, the corpus that we know still seems a reliable basis for the detection of some central features of the parabiblical traditions, namely, eclecticism, narrativity, and supplementarity.

Eclecticism: Parabiblical traditions are eclectic and cover only parts of the biblical text. Not unlike the midrashic literature of later times, they refer to certain passages of the biblical text only, while other biblical passages do not have parabiblical cognates.[17]

Narrativity: In most cases, parabiblical traditions are related to biblical prose, while poetry is much less covered. The reason for this uneven proportion lies in both the nature of poetry and of the parabiblical traditions. A poetical text can be reproduced but not easily paraphrased or otherwise transformed into new literary forms. As opposed to prose texts, every reformulation or retelling of poetry

15. This term is used by Flavius Josephus in his characterization of Pharisaic thinking; see ibid., 113 n. 28.

16. This literature formed a central part of the Jewish literature roughly contemporary to the Greek translation of the Pentateuch, originating in the fourth and third centuries B.C.E. According to the calculation of Armin Lange, more than 50 percent of the Jewish literature of that period of time, as far it is known to us, is to be labeled as parabiblical. See A. Lange, "The Parabiblical Literature of the Qumran Library and the Canonical History of the Hebrew Bible," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. W. W. Fields et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 319–20. Lange concludes that this high rate should not be regarded as an accident but rather as an indication for the high rank of authority that the biblical books had gained even prior to their canonization (p. 321). On the other hand, the relatively free approach to the biblical text attested by parabiblical texts may seem to contradict the presumed proto-canonical status of the biblical scriptures. There is no contradiction, however, if we realize the implications of the common tradition-based observance at that time.

17. See Ida Fröhlich, "'Narrative Exegesis' in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12–14 May, 1996* (ed. E. G. Chazon and M. E. Stone; STDJ 28; Boston: Brill, 1998), 82.

will inevitably lead to a considerable loss of details as compared with the original. Parabiblical traditions, however, require some kind of literary transformation. Therefore, even in the case when parabiblical traditions of a certain poetical text did exist at all, they obviously were of very limited use for its reader (or the Greek translator), who was in need of detailed information. On the other hand, parabiblical traditions could well serve him in the case of texts composed in prose.

Supplementarity: Parabiblical traditions are often supplementary; they add details not contained in the biblical text or expand short passages into more detailed accounts. In these cases, the biblical text serves only as the point of departure for expansions and additions.

If the translators of the Pentateuch worked under the influence of parabiblical traditions, these three features should have left their traces in the Greek text. In the following I will try to demonstrate with examples that this is indeed the case.[18]

2.1. The Septuagint and the Eclectic Character of Parabiblical Traditions

Several scholars have noted that the Greek text of the book of Genesis reflects a relatively literal translation technique in some parts. For example, "The transla-

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18. Due to the following considerations, the majority of the following examples have been collected from the book of Genesis.

(1) According to most scholars, the Greek translation of this book was the first that was carried out and completed; see the statements of John William Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) ix: "Genesis was, in fact, the first attempt by the Alexandrians to translate parts of the Torah"; and Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung* (BZAW 223; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1994), 11: "Die Genesis wurde als erstes der fünf Bücher des Pentateuch im 3. Jh.v.Chr. in Alexandrien übersetzt." (The possibility of a different order has been advocated recently by 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], 523–43.) If Genesis was indeed the first of the biblical books that was translated into Greek, the selection of examples from this book avoids the difficulties emerging from a possible influence from the translations of other biblical books.

(2) In most cases the Hebrew *Vorlage* that was in front of the Greek translator is preserved in the extant Hebrew textual witnesses (especially in MT) or can be reconstructed; see Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung,* 12.

(3) Unlike the other books of the Pentateuch, the material from the Samaritan reading tradition of the book of Genesis as far as it is relevant for the textual criticism of the vocalization has been analyzed and may serve as a third complete textual witness, independent from both the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint; see Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes*, 10. All examples quoted in the following from the Samaritan tradition are presented there with the addition of a commentary.

tor of Genesis tried to stay as near as possible to his Hebrew Vorlage."[19] However, other parts of the same book are translated in a much freer way.[20] In a number of additional cases, moreover, it seems that the Greek translator produced some clear mistranslations on account of an insufficient understanding of his Hebrew *Vorlage*.[21] This inconsistency requires an explanation. Anneli Aejmelaeus suggested a convincing solution:

> The stories with most free renderings seem to form a special group among the Pentateuchal narrations, a group possessing the greatest interest for the translators. […] It seems that the translator was closely acquainted with these narrations even perhaps in a Greek form, not in a written translation but maybe in an oral tradition. It was easy for him to use free renderings, since he knew how the story continued.[22]

Aejmelaeus's suggestion fits well the framework of the theory proposed in the present paper. Due to the eclectic character of parabiblical traditions, they did not cover all parts of the biblical text, and, accordingly, the difficulty of the task of the translator was of varying degree. It seems, for instance, that the Greek translator did not know the story of Abraham performing his covenant offering in Gen 15 and was therefore easily misled in his understanding of verse 11 and especially in the interpretation of the two Hebrew words וישב אתם.

On the other hand, however, the same translator[23] was successful in rendering other and even more difficult passages, which potentially could have been read with different vocalizations, too. Since the phenomenon recurs, pure chance seems an improbable explanation. More likely is that the presumed knowledge of the context of a certain difficult word, the knowledge of the story, enabled the translator to render it in the proper way. The following two examples will illustrate the phenomenon:

Gen 14: 20 ("And blessed be God Most High…")

MT: אֲשֶׁר מִגֵּן צָרֶיךָ בְּיָדֶךָ

19. Johann Cook, "The Exegesis of the Greek Genesis," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem 1986* (ed. C. E Cox; SBLSCS 23; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 119.

20. See Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Dissertationes Humanarum Litterarum 31; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982), 164–65; Cook, "Exegesis of the Greek Genesis," 118–19.

21. As in the examples from Gen 15:11 and 47:31, which were discussed above.

22. Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint,* 172–73.

23. As opposed to the Greek translation of the book of Exodus, most scholars acknowledge that the translation of the book of Genesis is the work of one single translator; see Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 12.

*Sam: *אשר מָגֵן צריך בידך*

LXX: ὃς παρέδωκεν τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποχειρίους σοι

*LXX: *אשר מִגֵּן צריך בידך*

In this verse the Greek translator vocalized the difficult מגן in the way the Masoretes did, that is, as a *Piel* perfect, which seems to preserve the original reading "… who *has delivered* your enemies into your hand."[24] However, the three consonants can also be vocalized in a different way. This is illustrated by the Samaritan reading tradition, which attests the noun מָגֵן "shield" and understands the passage as: "… who is *a shield* against your enemies in your hand."

In terms of textual criticism, this latter vocalization is the result of a simplification, since the verb מגן occurs only three times in the whole biblical text and is a *hapax legomenon* in the Pentateuch, while the noun מָגֵן is much more common (attested 63 times in MT). That the Greek translator of the book of Genesis knew and understood מָגֵן shows his rendering of Gen 15:1.[25] Unlike the Samaritan tradition, however, he did not become influenced by the more common word and preserved the *lectio difficilior* of the original text. The reason for this preservation seems to be that the Greek translator was familiar with the Melchizedek story due to the broad stream of parabiblical tradition connected with the person of Melchizedek.[26]

Gen 45:2 ("And he wept aloud, and the Egyptians heard it…")

MT: וַיִּשְׁמַע בֵּית פַּרְעֹה (וַיִּשְׁעוּ מצרים)

*Sam: *וַיְשַׁמַּע בית פרעה*

24. See Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes*, 127–28. The hypothesis that at the end of the literary development of a certain biblical text and at the beginning of its textual transmission stood one single version—the "*Urtext*"—is today followed by most scholars; see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), 164–80. However, there are critical voices, too; see Eugene Ulrich, "The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures," in *Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (ed. E. Ulrich; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 14. Since the present paper deals with the Pentateuch only, the problem seems less complicated. According to all the witnesses we know, there is no real basis for the postulate of more than one textual tradition; see Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung*, 12. Obvious but less often expressed is the implication that the concept of the *Urtext* should be applied to the vocalization as well; see Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes*, 7–10.

25. MT: אָנֹכִי מָגֵן לָךְ ("I am your shield"); LXX: ἐγὼ ὑπερασπίζω σου ("I shield you."). The fact that the Septuagint contains a verb instead of the Hebrew noun most probably goes back to the relatively free translation technique prevailing in ch. 45; see Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint,* 165.

26. For an overview see Michael C. Astour, "Melchizedek," *ABD* 4:684–86. Aejemelaeus lists Gen 14 among the chapters well known to the translator, Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint,* 164–65 and 172–73.

LXX: καί ἀκουστὸν ἐγένετο εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φαραω

*LXX: *וַיִּשְׁמַע בית פרעה

The Masoretic tradition vocalizes not only the first occurrence of the verb שׁמע in the *Qal* stem but the second one as well: "… and the house of Pharaoh *heard* it." The Samaritan tradition, on the other hand, vocalizes the second verbal form in the *Piel* stem: "… and *let* it *hear* the house of Pharaoh." This alternation with regard to the verbal stem of שׁמע displays the *lectio difficilior* and most probably preserves the vocalization of the original text,[27] while the Masoretic *Qal* vocalization of the second verb seems to be influenced by the preceding verbal form.

The Septuagint translates "… and it was heard in the house of Pharaoh." Although representing a rather free rendering of its Hebrew *Vorlage,* this translation is obviously based on the same understanding of the story as it is attested by the Samaritan tradition. Since there is no text-internal reason that could have led the translator to this understanding, there must have existed an external source. The recognition of the religious *milieu* of the Greek translation, as described above, leads again to the conclusion that this external source most probably was a parabiblical version of the story of Joseph.[28]

2.2. The Septuagint and the Narrative Character of Parabiblical Traditions

The Greek translators of the Pentateuch were dependent on parabiblical traditions to a high degree. In the field of biblical poetry, however, the possible contribution of parabiblical traditions toward the understanding of the text is very limited, as has been shown above. Therefore, the Greek translators especially suffered a lack of information when they encountered poetical texts. Due to this fact, the number of guesses and mistranslations rises significantly in the poetical parts of the Pentateuch as compared with the passages written in prose. Numerous examples illustrating this phenomenon may be found in Jacob's blessing in Gen 49. Three of them will be presented in the following. The first example comes from verse 6:

MT: "Let not *my honor* (כְּבֹדִי) be united to their assembly."

*Sam: "Let not *my honor* (כְּבֹדִי*) be angry in their assembly."

LXX: "Let not *my liver* (τὰ ἥπατά μου = כְּבֵדִי*) contend in their assembly."

27. See Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes*, 214.

28. Further support for this conclusion comes from the work of Aejmelaeus, who lists Gen 45 among the Biblical narrations, which were well known to the Greek translator; see Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint,* 164–65 and 172–73.

In this verse two different vocalizations are attested with regard to the word כבדי: While both Hebrew witnesses derive it from כָּבוֹד "glory," the Septuagint translates τὰ ἥπατά μου, which most probably goes back to the derivation from כָּבֵד "liver." Without any doubt, the reading common to the Masoretic and the Samaritan text is to be regarded as preserving the vocalization of the original text. The translator of the Septuagint, on the other hand, was most probably unfamiliar with the original vocalization, and his reading seems to be based on an unsuccessful guess.[29] A different phenomenon is attested in Gen 49:10:

MT: שִׁילֹו (עד כי יבא)
Sam: שִׁילֹו
LXX: τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ
LXX: (?) שֶׁלֹו

According to both the Masoretic and the Samaritan vocalization, the passage under consideration means: "Until he [Judah] comes to Shiloh," and this reading should be regarded as preserving the original text.[30] The Greek rendering of the Septuagint, on the other hand, is most probably based on the derivation from לֹו + שֶׁ*. Although the vocalization itself is obviously a guess,[31] the understanding of the passage as reflected in this vocalization seems to have had its intellectual background in the messianic thinking of the Greek translator and his time.[32] It is, therefore, influenced by parabiblical traditions connected with the stem of Judah.[33]

The phenomenon that these parabiblical traditions could even lead the translator toward a translation that ignored the consonantal framework of the

29. For a more comprehensive analysis of the different textual witnesses within this verse, see Stefan Schorch, "The Significance of the Samaritan Oral Tradition for the Textual History of the Pentateuch," in *Samaritan Researches V: Proceedings of the Congress of the Société d'Études Samaritaines, Milan 1996* (ed. V. Morabito et al.; Studies in Judaica 10; Sydney: Mandelbaum, 2000), 1.07–1.10.

30. See Hans-Jürgen Zobel, *Stammesspruch und Geschichte* (BZAW 95; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1965), 13; and Schorch, "Significance of the Samaritan Oral Tradition," 1.10–1.12.

31. See Schorch, "Significance of the Samaritan Oral Tradition," 1.10.

32. See, e.g., Emanuel Tov, "Die Septuaginta in ihrem theologischen und traditionsgeschichtlichen Verhältnis zur Hebräischen Bibel," *Mitte der Schrift?* (ed. M. Klopfenstein et al.; Judaica et Christiana 2; Bern: Lang, 1987), 258.

33. 4Q252 attests the messianic interpretation of this verse in Qumran; see Craig A. Evans, "The Messiah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Israel's Messiah in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Richard S. Hess and M. Daniel Carroll R.; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2003), 91. An impressive and extensive history of the interpretation of Gen 49:10 within rabbinic Judaism has been written by Adolf Posnanski: *Schiloh: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre, I: Die Auslegung von Gen 49:10 im Altertum bis zum Ende des Mittelalters* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904).

Hebrew *Vorlage* may be illustrated by the following example from the same verse:

MT: יִקְהַת עַמִּים (ולו)
*Sam: *יִקָּהֲתוּ עַמִּים*
LXX: προσδοκία ἐθνῶν
*LXX: (?) *תִּקְוֹת עַמִּים*

Both Hebrew witnesses read the difficult first word as a verbal form of the root קהת "to gather," which was undoubtedly contained in the original text as well.[34] The Greek translator, however, seems not to have known this *hapax legomenon* and resorted to a guess. Perhaps he saw some connection with the word תִּקְוָה, but again and more importantly, his rendering refers to a messianic view known to him from parabiblical sources and not from the text itself.

2.3. The Septuagint and the Supplementary Character of Parabiblical Traditions

The two latter examples show that the text of the Septuagint refers to traditions that do not or at least not directly come from the biblical text itself. Sometimes these traditions are labeled as "exegetical."[35] This designation, however, seems not very exact, since it is not possible to reduce their background and significance to simple exegesis alone. Rather, the parabiblical traditions should be regarded as attestations of a continuous literary creativity that left its traces in both biblical and parabiblical texts.[36] The following examples illustrate this phenomenon.

Gen 6:4: ("There were נפלים/γίγαντες on the earth in those days, and also afterward, when the sons of God came in to the daughters of men…)

MT: וְיָלְדוּ לָהֶם
*Sam: *וַיּוֹלִידוּ לָהֶם*
LXX: καί ἐγεννῶσαν ἑαυτοῖς
*LXX: *וַיּוֹלִידוּ לָהֶם*

34. See Schorch, "Significance of the Samaritan Oral Tradition," 1.11–1.12.

35. See, e.g., Cook, "Exegesis of the Greek Genesis," 119.

36. On the complex relations between biblical and parabiblical traditions, see Isac Leo Seeligmann, "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegese," in *Congress Volume: Copenhagen, 1953* (VTSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 1953), 152.

The Masoretic Text most probably preserves the original text.[37] The difference, however, between the Masoretic Text and the two other textual witnesses cited above seems to have its roots, not in an unreliable textual transmission of the Hebrew original, but rather in the influence from different versions of the story referred to. It seems that the version the Greek translator had in mind was close to that preserved in the parabiblical *Ethiopic Enoch* (= *1 Enoch*), which identifies the נפלים as giants[38] and is much more detailed in its account of the sexual relations between human women and the sons of God than the Masoretic Text.[39] The Greek translator did not make efforts to go beyond his written Hebrew *Vorlage* in order to add some of these details, but it is noteworthy that a change from *Qal* to *Hiphil* with regard to the vocalization of the verb וילדו means at least that an explicit reference to the sexual relations between human women and the sons of God was inserted into the text as opposed to the Masoretic tradition.

The Samaritan vocalization tradition attests the same change, too. This observation shows that it is not necessarily the translator who was responsible for the insertion of the new reading but that maybe already his Hebrew *Vorlage* was determined to be read in that way, due to the insertion of *matres lectionis* under parabiblical influence.

A further example of the influence of parabiblical traditions on the translation of the Septuagint is the rendering of the Hebrew name מֹשֶׁה. Most probably the Greek form Μωυσῆς goes back to an Egyptian reinterpretation of the name,[40] which gives a clear hint to the existence of an Egyptian parabiblical version of the Moses story that was current in the Hellenistic period among the Jews of Egypt.

A similar phenomenon is attested in the Greek transcription of the Hebrew word מָן as μαννα. Since the translator made no effort to provide a translation but rather transcribed it, he seems to have understood it as a name or a *terminus technicus*. However, he did not reproduce the word in its Hebrew form but in Aramaic, as the addition of the Aramaic article /-a/ at the end of the word shows.[41] This observation leads to the conclusion that the translator knew the word not

37. See Schorch, *Die Vokale des Gesetzes*, 102–3.

38. See *1 En.* 7:2; cf. Siegbert Uhlig, *Das äthiopische Henochbuch* (JSHRZ 5.6; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1984), 519–20.

39. See *1 En.* 6:2; 7:1–2; cf. Devorah Dimant, "I Enoch 6–11: A Fragment of a Parabiblical Work," *JJS* 53 (2002): 231.

40. See S. Morenz, "Ägyptische Spuren in der Septuaginta," in *Siegfried Morenz, Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (ed. E. Blumenthal et al.; Köln: Böhlau, 1975), 420.

41. Emanuel Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony, and Transliteration in the Septuagint," in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 177.

from a Hebrew but from an Aramaic source—most probably from a parabiblical tradition in that language.

3. Conclusion and Perspectives

The Greek translation of the Pentateuch is not based on a fixed oral reading tradition of the unvocalized Hebrew text—neither handed down through the regular reading of the Torah in public nor transmitted in the context of regular scriptural study in certain circles of the intellectual elite. Rather, it depends to a large extent on parabiblical traditions current among Second Temple Judaism. Since at least parts of these traditions developed into what is known today as "parabiblical literature," we may learn from the parabiblical compositions some of the main features of these parabiblical traditions.

— Parabiblical traditions are eclectic and cover only parts of the biblical text. This feature explains why the translators of the Torah produced a translation that is very faithful in some parts, while it failed in others.

— Paratextual traditions are not reproductions of a certain textual unity but require its transformation into a new literary form. Every literary transformation of poetry, however, leads to a considerable loss of information as compared with the original. To the translator, therefore, the paratextual traditions were of a very limited value with regard to the understanding of the poetical parts of his Hebrew *Vorlage*. This explains the considerable increase of guesses and mistranslations that entered the Greek version of the poetical parts of the Pentateuch.

— Sometimes parabiblical traditions took the biblical text only as a point of departure for the expansion and the addition of new concepts. Obviously, the Greek text of the Torah shows many traces of this process.

Provenance, Profile, and Purpose of the Greek Joshua*

Michaël N. van der Meer

Abstract: It is generally believed that the Greek translation of Joshua originated in approximately the same period and place as the Greek Pentateuch, but evidence to substantiate such a third-century B.C.E. Egyptian provenance of the Greek Joshua is hard to find. The present contribution examines possible reflections of the Greek Joshua in Jewish Greek literature of the pre-Christian era (particularly Aristobulus). It is further argued that a third-century B.C.E. origin of the Greek Joshua may account for some unusual Greek renderings of toponyms. On the basis of the lexical choices and literary initiatives, the profile of the Greek translator is sketched, a profile that seems to fit to some extent Drimylos and his son Dositheos, known from documentary papyri. Finally, it is argued that the Greek Joshua serves cultural propaganda and contemporary politics rather than religious needs.

1. Introduction

When was the Greek translation of Joshua made and where? Who made it, and for whom was it made? Who wanted a Greek translation of precisely this book? These questions are readily raised but difficult to answer. We have no information comparable to the *Letter of Aristeas* or the colophons on the Greek Esther or the Wisdom of Ben Sira that provides details on the origin of the Greek Joshua. Whereas the Greek Pentateuch, the Minor Prophets, and the Letter of Jeremiah are attested by papyri from the pre-Christian period,[1] there are no manuscripts of the Greek version of Joshua or its daughter versions prior to the second century C.E.[2]

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1. Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (2nd ed.; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 132–33.

2. The oldest witnesses to LXX-Joshua are (1) the recently discovered Papyrus Schøyen 2648 (Rahlfs number 816), dating from the late second century C.E., with the remains of LXX-Josh 9:27–11:3; (2) the fourth-century C.E. Oxyrhynchus Papyrus no. 1168, with remains of LXX-Josh 4:23–5:1; (3) the fourth-century C.E. Codex Vaticanus; and (4) the fourth-century C.E. Sahidic Joshua-Tobit Codex, now divided over the Irish Chester Beatty (no. 1389) and the Swiss Bodmer (no. xxi) libraries; see Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The*

Yet most scholars assume that the Greek translation of Joshua "followed soon after the Greek translation of the Pentateuch," thus Henry St. John Thackeray, since the relatively free translation technique of the Greek Joshua resembles that of the Pentateuch.[3] It clearly contrasts with the very literal translation technique found in the Greek Judges and other "Septuagintal" books, a thesis now substantiated by the dissertation of Seppo Sipilä.[4] Already in 1909 Henry Redpath was able to group the Greek Joshua with the Greek Pentateuch on the basis of the various renderings of the divine name.[5]

Gilles Dorival in the recent French introduction to the Septuagint considers the date of the Greek translation of Ben Sira with its references to the Greek Joshua in Sir 46:1–6 as a *terminus ante quem* for the Greek Joshua.[6] Dorival finds an Alexandrian origin of the Greek Joshua probable, given the fact that it does not display the characteristics of the *Kaige* recension, which had its origin in Palestine.[7] Yet already in 1973 G. B. Caird made it clear that the portrait of Joshua in the Greek Ben Sira shows no influence of the Greek Joshua.[8] Finding evidence for

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Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses (VTSup 102; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 22ff.

3. 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), 13.

4. Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges regarding the Clause Connections introduced by* ו *and* כי (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75; Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999). For a survey of scholarly study on the Greek Joshua, see van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 21–91.

5. Henry A. Redpath, "A Contribution towards Settling Dates of the Translation of the Various Books of the Septuagint," *JTS* 6 (1907): 606–14. Another significant distinction between the Greek Pentateuch and the Greek Joshua, on the one hand, and the other Septuagintal books is offered by the Greek translators' handling of the Hebrew word for Philistines (פלשתים). The Greek translators of the "Hexateuch" employed the transliteration Φυλιστιμ (e.g., in LXX-Josh 13:2, 3, 5), while all other Greek translators used the somewhat pejorative rendering ἀλλόφυλος; see Roland de Vaux, "Les Philistins dans la Septante," in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta* (ed. J. Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 185–94.

6. Gilles Dorival, "L'achèvement de la Septante dans le judaïsme," in Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante,* 83–125, especially 96.

7. Ibid., 105.

8. George B. Caird, "Ben Sira and the Dating of the Septuagint," in *Studia Evangelica 7: Papers Presented to the Fifth International Congress on Biblical Studies Held at Oxford, 1973* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; Berlin: Akademie 1982), 95–100. For example, whereas the Greek translator renders the title for Joshua משרת משה with ὑπουργός Μωυσῆ (LXX-Josh 1:1), the Greek Ben Sira renders the same Hebrew phrase with διάδοχος Μωυσῆ (LXX-Sir 46:1). Whereas, according to LXX-Josh 10:13, the sun stood still (καὶ ἔστη ὁ ἥλιος), the sun returned, according to the Greek Ben Sira (46:1: ἐνεποδίσθη ὁ ἥλιος). Caird (ibid., 98) gives four other examples.

a third-century B.C.E. Alexandrian provenance of the Greek Joshua thus remains very difficult.

To the best of my knowledge, only Kees den Hertog in his 1996 dissertation has made a comprehensive attempt to substantiate this hypothesis.[9] Part of his argumentation is based upon a relative chronology between Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges. He concludes that the Greek Judges borrowed some translations from the Greek Joshua, which in turn itself shows the influence of the Greek Deuteronomy.[10] Especially important for den Hertog's argumentation are the geographical data, which allow him to conclude that the Greek translation was made before the introduction of the Seleucid reorganization of Palestine around 198 B.C.E.[11]

Although I have some doubts with respect to several details, I basically agree with the scholars mentioned above. It is my intention to find further evidence for a third-century B.C.E. origin of the Greek Joshua by examining the external evidence posed by Greek Jewish writings of the pre-Christian period and the internal evidence found in the Greek translation itself, with special emphasis on the Greek translator's handling of geographical information and his own interests and competences, as evidenced by his lexical choices and literary initiatives. At the end of this paper a proposal is made for the producers, purposes, and public behind the Greek Joshua.

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9. Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Studien zur griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua" (Ph.D. diss., Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen: Kohler 1996), 110–44.

10. Ibid., 110–39: "Die relative Chronologie." These parallels include Josh 5:12, which contains a cross-reference to Exod 16:35; Josh 1:13–15, which repeats almost *verbatim* Deut 3:18–20; as well as Josh 24:28–31 and Judg 2:6–9; and Josh 15:16–19 and Judg 1:12–15. Den Hertog argues that where the Greek translation differs from the Hebrew text but corresponds with the Greek translation of the parallel passage in the preceding book, a case for literary dependence can be made.

During the congress, Dr. Turner kindly drew my attention to her work on the date, relative and absolute, of the Greek Ezekiel: Priscilla D. M. Turner, "The Translator(s) of Ezekiel Revisited: Idiosyncratic LXX Renderings as a Clue to Inner History," in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ed. R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä; Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2001), 279–307. Unfortunately, however, the possible influence of the Greek Joshua upon the Greek Ezekiel seems to be restricted to the borrowing of λίθοι χαλάζης (LXX-Ezek 38:22 for MT אבני אלגביש) from LXX-Josh 10:15, which, taken on its own, may just be a case of contextual guessing on the part of this Greek translator of Ezekiel, see also Priscilla D. M. Turner, "The Septuagint Version of Chapters I–XXXIX of the Book of Ezekiel" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oxford, 1970), 139.

11. Den Hertog, *Studien,* 139–44. See also Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Erwägungen zur Territorialgeschichte Koilesyriens in frühhellenistischer Zeit," *ZDPV* 111 (1995): 168–83.

2. External Evidence

External evidence for the date and place of origin of the Greek Joshua is very scant.[12] Quotations of and allusions to the Greek Joshua in the first-century C.E. compositions such as the *Jewish Antiquities* by Flavius Josephus, the *Biblical Antiquities* by Pseudo-Philo,[13] Acts 7:45, Heb 4:8,[14] and *Conf.* 166 by the Alexandrian exegete Philo,[15] make clear that the Greek translation of Joshua must have originated in the pre-Christian era.

Yet traces of the Greek Joshua in pre-Christian Jewish Greek literature are hard to find. Compositions such as the works of Artapanus, Demetrius, Ezekiel the Tragedian, and so forth usually elaborate themes only from the Pentateuch. In the few cases where reference is made to the Joshua narratives, the Hebrew rather than the Greek version is reflected. This is the case with the Greek Ben Sira, the early first-century B.C.E. composition 2 Maccabees, which in 12:15 refers to the fall of Jericho,[16] as well as the mid-second century B.C.E. composition *On the Kings of Judea* by Judas Maccabeus's ambassador to Rome, Eupolemos, where Joshua is only briefly mentioned.[17]

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12. On the early history of hermeneutics based on Joshua, see Ed Noort, "Joshua: The History of Reception and Hermeneutics," in *Past, Present, Future: The Deuteronomistic History and the Prophets* (ed. J. C. de Moor and H. F. van Rooy; OtSt 44; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 199–215.

13. *L.A.B.* 23:1 has Joshua present his farewell speech in Shiloh (cf. LXX-Josh 24:1), rather than in Shechem (MT); see the introduction by Daniel J. Harrington in Charles Perrot, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, and Daniel J. Harrington, *Pseudo-Philon: Les antiquités bibliques 2* (SC 230; Paris: Cerf, 1976), 78. See further the commentary by Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation* (AGJU 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 710–11.

14. Heb 4:8: εἰ γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς κατέπαυσεν, οὐκ ἂν περὶ ἄλλης ἐλάλει μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμέρας. The Greek verb καταπαύω occurs frequently in the Greek Joshua (1:13, 15; 3:13; 10:20; 11:23; 21:42; 22:4; 23:1).

15. Philo, *Conf.* 166, contains a quotation of Josh 1:5, οὐ μή σε ἀνω, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω, although only the second part of the sentence is an exact counterpart of LXX-Josh 1:5: καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδε ὑπερόψομαι σε. The sequence ἀνιήμι—ἐγκαταλείπω echoes the parallel formulation in LXX-Deut 31:8: οὐκ ἀνήσει σε οὐδὲ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃ σε.

16. 2 Macc 12:15: οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἰούδαν ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὸν μέγαν τοῦ κόσμου δυνάστην τὸν ἄτερ κριῶν καὶ μηχανῶν ὀργανικῶν κατακρηνίσαντα τὴν Ιεριχω κατὰ τοὺς Ἰησοῦ χρόνους. On the date of 2 Maccabees, see Jonathan A. Goldstein, *2 Maccabees* (AB 41A; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 71–83.

17. Eupolemos, fragment 2 *apud* Eusebius of Caesarea, *Praep. ev.* 9.30.1: Εὐπόλεμος δέ φησιν ἔν τινι Περὶ τῆς Ἡλίου προφητείας Μωσῆν προφητεῦσαι ἔτη μ' εἶτα Ἰησοῦν, τὸν τοῦ Ναυῆ υἱόν, ἔτη λ'· βιῶσαι δ' αὐτὸν ἔτη ρι' πῆξαι τε τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν ἐν Σιλοῖ; see Francis Fallon, "Eupolemos," *OTP* 2:861–72; Carl R. Holladay, *Historians* (vol. 1 of *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors;* SBLTT Pseudepigrapha Series; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 93–156. The spelling of the proper names Ἰησοῦς Ναυῆ is not indicative for the Greek Joshua, since these names already occur in the Greek Pentateuch. Furthermore, the spelling of Shiloh as Σιλο, rather than

Fortunately, however, there seems to be a clear testimony to the existence of a Greek translation of Joshua as early as the first decades of the second century B.C.E., that is, in the work of the Jewish-Greek philosopher Aristobulus. According to 2 Macc 1:10, he was teacher of the young king Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.). Aristobulus wrote a commentary on the Pentateuch (ἐξήγησεις τῆς Μωυσέως γραφῆς), of which five fragments have been preserved in Eusebius of Caesarea's work *Praeparatio evangelica*.[18] Aristobulus's work is usually dated to the years 176–170 B.C.E.,[19] although this date is not undisputed.[20] Of interest is fragment 3, cited in *Preap. ev.* 13.12, and Clement's *Strom.* 1.22.150:

> And I will quote first the words of the Hebrew philosopher Aristobulus, which are as follows: *How Aristobulus the Peripatetic, Of the Hebrews Before Us, Also Shows That the Greeks Borrowed From the Philosophy of the Hebrews; From the Addresses of Aristobulus to King Ptolemy:* "It is clear that Plato followed the tradition of the law that we use (τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νομοθεσίᾳ) and he is conspicuous for having worked through each of the details contained in it. For it had been translated by others before Demetrius of Phalerum (διηρμήνευται γὰρ πρὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως δι' ἑτέρων), before the *dominion* of Alexander and the Persians (πρὸ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Περσῶν ἐπικρατήσεως), (that is: the events) surrounding the exodus of Egypt of the Hebrews, our countrymen (τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξαγωγὴν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἡμετέρων δὲ πολιτῶν), and the disclosure to them of all the things that had happened (καὶ ἡ τῶν γεγονότων ἁπάντων αὐτοῖς ἐπιφάνεια) *as well as their domination of the land* (καὶ κράτησις τῆς χώρας), and the detailed account of the entire law (καὶ τῆς ὅλης νομοθεσίας ἐπεξήγησις), so that it is very clear that the aforementioned philosopher had taken over many ideas; for he was very learned, just as Pythagoras, having borrowed many of the things in our traditions, found room for them in his own doctrinal system.

Σηλω (LXX-Josh 18:1, 8, 10; 19:51; 21:2; 22:9, 12; 24:1, 25) seems to reflect the Hebrew Joshua instead of the Greek translation.

18. Adela Yabro Collins, "Aristobulus," *OTP* 2:831–42; Carl R. Holladay, *Aristobulus* (vol. 3 of *Fragments of Hellenistic Jewish Authors;* SBLTT Pseudepigrapha Series; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

19. Elias Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 28 (1959); repr. in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (AGJU 9.1; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 168 n. 2; Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2.Jh.s v.Chr.* (2nd ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1973), 295–97; Collins, "Aristobulus," 832–33; Holladay, *Aristobulus*, 74–75.

20. Nikolaus Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos: Untersuchungen zu seinen Fragmenten und zu pseudepigraphischen Resten der jüdisch-hellenistischen Literatur* (TU 86; Berlin: Akademie, 1964), 23, dates Aristobulus much later, around 100 B.C.E.

Leaving aside the bold claim that leading Greek philosophers such as Plato and Pythagoras borrowed their insights from Jewish Scripture, it is interesting to note that, according to Aristobulus, not only the events surrounding the exodus and the law giving were translated into Greek, but also the events related to the domination of the land (κράτησις τῆς χώρας). The latter can only refer to the events described in the book of Joshua.[21] It is interesting to note that the Greek translator of Joshua had employed the same verb κρατέω with the meaning *to gain control over* in Joshua 18:1.

> The whole assembly of the sons of Israel was gathered in Σηλω, and they pitched there the tent of the testimony, *and the land was dominated by them* (ἐκρατήθη).

Although the use of this verb in the Greek Bible is not restricted to this place, the predominant meaning is "to grasp, to take somebody by the hand."[22] Only in a very few cases such as LXX-Joshua and the work of Aristobulus does κρατέω have the military sense. Gilles Dorival has made the objection that Aristobulus speaks of the translation of the law, which makes it unlikely that the phrase κράτησις τῆς χώρας contains a reference to the book of Joshua.[23] Yet Aristobulus refers in general terms to events surrounding (τά τε κατά) the exodus and conquest. The theme of the conquest of the land is irrelevant to Aristobulus's claim of Jewish superiority over the prestigious culture. It is therefore difficult to see why Aristobulus would have invented and willfully referred to a translation of the events concerning the conquest of the land.

Following this train of thought, by the time Aristobulus composed his commentary on the Pentateuch around 175 B.C.E., not only the Pentateuch but also the book of Joshua had been translated into Greek. The quotation also seems to suggest that this was the only other book of Hebrew Scripture translated into Greek by that time. It is hard to tell whether Aristobulus had no real knowledge of

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21. Zacharias Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841), 17; Walter, *Der Thoraausleger Aristobulos*, 89 n. 1; André Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (SC 89; Paris: Cerf, 1962), 118–19.

22. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly on the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Louvain: Peeters, 2002), 328b. In LXX-Joshua the verb occurs only in 18:1. In LXX-Deut 2:34; 3:4, the Greek verb has the same military meaning, as is the case in 1 Esd 4:38, 40. The corresponding Hebrew verb כבש belongs to the distinctive Priestly vocabulary and links Josh 18:1 with Priestly passages in the Pentateuch, Gen 1:28 and Num 32:29; see van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 137–38. In these passage another Greek verb is used: κατακυριεύω. This makes it likely that Aristobulus explicitly referred to LXX-Josh 18:1.

23. Gilles Dorival, "Les origines de la Septante: La traduction en grec des cinq livres de la Torah," in Dorival, Harl, Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante,* 45. See also Bickerman, "Septuagint as Translation," 172 n. 13. Den Hertog, *Studien*, 139 n. 69, follows Dorival.

the origin and date of this Greek Hexateuch or deliberately concealed that knowledge. This statement seems to me to be clear proof of the existence of a Greek translation of Joshua as early as the beginning of the second century B.C.E.

3. Internal Evidence: the Toponyms

Unfortunately, all other clues regarding the date and provenance of the Greek Joshua must derive from the translation itself. Unlike the Greek versions of prophetical books such as Isaiah and Daniel, the Greek Joshua never hints at contemporary events.[24] In the few cases where the Hebrew version of Joshua does point to future events, as is the case with the curse over the person who will try to rebuild Jericho (Josh 6:26), the outstanding conquest of Gezer (16:10), and the predicted apostasy of Israel (Josh 23), the Greek version complements the texts with material from 1 Kings (16:34; 9:16 in LXX-Josh 6:26a and 16:10a, respectively) or Judges (1:1–3:6 in LXX-Josh 24:33a–b). Apparently the aim of these additions is to make clear that the fulfillment of these open ends in the book of Joshua already took place in the narrated time of Joshua itself and belonged to the same distant past as the primitive custom of circumcising people with flint knives (LXX-Josh 5:2–3; 21:42d; 24:31a).[25] The focus of the Greek translator is on the past, not on his own present or future. Eschatological themes as introduced in the Greek Isaiah and Daniel are alien to the Greek Joshua.[26]

Yet it might be asked whether the Greek Joshua unconsciously reflects the political situation of a given period. Here the work of den Hertog deserves special mention. Den Hertog takes his clues from nonliteral translations or transliterations of geographical names in the book. Thus the Greek names for the districts Bashan and Gilead as Βασανῖτις (LXX-Josh 13:11, 12, 30, 31; 17:1; 20:8; 21:27; 22:7) and Γαλααδῖτις (LXX-Josh 13:11; 17:1) reflect the system of designating areas with Semitic names by adding the ending –ῖτις, introduced under Ptolemaic

24. 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, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1981).

25. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 337–39.

26. Den Hertog, *Studien,* 183; Cornelis G. den Hertog, "Eschatologisierung in der griechischen Übersetzung des Buches Josua," in *The New Things: Eschatology in Old Testament Prophecy: Festschrift for Henk Leene* (ed. F. Postma, K. Spronk, and E. Talstra; Amsterdamse Cahiers voor Exegese van de Bijbel en Zijn Tradities Supplement Series 3; Maastricht: Shaker, 2002), 107–17, argues that the plus in LXX-Josh 24:27 ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων was introduced for eschatological reasons, but then he redefines eschatology as paraenesis (113). To my mind, LXX-Josh 24:27 offers a harmonization with Deut 31:29 rather than a midrash-type eschatologization of that passage.

rule, and thus point to 285 B.C.E. as *terminus post quem*.[27] The unspecified use of the Greek word παράλιος reflects, according to den Hertog, the political situation in Palestine before the Seleucid reorganization of Palestinian administration in 198 B.C.E. As a result of that reorganization, the Greek word came to be used for a new district along the coast: Παραλία.[28] Furthermore, den Hertog finds evidence for an Alexandrian provenance of the Greek Joshua in the use of the Greek word μητρόπολις, which reflects the Ptolemaic administrative system in which the *metropolis* was the technical term for the center of a *nomos*.[29]

Nevertheless, the information provided by the Greek renderings of Palestinian toponyms is, according to den Hertog, only of limited value, since a number of Greek renderings seem to reveal the lack of precise knowledge of Palestinian topography. Den Hertog points to the Greek translator's invention of a district Μαδβαρῖτις (LXX-Josh 5:6; 15:61*;[30] 18:12), which according to all our available data existed only in the mind of the Greek translator.[31] Lack of precise topographical knowledge is, according to den Hertog, the source of the confusion in LXX-Josh 11:3, where the geographical information "along the coast" (εἰς τοὺς παραλίους Χαναναίους) and "from the east" (ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν) contains an inner contradiction. Especially this example seems to undermine the value of the use of Greek παράλιος as argument for a pre-198 B.C.E. date of the Greek Joshua. Unlike the Greek translations of the prophetical books and the translation produced by Symmachus, the Greek Joshua makes sparse use of Hellenized toponyms and does not, for instance, contain the Hellenized names for Tabor (Ἰταβύριον),[32] Beth-shean (Σκυθόπολις),[33] and Acco (Πτολεμαίς),[34] but has the transliterations Βαιθαβωρ,[35] Βαιθσαν,[36] and

27. Den Hertog, *Studien,* 139–40.

28. Ibid., 141–42.

29. Ibid., 142–43.

30. The reading βαδδαργις in Codex Vaticanus, adopted by Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1935) undoubtedly reflects a corruption from either Μαδβαρεις (thus Max L. Margolis, *The Book of Joshua in Greek according to the Critically Restored Text with an Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Principal Recensions and of the Individual Witnesses* [Publications of the Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation parts 1–4; Paris: Geuthner, 1931–1938; part 5, ed. E. Tov; Philadelphia: Annenberg Research Institute, 1992], 319), or Μαδβαρῖτις (thus Den Hertog, *Studien,* 86). See van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*, 22–32, for the questions concerning the critical reconstruction of the original text of LXX-Joshua.

31. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 355–59.

32. Cf LXX-Hos 5:1; LXX-Jer 26[46]:18.

33. Cf. 2 Macc 12:30.

34. The Greek name Πτολεμαίς occurs frequently in 1–3 Maccabees.

35. Βαιθαβωρ is Margolis's reconstruction of the Greek rendering of בתבור in Josh 19:22 (*Book of Joshua in Greek*, 373).

36. LXX-Josh 17:11, 16.

Ακκω.[37] Furthermore, the use of μητρόπολις in the sense of "capital-state" was not restricted to Ptolemaic Egypt.[38]

Thus it would seem that the geographical information does not provide solid proof for a third-century B.C.E. date of the Greek Joshua, especially since the Greek translator seems to have had only a limited knowledge of Palestinian topography. Yet a careful study of the Greek version in its own right and within the context of contemporary sources makes clear that his knowledge of Palestinian topography was better than hitherto assumed. For example, LXX-Josh 5:12 seems to contain another puzzling and contradictory statement: the area around Jericho seems to be called the country of the Phoenicians (χώρα τῶν Φοινίκων), which is clearly a free rendering for the Hebrew phrase ארץ כנען. The χώρα τῶν Φοινίκων designates the area around the Phoenician city-states Sidon and Tyre north of Palestine, not such a remote inland oasis. The text makes an explicit reference to Exod 16:35, where the same Hebrew expression ארץ כנען occurs and where the Greek Exodus has the condensed rendering ἡ Φοινική. Unlike the Hebrew and Greek texts of Exodus, where the land of Canaan or Phoenicia remains rather vague, the Greek expression χώρα τῶν Φοινίκων is inappropriate, since the text refers to the neighborhood of Jericho, whereas the Greek name Phoenicia usually refers to the contemporary state of Lebanon. According to den Hertog, the unusual Greek rendering in Josh 5:12 is best explained as a case of literary dependence of the Greek Joshua upon the Greek Pentateuch,[39] but in that case one would have expected exactly the same phrase, ἡ Φοινική, in LXX-Joshua as well.

As I have attempted to demonstrate in my dissertation, the Greek Joshua probably did not intend to associate Jericho with the far more northern land of the Phoenicians but wanted to describe Jericho's neighborhood as the country of palm trees, that is, χώρα τῶν φοινίκων, the same Greek text but with a lowercase letter φ.[40] Other literary initiatives employed by the Greek translator in these verses, such as the detailed description of the location of Jericho (5:10) ἐπὶ δυσμῶν Ιεριχω ἐν τῷ πέραν τοῦ Ιορδάνου ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ for the single Hebrew expression בערבות יריחו, cast doubts on the idea that the Greek translator of Joshua had no intimate knowledge of Palestinian topography, at least not for this part of Palestine.

This rendering is also interesting for another reason. The area around Jericho with its palm groves and balsam plantations must have had high economical value for the Ptolemies.[41] It is probably no coincidence, so den Hertog, that Jericho

37. Den Hertog, *Studien*, 143–44.

38. LSJ 1131b; see, e.g., Xenophon, *Anab.* 5.2.3.

39. Den Hertog, *Studien,* 113–14.

40. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 400–408. See also Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants* 2.6.8.

41. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus,* 86–92.

occurs in the Zenon archive, a collection of documentary papyri from the middle of the third century B.C.E.[42] Between 260 and 258 B.C.E., Zenon, a young assistant of Apollonius, the Ptolemaic finance minister (Greek διοικητής), visited Palestine a few times and kept records in his personal archive in the Egyptian Faiyum. His archive consists of some two thousand documents. On his journeys he was accompanied by personnel such as cooks, scribes, and mule drivers (P.Lond. 7, 1930). His archive constitutes practically our sole source of information concerning Palestine in the third century B.C.E. Therefore it is interesting to compare the place names found in this archive with the place names in the Greek Joshua.

Name	Zenon archive	LXX-Joshua	Other Sources
Abel-shittim?	Ἀβελλα[43]	(2:1 Σαττιν)	
Acco	Πτολεμαίς[44]	19:30 Ἀκκω[45]	Pseudo-Skylax (IV B.C.E.)[46] Ἄκη πόλις
Ascalon	Ἀσκάλων[47]	13:3 Ἀσκαλωνίτης	Pseudo-Skylax: Ἀσκάλων πόλις Τυρίων

42. Den Hertog, *Studien,* 143 n. 80.

43. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 5; P.Lond. 7, 1930, line 171; cf. Xavier Durand, *Des grecs en Palestine au 3e siècle avant Jésus-Christ: Le dossier syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261–252)* (Cahiers de la revue biblique 38; Paris: Gabalda, 1997), 63.

44. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 12; 59008, line 17; P.Cair.Zen. 59558 line 3; 59698, lines 11.25; Pap.Lugd.Bat. 20, 32, line 4; P.Lond. 7, 2022, line 1; 2141, line 2; P.Mich.Zen. 1, 3; PSI 4, 406, line 14; PSI 5, 495, line 13; PSI 6, 616, line 13; see Pieter W. Pestman, *A Guide to the Zenon Archive (P.L.Bat.21)* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 21b; Leiden: Brill, 1981), 496.

45. The Greek witnesses reflect the name Ακκω, thus Margolis's reconstruction of Αρχωθ E (B.55.129.Sah.Eth; cf. 120 Αρχωβ) < Ακκωβ S (54; cf. 75 Ακωβ, VetLat *Achob*; 44.106.134 Ακκωρ) < Ακκω M-n (52.53.57.85.130.344). MT reads עַמָּה, which is the reading (Αμμα, Αμνα, Αμα, and ܥܡܐ Syh) found in the P and C witnesses. MT is usually regarded as a corruption from עכו; cf. Judg 1:31; see, e.g., Johannes Hollenberg, "Zur Textkritik des Buches Josua und des Buches der Richter," *ZAW* 1 (1881): 97–105, esp. 100–101; Martin Noth, *Das Buch Josua* (2nd ed.; HAT 1.7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1953), 114; J. Alberto Soggin, *Le livre de Josué* (CAT 5a; Neuchâtel: Delachaux & Niestlé, 1970), 143; Dominique Barthélemy, *Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther* (vol. 1. of *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 50.1; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Rupprecht, 1982), 57–59; Trent C. Butler, *The Book of Joshua* (WBC 7; Waco, Tex.: Word, 1983), 199; and Volkmar Fritz, *Das Buch Josua* (HAT 1.7; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 194.

46. Menahem Stern, *Appendices and Indexes* (vol. 3 of *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism: Edited with Introduction, Translations and Commentary;* Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1984), 8–12.

47. P.Cair.Zen. 59010, line 22.

Hauran-Aurana	Αὔρανα	–	1 Macc 6:43 Αὐραν; 2 Macc 4:40 Αὐρανός; Ezek 47:16 Αὐρανεῖτος
Beth-anath	Βαιτάνατα, Βαιτιάνατα, Βαιτανῶτα[48]	19:38 Βαιθαναθ[49]	Judg 1:33 B: Βαιθαναχ A: Βαιθενεθ
Edom-Idumea	Ἰδουμαία, Εἰδουμαῖος[50]	15:1 Ἰδουμαία[51] 15:21 Εδωμ	
Eitoui?	Εἰτουι[52]	–	
Galilee	Γάλιλα, Γαλιλαία[53]	13:5 Γαλιλαθ[54] 20:7; 21:32 Γαλειλαία[55]	
Gaza	Γάζα	13:3 Γαζαῖος	
Jaffa	Ἰόπη	19:46 Ἰοππη	
Jamnia-Yabneh	Ἰεμναι P.Cair.Zen. 59006, lines 1–3:[56] [δεδώκαμεν] [..]σκόμβρους [ἐν Ἰε]μναι	15:46 Ἰεμναι[57]	Judith 2:28 Ἰαμνάα; contrast all other Greek sources: Ἰαμνεια.[58]

48. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 10; 59011, line 8; P.Lond. 7, 1948, lines 4, 13; PSI 6, 594, line 18.

49. The reading Βαιθαναθ is attested by the majuscules V and W, and a number of other witnesses, and furthermore reflected by the variant readings. Margolis conjectured Βαιθ Ανεθ.

50. P.Cair.Zen. 59015, verso line 42; Pap.Lugd.Bat. 20, 18, line 3.

51. E-manuscripts erroneously read Ιουδαιας for Ιδουμαιας; see Margolis *ad loco*.

52. Mentioned only in P.Cair.Zen. 59004; see Durand, *Des grecs,* 67.

53. P.Col.Zen. 1 2, lines 18, 22.

54. Rahlfs adopted the reading of A.G.V.W.15.82.344(mg).85(mg).29.On-ed the reading Γαβλι. Margolis reconstructed Γαλιλαθ on the basis of his S witnesses, from which the E (B.407) reading Γαλιαθ would be a secondary corruption; cf. Γαλιαδ 120.Aeth. Cf. Johannes Hollenberg, *Der Charakter der alexandrinischen Uebersetzung des Buches Josua und ihr textkritischer Werth* (Moers: Edner, 1876), 4: "den Ueb., welcher wohl הגבלת las, gab τὴν γὴν Γαβλάθ, als dies in Γαλιάθ verdorben war, wollte ein Abschreiber durch Angabe der philistäischen Herkunft Goliaths seine Bibelkenntnis zeigen."

55. Γαλειλαία in 12:23 B.120.407 probably reflects a scribal error; see Margolis *ad loco*.

56. See Pestman, *Guide to the Zenon Archive,* 486; Durand, *Des grecs,* 94–97.

57. The toponym Ἰεμναι, Jamnia, has been preserved by majuscules A, V, W, and a number of minuscules, while B.129 contains the corrupted form Γέμνα. Margolis conjectured Ιεβνα, in order to adapt the Greek name to the Hebrew יבנה, but this reconstruction fails to do justice to the papyrological evidence.

58. 1 Macc 4:15; 5:58; 10:69; 15:40; 2 Macc 12:8, 9 (Ἰαμνίτης), 40; Strabo, 16.2.30 (Ἰαμνεια); Josephus, *Life* 188.1; *Ant.* 12.308 (Ἰαμνεια); Herennius Philo fragment 3c 790, F.7.5 and F.38.1

Jericho	Ἐριχω[59]	Ιεριχω	
Jerusalem	Ἱεροσόλυμα[60]	Ιερουσαλημ	
Kadesh	Κύδισος[61]	12:21; 15:23; 20:7 Καδης[62]	
Lakasa?	Λάκασα[63]	–	
Mareshah	Μάρισα, Μαρίζα[64]	15:44 Μαρησα[65]	
Moab	Μωβίτης[66]	13:32; 24:9; (absent in MT 13:14; 24:33b) Μωάβ	contrast Μωαβε[ι]τις[67]
Noe?	Νόη[68]	–	–
Pegai? Afek?	Πηγαί[69]		*Ant.* 13.260
Rabbat-Amman	Ραββατάμμανα[70]	13:25 Ραββα	Φιλαδέλφια (Ραββα)
Sourabitta?	Σωράβιττα, Σουράβιττα[71]	–	–
Straton's tower–Caesarea	Στράτωνος πύργος	–	

Although the names for Palestinian towns and regions in the Zenon archive differ occasionally from the Greek Joshua, such as Πτολεμαίς for Ακκω, Εριχω

apud Stephanus Byzantius *sub voce* Ἰοπη· πόλις Φοινικης πλησίον Ἰαμνίας; Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodi, *De prosodia catholica* 3.1.248.16; 3.1.339.5; 3,1.531.18.

59. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 4; Durand, *Des grecs,* 63.

60. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 3; 59005, line 6.

61. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 11; Pap.Lugd.Bat. 20, 32; line 12.

62. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 11; Pap.Lugd.Bat. 20, 32, line 12; LXX-Josh 12:21; 15:23; 20:7; Durand, *Des grecs,* 68–69.

63. Mentioned only in P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 7; see Durand, *Des grecs,* 65–66.

64. P.Cair.Zen. 59006 col. III, line 64; 59015 *verso* col. I, line 16 (ἐμ Μαρίσηι); col. II line 29 (ἐμ Μαρίζηι); P.Cair.Zen. 59537 line 4 (ἐν Μαρίσηι).

65. The presence of the Greek toponym Marisa, spelled here Μαρησα, is well supported by witnesses of the S, M and C families (A.V.W. Arm, Sah^{C}, VetLat, Syh).

66. P.Cair.Zen. 59009, line 22.

67. Gen 19:37; Exod 15:15; Deut 2:9; 1 Chr 18:2; Isa 15:1, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8; 16:7; 25:10; Jer 31[48]:33; 32:7 [25:21].

68. Mentioned only in P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 8; see Durand, *Des grecs,* 66.

69. PSI 4, 406, line 12.

70. PSI 6, 616, line 27.

71. P.Cair.Zen. 59004, line 6; P.Lond. 7, 1930, line 175; Durand, *Des grecs,* 63–65.

for Ιεριχω, and Κύδισος for Καδης, or contain toponyms not attested in the Greek Joshua, such as Στράτωνος πύργος (Caesarea) and the unknown Transjordan cities Λάκασα, Νόη, and Εἰτουι,[72] there are also some interesting correspondences between the two lists:

(1) Both the Greek Joshua and the Zenon papyri contain variable spellings of the same name; see, for instance, the spelling of Edom and Galilee. In one and the same document (P.Cair.Zen. 59015) we find Mareshah spelled with a *sigma* and with a *zēta*.

(2) Although Acco bears the Hellenized name Ptolemais in the Zenon letters, the capital of Ammon, which was renamed by Ptolemy II Philadelphos,[73] still bears the Semitic name Ραββα or Ραββαταμμάνοι both in the Zenon documents and the Greek Joshua. While the Semitic name continued to be used in Jewish Greek writings from later periods[74] and also occurs in Polybius 5.71.4, it is interesting to note that the Greek Joshua agrees with the Zenon documents vis-à-vis most other references to the Ammonite capital in Greek writings.[75]

(3) Even more remarkable is the almost exclusive link between the Greek Joshua and the Zenon archive when it comes to the spelling of the city of Yabneh-Jamnia, which is Ἰεμναι. All other Greek sources, with the exception of Jdt 2:28, spell the name as Ἰαμνεία, which is clearly different from the reading found in LXX-Josh 15:46 and the Cairo Zenon papyrus number 6.

Unfortunately, however, both the papyrological and manuscript evidence is based on reconstruction. The first lines of a fragmentary column (P.Cair.Zen. 59006) report the gift of mackerels in Ἰεμναι. Since the papyrus deals with distribution of fish during Zenon's tour in Idumea and mentions the neighboring places Γαζαίων λιμήν "port of Gaza," Μάρισα "Mareshah," and Ἀδώρεος "Adoraïm," the reconstruction by Campbell C. Edgar [ἐν Ἰε]μναι seems very plausible.[76] In LXX-Josh 15:46, the toponym Ἰεμναι is attested by the majuscules A, V, W, and a large

72. Mentioned only in P.Cair.Zen. 59004; see Durand, *Des grecs,* 65–67.

73. Günther Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches: Politik, Ideologie und religiöser Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft 1994), 60.

74. Ραββα (Amos 1:14; 1 Chr 20:1); Ραββαθ (2 Sam 11:1; 12:29; Jer 30:17, 10 [MT-Jer 49:2, 3]; Amos 1; Deut 3:11 ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν υἱῶν Αμμων; cf. P.Yadin 16, line 11 ἐν Ραββαθμωβοις πόλει (2–4 December 127 C.E.); P.Yadin 25; lines 22, 25 εἰς Ραββαμωαβα (9 July 131 C.E.); see Naphtali Lewis, ed., *The Documents from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters: Greek Papyri* (Judean Desert Studies 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989).

75. See already the work of the second-century B.C.E. historian Posidonius 1052 003 2a, 87, F. 70.9, and further, e.g., Strabo, 16.760, Josephus, *J.W* 2.458; *Ant.* 20.2, and the New Testament.

76. Campbell C. Edgar, *Zenon Papyri: Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. 1. 59001–59139* (Cairo: Imprimerie de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1925), 11.

number of minuscules. The spelling of Ἰεμναι in Jdt 2:28 as Ἰεμνάα[77] supports the reconstruction in both the papyrus and the Greek Joshua.

A further complication is posed by the fact that the MT has a different text: מעקרון וימה "from Ekron and to the sea," which makes perfect sense in the Hebrew text.[78] Since the cities listed in Josh 15:45–47, Ekron and Ashdod, are in close proximity to Jamnia, the Greek translator in all likelihood introduced this city into his Greek translation, probably unaware of the fact that the proper Hebrew name for Jamnia, Yabneh or Yabneh-El, was mentioned already elsewhere in the book (יַבְנְאֵל 15:11) and properly transliterated as Ιαβνηλ.[79]

The geographical evidence is not very conclusive and does not provide solid proof for a third-century B.C.E. provenance of the Greek Joshua. Yet it might be suggested that the correspondence with respect to the names of Rabbat and Yabneh-Jamnia lends support to the thesis that the Greek Joshua was made in the third century B.C.E. The fluidity in the spelling of the toponyms, observable both in the Zenon papyri and the Greek Joshua, may also point to a relatively early date of the Greek Joshua. Perhaps the Greek translator's creation of the fictive district Madbaritis also reflects the time in which the Hellenization of Palestinian toponyms was still in its early stages. Apparently the Greek translator had more geographical knowledge of Palestine than usually assumed.

4. The Profile of the Greek Translator

This brings me to the next issue: the competences of the Greek translator. As Arie van der Kooij has demonstrated in several studies, the Greek translators of the biblical books, the book of Joshua not excluded, must have belonged to learned, scribal circles, capable of reading aloud the text (ἀνάγνωσις), interpreting it (διασάφησις or ἐξήγησις), and rendering the Hebrew text into Greek.[80]

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77. Thus Hanhart's reconstruction : Robert Hanhart, *Iudith* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate academiae scientiarum Gottingensis editum 8.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

78. See the discussion in Jacobus C. de Vos, *Das Los Judas: Über Entstehung und Ziele der Landbeschreibung in Josua 15* (VTSup 95; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 63–64.

79. Thus A. G. W rell. Margolis conjecturally reconstructed Ιεβναηλ.

80. Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 112–23; idem, "Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint: Who Are the Translators?" in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism: A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. Noort; VTSup 73; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 214–29; idem, "Zur Frage der Exegese im LXX-Psalter: Ein Beitrag zur Verhältnisbestimmung zwischen Original und Übersetzung," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen: Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 366–79.

