

Edited by

JOHANN COOK

Septuagint and Reception

SUPPLEMENTS TO VETUS TESTAMENTUM [127]

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Septuagint and Reception

Supplements
to the
Vetus Testamentum

Edited by the Board of the Quarterly

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Essays prepared for the Association for the Study of
the Septuagint in South Africa

Edited by

Johann Cook



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PREFACE

This collection is partly an outcome of the activities of the newly formed Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa (ASSSA). This organization was formally constituted in Potchefstroom on November 2007 at a Septuagint conference. Currently the executive consists of the President (Johann Cook); the secretary/treasurer (Pierre Jordaan) and an additional member (Gert Steyn). On 14 and 15 August 2008 another Septuagint congress took place, this time at the University of Stellenbosch, at the Wallenberg Research Centre, Stellenbosch Institute for Advanced Studies (STIAS). Even though various conferences on things Septuagintal have been held in South Africa before, this was formally the first conference of ASSSA. Although this was a broadly South African initiative, Johann Cook organised the meeting and various scholars from a broad attended the congress. Jan Joosten from Strasbourg and Bill Loder from Perth were invited as keynote speakers, with financial assistance from the National Research Foundation (NRF). Peter Arzt-Grabner from Salzburg also attended the conference. The papers delivered on this occasion have been included in the collection.

However, a number of essays, including the one by Wolfgang Kraus, were added although they were not read at the Stellenbosch conference. All of the contributions went through a peer-review process. This publication will hopefully contribute towards assisting the newly formed ASSSA to excel in advancing scholarship in this field. Future conferences are already being planned.

As editor of this volume I should like to express my gratitude towards various persons and institutions. Firstly, the University of Stellenbosch has created an environment in which primary research can be successfully executed. The division of Research Development has been extremely helpful in obtaining financial and other assistance, especially as far as the NRF is concerned. The Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Prof. Hennie Kotzé, is an astute supporter of research. A word of thanks to him is in order as well as to the Director of STIAS, Prof. Hendrik Geyer, for their words of encouragement at the opening of the conference. Secondly, the NRF sponsored two international guests as well as the expenses related to the organization of the conference. The international company, Shoprite-Checkers, made R 10 000 available for the conference at the recommendation of Larry Lincoln. Thirdly, the executive committee members Gert Steyn and Pierre Jordaan were very supportive throughout this whole endeavour. Fourthly, I am especially indebted to the participants and those who made their contributions

available for publication. I also thank Prof. Hans Barstad, the general editor of *Vetus Testamentum Supplementum*, for accepting the collection for publication in this series. The publishers Brill, Inc. should also receive a word of thanks for publishing this collection. Camila Werner, assistant editor, was very helpful during the whole process of preparing the publication. A final word of appreciation goes to Mr. Randall Gauthier, my doctoral student and research assistant. He did all the hard work of preparing the manuscript for publication. Without his professional involvement this volume would not have been possible.

The Editor, Johann Cook, Dept of Ancient Studies, University of Stellenbosch, January 2009

PART ONE
THE SEPTUAGINT

THE OLD GREEK TEXT

THE PRAYER OF AZARIAH (DANLXX 3): SOURCES AND ORIGIN

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1. Introduction

There are basically two aspects to the collection of Greek texts that goes under the name of Septuagint. The Septuagint originated, for the most part, as a translation of a source text. As such it represents a link—and a very important one—in the reception history of the Hebrew-Aramaic scriptures. But the Septuagint very soon turned into a literary and religious reference in its own right. It was quoted as scripture and subjected to commentary. The Septuagint itself now became the starting point for a new reception history.

In the workshops of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* a lot of energy is expended on this latter aspect of the Greek Bible.¹ The works of Philo, the New Testament and Patristic literature are scrutinised in order to determine how the Septuagint was read and interpreted in antiquity. Some of the early interpretations seem almost arbitrary. Ancient readers of the Septuagint had their own agendas and blind spots. But very often the early use of the Greek Bible text throws real light on its meaning and implications. Most of the ancient readers were native speakers of Greek and they came from a culture that was not far removed, in time and in space, from that of the translators. Some of them also had a very intimate knowledge of the Greek Bible and cognate literature.

An interesting question is when this use of the Septuagint as scripture started. The Letter of Aristeas shows that the prestige of the Greek version was very high already in the latter half of the second century B.C.E.² But Aristeas never quotes the Septuagint explicitly. The writings of Hellenistic Jewish writers such as Demetrius the Chronographer, Aristobulus or Eupolemus have been transmitted only fragmentarily.