Already in 1876 Johannes Hollenberg had demonstrated that the Greek translator of Joshua possessed to a large extent the ability to read and interpret classical Hebrew and to render it into good Greek.[81] In the Qumran era the competence of the Greek translator of Joshua was played down in favor of the still-popular idea that the Greek translation reflects a recensionally different and older Hebrew version of the book of Joshua,[82] which in my view is only true for chapter 20. As I have attempted to demonstrate in my book *Formation and Reformulation,* the Greek version abounds with small literary initiatives, which render it impossible that the Greek translator was an ordinary dragoman without intimate knowledge of the entire book.

A study of the Greek vocabulary,[83] which is almost twice as large as that of the Hebrew text,[84] as well as the Greek syntax, which contains relatively more genuine Greek constructions than later books,[85] makes clear that the translator had a full command of the Greek language. Even more remarkable is his intimate knowledge of classical Hebrew, which contains only a very restricted amount of deficiencies.[86] Already in the third century B.C.E. it was far from self-evident that educated Jews in Ptolemaic Egypt possessed good knowledge of classical Hebrew, as the example of Demetrius the chronographer makes clear. The Egyptian Jewish vernacular language was either Aramaic or Greek, as attested by the papyri and inscriptions.[87]

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81. Hollenberg, *Der Charakter;* van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 32ff.

82. See, e.g., Samuel Holmes, *Joshua: The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914).

83. See Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *Jésus (Josué) : Traduction du texte grec de la Septante : Introduction et notes* (La bible d'Alexandrie 6; Paris: Cerf, 1996), 42–68.

84. J. Bajard and R.-Ferdinand Poswick, "Aspects statistiques des rapports entre la Septante et le texte massorétique," in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Leuven, 1989* (ed. C. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 123–56.

85. For instance, the Greek translator's use of the *participium coniunctum* in Josh 1:11; 5:13; 24:9; the *genetivus absolutus* in 4:23; 6:5; and the ὅτι *recitativum* in 4:22; see Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom*.

86. Hollenberg, *Der Charakter,* 9–11. Whereas the Greek translators of Exodus (13:18) and Judges (7:11) struggled with the meaning of חמש Qal, the Greek translator provided correct translations in 1:14 (εὔζωνοι) and 4:12 (διεσκευασμένοι); see van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 243–44.

87. Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, eds., *Textbook of Aramaic Documents* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1986–1999); Victor A. Tcherikover, Alexander Fuks, Menahem Stern, and David M. Lewis, eds., *Corpus papyrorum judaicarum* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1957–1964) = *CPJ;* to be supplemented by the papyri listed by Isaac F. Fikhman, "L'état des travaux au 'Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum' IV," in *Akten des 21. internationalen Papyrologenkongresses, Berlin 13–19.8.1995* (ed. B. Kramer, W. Luppe, H. Maehler, and G. Poethke; Stuttgart: Teubner, 1997), 290–96; and the archive of the Jewish

Besides his knowledge of classical Hebrew and Greek, the Greek translator must have had a very good knowledge of the Pentateuch. On several occasions he departed from the Hebrew text in order to adjust the text of Joshua to the Pentateuch. The use of the Greek verb παρατάσσω "to draw up in battle order," for Hebrew לחם "to fight" in Josh 24:9, is one example: after all, Balak did not really come to a fight with Israel, which made a literal rendering of the Hebrew verb by πολεμέω inappropriate.[88] The omission of Moses as the subject of the giving of the land in LXX-Josh 1:14 is another example. Here the Greek translator adjusted the text of Joshua to the idea found in the Pentateuch that the land was a gift of Yahweh only. The same concern for harmonization with the Pentateuch accounts for the omission of the phrases in Josh 1:7 ("all the torah that Moses has commanded to you") and 4:10 ("all that Moses had commanded to Joshua"), since all instructions to Joshua derive directly from the Deity, according to the Pentateuch.[89]

Even more remarkable is the Greek translator's knowledge of military affairs and administration. In her study of the vocabulary of the Greek Joshua, Jacqueline Moatti-Fine notes what she calls "une plus grande initiative dans les domaines militaire et géographique." Examples are the numerous renderings of a single Hebrew word, such as נכה "to strike" or לחם "to fight," the distinction between various military groups,[90] and the use of technical Greek military terms not attested in the Greek Pentateuch or elsewhere in the Greek Bible.[91] A number of significant variant readings in LXX vis-à-vis MT can be explained as the result of the Greek translator's keen interest in military affairs. In Joshua's appeal to the Transjordanian tribes to aid the remaining tribes with the conquest of Cis-

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politeuma of Heracleopolis, recently published by James M. S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, eds., *Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v.Chr.) (P.Polit.Iud.): Papyri aus den Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien* (Papyrologica coloniensia 29; Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher 2001). For the epigraphical evidence, see William Horbury and David Noy, eds., *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt with an Index of the Jewish Inscriptions of Egypt and Cyrenaica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). See further Joseph Mélèze Modrzejewski, *Les Juifs d'Egypte, de Ramsès II à Hadrien* (Paris: Éditions Armand Colin, 1992); trans. as *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (trans. R. Cornman; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

88. See Hollenberg, *Der Charakter,* 5–6.

89. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 182–85, 210–22; and Michaël N. van der Meer, "Textual and Literary Criticism in Joshua 1:7 (MT and LXX)," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2001), 355–71.

90. See, e.g., the μαχίμοι "warriors," who occur in LXX-Josh 5:6 and 6:3 as rendering for Hebrew אנשי המלחמה, and in Josh 6:7, 9, 13 as equivalent for the Hebrew substantival passive participle Qal החלוץ "men equipped for war." In the Greek Old Testament, the noun occurs only in LXX-4 Reg 19:25 and LXX-Prov 21:19.

91. Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 53–66.

jordanian Palestine, Josh 1:14, Hebrew עזר becomes συμμαχέω, a contextually appropriate rendering, but significant, since it occurs in the Greek Old Testament almost exclusively in the genuine Greek composition 2 Maccabees.[92]

From a syntactical point of view, chapter 10 of the book may be classed as dull, unidiomatic Greek, because of the high percentage of paratactic clause connections with καί. Yet it abounds with unusual Greek renderings of common Hebrew words, such as ἐκπολιορκέω (10:3, in the Greek Old Testament only in LXX-Josh 7:3) for לחם, καταπολεμέω (10:25, again a *hapax* in the Greek Old Testament) for the same Hebrew verb, and ἐπιπαραγίνομαι (10:9) for Hebrew בוא.[93] When in the same chapter king Adonibezek hears of the Gibeonites' ruse, the Hebrew text employs the verb שלם "to make peace with," the Greek translator aptly transforms this idea by means of the rarely used verb αὐτομολέω "to change sides, to desert." Samuel Holmes thought the choice of this Greek verb was a guess meant to conceal the Greek translator's lack of knowledge of the precise meaning of the corresponding Hebrew verb.[94] In the light of the preceding observation, the reverse seems to be more likely.[95]

Interest in military affairs is also clearly discernible in the Greek translator's rewriting of the fall of Jericho, Josh 6, where the repetitive priestly sections at the beginning of the chapter (6:3–4, 7–9) have been condensed, the discursive sections have been rationalized, and the temporal frame of the narrative somewhat adjusted (6:12).[96] Rarely used Greek forms, such as the third-person imperatives (6:7–10) and lexemes such as ἀλαλάζω "to raise the war cry" (6:20), ἐπακολουθέω "to follow" (6:8), and οὐραγέω "to lead the rear" (6:9),[97] make it clear that the

92. See the discussion in van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 244–45.

93. The Greek verb περικαθίζω "to besiege," which occurs only eighteen times in the Greek Old Testament, out of which five are in the Greek Joshua (10:5, 31, 34, 36, 38). The other places are: LXX-Deut 20:12, 19; LXX-Judg 9:50; LXX-3 Reg 15:27; 16:17; 21(20):1, 1; LXX-4 Reg 6:24; LXX-1 Chr 20:1; 1 Macc 6:19, 20; and 2 Macc 10:33.

94. See, e.g., Holmes, *Joshua,* 49; Harry M. Orlinksy, "The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint of the Book of Joshua," in *Congress Volume: Rome, 1968* (VTSup 17; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 187–95; Emanuel Tov, "The Growth of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Evidence of the LXX Translation," in *Studies in Bible 1986* (ed. S. Japhet; ScrHier 31; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1986), 321–39.

95. The Greek translator of Deuteronomy also chose an apt, though different, equivalent in 20:12: ὑπακούω; see John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 325.

96. See Klaus Bieberstein, *Josua-Jordan-Jericho: Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1–6* (OBO 143; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 230–67, with references to older literature.

97. The verb οὐραγέω "to lead the rear, to be the rear guard" occurs in the Greek Old Testament only here and in LXX-Sir 35:11. The corresponding noun οὐραγία occurs also in LXX-Josh 10:19 and LXX-Deut 25:18, as equivalent for the Hebrew verb זנב "to smite in the rear." See Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 124: "hapax dans la LXX, ce terme du vocabulaire militaire, bien

option of a recensionally different Hebrew *Vorlage* underlying the Greek text should be ruled out.[98] The Hebrew version with its stress on the priestly and liturgical aspects has been transformed into a narrative with a more military character.

As I have tried to demonstrate in my book, the same concern for logic in narratives dealing with military affairs brought the Greek translator to a drastic shortening of Josh 8:1–29.[99] The transposition of the famous passage dealing with Joshua's offerings and torah reading on Mount Ebal, Josh 8:30–35 (MT), after Josh 9:1–2 (LXX), must be seen in the same light: only after the threat of the hostile forces had been postponed, owing to their redeployment of troops (Josh 9:1–2), could Joshua and Israel perform the prescribed religious duties in unconquered land.[100]

Significant also are the lexical innovations with respect to the theme of land division. A parcel of land given to the individual groups is variously called κληρονομία "inheritance," κλῆρος "share, portion," and σχοίνισμα or σχοινισμός "a piece of land measured out by a σχοινίον, measuring cord," which are technical terms that occur frequently in the Ptolemaic papyri for pieces of land given to soldiers after their military duty that remain family property.[101] Interesting also are the verbs used by the Greek translator to describe the work of the committee in Josh 18:1–10 charged with measuring out the land. Compared to the Hebrew text, which has the colorless verbs כתב and הלך, the Greek translation again employs very specific vocabulary: διαγράφω "to delineate," and χωροβατέω "measure land by steps." Whereas the former word is well attested in the Greek Ptolemaic papyri (and hardly so in the Greek Old Testament), the latter verb establishes another exclusive link with the Zenon papyri (P.Cair.Zen. 59329).[102] In a document dated to 19 April 248 B.C.E., Apollonius and Menippos, two vine dressers, report their

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attesté chez Polybe, souligne l'aspect guerrier de cette procession." In the documentary papyri the root οὐραγ– occurs only in BGU 8, 1784, 5 (first century B.C.E.); P.Dion (Pap.Lugd.Bat. 22) 16, line 15 (109 B.C.E.); and P.Strassburg 8, 742, 6 (second century B.C.E.).

98. So also, with different argumentation, Lea Mazor, "A Nomistic Reworking of the Jericho Conquest Narrative Reflected in LXX to Joshua 6:1–20," *Textus* 18 (1995): 47–62.

99. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 465–76.

100. Ibid., 519.

101. Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 59–60; Hans-Albert Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung in die Papyruskunde* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1994), 82–83.

102. The verb χωροβατέω and its derivative χωροβάτης occur in the entire corpus of extant classical Greek literature, apart from LXX-Josh 18:8, 9, 9, only in P.Cair.Zen. 59329; in Hero Mechanicus, *Dioptra* 12; Vitruvius, 8.5.1; and a first-century C.E. epitaph in Corycus from Asia Minor; see Josef Keil and Adolf Wilhelm, eds., *Denkmäler aus dem rauhen Kilikien* (vol. 3 of *Monumenta asiae minoris antiqua;* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), no. 694. The usual word for land measuring was χωρογραφέω, which is also the reading of the recentiores in Josh 18:8; see Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 67.

work on the field that they surveyed (ἐχωροβατήσαμεν) up to the village Bakchias.

The Greek translator probably also had training or experience in administrative affairs. Whereas the Greek translators of the Pentateuch, Judges, and other biblical books usually render the Hebrew noun שֹׁפֵט "judge," by κριτής, the Greek translator introduces the term δικαστής "magistrate," again a word that is better known from the papyri than the Greek Old Testament.[103] The use of the noun μητρόπολις also reflects the Greek translator's knowledge of administrative affairs.

We thus find various literary initiatives employed by the Greek translator of Joshua with respect to the themes of the conquest, division, and administration of land. By contrast, the Greek translation shows less interest in religious affairs. The final chapters have been rendered in a rather straightforward manner without the literary innovations so abundantly present in the first half of the book.[104] The transformation of the Jericho narrative from a cultic to a military activity is another example. A comparable shift in stress on cultic purity toward historical and military plausibility can be observed in LXX-Josh 5:2–9.[105]

The Greek translator does modify some of the anthropomorphic statements with regard to the Deity[106] and takes over from the Greek translators of the Pentateuch the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate cultic places (βώμος and θυσιαστηρίον) in Josh 22:9–34 and further avoids in Josh 20 the use of the Greek word ἀσυλία in the genuine Israelite institution of cities of refuge (rather than the pagan temple areas), as do the Greek translators of Exodus (21:14), Numbers (35), and Deuteronomy (19:1–13),[107] but significant renderings are absent in Josh 22–24.

Returning to the question of competency, we may conclude this section with the observation that the Greek translator must have been a well-educated Jew. His education must have encompassed both classical Hebrew and its ancient lit-

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103. LXX-Exod 2:14; LXX-Josh 9:2d (= MT 8:33); 23:2; 24:1; LXX-1 Reg 8:1, 2; 24:16; 1 Esd 8:23; Wis 6:1; LXX-Sir 38:33; Bar 2:1; 3 Macc 6:9; and Aquila's version of Ps 67(68):6; see Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 42–44; Ceslas Spicq, *Notes de lexicographie néo-testamentaire: Supplément* (OBO 22.3; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 149–51: "Dikastès peut désigner le magistrat qui siège au tribunal pour rendre la justice, mais aussi "les juges élus' (Philon, *Deus immut*. 112, *Agr*.116).… Il y a surtout ces personnages éminents qui jouent un rôle de premier plan dans l'administration de la cité, et font partie d'un bureau ou des commissions de l'assemblé pour préparer une fête au gérer des fonds."

104. In her study of the religious vocabulary in the Greek Joshua, Moatti-Fine (*Josué,* 46–52) makes clear that the Greek translator of Joshua closely followed the Greek translators of the Pentateuch.

105. Van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation,* 335–413.

106. Hollenberg, *Der Charakter,* 9; Moatti-Fine, *Josué,* 49–50.

107. See the notes in the *La Bible d'Alexandrie* series.

erature, particularly the Pentateuch, and Greek language and culture, including military affairs, which belonged to the regular curriculum of the Greek gymnasium,[108] as well as juridical and administrative matters. Furthermore, the Greek translator must have had a reasonable knowledge of Palestinian topography.

5. Authorship of the Greek Translation of Joshua

If we adopt the observations made above about the relatively early date of the Greek translation, known already to Aristobulus around 175 B.C.E., and exhibiting some remarkable agreements with words found in the Zenon papyri (variable spelling of place names, the spelling of Yabneh as Ἰεμναι, the use of the word χωροβατέω), we may assume that the translator lived sometime between when the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was made (280 B.C.E.?) and the time when Aristobulus wrote his statement about the influence of the Jewish literature upon Greek philosophy (176–170 B.C.E.) or before the time the Seleucids took over control over Palestine from the Ptolemies (200–198 B.C.E.). Although our information on Jews in the third century B.C.E. is very scanty, it is noteworthy that the information we do have makes clear that only a relatively small group of Jews could have fit the profile sketched out above. Our papyrological and epigraphical data do not provide clear evidence for Jews well versed in both Greek and classical Hebrew. Furthermore, a large number of Jews both in Palestine and Egypt simply lacked the means and the education to perform the time-consuming and expensive task of translating an entire book.[109] Possibly the Greek translator belonged to the group of the relatively well-to-do former Jewish soldiers who after their military service received landholdings (κλῆροι, a term frequently used by the Greek translator of Joshua). The Zenon papyri contain several references to Jewish κληροῦχοι in the Faiyum.[110] Since the Zenon papyri also mention a gymnasium in the Faiyum,[111] it is not impossible that the Greek translator belonged to this milieu and had received his education in the Egyptian Faiyum.

It is also interesting to observe that the documentary papyri from the third century B.C.E. mention a duo of a Jewish father and his son who fit the profile of the Greek translator of Joshua to some extent: they are Drimylos and his

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108. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus,* 120–52.

109. Naphtali Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974), 129–34, has estimated that the price for an average papyrus roll equaled the two-days' wage of an Egyptian laborer. The Jews mentioned in section 2, "Jews of the Fayûm in the Zenon Papyri," in *CPJ* 1 lacked the money and education to produce the Greek Joshua. *CPJ* 1 12, 18, 19, 21, 22 were probably written by professional scribes on behalf of the Jews mentioned in these documents. *CPJ* 1 13 (= P.Cair.Zen. 59377) may have been written by the Jews Alexander and Ismaelos, but the Greek of the letter is confused.

110. *CPJ* 1 18–32.

111. PSI 4, 340; 418, 7; see Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus,* 122.

son Dositheos, known from 3 Macc 1:3 and a number of Greek documentary papyri.[112] Dositheos held a high position at the Ptolemaic court during the reigns of Ptolemy III Euergetes I (246–222 B.C.E.) and Ptolemy IV Philopator (222–205 B.C.E.). Since the name Δωσίθεος was almost exclusively used by Jews, his Jewish origin is without dispute.[113] The name of his father, Δριμύλος "sharp one" has no Jewish background but is so rare in Greek sources,[114] it it is very plausible to assume that all occurrences in the Greek papyri of the third century B.C.E. refer to the same person.

The career of Dositheos is well known. In a document from the Zenon archive dating from March 240 B.C.E., Dositheos appears in the function of ὑπομνηματογραφός "memoranda writer," which formed a very high position in the royal administration.[115] Other papyri confirm this high position.[116] In 225 or 224 B.C.E. Dositheos apparently accompanied the king on a tour through the Faiyum.[117] A few years later, in 222 B.C.E., Dositheos held one of the most prestigious functions in the Ptolemaic empire, that of eponymous priest, and as such he appears in the dating formulae of a few documents.[118] During the fourth Syrian war (219–217 B.C.E.) he saved the life of Ptolemy IV Philopator, as recorded both by the author of 3 Maccabees (1:3) and Polybius (5.81).

What has not been noted so far is the fact that the rare name of Dositheos's father, Δριμύλος, occurs a few times in the so-called "Syrian dossier" of the Zenon papyri, that is, the documents dealing with Zenon's journeys through Pal-

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112. On Dositheos, see Alexander Fuks, "Dositheos son of Drimylos: A Prosopographical Note," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 7–8 (1953–1954): 205–9; *CPJ* 1 127 (pp. 230–36); Mélèze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt,* 56–61.

113. *CPJ* 1, p. 231.

114. Apart from the papyri here mentioned, the name Drimylos occurs only in the seventh mime of Herodas (ca. 270–260 B.C.E.) as a sleeping slave to be hit by another servant (Pistus); as an extremely rich uncle of a certain Simon, in Lucian, *The Dream, or the Cock* 14.16 (second century C.E.); and as the name of a mountain in Pseudo-Plutarchus, *De fluviis* 20.4.1. Two other persons with the name Drimylos but from later times are recorded by Peter M. Fraser and Elaine Matthews, *The Aegean Islands, Cyprus, Cyrenaica* (vol. 1 of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names;* Oxford: Clarendon, 1987) 143c: Delos* ca. 100 B.C. *ID* 2616 I,17 (Σέλευκος); and idem, *The Peleponnese, Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graeca* (vol. 3a of *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names;* Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 135a: Messenia. Messene II/I B.C. *SEG* XI 979,61.

115. P.Mich.Zen. 55 = *CPJ* 1 127a; Rupprecht, *Kleine Einführung,* 43, 54, 56.

116. P.Ent. 19 = *CPJ* 1 127b; see also P.Ryl. IV.576; Hans Hauben, "A Jewish Shipowner in Third-Century Ptolemaic Egypt," *Ancient Society* 10 (1979): 167–70.

117. P.Grad. 2 = *CPJ* 1 127c: πρὸς τὴν Δωσιθέου μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως παρουσίαν καλῶς ποιήσεις ἀποστείλας χῆνας ϙ̣ι̣τ̣ευ[τὰ]ς ε, "please send five fatted geese for Dositheos's visit with the king."

118. P.Tebt. 815 col.III fr.3 recto = *CPJ* 1 127d; P.Hib. 90 = *CPJ* 1 127e; P.dem.Berl. 3096; SB XVIII 14013; see Willy Clarysee and G. van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 24; Leiden: Brill, 1983), 14–15: Dositheos was eponymous priest from 7 September 223 B.C.E. until 27 August 222 B.C.E.

estine (260–258 B.C.E.), as well as some other documentary papyri dating from the Faiyum in the middle of the third century B.C.E.. According to Leiden Zenon papyrus no. 59, Drimylos was a mule driver (συνωριστής) who belonged to the personnel of Zenon's tour through Palestine in 259 B.C.E.[119] In another document from probably the same year he is accused by another συνωριστής, Heracleides, for entertaining lucrative extra duties instead of the job he is paid for.[120]

We find Drimylos in some later documents in the Faiyum as merchant. In P.Cair.Zen. 59691 and 59692 his name appears in a memorandum concerning money and a list of goods. Among these, mention seems to be made of dates of palm trees (ϱφυρίδες φοινίκων), which reminds one of LXX-Josh 5:12, and several animals, including a wild ass (ὀναχρίου δέρμα), which reminds one of the gift of foreign animals sent to Ptolemy II Philadelphus by Toubias via Zenon and Apollonius, among which were various wild mules.[121] In another papyrus (P.Lille 58, an account from the middle of the third century B.C.E.), Drimylos is explicitly called a Σύρος, the early Ptolemaic designation for Jews.[122] Since all references to Drimylos date from roughly the same period (259–222 B.C.E.), place (Faiyum), and persons (Zenon), and given the fact that the name Drimylos is very rare, it is highly probable that we are dealing here with the same person in all the documents.[123]

Father Drimylos and his son Dositheos seem to combine the characteristic competences of the Greek translator of Joshua. Drimylos was apparently a native from Palestine, and as Zenon's attendant in Palestine he must have had good knowledge of the country and its languages. Drimylos may have used the fortune he seems to have earned as merchant to afford a good education for his son,

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119. *CPJ* 1 3; Durand, *Des grecs,* 263–64.

120. PSI 4, 406; see Reinhold Scholl, *Sklaverei in den Zenonpayri: Eine Untersuchung zu den Sklaventermini zum Sklavenerwerb und zur Sklavenflucht* (Trierer historische Forschungen 4; Trier: Verlag Trierer Historische Forschungen, 1983), 58–64; Durand, *Des grecs,* 167–74. Herakleides accuses Drimylos and Dionysios (probably identical with the Dionysios mentioned in P.Cair.Zen. 59006, lines 19–20 Διονυσίωι τῶι ἐγ Δαμασκοῦ) for taking women as slaves and selling them for unusually high prices (150 drachmas) and buying another for 300 drachmas, the highest price paid for a slave, known from the Ptolemaic period (Scholl, *Sklaverei*, 63). Only a year earlier (260 B.C.E.) Ptolemy II Philadelphus had tried to restrict slavery in Palestine, but this royal *prostagma* was really more concerned with securing the produce of taxes and therefore only restricted to the free men and explicitly excludes native women from Syria and Phoenicia; see C.Ord.Ptol. 21–22, translated by Roger S. Bagnall and Peter Derow, *The Hellenistic Period: Historical Sources in Translation* (Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History; Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), no. 64 (pp. 111–13); Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches,* 63.

121. P.Edg.13 = SB 6719 = P.Cair.Zen. 59075 = *CPJ* 1 5.

122. *CPJ* 1, pp. 4–5.

123. It may therefore not come as a surprise that Zenon and his friend Philon had put their hope on Drimylos's son when they wanted to accelerate the demise of their friend Hermokrates from prison, once this son had made his astonishing career as ὑπομνηματογραφός.

which allowed the latter to climb his way up to the top as royal secretary.[124] In this function Dositheos must have written many documents and thus have been able to write good Greek and must have had a very good knowledge of administrative affairs. As direct assistant of the third and fourth Ptolemaic kings, he joined the kings on their military campaigns, also on their campaigns through Palestine, as is evident from 3 Macc 1:3.[125]

It need not be stressed here that the identification of Dositheos and Drimylos as the authors of the Greek Joshua rests on speculation. The present documents do not allow for a firm identification of Dositheos and Drimylos as the authors of LXX-Joshua, or any other Jew from that period with similar training and competences. Until new papyrological discoveries throw more light on the origin of the Greek Joshua and the persons mentioned here, the thesis must remain an unverifiable hypothesis.

6. Purpose of the Greek Translation of Joshua

In the meantime, this kind of historical guessing may be of use in determining the purposes of the Greek Joshua. Study of the vocabulary of the Greek Joshua made it clear that the Greek translator's interests were in the field of history, administration and warfare rather than religion. This corresponds well with recent theories concerning the origin and purpose of the Greek Pentateuch. As Sylvie Honigman puts it, the need for a Greek translation of the Pentateuch was probably more a matter of cultural prestige than piety.[126] The Greek translation of a book dealing

124. Perhaps the high position of Dositheos as ὑπομνηματογραφός in 240 B.C.E. must be seen against the background of the first revolt of the native Egyptians against the foreign Macedonian occupation in 245 B.C.E., which forced Ptolemy III Euergetes I to break off his successful military campaign deep in the rival Seleucid empire; see Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches,* 48–49. With the Macedonians under arms along the border, the Jewish population must have been an interesting group for the Ptolemaic rulers, because of their relatively independent status. The rapid career of Tobias's son Joseph as chief tax-collector in Palestine under the same Ptolemaic king, Eurgetes I, according to Josephus, *Ant.* 12.160–222, is another another example of the growing influence of Jews in Egypt during the second half of the third century B.C.E.

125. The author of 3 Maccabees calls Dositheos an apostate, someone who at a later period in his life had alienated himself from the faith of the fathers (3 Macc 1:3: ὕστερον δὲ μεταβαλὼν τὰ νόμιμα καῖ τῶν πατρίων δογμάτων ἀπηλλοτριωμένος). Probably the author of 3 Maccabees referred to Dositheos's service as eponymous priest of the deified Macedonian rulers of Egypt. From the Macedonian point of view this job was only a honorary post that did not require conversion but from an orthodox Jewish point of view of orthodox must have meant apostasy; see Mélèze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt,* 60.

126. Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003). The option of a liturgical setting for the Greek translation of Joshua, as argued by Henry St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), is now completely

with such an important period in the history of the Jewish people, namely, the conquest and division of Palestine, may have served the same purpose.

In a multicultural empire in its formative stages, promoting one's own cultural heritage was very important. Already in the first decades of the third century B.C.E. Manetho offered a Greek version of the Egyptian history (*Aigyptiaka,* ca. 280 B.C.E.), while Berossus of Babylon did the same for the Babylonian history (*Babyloniaka,* ca. 290 B.C.E.). Jewish Hellenistic writings of the same period (third and second century B.C.E.) are very much concerned with presenting their history, which in their view emulated that of the Greeks (cf. Demetrius, Artapanus, Aristobulus, and Eupolemos). Historical writings from Jewish Greek authors from a somewhat later period, such as Nicolas of Damascus and Flavius Josephus, also reflect the same cultural polemics.[127] The latter two examples also make it clear that serving under a ruler with a problematic relationship with the Jewish people, such as Herod (Nicolas) and Vespasian and Titus (Josephus), did not restrain but rather encouraged the Jewish historiographers to glorify the past of the Jewish people.

If the royal degree by Ptolemy IV Philopator from 215/214 B.C.E. dealing with the registration of Dionysiac priests indeed reflects anti-Jewish measures and forms the historical background for the narrative in 3 Maccabees, as argued by Mélèze Modrzejewski,[128] the period of the last decades of the third century B.C.E. provides a plausible background for early Jewish apologetic historiography

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abandoned. The book of Joshua in all likelihood has never played a significant role in Jewish (or Christian) liturgy. A cultural setting was already argued by Bruno H. Stricker, *De brief van Aristeas: De Hellenistische codificaties der preahelleense godsdiensten* (Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen, afd. Letterkunde, Nieuwe reeks, 62.4; Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1956); see further Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation"; Dominique Barthélemy, "Pourquoi la Torah a-t-elle été traduite en grec?" in *On Language, Culture and Religion: In Honor of E. A. Nida* (The Hague: Mouton, 1974), 23–41, repr. in *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 21; Fribourg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 322–40; Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, *La bible grecque des Septante,* 38–82; Mélèze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt,* 99–119. In a reaction to the work of Stricker, Sebastian P. Brock ("The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten, 1970* [OtSt 17; Leiden: Brill, 1972], 23–36) objected that "the Greeks and Romans after them were perfectly content with their own literary heritage" (14), but to my mind this circumstance would only have stimulated their oriental subjects to glorify their own cultural heritage.

127. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus,* 183–90.

128. BGU IV 1211 = C.Ord.Ptol. 29 = Bagnall and Derow, *Hellenistic Period,* no. 160. Anti-Jewish sentiments can already been found in the work of Manetho; see their refutation in Josephus's *Against Apion*. See further the discussion in Mélèze Modrzejewski, *Jews of Egypt*, 135–57, who thinks of Dositheos as the evil genius behind an early assimilation policy, comparable to the later Hellenizing high priest Menelaos (p. 152). There is no evidence for this assumption. Probably both Menelaos and Dositheos would have seen themselves rather as unconventional defenders of their Jewish race.

(Demetrius, Artapanus, perhaps Pseudo-Eupolemos). Although the Greek Joshua is not a free composition with the same polemical overtones in fluent Greek, but rather a faithful translation of an ancient book with the same language, it does present part of the Jewish glorious and honorable history that can be understood by Greek readers.

These last decades of the third century B.C.E. were also the years in which a bitter war was fought over Palestine between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids (the fourth in a series of so-called Syrian wars). In the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C.E. Ptolemy IV Philopator still managed to maintain Palestine for the Ptolemaic empire. Only two decades later, however, the area was definitively lost for Egypt. A faithful but intelligent Greek translation of the book dealing with the former conquest of the same area (Palestine) by the Jewish people must have been of interest for the Ptolemaic court as well.[129] The Greek translation of Joshua was therefore probably meant both to strengthen the cultural position of Jews in the early Ptolemaic Empire and to provide the royal court with a faithful rendering of a book concerning the history of such a disputed part of the empire.

7. Conclusion

In terms of hard evidence for a third-century B.C.E. Egyptian provenance of the Greek Joshua, we are not very much further than where this short paper started. Nevertheless, I believe the evidence posed by the reference in the work of Aristobulus deserves more attention than has been given hitherto. The similarities in translation technique between the Greek Pentateuch and the Greek Joshua, the similarities in the spelling of toponyms (e.g., Ραββα or Ραββατάμμανα vis-à-vis Φιλαδέλφια) between the Zenon documents and the Greek Joshua, the unspecified use of the word παράλιος, as well as the Greek translator's invention of a district Μαδβαρῖτις, lend further probability to what thus far has remained a vague intuition. Of particular interest are the almost exclusive connections between the two corpora with respect to the spelling of Jamnia and the use of the Greek verb χωροβατέω.

A reading of the Greek translation on its own and within the context of contemporary sources makes it possible to draw out the profile of the Greek translator as a Jew well versed both in Greek and classical Hebrew and familiar with both the ancient Jewish literature and the geography of Palestine and the military, administrative, and juridical institutions of contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt. The period in which Ptolemy IV Philopator reigned over Egypt and Palestine (221–205 B.C.E.), in which conquest and control over Palestine was high on the political agenda of the Ptolemaic court and in which cultural propaganda from Jewish side flourished, provides a plausible background for the origin of the

129. Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship,* 117.

Greek Joshua. It remains an interesting but unverifiable hypothesis to think of the Jewish high official Dositheos and his father Drimylos, a former assistant of Zenon on his tour through Palestine, as the possible Greek translators of Joshua.

Are Jael (Judg 5:24) and Mary (Luke 1:42) Blessed *Above* or *Among* Women?

S. van den Eynde

Abstract: The Dutch versions of the Hail Mary vary in their blessing of Mary. According to the Dutch version used in the Netherlands, Mary is blessed "onder alle vrouwen" (among all women), whereas the Flemish version of the Hail Mary calls her blessed "boven alle vrouwen" (above all women). The same difference is present in various translations of the expression εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶν in Luke 1:42, in English, French, and German Bibles. Luke probably got his inspiration for the formulation of the blessing of Mary in Judg 5:24LXX, which reads εὐλογηθείη ἐν γυναιξὶν (B text). Does this blessing of Jael indicate being blessed *above* all women (which clearly is the meaning of ברך מן in the Hebrew text and according to Blass, Debrunner, and Rehkopf a possible meaning for ἐν) or rather *among* all women, as L. C. L. Brenton translates? In this paper I criticize the interpretation of ἐν as having a comparative meaning in the expression εὐλογέω ἐν. In order to do so, the following aspects are examined: (1) the general meaning of both the verb εὐλογέω and of ἐν + dative; (2) the meaning of the combination of both elements in the LXX and the New Testament; (3) the rendering of the Hebrew expression ברך מן in the LXX; and (4) the allusions to the blessing of Jael in the book of Judith.

The Dutch versions of the Hail Mary vary in their blessing of Mary. According to the Dutch version used in the Netherlands, Mary is blessed "onder alle vrouwen" (among all women), whereas the Flemish version of the Hail Mary calls her blessed "boven alle vrouwen" (above all women). The same difference is present in various translations of the expression εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν γυναιξὶν in Luke 1:42, in English, French, and German ("blessed are you among all women"[1] and "blessed are you above all women"[2] and their equivalents). Luke probably got his inspiration for the formulation of the blessing of Mary in Judg 5:24LXX, which reads εὐλογηθείη ἐν γυναιξὶν (B text).[3] Does this blessing of Jael indicate being

1. *English:* KJV, ASV, NIV, NASB, NAU, RSV, NRSV, NKJV, WEB, DRA, DBY, BBE, YLT [NAB and NJB translate "most blessed … among"; "of all women … the most blessed"]; *Dutch:* Leidse, Lutherse, Statenvertaling, NBG, Willibrord 1995: "onder alle vrouwen"; NBV: "de meest gezegende … onder alle vrouwen"; *French:* "bénie entre les femmes": LSG, FBJ, DRB NEG; *German:* "gesegnet/gepriesen/gebenedeit unter den Frauen": LUT, ELB, ELO, LUO, SCH.

2. *English:* NLT: "above all other women"; *German:* EIN: "mehr als alle anderen Fauen"; *French*: TOB, BFC: "bénie plus que toutes les femmes."

3. For the Greek New Testament, NA[27] is used; for the LXX, the edition of Rahlfs (1935) as taken up in the computer program BibleWorks.

blessed *above* all women (which clearly is the meaning of ברך מן in the Hebrew text and according to Blass, Debrunner, and Rehkopf a possible meaning for ἐν) or rather *among* all women, as L. C. L. Brenton translates?[4]

In this paper I will criticize the interpretation of ἐν as having a comparative meaning in the expression εὐλογέω ἐν. In order to do so, I will first deal with the general meaning of both the verb εὐλογέω and of ἐν + dative. Thereafter I turn to the meaning of the combination of both elements in the LXX and the New Testament. Since the alleged meaning of εὐλογέω ἐν is (mainly) based upon the Semitic pattern, I will thereafter analyze how the Hebrew expression ברך מן is rendered in the LXX. Finally, I turn to the book of Judith, in which the blessing of Jael is alluded to. In a last section I bring together all the preceding arguments in order to point out why, in my opinion, Jael and Mary are blessed "among" rather than "above" women.

1. The Meaning of εὐλογέω and of ἐν + Dative

As Helbing remarks, the Greek verb εὐλογέω means "to praise," yet in the LXX (which according to Helbing uses this verb frequently compared to other Greek documents) the verb also means "to bless."[5] This latter meaning is even the first meaning mentioned by Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie.[6] As a transitive verb εὐλογέω is constructed with the accusative (indicating the object), not with a preposition.

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4. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 196, §245.3b n. 4, hereafter BDR; L.C.L. Brenton, *English translation of the LXX* (London: Bagster, 1851). Cf. P. Harlé, *Les Juges* (La bible d'Alexandrie 7; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 129: "Bénie soit parmi les femmes Iaèl, femme de Khaber le Kinéen, au nombre des femmes sous les tentes, bénie soit elle."

5. R. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928), 17–20. See also M. Harl, *La Genèse* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 1; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 95. The fact that the verb is most frequently used by the LXX and the meaning of "to bless" is mainly because of the rendering of ברך by εὐλογέω may explain why none of the occurrences in the papyri according to the Duke database is relevant for our case (none of them contains the combination of this verb with the preposition ἐν). In TLG, the checked cases of ἐν in combination with εὐλογέω refer either to the documents "in" which somebody is "praised" or to direct biblical quotes.

6. J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 251, hereafter LEH. F. Preisikte (*Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden mit Einschluss der greichischen Inschriften, Aufschriften, Ostraka, Mumienschilder usw. aus Ägypten* [Heidelberg: self-published, 1924], 1:615) mentions as the first meaning "segnen" (with reference to the eighth century), the second meaning "lobpreisen," and the third meaning "ruhmen" (third century B.C.E.; fourth century C.E.). W. Bauer, A. W. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (2nd ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 322, mentions (1) speak well of, praise, extol; (2) bless; (3) provide with benefits [with God or Christ as subject].

Generally speaking, the preposition ἐν is used (1) for spatial indications, both literally (das Drinnen-Eingeschlossen-Umgrenzt, Umgebensein vom Orte und von Personen; das Aufeinandersein der Dinge, das An-und Beieinandersein der Dinge) and figuratively (äusserliche und innerliche Zustände, in denen einer verweilt). Moreover it may be used (2) temporally (intra, während), and (3), as a causal indication, it is used for means and tools, manner and way, conformity.[7] In the LXX the preposition ἐν is used for spatial, temporal, and causal indications as well. Helbing distinguishes in the last category the means and instrument—the manner and way.[8] Similarly, the LEH dictionary of the LXX mentions, apart from aspects of place and time, also the instrument and means[9] (as well as the periphrastic usage for the genitive of prize). According to these tools, there seem to be no arguments to interpret the combination of εὐλογέω and ἐν as a comparative.

BDR, however, mentions the possibility that the positive is used in the sense of a comparative, not exclusively but mainly according to the Semitic usage, and remarks that, apart from the prepositions παρά and ὑπέρ, ἐν also can be used in this regard.[10] This means that ἐν could render the Hebrew מן with the same meaning of comparison.[11]

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7. R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* (Hannover: Hahn, 1992), §431, 2.1:462–66.

8. Helbing, *Die Kasussyntax,* 462–66.

9. LEH, 199.

10. BDR, 196, §245.3b n. 4, with a reference to Luke 1:42 and Cant 1:8. The latter case, however, is translated by Brenton as "thou fair one among women" and could in line with BDR also be translated as "you fairest among women" (§245.2), the superlative not being expressed so much by the usage of the preposition but because of the possibility that a positive expresses a superlative (as a rendering of the Hebrew construction of the article with an adjective). However, one should deal this possibility with caution. I. Soisalon-Soininen does not include the preposition ἐν among the prepositions that can be used in this regard (in LXX or NT) and remarks that in the Ptolemaic papyri the use of the true comparative/superlative is limited to a small number of current forms, with a reference to Mayser, *Grammatik der Griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit mit Einschluss der gleichzeitigen Ostraka und der in Ägypten verfassten Inschriften* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906–1934); see I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Renderings of Hebrew Comparative Expressions with מן in the Greek Pentateuch," in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and R. Sollamo; AASF B, 237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1978), 141–53, here 142–43. J. Fitzmyer (*Luke* [AB 28A; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981], 364) considers Luke 1:42 as a superlative based upon §245.3 (which deals with the comparative) and refers to Jdt 13:8 (comparison with παρά) in order to defend the superlative "most blessed among women" (and is followed by F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas* [EKKNT; Zurich: Benziger, 2001], 85–86).

11. Though BDR refer to adjectives and prepositions only, one might expand the meaning to verbs and prepositions analogous to the Hebrew pattern as well; see I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Renderings of Hebrew Comparative Expressions," 142–43, but not with the preposition ἐν.

Given the similarities between Luke 1:42 and the blessing of Jael in Judg 5:24, it is probable that Luke used this latter blessing. Therefore, the meaning of Jael's blessing could shed light upon Luke 1:42. In what follows I will analyze the general usage of εὐλογέω combined with the preposition ἐν, as well as the usual translation of ברך מן, to focus thereafter on the blessing of Jael (and its quotations/allusions in Judith).

2. The Usual Translation of εὐλογέω ἐν and Its Derivatives in the LXX and in the New Testament

When εὐλογέω is combined with the preposition ἐν, this preposition may of course indicate the time when[12] or place where[13] the act of blessing takes place or should take place.[14] This preposition, however, can in the mentioned combination also be used to indicate several other aspects. Since any categorization is an (over)systematization of a language, it is sometimes debatable to which category a text belongs. The following categorization aims to show how many biblical passages express very similar ideas.

2.1. The Area in Which the Blessing Is Experienced

Contrary to the usage of ἐν as a simple literal indication of location, the following examples do not indicate where the action of blessing takes place but rather the area, the field in which the result of the blessing, is experienced (which is also a *locativus* but shifts to the figurative sense). The following examples may clarify this distinction.

12. E.g., Lev 25:21: ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ ἕκτῳ "in the sixth year"; Ps 62:5: ἐν τῇ ζωῇ μου "during my life" (cf. Ps 48:19); Tob 4:19: ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ (RSV) "on every occasion" (cf. Ps 33:2); Prov 20:9: ἐν τοῖς τελευταιοις "in the end."

13. E.g., Deut 15:4: ἐν τῇ γῇ ᾗ κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι "in the land which the Lord thy God gives thee"; Deut 30:16: ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ εἰς ἣν εἰσπορεύῃ ἐκεῖ κληρονομήσαι αυτην "in all the land into which thou goest to inherit it" (cf. Isa 29:24); Pss 25:12; 67:27: ἐν ἐκκλησίαις "in the congregations"; Ps 102:22: ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τῆς δεσποτείας αὐτοῦ "in every place of his dominion"; Odes 8:56 and Dan (Th) 3:56: ἐν τῷ στερεώματι τοῦ οὐρανου (NRSV Pr Azar 1:34) "in the firmament of heaven"; Odes 8:53 and Dan (Th) 3:53: ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας δόχης σου (NRSV Pr Azar 1:31) "in the temple of your holy glory"; Dan (Th) 3:51: ἐν τῇ καμίνῳ (NRSV Pr Azar 1:28) "in the furnace"; Jdt 14:7: ἐν παντὶ σκηνώματι Ιουδα (RSV) "in every tent of Judah." In the New Testament: Luke 24:53: ἐν τῷ ἱερῳς "in the temple"

14. Unless indicated otherwise, translations of the LXX are taken from the English translation of Brenton. Translations of the New Testament are taken from the NRSV.

- Gen 39:5: ἐγενήθη εὐλογία κυρίου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπάρξουσιν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ· "the blessing of the Lord was on all his possessions in the house, and in his field."
- Deut 2:7: ὁ γὰρ κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν εὐλόγησέν σε ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ τῶν χειρῶν σου· "For the Lord our God has blessed thee in every work of thy hands."
- Deut 14:29: ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις οἷς ἐὰν ποιῇς· "that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the works which thou shalt do."
- Deut 15:10: ὅτι διὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο εὐλογήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν οὗ ἂν ἐπιβάλῃς τὴν χεῖρά σου· "because on this account the Lord thy God will bless thee in all thy works, and in all things on which thou shalt lay thine hand."
- Deut 15:18: εὐλογήσει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐὰν ποιῇς· "so the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all things whatsoever thou mayest do."
- Deut 16:15: ἐὰν δὲ εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς γενήμασίν σου καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ τῶν χειρῶν σου καὶ ἔσῃ εὐφραινόμενος· "and if the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy fruits, and in every work of thy hands, then thou shalt rejoice."
- Deut 23:21: ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἰς ἣν εἰσπορεύῃ ἐκεῖ κληρονομῆσαι αὐτήν· "that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all thy works upon the land, into which thou art entering to inherit it."
- Deut 24:19: ἵνα εὐλογήσῃ σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις τῶν χειρῶν σου· "that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all the works of thy hands."
- Deut 28:3, 6, 8: εὐλογημένος σὺ ἐν πόλει και εὐλογημένος σὺ ἐν ἀγρῷ … εὐλογημένος σὺ ἐν τῷ εἰσπορεύεσθαί, σε καὶ εὐλογημένος σὺ ἐν τῷ ἐκπορεύεσθαί, σε … ἀποστείλαι κύριος ἐπὶ σὲ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἐν τοῖς ταμιείοις σου καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν, οὗ ἂν ἐπιβάλῃς τὴν χεῖρά, σου ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἧς κύριος ὁ θεός σου δίδωσίν σοι· "blessed *shalt* thou *be* in the city, and blessed shalt thou be in the field.… Blessed shalt thou be in thy coming in, and blessed shalt thou be in thy going out.… The Lord send upon thee his blessing in thy barns, and on all on which thou shalt put thine hand, in the land which the Lord thy God gives thee.[15]
- Tob 4:12: καὶ εὐλογήθησαν ἐν τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν· "They were blessed in their children."

15. In the first blessing, one can also interpret the preposition as an indication of place.

Usually, the area, the domain in which the blessing will be experienced, has to do with fruits of the work, the land, the womb, and so forth.

2.2. Indicating the Authoritative Power

A blessing by humans is eventually also conceived as the act of a deity.[16] The clearest example is the so-called "blessing of Aaron" in Num 6:22–27. The Aaronide priests are instructed to bless the people with a specific blessing formula. The text concludes: "And they shall put my name upon the children of Israel, and I the Lord will bless them" (Num 6:23LXX). In conformity with this concept of blessing, a blessing sometimes mentions who exactly the deity involved is, introduced by the formula ἐν ὀνόματι + divine name. The preposition + ὀνόματι hence indicates the authoritative power to bless.[17]

- 2 Sam 6:18: εὐλόγησεν τὸν λαὸν ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων· "[David] blessed the people in the name of the Lord of Hosts."
- Sir 45:15: ἐγενήθη αὐτῷ εἰς διαθήκην αἰῶνος … εὐλογεῖν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι· "it was for him an everlasting covenant … to bless his people in his name" (my translation).
- Ps 128:8: εὐλογήκαμεν ὑμᾶς ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου· "we have blessed you in the name of the Lord."
- Cf. Jer 4:2 [without ὀνόματι]: ἐὰν … καὶ ὀμόσῃ ζῇ κύριος μετὰ ἀληθείας καὶ ἐν κρίσει καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ἐν αυτῷ ἔθνη· "and if [Israel] swears 'The Lord lives,' with truth, in judgment and righteousness, then shall nations bless by him."

2.3. Blessing "in" a Person

2.3.1. The Blessing of the Nations in Abraham and his Seed

In several places it is said that "in Abraham (or his descendants)" the families/nations of the earth will be blessed. The construction is ἐνευλογηθήσονται (future [or aorist] passive) ἐν with dative, followed by the subject of the verb, the preposition ἐν, and an indication of the nations in the dative.

16. See E. J. Bickermann, "Bénédiction et prière," in idem, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History 2* (AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1980), 316: "En employant le verbe barak pour bénir, l'homme en fait invoque Dieu pour attirer ses bienfaits sur le destinataire du voeu. Dieu seul peut produire les effets de cette bénédiction."

17. See Kühner and Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik,* §431, p. 464 (on *locativus* in figurative sense): "von der Person, in deren Händen, Macht oder Gewalt etwas liegt."

- Gen 12:3: ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς· "and in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed."
- Gen 18:18: ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν αυτῷ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς· "in him shall all the nations of the earth be blest."
- Gen 22:18: και ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ πέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς· "and in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed."
- Gen 26:4: και ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς· "and all the nations of the earth shall be blest in thy seed."
- Gen 28:14: καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου· "and in thee and in thy seed shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed."
- Cf. Sir 44:21: ἐνευλογηθῆναι ἔθνη ἐν σπέρματί αὐτοῦ· "[he guaranteed by oath] that the nations would be blessed in his seed" (my translation).
- Cf. Acts 3:25: ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου [ἐν-]ευλογηθήσονται πᾶσαι αἱ πατριαὶ τῆς γῆς· "and in your descendants all the families of the earth shall be blessed."
- Cf. Gal 3:8: ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοι πάντα τὰ ἔθνη· "all the Gentiles shall be blessed in you."

The precise meaning of this LXX expression is, as it is in the Hebrew text,[18] open to different interpretations. That the families of the earth are blessed in Abraham and his seed may mean that they will profit from the divine blessing of Abraham and his seed[19] (cf. Potiphar, who was blessed because of Joseph; Gen 39:5: και ηὐλόγησεν κύριος τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου διὰ Ιωσηφ). In this case, Abraham and his descendants can have a mediating role. The divine blessing of Abraham and his descendants will somehow also include the nations. On the other hand, the nations may be blessed in/with Abraham, which means that they use the names of the patriarchs in their blessing formulas (cf. Gen 48:20:

18. The *nip'al* verb form used in Gen 12:3 may carry both a passive and a reflexive meaning (in the latter case, it may have the same meaning as the *hitpa'el,* and according to E. Blum there appears to be no difference in meaning between Gen 12:3; 18:18; 28:14 [*nip'al*] and 22:18; 26:4 [*hitpa'el*]; see E. Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* [WMANT 57; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984], 280). If the verb form is interpreted as a passive, this implies that the divine promises to Abraham will be extended to the nations. See E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1964), 86; Victor P. Hamilton, *The Book of Genesis:. Chapters 1–17* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 374–75. Most contemporary authors, however, interpret the verb as "they will bless themselves," which means that the nations will use Abraham's name in their blessing formulas.

19. According to Harl, *La Genèse,* 56, the construction as such means that all the nations are included in the blessing to Abraham or his descendants.

ἐν ὑμῖν εὐλογηθήσεται Ισραηλ λέγοντες ποιήσαι σε ὁ θεὸς ὡς Εφραιμ καὶ ὡς Μανασση "In you shall Israel be blessed, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasse").

2.3.2. Other Cases

Apart from the stereotype blessing for the nations, the LXX contains some other occurrences of εὐλογέω ἐν followed by a person.[20] The Old Testament passages are in line with the already-mentioned idea that the name of the (blessed) person will be used in blessing formulas, whereas the New Testament passage may be more in conformity with the "mediating role" idea.

- Gen 48:20: ἐν ὑμῖν εὐλογηθήσεται Ισραηλ λέγοντες ποιήσαι σε ὁ θεὸς ὡς Εφραιμ καὶ ὡς Μανασση "In you shall Israel be blessed, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasse." Jacob blesses Ephraim and Manasseh, whose names will be used in a blessing formula, which is the explanation of "in you shall Israel be blessed."
- Ps 71:17: καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς "all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed in him." The righteous king is blessed that all the tribes shall be blessed in him, followed by the remark that "all the nations will call him happy," suggesting that they will use the name of the blessed king in their formulas of praise.
- Jer 4:2: ἐὰν … καὶ ὀμόσῃ ζῇ κύριος μετὰ ἀληθείας καὶ ἐν κρίσει καὶ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθνη "and if [Israel] swears 'The Lord lives,' with truth, in judgment and righteousness, then shall nations bless by him." In this case the divine name is used in the blessing formula, but one can also consider this an example of the indication of the person in whose power the act of blessing is (analogous to the cases with ἐν ὀνόματι + divine name).

In the New Testament, people are blessed in Christ, as in:

- Eph 1:3 ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανιοις ἐν Χριστῷ· "who has blessed us in Christ with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places."

20. To this list Tob 4:12 may be added. It was already mentioned under "area in which the blessing is experienced."

2.4. Indicating the Manner/Instrument/Cause of Blessing

In some instances the preposition ἐν indicates the manner/instrument/cause of blessing.

- *Ps. Sol.* 17:35: εὐλογήσει λαὸν κυρίου ἐν σοφίᾳ μετ᾽ εὐφροσύνης· "he will bless the Lord's people in his wisdom with joy" (my translation). Brenton translates: "will bless … with wisdom and joy," taking both prepositions as having the same meaning. However, analogously with similar expressions in the same context, I prefer to interpret the preposition ἐν as the introduction of the way of blessing: he will bless in his wisdom (e.g., *Ps. Sol.* 17:29: κρινεῖ λαοὺς καὶ ἔθνη ἐν σοφίᾳ δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ· ["He will judge peoples and nations in the wisdom of his righteousness"]). Compare also *Ps. Sol.* 17:38: καὶ εὐλογία κυρίου μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἰσχύι· "And the blessing of the Lord will be with him in strength."
- Ps 28:11: κύριος εὐλογήσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν εἰρήνῃ· "The Lord will bless his people with peace."
- Tob (S) 8:15: εὐλογητὸς εἶ θεέ ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ καθαρᾳ· "Blessed are you, God, with every pure blessing" (my translation).
- Tob (S) 11:15: εὐλογῶν τὸν θεὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ· "blessing God with all his mouth" (my translation).
- Tob (S) 14:6: εὐλογήσουσιν τὸν θεὸν τοῦ αιῶνος ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ· "They will bless God forever in righteousness" (my translation).
- Tob (S) 14:8: εὐλογῶσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐν ἀληθείᾳ καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτῶν· "[so that] they would bless his name in every period in truth and all their might" (my translation).
- Tob (S) 14:15: εὐλόγησεν τὸν θεὸν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς Νινευη· "He will bless God because of all he did to the sons of Nineveh" (my translation).
- Acts 3:26: ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εὐλογοῦντα ὑμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἀποστρέφειν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν πονηριῶν ὑμῶν· "He sent him first to you, to bless you by turning each of you from your wicked ways" [also possible: "while turning you…," a time indication].
- Eph 1:3: ὁ εὐλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ· "who has blessed us with every spiritual blessing."
- 1 Cor 14:16: ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῇς [ἐν] πνεύματι· "if you say a blessing with the spirit."
- Jas 3:9: ἐν αὐτῇ εὐλογοῦμεν τὸν κύριον· "With it [the tongue] we bless the Lord."

3. The Usual Translation of ברך מן When Indicating a Comparative

Thus far none of the occurrences of εὐλογέω ἐν indicates a comparative. Yet what about the usual translation in the LXX of the comparative מן in general and especially of the Hebrew expression ברך מן? Based upon an analysis of the Pentateuch and the book of Judges, I. Soisalon-Soininen concludes that the LXX translators made use of different options. Sometimes they use standard Greek comparative or superlative forms; sometimes a free rendering occurs with a genitive or ὑπέρ, a rendering with ἀπό (not in the comparative sense, but in local sense, partitive sense or "of a group"), with ἤ, or with παρά (both latter cases as in normal Greek usage).[21] Soisalon-Soininen does not include the preposition ἐν among the prepositions that can be used in this regard.[22]

After the verb ברך, the preposition מן can be used to indicate time[23] or place[24] and occasionally to introduce with what someone is blessed[25] or why.[26]

With a comparative/superlative[27] meaning, the combination of ברך מן occurs in the following texts.

- Deut 7:14: ברוך תהיה מכל־המים "You shall be blessed above all peoples" (RSV) (LXX rendering: εὐλογητὸς ἔσῃ παρὰ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη·).
- Deut 33:24: ברוך מבנים אשׁר "Blessed above sons be Asher" (RSV) (LXX rendering: εὐλογητὸς ἀπὸ τέκνων Ασηρ·).
- Job 42:12: ויהוה ברך את־אחרית איוב מראשׁתו "And the Lord blessed the latter days of Job more than his beginning" (RSV) (LXX rendering: ὁ δὲ κύριος εὐλόγησεν τα ἐσχατα Ιωβ ἢ τὰ ἔμπροσθεν·).

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21. I. Soisalon-Soininen does not include the preposition ἐν among the prepositions that can be used in this regard (in LXX or NT); see Soisalon-Soininen, "Renderings of Hebrew Comparative Expressions," 142–43, 151–53.

22. Soisalon-Soininen (*Die Textformen der Septuaginta-Übersetzung des Richterbuches* [AASF 72.1; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1951], 56–57) remarks that the LXX rendering of the book of Judges renders the comparative according to the Greek language rules and sometimes avoids the comparison. He does not discuss Judg 5:24.

23. E.g., Neh 9:5: ברכו את־יהוה אלהיכם מן־העולם עד העולם; cf. Hag 2:19; Pss 41:1; 106:48; 113:2; 115:18; Dan 2:20; 2 Chr 16:36.

24. Ps 118:26: ברכנוכם מבית יהוה "We bless you from the house of the Lord" (RSV); cf. Pss 128:5; 134:3; 135:21: from Sion.

25. E.g., Deut 33:13: מברכת יהוה ארצו ממגד שׁמם מטל "Blessed by the Lord be his land, with the choice gifts of heaven above" (NRSV); 2 Sam 7:29: ומברכתך יברך בית־עבדך לעולם "with thy blessing shall the house of thy servant be blessed for ever" (RSV).

26. Ps 68:27: במקהלות ברכו אלהים יהוה ממקור ישׂראל "Bless God in the great congregation, the Lord, O you who are of Israel's fountain!" (RSV).

27. The idea of superlative arises from the fact that one person or people is compared to all the other persons or nations.

- Judg 5:24a: תברך מנשים יעל אשת חבר הקיני "Most blessed of women be Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite" (RSV) (LXX rendering: εὐλογηθείη ἐν γυναιξιν Ιαηλ γυνη Χαβερ τοῦ Κιναίου·).
- Judg 5:24b: מנשים באהל תברך "of tent-dwelling women most blessed" (RSV) (LXX rendering: ἀπο γυναικῶν ἐν σκηναῖς εὐλογηθείη·).

The preposition מן is rendered with several prepositions or with the particle ἤ. However, that in all these cases the Hebrew preposition is rendered by a preposition with a comparative sense is debatable. That the LXX rendering of Deut 7:14 (παρά) and Job 42:12 (ἤ) is to be interpreted as a comparative seems to be in line with most authors.[28] According to H. St-J. Thackeray, the comparative in Hebrew can be rendered in LXX Greek not only with παρά but also (though rarely) with ἀπό. The latter option, however, is not supported by other authors. Since the partitive use of this preposition is well-attested[29] and possible in the LXX context of Deut 33:24 and Judg 5:24b, it seems to be more logical to interpret the Greek as referring to a person who is blessed "out of" a broader group of people.

All the above means that if Judg 5:24a were to be interpreted as a comparative, this verse would be the only case attested in the LXX in which the combination ברך מן would be rendered with a comparative ἐν.