¹ See, for example, Marguerite Harl, "L'usage des commentaries patristiques pour l'étude de la Septante," *RSR* 73 (1999): 184-201.

² For the date of the Letter of Aristeas, see Raija Sollamo, "The Letter of Aristeas and the Origin of the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Oslo 1998* (ed. Bernard A. Taylor; Atlanta: SBL, 2001), 329-342, in particular 331-334.

Although they know the Septuagint, it is hard to determine what authority they attribute to it.³ There is, however, a group of writings that gives ample evidence of the use of the Septuagint as an authoritative reference, namely, the Septuagint itself. Let me clarify this with two illustrations that have recently come to my attention:

— The Greek version of Psalms, probably dating from around the middle of the second century B.C.E., uses the Greek version of the Pentateuch. This is not merely a practical matter of adopting translation equivalents such as διαθήκη for תּוֹרָה. As I have argued in a paper presented at the IOSCS conference in Ljubljana, the Psalms translator really referred to the Greek Pentateuch as an authoritative text.⁴ In a few cases the Psalms text is altered or supplemented on the basis of perceived parallels in the Pentateuch.

— The Book of Judith, a book absent from the Hebrew canon, was until recently almost universally regarded as a translation of a lost Hebrew original. However, during the last decade or so, several authors have started to argue that Judith was composed originally in Greek by a writer who imitated the style of the Septuagint.⁵ A crucial observation in this regard is that biblical quotations in Judith follow the Septuagint text even in passages where the Hebrew text is rather different. Thus Ex 15:3 is quoted twice in the following form: “The Lord who crushes wars (κύριος συντριβων πολέμους), the Lord is his name.” The thought expressed here corresponds to one of the main thematic strands of the book of Judith: man makes war, but God breaks war; he does away with it entirely, thrusting aside every symbol of human strength and imposing his victory in an unexpected way. The theme is found in the Hebrew Bible, but the quotation of Ex 15:3 reflects the Septuagint specifically. The Hebrew text reads: “The LORD is a warrior (יהוה איש מלחמה), the Lord is his name.”

Such examples attest specifically what the Letter of Aristeas affirms generally, namely, that the Greek version became an authoritative reference within the Greek speaking Jewish community very early on. Later translators and writers linked up with the vocabulary, the style and the “spirit” of the earlier parts. In the light of this, we will now take a

³ These writers quote the Septuagint but feel free to modify its text for stylistic reasons, see H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 369-71.

⁴ See J. Joosten, “The Impact of the Septuagint Pentateuch on the Greek Psalms,” in *XIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies: Ljubljana 2007* (ed. Melvin Peters; Atlanta: SBL — Leiden: Brill, forthcoming), 197-205.

⁵ See, with bibliographical references, J. Joosten, “The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith,” *Meghillot 5-6: A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant* (2007): *159-176.

look at a different passage, one of the supplements to Greek Daniel, the prayer of Azariah.

2. *Daniel 3 and its Supplements*

Because they do not want to worship the idol made by King Nebuchadnezzar, three Jews serving in the royal administration, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, are thrown into a blazing furnace. Thereupon, the King sees four men walking about in the middle of the fire: he calls Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego and they come out unscathed. In the Aramaic version of Daniel 3, transmitted by the MT, the miracle itself – the coming down of the angel and the preservation of the three men – is told indirectly. The reader hears about it first from the King. In narratological terms the story is “gapped”: there is a lacuna between the throwing of the men into the furnace, in verse 23, and the observation of the King in verse 24. Such “gaps” are, of course, very normal in biblical narratives. A similar one occurs at the beginning of the story where the fact that the three men refuse to bow down to the image is first reported from the mouth of the Chaldeans denouncing this act to the King.⁶ In a literary perspective, nothing is missing in Daniel 3 – or rather: what is missing is entirely functional.

Gaps are made for filling in, however, and the Greek versions have an addition telling the reader exactly what happened when the three Jews were cast into the fire. “The angel of the Lord came down into the furnace to be with Azariah and his companions (Azariah is Abednego according to Dan 1:7), and drove the fiery flame from the furnace, and made the inside of the furnace as though a moist wind were whistling through it” (Dan 3:49-50). This prepares the reader for the observation of the King, who sees four men walking in the furnace in the sequence of the story.