4. The Usage of the Blessing of Jael in the Book of Judith

The *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the blessing of Jael entails not only the New Testament but also the book of Judith. For our discussion, this is an important occurrence, since the book was written directly in Greek, and therefore it is interesting to see how the blessing of Jael is rendered in this book. Many parallels occur between Judith and Jael,[30] both on the level of the story (e.g., both kill their enemy by causing him a wound on the head) and on the level of term allusions (e.g., the repeated use of the expression "by the hand of a woman"). The double blessing of Jael in Judg 5:24 appears to have been divided over two different blessings of Judith.

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28. E.g., BDR, 196, §245.3; W. E. Jelf, *A Grammar of the Greek Language* (4th ed.; Oxford: Parker, 1866), 329, §637 (παρά); p. 483ff. §779 (ἤ); H. St-J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the LXX* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 1:23 (παρά); and I. Soisalon-Soininen, "Renderings of Hebrew Comparative Expressions," 150 (παρά in Deut 7:14).

29. E.g., Jelf, *Grammar of the Greek Language,* 287, §620.

30. See S. A. White, "In the Steps of Jael and Deborah: Judith as Heroine," in *No One Spoke Ill of Her: Essays on Judith* (ed. J. C. VanderKam; SBLEJL 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 5–16.

- Jdt 13:18: εὐλογητὴ σὺ θύγατερ τῷ θεῷ τῷ ὑψίστῳ παρὰ πάσας τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· "O daughter, you are blessed by the Most High God above all women on earth" (RSV).
- Jdt 14:7: εὐλογημένη σὺ ἐν παντὶ Σκηνώματι Ιουδα· "Blessed are you in every tent of Judah!" (RSV).

The first blessing takes up the link between the woman blessed and other women.[31] However, whereas Jael is linked to all Israelite women, Judith is compared to all other women on earth as the one who is more blessed. The second blessing takes up the idea of the location "in the tents," but this time only those of Judah (as in Judg 5:24, if one interprets the parallelism as a symmetrical parallelism and thus the women of Israel as those in the tents). The second blessing clearly does not have a comparative meaning (contrary to Judg 5:24 MT).

In the blessing of Jdt 13:18, a clear comparative (with παρά) is used, whereas the preposition ἐν in Jdt 14:7 indicates a locative, as in the ensuing sentence καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἔθνει οἵτινες ἀκούσαντες τὸ ὄνομά σου ταραχθήσονται ("In every nation those who hear your name will be alarmed" [RSV]).

5. Synthesis and Further Discussion

To conclude, I will first summarize all the possible arguments mentioned above for interpreting εὐλογέω ἐν in Luke 1:42 and Judg 5:24 as referring to blessing a person above others and then defend another interpretation that is in my view more plausible.

5.1. Does εὐλογέω ἐν Refer to Blessings a Person "above" Other Persons (comparative)?

The different translations of Luke 1:42 interpret the preposition ἐν as indicating a comparative meaning after the verb εὐλογέω. This stand is also taken by the grammar of BDR, who suggest that this usage of the preposition would be not exclusively but mainly according to the Semitic usage, not only in the LXX but also in the New Testament. Since the blessing of Mary is built upon the blessing of Jael in Judg 5:24, I wondered whether this verse intends to proclaim Jael as more blessed than other women or rather as blessed among them.

The verb εὐλογέω as such does not require a preposition but is constructed with the accusative indicating the direct object. In nonbiblical Greek, it means "to praise," but in the LXX it also (and especially) means "to bless." The preposition ἐν is used for spatial and temporal indications, as well as for the means and instru-

31. The reference to God as the Most High is based upon the blessing of Abraham in Gen 14:19.

ment, the manner and way.[32] According to Helbing and LEH, there seem to be no arguments to interpret the combination of εὐλογέω and ἐν as a comparative. This statement was further explored by checking the usage of εὐλογέω ἐν (and its derivatives) in the LXX and in the New Testament. Apart from possibly the discussed cases of Luke 1:42 and Judg 5:24, no other cases were found in which the combination would indicate a comparative.

If the expression εὐλογέω ἐν indicated a comparative, this would be due to the LXX rendering of the Hebrew comparative. Yet Soisalon-Soininen points out several renderings with a comparative sense for the Hebrew comparative, and the preposition ἐν is not among them. If we analyze the rendering of the Hebrew expression ברך מן, we discover that only in one of the five passages, namely, in Judg 5:24a (B text), is this expression rendered with ἐν. For the comparative מן, παρά and ἤ are used, which means that the comparative meaning of the Hebrew can be maintained. In two instances the expression is rendered with ἀπό with partitive genitive to indicate the blessed person out of a group. This means that, if Judg 5:24a were to be interpreted as a comparative, this verse would be the only case attested in the LXX in which the combination ברך מן would be rendered with a comparative ἐν.

Finally, even the book of Judith, which uses many elements of Judg 4–5, does not use the preposition ἐν for blessing Judith above other women. In the blessing of Jdt 13:18, the preposition παρά is used, whereas in 14:7 the preposition ἐν indicates a locative: in the tents (a similar locative is also used in Judg 5:24).

All in all, no arguments are left to interpret Judg 5:24a as proof that the LXX Greek used, partially because of Semitic influence, the preposition ἐν to indicate a comparative in the combination of εὐλογέω ἐν. In the Greek language in general as well as in the LXX/New Testament Greek, the verb does not require a preposition: the preposition as such is not the usual indication of a comparative neither in general nor in the usage of εὐλογέω ἐν in the LXX/New Testament. Moreover, there are no other passages in the LXX in which ברך מן is rendered with εὐλογέω ἐν. Is Judg B5:24 the exception to the rule? Or do we have to explore the other possibility, that in the combination εὐλογέω + ἐν the latter preposition has a meaning in keeping with its usual meaning in Greek (and especially in LXX/New Testament Greek)?

5.2. An Alternative Possibility to Translate εὐλογέω ἐν

As we have noticed, the preposition ἐν may indicate several aspects: temporal, spatial, and causal (manner, way, instrument). In the LXX (and the New Testament) we found for this preposition in combination of the verb εὐλογέω the following possibilities. It indicates:

32. As well as the periphrastic usage for the genitive of prize.

- the time when the act of blessing takes place or should take place
- the place where the act of blessing takes place or should take place
- the area, field, or domain in which the blessing is experienced
- the authoritative power
- the person "in whom" someone is blessed (mediation or instrumental)
- the manner/instrument/cause of blessing

Of these possibilities, the second option seems the more probable.'Εν γυναιξὶν may indicate the place where Jael (and Mary) must be blessed: in the group of women. This possibility has the advantage that it can be supported by other cases. Psalm 25:12 promises and 67:27 recommends to bless God ἐν ἐκκλησίαις "in the congregations." In both cases the location where the blessing should take place consists of a group of people.

Thus JudgB 5:24 εὐλογηθείη ἐν γυναιξὶν Ιαηλ γυνὴ Χαβερ τοῦ Κιναίου ἀπὸ Γυναικῶν ἐν σκηναῖς εὐλογηθείη can be translated as "may be blessed (in the group of) among women Jael, wife of Haber the Kenite, out of the women in the tents may she be blessed." The LXX rendering is slightly different from the MT. Whereas the MT compares Jael to other women and puts her on a higher level, the LXX first points out the *place* where Jael is to be blessed and second (as the result of the first? because of the blessing?) *how* she is singled out of this group of women. The book of Judith takes over the idea of where Judith is to be blessed (in the tents) but puts her on a higher level than other women, not by using the preposition ἐν but by explicitly using a formula with παρά.

If this conclusion is correct, this means that Jael is blessed "among" women, and so is Mary (the formulation does not indicate a comparative)—which means that the Flemish Hail Mary would have to be altered to fit the biblical text.

David's Return to Ziklag: A Problem of Textual History in 1 Samuel 30:1

Anneli Aejmelaeus

Abstract: The first verses of 1 Sam 30 describe David's return from the campaign of the Philistines against the Israelites and give a flashback to the events that have occurred in his absence. During his tour to the north, his home-base Ziklag suffered a raid from the south and now lies in ashes. It is not difficult for the reader to understand what is meant; nevertheless, the formulation of the flashback is problematic, partly due to the Hebrew verbal system. The attempts to translate the passage properly into Greek or to improve the translation have created different versions of the story. The present essay aims at discussing the alternative readings and explaining them in relation to each other. A reading that accords with the MT is often suspected of being revisional. In this case, however, most witnesses depart from the MT, but they do it in widely varying ways. Trying out different solutions will help to show the way out of this maze and will certainly reveal something about the textual history of the Septuagint translation of 1 Samuel.

The beginning of chapter 30 in the Greek text of 1 Samuel offers several alternative readings. In fact, the case is quite exceptional, in that the alternatives are so numerous and far apart. One basic reason for this state of affairs is obviously to be found in the difficulty of the Hebrew text. It is not that the lexical items or the grammatical forms are difficult—the difficulty lies in the temporal relations that seem to be almost impossible to translate so that the words fit into the story.

1. The Hebrew Text

Let us have a look at the Hebrew text first. The background of our story is found in chapter 29: David had gone with Achish, his landlord, to Aphek, where the Philistines were gathering to attack the Israelite forces. The other Philistine commanders, however, have doubts about David's loyalty and force Achish to send him back to Ziklag. At the end of chapter 29 David and his men start out early in the morning to go home.

The beginning of chapter 30 has a typical Hebrew opening (see the chart on pages 96–97): the formula ויהי "and it happened" marks the beginning of a new story (or a new chapter in the story); the infinitive construct with the preposition ב is a temporal construction that gives the setting for what is to come and links

MT	Rahlfs A B 56-246 121 460 509	Lucianic Text *L* 554^{mg}
1		
ויהי	καὶ ἐγενήθη	id.
בבא דוד	εἰσελθόντος Δαυιδ	εν τω παραγενεσθαι δᾱδ
ואנשיו	καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτοῦ	και τους ανδρας αυτου
צקלג	εἰς Σεκελακ Ra! /εις κεειλα B 56-246 121 /εις σκεειλα 509 /εις σικελαγ A /σεκελακ 460	εις κεειλα /εις κειλα 19 554^{mg} /εις κειλαγ 108
ביום השלישי	τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ	id.
ועמלקי	καὶ Αμαληκ	id.
פשטו	ἐπέθετο	id.
אל־נגב	ἐπὶ τὸν νότον	id.
ואל־צקלג	καὶ ἐπὶ Σεκελακ /και επι την σικελαγ A	και επι σεκελαγ + εξελθοντος δᾱδ και των ανδρων αυτου εκ σεκελαγ τη ημερα τη τριτη ***L* 56-246 554^{mg}**
ויכו	καὶ ἐπάταξεν	και επαταξαν
את־צקלג	τὴν Σεκελακ B 509 /την σικελαγ A	την σεκελαγ
וישרפו	καὶ ἐνεπύρισεν /και ενεπρησεν A	και ενεπυρισαν
אתה באש	αὐτὴν ἐν πυρί	id.
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3		
		και εγενετο
ויבא דוד	καὶ ἦλθεν Δαυιδ	εισελθοντος του δᾱδ
ואנשיו	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ	και των ανδρων των μετ αυτου
אל־העיר	εἰς τὴν πόλιν	εις την σεκελαγ τη ημερα τη τριτη

Hexaplaric Text ***O***	**Majority 2** ***d t z* 554^{txt} 707***	**Majority 1** **M V *C'* rell**
id.	id.	id.
προ του ελθειν δᾱδ εις σικελαγ	εξελθοντων δᾱδ	εξελθοντος δᾱδ
μετα των ανδρων αυτου	και των ανδρων αυτου	και των ανδρων αυτου
	την σικελαγ	την σικελαγ /την σεκελαγ /την σικελακ
εν τη ημερα τη τριτη	τη ημερα τη τριτη	id.
id.	id.	id.
id.	id.	id.
id.	id.	id.
επι την σικελαγ	και επι σικελαγ /και επι σκελαγ	και επι σεκελαγ /και επι σικελακ
και επαταξεν	και επαταξαν /και επαταξεν	id.
id.	id.	id.
και ενεπρησεν	και ενεπυρισαν	id.
id.	id.	id.
---	---	---
και ηλθεν δᾱδ	id.	id.
και οι ανδρες αυτου	id.	id.
εις την πολιν	id.	id.

the new unit with the previous one: "as David was coming with his men to Ziklag on the third day."

Since the location of Ziklag is not known with certainty, we do not know exactly how long the journey was. But the distance may have been about 80 kilometers, and this would be enough for three days if a day's journey is about 25–30 kilometers. In any case, three days would be too short a time for the round trip. That is, the third day must mean the third—not after leaving home but—after starting out from Aphek. David is about to return to his hometown. This is exactly what could be expected at this point of the story.

The problematic part comes in the next clause. It represents a flashback of what had happened in David's absence: the Amalekites have attacked the town. In order to understand the relationship between the two clauses one must know that the Hebrew perfect here (especially in the position after the subject) functions as a pluperfect. It would have been easier had there been a remark like "and he saw (what had happened)." This is actually what is meant.

The following verse 2 (which we are not concentrating on) continues the flashback and explains what was done to the people of Ziklag: no one was killed, but they were all taken prisoner. The reader needs to know the circumstances under which the following events take place. Verse 3 again continues the main story: it takes up the verb בוא and allows David to come all the way into the city, and verse 4 tells about his reaction. It is obvious that verses 1 and 3 are talking about the same "coming," David's return to Ziklag; repetition is required because of the flashback. It also seems to be important for the story that the raid was made just before David's arrival. We could paraphrase the opening of the story as follows:

> What comes next concerns David when he returns home from Aphek: he faces a situation where the Amalekites have made a raid on his hometown; the town has been burned to ashes, and all the people have been taken captive.

The Greek textual traditions, which contain several quite different storylines, show that the passage was difficult to translate and that the translator as well as the later revisors all had problems with it. But which one of the textual lines represents the original translation?

2. Rahlfs' Solution

I would like to try out various alternative solutions, the first one being the solution offered by Rahlfs. Of course, Rahlfs did not consider all the textual evidence when preparing his edition, but we can still follow his reasoning.

2.1. Rahlfs' main text naturally represents the text-form that Rahlfs considered to be the original translation (second column from the left on the chart above). Looking at the details of the text from the translation-technical point

of view we observe: (1) בוא is translated with εἰσέρχομαι ("go in, enter" [LSJ]), which is a common equivalent of בוא in 1 Samuel—about 17 percent of the cases—although a still more common equivalent was the verb ἔρχομαι without the prefix. (2) The construction with the preposition ב + infinitive construct is rendered by the genitive absolute, which is normally evaluated as a good rendering. According to Soisalon-Soininen, it is stylistically good Greek, but as a rendering of the construction ב + infinitive construct it is grammatically inexact. The genitive absolute was nevertheless used four times in 1 Samuel (2:27; 11:9; 15:2; 30:1), whereas the Hebraistic rendering ἐν τῷ + infinitive was used fourteen times and a temporal clause three times.[1] With regard to these details, Rahlfs' text could be considered to be fully normal within the translation style of 1 Samuel.

The aorist participle εἰσελθόντος as the verbal component of the genitive absolute is open to an interpretation either as simultaneous with the action of the main verb or expressing succession (either "coming in" or "having come in"). Especially the "having come" alternative combined with the following main verb ἐπέθετο ("attacked") in the aorist, which does not emphasize the event as a flashback, makes it difficult to understand what is going on here: one may get the impression that the Amalekites were invading the town simultaneously with David's arrival. This sounds, of course, implausible: Why should he let them destroy his hometown if he is already there?

The problem with the timing is naturally relieved if David is not allowed to come all the way home but only to arrive at a stopping point in Keilah. Of the seven manuscripts supporting Rahlfs' text, only two actually read "Ziklag" here, and even these differ from each other (εις σικελαγ A, σεκελακ 460). Rahlfs obviously thought that the original translation must have had the same name as the MT. He considered Keilah to be contamination from chapter 23—a very convenient reading but probably an inner-Greek corruption.[2] This seems to me evident, since the problem with the temporal relations originated with the Greek formulation: both verbal forms are in fact capable of expressing in Greek what is needed here, but the combination does not function as it was supposed to, and this—together with the graphical similarity—caused the change in the name. Whether A 460 retained the original name or recovered it is an open question. However, I do not see any reason to presuppose a Hebrew reading behind the variant. I do not think Rahlfs did either. Keilah being somewhat off the route, I doubt whether it would, in fact, have been advantageous for David to stop at Keilah.

2.2. From the viewpoint of Rahlfs' reading, the other variant text-forms appear as secondary and should be explained in relation to Rahlfs. The majority

1. Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (AASF B 132.1; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 188.

2. See the apparatus of Rahlfs' edition.

reading (at the right end of the chart)—which I have termed Majority 1 (there are thirty manuscripts behind it)—has the same structure but a different content: (1) the verb has the same participial form but this time the prefix ἐξ-, which means that the movement goes into the opposite direction: "as David had gone out of Ziklag"; (2) the name of the town is the one in the MT, with an accusative article, which may sound strange, but the accusative occurs several times with the verb ἐξέρχομαι in the Septuagint.[3] With this wording the problem is avoided: on the third day David has just about arrived in Aphek and is far away—a good opportunity for the raiders. But how did this text-form come about? *Is it an error* (a very suitable one), *or is it a correction of the text, not toward the Hebrew but away from it?* From the viewpoint of Rahlfs' text, the change of the name (in B and a few others) and the change of the verb (in Majority 1)—both changes against the Hebrew—would look like different ways of correcting the logic of the text. But such corrections are not typical of any known recension of the Septuagint.

2.3. The Majority 2 reading (second column from the right on the chart) is also fairly common, but it is clearly connected with the Majority 1 reading (which is the reason for calling it M. 2): it corrects the grammatical anomaly that the participle in the singular actually has several subjects. Whatever the origin of Majority 1, Majority 2 is derived from it.[4]

2.4. The next text-form to be discussed is the Hexaplaric (third column from the right on the chart). If Rahlfs' text is taken as the starting point, this reading seems to deviate from the normal principles of the Hexaplaric recension: it does not approach the Hebrew. (1) It has the correct name for the town (as does the original translation according to Rahlfs), but (2) it goes around the problem with the timing by formulating in a new way against the Hebrew: "*before* David came to Ziklag *with* his men." The verb ἔρχομαι without the prefix is the most common rendering of בוא in 1 Samuel (used in more that half of the cases), but the preposition πρό "before" goes against the Hebrew. The only interest behind this alternative would seem to be to remove the problem with the timing and at the same time to accord with the Hebrew as far as the storyline is concerned (but not in detail). David is coming to Ziklag, but before he reaches it, the Amalekites have finished their raid.

2.5. Finally, the Lucianic recension (third column from the left on the chart) from the angle of Rahlfs: (1) it approaches the formulation of the Hebrew by using the Hebraistic ἐν τῷ + infinitive; (2) it chooses another verb παραγίνομαι ("come to, arrive"), which occurs as a rendering of בוא in 1 Samuel on sixteen occasions (12 percent—slightly less than εἰσέρχομαι). Through this combination it could perhaps be possible to understand David's movement in verse 1 in the

3. See LSJ, 591; the construction is said to be rare, but it occurs in Herodotus and Aristotle.

4. Since the critical edition of 1 Samuel is in preparation, I am not giving the manuscript grouping in full but only for those groups and recensions known from other books as well.

correct sense: "as David was arriving…" Nevertheless, this effect is lost, since (3) the name of the town is Keilah (as we have already observed in B and a few other manuscripts in the group that Rahlfs otherwise follows). As to the motivation behind this change, it remains a mystery: this change does not improve anything in relation to Rahlfs' reading—neither the Greek style, nor the agreement with the Hebrew.

Looking at the Lucianic text further down, we can observe that the majority reading (M. 1) appears as a plus a little later in the verse—only this time with the preposition ἐκ instead of the accusative. Still further down, we find the reading of Rahlfs as an expansion at the beginning of verse 3. No doubt the Lucianic revisor knew all the various text-forms. According to *L,* the schedule is a tight one: on the third day after leaving Ziklag David is already back at Keilah; on the very same day the Amalekites make their raid; and before sunset David reaches Ziklag.

Trying to understand the textual history from the viewpoint of Rahlfs, we end up with great problems with each and every text-form. That is why we should try another solution.

3. The Solution Suggested by Sebastian Brock

3.1. Sebastian Brock suggested in his dissertation *Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* that the Lucianic reading in 1 Sam 30:1 might represent the original translation,[5] a view that deserves to be considered. Brock's argument was: (1) *L* is closer to the Hebrew in formulation; he maintained that the genitive absolute does not translate ב + infinitive construct in 1 Samuel, which we know is not exactly correct. (2) As I mentioned, the verb παραγίνομαι is normal in 1 Samuel. (3) The name of the town was confused, according to Brock, in consequence of a misunderstanding concerning the Hebrew construction. Brock thought that Keilah perhaps even originated from the translator.

3.2. But how can we explain the other readings from this viewpoint? Brock argued that "later (but prehexaplaric) attempts at restoring Siqlag involved the variants ἐξ/εἰσελθ)." This would apply to both the majority reading and Rahlfs' reading. If Ziklag had priority over Keilah in the textual line behind Rahlfs' text—which Brock does not state clearly—then we would in fact have the name changing back to Keilah again. On the other hand, if Keilah is to be given priority in this group, A 460 would represent correction toward the Hebrew—no problem as such—but restoring Ziklag would not have been the motivation behind εἰσελθόντος δᾱδ (as Brock had thought). Furthermore, what is problematic here is that such early witnesses as B and A should represent stylistic improvement in

5. Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9; Torino: Zamorani, 1996), 285. (I refer here to the published version of the 1966 dissertation.)

that they change the Hebraistic construction to the genitive absolute. They normally do not make stylistic changes. The relationship between the manuscript groups is simply upside down!

3.3. How about the majority reading (ἐξελθόντος δᾱδ), then? Brock had only one explanation for both ἐξελθόντος and εἰσελθόντος, and I agree that it would hardly be sensible to derive them independently from the *L* reading. The similarity in construction certainly indicates a closer connection between them. But I think it is in fact impossible to derive the majority reading from the *L* reading at all. On the other hand, if the majority text should be derived from the text of B, it would appear as a partial correction toward the Hebrew (as regards Ziklag) and a partial deviation from the Hebrew (as regards the verb), whereas derivation from the text of A would mean deviation only. It is well known that correction toward the Hebrew is the most widespread principle for recensional activity.

3.4. The Hexaplaric text-form, seen from the angle of Brock, would again mean a change in each and every detail—prepositions, verb, word order, name—but most of them against the Hebrew! This would be very exceptional.

To my mind, too many things end up being upside down if the *L* text is supposed to be the original Septuagint!

4. The Third Option

As a third alternative, we could try seeing things from the angle of the majority reading (= M. 1). The majority is not nearly always right, but, on the other hand, the majority support is not a definite indication of the reading being secondary.

4.1. Would it be possible to explain the majority reading as the original translation? Let us look at the details of this text-form. (1) The construction with the genitive absolute could very well be part of the original translation: it is rare but it does exist; (2) the name Ziklag corresponds to the Hebrew; exactly like the Hebrew, it does not even have a preposition; (3) but the verb—how can ἐξέρχομαι be explained? It does happen a few times that **בוא** is translated with ἐξέρχομαι or ἀπέρχομαι, although this seems to be the opposite of **בוא**.

As is well known, there is a difference in how "come" and "go" are used and how **בוא** and **יצא** are: the Hebrews chose the verb according to the direction of the motion; we use "come" and "go" in our different languages in relation to the position of the speaker. This could possibly have been taken into account by the translator. In 1 Samuel there are two cases where **בוא** was rendered by "go" rather than by "come":

1 Sam 25:5 **ובאתם אל־נבל**—καὶ ἀπέλθατε πρὸς Ναβαλ

The translator saw the movement from the viewpoint of the speaker, that is, David: "go away (from here)"; the Hebrew, however, represents the viewpoint of the goal: "go in," "go to (Nabal)." This rendering is fully appropriate.

1 Sam 4:3 נקחה אלינו משׁלה את־ארון ברית יהוה ויבא בקרבנו—λάβωμεν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκ Σηλωμ καὶ ἐξελθέτω ἐν μέσῳ ἡμῶν

In this case the meaning of the statement is changed, but the change is in accord with the context. The Hebrew speaks of the ark "coming in our midst," whereas the translation brings out the purpose of the maneuver: the ark will be "going out to war in our midst."

Our case in 1 Sam 30:1 is similar to the latter example, but in this context it is definitely not correct to make the change! Nevertheless, the translator's mind may have been so preoccupied by David's departure from Aphek that ἐξέρχομαι seemed most natural to him. This kind of creativity could be expected from the translator, but less probably from revisors.

Since the Hebrew expresses the goal of the journey with צקלג without a preposition, it is natural to use the accusative to translate it: την Σικελαγ. It would be tempting to interpret the Greek, too, as an expression of the goal—"having started out *toward* Ziklag"—which is very close to the meaning of the Hebrew. But with the verb ἐξέρχομαι the accusative normally expresses the point of departure.[6] Even if the translator had had the correct idea in his mind, the wording used definitely sounds like "having left Ziklag." As a translation of the Hebrew this is incorrect, but it certainly avoids the problem with the timing of David's arrival. It fails, however, to bring out the idea of the raid taking place in the last minute before David's return.

The next question is: Can we derive the other readings from the majority reading?

4.2. As was pointed out above, one of the readings can only be understood as derived from the majority reading: M. 2 with the genitive absolute in the plural corrects the grammatical anomaly in M. 1.

4.3. What about the Hexaplaric text? Compared to the majority reading the Hexaplaric text actually approaches the Hebrew: (1) the verb must be corrected to correspond more closely to בוא (the unprefixed ἔρχομαι being the most common equivalent). (2) The temporal construction προ του ελθειν—although the preposition is exceptional—expresses the correct meaning of David coming but not yet having arrived. The addition of the preposition μετά "with" may depend on the genitive plural in the parent text: it is easier to add the preposition than to change the following words into the accusative, especially after the change in word order. "On the third day" is also with a preposition, which is in accord with the Hebrew.

6. Compare the following: Gen 44:4 הם יצאו את־העיר—ἐξελθόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν; Exod 9:29; 12:22; Judg 3:22–23 ויצא הפרשׁדנה ויצא אהוד המסדרונה ויסגר דלתות העליה בעדו—καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Αωδ τὴν προστάδα καὶ ἐξῆλθεν τοὺς διατεταγμένους καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν τὰς θύρας τοῦ ὑπερῴου κατ' αὐτοῦ, Tob 11:10 S (text-form II): ἐξήρχετο τὴν θύραν.

4.4. Seen from the angle of the majority reading, Rahlfs' text would also be a correction toward the Hebrew—an earlier (pre-Hexaplaric) one. In this branch of the text the name of the town was at first correct, but it was corrupted because the meaning of the sentence did not sound correct: David should not arrive until the Amalekites have gone. Keilah can be understood as an inner-Greek change.

4.5. The Lucianic text can also be understood as a correction of the majority reading: the meaning of the verb must be corrected, and at the same time the construction is changed. The origin of this Hebraistic formulation may be in one of the later translations (Aquila or possibly Symmachus); it is evident that the Lucianic revisor had access to Hexaplaric material. This time he did not aim at stylistic improvement. Knowing the alternatives Ziklag and Keilah, the revisor may have figured out that Keilah was the more logical one. He obviously did not check the Hebrew. It is interesting that the *L* text has a kind of triplet in this passage, showing that this late revisor had all the threads in his hands. He wanted to preserve all three different text-forms and thus created for David's journey a chronology that is untenable.

Since the majority reading (M. 1) can be explained on the basis of the normal mode of translation in 1 Samuel and since it is easier to derive all other text-forms from the majority reading than the other way round, I conclude that the majority reading must be the most original reading of 1 Sam 30:1.

5. Conclusion

In textual criticism the most important criterion for me is that the reading from which it is easiest to derive all other readings should be regarded as the original. The task of the textual critic is like that of a Sherlock Holmes, trying to find out on the basis of the evidence what has happened. Tracing the change from one text-form to another and examining the motives behind the change is my idea of textual criticism in the Septuagint. The motives play an essential role because so many changes have been made on purpose.

The motive to change that has had the widest acceptance at all times is naturally correction toward the Hebrew. Which one of the readings compared to the others represents correction toward the Hebrew—and is thus secondary—is often a matter of viewpoint, as I have tried to demonstrate. What we encounter in 1 Samuel is that even the oldest manuscripts that are often considered to represent the closest to the original we can get reveal sporadic, pre-Hexaplaric approximation to the Hebrew. In this respect the case studied finds confirmation in a few analogous cases—which I will save for another occasion.

The Historical, Social, and Literary Context of Old Greek Job

Claude E. Cox

Abstract: This paper examines the setting of OG Job in the middle of the second century B.C.E. in Alexandria. While exploring the historical and social contexts is important for placing OG Job within a larger framework of understanding, it is the literary context that is decisive. By "literary context" is meant Job's place in the Bible, but also its place amidst the literature being translated into Greek or being written in Greek at the time of the translation of Job. This literary context helps to explain the approach of the Old Greek translator and provides a window into the translator's world of thought.

Twice Judaism gave Job to the world. The first time an old story was recast, now in Hebrew, and expanded to include a lot of arguing about the responsibility for the suffering of its main character, a man in the east named Job. Being in Hebrew, the story had limited circulation, and, further, not being among the Law or the Prophets, it sat on the edge of the biblical corpus, more or less the way its subject, human suffering, sits at the edge of things. The book's "common theology" certainly placed it in the larger context of the ancient Near East's response to the question of suffering: you get what you deserve. But its audience was limited.

The second time Judaism gave Job to the world it did so in an international language, Greek, which, thanks to Alexander the Great, overflowed onto the banks of cultures from the Mediterranean basin to India. Once again the story was recast, but this time the story was shortened, largely by the curtailment of the arguing—couched in Hebrew whose meaning is sometimes all too unclear and thought now to be a bit too repetitious. Further, the creative translator felt a certain freedom to paraphrase what remained—maybe because the book sat on the edge of things—while, at the same time, he sharpened Job's diagnosis considerably by clarifying the nature of his misdemeanor: he had transgressed the law. It was in such a form that the church received the book.

Translators usually leave few clues to the unique historical context in which they have worked: for example, precise dates elude us. The same is true for the social situation in which translators work: usually we cannot place it very accurately because few signs are left in the work translators leave behind. Rather, it is the literary context that fixes a translation in place: first, one may point to the

parent text and its place within a body of literature. This is true of OG Job, where it is the book's literary context that is determinative for the nature of the translation. At least that is the argument to be advanced here.

The Historical Context of OG Job

The earliest evidence for the existence of OG Job is provided by a citation in the treatise *On the Jews* by the historian Aristeas. It is preserved in Eusebius, who quotes it from Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 50 B.C.E.). Aristeas belongs to the first half of the first century B.C.E., so OG Job belongs to that period and is likely a little earlier. Harl, Dorival, and Munnich place the date of OG Job at 132 B.C.E.[1] At any rate, to suggest that OG was translated in the second half of the second century B.C.E. seems reasonable. So far as I know, only Alexandria has been suggested as its place of origin—see, for example, Harl, Dorival, and Munnich, following Gerleman, who state that OG Job comes from Alexandria because the identification of Job with Jobab, in chapter 42, is unknown or scarcely hinted at in the rabbinic tradition and because OG Job is suitably placed in Hellenistic circles.[2]

By the second century B.C.E. there was a substantial Jewish presence in Egypt. Already in Jeremiah's time Egypt was a sanctuary for flight (Jer 42–43), and later in the sixth century we find a Jewish military colony at Elephantine, with its own temple. The *Letter of Aristeas* states that Ptolemy I Soter (305–285) took some 100,000 Jewish captives to Egypt from Palestine, 30,000 of whom were enrolled in military service; the remainder were sold into slavery. The figures may be too large to be credible, but the incident may be corroborated by the second-century historian Agatharchides of Cnidus, whom Josephus quotes in connection with this incident.[3]

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1. The date of 132 B.C.E. is arbitrary: OG Job is first linked with OG Proverbs; then, because Greek Sirach, in citing from Proverbs, makes no recourse to the Greek, it is concluded that OG Proverbs was not yet in existence. So OG Proverbs is dated to 132 B.C.E. and OG Job with it: Marguerite Harl, G. Dorival, Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du Judaïsme hellénistique au Christiansime ancien* (Initiations au Chistianisme ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1988), 91. Harl, Dorival, and Munnich state that it is certain that (Pseudo-)Aristeas lived "at the latest in the first half of the first century B.C.E." Some further comments are made below on the date of the *Letter of Aristeas.*

2. Ibid., 105; see G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I: Book of Job* (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd 43. Nr 2; Lund: Gleerup, 1946), 75, and, on its Alexandrian provenance, 32–48. Gerleman dates the Aristeas fragment to about the middle of the second century B.C.E. (p. 73).

3. *Let. Aris.* 12: text translated by R. J. H. Shutt in *OTP* 2:12–13. In section 13 *Aristeas* recounts that in earlier times a fair number (of soldiers) had entered Egypt under the Persians and that, before that, others had fought with Psammetichus against Ethiopia. For the text of Agatharchides quoted by Josephus (*C. Ap.* 1.205–211; *Ant.* 12.5–6), with introduction and commentary, see M. Stern, ed., *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism I: From Herodotus to*

There was a large settlement of Jews in the Fayyum from the third century B.C.E., in about thirty different localities.[4] In the mid-second century Onias IV took refuge in Egypt at the court of Ptolemy VI Philometer and built a temple at Leontopolis; at the same time there were Jews in the Ptolemaic administration,[5] although the main occupations of Jews in Egypt were military service and agriculture.[6]

Alexandria was the intellectual, economic, and political heart of Ptolemaic Egypt. The Jewish community came to occupy an entire quarter of the city, its northeast corner, to the east of the royal quarter. In Alexandria the Ptolemies tried to legitimate themselves in Egyptian culture by linking themselves to ancient Egyptian traditions and the ideology of the pharaohs. Ptolemy I instituted an official state cult of Alexander, and at the end of the 270s Ptolemy II and his sister-wife and consort Arsinoe took to sharing a temple with Alexander as the "Brother-Sister Gods" in that cult. This deification meant that the god-king was *law* incarnate.[7] The god-kings "owned" all the land in the Valley of the Nile and the Delta and managed the country as a vast estate.[8]

The second-century Ptolemies are:

- Ptolemy V Epiphanes 205–180 B.C.E.
- Ptolemy VI Philometer 180–145
- Ptolemy VII Neos Philopater 145
- Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II 170–116
- Ptolemy IX Soter II 116–107
- Ptolemy X Alexander I 107–88.

A recurrent feature of Ptolemaic history, namely, dynastic schism, was certainly true of the second century B.C.E. during the co-rule of Ptolemy VI Philometer and his brother Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, intense rivals. Shipley

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Plutarch (Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities; Section on Humanities; Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974), 104–9. Aryeh Kasher comments on the texts and incident in *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt: The Struggle for Equal Rights* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 101. He accepts the historicity of the event itself.

4. Kasher, *Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt,* 135.

5. Ibid., 60, 134.

6. Peder Borgen, "Philo and the Jews in Alexandria," in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (ed. Per Bilde, T. Engberg-Pedersen, L. Hannestad, and J. Zahle; Studies in Hellenistic Civilization 3; Åarhus: Åarhus University Press 1992), 122.

7. W. S. Ferguson, "The Leading Ideas of the New Period," in *The Cambridge Ancient History VII: The Hellenistic Monarchies and the Rise of Rome* (ed. S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, and M. P. Charlesworth; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 17, 19.

8. Ibid., 27.

speaks of "the seeming chaos of the second and first centuries BC, when only the occasional documented event relieves the confusing sequence of dynastic scandals."[9] The Ptolemies were in conflict not only among themselves but also with the Seleucids in Syria; the usually belligerent relationship with Syria—with Palestine in the middle—was at times further confounded by politically motivated marriages between the two states.[10] Overshadowing both regimes was the growing power of Rome, whose influence on Egypt grew in the second century.[11] It may be that these military and political problems are at the root of the decline of intellectual output in Alexandria in the second century.[12]

The Ptolemies oversaw a vast system of taxation that left few areas of life untouched. Duties related to import and export were collected at Alexandria, Pelusium, and other ports. Gerleman points to the word φορολόγος "tax gatherer" (3:18; 39:7) as one of the words that indicates the adaptation of OG Job to Egyptian conditions.[13] Administration of the country was in the hands of Greeks and Macedonians who were attracted to Egypt with the "carrot" of privilege. Therefore a basic dichotomy existed: the native Egyptians on the one side and the foreigners on the other, the latter gradually assimilated to the former.[14]

The Social Context of OG Job

Shipley says that, after Alexander, Egyptian society remained hierarchical, with the king and court at the top and the priests of the native temples forming a powerful second center of power.[15] Within this structure, Ptolemaic Egypt was socially "a miscellaneous conglomeration," as one can see in the population of Alexandria.[16]

The city must have been an impressive place, since it was *the* city in Egypt and one of the major centers of culture and learning in the ancient world. Rostovtzeff points to its royal buildings, harbors, lighthouse, palace, Mausoleum of Alexan-

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9. Graham Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander 323–30 BC* (Routledge History of the Ancient World; London: Routledge, 2000), 192, 209.

10. For example, Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who invaded Egypt in 169, was the uncle of Ptolemy VI Philometer; see ibid., 209.

11. Ibid., 386.

12. Ibid., 366.

13. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I,* 36–37. The word does not occur elsewhere in the LXX/OG corpus. The translator of Job does not abbreviate chapter 3; in chapter 39, the translator omits verses 6b and 8ab but not verse 7. Carl Schneider, *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus* (Munich: Beck, 1967), 2:882, says the conception of the law of God as a royal πρόσταγμα "decree" (cf. Job) can only have arisen from the Ptolemaic environment.

14. M. Rostovtzeff, "Ptolemaic Egypt," in Cook, Adcock, and Charlesworth, *Cambridge Ancient History VII*, 115, 117, 139.

15. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander,* 195.

16. Rostovtzeff, "Ptolemaic Egypt," 142.

der; its wide, straight streets, lit at night; its theaters, hippodromes, temples, and synagogues; its villas and gardens.[17] The brightest minds of the day were attracted to the city by the patronage of the Ptolemies; newcomers mixed with the local population. The Greek historian Diodorus in the first century B.C.E. described Alexandria as the largest city in the world (17.52.6), with a population of some 300,000 "free" inhabitants. A total population of 400,000 to 500,000 seems likely; the figure must have been much the same a century earlier.[18] "Citizens" were in a minority in Alexandria, since citizenship was limited to Greeks and Macedonians. Inhabitants who lived there but did not hold citizenship included various Greeks, Anatolians, Syrians, and especially Jews and Egyptians.[19]

Alexandria was organized as a collection of *politeumata,* "that is, a national (or religious) group enjoying certain political privileges, first and foremost the maintenance of an independent judicial system and community establishment, on the basis of the right to preserve ancestral custom."[20] This is the terminology used of the Jewish community in the *Letter of Aristeas,* in §§308–310, which describes the presentation of the Septuagint to an assembled congregation and its leaders. The Jewish community therefore lived in a layered social context that included its own ancestral traditions (the law) and Greek and Egyptian legal traditions and customs, not to mention a variety of religious expressions.

Life in Alexandria was not without its periods of strife. Much of the book of 3 Maccabees is given to telling the story of Ptolemy IV Philopater's persecution of Jews of Egypt and Alexandria, and Josephus relates a story about the persecution of Alexandrian Jews under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (*C. Ap.* 2.53–56). These accounts may be related. Kasher gives primacy to that in 3 Maccabees and suggests that Philopater's opposition to the Jews can be attributed, in part, to Jewish opposition to the new state religion, the cult of Dionysus, that is, Sarapis.[21]

In our own time we are struck by the wealth of Egyptian religious artifacts: the huge monuments, animal-headed or animal deities of every shape and size, the attention to the practice of mummification, and the extent of iconographic and written remains. There were many cults, with local or wider appeal, that preserved something of an ancient character, were cared for by priesthoods, and had a visible presence in ritual, festivals, and sacred ceremonies.[22] All of this must have seemed too much to the aniconic Jewish tradition, with its prohibition of images. Egyptian religion was able to absorb whatever came its way: Sarapis evolved out of the cult of Osiris at Memphis but was a composite deity that saw

17. Ibid., 143.

18. Diodorus is cited by Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander,* 215. The population figures are Shipley's.

19. Rostovtzeff, "Ptolemaic Egypt," 122.

20. Kasher, *Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt,* 4; see also 208–11.

21. Ibid., 211–214. Ptolemy IV Philopater's dates are 221–205 B.C.E.

22. W. S. Ferguson, "Leading Ideas of the New Period," 6.

Osiris, Dionysus, and Hades or Pluton as its constituent elements.[23] His spouse Isis had innumerable cult-names and was identified with various other deities. Myth gave them a son, Harpocrates (Horus). The other most important Egyptian god of the Ptolemaic period is Anubis, the dog-headed messenger of the gods.[24] Job's mythological creatures are at home here.

The culture of science and learning in Alexandria fostered education and an engagement with the world around, as did the coming and going of so much traffic, both mercantile and human. It was a place where one might try to connect the Hebrew and Greek worldviews, such as when Aristobulus (ca. late second century B.C.E.) derived the ideas of the Greek poets and philosophers from Moses.[25] It was natural that the Jewish community, occupying a signficant place in everyday Alexandrian life, bilingual, much of its Scriptures already rendered into Greek, would finish the endeavor by translating those books that remained, such as Job and Proverbs.

Finally, a word about education. The writings of Alexandrian Judaism reflect a high level of Greek literacy. The gymnasium excluded non-Greeks, but it seems likely that prominent Jews had access. Indeed, Hengel says that the fusion of Jewish and Hellenistic culture that we see in Alexandria from the third century B.C.E. can only be understood on the grounds of "unhindered access of Egyptian Jews to the treasures of Greek education."[26]

The Literary Context of OG Job

Translators, by the very nature of their task, seldom leave any indication of the specific time and place of their work. These details may be provided by some external source, for example, the *Letter of Aristeas,* albeit legendary, in the case of the Pentateuch, but usually they remain to be inferred from within the work itself and, therefore, can be established in only a general way. That is true of OG Job.

The Old Greek Job has several contexts that are literary in nature. First, there is the literary environment in which it was translated: What literature did the translator know, particularly in Greek? Second, there is the Greek literature that came into being about the same time as OG Job. This literature may provide a pool of resources for understanding the language and style of OG Job and has two areas to consider: non-Jewish and Jewish. Here we are interested especially in Jewish literature that appeared locally, that is, at Alexandria, and, within that demarcation, wisdom. Third—and a determining factor for the type of transla-

23. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1972), 1:254–56.

24. Ibid., 1:261–62.

25. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander,* p. 266.

26. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1:66.

tion we find in OG Job—what is the literary context of Job within the Jewish Scriptures?

The Greek Literature that the OG Translator Knew

The question, What literature did the translator of OG Job know? is a fascinating one to pursue. Of course, there was the Torah, and we will take that up in a moment. But, presuming that the translator had some sort of education in Greek, what will he have read? Hezser says that in the Greco-Roman view an educated person knew Homer, Plato, and Aristotle.[27] The focus on Homer, in Egypt and elsewhere, was typical of the Greco-Roman world generally; it provided the student with a sense of belonging in the Greek world.[28] It is worth noting that our text of Homer's epics, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* rests largely on the work of Alexandrian scholars of the third and second centuries B.C.E., that is, upon their editorial work.[29] This is the period of OG Job, which can be construed as an edited text.

The Greek literature that the translator of Job knew affected the translator's work in the following way: there was a standard of comparison; there was an understanding of what constituted "good Greek." Gerleman points to the translator's predilection for prepositional compounds and his use of particles as a sign that he was "anxious to produce a good and easily flowing Greek."[30] Further, Job is poetry, and the translator had some understanding of what poetry should be like. Gerleman speaks of his "tendency towards impressive and poetic language."[31] Where would the translator have gotten these stylistic elements, except from the literary environment in which the work was done?

The Literature of Alexandrian Judaism in the Second Century B.C.E.

The Ptolemaic period saw a large collection of literature appear in Alexandria. The main types that are extant include historiography, geography, the epigram, narrative poetry and hymns; secondary types are various, comprising, for example, folktales and quasi-scientific materials.[32] We may cite as example one writer, the historian and geographer Agatharcides of Cnidus, who wrote his work *On the*

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27. Catherine Hezser, *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine* (TSAJ 81; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 189. One wonders whether or not, for Egypt, Herodotus might be added to the short list.

28. Ibid., 70.

29. H. C. Baldry, *Ancient Greek Literature in Its Living Context* (Library of Early Civilizations; London: Thames & Hudson, 1968; repr., New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974), 25.

30. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint I,* 8.

31. Ibid.,14.

32. Survey in Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:495–687.

Red Sea sometime after the middle of the second century B.C.E. He says that he derived his information in part from the royal archives in Alexandria.[33]

The second century B.C.E. saw the emergence of a considerable Jewish literature in Greek. Some of this grew out of the Maccabean struggle, and almost all of it is religious in one way or another; some of it had a Hebrew parent text, but much did not. The book of 1 Esdras appeared during this time, with its free treatment of 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; Daniel was supplemented with chapters 7–12, as well as The Prayer of Azariah, Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon. Further, 2 Maccabees is an abridgement of the late second-century history of Jason of Cyrene and contains an invitation to the Jews of Egypt to celebrate Hannukah in 124/3 B.C.E.; 3 Maccabees may contain a core that belongs in the early second century, and 1 Maccabees was written at the end of the second century B.C.E. *Jubilees* dates to between 161 and 140 B.C.E.; its provenance is Palestine.[34] The story of the Tobiads, as recorded by Josephus, with its pro-Ptolemaic bias belongs to the middle or late second century B.C.E.[35] At Qumran the *Community Rule,* for example, may date from the latter part of the second century B.C.E.; similarly some liturgical materials, such as "The Words of the Heavenly Lights."[36]

Fraser, Schürer, and Collins have provided useful summaries of Alexandrian Jewish literature.[37] Fraser writes about the Jewish presence in Egypt and Alexandria, its position in society, and the period of its greatest literary output in the following terms:

> In spite of involvement in political crises of one sort or another it is clear that, even if they did not continue with regularity to hold high office, from this time onwards—*the middle of the second century* [B.C.E.]—they were of considerable and ever-increasing importance in the population of Alexandria, and it is to this period that most of our evidence belongs.[38]

This is precisely the period of our interest for OG Job. The following writings dating to the second century B.C.E. are Alexandrian in origin, or likely to be:

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33. Ibid., 1:173–74.

34. O. S. Wintermute, translation and introduction, in *OTP* 2:44.

35. John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 74.

36. Géza Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin, 1962), 71, 202.

37. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:687–716; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (rev. and ed. by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986), 3.1:470–74; Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem.*

38. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:688; emphasis added.

► *Letter of Aristeas*	reign of Philometer, 170–145[39]
► *3 Maccabees,* core of story	early second century
► *Sibylline Oracles,* book 3	reign of Philometer
► *Pseudo-Orphic Fragments*	second century or even late third
► *The Exodus* by Ezekiel the Tragedian	late third to early first century C.E.
► *Explanations of the Book of Moses,* by Aristobulus	reign of Philometer[40]

The last three works are fragmentary, preserved in Christian writers, principally Eusebius.[41] The *Pseudo-Orphic Fragments* in their earliest, shortest form consist of only twenty-one hexameters and have as their theme monotheism and the invisibility of God; the second of the four recensions, focusing upon Abraham, is equally early.[42] Ezekiel's dramatic poem about the exodus runs to some 269 lines; it follows the biblical story closely except for a dream Moses experiences and a depiction of the phoenix bird.[43] For Aristobulus, Judaism is the preeminent school of philosophy: Plato and the philosophers borrowed from Moses.[44] We should also mention two other fragmentary texts. The first is Artapanus's life of Moses, "probably simply called *On the Jews,*" "whose main fragment contains the story of Moses from his birth to his death." It relates how Moses taught the Egyptians what they know about war and peace, their religion, and about the economy of their country. Fraser places him likewise during the reign of Philometer but suggests he is a Jew of mixed descent from some center other than Alexandria, such as Memphis.[45]

Finally, it will be worth our while to mention the historian "Demetrius the Chronographer," whom Fraser says may be most probably assigned to the later third century B.C.E. His work was apparently called *On the Kings of Judaea,* the main surviving fragment of which summarizes the Genesis story of the flight of Jacob to Harran; other fragments deal with the story in Exodus. Demetrius

39. The dates provided here follow Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* and Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem.* Collins notes that the majority view for the date of the *Letter of Aristeas* is the second half of the second century and follows Bickerman, who favored a date in the reign of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, approximately 160–125 B.C.E. (p. 98).

40. The title of Aristobulus's work is not known; Fraser, in *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:694, says it was "apparently entitled" *Explanations of the Book of Moses.*

41. Greek text, translation, and annotation in Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors* (4 vols.; SBLTT 20, 30, 39, 40; Chico, Calif.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1983–1996).

42. Discussion in Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 219–24.

43. Ibid., 224–30.

44. Ibid., 186–90.

45. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:704–6.

is of concern to us especially for his interest in genealogy, given the genealogy appended to the Greek version of Job.[46]

Several later works of Egyptian provenance are also of interest for OG Job, since they belong to the immediate foreground of the text. These are:

- Wisdom of Solomon — second century B.C.E.–40 C.E.
- *Joseph and Aseneth* — early first century B.C.E.[47]
- *Testament of Job* — 100 B.C.E.–150 C.E.

Fraser does not deal with the Wisdom of Solomon, probably in the belief that it belongs to the later, Roman period. Because of its genre and provenance, it is of considerable interest for the reading of OG Job. The central focus of the book is the figure of wisdom. Its review of biblical history illustrates various types, such as the righteous, among whom are Noah, Abraham, Lot, Jacob, and so on. It contains a list of sins (14:22–29) and a polemic against animal worship that may have been traditional in the synagogues of Alexandria. "The law" that forms the orientation for the righteous is not just the law of Moses but more generally the natural law to which all good people adhere.[48] The *Joseph and Aseneth* novella incorporates Jewish-Gentile relations in the Egyptian Diaspora. Much more important is the *Testament of Job,* which shows the considerable development of the Job story. Now salvation is immortality in heaven, attained by endurance; and now the basis of religion is not the law but heavenly revelations and the rejection of idolatry.[49]

Lest we digress too far, let us return to the mid-second century B.C.E. for one further remark. The *Letter of Aristeas* is of interest generally for its Alexandrian vocabulary and familiarity with the Ptolemaic court and administration, but also more specifically for the "Philosophical Banquet" passage, wherein, among the questions raised, we find the king's question about maintaining equanimity among the many circumstances of life, both good and bad. The answer he receives is that God appoints human beings to partake of both the greatest evils and the greatest "goods"; no human remains untouched by them.[50] This sounds very much like Job's response to his wife in 2:10.

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46. Ibid., 690–94.

47. So Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem,* 109. The dating of this romance is quite uncertain. G. Bohak dates it to the middle of the second century B.C.E. (summary in Collins, 107–8), but it has also been dated several centuries later.

48. Ibid., 195–202.

49. Ibid., 245–46.

50. Cited by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria,* 1:701; the comments about the Ptolemaic court are found on p. 703.

The Literary Context of Job within the Jewish Scriptures

This survey of the general literary context of OG Job in second-century Alexandria brings us now to its primary literary context, namely, the Scriptures in their Hebrew and Greek forms. Surely it is this context that is the primary determinant for the translator's work, while the literary milieu in which the translator lived provides his work with a secondary level of influence, for example, the language and style with which he has rendered the text translated.

The Prologue to Sirach shows us that early in the second century B.C.E. the Law and the Prophets were established as collections. Other books are called just that, either "the others" or "the other books of our ancestors." We know from literature found at Qumran that the textual situation, in terms of the development toward one authoritative text, was still fluid, certainly among "the others," but also among even the Prophets, where, for example, two versions of Jeremiah were current. The most important book in the third group of Scripture books was Psalms (see Luke 24:44). Job did not enjoy that status; it was not read in the weekly liturgy in the synagogue, although it could be studied on Tisha B'Av, along with Lamentations and "the sad parts of Jeremiah."[51]

In various lists of Scripture books, Job is placed with Psalms and Proverbs. In the Talmud it follows Psalms, in which case the story of one righteous man's experience follows the book about the way of the righteous. In the major Greek manuscripts Job has no fixed location: in Vaticanus it follows Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles and precedes the Wisdom of Solomon and Sirach; in Sinaiticus Job is at the end, following Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach. These are variations of another old Jewish arrangement of books that comes to provide the shape for the Christian canon.[52] In any case, it is very likely that the book's status at the edge permitted the translator to alter the text that was translated, to the extent that the translator almost becomes an author. Literary status also affected the treatment of several other biblical books. It permitted Proverbs to undergo some rearrangment as well, and it meant that Esther and Daniel could receive various additions.

Respect for Torah, the word of God, meant for the translator of OG Job that repetitious argumentation could be curtailed but that the God speeches had to remain intact. That we are dealing, in part at least, with a question of the nature

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51. *b. Ta'anit* 30a, cited by Christian M. M. Brady, "Targum Lamentations 1:1–4: A Theological Prologue," in *Targum and Scripture: Studies in Aramaic Translation and Interpretation in Memory of Ernest G. Clarke* (ed. Paul V. M. Flesher; Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 2; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 177.

52. For the order of books in manuscripts of the Old Testament in Greek, see H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (rev. R. R. Ottley; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902; repr., New York: Ktav, 1968), 200–14; and P. Katz, "The Old Testament Canon in Palestine and Alexandria," *ZNW* 47 (1956): 191–217.

of the material in the shorter OG Job seems clear from a comparison with Proverbs, whose translation, at times, has been attributed to the translator of OG Job. It seems likely that they come from the same circle of translators. But the point I want to make is that Proverbs is rearranged some, gets some unusual treatment, but is not shortened like Job, because it is a different kind of text.

Finally, Job's literary context is responsible for the "associative translations" that we sometimes find in OG Job.[53] The translator has transferred passages from elsewhere in Job or, more dramatically, from elsewhere in the Septuagint corpus, into the translation. The examples are: Job 4:21a = Isa 40:24b; Job 34:13 was inspired by Ps 24:1; Job 34:15b is a gloss that derives from Gen 3:19. The translator has been influenced by a memory of other biblical texts, a phenomenon we find in the targumic tradition.

Conclusion

The Old Greek translation of Job was made in a particular historical, social, and literary context. Occasional hints of the former two aspects of its "situation in life" are to be found in the translation, but OG Job's literary context is primarily responsible for the shape of the presentation of Job's case in its new environment. There is more to be said about these things: for example, the treatment of the theological problem in OG Job develops in the light of the Jewish understanding of suffering in the Hellenistic period. But we will leave that for another occasion.[54]

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53. This terminology is used by M. L. Klein, "Associative and Complementary Translation in the Targums," *ErIsr* 16 (1982): 134*–40*, cited by Bjørn Olav Grüner Kvam, " 'Come, Let the Two of Us Go Out into the Field.' The Targum Supplement to Genesis 4:8a—A Text-Immanent Reading?" in Flesher, *Targum and Scripture,* 99 n. 5. I prefer this terminology to that of H. Heater Jr., *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (CBQMS 11; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), who speaks of "the anaphoric translation technique," because it places the translator's approach in a larger framework.

54. It was reviewing M. L. Wade's *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (SBLSCS 49; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2003), for *CBQ* 66 (2004): 309–10, that provided the stimulation for this study, particularly the biographical note that she herself is a translator in Papua New Guinea. This led me to think about the kinds of contexts in which a translator works, modern or ancient.

John Chrysostom and the Septuagint (Job and Psalms)

Mario Cimosa

Abstract: Among scholars and researchers of the Septuagint, there is a growing interest in what is said to be the Lucianic recension, especially of the fathers of the Antiochene church, of which John Chrysostom together with Theodoret of Cyrus are considered to be major exponents. Such an interest has also inspired me to investigate the two biblical commentaries *Enarrationes in Psalmos* and *Commentarius in Iob* by John Chrysostom in order to ascertain the Greek text used by John Chrysostom. Did Chrysostom use only the Lucianic recension that is at the origin of Codex A, as has been argued by Léon Dieu in line with Grabe? Certainly in the history of Job the Lucianic recension plays an important role similar to that of the prophetic books. In this paper, after illustrating the problematic aspects of the Lucianic recension in its essentials, I briefly present the two commentaries of Chrysostom on Psalms (Hill) and on Job (Dieu, Ziegler, Sorlin, Hagedorn) and their textual and literary characteristics. Emphasizing Chrysostom as a pastor and exegete, I will propose some hypotheses on the text and the texts used by him in these two commentaries and perhaps also in his other works. I will confirm my hypotheses with examples from the commentaries on the Psalms (Job 1:21 in Ps 50) and on Job (Job 42:17 [3] and Job 19: 26a). From these, and keeping in mind especially the biblical text used by John Chrysostom, I will draw some conclusions, albeit provisional, on the exegetical and pastoral method of this renowned father of the church.

1. Introduction

Among scholars and researchers of the Septuagint there is a growing interest in what is said to be the *Lucianic,* much better, the *Antiochene,* recension (*L*),[1] especially of the fathers of the Antiochene church, of which John Chrysostom

1. As early as in the fifth century, Jerome wrote in *Praefatio in Libros Paralipomenon* that there were three different text forms used in the church in his day and that the church in Antioch used *L:* "Alexandria et Aegyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, *Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat*, mediae inter has provinciae palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilius vulgaverunt, totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat" (from Bonifatio Fischer et al., *Biblia sacra: Iuxta Vulgatam versionem* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994]).

together with Theodoret of Cyrus are considered to be the major exponents.[2] Such an interest has also inspired and motivated me to investigate the two biblical commentaries *Enarrationes in Psalmos*[3] and *Commentarius in Iob*[4] of John Chrysostom in order to ascertain the Greek text used by John Chrysostom. Did Chrysostom use only the Lucianic recension that is at the origin of Codex A, as has been argued by Léon Dieu in line with Grabe? Certainly in the text history of Job the Lucianic recension plays an important role similar to that of the prophetic books, but it was not the only one. As for the Psalms, Rahlfs notes that the Lucianic recension became the official text of the Greek Church.[5] The first to study the *Commentary on Job* by John Chrysostom was Dieu, who undertook to verify the attribution of the work to Chrysostom. Dieu was convinced that the edition of the Septuagint made by Lucian of Antioch (d. 312) was utilized by Chrysostom in his exegetical works.[6] Likewise, Seppo Sipilä in studying the citations of Joshua in John Chrysostom affirms that this is "the most important Father to use *L*."[7] The work of Dieu is the first critical work on the *Commentary on Job.* In spite of its limits as a beginning study, it is of great value, and all successive scholars (Ziegler, Sorlin, Hagedorn) have a relation with it. In the critical editions

2. This interest began with the studies of Paul de Lagarde (1883), through those of Sebastian P. Brock (1968) and of Bernard A. Taylor (1992) on the critical text of "the books of Kings" and today is in continuous development especially by the "Spanish school" of the LXX around Natalio Fernández Marcos. For studies on the Lucianic recension of the LXX, see Fernández Marcos and his colleagues and the observations in the critical apparatus of the Göttingen volumes, e.g., the edition of Ziegler on Job. I wish to remember also the study of Seppo Sipilä, "John Chrysostom and the Book of Joshua," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Cambridge, 1995* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 329–54. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 158; Bruce M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recensions of the Greek Bible," in *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations* (ed. Sidney Jellicoe; New York: Ktav, 1974), 8; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 169, Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Septante et versiones grecques," *DBSup* 68 (1993): 573.

3. In addition to my contribution on "Giovanni Crisostomo commenta il salterio greco (LXX)," in *Historiam perscrutari: Miscellanea di studi offerti al prof. Ottorino Pasquato* (ed. Mario Maritano; Rome: LAS 2002), 767–84, see Robert C. Hill, *Commentary on the Psalms* (2 vols.; Brookline, Mass.: Holy Cross Orthodox Press, 1998).

4. John Chrysostom, *Commentaire sur Job* (ed. and trans. Henri Sorlin; 2 vols.; SC 346, 348; Paris: Cerf, 1988); idem, *Kommentar zu Hiob* (ed. Ursula Hagedorn and Dieter Hagedorn; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1990).

5. Alfred Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters* (Septuaginta-Studien 2; Gottingen: Vandenhoek & Ruprecht, 1907), 169ff.

6. Léon Dieu, "Le Commentaire de saint Jean Chrysostome sur Job," *RHE* 13 (1912): 650–58; idem, "Le texte de Job du Codex Alexandrinus et ses principaux témoins," *Mus* 31 (1912): 223–74.

7. See Sipilä, "John Chrysostom and the Book of Joshua," 332, esp. n. 9.

of Göttingen, the Lucianic recension has been identified in all the books of the Prophets, in the books of Maccabees, in Judith, and in 1 and 2 Esdras, less so in Wisdom and Sirach, because the citations of Theodoret and John Chrysostom that would serve as terms of comparison of the recension are few and because there is no Hebrew *Vorlage* from where, through the Hexapla, a good number of the corrections of the Lucianic recension would derive. In Job it appears in Codex Alexandrinus, in Codex Venetus (V; from Job 30:8), in the minuscules 575 and 637, and in the commentaries on the book of Job by Julius Arianus and John Chrysostom.[8] The problem of the "Lucianic" or "Antiochene" recension was put by Natalio Fernández Marcos in these terms: "The ancient sources on the whole agree in their affirmation of a recension of the Greek Bible located in the regions of Syria and Asia Minor. It is also true that there is no clear idea of what this recension consisted nor whether it extended to the whole Bible or not."[9] Elsewhere he adds: "Moreover, for the rest of Octateuch we have not found any group of manuscripts that can be characterised as Lucianic or Antiochene, either on the external criteria (quotations of the Antiochian Fathers) nor on the internal evidence (distinctive features of this recension)."[10]

In his recent history of the text of the various books of the Pentateuch, Wevers arrives at a similar conclusion, namely, that there is no proof for all these books of the existence of a Lucianic text that may coincide with Chrysostom or Theodoret. These authors follow a mixed text, and, if there was a Lucianic recension for the Pentateuch, they did not know it.[11] For the Psalms we do not yet have a satisfactory critical edition, and, for a Göttingen edition, toward which some work is being done, we still have to wait for some time. Besides Rahlfs and other critical editions, which are only partial, we have for the present the help of the recent publication of one of the major scholars of Chrysostom that partially fills this great lacuna.[12] In the text history of Job, the Lucianic recen-

8. See Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Iob* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum 11.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 86, 124.

9. Natalio Fernández Marcos, "The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms," in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox; Mississauga, Ont.: Benden 1984), 162.

10. Natalio Fernández Marcos and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *Theodoreti Cyrensis Quaestiones in Octateuchum: Editio Critica* (Madrid: Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros," 1979), xxix–xxxix.

11. See Natalio Fernández Marcos, *La Bibbia dei Settanta* (Brescia: Paideia, 2000), 225–28, esp. 227 n. 34.

12. Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1962). Work toward a more complete critical edition of the Göttingen series has been started with a symposium in 1997 in which I was fortunate to participate. See Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000). See also Hill, *Commentary on the Psalms*. One of Hill's reviewers, Paulson Pulikottil, underlines the importance of this work in this way: "This work is an excel-

sion plays an important role similar to that of the prophetic books. The main characteristics consist of additions, change of synonyms (Lucian displays a rich vocabulary), and stylistic innovations. For instance, Job is the book that uses the particle δέ quite indiscriminately, and Lucian substitutes καί for δέ in the second part of the verses.[13] Ziegler properly describes this recension in Job as follows: "Die Lukianische Rezension bringt Leben und Bewegung in den Apparat; die Fülle der Varianten übertrifft alle Erwartungen."[14] Furthermore, in his critical edition of the Greek text of Job, he maintains that some witnesses show how the Lucianic recension found a great development in it and places John Chrysostom at the very outset, affirming that the biblical text of Chrysostom's commentary on the book of Job is the Lucianic recension, which is also the basis of his numerous citations. In addition, Julius Arianus takes us toward Antioch, whose biblical text is a Lucianic recension. As Jerome affirms, around A.D. 400, all the territory from Constantinople to Antioch was dominated by this recension.[15] For Ziegler, Chrysostom is the fifth or sixth witness of the principal Lucianic group (*L*), after Codex A (V), the minuscule codexes 575 and 637, and Julius Arianus. But although Chrysostom (beside Julius) is one of the best Lucianic recensions, it must be clear that even for Job he does not always and only use *L,* as already mentioned and as Ziegler points out on page 99 of the "Einleitung" to his critical edition, giving a number of examples (not indicated in the critical apparatus) and as we will also discuss shortly within the limits of this paper. This recension received a wide following, even being supported by the Vetus Latina in the marginal notes of the Spanish Vulgata Bibles.[16] It is obvious that all scholars do

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lent example of a representative of the Antiochene school famous for its literal interpretation, handling poetic material" (*RBL* [2001]: 2. Online: http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/201_1006.pdf). Hill expresses his disappointment that sufficient space was never given to Chrysostom's commentary on the Psalms in the history of Christian spirituality and hermeneutics, although it is rich in ideas of a dogmatic, moral, and pastoral character. My first approach to this work of Chrysostom finds me in full agreement. Its translation and its appropriate reflections can to a certain extent fill in this lacuna (see Hill, *Commentary on the Psalms,* 40). Hill has also recently published an English translation of Theodoret of Cyrus's commentary on the Psalms; see Robert C. Hill, trans., *Theodoret of Cyrus: Commentary on the Psalms*, (2 vols.; Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000). Although they have different interests, Chrysostom more pastoral and Theodoret more exegetical, both commentaries are quite close, and Hill never misses revealing it, especially in this work.

13. For the numerous examples, see Ziegler, *Iob,* 122–23.

14. Ibid., 123.

15. See n. 2 above.

16. See Natalio Fernández Marcos, "Some Reflections on the Antiochian Text of the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren: Aus Anlass seines 65. Geburtstages* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast, and John William Wevers; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 226. See also Joseph Ziegler, *Randnoten aus der Vetus Latina des Buches Iob in spanischen Vulgatabibeln* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-

not think in the same way. For example, Pietersma, in his review of the critical edition of Ziegler, expresses his view in the following terms: "In particular, Ziegler has taken long strides forward in his delineation and description of the much discussed Lucianic recension, which he isolates and identifies with the aid of Chrysostom's commentary on Job."[17]

2. So What Greek Biblical Text Does Chrysostom Normally Follow?

It is difficult to say and would be risky to determine what "the Bible of Chrysostom" was and if there was even only one. Dumortier writes:

> Il sera, en somme, toujours malaisé de déterminer quelle fut la Bible de Jean. S'il a dû se servir d'une version grecque dont dériverait A, il n'est pas impossible qu'il ait consulté diverses versions, selon les auteurs qu'il cite. Dans certains cas, même, il n'est pas exclu qu'il ait pu consulter le texte hébraïque, ou, du moins, une version grecque qui suivait fidèlement le texte hébraïque.[18]

Chrysostom seems to have had at his disposal, in addition to the usual Greek text of his time, a series of alternative Greek translations and the transliterated Hebrew text in Greek characters in the second column of Origen's Hexapla. Further, I fully agree with the well-balanced position of Chrysostom's great biographer Baur, who maintains that Chrysostom never would have used exactly a written text of the Bible to which he was referring: "The exact determination of the text was made difficult because of the fact that Chrysostom, as well as other ecclesiastical writers of older and newer times, often quoted Scripture texts freely and diversely, from memory, and occasionally joined similar quotations, so that it is very difficult to say how his actual text read."[19]

His citations of a verse may take different forms in different homilies or sometimes in the same homily, in a different commentary or sometimes in the same commentary. Hill, who translated all the speeches of Chrysostom into English, affirms: "The form of Greek text available to him at Antioch was apparently the revision by the priest Lucian of Origen's reconstruction of the Septuagint,"[20]

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hist. Kl., Jahrgang 1980.2; Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980).

17. Albert Pietersma, review of Joseph Ziegler, *Iob*. *JBL* 104 (1985): 305.

18. See Jean Dumortier, "Les citations bibliques des Lettres de S. Jean Chrysostom à Théodore (PG 47277-316)," in *Biblica, Patres Apostolici, Historica* (part 2 of *Papers Presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies Geld at Christ Church, Oxford, 1959;* ed. Frank L. Cross; StPatr 4; TU 79; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 83.

19. Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (2nd ed.; 2 vols.; London: Sands, 1959), 1:359.

20. Robert C. Hill, "Chrysostom as Old Testament Commentator," *EstBib* 46 (1988): 70.

hence it is not always the Lucianic form. Chrysostom proceeds with a lot of freedom in using those forms that he knows well by heart. He prepares his homilies paraphrasing a text, taking various biblical texts, connecting them together at every stage and rereading the texts of the New Testament in the light of the Old. He acts like a brilliant and enthusiastic preacher often does (who cares very little about composing accurately his own sermons), being less attentive to the details or to the reliable sources of his own biblical citations.

Chrysostom's citations may rely on various recensions of the Greek version, although we are not in a position to identify them. That Chrysostom would not have made references to only one version for all the biblical texts quoted is probable.[21] To this we can perhaps add his willingness to satisfy a learned part of his listeners or receivers, who were preoccupied with the various translations of the Bible that were in circulation and consequently with their textual difficulties.

3. Did Chrysostom Use Above All the So-Called "Lucianic" or "Antiochene" Recension?

Perhaps the text most used by Chrysostom would have been a Greek version from which the Codex Alexandrinus might have been derived (the Lucianic recension?). But what does this recension really consist of? The precise character of this form of Greek text is much discussed today by scholars, as was mentioned at the beginning of this short paper.

The claim that this text originates directly from Hebrew is held improbable, given the reality of that time: most of the Christian authors did not know this language. The label "Lucianic," given by Jerome to this recension, was accepted by some scholars,[22] while doubted by others,[23] who prefer to speak of an "Antiochene text" or of a "Palestinian version." Therefore in this study I use two wordings. As an Antiochene, Chrysostom could be one of the fathers who to a great extent depends on this recension. But is it really true? Dieu in his study on the text of Job of Codex Alexandrinus arrived at the following conclusions:

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21. Dumortier, "Le citations bibliques," 78–83.

22. I cite as representative of this position the important contribution of Sebastian P. Brock, "Bibelübersetzungen I, 2," *TRE* 4:166–67. Fernández Marcos, who is on the same line, prefers using terms such as "Lucian," "Lucianic recension," "Antiochene recension," observing that unusual characteristics that originate from his liturgical use are present above all in the text of the Psalms ("Some Reflections on the Antiochian Text," 219–29).

23. For representatives of this view, see Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 126–27; and Kevin G. O'Connell, "Texts and Versions," *NJBC,* 1092. The latter places the origin of this revision of the LXX in Palestine, bringing it closest to some Hebrew Palestinian manuscripts found in Qumran and dating it to the end of the first century.

(1) The text of Job in Codex A is very long and is found with the same characteristic readings in many witnesses of a different period and origin: in the *Anonymus in Job*, in the commentaries of Julius and of Chrysostom, in the marginal variants of Codex Legionensis and in the *hetera antigrapha* cited by Olympiodorus.

(2) This text is most likely the recension of Lucian, because of the quality of the writers in whom we find him. The citations of Theodoret are also of this type.

(3) The particularities of the text are those noticed in the Lucianic recension: corrections of Hebrew, doublets, alterations following the parallel texts, corrections in order to clarify the meaning or to complete the sentence, and a tendency to Atticism.

(4) The Latin marginal variants of the Codex Legionensis represent a Greek Lucianic text for the book of Job.

Some scholars have hypothesized the existence of "Lucianic" readings anterior to the historical Lucian, and this has paved way for the research on an Ur- or Proto-Lucian.[24] The sources in any case are of unequal value.

(1) In the Prophets, the Lucianic text seems to be no more than an expansion of the Hexapla with the additions by Aquila, Theodotion, and, above all, Symmachus. Even in the Psalms,[25] the Lucianic text is Hexaplaric.

(2) Comparing the Lucianic text with the Coptic-Sahidic version, one can see how it would have preserved there a pre-Hexaplaric text that faithfully reflects the physiognomy of the Egyptian text of the LXX before Origen. In many of the variants, the recension has preserved a text that is nearer to the original than the BS text.[26]

(3) Lucian would have made some corrections with the help of Hebrew; in fact, some variants are nearer to the Hebrew of the BS group.

(4) In numerous verses the additions of Lucian are not found in Hebrew but have explanation as their aim, to complete the thought or expression.

(5) Dieu has collected a number of examples where one sees that the proofreader allowed himself to be influenced by parallel texts.[27]

(6) The Lucianic recension is characterized by lucidity, comprehensibility, and a tendency to stylistic purity, with the replacing of Hellenistic with Attic forms of the Greek. This revision of the LXX in favor of a better style of Greek

24. Emanuel Tov, "Lucian and Proto-Lucian—Toward a New Solution of the Problem," *RB* 79 (1972): 101–13.

25. Rahlfs, *Der Text des Septuaginta-Psalters,* 231. Chrysostom only uses the Hexapla in his commentary on Psalms. See Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, 1:97 n. 34

26. See the number of examples given by Dieu in "Le texte de Job du Codex Alexandrinus," 262–64

27. Ibid., 268–70.

(and on various sources much nearer to the Hebrew) often produces "double readings" in the Lucianic text.

(7) More specifically, in the history of the text of Job, the Lucianic recension has undoubtedly played a remarkable role similar to that of the books of the Prophets. The principal characteristics consist of additions, changes of synonyms (Lucian presents a rich vocabulary), and linguistic innovations.

4. Some Characteristics of Chrysostom's *Commentary on Job*

Certainly, either for the *Commentary on Psalms* or for the *Commentary on Job,* one cannot approach Chrysostom as one would approach an exegete in the modern sense of the word. He has neither the appropriate critical instruments nor the knowledge of Hebrew that would permit him to read the original text.[28] If one considers him from the modern point of view, one notices in him various elements of great theological content.[29]

It is clear that even Chrysostom must be considered a child of his time, with the limits of the school, that is, Antiochene, to which he belongs. Besides the "pastoral," he also exhibits the "scientific" point of view, but with a great consideration for the inspired origin of the Word and as a shepherd committed to the good of the souls entrusted to him. Henri Sorlin points out that what one discovers from an analysis of the *Commentary on Job* coincides with all that the same Chrysostom affirms with regard to his exegetical principles and his method of work. In the last two chapters of his commentary Chrysostom highlights the great lines of his exegesis, first of all the quest for "edification" and then his fidelity to the "literal sense." Chrysostom's main concern is not to comment on the details of the text but to do the work of the shepherd of the souls, to lead the reader to the wisdom of the heart: "δίδου σοφῷ ἀφορμήν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι / give instruction to a wise man, and he will be still wiser…" (Prov 9:9). Every reader looking at this generous athlete (Job) as to an image and to a model competes with his courage and with his patience, so that one may obtain the things promised to those who love God (42.9.11–18). Chrysostom had already said the same in chapter 40, quoting the Scripture that

28. At this point I would remind the reader of what one of the major biographers of Chrysostom writes. Baur affirms that only occasionally Chrysostom refers to Hebrew, but the information he derives from the Hexapla of Origen is from its second column, where the Hebrew text is transcribed in Greek characters (*John Chrysostom and His Time*, 1:97 n. 34).

29. With regard to the Psalms, see Laurence Brottier, "L'image de Jérusalem dans les Interpretations des psaumes de Jean Chrysostome," in *Le Psautier chez les Pères* (Cahiers de Biblia patristica 4; Strasbourg: Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1994), 167–95; for the book of Job, see idem, "L'actualisation de la figure de Job chez Jean Chrysostome," in *Le livre de Job chez les Pères* (Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 5, Strasbourg: Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1996), 63–110.

"all things serve for the edification" (40.5.9). It is really in this chapter that Chrysostom indicates the principles of his exegesis:

> We do not ignore that many comentators, interpreting this passage (where one deals with the monsters) in the spiritual sense (κατὰ ἀναγωγὴν) think that it is said of the devil; but it is necessary to be concerned first about the literal sense (δεῖ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιμεληθῆναι) and then, if it is possible to draw benefit from it, without neglecting the spiritual sense (καὶ τότε εἴ τι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὠφελεί καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀναγωγῆς μὴ παριδεῖν). (40.5.5–9)

The opposition between κατ' ἀναγωγήν and καθ' ἱστορίαν should not surprise us. It is frequent and is found both in Origen and in Chrysostom. It is typical of the "Antiochene school" not to pass on to allegory immediately.[30]

The use of the biblical book of Job is more frequent in the works of Chrysostom.[31] Although a pastoral exegete, he does not limit himself only to commentary but in every instance when, due to reasons of preaching or more generically for pastoral reasons, he has to confront problems of a moral nature—suffering, patience, humility, charity—his recourse to Job is more frequent.[32] Therefore, this is a "spiritual" reading for reflection and for life. It is a reading and commentary on the Word by a pastor rich in a deep theology that flows from the conviction to be "like a sailor who moves the sail of his boat at the blowing of the Spirit whose pilot is Christ."[33] The heart of the reader or listener who opens himself to the Scripture opens himself to the divine horizons. It is clear that to comment on a text from the pulpit for a pastor is something different from a work done by an exegete at the desk. Always striking in Chrysostom is his respect for the literal sense and his attention toward grasping every detail in order to understand the text as a wonderful "condescension" (συγκατάβασις) of God to man. This condescension is not to be understood, as the Italian term seems to indicate, almost as the Greek and the Latin calque, as conditioned by the weakness and the human limitation for which God lowers himself in order to make himself understood, but as an expression of divine care and solicitude.[34] "The inspired mouth of the author is the mouth of God," as Chrysostom often says in his homilies on Isaiah.

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30. For Chrysostom and the "Antiochian school," see Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, 1:320 n. 23.

31. Brottier ("L'actualisation de la figure de Job," 64) shows that Chrysostom quotes Job more than two hundred times in his works. François-Xavier Druet (*Langage, images et visages de la mort chez Jean Chrysostome* [Namur: Presses Universitaires, 1990], 94) says that Chrysostom loves Job because he identifies this person of the "suffering servant" with himself.

32. Charles Kannengiesser makes one notice it in his "Job chez les Pères," *DS* (1974): 8:1221; see also Brottier, "L'image de Jérusalem dans les Interpretations," 167–95

33. *Homily 4* (PG 56:121). How Isaiah feels to be a inspired narrator.

34. For an exact understanding of the term's meaning, I refer to the study of Robert C. Hill, "St. John Chrysostom and the Incarnation of the Word in Scripture," *Compass* 14.3

5. Some Examples from the *Commentary on Job*

Let us take an example: Job 19:26a = John Chrysostom 19.12

LXX (Rahlfs) 19:26	LXX (Brenton)19:26	Chrysostom 19.12	Sorlin 19.12	Hagedorn, p. 84, lines 24–25
ἀναστήσαι τὸ δέρμα μου τὸ ἀνατλῶν ταῦτα παρὰ γάρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέσθη	and **to raise up** upon the earth **my skin** that endures these sufferings: for these things have been accomplished to me of the Lord;	**ἀναστήσει** δὲ **μου τὸ σῶμα** τὸ ἀνατλοῦν ταῦτα παρὰ γὰρ κυρίου ταῦτά μοι συνετελέση	**Il ressusciter a mon corps** qui supporte ces souffrances; car c'est le Seigneur qui me les a suscitées	Er wird **meinen Leib**, der dieses erträgt, **wieder aufrichten**; denn der Herr hat mir zugefügt

Chrysostom, who in his works is hesitant regarding the faith of Job in the resurrection of the body because of the double significance that the word ἀνάστασις can have—"healing or resurrection"—when he has to comment on the Greek text of the LXX, is surprised to find himself confronted with a very clear text. While in 7.5.5–7 with regard to Job 7:7 Chrysostom affirms that Job seems to be ignoring the doctrine of resurrection, here, in commenting on Job 19:26, he appears more affirmative:

Ἆρα ᾔδει περὶ ἀναστάσεως; Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ περὶ ἀναστάσεως σωμάτων, ει᾽ μή τις λέγοι ἀνάστασιν εἶναι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν κατεχόντων αὐτὸν δεινῶν	Connaissait-il la doctrine de la résurrection? Je le crois, et même de la résurrection des corps, á moins qu'on ne dise que la résurrection (dont il parle) c'est la délivrance des maux qui l'étreignaient.[35]

In the second *Letter to Olympia* his position is much more categorical: "Job, qui était juste, et qui n'avait aucune idée de la résurrection…."[36]

On the other hand, Chrysostom seems to distinguish between the historical person of Job and the biblical book. But, with the Greek text before him, his convictions on the importance of the literal sense make him see the mystery of the resurrection prophesied in the biblical text. Already Dieu wrote:

> Forcé, semble-t-il, par l'évidence du texte à commenter, il n'a pas pu éviter la question: Job connaissait donc la Résurrection? Mais cette interprétation ne lui

(1980): 34–38; but above all to the valuable article of Fabio Fabbi, "La 'condiscendenza' divina nell'ispirazione biblica secondo S.Giovanni Crisostomo," *Bib* 14 (1933): 330–47.

35. The translation is from Sorlin, *Commentaire sur Job,* 47.

36. Cf. *Lettres à Olympias*, SC 13 bis, p. 192.

> sourit évidemment pas, car il en suscite une autre : c'est que l'ἀνάστασις soit la délivrance de ses misères dès cette vie […], c'est cette interprétation qu'il préfère, car il fait dire à Job : ainsi donc, je veux qu'*après ma guérison* mes maux soient immortels.[37]

6. Some Characteristics of the *Commentary on the Psalms*

Robert. C. Hill, after having studied at length the text of the Psalms used by Chrysostom, is inclined to the hypothesis that they could have been the outlines of homilies prepared in order to be said in public or the versions of notes to be used later in the festive liturgical assembly.[38] The commentary instead, in its present form, could have been the work of John of Antioch and of Constantinople and would have won for Chrysostom the title of "golden mouth" for the brilliance of style that does not in any way undermine the spiritual depth of a theologian of the Word who has the Antiochene gift of realism.

For Chrysostom, just as for Theodoret of Cyrus, the Psalms offer above all didactic material for the meditation and for life, more than prayer for a liturgical celebration.[39] Chrysostom observes that sometimes the faithful can sing a psalm or at least a liturgical refrain without understanding the psalm in its unity, if it does not become an object of meditation and is seen as a whole of the Psalter. This has been very much rediscovered by modern commentators on the Psalter as well.[40] This allows Chrysostom to apply in the case of the Psalms better than in any other work his principles of pastoral hermeneutics. Leaving aside the question of the "literary genre" of Chrysostom's commentary or his hermeneutical principles,[41] which are not very much different from those used for the comment on Job, I quote only one example from his *Commentary on Psalms*.

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37. Dieu, "Le commentare de saint Jean Chrysostome sur Job," 658. Also, Hagedorn and Hagedorn affirm "Nur wenn der Bibeltext ein andere Richtung weist, ist Chrysostomus bereit, die Möglichkeit zu erörten, dass Hiob doch etwas von der Auferstehung gewusst habe" (*Kommentar zu Hiob,* 212 n. 123).

38. The problem is indicated already in the title of one of his articles: "Chrysostom's Commentary on the Psalms: Homilies or Tracts?" in *Prayer and Spirituality in the Early Church* (ed. Pauline Allen et al.; Melbourne: Centre for Early Christian Studies, Australian Catholic University, 1998), 301–17.

39. See the recent English translation of Hill, *Commentary on the Psalms*.

40. F.-L. Hossfeld – E.Zenger, *Die Psalmen 1–50.51–100*, Würzburg 1993.2000; G. Barbiero, *Das erste Psalmenbuch als Einheit : eine synchrone Analyse von Psalm 1–41*, Frankfurt am Main 1999; M.Cimosa, *Perchè, Signore, mi nascondi il tuo volto?(Salmi 51–100)*, LEV, Città del Vaticano 2004.

41. Brottier ("L'image de Jérusalem dans les Interpretations") tried to define this hermeneutical program, applying it to a particular theme, which is of Jerusalem in all its geographical, historical, spiritual, and eschatological dimensions. He described it as a wise work with textual and exegetical preoccupations, a work in which history and prophecy mutually integrate. Thus

7. An Example from the *Commentary on Psalms*

In this example it is possible to deduce two different ways of quoting the Greek text of Job.[42] Commenting on Ps 4:1, Chrysostom quotes a text of Job (Job 31:13–15). His Greek text is very different both from the MT and from the Greek form common in his time, which was the one preserved for us probably by the Vatican Codex (B), as one can see from the edition of Rahlfs given in the table below.[43] But when commenting on Ps 50, he quotes Job 1:21 following the LXX. This confirms, once again, that in Chrysostom's times different forms of the Greek text of the Bible were in circulation.

Chrysostom Ps 4:1 (Job 31:13–14)	**Rahlfs** Job 31:13–14
Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ πολλῆς τῆς ἐπιμελείας ἔφευγε. Διὸ καὶ λεγεν. **Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐφαύλισα κρίμα θεράποντός μου ἢ θεραπαίνης κρινομένων πρός με**. ἤ οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ ἐγενόμην, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐγένοντο. Ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ἀδικία μεγίστη, τὸ ἀλαζόνα εἶναι καὶ ὑπερήφανον	**εἰ δὲ Καὶ ἐφαύλισα κρίμα θεράποντός μου ἢ θεραπαίνης κρινομένων αὐτών πρός με** 14. τί γὰρ ποιήσω ἐὰν ἔτασίν μου ποιήσηται ὁ κύριος ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἐπισκοπήν τίνα ἀπόκρισιν ποιήσομαι
Hill	NRSV
"**And if on the other hand I discounted a charge of servant man or woman proceeding against me**; or I thought myself not of human birth as are they"	"**If I have rejected the cause of my male or female slaves, when they brought a complaint against me**; 14 what then shall I do when God rises up? When he makes inquiry, what shall I answer him?"

Jerusalem is seen as a city of an exemplary past, as a place of the manifestation of God, place of cult, but also as a theater—city of the condemnation of Jesus to death, a city of the present and of the Christian future, the ecclesial Jerusalem, the interior Jerusalem, the Jerusalem of the future. Chrysostom draws the divine plan on this city that connects the past with the present directing it to eschatology. Or he develops the great themes of the divine love and condescension, of the incarnation and of the Christology, of the moral and spiritual life, of the role of prayer, of the role of woman, of the laity. Louis Bouyer defines him as "the precursor, if not the initiator, of a spirituality for laity" (*The Spirituality of the New Testament and the Fathers* [London: Burns & Oates, 1963), 436, 444). At this point I would also like to mention the work of Ottorino Pasquato, *I laici in Giovanni Crisostomo: Tra Chiesa, famiglia e città*, (2nd ed.; Rome: LAS, 2001). The relevance of the message escapes no one.

42. For the other examples I refer to my "Giovanni Crisostomo commenta il salterio greco (LXX)"

43. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*. I am forced to follow Rahlfs, the only critical edition accessible. For a modern translation, I follow the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV) for Rahlfs and the translation of Hill for Chrysostom.

Ps 50:14 (Job 1:21)

Οὕτως ἔθυε καὶ Ἰὼβ μετὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἐκείνας τὰς ὑπὲρ φύσιν, εὐχαριστῶν, καὶ ταύτα φθεγγόμενος τὰ ῥήματα**. Ὁ Κύριος ἔδωκεν, ὁ Κύριος ἀφείλετο, ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔδοχεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐγένετο.** ἔιη τὸ ὄνομα Κυρίου εὐλογημένον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Καὶ ἀπόδος τῶ Ὑψίστῳ τὰς εὐχάς σοὺ

Job 1:21

αὐτὸς γυμνὸς ἐξῆλθον ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου γυμνὸς καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐκεῖ **ὁ κύριος ἔδωκεν ὁ κύριος ἀφείλατο ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ ἔδοξεν οὕτως καὶ ἐγένετο** εἴη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου εὐλογημένον

Hill

(This was the way that Job, too, offered sacrifice despite those dreadful afflictions beyond the capacity of nature, uttering these words,)
"The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away; as seemed good to the Lord, so has it happened. Blessed be the name of the Lord forever. Discharge your vows to the Most High.

NRSV

"Naked I came from my mother's womb, and naked shall I return there; **the Lord gave, and the Lord has taken away**; blessed be the name of the Lord."

8. Conclusions

(1) John Chrysostom is a learned and scholarly pastor, but he remains a pastor even when he comments on the Psalms or Job. His commentaries reflect an attempt to prepare (with various Greek translations in circulation in Constantinople or in Antioch at that time) notes to be used afterward in preaching that satisfy even very learned listeners. Often he cites the text from memory, alters it to suit better the context of his own sermon, or introduces stylistic corrections.

(2) In many ways the *Commentary on Job* is a summary of all of Chrysostom's teachings. Among other things we learn that moral perfection owes much to human free will, that God permits moral evil and physical evil in order to secure moral perfection. Chrysostom affirms the good effects of Job's suffering and asks us to look for good effects in all our suffering. In order to understand fully the significance of the commentary, one must never forget the force of example in ancient teaching.

(3) Chrysostom's text has many Hexaplaric elements and singular readings, but it is not clear which is the Greek text used, quite certainly not one but many different texts.

(4) Although it is impossible to prove a direct dependence on the Lucianic recension, there are many traces of typical Lucianic improvements in the text.

(5) In spite of the pastoral character of his commentaries on Psalms and Job, sometimes indulging in moral and spiritual exhortations—especially in the *Commentary on Job*—Chrysostom shows a background of great learning and of biblical and philological scholarship. At the same time, he makes the effort to read the events of the time in the light of the Word of God.

(6) The two commentaries on Job and on Psalms are of an extraordinary biblical and spiritual richness that they deserve to be rediscovered and revalued in Christian spirituality.

למנצח in the Psalm Headings and Its Equivalent in LXX

Hans Ausloos

Abstract: One of the most problematic issues in translating and interpreting Old Testament psalms undeniably pertains to their headings. The Hebrew construction למנצח is one of these terms. Almost all recent commentaries on the book of Psalms and modern Bible translations consider it to some extent as related to the concept of music.

The Septuagint's rendering (εἰς τὸ τέλος), however, does not seem to fit within that interpretation of the Hebrew equivalent. Taking a look at the use of the word τέλος in the book of Psalms, this paper aims at investigating the Septuagint formula in psalm headings and explains its origin as the result of the translator's concern with a consistent rendering of the *Vorlage*.

1. Introduction

The translation and interpretation of the titles of the Old Testament psalms is undeniably one of the most complicated issues in Psalms research. The Hebrew word למנצח, which occurs in fifty-five psalm headings, is one of the terms of which the exact original meaning is uncertain.[1] Therefore, it is not surprising that a variety of explanations and interpretations have been proposed. One of the earliest attestations to the search for a meaningful interpretation can be found in the Septuagint Psalter. The way in which the Greek translator has dealt with this term will be the subject of the second part of this article. The first part of this contribution will focus primarily on the Hebrew formula.

2. למנצח in MT

Taking a look at recent scholarship, almost all commentaries on the book of Psalms and modern Bible translations consider the word to be related in some

1. In MT, למנצח occurs in Pss 4; 5; 6; 8; 9; 11; 12; 13; 14; 18; 19; 20; 21; 22; 31; 36; 39; 40; 41; 42; 44; 45; 46; 47; 49; 51; 52; 53; 54; 55; 56; 57; 58; 59; 60; 61; 62; 64; 65; 66; 67; 68; 69; 70; 75; 76; 77; 80; 81; 84; 85; 88; 109; 139; 140.

way to the concept of music.[2] To an extent, this interpretation is justified. Within the Old Testament there are enough indications to give rise to a musical interpretation.[3] From an etymological viewpoint, it has been argued that למנצח should refer to a musical performance of the psalms.[4] As such, the term is often related to the Hebrew verb נצח (*pi'el)* and its use in the so-called Chronistic History. In the context of the story of the rebuilding of the Jerusalemite temple, and in combination with the noun מלאכה, in Ezra 3:8, 9 the verb נצח seems to mean "to have oversight of" the activities in constructing the temple; 1 Chr 23:4 uses the verb in a similar way, although in this context it is not entirely clear whether the noun מלאכה refers to the building of the temple or to the Levites supervising the cultic services in the house of God. Equally in the context of the construction or restoration of the temple, נצח is used in 2 Chr 2:1, 17 and 34:12, where the term denotes the activity of overseeing the laborers.

Related to the use of נצח in these passages, it has been suggested that in the headings of the psalms the term למנצח can refer to someone who takes a leading position, for instance, in reciting the poems, hence the translation of "choir leader" as a probable interpretation. Moreover, this interpretation is supported by the use of the verb in 1 Chr 15:21, where it is undoubtedly applied in a musical context (בכנרות על השמינית לנצח). Moreover, the very first time the term למנצח occurs (Ps 4:1) it is immediately followed by an apparently musical term: למנצח בנגינות.

However, in seeking to explain the appearance of למנצח in psalm headings, the reader is still confronted with the problematic use of the prefix –ל.[5] Should it

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2. *English:* New International Version ("For the director of music"); New American Standard Bible ("For the choir director"); New King James Version ("To the Chief Musician"); *German:* Einheitsübersetzung ("Für den Chormeister"); *Portugese:* Biblia Sagrada: Tradução interconfessional ("Ao director do coro"); *Spanish:* La biblia: Edición popular ("Al maestro de coro"); *French:* La Bible de Maredsous ("au maître chantre"); *Dutch:* Herziene Willibrordvertaling ("Voor de leider van de muzikanten"); Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling ("Voor de koorleider"). See recently S. Terrien, *The Psalms: Strophic Structure and Theological Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003): "To the chief musician."

Some translations or commentaries do not give a direct musical interpretation of the term. However, by interpreting על ששנים as indicating the melody, they implicitly consider למנצח, which they translate with the neutral term "leader" or "director," to be a reference to the director of musicians. See, e.g., New Revised Standard Version ("To the leader: according to Lilies"). See also M. Dahood, *Psalms 1–50: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 16; New York: Doubleday, 1965), who does not give any comment on his choice to translate למנצח על ששנים as "For the director. According to 'Lilies.' "

3. The Targum also favors a musical interpretation of the term: לשבחא.

4. In this respect see esp. E. R. Dalglish, *Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), esp. 234–38.

5. With regard to the use of the prefix -ל, see the recent study by E. Jenni, *Die Präposition Lamed* (vol. 3 of *Die hebräischen Präpositionen;* Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

be considered as a ל-*auctoris,* thus indicating some marginal indications by the choir leader in order to have a successful recitation? Or should this -ל be interpreted as "on behalf of" the choir leader/musicians? In both cases it is not always clear how the rest of the heading can be helpful to the director or to the musicians in the performance of the psalm. Brown, Driver, and Briggs suggests that the psalms in which למנצח occurs were taken by the final editor of the book from an older Psalter, which was known as the "Director's Psalter," the early synagogue prayerbook of the Hellenistic period. Thus the למנצח psalms were "belonging to" the choir leader's Psalter.[6]

In line with this interpretation, emphasizing the special position of the "leader," several scholars have interpreted the construction as a name of honor for King David. L. Delekat's hypothesis is worth mentioning here. In his view, למנצח referred to someone who occupied a leading position within Israel and *mutatis mutandis,* especially considering its association with such other terms such as בנגינות (see Ps 4:1), as "von dem Hervorragenden in Gesängen."[7]

As to the origin of the construction, it is Delekat's opinion that the Septuagint rendering of εἰς τὸ τέλος, by which the translator would have had the eschaton in mind, can offer useful clues. Instead of למנצח, Delekat holds that originally the Hebrew text read לנצח ("truly," "for eternity"), thus being an equivalent of לעולם or אמן, functioning as the intended response by the people. As such, making reference to Hab 3:19, Delekat suggests that לנצח would have stood at the end of prayers, not at their beginning. After the exile, however, the use of לנצח as a response was lost, so that it later became vocalized as *lănnoṣeaḥ* ("von dem Glänzenden," "von dem Ausgezeichneten"[8]). Then, in order to avoid confusion, לנצח was altered to למנצח. In Delekat's view, however, this does not mean that LXX's *Vorlage* was still reading לנצח.

According to S. Mowinckel, למנצח is to be considered as a *nomen actionis,* belonging to a cultic vocabulary.[9] In line with Delekat, Mowinckel considers the term as derived from the root נצח. As a *pi'el* with causative meaning, it must be interpreted as "causing splendor." The implied object was את פני יהוה (the face of YHWH). As such, in Mowinckel's view, למנצח has to be rendered as "zum Gnädigstimmen" or "zur Huldigung."[10]

Recently G. Dorival has argued that the musical interpretation of למנצח, whose origin can be found in early Judaism, was a reaction against a Christian-

6. BDB, 664.

7. L. Delekat, "Probleme der Psalmenüberschrifte," *ZAW* 76 (1964): 280–97, esp. 284.

8. Ibid., 289.

9. See esp. S. Mowinckel, *Die technischen Termini in den Psalmenüberschriften* (vol. 4 of *Psalmenstudien;* Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter 2; Kristiana: Dybwad, 1923), esp. 17–22. Cf. his appreciation of the Masoretic vocalization: "Auf die Vokalisation ist nicht viel zu geben; sie zeigt nur die Auffassung der Massoreten" (21).

10. Ibid., 22.

izing interpretation, such as by the church fathers Origen or Gregory of Nyssa, of the Septuagint rendering, in which the Greek equivalent was interpreted as being a reference to Jesus Christ as ultimate τέλος.[11]

3. למנצח as Rendered in LXX

We have already made reference to the way in which LXX renders למנצח. In all fifty-five cases it has εἰς τὸ τέλος as the equivalent—thus being an outstanding example of a concordant translation.[12] L. Brenton translates this construction as "To the end."[13] The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), renders "Regarding Fulfillment."[14] In their *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint,* J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie propose "for ever" or "to the end" as possible translations.[15]

The origin of this Greek formula, however, seems to be much less clear than its translation. In his commentary on the book of Psalms, H.-J. Kraus even writes with respect to LXX's rendering: "Vollends rätselhaft ist der Sinn von εἰς τὸ τέλος als Übersetzung von למנצח in *G*."[16] Nevertheless, several suggestions have been put forward in order to explain this rather enigmatic expression.

Given that there is no clear correspondence between the Greek εἰς τὸ τέλος and the Hebrew term למנצח, the latter being commonly interpreted as "(belonging) to the choirmaster," the discussion has largely concentrated on the origin and particularly the intention of the Septuagint translators. According to the church fathers, for example, τέλος refers to Jesus Christ, who was considered to be the ultimate τέλος.[17] Centuries later Briggs suggested that the Septuagint

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11. G. Dorival, "A propos de quelques titres des psaumes de la Septante," in *Le Psautier chez les Pères* (Cahiers de Biblia Patristica 4; Strasbourg: Centre d'analyse et de documentation patristiques, 1994): 21–36, esp. 29–31; idem, "Septante et texte massorétique: Le cas des Psaumes," in *Congress Volume: Basel, 2001* (ed. A. Lemaire; VTSup 92; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 139–61, esp. 154–55.

12. Cf. J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 276–325. See also F. Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos: Untersuchungen zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im Septuaginta-Psalter* (MSU 27; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003), 70–71.

13. L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London: Bagster, 1851).

14. A. Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

15. J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, A *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 610.

16. H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen 1–59* (vol. 1 of *Psalmen;* 6th ed.; BKAT 15.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989), 25.

17. Cf. Dorival, "A propos de quelques titres," 29–31; idem, "Septante et texte massorétique," 154–55.

translators, by rendering למנצח as εἰς τὸ τέλος, intended to indicate that these fifty-five psalms had been selected for perpetual use "unto the end," that is, in never-ending liturgy.[18]

In line with these views, several scholars have recently considered the Septuagint's rendering (τέλος) as the result of a specific theological—eschatological—interest of the translators. However, before examining some actual studies, let us briefly review the facts for ourselves. To this end, we begin with an inventory of the use of נצח and τέλος within the book of Psalms (outside their appearance as headings).

9:7	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
9:19	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
9:32 (MT 10:11)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
12:2 (MT 13:2)	εἰς τέλος	נצח
15:11 (MT 16:11)	εἰς τέλος	נצח
17:36 (MT 18:36)	εἰς τέλος	–
37:7 (MT 38:7)	ἕως τέλους	עד מאד
43:24 (MT 44:24)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
48:10 (MT 49:10)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
48:20 (MT 49:20)	ἕως αἰῶνος οὐκ	עד נצח לא
51:7 (MT 52:7)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
67:17 (MT 68:17)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
73:1 (MT 74:1)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
73:3 (MT 74:3)	εἰς τέλος	נצח
73:10 (MT 74:10)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
73:11 (MT 74:11)	εἰς τέλος	כלה
73:19 (MT 74:19)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
76:9 (MT 77:9)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
78:5 (MT 79:5)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח

18. C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs, *The Book of Psalms: A Critical and Exegetical Commentary* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1906), lxxii–lxxiv.

88:47 (MT 89:47)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח
102:9 (MT 103:9)	εἰς τέλος	לנצח

From the above list, the following conclusions can be drawn with regard to the use of the terms נצח and τέλος in the book of Psalms (aside from their appearance in headings):

1. The noun τέλος occurs twenty times in the book of Psalms. In seventeen instances it is the equivalent of the Hebrew form נצח.

2. Within the book of Psalms in the Septuagint, the Hebrew word נצח is always rendered by the noun τέλος—once more an example of concordant rendering. There is, however, one exception. In Ps 49:20 (LXX 48:20), the Greek equivalent of עד נצח לא is ἕως αἰῶνος οὐκ. Presumably this rendering owes itself to the negation לא. Instead of "forever," then, עד נצח here means "never," because of the particle לא.[19]

3. In Ps 17:36LXX, εἰς τέλος does not have its Hebrew equivalent in MT.

4. In Ps 37:7 (MT 38:7), the construction ἕως τέλους is found. Moreover, here it is the equivalent of the Hebrew construction עד מאד. Elsewhere in the book of Psalms עד מאד has consistently been rendered by ἕως σφόδρα.

5. In Ps 73:11 (MT 74:11), εἰς τέλος is the equivalent of the Hebrew כלה.[20]

6. Looking to the particle εἰς, it is interesting to note that in fourteen instances it has an equivalent in Hebrew (-ל). The fact that LXX renders εἰς, even when the Hebrew does not have a preposition, can be put down to its being a regular grammatical feature of the Greek language.

Finally, it is interesting to note that Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion do not have εἰς τὸ τέλος as the equivalent of למנצח. They all seem to have in common a notion of "victory,"[21] thus presumably considering למנצח to be derived from the Aramaic נצח.[22] In the heading of Ps 6:1, for example, Symmachus reads ἐπινίκιος.[23] Aquila has τῷ νικοποιῳ and Theodotion εἰς τὸ νῖκος.

In conclusion, it is remarkable that within the book of Psalms the Hebrew term נצח(ל) is generally rendered as (εἰς) τέλος. Therefore, I would argue that the Septuagint translator, even if he did not know[24] the precise meaning of למנצח in

19. Cf. Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon,* 14.

20. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, "כלה," *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (3rd ed.; repr., Leiden: Brill, 2004), 454–55.

21. Cf. the remarks of G. Dorival, "Autour des titres des Psaumes," *RevScRel* 73 (1999): 165–76, esp. 169–70.

22. Koehler and Baumgartner, "נצח," in *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexikon,* 676.

23. Cf. F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1875), 93.

24. Cf. J. Barr, " 'Guessing' in the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta* (ed. D. Fraenkel, U. Quast, and J. W. Wevers; MSU 20; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 19–34.

the psalm headings, has chosen to render this construction according to the noun נצח so as to remain consistent, which seems to have been his aim. Moreover, a comparison of the rendering of לנצח (εἰς τέλος) with למנצח (εἰς τὸ τέλος) evinces another peculiarity on the part of the translator. In line with his concern to render an accurate translation of his Hebrew *Vorlage,* the translator stresses the difference between both terms by using the article τὸ.[25]

As such, my results are in sharp contrast to J. Schaper's explanation of εἰς τὸ τέλος as the equivalent of למנצח.[26] Although acknowledging the high linguistic skill of the Septuagint translator of Psalms, the LXX rendering of למנצח by εἰς τὸ τέλος is, according to Schaper, a typical shortcoming of the translator. In the presupposition that למנצח has been derived from the root נצח ("to lead," "to conduct," hence "for the leader [of music?]"), Schaper explains the origin of εἰς τὸ τέλος as follows:

> Apparently, the translators were not able to distinguish between the shades of meaning in I נצח "to be extraordinary", "to lead", "to conduct" and its resultant noun I נצח "glory", "perpetuity", "duration". Also, they seem to have overlooked the difference between the participle מנצח and the noun נצח.[27]

Moreover, my conclusions entirely oppose M. Rösel's interpretation of the Septuagint's rendering. In his contribution on the headings of the psalms in the Septuagint, he deals with εἰς τὸ τέλος in order to argue in favor of an eschatological interpretation of LXXPsalms.[28] In doing so, however, he seems to make some methodological errors.

First, Rösel takes it for granted that the Hebrew equivalent למנצח is to some extent a musical term. While he is entitled to this, the problem arises because the Greek rendering does not seem to have such a musical connotation, leading Rösel to conclude that the Greek translation does not view the term as a liturgical one. Moreover, according to Rösel this is evidence in favor of a non-Palestinian origin, or at least against an origin linked to Jewish temple service.[29] In my view, this conclusion is overly hasty, especially since Rösel suggests—without good warrant—that the translators were deliberately reacting against the liturgical use

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25. In this respect, these results confirm the text-critical analysis by Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos*, 102–4.

26. J. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 31–32.

27. Ibid.

28. M. Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 125–48. See also Delekat, "Probleme der Psalmenüberschrifte," 289: "Der Griechische Übersetzer mag an das Eschaton gedacht haben." This eschatological interpretation has also been suggested by Dorival, "A propos de quelques titres," 31.

29. Rösel, "Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalters," 137.

of the psalms. Moreover, as has been suggested by Dorival, it is plausible that a musical interpretation of the term למנצח probably only originated in a rather late rabbinic interpretation.[30]

Second, in order to discover the meaning of the term τέλος in the headings of the book of Psalms, Rösel argues that it would be useful to look to its use within the book as a whole. Because of its parallelism with εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα in Pss 9:19; 77(76):8–9; 103(102):9, he concludes that the term τέλος has a temporal connotation as well. As such, τέλος should be translated as "the end." But Rösel ventures a step further than this and argues that "the end" in the psalm headings is the same as "eschatological end."[31]

Rösel is correct in claiming that a temporal aspect is one of the word's possible meanings. However, as has been mentioned, within the book of Psalms the term often seems to be used as an adverbial expression of totality.[32] This becomes especially clear in Ps 12:2, where a temporal interpretation would not make any sense: "How long, O Lord, will you totally (לנצח/εἰς τέλος) forget me?"

Third, Rösel argues that this reference to eschatological times in the psalm headings is accentuated through use of the article (τὸ), denoting that a well-defined time is meant. However, since segmentation has played a very important role in the translator's translation technique, use of the article can easily be explained as the translator's attempt to render all parts of his *Vorlage* consistently and to distinguish it from לנצח within the Psalms proper.[33]

Finally, Rösel refers to Ps 29 (MT 30) as a fourth argument in favor of interpreting εἰς τὸ τέλος as referring to end times. According to him, this is the only psalm in which LXX has εἰς τὸ τέλος as plus to the MT. Rösel's argument is that the heading of Ps 30 (מזמור שיר חנכת הבית) was interpreted by the Septuagint translator as referring to the consecration of the temple in Jerusalem. For Rösel, this fact was understood by the Septuagint translator to have eschatological dimensions. However, the following objections can be made against such an argument. First, the Septuagint translator offers a very consistent rendering of his *Vorlage* with respect to מזמור שיר חנכת הבית: ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου. However, nothing within this LXX rendering indicates a specifically eschatological interpretation. There are also several problems with Rösel's claim that the only plus εἰς τὸ τέλος in the Psalter is to be found in Ps 29(30), which for him stresses the eschatological nature of the consecration of the temple. It is true that in Rahlfs' edition of the book of Psalms only Ps 29(30) has a plus

30. Cf. *supra* n. 11.

31. Rösel, "Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalters," 138: "die man wohl auf die Endzeit beziehen muß."

32. Cf. Lust, Eynikel, and Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon*, 610. NETS translates the formula similarly. See also, e.g., Pss 9:7 ("The swords of the enemies failed completely") and 9:19 ("For the poor shall not be wholly forgotten").

33. Cf. Austermann, *Von der Tora zum Nomos,* 42–46.

εἰς τὸ τέλος. However, one needs to be aware that in his reconstruction of the text Rahlfs' approach has mainly been concerned with manuscript attestation and less so with internal criteria.[34] Thus, if one takes for granted that it is a tendency within LXX to expand the psalm headings, it would be plausible to conjecture that the plus in Ps 29(30) is likewise a later addition. As such, εἰς τὸ τέλος in Ps 29(30) is presumably of a similar nature as the formula in several other psalms, in which the heading has a plus εἰς τὸ τέλος.[35] In this respect, I submit that NETS is right not to consider the expression as part of the "original" translation[36] and that it is safer to consider MT as normative in this instance.[37]

4. Conclusion

Although it is commonly assumed that it has a musical connotation, the exact meaning of the Hebrew term למנצח is not yet clear. It would seem that this is not only the case for twenty-first-century readers of the Old Testament; even the first translators of the book of Psalms appear to have encountered some problems in the exact interpretation of this term.

However, striving to remain as close to his *Vorlage* as possible, the Septuagint translator has chosen to "translate" למנצח with εἰς τὸ τέλος, considering it to be related to the root נצח, the Greek noun for which can be τέλος. In order to remain faithful to his *Vorlage,* and hence seeking to distinguish between למנצח and לנצח, the translator even explicitly mentioned the article (segmentation). In conclusion, therefore, there are no sufficient grounds to assume εἰς τὸ τέλος in the psalm headings as being an indicator to the eschatological interest on the part of the translator.[38]

34. Cf. in this respect A. Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," 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), 99–138, esp. 124–29.

35. For instance, the Codex Alexandrinus has the same plus in Pss 36:1(37MT), 42:1(43MT), 47:1(48MT) and 49:1(50MT).

36. "*A Psalm. Of an ode of the dedication of the house.*"

37. Cf. A. Pietersma, "Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter," in Fraenkel, Quast, and Wevers, *Studien zur Septuaginta,* 262–86., esp. 286: "The Bodmer papyrus has helped us to underscore that corruption in the Greek Psalms is extensive and that the Old Greek text of the Psalter is more closely related to our current Hebrew text than Rahlfs' *Psalmi cum Odis* leads us to believe."

38. See also H. Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters* (BBB 134; Berlin: Philo, 2002), 202.

The Meaning and Function of Ἀλληλουϊά in the Old Greek Psalter

Jannes Smith

Abstract: The word "hallelujah" has entered the vocabulary of a good many of the languages into which the Hebrew Scriptures have been translated. This paper is concerned with its Greek usage, particularly its function in the Greek language at the time that the LXX Psalter was translated.

LXX Psalms is the earliest surviving document to contain the word ἀλληλουϊά.[1] Hence to explain its use in the Greek Psalter, one must attempt to get leverage on some complex questions. Did the translator transcribe the Hebrew *de novo,* or did he choose a loanword already in use among Greek-speaking Jews? Is there a causal relationship between the translator's choice of ἀλληλουϊά and its position at the head of a psalm (often *contra* MT)? Is ἀλληλουϊά a superscription or an opening interjection? If a superscription, is it a technical term? Did NETS do the right thing by transcribing this item as "Hallelouia," or should it have been rendered as "Hallelujah"? And was its Hebrew counterpart written as one word or two? The sparsity of pre-Christian attestation for ἀλληλουϊά outside of the Greek Psalter makes it difficult to produce definitive conclusions, and given that the answers to any one of the above questions has bearing on the others, one hardly knows where to begin. The most sensible starting point seems, however, to be a description of the translation technique of the Psalms translator.

The translator of the Greek Psalter had two very different ways of handling הללו יה: on some occasions he produced a translation (αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον); on others, a transcription[2] (ἀλληλουϊά). To place his treatment of this item within a broader framework, let us begin by observing how he handled each component

1. References to LXX Psalms are from Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Psalmi cum Odis* (vol. 10 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum;* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

2. Though "transcription" and "transliteration" are often used interchangeably, Knobloch has pointed out that the former more precisely refers to a representation of the sounds of the source lexeme and the latter to its letters. Since the Psalms translator produced a vocalized equivalent of a consonantal text, transcription is the more accurate term (Frederick W. Knobloch, "Hebrew Sounds in Greek Script: Transcriptions and Related Phenomena in the Sep-

of the Hebrew imperatival clause. הלל II "praise" occurs frequently in the Psalter, both in the *Piel* and in the *Hithpael*. The Psalms translator handled the *Hithpael* contextually. When its subject is the wicked who boast in themselves, their wealth, or their idols, he chose καυχάομαι (48:7) or ἐγκαυχάομαι (51:3; 96:7), but he opted for the passive of ἐπαινέω when its subject is the faithful who are commended by (association with) God (33:3; 62:12; 63:11; 104:3; 105:5).[3] The *Piel* of הלל II is rendered fifty times with αἰνέω,[4] thrice with ἐπαινέω in the active voice,[5] and once with ὑμνέω.[6]

As for the second component of הללו יה, יה occurs forty-two times in the source text of the Greek Psalter. If we set aside for the moment the twenty-one times that the translator wrote ἀλληλουϊά, we are left with twenty-one occurrences of יה, one of which was not translated in the Greek (117:5 [2nd]), while the remaining twenty are rendered by κύριος.[7] Observing that the Psalms translator articulated κύριος in nine of the fifteen instances when he had a choice whether or not to articulate it (101:19; 113:26; 117:5 [1st], 14, 18, 19; 134:3, 4; 150:6), Wevers came to the remarkable conclusion that "the translator of Psalms did not treat יה as a proper noun, but rather as a surrogate for the deity, in the same way that אדני was utilized in reference to God. The translator seemingly did not recognize יה as another form of the tetragram."[8] One wonders, however, whether this conclusion is warranted. First of all, articles are items that tended to be added in transmission history in deference to Greek usage, as may be illustrated from one of Wevers's examples, namely, 117:18, where Rahlfs included the article but noted in the apparatus that S lacked it. The publication of Bodmer Papyrus XXIV (Ra. 2110) has since provided added support for the anarthrous

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tuagint, with Special Focus on Genesis" [Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1995], 37–39, 484–86). I thank Paul D. McLean for this reference.

3. It is not so, however, that the translator of the Psalter scrupled to use καυχάομαι of boasting in the Lord (see 5:12 for עלץ, 31:11 for רנן *Hiphil*, and 149:5 for עלז). In the *Hithpael* הלל regularly means "boast, glory," though BDB states that one late occurrence has a passive meaning: "be praised, commended" (Prov 31:30, whose Greek translator, incidentally, did not understand it as a passive); if this is indeed a late meaning, perhaps it explains G's preference for the passive of ἐπαινέω.

4. 17:4 (*vid.*); 21:24, 27; 34:18; 55:11, 11; 62:6; 68:31, 35; 73:21; 83:5; 101:19; 106:32; 108:30; 112:1, 1, 3 (*vid.*); 113:25; 118:164, 175; 134:1, 1, 3; 144:2; 145:1, 2; 147:1, 1; 148:1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 5, 7, 13; 149:3; 150:1, 1, 2, 2, 3, 3, 4, 4, 5, 5, 6.

5. 9:24; 55:5; 101:9 (*vid.*). In 43:9 the translator may have read the Hebrew verb as a *Pual* or a *Hithpael*, for he translated it with the passive of ἐπαινέω (see *BHS* footnote *ad loc.*).

6. 21:23. Verse 24 has αἰνέω.

7. Ten of these are arthrous (101:19; 103:35; 113:26; 117:14, 18, 19; 134:3, 4; 146:1; 150:6), while the other ten are not (67:5, 19; 76:12; 88:9; 93:7, 12; 113:25; 117:17; 121:4; 129:3).

8. John W. Wevers, "The Rendering of the Tetragram in the Psalter and Pentateuch," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert et al.; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 35.

reading,[9] and Pietersma has in fact argued that the latter is OG.[10] Furthermore, specific contexts do not appear to support a distinction between יהוה and יה on the basis of articulation: in 117:4–5, τὸν κύριον translates both, while in 121:4, κυρίου translates both.[11] Finally, it would be difficult to deny that the translator understood יה as a proper noun in 67 (68):5: κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῶν ("his name is the Lord" [NETS]).

When God is the object of הלל II Piel "praise," the standard equivalent αἰνέω is seldom suspended.[12] Specifically, when its object is יה, the standard rendering is maintained in 101:19; 113:25; 134:3; 146:1; and 150:6 [1st]. Three of these are unsurprising, since the Hebrew verbs are *yiqtol*s and therefore clearly function verbally (101:19; 113:25; 150:6 [1st]), and in the last of these the verb also has an explicit subject. In the remaining two cases the Hebrew is הללו יה; both instances are translated as αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον (134:3; 146:1). What is striking about these is that the translator otherwise always transcribed הללו יה. Why did he not do so here? A quick response might be that these two instances do not occur in superscriptions, which is where he typically used the transcription. However, its occurrence in 150:6 [2nd] demonstrates that the translator did not reserve ἁλληλουϊά for the head of the Psalm. One might wonder whether ἁλληλουϊά is translated when the source text divided the two words (הללו יה) but transcribed when it did not (הללויה). But since the *Vorlage* has been lost, such a hypothesis can neither be confirmed nor contradicted and is therefore best left aside. Nor, for that matter, is it necessary to resort to such a guess, since the translator's decision can be explained from the immediate context of each of the two cases. In both 134 (135):3 and 146 (147):1, הללו יה is immediately followed by a כי clause that is rendered as a subordinate ὅτι clause giving the reason for praise. The translator understood הללו יה as the main clause and translated הללו with a verb.[13]

It seems, then, that the Psalms translator handled הללו יה contextually: where the context demanded a verb, he translated it, and the verb that he chose was his standard equivalent for הלל II *Piel* "praise." It begs the question, however,

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9. Rodolphe Kasser and Michel Testuz, eds., *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psaumes XVII–CXVIII*. (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1967), *ad loc.*

10. Albert Pietersma, "Articulation in the Greek Psalms: The Evidence of Papyrus Bodmer XXIV," in *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday* (ed. G. J. Norton and S. Pisano; OBO 109; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 188.