However, the Greek addition is not limited to filling in the sparest outline of what is missing. Alongside the information on the appearance of the angel and the preservation of the three men, the Greek versions insert a prayer pronounced by one of the men and a very long hymn of praise sung by the three. Altogether, the supplement in the Greek

⁶ See C. Kuhl, *Die drei Männer im Feuer (Daniel Kapitel 3 und seine Zusätze: Ein Beitrag zur israelitisch-jüdischen Literaturgeschichte* (BZAW 55; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1930), 84-5. On “gaps” in general, see Meir Sternberg, *The Poetics of Biblical Narrative. Ideological Literature and the Drama of Reading* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 186-229.

versions runs to 65 verses, thus easily surpassing the length of the original story in the Aramaic.

The addition was not inserted entirely harmoniously. It is not clear, for instance, at what precise moment the prayer was said: before (see LXX v. 24b) or after (see LXX v. 25) the men were thrown into the furnace. Also, while the Aramaic part of the story uses the Babylonian version of the proper names of the men, the supplement uses their Hebrew names. And Azariah, who is everywhere number three, becomes the main figure in the supplement.⁷ Thus the supplement raises a number of questions:⁸

— At what stage were the texts inserted into Daniel 3? Were they first added to the Aramaic story, or to the Greek translation? In the past, many researchers held that the long plus of the Greek versions reflected the original and that the Massoretic version was the result of shortening, but nowadays this view is rightly abandoned.

— What was the process of supplementation? The narrative addition, the prayer and the hymn may have been added in phases, or jointly in different combinations.

— What is the origin of the prayer and the hymn? Were they composed for the present context, or did they exist independently before being incorporated into Daniel 3.

— What is the relation between the Greek texts in this section? Both the so-called “Old Greek” and the so-called “Theodotion” have the long addition, although with some minute variations.

In the present paper, I will not try to confront these questions head-on. Instead, I propose to take a closer look at one section, the prayer of Azariah. This text can teach us a few points of interest throwing some light on the whole process of supplementation.

3. *The Prayer of Azariah*

The Prayer of Azariah forms the first part of the supplement to Daniel 3. In Rahlfs’s count, it covers verses 26 to 44. During the 19th century wildly divergent opinions have been expressed on this text. In more recent publications, a certain consensus has crystallised. Most

⁷ See already verse 25 in the Greek versions.

⁸ See the following studies: M. Gilbert, “La prière d’Azarias (*Dn 3*, 26-45 Théodotion),” *NRT* 96 (1974): 561-82; P. M. Bogaert, “Daniel 3 LXX et son supplément grec,” in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (BETHL 106; ed. A. S. van der Woude; Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 13-37; Ingo Kottsieper, *Zusätze zu Daniel*, in O. H. Steck, R. G. Kratz, I. Kottsieper, *Das Buch Baruch. Der Brief des Jeremia. Zu Ester und Daniel* (ATD Apokryphen 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 211-328.

commentators hold that the prayer is a translation of a lost Hebrew original that originally had nothing to do with the Book of Daniel but existed separately.⁹ The date of the text is determined in the light of its contents, notably the indication as to the absence of a place to bring sacrifices in verse 38: the prayer is held to go back to the period 167-164 B.C.E., after the Temple in Jerusalem had been desecrated. The “unjust and most evil King” of verse 32 is identified as Antiochus IV.

Laudably, all scholars have stressed the difficulty of reaching definitive results on the basis of a relatively short text. It seems to me, however, that the present consensus is not merely precarious, but properly indefensible. A renewed evaluation of the text is necessary.

3.1. *Structure, Theme and Parallels*

The prayer falls naturally into three parts, the latter two being clearly marked by the expression καὶ νῦν (v. 33, v. 41).¹⁰

– The first part, verses 26-32, justifies the judgment God inflicted on his people, notably the destruction of Jerusalem. “Your punishments are just because we have transgressed your law,” says the pray-er.

– In the second part, verses 33-40, two arguments are developed on the basis of which the central request will be based: firstly, the covenant with the patriarchs is invoked, and secondly, the pray-er proposes the sacrifice of a broken soul and a humble spirit in order to find propitiation.

– Finally, in verses 41-44, the request is made explicit to “save” the servants of the Lord and thus to bring shame to their adversaries and glory to the Lord’s name.

The piece clearly belongs to a type of petitionary prayer that became popular in the Second Temple period, typical representatives of which are found in Neh 9, Dan 9, Tob 3, Addition C in Greek Esther and 3 Macc 2. All the motifs of Dan 3:26-44 are also found in at least one of these other texts. The individuality of our prayer arises out of nuances and emphases only.

⁹ Among recent commentators, only Bogaert stands apart from this consensus, holding a view much closer to the one defended in the present paper (although with different arguments).