11. 134.3 is the only text that has the arthrous form for יה and the anarthrous for יהוה, but that does not yet prove that the translator distinguished the two.

12. In fact, the only exception is ὑμνέω in 21:23. Ἐπαινέω has God as object, but only when it translates שבח (62:4; 116:1; 147:1; see also 144:4).

13. Whether כי should in fact be interpreted as a causal conjunction or an emphatic particle is a matter of dispute but irrelevant for our purposes; for the debate, see Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101–150* (2nd ed.; WBC 21; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2002), 381.

precisely what prompted him twenty-one times to abandon his usual rendering and opt for ἀλληλουϊά? The question becomes more pressing when one realizes that a number of Hallelouia Psalms begin with a series of imperatives, even of verbs of praise such as הלל (104; 112; 116; 134; 135; 145–150), but these did not trigger an interpretation of הללו יה as an imperatival clause. Once again, to suggest that the transcription was triggered by its position at the head of a psalm fails to account for its use in 150:6. A more productive approach would seem to be a thorough analysis of the word ἀλληλουϊά and its function in LXX Psalms.

The Psalter provides our oldest evidence for the word ἀλληλουϊά in the Greek language. That being so, the question is justified whether the translator of LXX Psalms introduced it by transcribing the Hebrew expression or whether he chose a loanword already in use among Greek-speaking Jews. Pietersma believes that ἀλληλουϊά probably "had been integrated into the living language before the translation process began."[14] There are two reasons to believe that this was indeed the case. First of all, one is hard-pressed to find a motive for the translator to transcribe it *de novo*. Typical motives for transcription include (1) personal preference on the part of the translator, rooted, for example, in a desire to give the reader a flavor of the source text,[15] and (2) ignorance of the meaning of the Hebrew. Neither motive matches the profile that LXX Psalms reveals of its translator. The Greek Psalter may indeed be typified as "source-oriented," but at the level of isomorphism, not that of transcription. In point of fact, "transcriptions are in short supply in the Psalter, since its translator insisted on rendering his source text into Greek, whether or not he understood it."[16] Telling examples from the superscriptions include στηλογραφία for מכתם, εἰς τὸ τέλος for למנצח, and σύνεσις for משכיל.[17] Furthermore, there is neither evidence nor reason to believe that the meaning of הללו יה was ever obscure. More important, the translator displayed his ability to translate it in Pss 134:3 and 146:1. The very fact that he transcribed it except when it was syntactically necessary to translate it suggests that ἀλληλουϊά already functioned in the host culture of LXX Psalms, though precisely how it functioned remains to be explored. The second reason to believe that the Psalms translator did not transcribe ἀλληλουϊά *de novo* is that transcriptions with no reference in the target language tend not to become integrated into

14. Albert Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller; VTSup; Leiden: Brill, 2005). 454.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Incidentally, this characteristic provides a counterargument to the (unverifiable) hypothesis that the translator translated הללו יה when the parent text wrote it as two words but transcribed it when the parent text wrote it as one. Even if it were written as a single word he might typically be expected to have translated it. Hence the explanation for its transcription must be sought elsewhere.

the living language, in which case one might have expected the occurrences of ἀλληλουϊά to be restricted to translation literature. The opposite is true (see, e.g., 3 Macc 7:13; Rev 19:1, 3, 4, 6; *Odes Sol.* 11:24[18]).

Because ἀλληλουϊά entered the Greek language from the Hebrew, its Hebrew use will have informed its Greek use. Therefore one is justified in turning to the source language for information on the meaning of the word. In Hebrew, הללו יה can function as either an imperatival clause or an interjection. That is to say, it can be an injunction to praise Yah, or it can itself be the praise.[19] The former function is suggested by the morphology of הללו (as an imperative) and may also be deduced from its grammatical context (see, e.g., Pss 134 [135]:3; 146 [147]:1). The latter usage is suggested by, for example, 1 Chr 16:36 (see MT Ps 106:48), Ezra 3:11b, and Neh 5:13,[20] but no occurrence of הללו יה in Hebrew literature unambiguously confirms that it had become an interjection by the time that it entered the Greek language.[21] Hagemeyer has mentioned that the singing of Pss 113–118 during Passover was frequently interrupted with shouts of "Hallelujah!"[22] That the so-called Egyptian Hallel was linked to the celebration of the Passover is undoubtedly true, but whether this link predates or postdates the translation of the Psalter is unclear. At any rate, any evidence that Passover customs informed the translator's use of the term must be rooted in the text rather than read into it. The fact that he wrote ἀλληλουϊά as a single word suggests that the Hebrew clause had become a frozen form. Certainly, it could not function as a clause in Greek, since the imperative is not grammaticalized in transcription. Moreover, the divine name יה is no longer a distinct lexeme but has been absorbed. For these reasons the Greek word ἀλληλουϊά cannot be translated as "Praise the Lord!"[23]

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18. Michel Testuz, ed., *Papyrus Bodmer XI* (Cologny/Genève: Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, 1959), 68.

19. The same is currently true of its English equivalent, "Praise the Lord!"

20. On the basis of these texts, many authors conclude that הללו יה was originally a communal response to the psalm-singing of the temple choir (e.g., H. Engberding, "Alleluja," in *RAC* 1:293; Eric Werner, "The Doxology in Synagogue and Church: A Liturgico-Musical Study," *HUCA* 19 (1945–46): 324 ["the liturgical function of the Hallelujah was, in primitive times, a priestly device to organize popular participation in the divine service"]).

21. *HALOT* glosses a number of occurrences of הלל II *Piel* as "to exclaim Halleluia" (Ezra 3:11; 1 Chr 23:5; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:6; 8:14; 20:21; 29:30; 31:2), but the expression itself does not occur there.

22. Oda Hagemeyer, " 'Preiset Gott!': Zum biblischen Hallelu-Jah," *Bibel und Leben* 11 (1970): 146.

23. *Contra* Gregory of Nyssa (Ronald E. Heine, ed., *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1995], 142 [2.7.69]). The Greek church fathers tried to analyze ἀλληλουϊά, sometimes with comical results. On the analogy of Ηλιου (the indeclinable name of the prophet Elijah in 3–4 Reigns), Gregory of Nyssa interpreted ἀλληλοῦ as a noun in the nominative case (Heine, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise,* 142 [2.7.70]). According to Visser, this interpretation of ἀλληλουϊά indicates that

We come now to the function of ἀλληλουϊά when it occurs at the beginning of a psalm, which is its position in all but the last of its occurrences in the Greek Psalter. Two possible functions present themselves. According to Motyer, ἀλληλουϊά functions in the LXX Psalms as a "cultic cry, a recognized shout of praise in its own right."[24] That the Greek word could be used as an interjection[25] is clear from Tob 13:18, but whether it functioned as such in the Psalms is *quod est demonstrandum*. Others call it a superscription.[26] Indeed, the qualification of ἀλληλουϊά by the genitive phrase Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου in Pss 145–148 supports this view. Pietersma, however, regards all instances of this genitive phrase as secondary.[27] If that is so, then the above Psalms show that ἀλληλουϊά was indeed interpreted as a superscription in the reception history of the Greek Psalter, but its original function intended by the translator remains *sub judice*. That the Hebrew item could function as a superscription is evident from the title of Ps 151 in 11QPs^{a} (הללויה דויד בן ישי), but this superscription was unknown to the Psalms translator. All this is not to suggest that ἀλληλουϊά could not have functioned as a superscription in the Greek Psalms but only to point out that such a function must be demonstrated, not assumed. There are a number of reasons to believe that the translator did in fact interpret הללו יה as a superscription. The most convincing of these is that it stands outside of the alphabetic acrostics in Pss 110; 111; and 118. While there is no evidence that the translator even recognized

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"de kennis die Gregorius van het Hebreeuws bezat uit de tweede of derde hand (vermoedelijk van Origenes) was" (A.J. Visser, "De Geheimenissen van de Griekse Opschriften der Psalmen Ontsluierd: Gregorius van Nyssa's »in inscriptiones psalmorum«," *NTT* 18 [1963]: 26. *PGL* (*s.* ἀλληλουϊά) cites two fathers who divide the word in three. For Basilius the Great, "ἄλ in the Hebrew language is, 'he comes and appears,' and ἤλ is 'God,' and οὒια 'praise, sing of the living God' " (*h myst*., 41). Athanasius fares little better in his *Expositiones in Psalmos* (*ad* Ps 104:1: "Alleluia is divided like this: ἄλ, 'God,' ἤλ, 'strong,' οὒια 'mighty.' " But elsewhere he redeems himself: "For ἀλληλοῦ means 'praise' [αἰνεῖτε], and ἴα means 'the Lord' [τὸν κύριον]" (*ad* Ps 134:1; translations are mine).

24. J. Motyer, "ἀλληλουϊά," *NIDNTT* 1:99.

25. Motyer calls it a "cultic cry" (*NIDNTT*, 1:99), and BAGD a "liturgical formula" (so too E. Lohse, "Halleluja," *RGG*^{3}, 3:38). I prefer the label "interjection" because it is a purely linguistic description and does not prejudice the evidence; a cultic use of ἀλληλουϊά is not self-evident from the Greek Psalms.

26. So already Gregory of Nyssa (Heine, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise,* 141 [2.7.69]); cf. MM s.v.

27. Albert Pietersma, "Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 114–17. Cf. Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspeckte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 140. Other secondary additions to psalm-initial ἀλληλουϊά that are listed by Rahlfs include αἶνος in 104; τῆς ἐπιστροφῆς Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου in 110 and 111; ἀνεπιγράφος παρ᾽ ἑβραιοῖς in 114, 116, and 118; ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν in 134; and τῆς διπλῆς in 135

the acrostics in 110 and 111, the same may not be said for 118, where the numbers and the names of the Hebrew letters that appear at the beginning of each strophe would seem to be OG.[28] Furthermore, superscription helps to explain the fact that הללו יה is not rendered as an imperatival clause even where a psalm begins with a series of imperatives (104; 112; 116; 134; 135; 145–150), unlike Ps 134:3 and 146:1, where the translator translated contextually.

A text-critical difficulty that plagues the Hallelouia Psalms is the fact that MT not infrequently has the הללו יה at the end of the preceding psalm (104:1 [MT 104:35]; 105:1 [105:45]; 106:1 [106:48]; 113:1 [113:9]; 114:1 [115:18]; 116:1 [116:19]; 117:1 [117:2]; 135:1 [135:21]; 146:1 [146:10]).[29] The question is warranted, therefore, whether these discrepancies between MT and LXX are due to the translator's interpretation of ἁλληλουϊά as a superscription. In other words, did his interpretation of ἁλληλουϊά as a title inform his division of these psalms? This question is part of a much larger discussion surrounding alternative psalm divisions and the shaping of the book of Psalms, the complexities of which need not detain us here.[30] The source-oriented nature of LXX Psalms does not lead one to believe that its translator would take liberties with the text. More important, Ps 150:6 shows that the Psalms translator had no difficulty as such with placing ἁλληλουϊά at the end of a psalm. That being said, one wonders whether the discrepancies can be explained. Doubtless the last word has not yet been written on this issue.[31] A possible solution, however, is that הללו יה drifted due to ambiguity in the parent text. By way of analogy, one finds an example of such ambiguity on the Greek side in one of the most important early witnesses of the Greek Psalter,

28. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis, ad loc.*; Albert Pietersma, "The Acrostic Poems of Lamentations in Greek Translation," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. L. Greenspoon and O. Munnich; SBLSCS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 192.

29. Here I do not include those places where MT has הללו יה at both the head of the psalm and the end of the preceding psalm (105 [106]; 148; 149; 150). In these instances, according to Wevers, "the omission in LXX is simply due to haplography" ("The Rendering of the Tetragram," 34). Dittography in the transmission history of MT is an equally plausible explanation, however, and perhaps a more compelling one, given the propensity for הללו יה to multiply though liturgical use.

30. Barré and Wilson both believe that a desire for consistency motivated the LXX translator to transpose, delete, or add הללו יה as occasion demanded (L. M. Barré, "*Halelû yah*: A Broken Inclusion," *CBQ* 45 [1983]: 196, 198; Gerald H. Wilson, "The Use of 'Untitled' Psalms in the Hebrew Psalter," *ZAW* 97 [1995]: 412).

31. Barré, having compared the position of הללו יה in MT, LXX, and 11QPs^{a}, concluded that it originally functioned as an inclusion, appearing at the beginning and end of twelve psalms, which inclusion was subsequently disrupted by the transposition of some of its occurrences from the beginning or end of a psalm to the end or beginning of the neighboring psalm ("*Halelû yah*," 200). Lacking, however, is a demonstration of the need for an originally consistent pattern of inclusions, as well as a convincing motive for their subsequent disruption.

namely, Bodmer Papyrus XXIV (Ra. 2110). Chapter numbers in 2110 follow the superscription forty-two times[32]—significantly more often than they precede it (twenty-eight times).[33] They interrupt it in 40; 68; 74; 83; 85; 94; and 96.[34] In 2110 any ambiguity is removed by the paragraph symbol that divides one psalm from another. If (and that must remain an "if") the superscriptions in the *Vorlage* were placed sometimes before, sometimes after the psalm number as in 2110, then the resulting ambiguity offers a hypothetical explanation for the variable placement of הללו יה attested by LXX and MT. To be sure, it is unknown whether the parent text in fact numbered the psalms. The superscription to Ps 151 (ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμουν) suggests at least that there was a fixed number of psalms that belonged to the collection. But in the event that the psalms were not numbered in the parent text, a reading tradition that separated the superscription from the body of the psalm (e.g., because titles were not considered to be inspired Scripture) could also account for its eventual drift to the end of the previous psalm.

If ἀλληλουϊά is a superscription, the next question is whether it was intended as a characterization of the psalm that follows and whether Thomson was therefore right in glossing it as "An Alleluia." Already Gregory of Nyssa entertained this possibility:

> For we must also consider what it is that "*alleluia*" signifies, since it is the inscription for many Psalms. There is therefore the use of *alleluia* as a mystical exhortation which awakens our hearing to the praise of God, so that "praise the Lord" would be the meaning of this word.… Or perhaps rather this expression makes known the function of the Psalm in question by saying that it is praise of God.[35]

An important consideration is whether the Hebrew term had become a *terminus technicus* by the time that the Psalms translator used the word. One of the acceptations for הללו יה listed in *DCH* (*s.* הלל *Piel*) is, "a description of a type

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32. 21; 23; 25; 26; 30; 36; 37; 43; 44; 45; 46; 47; 49; 50; 51; 52; 53; 56; 57; 59; 61; 62; 64; 65; 66; 69; 70; 76; 77; 84; 87; 89; 93; 95; 101; 108; 110; 111; 115; 116; 117; 118.

33. 24; 28; 31; 39; 58; 60; 63; 67; 71; 72; 78; 79; 80; 81; 82; 86; 88; 90; 91; 97; 98; 99; 100; 103; 107; 109; 112; 114.

34. I follow Pietersma's corrected readings for Pss 70; 112; and 116 (Albert Pietersma, "The Edited Text of P. Bodmer XXIV," *BASP* 17.1–2 [1980]: 67–79)

35. Heine, *Gregory of Nyssa's Treatise on the Inscriptions of the Psalms*, 141–42 (2.7.69–70). The Greek text reads as follows: Χρὴ γὰρ καὶ τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα, ὅ τί ποτε σημαίνει, κατανοῆσαι ὅπερ πολλοῖς τῶν ψαλμῶν ἐπιγραφὴ γίνεται. ἔστι τοίνυν τὸ Ἀλληλούϊα παρακέλευσις μυστική πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμνῳδίαν τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐπεγείρουσα, ἵνα τοιοῦτον ᾖ τούτου τὸ σημαινόμενον ὅτι Αἰνείτε τὸν κύριον· … ἢ τάχα μᾶλλον γνωρίζει ὁ λόγος οὗτος τῆς ὑποκειμένης ψαλμῳδίας τὴν δύναμιν λέγων αὐτὴν αἶνον εἶναι θεοῦ (J. McDonough and P. Alexander, eds., *Gregorii Nysseni In Inscriptiones Psalmorum, In Sextum Psalmum, In Ecclesiasten Homiliae* [vol. 5 of Gregorii Nysseni Opera; Leiden: Brill, 1962], 89–90).

of Psalm." The sole witness to this meaning, however, is the superscription of Ps 151 in 11QPs[a], which *DCH* glosses as "a hallelujah of David son of Jesse." It has already been noted that this superscription was unknown to the translator—the Greek version of this Psalm has a completely different title. This difference, as well as the later additions to the LXX titles noted previously, support the notion that the superscriptions were a series of cryptic notes added at various times and are thus best treated atomistically.[36] Hence one might translate the title above as follows: "Hallelujah. Of David son of Jesse." In other words, it is not certain that the Hebrew expression had a technical sense here, let alone that it was a technical term by the time the Psalter was translated.[37] On the Greek side, its occurrence in 3 Macc 7:13 with the definite article suggests that ἁλληλουϊά did become a technical term: τότε κατευφημήσαντες αὐτόν ὡς πρέπον ἦν, οἱ τούτων ἱερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπιφωνήσαντες τὸ ἁλληλουϊά μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀνέλυσαν (NRSV: "When they had applauded him [i.e., Ptolemy Philopator] in fitting manner, their priests and the whole multitude shouted the Hallelujah and joyfully departed"). LEH glosses τὸ ἁλληλουϊά as "the (hymn called) Hallelujah," but whether the term is a *pars pro toto* for a longer formula in 3 Macc 7:13 remains uncertain.[38] In any case, ἁλληλουϊά is articulated only here in the LXX, and 3 Maccabees is generally dated to the early Roman period, considerably later than the Greek Psalter.[39] While the absence of the article in the superscriptions of the psalms might be explained away as due to formal equivalency with the parent text, it seems unlikely that the translator would have used the term in its technical sense.[40] If its position at

36. Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis," 453.

37. *Pace* Hossfeld, who thinks that the interjection developed into a *terminus technicus* for a liturgical song of praise "im Psalter selbst und in seiner Rezeption" (Frank-Lothar Hossfeld, "Halleluja," *RGG*[4], 1393) This development is no doubt true of its reception history, but to suggest that it is already present in the Psalter is to go beyond the evidence, in my view.

38. One candidate for such a formula, due to the frequency of its occurrence, is: ἁλληλουϊά. ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι χρηστός/ἀγαθός, ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ (Pss 105:1; 106:1; 117:1; 29, 135:1; see also 1 Chr 16:34, 2 Chr 5:13; 7:6; 2 Esdr 3:11; 1 Macc 4:24; Dan 3:89). But that would make 3 Macc 7:13 a witness to the reception history of the Greek Psalter.

39. Swete dates 3 Maccabees with Thackeray to ca. 80 B.C. (H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* [repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1989], 280), but Hengel "later in the first century AD" (Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002], 124). In addition, the technical use is frequently found in early Christian literature, e.g., in the expression ψάλλω τὸ ἁλληλουϊά (*Acts Mth.* 25; *Apoc. Paul* 30; cited in *PGL*, *s.v.*).

40. Again, *pace* Hossfeld, according to whom the LXX establishes "hallelujah" as a technical term because it does not translate it, because it reduces its function to that of a superscription, and because it extends the groups to which the superscription is applied ("Halleluja," 1393). G's use of a transcription, however, signifies no more than that the word already functioned in the Greek language and does not prove that it had become a technical term, while its position at the head of a psalm may simply reflect G's reading of the parent text.

the head of a psalm were the sole trigger for the transcription, then perhaps one could construct an argument that he interpreted it as a characterization of the Psalm that follows, but even that, I have argued, is not the case. More plausibly, he handled this item in relative isolation, unconcerned with the contents of the psalm that followed.

One question remains. How should ἀλληλουϊά be represented in an English translation of the Septuagint? If one regards "Hallelujah" as an English transcription of Hebrew הללו יה, then NETS legitimately opts for "Hallelouia" as an English transcription of Greek ἀλληλουϊά. Alternatively, if one regards ἀλληλουϊά not merely as a transcription of a Hebrew word but as a word that had already been integrated into the Greek parlance of the host culture of LXX Psalms, then one can also render it as "Hallelujah," which is likewise a Hebrew loan. Both lines of reasoning are cogent. It would be illegitimate, however, to translate ἀλληλουϊά as "Praise the Lord," as has already been shown.

In summary, the translator of the Psalter in all likelihood did not introduce ἀλληλουϊά into the Greek language but employed a Hebrew loan expression that had become a fossilized form, providing us with its earliest documented use in Greek. He interpreted it as a superscription, but there is no evidence that this interpretation informed, or was informed by, the body of these psalms. Nonetheless, his handling of this item does affect the profile of the Psalter in that fully twenty psalms in the Septuagint may be called "Hallelouia Psalms" by virtue of their common superscription.

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The Place of the Enclitic Personal Pronouns in the Old Greek Psalter

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Abstract: There is an excellent study of enclitic personal pronouns in the Septuagint by Albert Wifstrand entitled "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta," published in 1950. The reason why this topic is still relevant for investigation is that he did not consider the translation process as departing from the Hebrew source. It is now my intention to complete the picture with the Hebrew background. Two questions are in the focus of my study: (1) What are the Hebrew expressions or constructions rendered with enclitic personal pronouns? (2) What is the position of the Greek enclitic pronouns in their clause as compared with the Hebrew word order? The Greek Psalter is known as a rather slavish translation. I should like to examine whether there is any kind of freedom in this area. Good Greek style demands at least a freer word order and such word order that is usual in Greek. Modern linguistic studies are consulted to enable us to understand what word order is usual or normal in Greek. In the Greek Psalter the usual Greek word order when differing from the Hebrew is a rare exception (less than 3 percent of the 2,270 cases).

The Old Greek Psalter is the book of the Septuagint that most frequently uses enclitic personal pronouns. Albert Wifstrand, who in 1950 wrote an excellent article on the place of the enclitic personal pronouns in the Septuagint, found 2,270 occurrences in the Psalter.[1] Thus, the Old Greek Psalter provides a wealth of material for our investigation, far more than Genesis (ca. 850 occurrences), Isaiah (ca. 840 occurrences), or Sirach (ca. 450 occurrences). In studying the repetitions of possessive pronouns in the Psalter, I paid attention to the only exception (Ps 45[46]:2) to the general rule that the possessive pronoun always follows its nominal head in instances of at least two coordinate nouns.[2]

1. Albert Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina bei den Septuaginta," in *K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse 1949–1950, II* (Lund: Gleerup, 1950), 44–70.

2. Raija Sollamo, "Repetition of Possessive Pronouns in the Greek Psalter: The Use and Non-use of Possessive Pronouns in Renderings of Hebrew Coordinate Items with Possessive Suffixes," in *The Old Greek Psalter*, *Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 44–53.

Ps 45(46): 2 אלהים לנו מחסה ועז – ὁ θεὸς **ἡμῶν** καταφυγὴ καὶ δύναμις.

This instance is exceptional in Hebrew because the preposition ל with a pronominal suffix was employed to denote the *dativus commodi,* or possession. For the translator, the place of the preposition dictated the position of its Greek equivalent ἡμῶν.[3]

Because of this exception, the question arose as to whether this location also holds true for other usages of the genitives of the personal pronouns functioning as possessive pronouns, that is, in cases where they are not combined with coordinated nouns. The location of enclitic personal pronouns being a much more interesting question, I decided, however, to focus on them in my present study and to examine the position of the enclitic pronouns in comparison with the location of the Hebrew item that each renders into Greek. I consider all forms of enclitic personal pronouns, namely, μου, μοι, με, σου, σοι, σε, whether they render Hebrew possessive or objective suffixes in nouns and infinitives, objective suffixes attached to verbs, or pronominal suffixes attached to prepositions. The wealth of material makes it reasonable to confine this study to Pss 1–50 (51). With the aid of Wifstrand's article, the statistics for the entire Psalter can be taken into consideration in the examination of the exceptional cases where the enclitic pronoun does not follow its nominal or verbal head and where it does not appear at the same place as its equivalent in the Hebrew. Wifstrand carefully listed all exceptional cases and referred to the normal Greek usage of enclitic pronouns but did not actually treat the translation process departing from the Hebrew source text, even though he often mentions the Hebrew text or idiom underlying the Greek rendering. I would like to test whether the usage of the enclitic personal pronouns provides suitable evidence for a deeper characterization of the translation technique as practised by the translator of the Old Greek Psalter.

Wifstrand found no more than twenty instances in the Greek Psalter where the enclitic pronoun does not follow its nominal or verbal head. In Pss 1–50(51), however, eighteen such occurrences appear, according to my scrutiny: Pss 17(18):36d; 18(19):14; 19(20):3; 22(23):1, 2, 4; 24(25):2; 27(28):2; 31(32):7; 34(35):4, 13; 38(39):14; 39(40):15; 41(42):10; 42(43):3; 44(45):17, and 49(50):12, 21. Nine of these eighteen occurrences are not mentioned by Wifstrand: Pss 19(20):3; 24(25):2; 27(28):2; 34(35):4, 13; 38(39):14; 39(40):15; 42(43):3; and 44(45):17. Thus, Wifstrand's calculations are not fully trustworthy. The eighteen instances of Pss 1–50 (51) can be divided into five different groups. I shall first present the instances in detail, and at the end I shall attempt to draw some conclusions concerning the theories of Greek word order.

3. See Ps 31(32):7 below (in instances of the first group).

The first group consists of examples of renderings of a simple preposition (ב and ל) with a pronominal suffix (first- or second-person singular). The prepositions are governed by the Hebrew verbs אמר, עלץ, and משל.

Ps 49(50):12 אם־ארעב לא־אמר לך – ἐὰν πεινάσω, οὐ μή **σοι** εἴπω.
Ps 18(19):14 אל־ימשלו־בי אז איתם – ἐὰν μή **μου** κατακυριεύσωσιν, τότε ἄμωμος ἔσομαι.

In one example, Ps 31(32):7 the preposition ל indicates the same as the dative in Greek (*dativus commodi*); the preposition construction can also be interpreted as a periphrasis for the possessive suffix, as the translator did:

Ps 31(32):7 אתה | סתר לי מצר תצרני – σύ **μου** εἶ καταφυγὴ ἀπὸ θλίψεως τῆς περιεχούσης με (cf. Ps 45[46]:2 above).

In the Hebrew the preposition constructions in the above instances are placed as the last word of a clause or toward the end of the clause, while the Greek translator moves its counterpart into the second position in the clause and before the verb, except for Ps 24(25):2, although even in this case the position before the verb would have been better Greek:

Ps 24(25):2 אל־אבושה אל־יעלצו איבי לי – μὴ καταισχυνθείην, μηδὲ καταγελασάτωσάν **μου** οἱ ἐχθροί μου.

Apparently the construction μή … μηδέ, together with two verbs having the preverb κατα, diverted the thoughts of the translator from paying attention to the position of the enclitic pronoun.

Very close to the above examples of prepositions ב and ל comes Ps 49(50):21, where the preposition כ with the second-person singular suffix of is used.

Ps 49(50):21 אלה עשית | והחרשתי דמית היות־אהיה כמוך – ταῦτα ἐποίησας, καὶ ἐσίγησα· ὑπέλαβες ἀνομίαν ὅτι ἔσομαί **σοι** ὅμοιος.

Wifstrand suggests that it should be read σοί rather than the enclitic σοι.[4] Concerning the second-person pronoun, it is difficult to distinguish between the stressed and enclitic forms. One must constantly bear this in mind.[5]

The second group contains verbs with an object suffix, while the Greek pronoun as a counterpart of the suffix is placed before its verbal head. This happens

4. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina," 48.
5. K. J. Dover, *Greek Word Order* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 13.

only five times in Pss 1–50(51), namely, in 17(18):36d; 22(23):2, 4; 41(42):10; and 42(43):3.

Ps 17(18):36d ועניותך תרבני – καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου, αὐτή **με** διδάξει. Cf. 2 Kgs 22:36b, where the same Hebrew clause is translated: καὶ ἡ ὑπακουή σου ἐπλήθυνέν με.
Ps 22(23):2 בנאות דשא ירביצני – εἰς τόπον χλόης, ἐκεῖ **με** κατεσκήνωσεν.
Ps 22(23):4 שׁבטך ומשׁענתך המה ינחמני – ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου, αὐταί **με** παρεκάλεσαν.
Ps 41(42):10 למה שׁכחתני – διὰ τί **μου** ἐπελάθου;
Ps 42(43):3 המה ינחוני יביאוני אל־קדשׁך – αὐτά **με** ὡδήγησαν καὶ ἤγαγόν με εἰς ὄρος ἅγιόν σου.

The same Hebrew pattern of predicate and object suffix is usually rendered so literally that the equivalent of the object suffix follows the predicate, even though it is more idiomatic Greek to place it before the predicate, in particular in instances where it is then the second word of the clause, which is the most appropriate position for enclitic words.

The third group. In connection with the *infinitivus constructus* preceded by a preposition, the pronominal suffix of the infinitive usually expresses the subject of the infinitive and is in Greek translated with an accusative. There are two examples where the subject is an enclitic personal pronoun με coming before its verbal head, the infinitive: 27(28):2 and 38(39):14.

Ps 27(28):2 בנשׂאי ידי אל־דביר קדשׁך – ἐν τῷ **με** αἴρειν χεῖράς μου πρὸς ναὸν ἅγιόν σου.

Codex Alexandrinus reads ἐν τῷ αἴρειν με, which is the prevailing word order in the Greek Psalter. Placing με before αἴρειν certainly creates a hiatus, but this time the translator did not attempt to avoid it. In certain books Codex Alexandrinus shows a tendency to transpose the pronouns so that they follow their nominal or verbal heads.[6] In our collection of examples this is the only case where Alexandrinus changed the word order attested in the Old Greek.

Ps 38(39):14 השׁע ממני ואבליגה בטרם אלך ואינני – ἄνες μοι, Ἵνα ἀναψύξω πρὸ τοῦ **με** ἀπελθεῖν καὶ οὐκέτι μὴ ὑπάρξω.

In this instance the Hebrew has not an infinitive construction but an ordinary verbal clause, which is rendered in Greek with a preposition and an infinitive. The hiatus is not avoided even here.

6. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina," 66.

The fourth group consists of instances where the suffix is attached to an object and translated with the dative μοι or σοι placed before the object. The examples are as follows:

Ps 19(20):3 ישלח־עזרך מקדש ומציון יסעדך – ἐξαποστείλαι **σοι** βοήθειαν ἐξ ἁγίου καὶ ἐκ Σιων ἀντιλάβοιτό σου.
Ps 39(40):15 יסגו אחור ויכלמו חפצי רעתי – ἀποστραφείησαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ ἐντραπείησαν οἱ θέλοντές **μοι** κακά.
Ps 34(35):4 יסגו אחור ויחפרו חשבי רעתי – ἀποστραφήτωσαν εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω καὶ καταισχυνθήτωσαν οἱ λογιζόμενοί **μοι** κακά.

In these instances the possessive suffix of an object is changed to a dative object of the verb, and in this way the translator created a very elegant and idiomatic Greek expression. In another very similar case (Ps 37[38]:13) the object suffix is also changed to a dative object but placed after the verb, apparently because this position better facilitates the understanding of the clause and connects the right words together.

Ps 37(38):13 ודרשי רעתי דברו הוות – καὶ οἱ ζητοῦντες τὰ κακά **μοι** ἐλάλησαν ματαιότητας.

The fifth group of instances contains various free renderings.

Ps 22(23):1 יהוה רעי לא אחסר – Κύριος ποιμαίνει με, καὶ οὐδέν **με** ὑστερήσει. A fine free rendering for the Hebrew idiom לא אחסר.
Ps 34(35):13 ואני | בחלותם לבושי שק עניתי בצום נפשי – ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτοὺς παρενοχλεῖν **μοι** ἐνεδυόμην σάκκον καὶ ἐταπείνουν ἐν νηστείᾳ τὴν ψυχήν μου.

Here לבושי שק must be understood as a substantive attribute or apposition to the pronoun ἐγώ meaning "I … (having) sack as my cloth."[7] What item of the Hebrew the Greek dative actually translates is not very clear. I first supposed that it renders the suffix of the noun לבוש, in which case it should be connected with the medium ἐνεδυόμην. This understanding has, however, some weaknesses. First, with the medium it is a pleonasm, and, second, the verb usually takes two accusatives (τι, τινα), not a dative. Therefore, the dative apparently belongs to the previous verb παρενοχλεῖν "to trouble, to annoy," which usually takes a dative in

7. Walter Baumgartner (*Hebräisches und Aramäisches Lexicon zum Alten Testament* [3rd ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1974], 491) suggests that לבוש must be a noun here.

Greek.[8] This is how the readers of the Greek translation must have understood it.[9] The Masoretic Text has a different verb, namely, חלה "to be sick," which is intransitive. Finally, it remains unclear which verb and which construction the translator had in his *Vorlage*.

Ps 44(45):17 תחת אבתיך יהיו בניך – ἀντὶ τῶν πατέρων σου ἐγενήθησάν **σοι** υἱοί.

In this example the second-person singular possessive suffix is replaced by a possessive dative in Greek, and the dative is transposed before its nominal head. This is an excellent solution in two respects. First, σοι is more common than σου in classical and Koine Greek; second, the word order is more in accord with Greek practice, the enclitic pronoun being placed before its nominal head.[10]

Conclusions

The enclitic personal pronouns are among the constituents of the clause that can never begin a Greek clause. The first word in the clause is always emphasized, while the second word or words in the so-called second position are not especially stressed. The enclitic pronouns usually occur in the second position in the clause. This is the famous hole of Wackernagel, according to its discoverer.[11] Usually the last word of the clause also is stressed, and therefore the enclitic pronouns are seldom employed at the end of the clause. Even though modern linguists no longer speak of the stress on the words in a clause, Wackernagel's law is still in force. It holds that postpositives usually appear in the second position in their sentence.[12] This rule is in force in classical Greek in particular. In the vernacular language of the last few centuries B.C.E. and the first centuries C.E., the practice varies considerably, and the genitives of the enclitic personal pronouns are more

8. Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (rev. ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003), 470.

9. See as an example the English translation by Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 31.

10. Albert Wifstrand, "Ett nytestamentligt ordföljdsproblem," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 12 (1947): 334–41.

11. J. Wackernagel, "Über ein Gesetz der indogermanischen Wortstellung," *IF* (1892): 333–436 = *Kleine Schriften* (3 vols.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1955–1979), 1:1–104.

12. The enclitic pronouns belong to the postpositives, as do such particles as ἄν, δέ, γάρ, γε, μέν, περ, τε, etc. and indefinites τις, ποτε, που, πως, and anaphoric αὐτόν (Dover, *Greek Word Order*, 12–13; Helma Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek: A Pragmatic Account of Word Order Variation in Herodotus* (Amsterdam Studies in Classical Philology 5; Amsterdam: Gieben, 1995), 32–27. I could have examined anaphoric αὐτόν, too, but it was not possible in this study because I had only the enclitic personal pronouns in my corpus.

frequently placed after their nominal head, even at the end of the clause. There is still a certain difference between genitives and other forms of enclitic personal pronouns in that genitives are rarer in classical Greek than the other forms, whatever their position in the clause might be, but appear relatively more frequently in the after-position than the other enclitic pronouns. Nevertheless, the usage of the genitives μου and σου that most often occur after their nominal heads increases in the Koine. This practice becomes more and more usual and continues in modern Greek, as a rule. There was not a single example of a freer position of σου before its nominal or verbal head among the above examples in Pss 1–50(51), and Wifstrand has found only one example in the Greek Psalter 136(137):6.[13] The later tendency to place the enclitic pronouns after their nominal and verbal heads, which is well in accord with the Hebrew word order, is sometimes to be seen also in variant readings of certain manuscripts, Ps 27(28):2 being one example of this in Codex Alexandrinus.

The Greek Psalter contains certain kinds of clauses that seem to favor the position of the enclitic pronoun before its head or even earlier in the clause. It could be said that they are illustrative examples where and when Wackernagel's hole is most effective. They are short clauses beginning with a stressed subject or predicate or negative or adverb (one of the so-called mobile constituents, signified by M), which is followed by an enclitic pronoun (sign q), and thereafter comes the object or other constituents (other mobile elements, M). The simple scheme is MqM. In subordinate clauses the enclitic pronoun may follow immediately after the conjunction. In a few instances in Pss 1–50(51), this kind of a scheme was created by repeating the earlier-occurring subject by an emphatic pronoun αὐτός (another M element), after which the enclitic pronoun was placed, as in Ps 17(18):36d (the second group), or repeating an important adverbial (M) with another generalizing adverb, which is followed by the enclitic pronoun, such as in Ps 22(23):2 (the second group). The scheme is accordingly MMqM, which is a special case of MqM. In her excellent study on *Word Order in Ancient Greek,* Helma Dik has paid attention to the implications of the postpositives (such as the enclitic pronouns) for the analysis of Greek sentences, postpositives splitting syntactical units and clauses into smaller segments, thus structuring and subdividing the clause, as in Ps 37(38):13 (the fourth group). She redefines the "second word of the sentence" or the "peninitial position" in that "second" can mean third or fourth, "word" can mean constituent, and "sentence" can mean clause or phrase, or, in short, domain.[14]

The translator of the Psalter, when placing the enclitic pronouns in the after-position, is in the good company of the other LXX translators but a typical representative of translation Greek in comparison with common Koine practice

13. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina," 66–67.

14. Dik, *Word Order in Ancient Greek,* 32–37.

and idiom. Nevertheless, the instances analyzed in this study demonstrate his competence in creating idiomatic Greek expressions—even though these expressions occurred to him very sporadically, sometimes even perhaps for the sake of poetical variation, such as in Ps 22(23):1 (the fifth group). If we suggest that there are approximately sixty idiomatic instances altering the Hebrew word order in the entire Psalter (eighteen in Pss 1–50), it is less than 3 percent of the 2,270 cases. In this respect, the Greek Psalter is among the most literal translations, together with such books as Ecclesiastes, the Minor Prophets, Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kings, and 1–2 Chronicles, whereas the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Job, Proverbs, and Sirach more often approach idiomatic Greek. For instance, in Genesis the freer idiomatic position of the enclitic pronouns appears in 65 out of 850 cases (ca. 8 percent), in Proverbs in 22 out of 175 cases (ca. 13 percent).[15] All in all, the differences in the word order between the various books of the Septuagint are surprisingly small.

15. Wifstrand, "Die Stellung der enklitischen Personalpronomina," 44–60.

Le traducteur grec a-t-il allégorisé ou érotisé le Cantique des cantiques?

Jean-Marie Auwers

Résumé: La traduction grecque du Cantique des cantiques est très littérale. L'Article passe en revue les indices possibles d'une éventuelle allégorisation; ces indices se révèlent fragiles. En 4,8; 6,4; 7,5, le traducteur n'a pas reconnu les toponymes Amana, Tirça et Bat-Rabbim et les a traduits en fonction de leur étymologie supposée. En 2,7; 3,5 et 8,4, la mention des "puissances" et des "forces des campagnes" (au lieu des gazelles et des biches, TM) répond à une volonté interprétative, mais pas nécessairement allégorique. En 1,4 ("Droiture t'a aimé" au lieu de "C'est avec raison qu'on t'aime", TM), le traducteur a rendu le texte hébreu tel qu'il le comprenait.

En 1,2.4; 4,10 et 7,13, la traduction μαστοί σου, qui suppose la lecture דַּדֶּיךָ au lieu de דּוֹדֶיךָ (TM), ne révèle pas une volonté d'accentuer le caractère érotique du texte, mais plutôt le contraire.

D. Barthélemy a proposé comme vraisemblable le rattachement de la version grecque du Cantique des cantiques au groupe καίγε,[1] même si elle n'en partage pas toutes les caractéristiques.[2] Il paraît en tout cas raisonnable de situer la traduction du Cantique au 1er s. de l'ère chrétienne, antérieurement à celle de l'Ecclésiaste.[3] Or nous savons qu'à cette époque le Cantique faisait l'objet d'une lecture allégorique dans les milieux pharisiens, comme aussi vraisemblablement à Qumrân. D. Barthélemy a montré que la décision prise par l'assemblée de Jamnia à propos du Cantique n'a pas été de reconnaître le caractère inspiré du livre (ce qui aurait été enfoncer une porte ouverte), mais d'interdire que l'on en fît un usage profane, par exemple lors de banquets ou de réjouissances populaires.[4] Dès lors, la question se

1. D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, SVT 10 (Leiden, 1963), 47.

2. M. Harl, "La version LXX du Cantique des Cantiques et le groupe kaige-Théodotion. Quelques remarques lexicales," *Textus* 18 (1995), 101–20; J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys. Text and Interpretation of Old Greek Song of Songs and Its Earliest Manuscript Witness* (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 382–83.

3. P. Katz, "Frühe hebraisierende Rezensionen der Septuaginta und die Hexapla," *ZAW* 69 (1957), 77–84, spéc. 83–84; J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 384.

4. Cf. D. Barthélemy, "Comment le Cantique des Cantiques est-il devenu canonique?" in: A. Caquot, S. Légasse et M. Tardieu, eds, *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor*, AOAT 215 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1985), 13–22 = idem, *Découvrir l'Écriture*,

pose donc de savoir si le traducteur grec n'a pas cherché à infléchir la traduction dans le sens allégorique préconisé par les rabbins de son époque. Certes, le traducteur a fait preuve d'une "fidélité quasi servile" à l'égard de son modèle hébreu,[5] mais il aurait pu mettre à profit la faible marge de manœuvre qu'il se réservait pour suggérer, ponctuellement, une lecture allégorique du livre.

Indices d'allégorisation

Il faut tout d'abord examiner le cas des trois toponymes hébreux que le traducteur grec a interprétés en fonction de leur valeur étymologique.

4,8 אתי מלבנון כלה אתי מלבנון
תבואי תשורי מראש אמנה
Avec moi, du Liban, [mon] épouse, avec moi, du Liban
tu viendras; tu t'avanceras (*ou* tu abaisseras les yeux?) depuis le sommet de l'Amanah.
Δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου, νύφη, δεῦρο ἀπὸ Λιβάνου,
ἐλεύσῃ καὶ διελεύσῃ ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς πίστεως.[6]
Viens depuis le Liban, mon épouse, viens depuis le Liban.
Tu viendras et tu parviendras depuis le début de la foi.

6,4 יפה את רעיתי כתרצה נאוה כירושלם
Tu es belle, ma toute proche, comme Tirça,
charmante comme Jérusalem.
Καλὴ εἶ, ἡ πλησίον μου, ὡς εὐδοκία,[7]
ὡραία ὡς Ιερουσαλημ.
Tu es belle, ma toute proche, comme la bienveillance,
charmante comme Jérusalem.

Lectio Divina (Paris, 2000), 239–51; idem, "L'état de la Bible juive depuis le début de notre ère jusqu'à la deuxième révolte contre Rome (131–135)», in: J.-D. Kaestli et O. Wermelinger, eds, *Le canon de l'Ancien Testament. Sa formation et son histoire*, Le Monde de la Bible (Genève, 1984), 9–45, spéc. 26–29 = idem, *Découvrir l'Écriture*, 29–65.

5. G. Gerleman, *Ruth – Das Hohelied*, BKAT 18 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1965), 77: "Eine fest sklavische Treue gegen den hebräischen Text scheint die griechische Übersetzung durchgehend zu prägen". Cf. J.-M. Auwers, "Les Septante, lecteurs du *Cantique des cantiques*," *Graphè* 8 (1999), 33–47.

6. α΄ Ἀμανά. Je donne les leçons hexaplaires d'après F. Field, corrigé au besoin à partir de J. C. Treat, "Aquila, Field, and the Song of Songs," in: A. Salvesen, ed., *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments. Papers Presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July – 3rd August 1994*, Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 58 (Tübingen, 1998), 135–76.

7. α΄ κατ' εὐδοκίαν; σ΄ (ὡς) εὐδοκήτη; θ΄ (ὡς) εὐδοκῶ; ε΄ ἕως εὐδοκῶ. Le jeu de mot entre Tirça (nom de ville) et רצון ("bienveillance") est également perceptible dans le Targum.

7,5 צוארך כמגדל השן
עיניך ברכות בחשבון על־שער בת־רבים
Ton cou, comme une tour d'ivoire,
tes yeux, comme les étangs d'Heshbôn près de la porte de Bat-Rabbîm.
Τράχηλός σου ὡς πύργος ἐλεφάντινος
ὀφθαλμοί σου ὡς λίμναι ἐν Εσεβων ἐν πύλαις θυγατρὸς πολλῶν.[8]
Ton cou, comme une tour d'ivoire,
tes yeux, comme les étangs d'Esebôn aux portes de Fille-de-beaucoup.

En fait, le texte hébreu du Cantique contient au moins 14 toponymes.[9] Sur ces 14 toponymes assurés, trois seulement ont été traduits comme des noms communs, à partir de l'étymologie; les 11 autres ont été simplement translittérés. Le décodage étymologique de trois toponymes ne correspond donc pas à la pente naturelle du traducteur, qui ne semble pas éprouver un intérêt particulier pour la géographie symbolique; comparé au traducteur LXX du Cantique, Aquila décode beaucoup plus de noms propres hébreux.[10] D'autre part, les trois éléments en question ne peuvent pas être mis en relation avec d'autres traductions interprétatives de manière à proposer une exégèse cohérente du Cantique. Il faut donc plutôt voir ici une spéculation sur des mots isolés, que le traducteur n'a pas reconnus comme étant des toponymes spécifiques. L'interprétation que le traducteur donne de trois toponymes est une base trop fragile pour parler de ses tendances

8. σ′ θυγατέρων πλήθους. Le Targum propose lui aussi un décodage, mais différent (il voit ici une allusion au Grand Sanhédrin).

9. Jérusalem (1,5 etc.), Kédar (1,5), Engaddi (1,14), Liban (3,9 etc.), Galaad (4,1; 6,5), Sanir (4,8), Hermon (4,8), Amana (4,8), Tirça (6,4), Heshbon (7,5), Bat-Rabbim (7,5), Damas (7,5), Carmel (7,6), Baal-Hamon (8,11). La plupart des commentateurs estiment que השרון (2,1) désigne spécifiquement la plaine de Saron, mais, en parallèle avec העמקים ("les vallées"), il pourrait être le nom commun signifiant "plaine"; c'est ainsi qu'a compris le traducteur LXX (τὸ πεδίον), alors qu'Aquila a translitteré le mot. Certains commentateurs proposent de voir un toponyme dans בתר (2,17), תלפיות (4,4; cf. LXX: θαλπιωθ) et תרשיש (5,14; cf. LXX: θαρσις). En 5,11, il faut peut-être lire κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ χρυσίον Καιφαζ (ou Κεφαζ, cf. R. Holmes et J. Parsons, eds, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus*, t. 3 [Oxford, 1823] *ad loc.* et J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 248) et traduire: "sa tête est en or de Kephaz".

10. Ct 6,12 עמי־נדיב: ο′ Αμιναδαβ; α′ λαοῦ μου ἑκουσιαζομένου; 7,1 השולמית: ο′ ἡ Σουλαμῖτις; α′ εἰρηνεύουσα; 7,2 נדיב: ο′ Ναδαβ; α′ ἄρχοντος ou ἑκουσιαζομένου; 7,5 בחשבון: ο′ ἐν Εσεβων; α′ ἐν ἐπιλογισμῷ; דמשק: ο′ Δαμασκοῦ; α′ ἀποβλήτων; 8,11 בבעל המון: ο′ ἐν Βεελαμων; α′ ἐν ἔχοντι πλήθη. Cf. Harl, "La version LXX du Cantique des Cantiques," 108–12.

allégorisantes comme d'une caractéristique marquée de la traduction grecque du Cantique.[11]

Selon Paul Joüon, le traducteur laisserait transparaître l'allégorie en 2,7 (et dans les passages parallèles: 3,5 et 8,4LXX) – et là seulement.

השבעתי אתכם בנות ירושלם
בצבאות או באילות השדה
אם־תעירו ואם־תעוררו את־האהבה עד שתחפץ
Je vous adjure, filles de Jérusalem,
par les gazelles ou par les biches des campagnes,
n'éveillez pas, ne réveillez pas l'amour avant qu'il le veuille.

ὥρκισα ὑμᾶς, θυγατέρες Ιερουσαλημ,
ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἰσχύσεσιν τοῦ ἀγροῦ,
ἐὰν ἐγείρητε καὶ ἐξεγείρητε τὴν ἀγάπην, ἕως οὗ θελέσῃ.
Je vous ai fait jurer, filles de Jérusalem,
par les puissances et par les forces des campagnes:
si vous éveillez et réveillez l'amour, jusqu'où il le veuille.[12]

Aquila et Symmaque ont interprété le texte hébreu comme les exégètes modernes.[13] Le traducteur LXX a vu dans צְבָאוֹת ("gazelles") le pluriel de צָבָא ("armée") et il a interprété אַיָּלוֹת en le rattachant à la racine אול II (cf. אֱיָלוּת "force", Ps 22,20).

L'adjuration par les gazelles et par les biches est unique dans la Bible hébraïque et est diversement interprétée par les commentateurs.[14] Certains font remarquer que צְבָאוֹת évoque le titre divin יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת ou אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת et que אַיְלוֹת הַשָּׂדֶה ("biches des campagnes") consonne avec l'appellatif divin אל שדי.[15]

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11. Dans le même sens: P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des cantiques. Commentaire philologique et exégétique* (Paris, 1909), 94–95 (§117); G. Gerleman, *Ruth – Das Hohelied*, 79; M. Pope, *Song of songs*, AB 7C (Garden City, NY, 1977), 20; J. C. Treat, *Lost Keys*, 387–88.

12. Cette tournure, qui transpose littéralement la formule hébraïque d'adjuration, est insolite en grec. Origène et Grégoire de Nysse l'ont interprétée comme une invitation à réveiller l'amour endormi, à contresens de l'hébreu. Voir Origène, *Homélies sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, 2,9, éd. de la version latine de Jérôme et trad. française par O. Rousseau, SC 37 (Paris, 1954), 96; idem, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, III,10, éd. de la version latine de Rufin et trad. française par L. Brésard, H. Crouzel et M. Borret, SC 376 (Paris, 1992), 590–91 (la traduction française est discutable); Grégoire de Nysse, *Homélies sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, 4, in: *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, t. 6, ed. H. Langerbeck (Leiden, 1960), 131.

13. α′ ε′ ἐν δορκάσιν ἢ ἐν ἐλάφοις τῆς χώρας; σ′ ἐν δορκάσιν ἢ ἐν ἐλάφοις τοῦ ἀγροῦ.

14. Inventaire dans J.-E. de Ena, *Sens et interprétations du Cantique des Cantiques. Sens textuel, sens directionnels et cadre du texte*, Lectio Divina 194 (Paris, 2004), 375–86.

15. A. Robert, R.-J. Tournay et A. Feuillet, *Le Cantique des Cantiques. Traduction et Commentaire*, Études Bibliques (Paris, 1963), 15–16 et 107; G. Ravasi, *Il Cantico dei Cantici* (Bologna, 1992), 228; T. Longman III, *Song of Songs*, NICOT (Grand Rapids – Cambridge, 2001), 116.

Il y aurait donc jeu de mots. Mais comment interpréter ces jeux de mots? Est-ce une manière de désigner Dieu sans le nommer, en l'évoquant à travers le sens secret du nom des animaux?[16] Ou faut-il voir ici une parodie, une volonté de subversion, comme le pense A. LaCocque?[17] Joüon voyait dans la traduction des LXX une confirmation de son interprétation des gazelles et des biches comme désignant ici les armées angéliques et leurs chefs.[18] En fait, si le grec δυνάμεις est une manière possible de rendre l'hébreu צְבָאוֹת dans l'appellatif divin (*e. g.* Ps 23[24TM], 10), il est loin d'être certain que la mention des puissances et des forces du champ (τοῦ ἀγροῦ) évoque les êtres célestes: W. Wittekindt voit plutôt ici des traces de polythéisme;[19] G. Gerleman croit pouvoir déceler la volonté de donner à la formule conjuratoire une tonalité mythologique et lyrique;[20] G. Barbiero pense que le traducteur a voulu évoquer explicitement les forces de l'amour et de la fécondité.[21] La "traduction" des deux substantifs dans la formule conjuratoire répond certes à une volonté interprétative, mais de quel ordre? On peut soupçonner P. Joüon d'avoir interprété dans le sens qui lui convenait un verset ambigu du Cantique grec.

G. Barbiero voit une trace d'allégorie en Ct 1,4f:[22]

> מישרים אהבוך
> C'est avec raison qu'on t'aime.
> εὐθύτης ἠγάπησέν σε.
> Droiture t'a aimé.

En fait, le traducteur grec a bien vu que le substantif מישרים était un pluriel d'abstraction, sans reconnaître qu'il fonctionnait ici avec une valeur adverbiale; par conséquent, il en a fait le sujet du verbe. En d'autres termes, il n'y a probablement pas ici, de la part du traducteur, une volonté d'allégoriser le texte: le traducteur a simplement rendu le sens qu'il croyait pouvoir tirer de son modèle hébreu.

Les seins du bien-aimé

Il faut maintenant examiner un argument qui a été allégué à l'appui de la thèse opposée, selon laquelle le traducteur grec aurait accentué le caractère érotique du Cantique.

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16. A. Robert, R.-J. Tournay et A. Feuillet, *Le Cantique des Cantiques*, 437.

17. A. LaCocque, *Romance she wrote. A Hermeneutic Essay on Song of Songs* (Harrisburg, 1998), 63–64.

18. P. Joüon, *Le Cantique des cantiques*, 67 et 161.

19. W. Wittekindt, *Das Hohe Lied und seine Beziehungen zum Ishtarkult* (Hannover, 1925), 64–65; cf. M. Pope, *Song of Songs*, 384–85.

20. G. Gerleman, *Ruth – Das Hohelied*, 81 et 117.

21. G. Barbiero, *Cantico dei Cantici*, I Libri Biblici 24 (Milano, 2004), 94 et n. 210.

22. G. Barbiero, *Cantico dei Cantici*, 23.

Là ou le TM lit le pluriel דֹּדִים (“amour, manifestations d’amour, caresses”), le traducteur propose le mot μαστοί, ce qui indique qu’il a lu une forme du mot דַּד (“mamelle, sein”) et non du mot דּוֹד; le même texte consonantique a donc été vocalisé différemment par les Massorètes et par le traducteur grec.[23] En d’autres termes, dans le Cantique, le grec μαστός traduit donc tantôt שַׁד “sein”, tantôt le synonyme דַּד, vocalisé דֹּד par les Massorètes. G. Gerleman et O. Keel voient ici la volonté du traducteur de souligner le caractère érotique du Cantique.[24] Que faut-il en penser?

Si, comme l’affirment les mêmes auteurs, l’hébreu דֹּדִים a le sens d’acte sexuel, de plaisirs d’amour,[25] on ne voit pas bien en quoi sa traduction par μαστοί accentuerait la dimension érotique du texte.[26] L’argument n’est donc pas convaincant. Mais, de plus, il peut être retourné à l’appui de la thèse inverse. Car si, en 4,10 et en 7,13, il est question des seins de la jeune femme, il n’en va pas de même en 1,2 où il est question des seins du garçon (comme probablement aussi en 1,4).[27] En 1,2 la jeune fille déclare:

> Φιλησάτω με ἀπὸ φιλημάτων στόματος αὐτοῦ,
> ὅτι ἀγαθοὶ μαστοί σου ὑπὲρ οἶνον
> Qu’il me baise de baisers de sa bouche,
> Car tes seins sont bons, plus que le vin.

On est un peu surpris d’entendre dans la bouche de la bien-aimée, comme premier éloge de son compagnon, un compliment sur ses seins. Ce n’est pas l’emploi du mot μαστός pour désigner la mamelle de l’homme qui fait difficulté; cet emploi est attesté par ailleurs. Ce qui étonne, c’est l’éloge de cette partie très atro-

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23. Ct 1,2.4; 4,10 (*bis*); 7,13. La seule exception est Ct 5,1, où ἀδελφοί correspond à דּוֹדִים. C’est le seul cas où, dans le Cantique, le pluriel de דּוֹד n’a pas de suffixe. Ct 6,11d, ἐκεῖ δώσω τοὺς μαστούς μου σοί, est sans parallèle dans le TM (doublet de Ct 7,13d).

24. G. Gerleman, *Ruth – Das Hohelied*, 78: “Die Übersetzung μαστοί macht den erotischen Sinn derber, als er in M ist”; O. Keel, *Das Hohelied*, Zürcher Bibelkommentar, AT 18 (Zürich, 1986), 14: “An manchen Stellen tritt der erotische Sinn in der Übersetzung sogar derber zutage als im hebräischen Original. So liest er statt des Abstrakt-plurals *dodim*, ‘Liebe, Liebesfreuden’ *dadaim*, ‘(die zwei) Brüste’ und übersetzt konsequent dementsprechend”.

25. G. Gerleman, *Ruth – Das Hohelied*, 96; O. Keel, *Das Hohelied*, 50 et 52. Cf. J. Sanmartin-Ascaso, Art. דוד, *TWAT* II, 152–67: “Das Pl. dôdîm wird stets im Sinne von ‘Liebe’ gebraucht, und zwar als ‘körperliche Liebesbeziehung’ ” (p. 160); G. Barbiero, *Cantico dei Cantici*, 64: “È il gioco erotico che accompagna il rapporto sessuale”.

26. G. Garbini, *Cantico dei cantici*, Biblica. Testi e studi 2 (Brescia, 1992), 28: “La lettura *ddym* μαστοί per *dwdym* ‘amori’, comune alla Volgata, vuole attenuare la carica erotica del testo”.

27. Ct 1,4e: ἀγαπήσομεν μαστούς σου ὑπὲρ οἶνον. C’est probablement la jeune femme qui parle.

phiée de l'anatomie masculine. Que le premier élément physique pour lequel la jeune femme félicite son partenaire soit ses mamelles, voilà qui est surprenant.

Cette option déconcertante reflète sans doute la lecture du texte hébreu dans le milieu du traducteur.[28] 6QCant (6Q6) donne, en 1,2 comme en 1,4, la leçon דדיך, sans la *mater lectionis* qui imposerait la lecture דּוֹדֶיךָ.[29] Comme le copiste a tendance à privilégier les graphies pleines, c'est un indice – un indice seulement – en faveur de la lecture דַּדֶּיךָ. Jérôme, dans sa version d'après l'hébreu, propose le mot *ubera*, ce qui indique qu'il lisait lui aussi une forme du mot דַּד (de même en 4,10 et 7,13).[30] Il est vrai qu'il a pu être influencé par l'ancienne version latine.[31]

On peut se demander si la lecture דַּדֶּיךָ et la traduction μαστοί σου n'ont pas pour but de suggérer, d'emblée, qu'une lecture naturaliste du texte conduit à une impasse, et donc d'orienter le lecteur *ab absurdo* vers l'allégorie. Cette hypothèse gagnerait en vraisemblance si on pouvait montrer qu'à l'époque du traducteur, il existait une symbolique des seins. Or, c'est le cas. Cette symbolique est déjà présente dans le corpus vétéro-testamentaire: Isaïe parle de la mamelle des rois où la Jérusalem future viendra sucer le lait des Nations, c.-à-d. leurs richesses; la mamelle est ici évocatrice d'abondance, de prospérité (60,16; cf. 49,23). L'image d'un Dieu nourricier affleure dans la Bible hébraïque;[32] Moïse semble bien renvoyer Dieu à ses propres responsabilités quand il lui déclare: "Est-ce moi qui ai conçu tout ce peuple, est-ce moi qui l'ai enfanté, pour que tu me dises: Porte-le sur ton sein, comme la nourrice porte l'enfant" (Nb 11,12). Un verset du texte long du Siracide (17,18) parle de Dieu qui "allaite" de son enseignement Israël son premier-né:

> ὃν πρωτόγονον ὄντα τιθηνεῖ παιδείᾳ
> καὶ μερίζων φῶς ἀγαπήσεως οὐκ ἀνίησιν αὐτόν.
> (Israël) son premier-né, qu'il allaite de son enseignement
> et, comme il lui donne en partage la lumière de l'amour, il ne l'abandonnera pas.

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28. Cf. E. Kingsmill, *"Love" or "Breasts" at Song of Songs 1:2 and 4? The Pre-Masoretic Evidence*, in: *Studia Patristica* XXX (Leuven, 1997), 8–11.

29. 6QCant, col. I, 2 et 5; cf. DJD III (Oxford, 1962), 113.

30. *Ubera*: Ct 1,1 (= 1,2 TM); 1,3 (= 1,4 TM); 4,10b; 7,12 (= 7,13 TM). En Ct 4,10a, Jérôme emploie le synonyme *mammae*.

31. Dans l'attente de l'édition préparée par E. Schulz-Flügel pour la série de Beuron, on se reportera à D. De Bruyne, "Les anciennes versions latines du Cantique des Cantiques," *Revue Bénédictine* 38 (1926), 97–122.

32. Cf. E. Jacob, "Traits féminins dans la figure du Dieu d'Israël," in: *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Mathias Delcor*, 221–30; J. Vermeylen, "Dieu féminin," in: P. Gibert et D. Marguerat, eds, *Dieu. Vingt-six portraits bibliques* (Paris, 2002), 101–11 (avec bibliographie).

Un Hymne de Qumrân mêle les images masculines et féminines de Dieu, à qui on s'adresse en disant:

אתה אב לכול [בנ]י אמתכה
ותגל עליהם כמרחמת על עולה
וכאומן בחיק תכלכל לכול מעש[י]כה
Tu es un père pour tous tes fils de vérité;
tu as mis ta joie en eux comme celle qui aime son petit enfant,
et, telle une nourrice, tu prends soin de toutes tes créatures sur ton sein.[33]

Très explicitement, le Christ des *Odes de Salomon* déclare:

Mes seins, je les leur (= à mes fidèles) réserverai,
pour qu'ils boivent mon saint lait, qu'ils en vivent.[34]

La datation des *Odes de Salomon* est discutée, mais il y a de bonnes raisons pour situer cet écrit judéo-chrétien au début du IIe s. de l'ère chrétienne, soit peu de temps après la traduction grecque du Cantique.[35]

En 1,2LXX, les seins du garçon sont déclarés meilleurs que le vin (cf. aussi 1,4LXX). Pourquoi le vin? Le lecteur peut penser que c'est en raison de la qualité exceptionnelle du lait que ces mamelles donnent. Certes une poitrine masculine ne produit pas de lait, à moins que ce ne soit un "lait spirituel,"[36] c'est-à-dire un enseignement de haute qualité. Il existe en effet une symbolique biblique du lait, parallèle à celle des seins.[37] Nous avons donc *peut-être* ici l'indice, donné d'entrée de jeu par le traducteur, que le Cantique ne doit pas être lu au premier degré.[38]

33. 1QH^a, col. xvii (Sukenik, col. ix), 35–36. Cf. F. García Martínez et E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds, *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Study Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 1997), 184.

34. *Odes de Salomon*, 8,16. Trad. M.-J. Pierre in: F. Bovon et P. Geoltrain, eds, *Écrits apocryphes chrétiens*, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (Paris, 1997), 691. Dans l'*Ode* 19, le Christ est comparé à une coupe de lait que l'Esprit-Saint a remplie en trayant le Père et en mêlant le lait de ses deux mamelles. Voir aussi *Ode* 35,5.

35. Cf. A.-M. Denis et *alii*, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, t. 1 (Turnhout, 2000), 531–36.

36. L'expression apparaît dans 1 Pi 2,2–3. Cf. déjà Is 55,1.

37. Cf. A. Caquot, Art. חלב, *TWAT* II, 945–51, spéc. 948–50; H. Schlier, Art. γάλα, *TWNT* I, 644–45.

38. Origène, *Commentaire sur le Cantique des Cantiques*, I,3,14, éd. L. Brésard, H. Crouzel et M. Borret, SC 375 (Paris, 1991), 216–17 signale la variante "Car tes paroles (*loquelae tuae*) sont bonnes, plus que le vin" (Ct 1,2), qui décode le symbolisme des seins dans le sens qui vient d'être argumenté.

Le regroupement des livres prophétiques dans la Septante d'après le témoignage des chaînes exégétiques

Mathilde Aussedat

Résumé: Chez les Pères de l'Église, le corpus prophétique de la LXX, très original par rapport à celui de la Bible hébraïque, est conçu tantôt comme un ensemble de cinq livres (un livre pour les Douze et un livre pour chacun des grands prophètes), tantôt comme la conjonction de deux ensembles (les Douze et les Quatre), tantôt comme une vaste section de seize prophètes. Les différentes chaînes exégétiques sur les Prophètes, conservées dans des manuscrits du x^e^ au xvi^e^ siècles, nous apportent un éclairage nuancé sur la définition de ce corpus. Certaines chaînes, isolées dans les manuscrits, s'attachent à commenter un seul prophète (toujours un prophète majeur - surtout Isaïe -), mais les plus célèbres sont celle de Philothéos (vi s.[2]) sur les douze petits prophètes et celle de Jean Drungarios (vii s.[2]) sur les quatre grands prophètes. Bien qu'étant des œuvres de compilation bien distinctes, elles sont souvent rassemblées dans les manuscrits. Les chaînes exégétiques confirment ainsi les réflexions des Pères sur le regroupement des prophètes : d'une part, les Douze sont considérés comme un seul livre, comme en témoignent le prologue général du caténiste en trimètres iambiques et le prologue de Théodoret de Cyr à l'ensemble des Douze, tandis que les grands prophètes sont considérés chacun comme un livre avec un prologue et une conclusion du caténiste propres à chacun, bien que reprenant des thèmes communs, et des prologues de commentaires patristiques pour chacun ; d'autre part, la conjonction de ces deux œuvres est fréquente dans les manuscrits de manière à reconstituer la section des seize prophètes, propre à la Septante par rapport à la Bible massorétique.

Dans la Bible massorétique, le corpus des prophètes comprend deux groupes : les « prophètes antérieurs » *Nebiim rishnonim* (*Josué*, *Juges*, *Samuel* et *Rois*) et les « prophètes postérieurs » *Nebiim akharonim* (*Isaïe*, *Jérémie*, *Ézéchiel* et les Douze qui les suivent toujours dans les manuscrits). Les Douze (selon l'ordre *Osée*, *Joël*, *Amos*, *Abdias*, *Jonas*, *Michée*, *Nahum*, *Habaquq*, *Sophonie*, *Aggée*, *Zacharie*, *Malachie*) sont souvent appelés « petits » et le Talmud suggère que l'on a pris soin de les réunir parce qu'ils étaient courts et risquaient de s'égarer[1] : le qualificatif n'est donc pas lié à l'importance des œuvres, mais à leur longueur. Toutefois, je n'ai trouvé, dans la littérature rabbinique, aucune trace d'une réelle répartition entre petits et grands prophètes au sein de l'ensemble des prophètes postérieurs.

1. TB, *Baba Bathra* 14b.

Dans la Septante, le corpus des prophètes laisse de côté les « prophètes antérieurs » intégrés dans les livres historiques. Il comprend les Douze dans un ordre un peu différent de la Bible massorétique (*Osée*, ***Amos, Michée, Joël, Abdias, Jonas,*** *Nahum*, *Habaquq*, *Sophonie*, *Aggée*, *Zacharie*, *Malachie*)[2] ainsi que *Isaïe*, *Jérémie* et ses suppléments (*Baruch* est propre à la LXX, les *Lamentations* appartiennent aux Écrits de la Bible massorétique et la *Lettre de Jérémie* est propre à la Septante), *Ézéchiel*, *Daniel* et ses suppléments (*Suzanne* et *Bel et le dragon* qui sont absents de la Bible massorétique). *Daniel* appartient aux Écrits de la Bible massorétique, même s'il semble avoir fait partie du corpus prophétique dans la Bible de Qumrân[3], et si l'on peut évoquer, avec G. Dorival, le déclassement possible de ce livre pour des raisons politiques à une période ultérieure[4]. C'est ce corpus des seize prophètes propre à la Septante, et qui n'a bien sûr pas lieu d'être dans la Bible massorétique, que je chercherai à définir ici. Ce regroupement des seize prophètes est l'une des sections représentées dans les manuscrits grecs. En effet, à la période byzantine, la Bible grecque est éditée en sections conventionnelles plus ou moins vastes (Octateuque, *Psaumes*, Prophètes, Quatre Évangiles, *etc*.). Il était alors extrêmement rare de procéder à l'édition d'une Bible complète en un seul volume[5].

Il semble qu'à date ancienne, le corpus prophétique de la Septante soit considéré par les Pères de l'Église comme un ensemble de cinq livres : un livre pour les Douze et un livre respectivement pour *Isaïe*, *Jérémie*, *Ézéchiel* et *Daniel*, comme en témoignent les propos de Méliton de Sarde rapportés par Eusèbe de Césarée et évoquant les Douze ἐν μονοβίβλῳ « en un unique livre »[6], les listes d'Athanase[7],

2. C'est l'ordre majoritaire des manuscrits de la Septante. P.-M. Bogaert signale toutefois les exceptions suivantes : « De nombreux manuscrits du groupe lucianique ont aligné l'ordre sur celui de l'hébreu. Il n'y a pas ici de témoin grec de la recension hexaplaire, mais cette recension suivait l'ordre de l'hébreu. C'était déjà le cas du rouleau du Nahal Hever (R 943), qui a la séquence Jonas-Michée. V et 456 ont l'ordre Osée, Amos, Joël, Abdias, Jonas, Michée : le ms 86 et le copte (sah., achm.) ont l'ordre Osée, Joël, Amos, Michée, Abdias, Jonas (Nahum manque dans 86). Ces deux dernières dispositions paraissent témoigner d'un alignement incomplet sur l'hébreu (déplacement de Michée dans V, de Joël dans 86). » (cf. « Septante », in *SDB*, t. XII, Paris, 1993, col. 632).

3. E. Ulrich, « The Bible in the Making : The Scriptures found at Qumran » in *The Bible at Qumran : Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, ed. P. W. Flint, Grand Rapids, 2001, pp. 51–66.

4. G. Dorival, « L'apport des Pères de l'Église à la question de la clôture du canon de l'Ancien Testament », in *The Biblical canons*, ed. J.-M. Auwers et H. J. de Jonge, Louvain, 2003, pp. 98–100.

5. J. Lowden, *Illuminated Prophet Books. A study of Byzantine Manuscripts of the Major and Minor Prophets*, University Park, Pennsylvania, 1988, p. 5.

6. *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, 26.

7. *Epistulae festales* 39 : Προφῆται· **οἱ δώδεκα,** Ἠσαίας, Ἰερεμίας καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Βαρούχ, Θρῆνοι, Ἐπιστολή, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Δανιήλ. (« Prophètes : les Douze, *Isaïe*, *Jérémie* et avec lui *Baruch*, *Lamentations* et *Lettre*, *Ézéchiel*, *Daniel* »).

de Cyrille de Jérusalem[8] et l'expression τὸ δωδεκαπρόφητον utilisée par Épiphane de Salamine[9]. Mais cette organisation serait liée, selon G. Dorival, à une « volonté des Pères de mesurer la Bible à l'aune du Pentateuque »[10]. On trouve en effet, chez Épiphane, l'expression ἡ προφητικὴ πεντάτευχος « le Pentateuque prophétique »[11]. Celui-ci vient en dernière position après le Pentateuque de la Loi (*Genèse*, *Exode*, *Lévitique*, *Nombres*, *Deutéronome*), le Pentateuque des livres poétiques (*Job*, *Psaumes*, *Psaumes de Salomon*, *Ecclésiaste*, *Cantique des Cantiques*) et un autre Pentateuque des « Écrits » ou « Hagiographes » (*Josué*, *Juges + Ruth*, *1–2 Paralipomènes*, *1–2 Règnes*, *3–4 Règnes*). On peut noter le caractère artificiel de cette répartition dans l'adjonction de *Ruth* au livre des *Juges*, dans les livres qu'Épiphane laisse en électrons libres : *1–2 Esdras* et *Esther*, ainsi que dans ceux qu'il ne prend même pas en compte : le *Siracide*, *Tobit*, *Judith, la Sagesse* et les *Maccabées*.

Plus tardivement, à partir du v^e^ s., et parallèlement à cette organisation en cinq livres qui continue à être exploitée, semble apparaître l'opposition entre deux groupes : les douze petits prophètes et les quatre grands prophètes, comme en témoigne Hésychius, qui nomme Isaïe εἷς ἐκ τῶν μεγάλων προφητῶν « l'un des grands prophètes » et Jonas εἷς ἐκ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τῶν μικρῶν « l'un des douze petits prophètes »[12]. Enfin, on trouve aussi, surtout dans l'Église occidentale, d'après les témoignages d'Augustin[13], de Rufin[14], d'Innocent I[15], du Pseudo-Gélase[16], de Cassiodore[17] et d'Isidore de Séville[18], la conception d'un ensemble des seize prophètes sans regroupements internes qu'Augustin nomme *prophetae proprie*[19], ensemble déjà esquissé dans l'*Alexandrinus* où les prophètes sont numérotés de 1 à 16[20].

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8. *Catecheses* IV 35 : Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὰ προφητικὰ πέντε· **τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν μία βίβλος**, Ἡσαίου μία, Ἰερεμίου μετὰ Βαρούχ καὶ Θρηνῶν καὶ Ἐπιστολῆς, Ἰεζεκιήλ, Δανιήλ. (« Après ceux-là, les cinq textes prophétiques : un seul livre des Douze prophètes, un seul d'*Isaïe*, *Jérémie* avec *Baruch*, *Lamentations* et *Lettre*, *Ézéchiel*, *Daniel* »).

9. *Adversus Haereses* I, 1, 6 et *De mensuris et ponderibus* 4.

10. G. Dorival, « L'apport des Pères de l'Église à la question de la clôture du canon de l'Ancien Testament », in *op. cit*., pp. 90–92.

11. *De mensuris et ponderibus* 4.

12. *Commentarius in Odas*, prologues à l'Ode 5 et à l'Ode 6.

13. *De doctrina christiana*, II, 13.

14. *Expositio symboli,* 36.

15. *Epistula ad Exsuperium*.

16. *Decretum de libris.*

17. *De institutionibus Divinae litterae*, 14.

18. *De ordo librorum sanctae scripturae*.

19. *De doctrina christiana* II, 13.

20. Pour mettre en évidence les diverses facettes du corpus prophétique chez les Pères de l'Église, j'ai abondamment utilisé les tableaux de H. B. Swete dans *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1900, pp. 197–230.

Quel corpus les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les Prophètes, composées à partir du VI^e^ s., prennent-elles en compte et comment peuvent-elles éclairer la définition d'un tel ensemble ?

Les différents types de chaînes prophétiques[21]

Les deux plus célèbres chaînes sur les Prophètes sont l'œuvre de Philothéos sur les Douze, qui suit l'ordre hébreu et est constituée exclusivement d'extraits de Théodoret et d'Hésychius et celle dite de Jean Drungarios sur les quatre grands prophètes, constituée à partir de citations de nombreux auteurs patristiques.

Il faut signaler en outre :

—une deuxième chaîne sur les petits prophètes, représentée par le *Laurentianus* XI, 22 (XIII^e^ s.) et constituée de citations d'auteurs plus nombreux que dans la chaîne de Philothéos (Cyrille, Origène, Gennadius, Grégoire le théologien, Hésychius, Théodoret, Hypatius, Tarasius) ;

—deux autres chaînes sur *Isaïe* (chaîne de Procope V^e^/VI^e^ s. et chaîne de Nicolas Muzalon XII^e^ s. sur *Isaïe* 1–16) ;

—une autre chaîne sur *Jérémie*, œuvre anonyme constituée à partir de commentaires de Jean Chrysostome et Théodoret de Cyr et portant seulement sur les chapitres 1–4. À partir du chapitre 5, les citations de Jean Chrysostome disparaissent et il ne reste plus que le Commentaire de Théodoret.

On remarque qu'aucune chaîne ne porte sur l'ensemble des seize prophètes. Chaque œuvre choisit ou bien l'ensemble des Douze (deux exemples), ou bien l'ensemble des quatre prophètes majeurs (un exemple) ou bien un seul prophète, toujours choisi parmi les prophètes majeurs (deux exemples pour *Isaïe* et un exemple pour *Jérémie*).

L'éclairage apporté par le contenu des manuscrits de chaînes

Il y a des combinaisons très variées dans les manuscrits qui contiennent les chaînes sur les Prophètes dont je viens de rappeler les différents types[22].

Certains ont seulement la chaîne sur les quatre grands prophètes : *Laurentianus* V 9 ; *Matritensis* 4671 ; *Matritensis* 4717. Mais le *Laurentianus* ferait partie avec le *Taurinensis* B I 2, donnant la chaîne de Philothéos sur les douze prophètes, d'un projet plus vaste d'édition d'une Bible complète commanditée par Nicétas,

21. Cf. R. Devreesse, « Chaînes exégétiques grecques », in *SDB*, t. I, Paris, 1928, col. 1146–1158.

22. Cf. Appendice 1.

personnage de la cour de Constantinople au x^e^ s.[23]. Ces manuscrits étaient donc destinés à être rassemblés, sinon reliés ensemble, du moins conservés ensemble.

D'autres ont seulement la chaîne sur les douze prophètes mineurs, qu'il s'agisse de la chaîne de Philothéos ou de l'autre type : *Laurentianus* XI 22, *Mosquensis gr.* 208, *Taurinensis* B I 2.

D'autres encore comprennent l'ensemble des seize prophètes, c'est-à-dire la réunion des œuvres de Philothéos et de Drungarios : *Ottobonianus gr.* 452 ; *Chisianus gr.* 45 (= *Chisianus* R VIII 54) ; *Laurentianus* XI 04 ; *Vaticanus gr*. 1153–1154 ; *Vaticanus gr.* 347 ; *Parisinus gr.* 159 ; *Barberinus gr.* 549 dont la fin est mutilée, ce qui explique l'absence des derniers chapitres d'*Ézéchiel* et de l'intégralité de *Daniel*.

Certains manuscrits contiennent aussi une chaîne sur un seul des Prophètes, alors toujours un prophète majeur. Le *Parisinus gr.* 158 a seulement *Jérémie* (extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios), le *Coislinianus* 17 a seulement *Ézéchiel* (extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios) : il s'agit peut-être, pour ce dernier, selon L. Vianès[24], d'un manuscrit destiné à être recopié en plusieurs exemplaires du fait de son aspect soigné, de sa belle écriture et du fait de la limitation du corpus à *Ézéchiel*. Pour *Isaïe*, le mieux représenté dans les manuscrits de chaînes, de même que dans les manuscrits de la Septante, comme en témoigne le catalogue d'A. Rahlfs[25], la situation est complexe : il arrive fréquemment qu'une chaîne sur *Isaïe* soit isolée dans un manuscrit, qu'il s'agisse de la chaîne de Nicolas Muzalon sur *Isaïe* 1–16 (*Laurentianus* V 8, *Ambrosianus* G 79 sup., *Mosquensis gr.* 25, *Monacensis gr.* 14, *etc.*), de la chaîne de Procope (*Venetus gr.* 24) ou de l'extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios (*Parisinus gr.* 155–156, *Parisinus gr.* 157, *Vaticanus* 755, *Barberinus gr*. V, 32, *Scorialensis* Y II 12 *Vindobonensis gr.* 24, *Venetus gr.* 25, *Ottobonianus gr.* 7, *Ambrosianus* S 12 sup., *etc.*).

Enfin, on trouve parfois des combinaisons un peu surprenantes (*Daniel* + *Jérémie* dans le *Vaticanus gr.* 675 et le *Vindobonensis theol. gr*. 36 , *Ézéchiel* + *Jérémie* + *Daniel* dans le *Bononiensis gr.* 2373 et le *Monacensis gr.* 117, *Jérémie* + *Ézéchiel* + *Habaquq* + *Isaïe* + *Daniel* dans le *Pii II* 18, *Ézéchiel* + *Daniel* + les Douze dans le *Basileensis gr*. B II 14, les Douze + *Isaïe* + *Jérémie* + *Ézéchiel* dans l'*Atheniensis μετόχιον τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου* 17[26]).

Je n'ai pas vraiment trouvé d'explication à ces ensembles partiels et désordonnés : on peut toutefois remarquer que seuls deux de ces manuscrits - le *Pii II*

23. H. Belting & G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas. Ein Werk der höfischen Buchkunst in Byzanz und sein antikes Vorbild,* Wiesbaden, 1979.

24. L. Vianès, *La chaîne monophysite sur Ézéchiel 36–48. Présentation, texte critique, traduction française, commentaire*, thèse pour le doctorat à l'EPHE Ve section sous la direction de M. A. Le Boulluec, soutenue en 1997, p. 120.

25. A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments*, Berlin, 1914.

26. Ce manuscrit, très abîmé, n'est malheureusement pas accessible à la consultation.

18 et le *Basileensis gr.* B II 14 - donnent des extraits des chaînes de Drungarios et Philothéos. Pour les autres, il s'agit de la chaîne partielle à deux auteurs sur Jr 1–4, groupée avec d'autres commentaires de Théodoret sur *Ézéchiel* et *Daniel* en particulier. Le problème de la cohérence du corpus se pose dans ces cas-là aussi, mais il s'agit davantage d'un ensemble de commentaires que d'un ensemble de chaînes.

En tout cas, le *Basileensis gr.* B II 14 n'a ni signatures de cahiers, ni *incipit*, ni *explicit* ou colophon, et on peut donc se demander s'il est complet[27].

Le *Vaticanus gr*. 675, quant à lui, est composé de deux parties, comme en témoignent les signatures de cahiers qui subsistent de 1 à 15 pour les ff. 1–120 (texte d'Eustrate et *Commentaire sur Daniel* de Théodoret) et de 1 à 11 pour les ff. 121–208 (chaîne partielle sur Jr 1–4 et suite du *Commentaire sur Jérémie* de Théodoret). La chaîne et le Commentaire sur *Jérémie* ont donc existé indépendamment avant d'être réunis aux deux premiers textes du recueil.

Le *Bononiensis gr.* 2373 est composé de trois parties, comme en témoignent les signatures de cahiers de 1 à 12 pour les ff. 1–144 (*Ézéchiel*), de 1 à 12 pour les ff. 145–240 (*Jérémie*) et de 1 à 12 pour les ff. 241–335 (*Daniel*) : il y a donc eu une existence indépendante de chacun des prophètes avant leur rassemblement.

Le *Monacensis gr.* 117, copié sur le précédent, reprend le même ensemble : *Ézéchiel*, *Jérémie*, *Daniel*. Il est cependant composé de deux et non plus de trois parties : les ff. 1 à 171 (*Ézéchiel*) et 172 à 397v (*Jérémie* + *Daniel*). La numérotation des cahiers commence à α et s'arrête au f. 169 juste avant le début de *Jérémie*. Il se trouve pour clore le manuscrit au f. 397v un *explicit* semblable à celui du *Bonionensis gr.* 2373. On peut noter ici la tendance à réunir en un seul élément codicologique plusieurs éléments du modèle dont on disposait[28].

Le *Vindobonensis theol. gr.* 36, lui aussi copié sur le *Bononiensis gr.* 2373, présente exactement le même ensemble que la deuxième partie de ce manuscrit et du *Monacensis gr*. 117. Les signatures des cahiers commencent à κβ (f. 1) : il manque donc au moins un livre au début (sans doute *Ézéchiel*), mais il reste toujours le problème de l'absence d'*Isaïe* dans cet ensemble et de l'ordre inhabituel du corpus qu'il présente (*Ézéchiel* + *Jérémie* + *Daniel*).

Quant au *Pii II* 18, il est composé de trois parties reliées séparément : la première partie (ff. 1–256) contient l'extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios sur *Jérémie*, la deuxième (ff. 257–528v) contient l'extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios sur *Ézéchiel* qui, là encore, a d'abord constitué un manuscrit indépendant, puisque l'on peut

27. J'ai consulté ce manuscrit sur microfilm à la section grecque de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Une consultation directe permettrait sans doute de mieux comprendre la composition du recueil.

28. B. Munk Olsen, « L'élément codicologique », in *Recherches de codicologie comparée, la composition du codex au Moyen-Age, en Orient et en Occident*, ed. Ph. Hoffmann, Paris, 1998, pp. 105–125.

voir une ancienne numérotation des folios qui va de 2 à 277, et enfin la troisième (ff. 529–727) contient des chaînes sur *Habaquq* (extrait de la chaîne de Philothéos), *Isaïe* (extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios) et *Daniel* (extrait de la chaîne de Drungarios). Là encore, pas d'*incipit* ou d'*explicit* pour mettre en lumière la cohérence de l'ensemble. Il est étrange qu'un des petits prophètes soit ici inséré dans un ensemble de grands prophètes, même si l'on peut rappeler qu'à la fin du livre de *Daniel*, Habaquq est transporté par l'ange du Seigneur à Babylone pour donner à manger au prophète enfermé dans la fosse aux lions. Ce lien littéraire a peut-être contribué à l'insertion d'*Habaquq* dans cet ensemble.

Avant de conclure sur les manuscrits de chaînes, je voudrais faire trois remarques :

Dans les onciaux de la Septante, les Douze précèdent les quatre grands prophètes (*codices Vaticanus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Marchalianus et Venetus*), sauf dans le *codex Sinaiticus* où ils les suivent[29]. Qu'en est-il dans les manuscrits des chaînes exégétiques ? Tous les manuscrits de chaînes, sans exception, qui contiennent la réunion des chaînes de Philothéos et de Drungarios, donnent d'abord les douze prophètes puis les quatre et sont en cela conformes à l'ordre du corpus prophétique majoritaire dans les manuscrits de la Septante.

En ce qui concerne l'ordre des Douze, on remarque que tous les manuscrits de chaînes concernés (*Laurentianus* XI 22 ; *Taurinensis* B I 2 ; *Ottobonianus gr.* 452 ; *Chisianus gr.* 45 ; *Vaticanus gr*. 1153–1154 ; *Vaticanus gr.* 347 ; *Parisinus gr.* 159 ; *Basileensis gr*. B II 14)[30], sauf le *Laurentianus* XI 04[31], donnent l'ordre hébreu : *Osée*, *Joël*, *Amos*, *Abdias*, *Jonas*, *Michée*, *Nahum*, *Habaquq*, *Sophonie*, *Aggée*, *Zacharie*, *Malachie* et non l'ordre grec consacré par les onciaux : *Osée*, *Amos*, *Michée*, *Joël*, *Abdias*, *Jonas*, *Nahum*, *Habaquq*, *Sophonie*, *Aggée*, *Zacharie*, *Malachie*. Il y a donc ici un élément hébraïsant qui peut être mis en relation avec la nature hexaplaire du texte biblique des chaînes. Le matériau des Hexaples est parfois signalé, voire intégré, par les caténistes quand il ne touche pas au texte même, mais à ce qui l'entoure.

Pour ce qui est des rapports entre le livre de *Jérémie* et ses suppléments, on peut signaler que le passage d'un texte à l'autre est le plus souvent marqué dans les manuscrits de chaînes par la présence des titres, parfois en rouge ou en majuscules. Mais ces passages ne donnent lieu ni à des sauts de page (sauf dans le *Matritensis* 4717 plus tardif), ni à des prologues spécifiques comme entre les différents prophètes mineurs ou majeurs. Ces suppléments restent donc inclus dans l'ensemble « *Jérémie* », comme en témoigne aussi l'inscription du nombre de

29. Cf. P.-M. Bogaert, *art. cit.*, col. 541–542.

30. Je n'ai pas pu consulter les *Mosquensis gr.* 208 et *Atheniensis μετόχιον τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου* 17 et me limite donc aux indications des catalogues.

31. Ce manuscrit donne le texte des Douze selon l'ordre grec, mais les prologues aux Douze, rassemblés au début du manuscrit, sont disposés selon l'ordre hébreu !

stiques (9425) qui se trouve à la fin de la *Lettre de Jérémie* : εἰσὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἱερεμίου θρηνητικοὶ στίχοι θυκε' « les stiques de lamentations de *Jérémie* sont au nombre de 9425 ». C'est bien l'ensemble du livre de *Jérémie* qui est ici désigné par le terme θρηνητικοί et non seulement le livre des *Lamentations* (θρῆνοι) : la formule vient clore le livre de *Jérémie*, suppléments inclus.

Pour ce qui est des rapports entre le livre de *Daniel* et ses suppléments dans les manuscrits de chaînes, on observe que, le plus souvent, l'histoire de Suzanne constitue la première vision (ὅρασις α) du livre de *Daniel*, et *Bel et le dragon* la douzième vision (ὅρασις ιβ)[32]. Il n'y a ni sauts de page, ni titres spécifiques pour ces deux textes dont l'un ouvre et l'autre clôt le livre de *Daniel*. En revanche, il faut signaler que l'histoire de Suzanne, sous le titre Δανιὴλ ὅρασις α est précédée de prologues spécifiques (lettre d'Africanus et réponse d'Origène, prologues d'Hippolyte de Rome et de Jean Chrysostome) et qu'à sa suite, avant le texte de la deuxième vision (le début du livre de *Daniel* en soi) s'insèrent des prologues d'Hippolyte de Rome et de Cyrille d'Alexandrie au livre de *Daniel*. Le caténiste a donc conscience du statut particulier de l'histoire de Suzanne, mais refuse de marquer cette distinction dans la numérotation des visions ainsi que dans le titre.

Ainsi, certains des manuscrits de chaînes donnent un corpus qui correspond à un ensemble sur lequel ont travaillé des caténistes : l'ensemble des douze prophètes mineurs ou l'ensemble des quatre prophètes majeurs ; ils présentent aussi parfois un prophète majeur seul, extrait de l'œuvre de Drungarios, ou pour lequel il existe une œuvre spécifique. On peut d'ailleurs retenir de l'analyse des combinaisons problématiques de prophètes que des chaînes sur un seul prophète majeur se sont souvent présentées comme des éléments indépendants avant d'être jointes à d'autres prophètes. Mais la consultation des manuscrits introduit un élément nouveau d'importance : la réunion des chaînes de Philothéos et de Drungarios de manière à constituer un vaste ensemble des seize prophètes.

Les différences de corpus entre les manuscrits ne peuvent pas s'expliquer par la datation, puisqu'il n'y a jamais d'uniformité du corpus dans les manuscrits à une même période entre le x^e^ s. et le xvi^e^ s.[33]. D'autre part, il est difficile d'expliquer ces divergences par l'usage fait du manuscrit ou son origine, étant donné le peu d'informations dont on dispose. En fait, pour réussir à interpréter ces éléments un peu dispersés du contenu des manuscrits, il faut prendre en considération les prologues et les conclusions des chaînes connues.

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32. Les manuscrits de la Septante se partagent à peu près équitablement en deux groupes, comme en témoigne l'apparat critique de l'édition de Göttingen (*Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis Editum*, vol. XVI/2 *Susanna-Daniel-Bel et Draco*, ed. J. Ziegler, revue par O. Munnich et D. Fraenkel, Göttingen, 1999) : ceux qui mettent à part l'histoire de Suzanne en prenant comme première vision le début du livre de *Daniel* en soi et ceux qui considèrent l'histoire de Suzanne comme la première vision.

33. Cf. Appendice 1.

Les prologues et conclusions des chaînes

La chaîne sur les petits prophètes et la chaîne sur les grands prophètes sont indépendantes, puisqu'elles ont été composées par des auteurs différents et à une époque différente. La distinction entre ces deux chaînes est renforcée par le fait qu'elles n'ont pas du tout le même genre de prologue : un seul prologue général en trimètres iambiques pour l'ensemble des douze petits prophètes dans la chaîne de Philothéos[34], quatre prologues en prose précédant les quatre livres des grands prophètes dans la chaîne de Jean Drungarios[35].

Le prologue à la chaîne de Philothéos est un texte difficile, très poétique. Il fait l'éloge des théologiens qui donnent le texte biblique assorti de commentaires et s'apparente sur la fin à une prière. Il faut cependant noter que le début fait allusion aux commentaires sur les discours « des douze témoins de Dieu puis des quatre avec eux » Δὶς ἓξ θεοπτῶν, τεττάρων τούτοις ἅμα. Il y a donc une vue globale sur les prophètes répartis en deux groupes : les Douze et les Quatre et c'est peut-être un des motifs qui ont présidé à la réunion de cette chaîne et de celle de Jean Drungarios dans les manuscrits.

Pour chacun des grands prophètes, Jean Drungarios procède d'abord à une courte introduction (presque inexistante dans le cas de *Jérémie*) rappelant le statut du livre et ses obscurités et faisant allusion à ses précédents travaux : c'est le premier paragraphe mis en valeur dans le tableau synoptique des prologues présenté dans l'appendice 3 ; ensuite, un paragraphe justifie le recours à des auteurs orthodoxes et hérétiques et un autre explique au lecteur comment lire la chaîne sans être trop interrompu par les appels de note des commentaires. Ces deux derniers paragraphes sont exactement ou quasiment identiques pour les quatre prologues. Les similitudes entre ces prologues soulignent que les chaînes ont un auteur commun et qu'elles appartiennent à une unique œuvre sur les quatre grands prophètes. Il est intéressant en outre de remarquer que chaque prophète est considéré comme un livre à part entière, comme en témoignent les expressions suivantes : Τῆς προφητείας τοῦ θεσπεσίου Ἡσαΐου τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου τῶν προφητῶν τὴν βίβλον « le livre de la prophétie du divin Isaïe, celui des prophètes qui a la voix la plus forte », τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ « le lecteur de ce livre-ci (*Ézéchiel*) », ἀρχὴν ποιοῦμαι τῆς προκειμένης βίβλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δανιὴλ προφητείας τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ταῖς προτέραις τῶν προφητῶν βίβλοις « je commence le présent livre qui porte sur la prophétie du divin Daniel en conservant la même disposition que dans les précédents livres des prophètes ». Cela explique sans doute pourquoi le prologue est répété au début de chaque prophète, mais aussi pourquoi les prophètes majeurs constituent parfois des éléments indépendants dans les manuscrits. On peut insister sur le fait que le prologue du caténiste

34. Cf. Appendice 2.
35. Cf. Appendice 3.

désigne Isaïe comme celui des prophètes qui a la voix la plus forte, car cela vient appuyer l'existence de différents types de chaînes sur *Isaïe* et la surreprésentation de celles-ci dans les manuscrits.

À l'origine de la réunion des chaînes de Philothéos et de Drungarios dans les manuscrits, on peut évoquer l'organisation parallèle des deux chaînes : la chaîne sur les Douze est précédée du prologue du caténiste, puis du prologue du Commentaire de Théodoret et d'un prologue anonyme[36] ; or, de la même manière, pour la chaîne de Jean Drungarios, chacun des grands prophètes est précédé d'un prologue du caténiste et de plusieurs prologues de commentaires patristiques. Le fait que ce parallèle d'organisation puisse présider à la réunion des deux chaînes dans les manuscrits est assez probant dans le cas de *Jérémie* : en effet quatre des six manuscrits des chaînes exégétiques de *Jérémie* qui comportent le prologue du caténiste (*Ottobonianus gr.* 452 ; *Chisianus gr.* 45 ; *Vaticanus gr*. 1153–1154 ; *Parisinus gr.* 159) sont des manuscrits où la chaîne de Jean Drungarios est jointe à celle de Philothéos. Les prologues des caténistes semblent donc être des éléments qui conduisent les copistes à rassembler les deux chaînes dans le même manuscrit.

On peut aussi remarquer que, pour chacun des petits prophètes, comme pour chacun des grands prophètes, il y a en conclusion l'extrait des *Vies de prophètes* les concernant dans la deuxième recension d'Épiphane. Cet élément commun a sans doute aidé à la réunion des deux œuvres dans les manuscrits, même s'il s'agit ici d'un parallèle entre chacun des petits prophètes et des grands prophètes et non plus entre l'ensemble des Douze et chacun des Quatre. Cette réunion des petits et grands prophètes dans les manuscrits de chaînes nous renvoie à la section conventionnelle des seize prophètes dans les manuscrits grecs de la Bible.

Ainsi, le corpus prophétique proposé par les chaînes exégétiques est original et éclectique : elles empruntent, d'une part, un élément de la Bible hébraïque avec l'ordre des Douze et reflètent, d'autre part, l'organisation majoritaire des manuscrits de la Septante avec la place des quatre grands prophètes après les Douze, la fréquence d'un ensemble de seize prophètes et l'importance accordée à certains livres (*Isaïe*). Enfin, elles illustrent aussi les différentes réflexions des Pères sur le corpus prophétique, c'est-à-dire la distinction entre le groupe des douze prophètes mineurs et le groupe des quatre prophètes majeurs, puisqu'il existe bien deux œuvres distinctes pour ces deux ensembles, ainsi que la notion de « Pentateuque des Prophètes », puisque, si les Douze sont considérés comme un ensemble, chaque grand prophète est en revanche considéré comme un livre en soi et peut exister indépendamment des autres grands prophètes et des petits prophètes.

36. Chacun des petits prophètes est à nouveau précédé d'un argument (ὑπόθεσις) de Théodoret et d'une description du contenu des chapitres (κεφάλαια).

Appendice 1 : classement des manuscrits selon le corpus prophétique

slt les 4 gds	slt les 12 pts	les 12 + les 4	1 seul prophète majeur	combinaisons problématiques
Laurentianus V 9 (XI s.)	*Taurinensis* B I 2 (XI s.)	*Barberinus gr.* 549 (IX–X s.)	*Parisinus gr.* 155–156 (X s.)	*Vaticanus gr.* 675 (XII s.)
Matritensis 4671 (XVI s.)	*Laurentianus* XI 22 (XIII s.)	*Chisianus gr.* 45 (X s.)	*Mosquensis gr.* 25 (XI s.)	*Vindobonensis theol. gr*. 36 (XVI s.) **(Daniel + Jérémie)**
Matritensis 4717 (XVI s.)	*Mosquensis gr.* 208 (XIII s.)	*Ottobonianus gr.* 452 (XI s.)	*Vaticanus gr.* 755 (X–XI s.)	
		Laurentianus XI 04 (XI s.)	*Scorialensis* Y II 12 (XI s.)	*Bononiensis gr.* 2373 (XI s.)
		Vaticanus gr. 347 (XI s.)	*Laurentianus* V 8 (XII s.)	*Monacensis gr.* 117 (XVI s.) **(Ézéchiel + Jérémie + Daniel)**
		Vaticanus gr. 1153–54 (XII s.)	*Ambrosianus* G 79 sup. (XII s.)	
		Parisinus gr. 159 (XIII s.)	*Parisinus gr.* 157 (XII s.)	
			Venetus gr. 25 (XII–XIII s.)	
			Barberinus gr. V 32 (XIII s.)	*Basileensis gr*. B II 14 (XIII s.) **(Ézéchiel + Daniel + les 12)**
			Vindobonensis theol. gr. 24 (XIII s.)	
			Ambrosianus S 12 sup. (XV s.)	*Atheniensis μετόχιον τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου* 17 (XIV s.) **(les 12 + Isaïe + Jérémie + Ézéchiel)**
			Monacensis gr. 14 (XVI s.)	
			Ottobonianus gr. 7 (XVI s.) **(Isaïe)**	
			Parisinus gr. 158 (XII s.)	*Pii II* 18 (XVI s.) **(Jérémie / Ézéchiel / Habacuc + Isaïe + Daniel)**
			Vaticanus gr. 1204 (XVI s.) **(Jérémie)**	
			Coislinianus 17 (XIII s.) **(Ézéchiel)**	

Appendice 2 : prologue du caténiste à la chaîne des douze petits prophètes[37]

Χρυσογραφοῦσι δέλτον οἱ θεηγόροι
Προφητικάς τε πνευματοφθέγγους φράσεις
Σαφῶς τρανοῦντες ταῖς διαυγείαις ἴσαις
Δὶς ἓξ θεοπτῶν, τεττάρων τούτοις ἅμα·
Διευκρινοῦσι τοὺς λόγους λεπτῇ θέᾳ·
Θεῖοι ναοὶ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ πεφηνότες
Ἄμφω στομοῦνται πυρσομόρφως τὰς φράσεις,
Ὅθεν ψιλοῦντες τὴν βαθύγλωσσον χάριν
Τὸ γράμμα λευκὸν, οὐ μέλαν τῷ πτυκτίῳ
Ἱστῶσι προῦπτον τοῖς σχολάζουσι πόθῳ,
Ὧν εἷς πέφυκε ψυχικῶς θησαυρίσας
Τὴν βίβλον ᾗπερ μαργάρων τοὺς ἐντίμους
Φιλόθεος ὁ ταῖς γραφαῖς τεθραμμένος,
Ὃν ἡ τριφεγγὴς τοῦ θεοῦ πανταρχία
Ἔνθεν κἀκεῖθεν ἐξελεῖται τῶν πόνων,
Λιταῖς ἀλήκτοις τῆς φαεσφόρου κόρης,
Νόων ἁπάντων τοῦ πόλου πυριπνόων
Καὶ τοῦ μεγίστου προδρόμου τοῦ δεσπότου
Καὶ τοῦ χοροῦ τε τῶν φυτητῶν (sic) τοῦ λόγου,
Αὐτῶν προφητῶν τοῦ παρόντος πυξίου
Καὶ μαρτύρων δὲ τῶν θεοστεφῶν πάλιν,
Θεοδωρήτου τοῦ σοφοῦ ἑρμηνέως
Καὶ τοῦ τεθέντος προσφόρως· θεοῦ δόσις.
Ναὶ μὴν γένοιτο, Χριστὲ σῶτερ παντάναξ.

37. Ed. M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-catenen nach römischen Handschriften,* Biblische Studien, IV, 2–3, Freiburg, 1899, pp. 26–27.

Les théologiens écrivent en lettres d'or la table <de la loi>
et les voix inspirées des prophètes
en expliquant clairement par des lueurs égales
les discours des douze témoins de Dieu et des quatre avec eux ;
Ils analysent les paroles par une contemplation minutieuse ;
En effet, les temples divins, qui brillent, ouvrent tous deux
à la manière d'une torche les discours de Dieu ;
après quoi, dépouillant la grâce au langage profond,
ils disposent la lettre blanche et non noire sur l'ouvrage
afin qu'elle soit visible pour ceux qui se consacrent au désir <spirituel> ;
l'un d'eux a conservé en son âme
le livre comme des perles précieuses,
Philothéos formé à la littérature,
que la toute-puissance trinitaire de Dieu
soustrait ici et là aux maux,
grâce aux prières incessantes de la jeune fille porteuse de lumière,
de tous les esprits du ciel au souffle de feu,
du très grand précurseur du maître,
du chœur des semeurs de la parole,
eux-mêmes prophètes du présent ouvrage
et aussi des témoins couronnés par Dieu,
de Théodoret le sage interprète
et qui est dit avec raison : Don de Dieu.
Qu'il en soit ainsi, Christ sauveur Seigneur de l'univers.

Appendice 3 : prologues du caténiste aux quatre grands prophètes[38]

prologue du caténiste à *Isaïe*

Τῆς προφητείας τοῦ θεσπεσίου Ἡσαΐου τοῦ μεγαλοφωνοτάτου τῶν προφητῶν τὴν βίβλον μετὰ χεῖρας λαβὼν καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν ποιησάμενος καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκων τῆς τῶν γεγραμμένων διανοίας ἐφικέσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότας ἤγουν ὑπομνηματίσαντας ἀνέδραμον καὶ τὴν λύσιν τῶν ζητουμένων διαφόρως ὡς οἷόν τε εὑρὼν, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ παραθέσθαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἐτυγχάνουσι κατάδηλος τῶν ἀπορουμένων ἡ σαφήνεια γένηται.

Μηδεὶς δὲ ὡς ἑτεροδόξων ἑρμηνείας συναγαγόντι ἐγκαλείτω, φημὶ δὴ Ὠριγένους καὶ Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Καισαρείας καὶ Θεοδώρου Ἡρακλείας καὶ Εὐσεβίου Ἐμέσης καὶ Ἀπολιναρίου καὶ Θεοδωρίτου Κύρου · ἐν οἷς γὰρ μὴ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων δογμάτων διαλέγονται, ἔστιν ὅτε καλῶς ἐπιβάλλονται. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτονόμως πεποίηκα ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθήσας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοχρίστου μεγαλοπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή ·*

prologue du caténiste à *Jérémie*

Χρὴ, καθὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς προλαβούσαις βίβλοις τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ταῖς παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ παραγραφείσαις ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων αἱ παραγραφαὶ ἔγκεινται ἐκφεύγουσαι τὰ ἀπᾴδοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως δόγματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰρημένα. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτονόμως πεποίηκα ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθήσας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου

38. Ed. M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-catenen nach römischen Handschriften,* Biblische Studien, IV, 2–3, Freiburg, 1899, pp. 192–96.

prologue du caténiste à *Ézéchiel*

Χρὴ **τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ** γινώσκειν, ὅτι πολλὰ ἐπιζητήσας ὑπομνήματα τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων εἰς τὸν θεσπέσιον προφήτην Ἰεζεκιὴλ εἰρημένα εὑρεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθην ἢ μόνον ἔν τισι λόγοις αὐτῶν ὡς ἐν παραδρομῇ τινων ῥητῶν μνησθέντων καὶ ἑρμηνευσάντων· Θεοδωρίτου τε καὶ Πολυχρονίου τῶν αἱρετικῶν εὗρον οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Ὠριγένους, ἃ καὶ ἐνέθηκα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ. Εὗρον δὲ καὶ ἑτέρας παραγραφὰς μηδαμῶς φερούσας τοῦ συγγραψαμένου τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, ἃς καὶ παρέθηκα ἐπιθήσας ταῖς αὐταῖς παραγραφαῖς τὸ ἄλλος.

Μηδεὶς δὲ καταμεμφέσθω ὡς αἱρετικῶν χρήσεις ἤγουν παραγραφὰς συναγαγόντι. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ αὐτονόμως τοῦτο ἔπραξα, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθήσας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοχρίστου πόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή · πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.*

prologue du caténiste à *Daniel*

Τῇ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου καὶ παντοδυνάμου θεοῦ χάριτι θαρρῶν τῇ καὶ τοὺς κατ᾽ ἐμὲ ἀσθενεῖς ἐνδυναμούσῃ **ἀρχὴν ποιοῦμαι τῆς προκειμένης βίβλου τοῦ θεσπεσίου Δανιὴλ προφητείας τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ταῖς προτέραις τῶν προφητῶν βίβλοις** καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ φυλάττων καὶ διὰ τῶν παραγραφῶν τὸν νοῦν ἐκκαλύπτων τῶν ταύτην ἐξηγησαμένων.

Χρὴ δὲ, καθὰ καὶ τῶν προτέρων τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς βίβλων ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐκ πολλῶν πονημάτων ἁγίων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων πατέρων οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοκίμων ἐξηγητῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν μοίρας τυγχανόντων αἱ παραγραφαὶ ἔγκεινται ἐκφεύγουσαι τὰ ἀπᾴδοντα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς παραδόσεως δόγματα τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰρημένα. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ αὐτονόμως πεποίηκα ἀλλ᾽ ἀκολουθήσας τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ ἡμῶν πατρὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου φιλοχρίστου μεγαλοπόλεως

πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ κατάδηλον ποιῶ τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν, ὡς ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος μέρος τι τῆς ἐν χερσὶ προφητείας ἡρμήνευσεν, ἥτις ἑρμηνεία παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀμφιβάλλεται.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ᾠήθην καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι τῷδε τῷ προοιμίῳ πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν · ἴστωσαν γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον διαφόρως ἠνέχθησαν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οἱ ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότες ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας γραφῆς οὐκ ἴσως διεστείλαντο καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐπέθηκαν · ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλείους ὁ δὲ ἥττους στίχους προθέμενος τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκ τούτου δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι ἀναχαιτίζειν τοὺς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς τὸ πρόσω βαίνειν. Χρὴ οὖν ἓν καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἑρμηνείας ἵν᾽ εὐσύνοπτα ὦσι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ νοήματα.

φιλοχρίστου μεγαλοπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή· πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.*

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ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ Κυρίλλῳ φήσαντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς Εὐλόγιον ἐπιστολῇ· *οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοὶ φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή· πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν.*

Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἀναγκαῖον ᾠήθην εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐ πάντες οἱ ἑρμηνευταὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐν τῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐφύλαξαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν πλείονος μέρους λαβόμενος τοῦ ἐδάφους, ὁ δὲ ἥττονος τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐπήγαγεν ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἐπικείμενος ἀριθμὸς δοκεῖ ἐγκόπτειν τὸν τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντα καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν περαιτέρω τούτου προβαίνειν. Χρὴ οὖν τὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα ἓνα καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἀριθμὸν ἀναγινώσκειν τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς θείας γραφῆς καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἑρμηνείαν διέρχεσθαι · βλάβη γὰρ ἐκ τούτου οὐδεμία γενήσεται, τοὐναντίον δὲ καὶ ὠφελεία τῶν νοημάτων ἀκριβέστερον τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς τῇ διανοίᾳ ἐκτιθεμένων καὶ οὕτως ἐν τάξει τῆς ἑρμηνείας ἐγγιγνομένης.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ᾠήθην καὶ τοῦτο προσθεῖναι τῷδε τῷ προοιμίῳ πρὸς φανέρωσιν καὶ σαφήνειαν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν· ἴστωσαν γὰρ ὡς οὐ μόνον διαφόρως ἠνέχθησαν ἐν τοῖς νοήμασι τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οἱ ταύτην ἡρμηνευκότες ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ῥητὰ τῆς αὐτῆς θείας γραφῆς οὐκ ἴσως διεστείλαντο καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἑρμηνείαν ἐπέθηκαν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ πλείους ὁ δὲ ἥττους στίχους προθέμενος τὴν ἐξήγησιν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐκ τούτου δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀριθμοὶ οἱ τοῖς κεφαλαίοις ἐπικείμενοι ἀναχαιτίζειν τοὺς τὸ ἔδαφος ἀναγινώσκοντας εἰς τὸ πρόσω βαίνειν. Χρὴ οὖν ἓν καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον κεφάλαιον τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἀναγινώσκειν καὶ οὕτω τὰς ἐγκειμένας ἑρμηνείας ἵν᾽ εὐσύνοπτα ὦσι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὰ νοήματα.

Die sogenannten *'Ebed-Jahwe*-Lieder in der Septuaginta

Evangelia G. Dafni

Abstract: Vorliegender Beitrag verfolgt die Hauptabsicht, die *sprachtheologischen* Aspekte, die mit den charakteristischen Vokabeln ὄνομα, εἶδος und πόνος in der Septuaginta der sogenannten 'Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder angesprochen werden, zu klassifizieren und im Hinblick auf ihre Aussagekraft zu würdigen. Besondere Aufmerksamkeit wird der Frage geschenkt, ob die Lieder in der Septuaginta u.a. auch aufgrund der Analogie zwischen παῖς Κυρίου ('Ebed-Jahwe) und παῖς Διός (Herkules) doch in *Gottessohnlieder* umbenannt werden können.

I. Einleitendes

Der formgeschichtlich geprägte Begriff „'Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder" wird grundsätzlich für vier Textabschnitte im Jesajabuch (MT) verwendet: 42:1–4; 49:1–6; 50:4–9 und 52:13–53:12,[1] die immer wieder exegetisch aufgegriffen und theologisch kontrovers diskutiert werden. Die logisch-theologische Frage, die sich mit diesen Abschnitten verbindet, ist: Was versteht man unter „'Ebed-Jahwe"? Wie eine kaum noch überschaubare Fülle von Einzeluntersuchungen zeigt, gibt es mehrere strittige Lösungsvorschläge, die im Laufe der Forschungsgeschichte mit mancherlei Abänderungen wiederkehren.[2] S. Mowinckel hat in seinem Werk „Der Knecht

1. B. Duhm, Das Buch Jesaja, HK.AT III/1, Göttingen (1892) 1922[4], 14.19 und z.St. Vgl. E. Ruprecht, Die Auslegungsgeschichte zu den sogenannten Gottesknechtsliedern im Buch Deuterojesaja unter methodischen Gesichtspunkten bis zu Bernhard Duhm, Diss-Universität-Heidelberg 1972.

2. Vgl. u.v.a. K. Budde, Die sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder und die Bedeutung des Knechtes in Jes 40–55, Gießen 1900. F. Giesebrecht, Der Knecht Jahves des Deuterojesaja, Königsberg 1902. S. Mowinckel, Der Knecht Jahwäs, NTT 2.22, Kristiania 1921 (= Gießen 1921). H. Greßmann, Der Messias, FRLANT 26, Göttingen 1929, 285–340. O. Eißfeldt, Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja (Jes. 40–55) im Lichte der israelitischen Anschauung von Gemeinschaft und Individuum, BRGA 2, Halle 1933. E. Sellin, Die Lösung des deuterojesajanischen Gottesknechträtsels, ZAW 55 (1937) 177–217. L.M. v. Pákozdy, Deuterojesajanische Studien II: Der Ebed Jahweh in der Theologie Deuterojesajas, Debrecen 1940. A. Bentzen, Messias, Moses redivivus, Menschensohn, AThANT 17, Zürich 1948. I. Engnell, The Ebed-Yahveh-Songs and the Suf-

Jahwäs" (1921) eine Skizze der wichtigsten Deutungsversuche vorgelegt und damit versucht zum einen die Umrisse der verschiedenen Ebenen, auf denen die 'Ebed-Jahwe-Frage verhandelt wird, scharf zu zeichnen und zum anderen seinen eigenen Neuansatz: 'Ebed-Jahwe sei der redende Prophet bzw. Deuterojesaja selber, klar und deutlich zu artikulieren. Diese bis heute im Wesentlichen aktuell bleibende Skizze gliedert sich in zwei Rubriken: 1) 'Ebed-Jahwe als ein Individuum, welches rein „eschatologisch-messianisch" (Christus, Messias, ein zukünftiger Moses redivivus, ein leidender und sterbender Mysteriengott) oder „zeitgeschichlich" (eine geschichtliche Person: Serubbabel, Jojachin, Jeremia, Nehemia, Deuterojesaja, der Märtyrer Eleasar, ein unbekannter, leidender Toralehrer u.a.) gedeutet wird. 2) 'Ebed-Jahwe als „prophetisch-poetische Personifikation einer Mehrheit" (das mehr oder weniger ideal gefärbte und verklärte Israel, die Propheten, die Gesetzestreuen, die Toralehrer).

Mit ähnlichen Lösungsvorschlägen haben sich anscheinend auch die LXX-Übersetzer auseinandergesetzt. Die Spuren, die diese Auseinandersetzung bei der Übersetzung des Jesajabuches hinterlassen hat, können wir heute nur durch intensives Nachforschen der Ausdrucks- und Inhaltsseite der uns zur Verfügung stehenden handschriftlichen Überlieferung der LXX entdecken, die sich mehr oder weniger in den kritischen Ausgaben niederschlägt. Im Folgenden soll versucht werden, anhand von charakteristischen Sprachbeispielen größere Sinnzusammenhänge kurz darzustellen.[3]

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fering Messiah in Deutero-Isaiah, BJRL 31 (1948) 54–93. C.R. North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero Isaiah, London (1948) 1956. J. Lindblom, The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah, Lund 1951. R. Preß, Der Gottesknecht im Alten Testament, ZAW 67 (1955) 67–99. J. Morgenstern, The Suffering Servant. A New Solution, VT 12 (1961) 292–320.406–431. O. Kaiser, Der königliche Knecht, FRLANT 70, Göttingen 1962[2]. W.M.W. Roth, The Anonymity of the Suffering Servant, JBL 83 (1964) 171–179. H.H. Rowley, The Servant of the Lord and Other Essays on the Old Testament, Oxford 1965[2]. H.M. Orlinsky, The So-Called „Servant of the Lord" and „Suffering Servant" in Second Isaiah, in: ders./N.H. Snaith, Studies on the Second Part of the Book of Isaiah, VTS 14, Leiden 1967, 1–133. H. Junker, Der Sinn der sogenannten Ebed-Jahwe-Stücke, TThZ 79 (1970) 1-12. A.S. Kapelrud, The Identity of the Suffering Servant, in: H. Goedicke (Hg.), Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W.F. Albright, Garden City u.a. 1971, 307–314. Zuletzt T.N.D. Mettinger, A Farewell to the Servant Songs. A Critical Examination of an Exegetical Axiom, SMHVL 1982–1983, Lund 1983. H. Haag, Der Gottesknecht bei Deuterojesaja, EdF 233, Darmstadt (1985) 1993. O.H. Steck, Gottesknecht und Zion. Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Deuterojesaja, FAT 4, Tübingen 1992. B. Janowski/P. Stuhlmacher (Hg.), Der leidende Gottesknecht. Jesaja 53 und seine Wirkungsgeschichte mit einer Bibliographie zu Jes 53, FAT 14, Tübingen 1996. Übergreifendes v.a. auch in: D. Michel, Art. Deuterojesaja: 5. Die Ebed-Lieder, TRE VIII, 521–530 (Lit.). Vgl. K. Baltzer, Art. Gottesknecht, RGG[4] 3, 1224–1226.

3. Zu den Einzelnheiten der LXX-Exegese siehe E.R. Ekblad Jr., Isaiah´s Servant Poems according to the Septuagint. An Exegetical and Theological Study, CBET 23, Leuven 1999 (Diss).

II. Leserorientiertes Verstehen und Übersetzen der Hebräischen Vorlage?

1. Wer den zweiten Teil des Jesajabuches nach der LXX für sich liest, gewinnt allmählich den Eindruck, dass die ‘Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder nicht ohne Jes 41:1–4.8–16 zu verstehen sind. Denn dort wird die Erwählung und die Aufgabe des ‘Ebed-Jahwe als kollektive Größe d.h. als Sinnbild für das Volk Israel sprachlich und gedanklich begründet.