¹⁰ This expression also occurs in verse 31 according to the Septuagint version. It seems that here, the original text has been better preserved in the “Theodotonic” text. Note that this expression is found not only in translations from Hebrew and Aramaic but also in original Greek writings, e.g. 3 Macc 6:9.

3.2. *Biblical Allusions and the Question of the Original Language*

A striking feature of the prayer of Azariah is its reuse of biblical phrases and expressions. There is practically no verse in which one cannot point to a passage in the Pentateuch, the Prophets, the Psalms or other writings as the probable source of the language. In this respect, too, Azariah conforms to contemporary models: scripturalised prayer is a very prominent feature in Second Temple Judaism.¹¹

Beyond its intrinsic interest, this feature may give some purchase on the issue of the original language of the prayer. When one starts looking up the verses alluded to one is struck by the fact that the Greek language of the prayer to a large extent reproduces the exact wording of the Septuagint version. A few representative examples may be reviewed rapidly:

Dan 3:30 οὐδὲ ἐποιήσαμεν καθὼς ἐνετείλω ἡμῖν ἵνα εὖ ἡμῖν γένηται
 “We have not done as you commanded us so that it might go well with us”

Deut 12:28 ποιήσεις πάντα τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαί σοι ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται
 “You will do all the words that I command you so that it may go well with you”¹²

Dan 3:33 καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα
 “And now it is impossible for us to open our mouth”

Ezek 16:63 ὅπως...μὴ ἦ σοι ἔτι ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα σου
 “In order that ... it be impossible for you any longer to open your mouth”

Dan 3:35 καὶ μὴ ἀποστήσης τὸ ἔλεός σου ἀφ’ ἡμῶν
 “And do not remove your mercy from us”

2 Sam 7:15 τὸ δὲ ἔλεός μου οὐκ ἀποστήσω ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
 “But I will not remove my mercy from him”

¹¹ See, e.g., Judith H. Newman, *Praying by the Book: The Scripturalization of Prayer in Second Temple Judaism* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999).

¹² The English translation of the Septuagint loosely follows the New English Translation of the Septuagint.

See also 1 Chr 17:13; Ps 65(66):20; Jdt 13:14; 2M 6:16; Ps Sal 9:8; 16:6.

Dan 3:36 ὡς ἐλάλησας πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων πολυπληθῆναι τὸ σπέρμα αὐτῶν ὡς τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ πλήθει
 “As you spoke to them saying that you would greatly multiply their seed as the stars of the sky in number”

Ex 32:13 καὶ ἐλάλησας πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγων πολυπληθυνῶ τὸ σπέρμα ὑμῶν ὡσεὶ τὰ ἄστρα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῷ πλήθει
 “And you spoke to them saying, ‘I will greatly multiply your seed as the stars of the sky in number’”

Dan 3:44 καὶ ἐντραπήσαν πάντες οἱ ἐνδεικνύμενοι τοῖς δούλοις σου κακὰ καὶ καταισχυνθείσαν ἀπὸ πάσης δυναστείας
 “May all who display evil to your slaves be put to shame and let them be put to embarrassment, deprived of all dominion”

Ps 39(40):15 καταισχυνθείσαν καὶ ἐντραπήσαν ἅμα οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν μου τοῦ ἐξᾶραι αὐτήν “May those be put to shame and embarrassment who seek my soul to remove it”

The systematic correspondence between Azariah and the Septuagint is compatible with the view that the text was from the start composed in Greek by an author who knew the Greek Bible intimately. It is also possible, however, to reconcile the phenomenon with the idea that the text was composed in Hebrew. One might suppose that the prayer was translated from a Hebrew text containing allusions to the Hebrew Bible. The translator of the prayer would have identified the allusions in Hebrew, looked up their translation in the Septuagint and assimilated them into his version to the latter. Alternatively, he may have known the passages by heart.

Greater certainty could be attained if one could point to a passage where the meaning called for by the context in the prayer is found in the Septuagint source text but not in the text. As stated previously, examples of this type make it likely that the Book of Judith was directly created in Greek. Now Azariah is a much shorter text than Judith, but there is one passage that may satisfy this criterion.

Dan 3:39 ἐν ψυχῇ συντετριμμένη καὶ πνεύματι τεταπεινωμένῳ προσδεχθείμεν ὡς ἐν ὀλοκαυτώσει κριῶν καὶ ταύρων καὶ μυριάσιν ἀρνῶν πιόνων

“May we be accepted by means of a broken soul and a humbled spirit as if it were by means of burnt offerings of rams and bulls and ten thousands of fat lambs.”¹³

Ps 50(51):19 θυσία τῷ θεῷ πνεῦμα συντετριμμένον καρδίαν συντετριμμένην καὶ τεταπεινωμένην ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔξουθενώσει
 “Sacrifice to the Lord is a broken spirit, God will not despise a broken and humbled heart.”