2. Nur das erste (42:1–4) und vierte Lied (52:13–53:12) scheinen schon beim ersten Lesen von einem Einzelnen zu handeln,[4] der weder ein König oder Priester, noch ein Prophet sein kann. Dass dieser Einzelne nicht ein gewöhnlicher Mensch ist—wenn auch ein Charismatiker—sondern der in der (als Endzeit verstandenen) Zeit der Fertigstellung der LXX-Übersetzung des Jesajabuches verstärkt erwartete *Messias*, ergibt sich m.E. nicht bloß aus der externen Evidenz des neutestamentlichen Zeitalters,[5] sondern auch aus präzisen Formulierungen des LXX-Jesajabuches wie z.B. LXX-Jes 31:1ff., wo gesagt wird, dass die Menschen ihre Hoffnung überhaupt nicht auf Menschen setzen sollen, sondern allein auf Gott.

3. Der gedankliche Kontrast zwischen Jes 41 und dem ersten und vierten ‘Ebed-Jahwe-Lied dient der verhältnismäßig genaueren Abgrenzung der Einheiten und trägt zur Differenzierung zwischen kollektiven Aussagen, die auf die Vergangenheit und die Zukunft des Gottesvolkes bezogen sind, und individuellen Aussagen, die auf die Zukunft der ganzen Menschheit und den ‘Ebed-Jahwe hinweisen, bei.

4. Wenn man nun von der traditionellen Abgrenzung ausgehend die ‘Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder nach der LXX liest, so stellt man fest, dass sich das zweite (49:1–6) und dritte Lied (50:4–9) nicht auf eine individuelle Größe beziehen, sondern eher auf das „mehr oder weniger ideal gefärbte“ Volk hinweisen, weil sie sprachlich und gedanklich die Geschichtlichkeit Israels ansprechen. Sie handeln von der Leidensthematik und tragen zu ihrem theologischen Verständnis bei mittels phraseologischen Anspielungen auf das Elend des Volkes in Ägypten und das Exodus-Geschehen.[6] Erst beim wiederholten Lesen und unter Berücksichtigung des ersten und vierten Liedes können sie in Richtung eines Einzelnen interpretiert werden, wobei die für das Volk und den Einzelnen verwendeten Bilder hier ausgetauscht werden.

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4. Vgl. W. Zimmerli, Art. παῖς θεοῦ, ThWNT V, 675f.

5. Vgl. E. Lohmeyer, Gottesknecht und Davidsohn, FRLANT 43, Göttingen 1953[2]. H.W. Wolff, Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum. Mit einem Vorwort von P. Stuhlmacher, Gießen 1984[4]. Zuletzt v.a. M. Hengel, Zur Wirkungsgeschichte von Jes 53 in vorchristlicher Zeit, in: B. Janowski/P. Stuhlmacher (Hg.), Der leidende Gottesknecht, 49–92.

6. Siehe unten πόνος-Aussagen.

5. Anlage, Aufbau und Durchführung der ʻEbed-Jahwe–Thematik sind innerhalb der hebräischen Bibel unterschiedlich. So prägt sich auch der Übersetzungsvorgang von Lied zu Lied sprachlich unterschiedlich aus: *Das erste Lied* spricht vorwiegend von der Erwählung und der Gerechtigkeit des ʻEbed-Jahwe, die nicht bloß das auserwählte Bundesvolk[7] betrifft, sondern vor allem die Völker, zumal der ʻEbed-Jahwe zum Licht und zur Hoffnung (LXX) aller Völker/Nationen[8] wird. *Das zweite Lied* greift die Bezeichnung des ʻEbed-Jahwe als „Bund des Volkes und Licht der Völker"[9] auf. Hier spricht nicht Jahwe selbst sondern der ʻEbed-Jahwe, der seine Aufgabe annimmt und erklärt wodurch sie erfüllt wird, nämlich durch seinen „Mund, der wie ein scharfes Schwert" sein wird.[10] *Im dritten Lied* wird die Aussage „Mund wie ein scharfes Schwert" präzisiert. Es wird gesprochen von „einer gelehrten Zunge" bzw. nach LXX von einer „Sprache, die dazu dient, das Volk zu erziehen."[11] *Das vierte Lied* erzählt, dass diese „Sprache der göttlichen Erziehung" missverstanden wird. Das Volk denkt, der ʻEbed-Jahwe sei hoch verschuldet und deshalb stumm und ohne Namen (MT) bzw. Ehre (LXX). Daher wird er verachtet und zum Schluss getötet.[12]

6. Was den thematischen Horizont der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder nach der LXX angeht, können wir sowohl gemeinsame Motive erkennen, als auch nur auf ein einzelnes Lied bezogene Formulierungen, die seinen eigentümlichen Charakter betonen. Es liegt die Vermutung nah, dass es sich bei diesen charakteristischen Formulierungen um markante Wortverbindungen[13] und Sätze[14] handelt, die einem in Erinnerung bleiben sollten. Und das andere konnte verblassen und allmählich in Vergessenheit geraten.

7. Das Verhältnis der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder zueinander wird sowohl im MT als auch in der LXX mit Inklusionen veranschaulicht, die mögliche Ansatzpunkte für das Verständnis ihrer Tiefenstruktur vorführen.

8. Qualitative sowie quantitative Abweichungen sind vor allem im Zusammenhang mit den charakteristischen Vokabeln ὄνομα, εἶδος und πόνος

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7. Vgl. die Bezeichnung διαθήκη γένους in LXX-Jes 42:6; 49:6.8(txt).

8. Φῶς ἐθνῶν in LXX-Jes 42:6; 49:6.8; 51:4f. Vgl. LXX-Jes 2:5; 9:2; 60:19.20; 62:1.

9. LXX-Jes 42:6; 49:6.8.

10. LXX-Jes 49:2 vgl. 51:16.

11. Γλῶσσα παιδείας in LXX-Jes 50:4.

12. LXX-Jes 53:8 (αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνομιῶν τοῦ λαοῦ μου ἤχθη εἰς θάνατον). 12 (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ).

13. Siehe z.B. LXX-Jes 49:6 (διαθήκη γένους, φῶς ἐθνῶν); 50:4 (γλῶσσα παιδείας); 53:5 (παιδεία εἰρήνης). 10 (σπέρμα μακρόβιον). 11 (πόνος ψυχῆς).

14. Siehe z.B. LXX-Jes 42:1 (προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου). 4 (ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι); 49:1 (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου). 2 (ἔθηκεν τὸ στόμα μου ὡσεὶ μάχαιραν ὀξεῖαν); 50:6 (τὸν νῶτόν μου δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας, τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπτυσμάτων); 53:7 (ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη). 12 (παρεδόθη εἰς θάνατον ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτοῦ), (ἐν τοῖς ἀνόμοις ἐλογίσθη), (αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν καὶ διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν παρεδόθη).

festzustellen. Durch ihren Gebrauch scheinen sogar alle wichtigen Züge der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder in der LXX zusammengeschlossen zu sein. Diese Züge vereinigen sich in der Gestalt von παῖς Κυρίου.[15]

9. Neben den äußerst interessanten und hermeneutisch sehr ergiebigen, inhaltlichen Querverbindungen im Zuge der Gesamtübersetzung des Jesajabuches, ermöglichen uns die Vokabeln ὄνομα,[16] εἶδος[17] und πόνος[18] die Klassifizierung des in den Liedern zusammengestellten alttestamentlichen Sprach- und Gedankenguts und erlauben uns, Trennungslinien zwischen Volk und Messias zu ziehen. Von diesen umfassenden Termini scheint ein neuer, theologischer Impetus auszugehen. Deshalb ist es m.E. sinnvoll, die logisch-semantischen Aspekte, die mit den betreffenden Vokabeln angesprochen werden, sowie die spezifischen Äußerungssituationen, in die sie eingebettet sind, aus nächster Nähe zu betrachten und im Hinblick auf ihre Aussagekraft zu prüfen.

III. Zur Klassifikation des Sprach- und Gedankenguts in der Septuaginta der sogenannten ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder

1. Onoma

Einen grundlegenden Unterschied zwischen MT und LXX stellt die Aussage καὶ ἐπὶ τῳ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι dar, die zugleich einen wichtigen Anstoß zu der Interpretation der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder gibt. Diese Aussage kommt nur in LXX-Jes 42:4 vor. Im hebräischen Text wird unmissverständlich vom Gottesrecht (משפט)[19]—parallel zu seinem Gesetz (תורה)—gesprochen, auf das die Inseln warten. Die „Inseln" (איים) können in diesem Kontext als Bezeichnung von Menschengruppen, die abgesondert sind, angesehen werden, während die „Völker/Nationen" (ἔθνη) als kommunale Größen gedacht sind, die nach Gott suchen und in einer eschatologisch gefärbten Zukunft Weihgeschenke und Huldigungsgaben nach Jerusalem und zum Berg Zion tragen werden, vgl. Jes 18:7. Für die LXX, die an dieser Stelle eine andere Vorlage zu haben scheint als der MT, sind nicht Gottes Recht und Gerechtigkeit als abstrakte Begriffe wichtig, sondern der Name des Kommenden, der Gottes Recht und Gerechtigkeit auf Erden geltend machen wird. Der übersetzte Text beschreibt als eine entscheidende Wendung in der Menschheitsgeschichte die Tendenz der Völker, alle ihre Hoffnung auf den Namen des ʻEbed-Jahwe zu setzen. Es ist *sprachtheologisch* von

15. Vgl. LXX-Jes 41:8f.; 42:1; 49:6; 52:13.
16. LXX-Jes 42:4; 49:1.
17. LXX-Jes 52:14; 53:2.3.
18. LXX-Jes 49:4; 53:4.11.
19. Dazu J. Jeremias, Mišpat im ersten Gottesknechtlied, VT 22 (1972) 31–42.

unverzichtbarer Wichtigkeit, dass gerade dieser Gedanke Sondergut der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder nach der LXX ist.

Richtet man nun sein Augenmerk auf die übrigen LXX-Belege des Jesajabuches, die von der Hoffnung der Völker auf Gott sprechen, so stellt man fest, dass davon nur noch in LXX-Jes 11:10 (ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσι [MT aber: ידרשו]), 18:7 (ἔθνος ἐλπίζον καὶ καταπεπατημένον [MT aber: גוי קו־קו ומבוסה]) und Jes 51:5 ([νῆσοι] εἰς τὸν βραχίονά μου bzw. [ἔθνη] ἐλπιοῦσι [MT aber: לי איים יקוו ואל־זרעי ייחלון)] die Rede ist. Die Aussage „Die Völker/Nationen werden auf seinen Namen hoffen" (LXX-Jes 42:4) ist m.E. deshalb im Rückblick auf LXX-Jes 11:10 (der Sproß aus der Wurzel Isais und die Nationen) und LXX-Jes18:7 (der Herr Zebaoth und die Nation, die [auf Gott] hofft und zertreten wurde) und in Vorausschau auf LXX-Jes 51:5 (der Arm des Herrn und die Inseln/Nationen) zu verstehen. Nach ihrer allgemeinen Intention könnte sie vielleicht mit folgenden Psalmenaussagen verglichen werden, die von der Hoffnung der Menschen auf Gott und sein Heil sprechen, ohne zwischen Israel und den anderen Völkern zu unterscheiden, was ihnen universalen Charakter verleiht:

> LXX-Ps 5:11 (πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ σέ); 17:30 (ὑπερασπιστὴς πάντων τῶν ἐλπιζόντων ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν); 30:24 (πάντες οἱ ἐλπίζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον); 31:10 (τὸν δὲ ἐλπίζοντα ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον ἔλεος κυκλώσει); 32:18 (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ … τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ); aber 77:22 (οὐδὲ ἤλπισαν ἐπὶ τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ). Ferner 83:12 (μακάριος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὁ ἐλπίζων ἐπὶ σέ); 144:15 (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ πάντων εἰς σὲ ἐλπίζουσιν); 146:11 (καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐλπίζουσι ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ).

Damit wird aber auch das Kommen und Wirken des ʻEbed-Jahwe mit dem Jahwes gleichgesetzt und bekommt dadurch einen universellen Anspruch.

Nun zurück zu der Frage: *Wie ist der Name des ʻEbed-Jahwe?* Zudem fragt man sich: Ist der Anklang an ʻObed der Davidlinie (Ruth 4:21f.) gewollt? Gibt es einen zeitlichen Zusammenhang zwischen der Abfassung der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder und der des Epilogs vom Buch Ruth, der von der Genealogie Davids handelt? Eine andere Deutungsmöglichkeit ist die Verbindung mit Mose und den Propheten, die in der Hebräischen Bibel auch als Gottesknechte bezeichnet werden.[20] Der LXX-Übersetzer scheint aber keine direkte Erklärung abgeben zu wollen.

Den ersten Hinweis auf die Identität des ʻEbed-Jahwe erhalten wir in LXX-Jes 41:8: Σὺ δέ, Ισραηλ, παῖς μου Ιακώβ, ὃν ἐξελεξάμην, σπέρμα Αβρααμ, ὃν ἠγάπησα. Der Vers ist für seine Charakterzüge, die in den Liedern anklingen, konstituierend. Zwei Elemente sind hier besonders hervorzuheben: a) der Doppelname des ʻEbed-Jahwe (Israel-Jakob) und b) seine Abstammung von Abraham.[21] Damit wird sowohl im MT als auch in der LXX zugleich auf die

20. Vgl. z.B. Jos 1:7.13; Am 3:7.

21. Vgl. Gen 18:3.17 (nur LXX).

theologischen Voraussetzungen hingewiesen, die das rechte Verständnis für die ʻEbed-Jahwe–Lieder aufbringen sollen, nämlich a) den Kampf Jakobs am Jabbok (Gen 32:25–32) und den neuen Namen, den er von Gott erhalten hat, nachdem er mit Gott und Menschen gekämpft und gesiegt hat (Gen 32:31) und b) den unerschütterlichen Glauben und Gehorsam Abrahams, der seinen einzigen Sohn, auf dem die Verheißung lag, bereit war zu opfern (Gen 22:12).

Unmittelbar darauf folgt die entscheidende Aussage über die Identität des ʻEbed nach der LXX: παῖς μου εἶ. Von wesentlicher Bedeutung für unsere Betrachtungsweise ist, dass diese Aussage aufgrund der Doppeldeutigkeit des Übersetzungsäquivalents παῖς sowohl mit „Du bist mein Knecht" als auch mit „Du bist mein Kind" oder sogar „mein Sohn" übersetzt werden kann. Das Wort παῖς kann nicht nur den Knecht bezeichnen, sondern auch das Kind u.zw. den Sohn. Charakteristisch dafür ist der sehr früh in der Altgriechischen Literatur belegte und in der hellenistischen Zeit weiter bekannte Ausdruck παῖς Διός in Bezug auf den Halbgott Herkules, der tugendhaft lebend übermenschliche Taten vollbrachte (Homer, Odyssee 11,604=Hesiod, Theogonia 952=Fragmenta 25.29 und 229.9; Pindar, N 1.35ff. u.a.). Daher wäre die Bemerkung kaum unzutreffend, dass der LXX-Übersetzer aufgrund der bestehenden, unübersehbaren, syntaktisch-semantischen Analogie zwischen παῖς Διός und παῖς μου—also παῖς Κυρίου—eher an die Aussage „Du bist mein Sohn" gedacht habe. Darüber hinaus ist hier die Tatsache anzuführen, dass παῖς und παιδεία, die im Kontext der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder in der LXX gezielt eingesetzt werden, nicht mit δουλεία als „Knechtschaft" und δοῦλος „Knecht/Sklave" gleichzusetzen sind. Denn παιδεία weist primär auf „Erziehung" hin und παῖς auf den „Zögling". Wenn ein Knecht im Griechischen mit παῖς angeredet wird, dann gilt dies als Zeichen dafür, dass sein Herr so liebevoll für ihn sorgt, wie er für seinen eigenen Sohn sorgen würde.

Die prägende Kraft der Bezeichnung παῖς μου—also παῖς Κυρίου—ist im einleitenden Vers des ersten Liedes (LXX-Jes 42:1) zu spüren. Zur Bestimmung ihres Sinnes ist die Tatsache von großem Gewicht, dass Jes 41:8 nur in LXX-Jes 42:1 aufgriffen und der Doppelname des ʻEbed-Jahwe, wenn auch in einer anderen Reihenfolge, nämlich Jakob-Israel wiederholt wird: Ιακωβ ὁ παῖς μου, ἀντιλήμψομαι αὐτοῦ· Ισραήλ ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου, προσεδέξατο αὐτὸν ἡ ψυχή μου· ἔδωκα τὸ πνεῦμά μου ἐπ᾽ αὐτόν, κρίσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσι ἐξοίσει. LXX-Jes 42:1 hat den ihm von Jes 41:8 vorgegebenen Namen keinesfalls pauschal übernommen, sondern in eine hochpoetische Formulierung eingebunden, die den liebevollen, fürsorglichen Umgang des Herrn Israels mit seinem παῖς nachdrücklich betont und ein erhebliches Maß an theologischer Reflexion verrät. Deshalb ist noch zu überdenken, ob wir trotz der Analogie zwischen παῖς Διός und παῖς Κυρίου bei der vertrauten, traditionellen Bezeichnung „Gottesknecht" bleiben, oder ob wir die Aussage παῖς μου εἶ (41:9) lieber im Sinne von LXX-Ps 2:7 (Υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγεννηκά σε) und seinem Spiegelbild in LXX-Ps 88:27 (Πατήρ μου εἶ σύ, θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου) verstehen. Sollte die im vor-

liegenden Beitrag entwickelte Annahme stimmen, dass es sich bei παῖς Κυρίου nicht um den Gottesknecht sondern um den *Gottessohn* handelt, dann müssen doch die ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder in der LXX nicht als Gottesknecht, sondern als *Gottessohnlieder* neu definiert werden. Diesem widerspricht nicht die Tatsache, dass עבדי in LXX-Jes 49:3 mit δοῦλος μου εἶ übersetzt wird. Wenn im zweiten Lied die Wiedergabe von עבדי durch παῖς μου εἶ mit δοῦλος μου εἶ ersetzt wird[22], dann ist es m.E. als eine Selbsterniedrigungsaussage zu deuten, was zwar mit LXX-Ps 2:7 und LXX-88:27a unvereinbar zu sein scheint, aber in voller Übereinstimmung mit LXX-Ps 88:27b (θεός μου καὶ ἀντιλήπτωρ τῆς σωτηρίας μου) steht.

Nicht weniger entscheidend für die Deutung der ὄνομα-Aussagen in LXX-Deuterojesaja ist LXX-Jes 49:1 (ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομά μου).[23] Mithilfe der Präpositionalbestimmung ἐκ κοιλίας μητρός μου wird ein direkter, sprachlicher Bezug auf die Berufung Jeremias (LXX^{A}-Jer 1:5), die Geburt Samsons (LXX^{AB}-Ri 13:5 vgl. 16:17) und die David-Psalmen (LXX-Ps 21:10; 70:6) hergestellt und der inhaltliche Vergleich im Hinblick auf die Ämter des Propheten, Richters und Königs ermöglicht.

Beachtenswert ist, dass LXX-Jes 49:6 im Unterschied zum MT (לי עבד נקל מהיותך) die Erwählung und die Erfüllung der Aufgabe, die Stämme Jakobs wiederherzustellen und die Zerstreuten Israels zurückzuführen, durch diese Person als etwas Erhabenes ansieht: Μέγα σοί ἐστιν τοῦ κληθῆναι σε παῖδά μου τοῦ στῆσαι τὰς φυλὰς Ιακωβ καὶ τὴν διασποράν τοῦ Ισραὴλ ἐπιστρέψαι. Hierin findet die Anrede des ʻEbed-Jahwe *Israel-Jakob* ihre Begründung und wir bekommen ein weiteres Berechtigungsindiz dafür, dass die ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder nach der LXX in *Gottessohnlieder* umbenannt werden müssen.

2. Εἶδος

Εἶδος tritt im letzten Lied (LXX-Jes 52:14 und 53:2.3) auf und gilt als Wiedergabe zweier hebräischen Vokabeln, nämlich מראה (52:14; 53:2) und תאר (53:2). Hierbei ist zu bemerken, dass תאר (HAL 1545f.) vor allem in profanen Kontexten auftritt, die auf die menschliche Schönheit bezogen sind und sie u.U. hervorheben.[24] מראה (HAL 596) begegnet uns aber vorzugsweise in theologischen Sinnzusammenhängen, die sich auf die *Gottesschau* und ihr Verständnis in der hebräischen Bibel beziehen.[25]

LXX-Jes 53:3 hat keine hebräische Entsprechung. Dies dürfte nicht verwundern, weil εἶδος auch anderweitig hinzugefügt wird, um eine Textstelle in Anlehnung an vorangehende relevante Texte zu verdeutlichen (z.B. Ex 28:33). Bei

22. Siehe auch LXX-Jes 49:5: δοῦλος ἑαυτῷ.
23. Vgl. LXX-Jes 44:2.24; 49:5.
24. Siehe z.B. Gen 29:17.
25. Siehe z.B. Ex 24:17. Num 8:4; 11:7; 12:8 u.a.

LXX-Jes 53:3 handelt es sich um die einzige Stelle, wo εἶδος durch das Adjektiv ἄτιμος in der Bedeutung „ehrlos/ohne Ehre/entehrt", eine Wiedergabe von בזה (N-Stamm), spezifiziert wird. Beachtenswert ist, dass ἄτιμος für בלי bzw. בלי־שם in Hi 30:8 und in Jes 3:5 für קלה (N-Stamm) steht. LXX-Jes 53:3 scheint am ehesten an den Gegensatz zwischen ἄτιμος („ehrlos") und ἔντιμος („ehrbar") gedacht zu haben.

Es gilt aber noch folgenden wichtigen Aspekt zu bedenken: Εἶδος bezieht sich auf das Erscheinungsbild einer Person oder eines Gegenstandes und nicht auf sein Wesen (οὐσία). Bei den ʻEbed-Jahwe-Liedern handelt es sich um die Frage, wie das äußere Bild des ʻEbed (μορφή) auf seinen Betrachter wirkt. Diese Frage hängt unauflöslich damit zusammen, wie die innere, geistige und psychische Beschaffenheit seiner Betrachter ist. Ob sie sich also vom äußeren Bild in ihrem Urteil leiten lassen oder ob sie zu ergründen suchen, was hinter dem äußeren Erscheinungsbild verborgen ist. Die in den ʻEbed-Jahwe-Liedern gemachten Aussagen lassen sich in zwei Gruppen unterteilen: a) Jene, die das Selbstportait des ʻEbed entwerfen (Jes 49:2 und 50:4–7) und b) diese, die sein Erscheinungsbild aus der Sicht des Betrachters bzw. des Volkes beurteilen und zugleich eine prüfende Beurteilung der Situation des Volkes in der Gegenwart Deuterojesajas und seines Übersetzers erkennen lassen. Hierin sind auch die εἶδος–Aussagen eingebettet.

Beim näheren Hinsehen auf die εἶδος–Aussagen stellen wir Folgendes fest: In LXX-Jes 52:14 (ἀδοξήσει ἀπὸ ἀνθρώπων τὸ εἶδος σου) wird bewusst mit δόξα (auch „Herrlichkeit") und ἄδοξον (auch „ohne Herrlichkeit") gespielt. In LXX-Jes 53:2 wird zweimal von εἶδος gesprochen, welches der erwartete Sohn des Herrn nicht hat: οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος (מראה) αὐτῷ/οὐκ εἶχεν εἶδος (תאר). Es wird also in den idiomatischen Formulierugen des griechischen Textes im Unterschied zum MT nicht deutlich zwischen Schönheit bzw. Herrlichkeit und Erscheinungsbild im Allgemeinen unterschieden. Die Aussage „Er hat kein εἶδος" soll nicht bedeuten, dass er keine Gestalt habe oder dass er als Mensch nicht erkennbar gewesen wäre, sondern dass sein Erscheinungsbild entehrt und verachtet wurde. Dies wird mit Nachdruck in LXX-Jes 53:3 (τὸ εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἄτιμον) vorgebracht. Im weiteren Textverlauf wird erklärt, dass das Leiden seine Spuren in seinem Gesicht hinterlassen hat. Was aber bezweckt der Übersetzer wirklich, der εἶδος statt κάλλος oder μορφή gewählt hat um die hebräischen Vokabeln מראה und תאר ins Griechische zu übersetzen? Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage ist es m.E. sinnvoll, die εἶδος-Belege, die im Zusammenhang mit den griechischen Wörtern δόξα, ἄδοξον und ἄτιμον bzw. ἔντιμον stehen, an anderen Stellen der LXX-Übersetzung zu betrachten.

Bei der Suche nach relevanten Textbeispielen fallen sogleich jene auf, die von einer Theophanie handeln:

a) In LXX-Ex 24:17, wo die Erscheinung der Herrlichkeit des Herrn auf dem Gipfel des Berges Sinai mit verzehrendem Feuer verglichen wird, taucht der Ausdruck τὸ εἶδος τῆς δόξης κυρίου auf. In LXX-Ex 24:10 wird die pracht-

voll beschriebene Fläche unter den Füßen des geoffenbarten Gottes Israels als εἶδος στερεώματος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ bezeichnet. Wenn in LXX-Ex 26:30 in Bezug auf die Errichtung des Zeltes gesagt wird: κατὰ τὸ εἶδος τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει, vgl. Num 8:4, dann wird in der Tat auf Ex 24:17 zurückverwiesen. In LXX-Num 12:8 wird durch λαλήσω αὐτῷ ἐν εἴδει darauf aufmerksam gemacht, dass man eigentlich nicht Gott in seiner Wesenheit sehen wird, sondern eine Erscheinungsform, davon spricht dann auch LXX-Ri 13:6 (εἶδος αὐτοῦ ὡς εἶδος ἀγγέλου).

b) Gen 32:30.31 scheint in unserem Fall am aussagekräftigsten zu sein. Dort kommt in der LXX die einmalige Wortverbindung Εἶδος Θεοῦ vor. Hatch-Redpath-Konkordanz (375) vermerkt, es handele sich um eine Wortverbindung ohne hebräische Entsprechung. In Wirklichkeit entspricht εἶδος dem hebräischen **פני**, was anderweitig durch πρόσωπον wiedergegeben wird. Πρόσωπον heißt eigentlich das, was man vor Augen hat und sehen kann;[26] εἶδος dürfte als das Geschaute verstanden werden. Erinnert sei auch an die Formulierungen von Ex 33:11.12–23,[27] dass Gott zu Mose spricht von Angesicht zu Angesicht (33:11) und dass das Angesicht Gottes kein lebender Mensch sehen kann (33:20). Bei Jakobs Kampf am Jabbok gibt Jakob dem Ort den Namen Penuël (Gottesgesicht) mit der Begründung „Ich habe Gott von Angesicht zu Angesicht gesehen und bin doch mit dem Leben davon gekommen bzw. nach LXX: und meine Seele wurde gerettet" (Gen 32:31–32).[28] Tatsache ist, dass man in diesem Kontext sagt, dass der Gegner Jakobs *nicht mit Namen* genannt wird. Er wird von Jakob als Gott erkannt und auch dadurch verehrt, dass Jakob ihn um seinen Segen bittet (32:27). Der unbekannte Mann wird Jakob in Israel (Gottesstreiter) umbenennen und dadurch indirekt seine eigene Identität offenbaren (32:29). Während der unbekannte Mann von Jakob als Gott verehrt wird (32:31), wird der Sohn des Herrn von den Nachkommen Jakobs so sehr verachtet, dass ihm das Leiden bis in den Tod verursacht (Jes 53:7f.12).

3. Πονος

Das sehr sparsam in LXX-Jesaja vorkommende Wort πόνος[29] ist doppeldeutig. Zum einen bedeutet es „große Mühe und Anstrengung erfordernde Arbeit" bzw. „Knechtsarbeit" (vgl. auch μόχθος und δουλεία im Neu-griechischen), also menschliches Tun in Unfreiheit, in Unterdruckung. -Zu fragen ist in diesem

26. Ferner T. Muraoka, A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets, Louvain/Paris/Budley, MA 2002, 492–494.

27. Dazu E.G. Dafni, Von Angesicht zu Angesicht. Prolegomena zum Thema „Gottschauen" im hebräischen und griechischen Exodusbuch. I. Exodus 33,11.12–23 übersetzungs- und wirkungskritisch, Athen 2001.

28. Dafni, Von Angesicht zu Angesicht, 98ff.

29. Sonst vorher nur in LXX-Jes 1:5.

Fall, ob der ʻEbed-Jahwe bzw. der Sohn des Herrn zur Übernahme dieser Lasten gezwungen wäre?- Zum anderen kann es auch für die Bedeutung „Leiden" bzw. „Schmerz" stehen.

Die Leitgedanken, die sich mit πόνος nach dem Verständnis des Volkes in den ʻEbed-Jahwe-Liedern verbinden, werden wie folgend zusammengefasst (53:4): Der Sohn des Herrn sei ἐν κακώσει, ἐν πληγῇ, φέρων μαλακίαν.

a) Κάκωσις für ענה (nur 53:4) heißt etwa „Marter", „Elend" und dürfte als eine bewusste Anspielung auf das Elend des Volkes in Ägypten (LXX-Ex 3:7.17; Deut 16:3. Im MT: אעני angesehen werden. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass Mose von Gott auserwählt wird, um das Volk aus Ägypten zu führen und damit aus seinem Elend zu retten. Im Kontext der ʻEbed-Jahwe-Lieder wird der Sohn des Herrn erwartet, der alle Aufgaben des Mose als Mittler zwischen Gott und Volk übernimmt.

b) Πληγή ruft die Plagen, mit denen das Volk in der Wüste von Gott geschlagen wurden (LXX-Num 11:33 u.a.), in Erinnerung. Der Ausdruck ἐν πληγῇ kommt sogar nur in LXX-Jes 53:3f. (Sohn des Herrn) und in LXX-1Kön(Sam) 4:8 (Ägypten) vor. Die Formulierung ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὤν (LXX-Jes 53:3) spielt auf Hiob und sein Leiden an (LXX-Hi 42:16). Schon der MT verweist mit dem Gebrauch des Wortes מַכְאֹב auf Hi 2:13. Das Wortpaar πληγὴ καὶ μώλωψ kommt nur bei LXX-Jes 1:6 und 53:4 vor und ist in der Bedeutung „Folter und Striemen" zu verstehen, denn laut Sir 28:17 πληγὴ μάστιγος ποιεῖ μώλωπας. Ebendieses Wortpaar bildet einen Rüchverweis auf LXX-Jes 50:6 und ermöglicht die individuelle Deutung und die Bestimmung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem dritten und den anderen Gottessohnliedern in der Durchführung der Leidensthematik bei LXX-Deuterojesaja.

c) Das Wort μαλακία[30] kann ideell anspielen u.a. auf die Krankheiten, von denen auch Hiob geplagt wurde, obwohl es im Hiobbuch nur einmal, mit anderen Assoziationen verbunden auftaucht (LXX-Hi 33:19). Die Aussage φέρων μαλακίαν legt auf der Interpretationsebene einen weiteren Hinweis darauf nahe, dass der Sohn des Herrn nicht selbst krank ist, sondern die Krankheit anderer auf sich nimmt.

In den Selbstaussagen des ʻEbed-Jahwe ist πόνος in der Bedeutung „Schmerz" bzw. „Leiden" zu verstehen. Wenn der Sohn des Herrn in LXX-Jes 49:4 sagt ὁ πόνος μου ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ μου, dann ist m.E. gemeint, dass sein Schmerz bzw. Leiden vor seinem Gott als Opfergabe dargebracht wird vgl. etwa LXX-Prov 3:9 (τίμα κύριον τῶν σῶν δικαίων πόνων). Paraphrasierend könnte es heißen: Der Sohn des Herrn ehrt seinen Herrn durch sein gerechtes Leiden, nämlich: indem er gerecht ist/bleibt und trotzdem leidet. Πόνος dient in LXX-Jes 49:4 zur Wiedergabe des hebräischen פְּעֻלָּה. Der MT wird übersetzt „mein Amt ist

30. אסון. Gen 42:2; 44:29. מכאב. 2Chr 6:29. Hi 33:19. תתלוא. 2Chr 21:19. חלי. Deut 7:15; 28:61. 2Chr 6:29; 16:12; 21:15bis.18. Jes 38:9; 53:3. מחלה. Ex 23:25. מחליים. 2Chr 24:25.

meines Gottes", was einen gewissen Unterschied in der Aussage aufweist, der in Einklang mit der Deutung des 'Ebed als Knechtes steht. Die LXX setzt aber auch in diesem Fall die Lehre über das Leiden des Hiobbuches voraus und interpretiert das Leiden des Sohnes entsprechend.

Die Fehleinschätzung bzw. –urteil des Volkes lautet in LXX-Jes 53:4: ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ -πόνοις- (נָגוּעַ). Die hier unausgesprochene Begründung wäre: Man wird geplagt, weil man selber schuld ist, vgl. LXX-Prov 16:26 (ἀνὴρ ἐν πόνοις πονεῖ ἑαυτῷ) als Nachklang etwa von Gen 3:19. Im MT steht eindeutig, dass die Plagen des Knechtes ihm von Gott auferlegt wären, weil er für sein ungerechtes Tun verantwortlich ist, vgl. Hi 15:4-6.17-35; 18:5-21; 20:4-29. In der LXX aber ist nicht von Gott die Rede. Das Volk sieht einfach, dass der Sohn geschlagen und geplagt und getötet wurde. Von wem aber? In der LXX scheint es nicht zu Ende gedacht zu sein. Auf diese Weise wird m.E. vermieden, das Leiden des Sohnes auf Gott zurückzuführen. In LXX-Jes 53:5 kommt die Erkenntnis, dass er für die Missetaten des Volkes die Strafe auf sich nimmt.

LXX-Jes 53:11 (ἀπὸ τοῦ πόνου [עָמָל] τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ) spricht vom Leiden seiner Seele. Diese Formulierung ist nur mit LXX-Jes 65:14 (πόνος τῆς καρδίας· κεκράξασθε διὰ τὸν πόνον τῆς καρδίας ὑμῶν) vergleichbar, wo ebenfalls vom „Leiden des Herzens" geredet wird. LXX-Jesaja prägt eine hochpoetische Aussage, die auch im heutigen Griechischen gebraucht wird, um den großen seelischen Schmerz zum Ausdruck zu bringen. Als Kontrastbild, zum besseren Verständnis dieses Verses, könnte SapSal 19:16 (τοὺς ἤδη τῶν αὐτῶν μετεσχηκότας δικαίων δεινοῖς ἐκάκωσεν πόνοις) herangezogen werden. Hier wird nachdrücklich betont, dass diejenigen, die an Freveltaten beteiligt waren, von Gott zurecht mit Plagen geschlagen wurden. Im Gegensatz dazu leidet der Sohn des Herrn unverschuldet.

Aus den εἶδος—und πόνος—Aussagen, die wie wir gesehen haben, entscheidende Denkanstöße zu der 'Ebed-Jahwe-Frage nach der LXX geben, kann man ableiten, dass sich an der Person des Sohnes von seinem Angesicht als Ausdruck seiner Seele ausgehend zwar das äußere Erscheinungsbild, nicht aber seine Wesenheit durch das unverschuldete Leiden geändert hat. Deshalb wird in Jes 53:10 (nur LXX) verkündigt, dass Gott ihm seine Wunde säubern wird: καθαρίσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πληγῆς. Eine vergleichbare Aussage findet sich in LXX-Jer 37:17 (ἀπὸ πληγῆς ὀδυνηρᾶς ἰατρεύσω σε), wo aber in Bezug auf das Volk nicht bloß von καθαρίζω (säubern) die Rede ist, sondern von ἰατρεύω (heilen). Mit dem Gebrauch des Verbs καθαρίζω in LXX-Jes 53:10 wird Sach 3:4 ins Gedächtnis zurückgerufen und damit das Leiden und die Wiederherstellung des Gottessohnes mit dem Leiden und der Wiederherstellung des ursprünglichen Zustandes Hiobs und des Erzpriesters Josua (MT) bzw. Jesu (LXX) in eine unverkennbare, theologisch höchst interessante Assoziationsreihe gestellt.

Exkurs: Zur Πονος-Phraseologie im 4Makkabäerbuch

Bemerkenswerte terminologische sowie sachliche Gemeinsamkeiten zu den sogenannten ‘Ebed-Jahwe-Liedern bzw. Gottessohnliedern (LXX) zeigt das 4Makkabäerbuch, welches eine eigene πόνος-Phraseologie in Bezug auf das Martyrium der Brüder und ihrer Mütter entwickelt. Die Makkabäer haben heldenmütig Blutzeugnis für die Wahrheit ihres Glaubens abgelegt. Sie handeln nicht aus unbewusstem, natürlichem, inneren Antrieb, sondern sie werden zum Martyrium von ihrer gottesfürchtigen Vernunft geführt.

> 4Makk 1:9 (τὸν ἕως θανάτου πόνον -τοὺς πόνους- ὑπεριδόντες); 7:13 (λελυμένον ἤδη τῶν τοῦ σώματος πόνων); 13:1 (εἰ … τὸν μέχρι θανάτου πόνων ὑπερεφρόνησαν); 13:4 (ἐπεκράτησαν δὲ πάθους καὶ πόνων); 15:16 (πικροτέρων μὲν νῦν μήτηρ πόνων πειρασθεῖσα); 16:19 (ὀφείλετε πάντα πόνον ὑπομένειν); 16:23 (μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι -ἀντιτάσσεσθαι- τοῖς πόνοις); 18:2 (οὐ μόνον τῶν ἔνδοθεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πόνων); 18:3 (προϊέμενοι τὰ σώματα τοῖς πόνοις).

Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass der LXX-Übersetzer des Jesajabuches das Äquivalent πόνος in der Bedeutung „Schmerz, Leiden“ im Anschluss an den Wortgebrauch des 4Makkabäerbuches verwendet. Angesichts der unverkennbaren Tatsache, dass auch andere Textstellen in der LXX wörtliche und gedankliche Gemeinsamkeiten bzw. Anspielungen auf die Sprache und die Vorstellungen des 4Makkabäerbuches aufweisen, können wir hier über die kühne Behauptung nicht hinweggehen, dass das 4Makkabäerbuch eher aus jüdischer Hand der vorchristlichen Zeit stammt und mehrfach den LXX-Übersetzern der kanonischen Bücher als Sprachquelle gedient hat.

IV. Schlußfolgerungen

Den Grundton, auf dem die sogenannten ‘Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in der LXX aufgebaut sind, geben die Termini ὄνομα, εἶδος und πόνος an. Aber bestimmte Akkorde werden mit sprachlichen und inhaltlichen Hinweisen auf Hiob, Sacharia und das 4Makkabäerbuch angeschlagen.

Mithilfe des doppeldeutigen griechischen Äquivalents παῖς gelingt es dem Jesaja-Übersetzer, seinem hebräischen Original wortgetreu zu folgen und zugleich ein neues, eigenes Verständnis des ‘Ebed-Jahwe einzuführen. ‘Ebed-Jahwe ist nicht ein Knecht, der in Unfreiheit und Unterdruckung die Last des Volkes tragen würde, sondern der erwartete Sohn des Herrn, der Gottessohn (s.o. die Analogie zwischen παῖς Διός und παῖς Κυρίου), auf dem die Aufgabe liegt, sich für das Heil des Volkes und der Völker aufzuopfern. In diesem Sinne sind in der LXX die Gottesknechtslieder in *Gottessohnlieder* umzubenennen.

Der Übersetzer will zwar seine Meinung weder dem Text noch dem Leser aufzwingen, aber auch so ist eine messianische Deutung aller vier Lieder möglich.

Wenn man nun aufgrund des ersten und vierten Liedes vom Sohn des Herrn, Gottessohn als Einzelperson ausgeht, scheint die Identifizierung mit dem Messias sogar am wahrscheinlichsten zu sein. Wer aber der Messias wirklich ist, lässt Deuterojesaja wie das Alte Testament offen.[31]

31. Vgl. A. van der Kooij, Wie heißt der Messias? Zu Jes 9,5 in den alten griechischen Versionen, in: Chr. Bultmann/W. Dietriech/Chr. Levin (Hg.), Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments. Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik, FS R. Smend, Göttingen 2002, 156–169.

’Εν with Dative Indicating Instrument in the Septuagint of Ezekiel*

Katrin Hauspie

Abstract: The construction ἐν with dative occurs much more in the Septuagint (LXX) than in Koine Greek. It mostly corresponds to -בְּ in the Masoretic Text (MT), whatever the function of -בְּ may be. The preposition -בְּ with a local or temporal sense translated by ἐν with dative in the LXX is not problematic. The functions “instrument” and “means,” which in Hebrew are expressed by the preposition -בְּ, appear in Classical and Koine Greek with the simple dative. In the LXX, however, ἐν with dative rendering -ב *instrumenti*[1] is frequently used. This contribution deals with the cases of ἐν with dative construction in Ezekiel corresponding to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

Although the construction ἐν with dative corresponding to -ב *instrumenti* frequently occurs in the LXX of Ezekiel, more than once cases of -ב *instrumenti* are translated by the the simple dative or *dativus instrumenti*. Some verbs express the function “instrument” only by means of the simple dative; other verbs use the simple dative as well as ἐν with dative to render -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

Before starting our study of the use of the simple dative and ἐν with dative construction as a translation of -ב *instrumenti* in the MT, we briefly summarize the uses of the Greek *dativus instrumenti*.[2] First, *instrumentum* is taken in the restricted sense as the instrument or means by which an action is performed:

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* This article is based on the chapter “’Εν et le datif indiquant l’instrument,” of my doctoral dissertation, “La version de la Septante d’Ézéchiel: Traduction annotée d’Ez 1–24 et étude du grec d’Ézéchiel par une sélection de particularités lexicales et grammaticales” (Leuven, 2002), 255–82. Promotor: W. Clarysse; co-promotor: J. Lust.

1. This term is borrowed from I. Soisalon-Soininen, “Die Wiedergabe des ב *instrumenti*,” in *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and R. Sollamo; Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B-237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 116–30, orig. in *Glaube und Gerechtigkeit: Im memoriam Rafael Gyllenberg* (ed. J. Kiilunen, V. Riekkinen, H. Räisänen; Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft 38; Helsinki: Suomen Eksegeettisen Seuran, 1983), 31–46.

2. The categories listing the *dativus instrumentalis* are based on the work of R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Satzlehre* (vol. 2 of *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache;* 1898–1904; 3rd ed.; 2 vols.; Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1992), 1:430–41.

for instance, ἔβαλλον λίθοις τε καὶ τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις (Thucydides, 4.34.1). Second, the *dativus instrumenti* supplements the verbs expressing the act of punishing (the dative expresses punishment), the act of judging (the dative expresses the ground by which one judges), the act of being wrong or mistaken (the dative expresses the mistake), such as θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσθαι (Plato, *Pol.* 297e) and οὐ τῷ ἀριθμῷ οὔτε τὰ πόλλα κρίνεται οὔτε τὰ ὀλίγα, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις (Xenophon, *Hier.* 4.8). Third, the *dativus instrumenti* expresses the substance or parts something consists of, for instance, κατεσκευάσατο ἅρματα τροχοῖς (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 6.1.29). The cause that brings about an action is expressed by the *dativus instrumenti*, such as ῥίγει ἀπωλλύμεθα (Xenophon, *An.* 5.8.2). Finally, in a military sense the dative indicates the troops or the objects that one carries on expedition; it is called a dative of accompaniment, as in Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Κῦρος ἐξελαύνει σταθμὸν ἕνα συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στρατεύματι παντὶ (Xenophon, *An.* 1.7.14).

In Greek, all those aspects of the function "instrument" are expressed by the simple dative. In the following discussion the noun "instrument" is used in the broader sense, encompassing all those aspects of the function "instrument" described above; I will explicitly note any use of "instrument" in the restricted sense (the instrument or means by which an action is performed). In Hebrew the functions instrument, means, or cause are introduced by the preposition -בְּ, as in וְלֹא־תִכָּרֵת הָאָרֶץ בָּרָעָב (Gen 41:36).[3]

Besides these uses of the dative expressing instrumentality, the distinction between complements and adjuncts is of great importance. Complements are necessary to realize the content of the verb. Thus the verb "to eat" necessitates the thing or object one eats: "I eat *an apple*" (one cannot eat unless one eats something).[4] The complement of verbs requiring a complement or object is essential; leaving out the complement of verbs requiring a complement or object modifies the interpretation of the verb and its realization. It is, however, possible that the complement is not made explicit by a linguistic expression (use without complement of intransitive verbs); we have to do, then, with a virtual complement, as in "I eat."[5]

Adjuncts are not essential for the realization of the verb; their presence does not come forth from the syntactical necessity of the presence of the verb. They express a circumstance, as in "I eat an apple *at noon*."[6]

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3. P. Joüon and T. Muraoka, *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (2 vols.; SubBi 14.1–2; Rome: Editrice Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1991), 2:§133c.

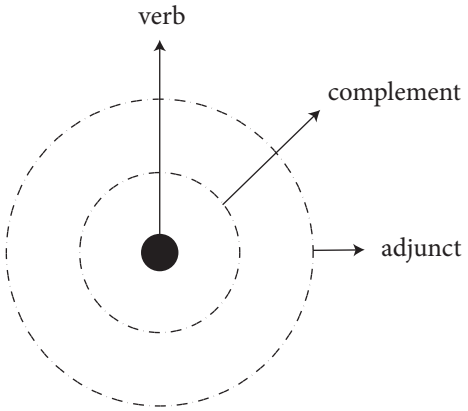
4. P. Le Goffic, *Grammaire de la phrase française* (Hachette Université, Langue française; Paris: Hachette, 1993), 235.

5. Ibid., 235–36.

6. "Adjunct" is *freie Angabe* in German and *vrije bepaling* in Dutch (H. Happ, *Grundfragen einer Dependenz-Grammatik des Lateinischen* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976], 180–95 and 263–305). In French there is no specific term for it: *complément accessoire* (Le Goffic, *Grammaire de la phrase française*, 75–76) and *complément circonstanciel* (classical

It becomes evident from this presentation that complements are internally linked to the verb. Opposite the complements are the adjuncts that have no link with and do not contribute to the realization of the verb. Happ records an adjunct (*freie Angabe*) by means of the principle of transformation (*Transformationstest*): when the adjunct concerns the verb or the whole sentence, this verb or sentence can be substituted by the verb "to do" while the adjunct remains unchanged.[7] For example, "I go to the market on foot" becomes, after applying the principle of transformation, "I do it on foot." "On foot" is adjunct, and "to the market" is a local adverbial complement that is internally linked to the verb "to go": "to go" necessitates the place one goes to (one cannot substitute "I do it to the market").

Happ presents the relation between adjuncts and complements, which he subdivides into obligatory complements (*obligatorische Ergänzung*) and optional complements (*fakultative Ergänzung*), as a verb around which the complements circle in small numbers, and independently from the verb are the adjuncts in unlimited numbers. This relation can be presented as follows:

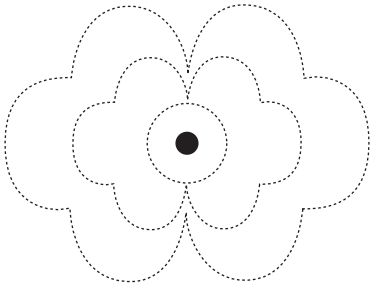


terminology to indicate the circumstances in which an action is performed; cf. M. Grevisse, M. Lenoble-Pinson, and A. Goosse, *Le français correct: Guide pratique* [Paris: Duculot, 1998]). The word "complement," however, is disputable because we do not have to do with a complement that is strongly linked to the verb (the sense of the verb is not supplemented by this "circumstancial complement" or adjunct). In my doctoral thesis I used the term *adjoint,* which is innovative but more adequate; I thank professor L. Melis of the Faculty of Arts of the K.U.Leuven for his proposal of the term "adjoint" and his instructive and precise reflexions on the terms "adjoint" and "complément."

7. Happ, *Grundfragen einer Dependenz-Grammatik des Lateinischen,* 186 and 311.

This presentation is, in fact, inaccurate. There are complements that are more internally linked to the verb than others. Between the extremes "adjunct" and "complement," there are intermediate situations: these cases are not necessarily linked to the verb, but their presence is natural and expected; the presence of these marginal cases depends on various factors more or less regular and subjective.[8] The relationship between adjuncts and complements is better presented by a continuum with intermediate cases that vary from being linked internally to the verb to cases loosely linked to the verb.

Modifying the first figure, I propose the following:



It becomes evident from the distinction between adjunct and complement that the verb is of great importance in the discussion of the complements. The topic of this article is the function instrumentality. The instrumental complements denote the way the process or action is realized and make in fact explicit an aspect or sense already present in the verb.[9] These instrumental complements are not essential and can thus be dropped out, and if they are present they always appear with certain verbs.[10]

It follows from the continuum figure that between the complements there are different degrees of relationship with the verb: complements internally linked to the verb (cognate accusative or cognate dative); complements necessitated by the

8. Le Goffic, *Grammaire de la phrase française*, 77. A similar conclusion can be read in L. Melis, *Les circonstants et la phrase: Étude sur la classification et la systématique des compléments circonstanciels en français moderne* (Symbolae facultatis Litterarum et Philosophiae Lovaniensis A 13; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1983), 130.

9. Melis, *Les circonstants et la phrase,* 62.

10. The instrumental complement is a marginal case, characterized as "not necessary, but linked to the verb" (Le Goffic, *Grammaire de la phrase française,* 76).

verb (accusative of direct object and/or dative of indirect object); complements loosely linked to the verb (dative of instrumentality).

This paper deals with the cognate dative and the dative of instrumentality. The group of the cognate dative regularly occurs in the LXX of Ezekiel. These are expressions such as ζωῇ ζήσεται and ἐκδικήσω ἐκδικήσει. The dative is internally linked to the verb. After the discussion of these cases (linked very closely to the verb), I treat the dative of instrumentality (a looser relationship). The structure of this study is determined by the correspondence between ἐν with the dative construction or the simple dative in the LXX of Ezekiel and -ב *instrumenti* or another construction in the MT. This correspondence is subdivided into five categories:

I. ἐν with the dative construction rendering -ב *instrumenti*
II. ἐν with the dative construction versus simple dative rendering -ב *instrumenti*
III. the simple dative rendering -ב *instrumenti*
IV. the simple dative not rendering -ב *instrumenti*
V. ἐν with the dative construction rendering -ב *instrumenti* versus the simple dative not rendering -ב *instrumenti*

Some cases of ἐν with the dative construction are worked out in more detail to illustrate the theory.

Cognate Dative

The cognate dative expresses the instrument that is closely linked to the meaning of the verb, either formally by the same stem, either on the level of meaning by a word semantically related to the verb. Cognate dative is taken in a broad sense, so that the group of dative semantically related to the verb is much extended. Thus εἰσέρχομαι ἐν ἕπτα βαθμοῖς and ἀκούω τοῖς ὠσί, for instance, are examples of the cognate dative; the object differs from θανάτῳ in θανατόω θανάτῳ, meaning “to die a death”, and ζάω ζωῇ “to live a life”. The datives ἐν ἕπτα βαθμοῖς and τοῖς ὠσί specify a relationship with the verb, expressing the instrument. θανάτῳ and ζωῇ are cognate datives *sensu stricto*: the dative expresses exactly the same as the verb (there is no question of instrumentality).

Category I: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

This list contains the verbs that are constructed with cognate dative, appearing as ἐν with the dative construction rendering -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

ἁμαρτάνω:	ἐν αὐταῖς (Ezek 37:23)
ἀναβαίνω:	ἐν ἕπτα κλιμακτῆρσιν (Ezek 40:22)
ἀνακαίω:	ἐν πυρί (Ezek 5:2)

εἰσέρχομαι:	ἐν ἕπτα βαθμοῖς (Ezek 40:6)
ἐμπίμπρημι:	ἐν πυρί (Ezek 16:41; 23:47)

The appearance of ἁμαρτάνω (Ezek 37:23) in this list is debatable: ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν, ὧν ἡμάρτοσαν ἐν αὐταῖς is problematic insofar as ἐν αὐταῖς is concerned. Ἐν αὐταῖς repeats the relative pronoun ὧν, rendering בָּהֶם (retrospective pronoun) in the MT, which repeats אֲשֶׁר, the introduction of the relative clause.[11] אֲשֶׁר is translated by ὧν, referring to the antecedent ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἀνομιῶν αὐτῶν, from which it adopts, by way of attraction, the case, although ὧν has the function of an internal object (= ἅς) of ἡμάρτοσαν (the sense of the antecedent ἀνομία is semantically linked to the sense of the verb). Ἐν αὐταῖς rendering בָּהֶם in the MT is the result of a calque: ἐν αὐταῖς is not only redundant in the relative clause in Greek, but ἐν with dative is inappropriate with the verb ἁμαρτάνω to specify the kind of mistake.

The verb ἀναβαίνω in Ezek 40:22 is constructed with ἐν ἕπτα κλιμακτῆρσιν, rendering בְּמַעֲלוֹת שֶׁבַע in the MT.[12]

Concerning the verb ἀνακαίω: ἐν πυρί in Ezek 5:2 corresponds to בָּאוּר in the MT. Ἐν πυρί comes near to the local ἐν: "in the fire."[13] Καίω ἐν πυρί is also attested in the New Testament.[14]

The cognate dative accompanying these verbs is always a noun semantically linked to the verb.

Category II: ἐν with the Dative Construction versus Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

Some verbs in the LXX of Ezekiel appear with the construction ἐν with the dative as well as with the simple dative to express the cognate dative, while the MT has -ב *instrumenti*.[15]

This finding regards the following verbs (the underlined passages concern ἐν with the dative, the passages not underlined concern the simple dative):

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11. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2:§158h.

12. τοῖς κύμασιν αὐτῆς in Ezek 26:3 expresses the manner. Γλώσσῃ in Ezek 36:3 functions as indirect object: ἀνέβητε λάλημα γλώσσῃ "you became a gossip for the tongue," analogously with εἰς ὀνείδισμα ἔθνεσι at the end of the sentence. Λάλημα and εἰς ὀνείδισμα are a sign of stylistic variety, here to express the apposition of the subject of ἀνέβητε.

13. Likewise λούω ἐν ὕδατι and λούω ὕδατι. See also Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Wiedergabe des ב *instrumenti*," 117.

14. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, and F. Rehkopf (*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch* [17th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990], §195.1) attribute a local sense to ἐν πυρί.

15. With the exception of the simple dative with the verb ὁράω in Ezek 12:12.

ἀκούω:	τοῖς ὠσί (Ezek 3:10), ἐν τοῖς ὠσί (Ezek 40:4), τοῖς ὠσί (Ezek 44:5)
δέω:	ἐν αυτοῖς (Ezek 3:25), σχοινίοις (Ezek 27:24)
ὁράω:	ὀφθαλμῷ (Ezek 12:12), ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (Ezek 40:4), τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (Ezek 44:5)
σαλπίζω:	ἐν σαλπίγγι (Ezek 7:14), τῇ σαλπίγγι (Ezek 33:3)

These verbs that vary between ἐν with the dative and the simple dative to express instrumentality in Greek almost all refer to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. As a result, the presence or absence of -בְּ in the MT is not determinative for the use of ἐν with the dative or the simple dative in the corresponding Greek.

The instrument of the verb ἀκούω is expressed by the simple dative as well as by ἐν with the dative. In Ezek 40:4 ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἴδε appears besides ἐν τοῖς ὠσί σου ἄκουε, for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT, while in Ezek 44:5 the same expression in the MT is rendered in Greek in a grammatically correct way: ἴδε τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου and τοῖς ὠσί σου ἄκουε. Ezekiel 3:10, with ἀκούω τοῖς ὠσί, shows the same situation as 44:5. Outside the LXX ὁράω ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς is attested in Greek in poetic texts for ὁράω ὀφθαλμοῖς in prose.[16] The sense of ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς here is rather a local one, "in the eyes," "before the eyes," than the instrumental one, "with the eyes." This local sense can also be extended to ἀκούω, "to hear in the ears," but there are no attestations outside the LXX. Through the calque, the LXX (location) differs from the MT (instrument).

The verb δέω is followed by ἐν with the dative in Ezek 3:25 (ἐν αὐτοῖς refers to δεσμοί just before) and by the simple dative in Ezek 27:24, for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.[17] Outside the LXX the verb δέω is attested with ἐν δεσμοῖς, besides the simple dative,[18] as in ἔδοξεν ἐν πέδαις δεδέσθαι (Xenophon, *An.* 4.3.8).[19] ʾΕν with the dative does not express instrumentality here, but it indicates, as is usual in Greek, place or location. ʾΕν with the dative is not synonymous with the simple dative to denote the instrument but indicates the place or location where one or something is being tied. Ezekiel 3:25, implying the possibility of a local ἐν with the verb δέω, probably did not much shock a Greek-speaking reader, despite the

16. Kühner and Gerth, *Satzlehre,* 1:436 and 465.

17. The verb ζώννυμι, on the other hand, is only constructed with the simple dative, in Ezek 16:10 (ἔζωσά σε βύσσῳ) and 9:11 (ἐζωσμένος τῇ ζώνῃ). The Hebrew verb in Ezek 27:24 and 16:10 is the same, חבשׁ, but it is hardly possible that the Hebrew verb has given rise to the simple dative in Greek; see below.

18. Kühner and Gerth, *Satzlehre,* 1:465.

19. See the translation in the Loeb edition: "he thought he was bound in fetters." Kühner and Gerth explain this use of ἐν with the dative as a more lively presentation of the instrument, concluding that ἐν with the dative record a local sense to the instrument. For this reason, I prefer a translation evoking the local sense in these cases where a local sense is possible.

calque of the -ב *instrumenti*; the LXX (location) differs from the MT (instrument).

The simple dative with the verb ὁράω in Ezek 12:12 does not come from -בְּ in the MT but from -לְ: לֹא־יִרְאֶה לַעֵין "he may not see with his eyes."[20] The translator translates rather freely: ὅπως μὴ ὁραθῇ ὀφθαλμῷ. The verb ὁράω is constructed with ἐν with the dative in Ezek 40:4 and with the simple dative in 44:5, for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. It is hard to find a rationale behind the use of one construction or other.

The verb σαλπίζω is constructed with ἐν with the dative in Ezek 7:14, with the simple dative in Ezek 33:3, for -ב *instrumenti* (בַּתְּקוֹעַ and בַּשּׁוֹפָר) in the MT. The trumpet is the instrument preeminently to perform the action of blowing the trumpet, but ἐν with the dative is inappropriate in Greek to denote the instrument. In Pindar, the musical instrument is introduced by ἐν with the dative in *Isthmian* 5.27: κλέονται δ'ἔν τε φορμίγγεσσιν ἐν αὐλῶν τε παμφώνοις ὁμοκλαῖς.[21] This use of ἐν with the dative is limited to poetic texts, in an attempt to present things in a lively way.

Category III: The Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The simple dative denoting the instrument corresponds to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

ἀποκτείνω:	θανάτῳ (Ezek 33:27)
ἐπιψοφέω:	τῷ ποδί (Ezek 25:6)
καταπατέω:	τοῖς ποσίν (Ezek 34:18)
κερατίζω:	τοῖς κέρασιν (Ezek 34:21)
κροτάω:	τῇ χειρί (Ezek 6:11)
ψοφέω:	τῷ ποδί (Ezek 6:11)

In Ezek 33:27 θανάτῳ, the simple dative, expresses the means by which one kills, with the verb ἀποκτείνω, for -ב *instrumenti*, בֶּדֶבֶר "by pestilence", in the MT.

Category IV: The Simple Dative Not Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The simple dative denotes the instrument; the MT has no -ב *instrumenti* nor any expression of the instrument.

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20. See D. Barthélemy, *Ézéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes* (vol. 3 of *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament;* OBO 50.3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992), 77–79; and M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1–20: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 22; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 213.

21. Kühner and Gerth, *Satzlehre,* 1:465.

ἁλίζομαι:	ἁλί (Ezek 16:4)
ἀναβλέπω:	τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (Ezek 8:5 [bis])
ἀναβοάω:	φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Ezek 11:13)
ἀποθνήσκω:	θανάτῳ τραυματιῶν (Ezek 28:8)
ἐκδικέω:	ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος (Ezek 16:38), ἐκδικήσει (Ezek 20:4), ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος καὶ ἐκδικήσει αἵματος (Ezek 23:45)
ἐξίστημι:	ἐκστάσει (Ezek 26:16; 27:35; 32:10)
	ζάω:ζωῇ (Ezek 3:21; 18:9, 13, 17, 19, 21, 28; 33:15)
ζώννυμι:	τῇ ζώνῃ (Ezek 9:11)
	θανατόομαι:θανάτῳ (Ezek 3:18; 18:13; 33:8, 14)
	θέλω: θελήσει (Ezek 18:23)
	θλίβω: θλίψει (Ezek 18:18)
καταδουλόω:	δουλείᾳ μεγάλῃ (Ezek 29:18)
κοσμέω:	κόσμῳ (Ezek 16:11; 23:40)
	παραπίπτω:παραπτώματι (Ezek 15:8)
πλεονεκτέω:	πλεονεξίᾳ (Ezek 22:27)
σπαργανόω:	σπαργάνοις (Ezek 16:4)
ταράσσω:	ταραχῇ (Ezek 30:16)
φοβέομαι:	φόβῳ (Ezek 27:28)

The dative with these verbs does not correspond to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT but to other constructions. Some simple datives render an infinitive absolute in the MT; the infinitive absolute accompanies a conjugated verb form, to emphasize the idea of the verb.[22] This is the case, for instance, in Ezek 16:4 (וְהֻחְתֵּל לֹא חֻתָּלְתְּ and οὐδὲ ἁλὶ ἡλίσθης, וְהֻמְלַח לֹא הֻמְלַחַתְּ and καὶ σπαργάνοις οὐκ ἐσπαργανώθης). In Ezek 16:11 and 23:40, 29:18, and 22:27 the simple dative (κόσμῳ, δουλείᾳ μεγάλῃ and πλεονεξίᾳ) renders a cognate accusative in the MT: וָאֶעְדֵּ(ךְ) עֶדִי and וְעָדִית עֶדִי, הֶעֱבִיד עֲבֹדָה גְּדֹלָה and בְּצֹעַ בָּצַע. The expression קוֹל־גָּדוֹל in Ezek 11:13 also functions as internal object,[23] corresponding to the simple dative φωνῇ μεγάλῃ in the LXX. The verb עדה takes the accusative for the object (ornament), "to deck oneself with ornaments," differently from the English.[24] In Ezek 8:5 the LXX has changed the construction of the MT: the direct object of the Hebrew verb, שָׂא־נָא עֵינֶיךָ, has been changed into a simple dative of instrumentality in Greek (ἀνάβλεψον τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς). Ezekiel 27:28 φόβῳ φοβηθήσονται freely renders יִרְעֲשׁוּ מִגְרָשׁ, "the countryside shakes," of the MT.

The verb ἀποθνήσκω is constructed with the simple dative in Ezek 28:8: καὶ ἀποθανῇ θανάτῳ τραυματιῶν corresponds to וָמַתָּה מְמוֹתֵי חָלָל in the MT. The

22. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2:§123d.

23. Ibid., 2:§125s.

24. Ibid., 2:§125d.

substantive מָמוֹת "death," "way of dying"[25] is the internal object of the verb מות.[26] The Hebrew internal object is translated in different ways in the LXX: the accusative of the internal object and the dative. Here in Ezek 28:8, as in 16:11; 23:40; and 29:18, the translator preferred the instrumental dative for the Hebrew phrasing.[27] Similar to these expressions are the following: ζωῇ ζήσεται, θλίψει θλίψῃ, θελήσει θελήσω, παρέπεσον παραπτώματι, which often occur in the LXX of Ezekiel.

The occurrences of ἐκδικέω with the simple dative, ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος in Ezek 16:38, ἐκδικήσει in 20:4, and ἐκδικήσει μοιχαλίδος καὶ ἐκδικήσει αἵματος in 23:45, correspond to the accusative of the internal object in the MT (16:38 and 23:45: מִשְׁפַּט) and to the repetition of the verb (20:4: הֲתִשְׁפֹּט אֹתָם הֲתִשְׁפּוֹט "Will you judge them? Will you judge?" the LXX translates εἰ ἐκδικήσω αὐτοὺς ἐκδικήσει).

The verb ζώννυμι is constructed only with the simple dative: Ezek 9:11 ἐζωσμένος τῇ ζώνῃ differs slightly from the MT, having no -ב *instrumenti*. The MT has הַקֶּסֶת בְּמָתְנָיו "the writing case at his side"; the LXX freely renders it by ἐζωσμένος τῇ ζώνῃ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ.

Category V: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti* versus the Simple Dative Not Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The use of ἐν with the dative with the following verbs always corresponds to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT; the simple dative with these verbs does not correspond to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT (the underlined passages concern ἐν with the dative; the passages not underlined concern the simple dative):

κατακαίω:	ἐν πυρί (Ezek 5:4), ἐν αὐτῇ (Ezek 20:47), πυρί (Ezek 39:10)
λιθοβολέω:	ἐν λίθοις (Ezek 16:40), λίθοις (Ezek 23:47)

25. L. Koehler and W. Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament* (3rd ed.; 5 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1967–1995), *s.v.* מָמוֹת. K.-J. Illman considers ממותי as a *polel* participle in construct state of the verb מות (*Old Testament Formulas about Death* [Publications of the Research Institute of the Åbo Akademi Foundation 48; Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1979], 142); however, a *polel* of the verbs ע״ו repeats the last consonant, which is not the case in ממותי. I adhere to the interpretation offered by Koehler and Baumgartner. In 1 Sam 14:13 the *polel* participle of the verb מות occurs: ממותת.

26. In Hebrew, the use of the substantive for the internal object is also a way to express the comparative notion between two actions. Ezek 28:8 in the MT literally means "you shall die the death of the slain"; the Hebrew draws a comparison (sometimes the particle -כ "as" explicitly precedes the substantive of the internal object, e.g., הַכְּמוֹת נָבָל יָמוּת אַבְנֵר "Should Abner die as a fool dies ?" [2 Sam 3:33]), hence the translation "you shall die as those who were slain." See Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2:§125q.

27. In most of the cases where the MT has -ב *instrumenti* with the verb מות, the translator uses ἀποθνήσκω with ἐν with the dative. See below.

Ἐν πυρί with the verb κατακαίω in Ezek 5:4 corresponds to בָּאֵשׁ in the MT, πυρί in Ezek 39:10 to אֵשׁ. Ezekiel 39:10, בָּנְשָׁק יְבַעֲרוּ־אֵשׁ, "they will make their fires of the weapons," is in the LXX τὰ ὅπλα κατακαύσουσι πυρί, "they will burn their weapons in the fire." Ἐν αὐτῇ in Ezek 20:47 refers to ἡ φλόξ (a few words before) and corresponds to בָּהּ in the MT (21:3). Ἐν πυρί in Ezek 5:4 and ἐν αὐτῇ in Ezek 20:47 come near to the local ἐν: "in the fire."[28] Καίω ἐν πυρί is also attested in the New Testament; Blass, Debrunner, and Rehkopf attribute a local sense to ἐν πυρί.[29]

The verb λιθοβολέω is constructed with ἐν λίθοις in Ezek 16:40 for בָּאָבֶן in the MT, with λίθοις in Ezek 23:47 for אֶבֶן in the MT. The translator has adapted Ezek 23:47, וְרָגְמוּ עֲלֵיהֶן אֶבֶן קָהָל, by substituting the direct object אֶבֶן (to throw stones) by an instrumental dative λίθοις (to throw with stones): λιθοβόλησον ἐπ' αὐτὰς λίθοις.

One can conclude from Ezek 39:10 and 23:47 that the translator, once he feels less attached to the Hebrew text, writes in a way that conforms more to the rules of the Greek language; in this particular case he makes use of the simple dative. In Ezek 39:10 he uses κατακαίω with the simple dative, differently from 5:4 and 20:47, where the same verb κατακαίω is constructed with ἐν with the dative, copying the Hebrew. The same can be said for λιθοβολέω in Ezek 23:47: the MT does not give rise to the dative, but the translator, preferring instrumentality, uses the simple dative, the most expected construction then. In Ezek 16:40 -בְּ in the MT has caused ἐν λίθοις, which is even more surprising with a verb with a common stem, λιθοβολέω.

Conclusion. If we have to do with the cognate dative formed on the same stem as the verb—the dative is thus closely linked to the verb—there is no ἐν, not even in those cases where the MT has -בְּ. The verbs ἁλίζομαι, ἀποθνῄσκω, ἐκδικέω, ἐξίστημι, ζάω, ζώννυμι, θανατόω, θέλω, θλίβω, καταδουλόω, κοσμέω, παραπίπτω, πλεονεκτέω, σπαργανόω, and ταράσσω are examples of it, all having the simple dative, as well as the verbs ζώννυμι, κερατίζω, and σαλπίζω (Ezek 33:3) for -בְּ in the MT.

Two verbs, however, seem to contradict this conclusion: σαλπίζω in Ezek 7:14 (but not in 33:3); and λιθοβολέω in Ezek 16:40 (but not in 23:47).

When the translator feels less attached to the Hebrew text (changing the Hebrew syntax in the Greek translation), he writes better Greek, conforming more to the rules of the Greek language, using the simple dative, as illustrated by Ezek 39:10 and 23:47 and the examples of the list of category IV.

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28. Likewise λούω ἐν ὕδατι and λούω ὕδατι. See also Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Wiedergabe des ב *instrumenti*," 117.

29. §195.1

The Instrumental Complement Closely Linked to the Verb

These verbs call for the instrument that is necessary to realize the action: one cannot fill something unless one fills it with something.

Category I: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The presence of ἐν with the verbs ἐμπίμπλημι, πληθύνω, and φύρω is surprising.

ἐμπίμπλημι:	ἐν τούτοις (Ezek 16:29)
πληθύνω:	ἐν τῇ πολλῇ ἐπιστήμῃ (Ezek 28:5)
φύρω:	ἐν τῷ αἵματι (Ezek 16:6, 22)

Ἐν with the dative with the verb ἐμπίμπλημι denotes the thing with which one fills; in Greek we expect the genitive of abundance, as in Ezek 11:6: ἐνεπλήσατε τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς τραυματιῶν; 28:13: χρυσίου ἐνέπλησας τοὺς θησαυρούς σου; and 35:8: ἐμπλήσω τῶν τραυματιῶν σου τοὺς βουνούς. Ἐν with the dative, a preposition with dative that is often used instead of the simple dative in the LXX, is inappropriate with the verb ἐμπίμπλημι, which asks for a genitive. The simple verb πίμπλημι, which regularly occurs in the LXX of Ezekiel, is always constructed with the genitive of abundance;[30] the corresponding MT has no -ב *instrumenti* in these cases (the verb מלא is not constructed with -ב *instrumenti* but with double accusative). In cases where מלא is translated by ἐμπίμπλημι meaning "to fill with," the genitive follows (Ezek 11:6; 28:13; 35:8). Οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις ἐνεπλήσθης in Ezek 16:29 corresponds to וְגַם־בְּזֹאת לֹא שָׂבָעַתְּ in the MT; -שׂבע ב, "to be satisfied with," is rendered by ἐμπίμπλημι ἐν with the dative in Ezek 16:29, by ἐμπίμπλημι ἀπό and the genitive in 27:33. The Hebrew verb constructed with the preposition -בְּ has given rise to the use of a preposition to express the notion of abundance with the verb ἐμπίμπλημι (e.g., Ezek 16:29); when there is no -בְּ in the MT, ἐμπίμπλημι appears with the genitive of abundance according to the rules of the Greek language.

In Ezek 28:5 the verb πληθύνω is constructed with the accusative and ἐν with the dative meaning "to increase something with something"; -ב *instrumenti* in the MT gives rise to ἐν with the dative, while the genitive is more appropriate in Greek. In Ezek 27:15 πληθύνω appears with two accusatives: either the abundance is expressed by the accusative (ὀδόντας ἐλεφαντίνους) or ὀδόντας ἐλεφαντίνους functions as apposition of τὴν ἐμπορίαν σου, and as a result there is

30. Ezek 3:3; 8:17; 9:7, 9; 10:2, 4; 23:33; 28:16; 30:11; 32:4.

no question of abundance.[31] The MT differs from the LXX and has no expression of abundance.

The verb φύρω is constructed twice with ἐν τῷ αἵματί σου in the LXX of Ezekiel (16:6, 22), copying בְּדָמַיִךְ and בְּדָמֵךְ in the MT. In Greek the verb φύρω meaning "to mix" is constructed both with the simple dative, for instance τὴν γῆν αἵματι πεφυρμένην (Xenophon, *Ages*. 2.14), and with ἐν with the dative, as in ἐν αἵμασι πεφυρμένοι (Euripedes, *El.* 1172). In the latter example, ἐν with the dative is considered to denote location, hence ἐν with the dative, and not the simple dative. This local presentation of the instrument is frequently utilized by poets in their attempt to depict something in a more lively manner.[32]

Category II: The Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

πληθύνω: ἐμπορίᾳ (Ezek 28:5)

Ἐμπορίᾳ is not preceded by ἐν, although the MT has -ב *instrumenti*. The verb πληθύνω rather calls the object ἐμπορίᾳ "merchandise" than ἐπιστήμῃ "science"; this may be the reason why ἐμπορίᾳ is not preceded by ἐν. Nonetheless, we expect the genitive to express abundance.

Intermediate Cases to Express the Instrument with Which One Performs an Action[33]

This section deals with verbs with which the expression of the instrument is not necessary to realize the meaning of the verb. These instrumental complements only appear with verbs that already bear in themselves a notion of an instrument. As the presence of the expression of the instrument is not essential, they are called marginal or intermediate complements; the term *complement* is to a certain extent debatable. As they are in a way linked to the verb, neither is *adjunct* an accurate term. Maybe *accessory complement* fits best for these cases: by using "complement," the link with the verb is evoked; by using "accessory," the optional, nonnecessary character is stressed.

Category I: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

ἁλίσκομαι: ἐν τῇ περιοχῇ (Ezek 17:20), ἐν τούτοις (Ezek 21:24)
ἀναλίσκομαι: ἐν θανάτῳ (Ezek 5:12)

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31. Cf. the translation of L. C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (1851; repr., Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1987).

32. Kühner and Gerth, *Satzlehre*, 1:466.

33. Here "instrument" is used in the restricted sense.

ἀποκτείνω:	ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 23:10)
βεβηλόω:	ἐν τοῖς δώροις (Ezek 20:39)
διαμετρέω:	ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου (Ezek 42:16, 17, 18, 19)
ἐξιλάσκομαι:	ἐν τῷ μόσχῳ (Ezek 43:22)
ζωγραφέω:	ἐν γραφίδι (Ezek 23:14)
καταβάλλω:	ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 23:25), ἐν ταῖς μαχαίραις (Ezek 26:9)
κατακεντέω:	ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν (Ezek 23:47)
κατακόπτω:	ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 5:2)
καταπατέω:	ἐν ταῖς ὁπλαῖς τῶν ἵππων (Ezek 26:11)
(κατα)σφάζω:	ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν (Ezek 16:40), ἐν οἷς (Ezek 40:42)
λούω:	ἐν ὕδατι (Ezek 16:4, 9)
μιαίνω:	ἐν with the dative (Ezek 4:14; 5:11; 14:11; 20:7, 26, 30, 31 (quater), 43; 22:4, 11; 23:7, 17; 36:17; 37:23)
συντελέομαι:	ἐν λιμῷ (Ezek 5:12; 6:12)
τελευτάω:	ἐν θανάτῳ (Ezek 6:12), ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 7:15)
χρίω:	ἐν ἐλαίῳ (Ezek 16:9)

The verb ἁλίσκομαι is constructed twice with ἐν with the dative (Ezek 17:20; 21:24), for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.[34] Ἐν with the dative denoting the instrument is inappropriate but can be interpreted with a local sense, the thing or place in which someone has been taken.

In Ezek 23:10 ἐν with the dative, ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, denotes the thing by means of which one kills, copying the MT בְּחֶרֶב, with the verb ἀποκτείνω. This use of ἐν with the dative denoting the instrument is inappropriate in Greek; the word ῥομφαία in the expression ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ accompanied by a verb expressing the act of killing represents almost certainly the instrument.

The verb διαμετρέω appears four times; it always concerns an identical context, dealing with the measuring of the rooms in the temple with a measuring rod as the instrument (ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου). The verb μετρέω and its compounds normally express the measuring instrument with the simple dative, as in ξυνεμετρήσαντο ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων (Thucydides, 3.20). Ἐν τῷ καλάμῳ τοῦ μέτρου, copying בְּקְנֵה הַמִּדָּה in the MT, is inappropriate to express the instrument.

The verb καταπατέω is constructed with ἐν with the dative in Ezek 26:11 and with the simple dative in 34:18[35] for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. The hooves in Ezek 26:11 (ἐν ταῖς ὁπλαῖς τῶν ἵππων) can only be the instrument with the verb

34. ἐν τούτοις "by them" in Ezek 21:24 (LXX) corresponds to בַּכַּף "by his hand" in Ezek 21:29 (MT).

35. See below.

καταπατέω, but the construction ἐν with the dative is inappropriate to indicate the instrument.

The verb λούω (Ezek 16:4, 9) occurs twice in the LXX of Ezekiel, always with ἐν ὕδατι, copying בַּמַּיִם in the MT. Ἐν ὕδατι can be interpreted in a local sense, "in the water," like -בְּ in Hebrew; in Greek the verb λούω is normally constructed with the simple dative, such as οὐ λούονται ὕδατι τὸ παράπαν τὸ σῶμα (Herodotus, 4.75.7).[36] The construction ἐν with the dative, coming from the copying of -בְּ or from the interpretation of -בְּ in a local sense, expresses the place where one washes, while the simple dative considers the water as the means with which one washes.[37]

The following cases require a separate treatment:

ἀνάγω:	ἐν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ (Ezek 32:3)
λειτουργέω:	ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 42:14), ἐν αὐταῖς (Ezek 44:19)

The verb ἀνάγω does not ask for an instrument, neither is there a notion of instrument enclosed in the verb itself. The instrument ἐν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ is very loosely linked to the verb; in the continuum figure ἐν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ comes near to the adjunct, more than the other expressions of instrument mentioned in this paragraph, which are in a way still linked to the verb.

As far as the verb λειτουργέω is concerned, ἐν αὐτοῖς in Ezek 42:14 refers to τοῦ στολισμοῦ αὐτῶν[38] and ἐν αὐταῖς in 44:19 to τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν. The raiment is not the instrument to do the service. They are the clothes one bears during the service; they express accompaniment, a function that is not necessitated by the verb. Ἐν αὐτοῖς and ἐν αὐταῖς merely function as adjuncts.

Category II: ἐν with the Dative Construction versus Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

πίπτω:	ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 5:12), ἐν λιμῷ (Ezek 6:11), ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 6:12; 11:10; 17:21; 24:21; 25:13), μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 30:5, 6), ἐν μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 30:17), μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 32:22, 24; 33:27; 39:23)

The verb πίπτω is constructed in Ezek 5:12; 6:11, 12; 11:10; 17:21; 24:21; 25:13; and 30:17 with ἐν with the dative copying -ב *instrumenti* in the MT; how-

36. See also Hippocrates, *De morbis* 2.12.29; 2.38.5; *De affectionibus* 2.2.

37. In the book of Exodus both the constructions ἐν ὕδατι (29:4) and ὕδατι (40:12) are attested as the rendition of בַּמַּיִם in the MT. See also Soisalon-Soininen, "Die Wiedergabe des ב *instrumenti*," 117–18.

38. Accordance according to the sense.

ever, -ב *instrumenti* is also translated by the simple dative in Ezek 30:5, 6; 32:22, 24; 33:27; and 39:23. It is striking that in Ezek 30:5, 6 and 33:27 the simple dative occurs near ἐν with the dative indicating a place; besides the appropriate use of ἐν with the dative (location), the translator was probably inclined to translate -ב *instrumenti* correctly. In this context ἐν with the dative came into his mind as an indication of location and the simple dative as an indication of instrument: μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται ἐν αὐτῇ (Ezek 30:5, 6). This is also the case in Ezek 33:27 with the verb πίπτω, οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἠρημωμέναις μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται; and with the verb ἀποκτείνω, τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σπηλαίοις θανάτῳ ἀποκτενῶ. However, the presence of ἐν with the dative indicating location has not always given rise to the simple dative to render -ב *instrumenti* in the same sentence, with any verb whatsoever. Some examples may illustrate this: Ezek 5:2: ἐν πυρὶ ἀνακαύσεις ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει; 5:12: ἐν λιμῷ συντελεσθήσεται ἐν μέσῳ σου; 7:15: ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ τελευτήσει; and 17:21: ἐν πάσῃ τῇ παρατάξει αὐτοῦ ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ πεσοῦνται. Ezekiel 7:15, ὁ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, is almost the same as οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἠρημωμέναις in 33:27, where ἐν with the dative in a local sense is substantivized by the preceding article.

Considering the expression of the instrumental cause with the verb πίπτω in the book of Ezekiel, that is, ἐν with the dative and the simple dative, the cases of ἐν with the dative occur in the first part of the book, and the simple dative from chapter 30 onward. Ezekiel 30:17, ἐν μαχαίρᾳ πεσοῦνται, appears at first glance to be an exception,[39] but more verbs in these last chapters are constructed with ἐν with the dative for -ב *instrumenti*: Ezek 32:2: ἀνάξω σε ἐν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ μου; 33:10: ἐν αὐταῖς ἡμεῖς τηκόμεθα; and 33:16: ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται. What is true for the verb πίπτω is not true for other verbs; the question of the homogeneity of the Greek translation of Ezekiel should be handled with caution.

Category III: The Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The simple dative denoting the instrument corresponds to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT, in the following cases:

ἀναιρέω:	μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 26:11)
διωθέομαι:	τοῖς ὤμοις (Ezek 34:21)
ἐπιλαμβάνομαι:	τῇ χειρί (Ezek 29:7)
κερατίζω:	τοῖς ποτάμοις (Ezek 32:2)
σημαίνω:	τῇ σαλπίγγι (Ezek 33:6)
ταράσσω:	τοῖς ποσίν (Ezek 32:2; 34:18)

39. The translator has apparently not varied with ἐν and the dative with a local sense a bit further in the verse: αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ πεσοῦνται.

The verb ἐπιλαμβάνομαι is constructed with the simple dative, corresponding to -ב *instrumenti* in the Hebrew text: ὅτε ἐπελάβοντό σου τῇ χειρὶ αὐτῶν and בְּתָפְשָׂם בְּךָ בַּכַּפְּךָ (Ezek 29:7). The translator uses the genitive of contact and the simple dative of instrument with the verb ἐπιλαμβάνομαι in a correct way, twice denying the influence of -בְּ in the MT.

Category IV: The Simple Dative Not Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

ἀντιλαμβάνομαι:	τῇ χειρί (Ezek 20:5, 6)
ἀπόλλυμαι:	λιμῷ (Ezek 34:29)
μολύνω:	ὑγρασίᾳ (Ezek 7:17; 21:7)
κοσμέω:	χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ (Ezek 16:13)

In Ezek 20:5 and 6, the MT has וָאֶשָּׂא יָדִי לָהֶם and נָשָׂאתִי יָדִי לָהֶם, which has become in the LXX ἀντελαβόμην τῇ χειρί μου αὐτῶν. The expression נשא יד ל-, "to lift up the hand against," is freely translated in the LXX; the Hebrew direct object has become an instrumental dative.

In Ezek 34:29 λιμῷ denotes the cause of ἀπολλύμενοι, which is expressed in the MT by the construct state: אֲסֻפֵי רָעָב, "those consumed with hunger." The LXX has correctly made this relationship more explicit by the dative of instrument.

The verb in the expression μολυνθήσονται ὑγρασίᾳ in Ezek 7:17 and 21:7 (MT 21:12) corresponds to a form of the verb הלך that can be constructed with an accusative to express movement or abundance,[40] here in particular "to be weak as water, to be running of water."

Category V: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti* versus the Simple Dative Not Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

The underlined passage indicates ἐν with the dative; the passages not underlined the simple dative:

τραυματίζω:	ἐν μαχαίραις (Ezek <u>28:23</u>), μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 32:28), μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 35:8)

Πεσοῦνται τετραυματισμένοι ἐν μαχαίραις ἐν σοί in Ezek 28:23 corresponds to וְנִפְלַל חָלָל בְּתוֹכֵהּ בְּחֶרֶב in the MT.[41] בְּתוֹכֵהּ separates חָלָל from בְּחֶרֶב, so that

40. Joüon and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2:§125d.

41. The form וְ)נִפְלַל(is a *pilal* third-person masculine singular (Koehler and Baumgartner, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, *s.v.* נפל). The traditional grammars consider נִפְלַל as incorrect, which has to be read as נפל, *qal* third-person masculine singular; the double ל at the end probably results from the confusion with חלל that follows; see Joüon

בְּחֶרֶב can join the verb וְנָפְלַל "shall fall" as well as the noun חָלָל "the slain."[42] The חָלָל, masculine singular noun used here as a collective noun, are the slain people, the dead. The LXX connects ἐν μαχαίραις with τετραυματισμένοι, so that ἐν μαχαίραις is understood as the instrument of τετραυματισμένοι rather than of πεσοῦνται. At this point the LXX, by changing the word order or by omitting a word in relation to the MT, differs from the MT. Τετραυματισμένοι μαχαίρᾳ in Ezek 32:28 and 35:8 renders חַלְלֵי־חָרֶב in the MT, where חַלְלֵי־חָרֶב is a construct state form: the Greek translator has made explicit the relation between חָרֶב "the sword" and חַלְלֵי "the slain" by the instrumental dative, to denote the instrument by which the persons have been wounded. The MT, without -ב *instrumenti,* does not give rise to ἐν with the dative; by the use of the simple dative the translator seems familiar with the uses of the cases in Greek.

Intermediate Cases to Express Punishment

Category III: The Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*; Category IV: The Simple Dative Not Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

κρίνω:	θανάτῳ, αἵματι, ὑετῷ κατακλύζοντι, λίθοις χαλάζης (Ezek 38:22 [quater])

The verb κρίνω is in Ezek 38:22 four times constructed with the simple dative: θανάτῳ and αἵματι correspond to בְּדֶבֶר and בְּדָם(וּ) in the MT, ὑετῷ κατακλύζοντι and λίθοις χαλάζης to גֶּשֶׁם שׁוֹטֵף(וְ) and אַבְנֵי(וְ)אֶלְגָּבִישׁ. The two latter cases do not correspond to -ב *instrumenti,* but the Hebrew words certainly express the instrument. The dative in Greek expresses punishment.

Intermediate Cases to Express Cause

Category I: ἐν with the Dative Construction Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

ἀπαλλοτριόω:	ἐν τοῖς ἐνθυμήμασιν (Ezek 14:5)
ἀποκτείνω:	ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις (Ezek 7:16)
δικαιόω:	ἐν ἀνομίαις (Ezek 16:51)
ἐκδικέω:	ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν (Ezek 7:27; 23:25)

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and Muraoka, *Grammar of Biblical Hebrew*, 2:§112a n. 5; W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, and A. E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (2nd English ed. revised in accordance with the 28th German ed. [1909]; Oxford: Clarendon, 1910), 152.

42. בְּתוֹכָהּ is rendered by ἐν σοί, which follows upon ἐν μαχαίραις, or בְּתוֹכָהּ remains untranslated if ἐν σοί corresponds to עָלֶיהָ in the MT. The translation of the feminine suffix of the third-person singular (ה-) of the MT by the pronoun of the second-person singular (σοί) in the LXX occurs frequently in Ezekiel.

εὐφραίνω:	ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 23:41)
ζάω:	ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ (Ezek 18:22), ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 20:11, 13, 21, 25), ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 33:16, 19)
κρίνω:	ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου (Ezek 7:5), ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ (Ezek 33:20)[43]
λυπέω:	ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις (Ezek 16:43)
ὁμοιόω:	ἐν τῷ ὕψει (Ezek 31:2, 8)
παροργίζω:	ἐν τοῖς παραπτώμασιν (Ezek 20:27)
τελευτάω:	ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις (Ezek 18:17)
τήκομαι:	ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις (Ezek 4:17), ἐν αὐταῖς (Ezek 33:10)
ὑπέρκειμαι:	ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς (Ezek 16:47)
φθείρω:	ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις (Ezek 16:52)

The verb ἀποκτείνω in Ezek 7:16 is constructed with ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτοῦ, indicating the cause of the action. The corresponding word in the MT does not express the cause: כֻּלָּם הֹמוֹת אִישׁ בַּעֲוֹנוֹ; -בְּ introduces the subject one is moaning over. The translator does not copy -בְּ in the MT in an automatic manner by ἐν with the dative in the LXX with the verb ἀποκτείνω, as is illustrated by Ezek 33:27. The more the complement is linked to the verb (θανάτῳ in 33:27 is a cognate dative), the more the simple dative is used, to conform to the rules of the Greek language. Conversely, when the "complement" is not necessitated by the verb, ἐν with the dative appears by a calque of the Hebrew. So the verb ἀποκτείνω in Ezek 7:16 (ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις αὐτοῦ) indicates the cause with the verb ἀποκτείνω (the cause is loosely linked to the verb), and in 23:10 ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ expresses the instrument with which one kills. The use of ἐν with the dative is inappropriate in Greek: a local or temporal sense, the normal uses of ἐν with the dative, do not fit the context. The word ῥομφαία with a verb expressing the act of killing most probably expresses the instrument, while the word ἀδικία merely expresses the cause. None of these functions is introduced by ἐν with the dative, but the context invites us to interpret "to kill with the sword" and "to kill for the iniquities."

The cases of ἐκδικέω and ἐν with the dative, ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτῶν, correspond to שׁפט ב- in the MT. Ἐν τοῖς κρίμασιν αὐτῶν indicates the reason of the punishment. The verb ἐκδικέω merely asks for the punishment, not for the causal notion, or the translator does not feel forced by the meaning itself of the Greek verb, so that he is more influenced by the Hebrew, hence ἐν with the dative. On the other side, in Ezek 16:38; 20:4; and 23:45 the punishment with ἐκδικέω is expressed by the simple dative, which is, moreover, a cognate dative.

43. On the orthographic confusion between כ and ב, see Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 248. The MT twice has כִּדְרָכֶיךָ "according to your ways" (MT 7:8).

The verb ζάω is constructed with ἐν with the dative for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT (Ezek 18:22; 20:11, 13, 21, 25); ἐν with the dative is inappropriate for the cause that brings about life. In Ezek 33:16, 19 ἐν with the dative does not correspond to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. In Ezek 33:19 the MT has עֲלֵיהֶם. In Ezek 33:16 the MT offers us the *figura etymologica* חָיוֹ יִחְיֶה (verb with the infinitive absolute of the same verb). Elsewhere in Ezekiel this Hebrew characteristic is rendered by ζωῇ ζήσεται,[44] only here in 33:16 by ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται. In the LXX of Ezekiel ἐν with the dative almost always corresponds to -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. It is possible that ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται in 33:16 was caused by ἐν αὐτοῖς ζήσεται in 33:19. The expression ζωῇ ζήσεται frequently occurs in the LXX of Ezekiel (3:21; 18:9, 13, 17, 19, 21): the MT has the *figura etymologica,* which is mostly rendered by the cognate dative in the LXX.[45]

When the verb κρίνω appears with ἐν with the dative (ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς σου and ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ in Ezek 7:5 and 33:20), these words do not express the punishment but the cause of the punishment or of the condemnation. The corresponding Hebrew uses the preposition -כְּ, "according to," which is mostly rendered by κατά in the LXX (Ezek 18:30; 24:14 [bis]; 36:19). The preposition in Ezek 7:5 and 33:20 results from a misreading of -כְּ as -בְּ; since the verb שׁפט "to judge" is also constructed with -ב *instrumenti,* this misreading is easily made. The verb κρίνω, "to condemn," "to punish," asks for the punishment rather than for the cause that leads to a condemnation or a punishment. The complement expressing the punishment is more linked to the verb than the complement expressing the cause. The simple dative, even as a translation of -ב *instrumenti* in the MT, is issued by the meaning of the verb (Ezek 38:22, the two first occurrences).[46]

The verbs εὐφραίνω, λυπέω, and παροργίζω belong to the same category of the verbs χαίρω and similar and opposite verbs that require a dative for the object; some of them also have the dative preceded by the preposition ἐπί, as in σοι χαίρουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι (Plato, *Hipp. ma.* 285e).[47]

Category II: ἐν with The Dative Construction versus Simple Dative Rendering -ב *instrumenti*

ἀποθνήσκω:	τῇ ἀδικίᾳ (Ezek 3:18), ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ (3:19), ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις (3:20), ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ (18:18), ἐν ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις (18:24), ἐν τῷ παραπτώματι (18:26 [bis]), τῇ ἀνομίᾳ (33:8), τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ (33:9), ἐν τῇ ἀδικίᾳ (33:13), ἐν αὐταῖς (33:18)

44. See above.
45. See above.
46. See above.
47. Kühner and Gerth, *Satzlehre,* 1:439–40.

In most of the cases where the MT has -ב *instrumenti* with the verb מות, the translator uses ἀποθνῄσκω with ἐν with the dative. These datives always express the cause that brings about death: the errors, the iniquities, the impiety; the relation between those “things” and the verb ἀποθνῄσκω is clear, but the expression ἐν with the dative is inappropriate in Greek. In Ezek 3:18 and 33:8, 9 the MT has -ב *instrumenti*, בַּעֲוֹנוֹ, and the LXX correctly translates τῇ ἀδικίᾳ αὐτοῦ, τῇ ἀνομίᾳ αὐτοῦ, and τῇ ἀσεβείᾳ αὐτοῦ. The translator uses ἀποθνῄσκω with ἐν with the dative and the simple dative in the same chapter for the same expression in Hebrew -מות ב.[48]

Conclusion: For the expression of the instrumental cause, ἐν with the dative is frequently used as a result of copying -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

Adjuncts

The adjuncts have no link with the verb. The adjuncts par excellence are temporal indications: they do not form a close unity with the verb, nor are they necessitated by the verb. These temporal indications do not belong to the topic of this article. The adjuncts we are dealing with here are not temporal indications but indications of accompaniment. They are not essential to realize the sense of the verb. We already discussed some adjuncts to make clear the difference between instrumental complement and adjunct, by setting apart the verbs λειτουργέω and ἀνάγω from the verbs requiring the instrument *stricto sensu*.[49]

The construction ἐν with the dative corresponds to -ב *instrumenti*.

ἐν τῷ ἀγκίστρῳ (Ezek 32:3)
ἐν αὐταῖς (Ezek 42:14)
ἐν αὐτοῖς (Ezek 44:19)
ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ (Ezek 17:17)
ἐν ὅπλοις πολεμικοῖς (Ezek 32:27)
ἐν ὀσμῇ εὐωδίας (Ezek 20:41)
ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ (Ezek 17:17)
ἐν χειρὶ κραταίᾳ (Ezek 20:34)

The expression ποιέω πόλεμον (Ezek 17:17) is accompanied twice by the construction ἐν with the dative to denote the army by which one wages war (ἐν δυνάμει μεγάλῃ and ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῷ). The simple dative or σύν with the dative normally express this function, but ἐν with the dative copying -ב *instrumenti* in the MT appears in the LXX. In Ezek 7:15 a similar use of ἐν with the dative

48. The fact that the LXX also renders -מות ב by ἀποθνῄσκω and the simple dative, with no trace of location, reinforces the instrumental interpretation of -ב, against the local one.

49. See above.

appears: ὁ πόλεμος ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, "the war by sword." The Hebrew text does not give rise to ἐν with the dative;[50] the Lucianic manuscripts have καὶ ἡ ῥομφαία, in accordance with the MT. Maybe ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ is issued by ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ a bit further in the verse being a calque of -ב *instrumenti* in the MT.

These cases of ἐν with the dative are not required by the verb; they describe the circumstances. The influence of the Hebrew calque of -ב *instrumenti* is evident.

Conclusion

1. -ב *instrumenti* in the MT regularly corresponds to ἐν with the dative in Greek. It creates inappropriate Greek except for those cases in which ἐν with the dative can be understood in its usual sense of location (e.g., δέω, φύρω). The interpretation of ἐν with the dative as instrument comes from the context that characterizes the relation between the verb and the noun as instrumental.

2. The expression of the instrument in the LXX is not always subject to the influence of the corresponding Hebrew: more than once -ב *instrumenti* of the MT is translated by the simple dative, as in ζώννυμι, κερατίζω, and σαλπίζω (Ezek 33:3), where it concerns the cognate dative formed on the basis of the same stem as the verb; ἀποκτείνω (33:27), where it concerns the cognate dative semantically linked to the verb; and πληθύνω (28:5 [secundo]), where it concerns the instrumental complement strongly linked to the verb; likewise, parts of the body are expressed by the simple dative.

3. The instrument is always correctly expressed by the simple dative in those cases where the LXX freely renders the Hebrew. This is in particular the case for constructions with the infinitive absolute in the MT: the simple dative formed on the basis of the same stem as the verb renders the Hebrew infinitive absolute, resulting in the cognate dative, ἁλὶ ἡλίσθης (Ezek 16:4) and σπαργάνοις ἐσπαργανώθης (16:4). The relation expressed by the construct state in Hebrew is several times made explicit by the simple dative in Greek, indicating the instrument: τετραυματισμένοι μαχαίρᾳ (Ezek 32:28; 35:8) and ἀπολλύμενοι λιμῷ (34:29). When the translator breaks away from the MT, he adapts the Hebrew into an expression of instrumentality according to the rules of the Greek language. Thus μὴ ὁραθῇ ὀφθαλμῷ (Ezek 12:12); ἐζωσμένος τῇ ζώνῃ τὴν ὀσφὺν αὐτοῦ (9:11); τὰ ὅπλα κατακαύσουσι πυρί (39:10); λιθοβόλησον λίθοις (23:47); ἀντελαβόμην τῇ χειρί μου αὐτῶν (20:5, 6); and μολυνθήσονται ὑγρασίᾳ (7:17; 21:7).

4. From the syntactical point of view, one may conclude that the more the instrumental complement is linked to the verb, the more the simple dative appears, especially in the cases of the cognate dative (e.g., ζώννυμι and σαλπίζω). The more the instrumental complement has a looser relationship with the verb, the more

50. ὁ πόλεμος ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ differs from the MT, which has no equivalent for ὁ πόλεμος, having הַחֶרֶב.

the construction ἐν with the dative appears, especially to express the cause, the loosest relation with the verb, as in ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ and ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν.

5. From a semantic point of view, it becomes evident that the parts of the body, with but a few exceptions (ἐν τοῖς ὠσί and ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς in Ezek 40:4), always appear as a simple dative to denote the instrument: ὀφθαλμῷ, τοῖς ὠσί, τῇ χειρί, τῷ ποδί, τοῖς ποσί(ν), τοῖς κέρασιν, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς, τοῖς ὤμοις. Many times this dative corresponds to -ב *instrumenti:* τῇ χειρί (Ezek 6:11; 29:7); τοῖς ποσί(ν) (32:2; 34:18 [bis]); τῷ ποδί (6:1; 25:6); τοῖς κέρασιν (34:21); τοῖς ὠσί (3:10; 44:5); ὀφθαλμῷ and τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς (12:12; 44:5); and τοῖς ὤμοις (34:21). The expression of the weapons with which one performs the act of killing is always rendered by ἐν with the dative: ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ, ἐν (ταῖς) μαχαίραις, ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν, ἐν τῇ χειρί and ἐν λιμῷ, and ἐν θανάτῳ (these are, in fact, "weapons" for killing). The simple datives μαχαίρᾳ in Ezek 26:11; 30:5, 6; 32:22, 24, 28; 33:27; 35:8; 39:23; θανάτῳ in 33:27; and λιμῷ in 34:29 are exceptions.

6. The verbs expressing the act of killing and dying stand in an active/passive relationship ("to die" is the passive of "to kill"). The expression of the instrument with which one performs the act of killing or dying, mostly appears with ἐν with the dative, for instance ἐν τοῖς ξίφεσιν. The construction ἐν with the dative also represents the cause, for instance ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις. There are some interesting conclusions concerning the expression of the instrument. So the verb ἀποκτείνω expresses the instrument in the restricted sense by ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 23:10) and the cause by ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις (Ezek 7:16). When θάνατος expresses the instrument (Ezek 33:27), the simple dative appears, θανάτῳ; the semantic link between the verb and the instrument is determining for the use of the simple dative, even for -ב *instrumenti* in the MT. Likewise, the verb ἀποθνήσκω expresses the cause by ἐν with the dative (but some exceptions), but the instrument θανάτῳ τραυματιῶν (Ezek 28:8) is a simple dative, because of the semantic link between the verb and the instrument. The verb τελευτάω always expresses the instrument by ἐν with the dative, ἐν θανάτῳ (Ezek 6:12), ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ (Ezek 7:15), ἐν ταῖς ἀδικίαις (Ezek 18:17); the semantic link between the verb and the instrument does not affect the construction in Ezek 6:12.

7. The expression ἐν with the dative indicating the instrument appears only where the MT has -ב *instrumenti*. Where there is no -ב *instrumenti* in the MT, the translator uses the simple dative for the instrument. ʾEν with the dative did not come into his mind spontaneously to express the instrument. At this point the use of ἐν with the dative differs from the use of ἀπό and the genitive as object of the verb φοβέομαι, which also appears in the LXX of Ezekiel, although the MT does not suggest it (Ezek 3:9).[51] There is, however, one exception to this conclusion: Ezek 33:16 and 19 have the verb ζάω with ἐν with the dative. The

51. I worked this out in the chapter "Les verbes de 'craindre' et leurs compléments" of my doctoral thesis (393–98).

Hebrew expression "to live by" is a fixed one חיה ב-, meaning, in fact, "to live in the context of." This fixed expression has maybe given rise to the use of ἐν αὐτοῖς in Ezek 33:16 and 19.

8. In spite of a literal translation of the MT, the Greek text can result in a different meaning, because of the different kind of use of ב- *instrumenti* and the construction ἐν with the dative. The frequent use of ἐν with the dative for the instrument contributes to a familiarity with this construction, which facilitates in a way the understanding of the construction and the text.

Translating 2 Maccabees for NETS

Joachim Schaper

Abstract: This paper explores some characteristics of the text of 2 Maccabees and the difficulties they pose for a modern translator. It situates the translation in the context of NETS, gives special attention to lexicographical problems, and discusses the relation of the NETS translation to the NRSV.

In this paper I would like to offer some observations made in the course of translating 2 Maccabees for the *New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (NETS). It is my intention to share some reflections concerning the general character of the NETS principles and how they apply to 2 Maccabees and to describe some typical problems arising in the process of translation.

As was pointed out by A. Pietersma when he presented the project in Oslo in 1998, "The aim of NETS is twofold: (1) to create a faithful translation of the LXX and (2) to create a tool for synoptic use with the NRSV for the study of the Greek and Hebrew Bible texts."[1]

Since 2 Maccabees is a Septuagint text whose main part is not itself a translation, the latter part of the statement does not apply to its NETS translation, "since those books originally composed in Greek, such as 2–4 Maccabees and Wisdom of Solomon, by virtue of not being translations are not governed by the NETS paradigm."[2] Thus, NETS translators of books without a Semitic parent text are not obliged to use the NRSV as their reference text. However, doing so will be helpful to the translator and will benefit the reader, since textual-critical decisions and numerous other aspects of the translator's work can thus be checked against one of the most important modern translations. And, of course, that translation

1. A. Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," 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), 217–28, here 217 (based on the presentation given by Pietersma at the Xth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, Norway July 31–August 1, 1998). For the electronic version, see http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/discussion/oslo-presentation.html.

2. Ibid., 227.

has the added advantage of being the standard reference for those NETS collaborators who deal with books that have a Semitic parent text.

Methodological Problems

The body of the text of 2 Maccabees, that is, 2:19–15:36, is a literary creation in its own right without a Hebrew parent text. It is an epitome drawn from the five-volume work of Jason of Cyrene produced by an epitomator who introduces the results of his labors in the proemium found in 2:19–32. In 1:1–10a and 1:10b–2:18 two letters referring to the feast of Succoth in the month of Kislev are made to introduce the main part. The letters could be translations of Hebrew or Aramaic originals, but the parent texts are not known. An epilogue follows in 15:37–39.

These fundamental facts about 2 Maccabees have interesting consequences for its NETS translation. As A. Pietersma has pointed out,

> The distinction between the text as an independent entity or the text as a dependent entity is, therefore, not only a valid one in terms of the NETS paradigm but, in our view, is an important methodological stance for translators of the (original) Septuagint, with frequent practical consequences for NETS. Differently put, one can either treat the LXX as though it were an original or one can treat it as a translation of that original. Though both are worthy undertakings in their own right, NETS perceives them as different in principle.[3]

Second Maccabees is a case where we do not have that choice: there is no Semitic parent text for the body of the Greek text, and if there was one for the introductory letters, it has been lost. Therefore we can only "treat the text"—in this case the whole of 2 Maccabees—"as if it were an original" (although it is likely that the introductory letters were translated from Hebrew or Aramaic originals).

By the same token, the NETS translation of 2 Maccabees cannot be made " 'interlinear to' a modern English translation"[4] of a Hebrew text. The relationship between the NETS translation of 2 Maccabees and its NRSV translation will thus obviously not be able to mirror a dependency of the Greek on the Hebrew. It can still be a revised NRSV—if the translator chooses the NRSV as reference text, as we have seen is advisable—but the source text of both the NRSV and the NETS translation will be the Greek text, more specifically, the Göttingen edition. The immediate consequence of this is that the NETS version of 2 Maccabees *competes*

3. Ibid., 225.

4. Ibid., 220. On the "interlinear paradigm" on which Pietersma bases the NETS translation of LXX books with Semitic parent texts, see ibid., 219–20. For implicit and explicit criticisms of that paradigm, see A. van der Kooij, "Comments on NETS and *La Bible d'Alexandrie*," in Taylor, *X Congress* (229–31), *passim;* and especially N. Fernández Marcos, "Reactions to the Panel on Modern Translations," in Taylor, *X Congress,* 235–37.

directly with the NRSV over which translation is the better one in semantic terms and which one is based on a better, that is, more precisely established, critical text. Everything is now centered on textual criticism and semantic precision.

The "synoptic potential"[5] of the NETS translation of 2 Maccabees thus exists on a different level: students who use the NRSV and NETS synoptically will be able to form an opinion on the way certain textual-critical problems have been solved and semantic questions have been dealt with. However, in one respect the NETS translator of 2 Maccabees, using the NRSV as the base text, is in a position similar to that of those NETS collaborators who translate books that have Semitic parent texts: "NETS translators have attempted to retain the NRSV to the extent that the Greek text, in their understanding of it, directs or permits. At the same [time] they have done their best to keep concessions to the NRSV from compromising the Greek." Contrary to NETS translations of *translational* Septuagint texts, however, the NETS translation of 2 Maccabees is in constant *direct* competition with the NRSV, and that means, first and foremost, a competition over the reconstruction of the text.

Here it is important to note the general guidelines with regard to the Greek text:

> Since NETS claims to be a translation of the Greek text as it left the hands of its respective translators—or a "Göttingen Septuagint in English form"—it stands to reason that NETS has been based on the best available (critical) editions. That is to say, where available, NETS has used the Göttingen Septuagint; Margolis has been deemed best for Joshua, and Rahlfs' manual edition is used for the remainder of the books. In the event that new and improved critical editions appear during the life of the project, the Committee is committed to using these, if at all possible. But since no edition, no matter how carefully and judiciously executed, can lay claim to being the definitive text of the Greek translator, NETS translators have from time to time sought to improve on their respective base texts. Just how much will have been changed, varies with the quality of the edition used. All such deviations, however, have been meticulously noted.[6]

Two such deviations I should now like to single out for closer inspection.

Textual-Critical Problems in Dealing with 2 Maccabees

The NETS translation of 2 Maccabees will of course have to deal with the textual-critical problems posed by the Greek text and will do so on the basis of the

5. Pietersma, "New English Translation," 221.
6. Ibid., 228.

Göttingen edition.[7] This gets us back to the exemplary debate between P. Katz and R. Hanhart conducted in the early 1960s. It was provoked by Katz's review of Hanhart's critical edition.[8] Building on the work of his predecessors, especially on the research done by A. Wilhelm,[9] Katz discussed Hanhart's edition and made a number of conjectural and other suggestions that a translator of 2 Maccabees ignores at his or her peril.

My first example is taken from 2 Macc 1:19. The Göttingen edition reads:

> Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε εἰς τὴν Περσικὴν ἤγοντο ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες οἱ τότε εὐσεβεῖς ἱερεῖς λαβόντες ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου λαθραίως κατέκρυψαν ἐν κοιλώματι φρέατος τάξιν ἔχοντος ἄνυδρον ἐν ᾧ κατησφαλίσαντο ὥστε πᾶσιν ἄγνωστον εἶναι τὸν τόπον

The NRSV reads:

> " … and secretly hid it in the hollow of a dry cistern.…"

The NRSV is based on the Hanhart edition, as is obvious from the former's preface:

> For the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books of the Old Testament the Committee has made use of a number of texts. For most of these books the basic Greek text from which the present translation was made is the edition of the Septuagint prepared by Alfred Rahlfs. For several of the books the more recently published individual volumes of the Göttingen Septuagint project were utilized.[10]

There is no note in the NRSV indicating that an alternative reading was preferred, so we can only conclude that the NRSV Committee of translators thought that its rendering represented a faithful rendition of the text established by Hanhart. However, Hanhart's text here does not quite make sense. Generations of scholars have felt this passage to be difficult. The NRSV follows the example of such scholars as R. H. Charles, who translated, in his *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the*

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7. *Maccabaeorum libri I–IV, Fasc. II: Maccabaeorum liber II, copiis usus quas reliquit Werner Kappler edidit Robert Hanhart* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Gottingensis editum 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

8. P. Katz, "The Text of 2 Maccabees Reconsidered," *ZNW* 51 (1960): 10–30. Hanhart responded in *Zum Text des 2. und 3. Makkabäerbuches: Probleme der Überlieferung, der Auslegung und der Ausgabe* (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen 1; Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Jahrgang 1961.13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961). See also the review by G. D. Kilpatrick, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 215 (1963): 10–22.

9. A. Wilhelm, "Zu einigen Stellen der Bücher der Makkabäer," in *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* (Philosophisch-historische Klasse 74. 1937; Vienna, 1938), 15–30.

10. NRSV (Anglicized Edition), "To the Reader," xiii.

Old Testament in English (1:133): "… hid it secretly in the hollow of an empty cistern.…" However, no one is really able to make sense of ταξιν and how it relates to the preceding ἐν κοιλώματι φρέατος, on the one hand, and to ἔχοντος ἄνυδρον, on the other. The NRSV translators seem to have read φρέατος and ἔχοντος in conjunction, thus understanding something like "in the hollow of a cistern that had a dry τάξις," which did not quite make sense and was simply paraphrased as "a dry cistern."

Contrary to such forced efforts to make sense of an obviously corrupt text, A. Wilhelm suggested a long time ago to read ἐν κοιλώματι φρέατος τάξιν ἔχοντι ἀνύδρου. His conjecture takes seriously that, in 2 Macc 9:18 and other passages of Hellenistic Greek literature, τάξις is used in a similar way. Thus we read, in 9:18:

> οὐδαμῶς δὲ ληγόντων τῶν πόνων ἐπεληλύθει γὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν δικαία ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσις τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπελπίσας ἔγραψεν πρὸς τοὺς Ιουδαίους τὴν ὑπογεγραμμένην ἐπιστολὴν ἱκετηρίας τάξιν ἔχουσαν περιέχουσαν δὲ οὕτως …
>
> But when his sufferings did not in any way abate, for the judgment of God had justly come upon him, he gave up all hope for himself and wrote to the Jews the following letter, in the form of a supplication. This was its content: … (NRSV)

Wilhelm points out that the participle is in accordance with the term that designates the object that is being compared, with regard to its ταξις, with another object. This is a fine example of a conjectural reading that is not warranted by any of the manuscripts but seems to be, after careful consideration, the only possibility to make sense of the text. This is why it was accepted by P. Katz in his review article. I have taken it over and have accordingly rendered the text as "he hid it in a cavity which had the appearance of a waterless cistern." As we have heard, the NETS guidelines wisely leave room for emendations, and 2 Macc 1:19 is a case that makes it necessary to use that freedom.

Another such case is 2 Macc 11:30–31, a passage central to our understanding of the historical events narrated in the book. Hanhart's text reads as follows:

> τοῖς οὖν καταπορευομένοις μέχρι τριακάδος Ξανθικοῦ ὑπάρξει δεξιὰ μετὰ τῆς ἀδείας
> χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ιουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασιν καὶ νόμοις καθὰ καὶ τὸ πρότερον καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν κατ᾽ οὐδένα τρόπον παρενοχληθήσεται περὶ τῶν ἠγνοημένων

The underlined passage translates as:

> … to make use of their own expenditure [δαπανήμασιν] and laws.

The NRSV has:

> Therefore those who go home by the thirtieth of Xanthicus will have our pledge of friendship and full permission
> for the Jews *to enjoy their own food and laws,* just as formerly, and none of them shall be molested in any way for what may have been done in ignorance.

Now "food" is hardly an appropriate translation of δαπανήμασιν. The NRSV either opted for a highly interpretative rendering of δαπανήμασιν—δαπανηματα simply means "expenses" (cf. 2 Macc 3:3!)—or for A. Wilhelm's conjecture. If the latter, the NRSV does not indicate it. Be that as it may: A. Wilhelm suggested,in his superb article "Zu einigen Stellen der Bücher der Makkabäer" to emend δαπανήμασιν to διαιτήμασιν, a conjecture later taken on board by P. Katz[11] and, for example, Habicht,[12] but rejected by Hanhart. Διαιτήματα, an emendation with no basis in the ancient manuscripts, translates as "ways of living" or, alternatively, as "food."

Who is to be followed: Wilhelm or Hanhart? In my view, Wilhelm has conclusively demonstrated that δαπανήμασιν makes no sense in the context of 2 Macc 11:27–33. He rightly argues that δαπανήματα always requires a specification,[13] as is indeed the case in, say, 2 Macc 3:3:

> ὥστε καὶ Σέλευκον τὸν τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλέα χορηγεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὰς λειτουργίας τῶν θυσιῶν ἐπιβάλλοντα δαπανήματα
>
> … even to the extent that King Seleucus of Asia defrayed from his own revenues all the expenses connected with the service of the sacrifices. (NRSV)

It lacks such a specification in 2 Macc. 11:31. Wilhelm goes on to say:

> Auch ist mir die Verbindung χρῆσθαι τοὺς Ιουδαίους τοῖς ἑαυτῶν δαπανήμασιν καὶ νόμοις nur begreiflich, wenn das erste Wort an sich sachlich bestimmt und dem zweiten, νόμοις, inhaltlich irgendwie verwandt ist und diesem, vorangestellt, an Wichtigkeit mindestens gleichkommt. Zudem ist es unwahrscheinlich, daß in dem Satze, der offenbar die ganze Rechtsstellung der Juden in dem Ver-

11. See above, n. 8.

12. C. Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch* (2nd ed.; Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 1.3; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1979), 259 n. 31.

13. Wilhelm, "Zu einigen Stellen," 23–24.

> bande des Reiches der Seleukiden regelt, in solcher Weise zunächst auf ihre eigenen, gar nicht näher bezeichneten Aufwendungen Bezug genommen sei.[14]

As Wilhelm further points out, there is nothing remarkable about a group being allowed to be in charge of its own expenses,[15] and, one might add, such a statement would not be found in a document of the magnitude of a royal decree. Rather, the term we are dealing with is syntactically on par with νόμοις and is likely to be part of a hendiadys. Second, the context explicitly refers to a legal act, that is, a royal charter granting, among other things, the restoration of the Jewish laws and immunity from persecution. One would thus expect, as Wilhelm rightly stated, something comparable or equivalent to the Jewish νόμοι to be referred to in this passage: δαπανήμασιν does not fit that bill; διαιτήμασιν does. This is why, to name just one example, C. Habicht in his translation and commentary emended the text and translated: "Die Juden sollen ihrer eigenen Lebensweise und ihren Gesetzen folgen so wie auch früher."[16] I propose to follow that understanding.

Conclusions

Since there is no Hebrew original, the NETS version of 2 Maccabees will not be able "to create a tool in English for the synoptic study of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible," to quote the first aim of the project, but it *will* be able to fulfill its second aim, namely, "to give as faithful a translation of the Greek as is possible, both in terms of its meaning and in terms of its mode of expression."[17] To do so, it will first have to establish the text as carefully as possible. As we have seen, that will at times require decisions against the Göttingen text. This in turn will sometimes lead to deviations from the NRSV text.

There will also be deviations from the NRSV text that are not due to textual critical considerations but simply to semantic ones. The NETS version of 2 Maccabees will, like the NRSV, try to follow the maxim, "As literal as possible, as free as necessary"[18]—only with greater consistency.

That also applies, for example, to the syntactic structure. Whereas the NRSV often breaks up longer sentences, NETS will try to preserve the elaborate Greek syntax as far as that is possible within the parameters of English style. The NETS version will obviously also correct mistakes and imprecisions, of which there are a few in the NRSV text.

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14. Ibid., 23.
15. Ibid.
16. Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch,* 259.
17. Pietersma, "New English Translation," 222.
18. NRSV (Anglicized Edition), "To the Reader," xv.

The NETS version of 2 Maccabees will thus be, as envisaged by the NETS guidelines, a revised NRSV text. Contrary to the NRSV, however, it will contain copious notes accounting, in detail, for textual-critical and other decisions made by the translator. Also, an introduction that discusses the general outlook of the translation and its potential for the use of both scholars and the general public will be included. It is thus hoped that the NETS version of 2 Maccabees will improve on earlier translations and will be of special use to those embarking on the study of the Septuagint.