Mic 6:7 εἰ προσδέξεται κύριος ἐν χιλιάσιν κριῶν ἢ ἐν μυριάσιν χειμάρρων πiónων
 “Will the Lord accept in (?) thousands of rams and ten thousands of streams of fat?”

The passage has several intertexts. The remarkable combination of perfect participles of συντριβῶ and ταπεινώω leaves no doubt that the first part of the verse alludes to Ps 50(51):19. The second part, however, equally clearly refers to Mic 6:7.¹⁴ This second passage is interesting. Although it is not easy to determine the intended meaning of the Greek translation, it appears to diverge somewhat from the Hebrew:

הירצה יהוה באלפי אילים ברבבות נחלי שמן
 “Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, with ten thousands of rivers of oil?”

The clearest point of divergence between the Hebrew and Greek text of Mic 6:7 is the function of the preposition “in.” In Hebrew, the preposition ב introduces the complement of the verb: ב רצה means “to be pleased with, to be satisfied with.” In Greek, however, the verb προσδέχομαι is not normally construed with ἐν, not even in the Septuagint;¹⁵ the preposition must therefore have an instrumental or local meaning.¹⁶ In recognition of this grammatical fact, the NETS translates:

¹³ In the Göttingen edition, this passage is broken up, the first line being joined to what precedes and the second line being drawn to what follows. In view of the fact that the allusion to Mic 6:7 underlies the whole passage, this break is problematic.

¹⁴ Note that Dan 3:39 and Mic 6:7 have at least five words in common.

¹⁵ In the XII the verb always takes a direct object in the accusative: Hos 8:13 ; Am 5:22 ; Mal 1:8, 10, 13. The only possible exception is an addition to Zeph 3:10 found in Codices BSV: προσδέξομαι ἐν διεσπαρμένοις μου. But this phrase probably doesn't reflect the Old Greek: see M. Harl et al., *Les Douze Prophètes, La Bible d'Alexandrie* XXIII 4-9 (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 367.

¹⁶ This creates a difficulty insofar as the complement of the verb seems to be absent in the Greek text. The easiest way of understanding it is by supposing ellipsis of the

“Will the Lord receive favourably *among* thousands of rams...” The forthcoming *La Bible d’Alexandrie* will render: “*Le Seigneur se rendrait-il accueillant au moyen de milliers de béliers...*”

In regard to the meaning of the preposition, the use of the verse in Azariah conforms to the Greek rather than the Hebrew text of Mic 6:7. In the prayer, the preposition ἐν can only be given an instrumental meaning. The gist of the sentence is: “Since there is no altar, we will not find acceptance *by means of* sacrificial animals, but we hope to find acceptance by sacrificing ourselves.” The interpretation of Mic 6:7 reflected in our prayer could only arise on the basis of the Septuagint text. This indicates that the author of the prayer knew the Bible in Greek, not in Hebrew.

That the author of Azariah used a Greek text of Micah is suggested also by an additional detail. The peculiar “ten thousands of rivers of oil” of Micah have become “ten thousands of *fatted lambs*” in Azariah. This is probably no mere attenuation. In the manuscript tradition of Greek Micah, the reading χεῖμάροων πιόνων, “rivers of oil,” is all but unattested. It has been retained in the critical editions only because it corresponds to the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The manuscripts, the daughter versions, and the patristic commentaries instead read almost unanimously the inner-Greek corruption: χιμάρων πιόνων, “fat goats” – a text that stands much closer to that of our prayer. Moreover, Codex Alexandrinus reads, in Mic 6:7: ἄρνων πιόνων “fatted lambs” – a text corresponding exactly to Dan 3:39.¹⁷ It is probable that the text of Azariah reflects one of these later stages in the textual history of Greek Micah. In Hebrew the corruption of “streams” into “goats” or “lambs” is unlikely to occur.

3.3. *The Prayer of Azariah and its Context in Daniel LXX*

If one accepts the idea that the prayer of Azariah was originally composed in Greek, this throws a lot of recent writing on the text into doubt. If the text was written in reference to the Greek scriptures, one should look for its author in circles reading the Septuagint as scripture, without reference to the Hebrew source text. Such circles would be more numerous in Alexandria than in the Land of Israel. An Egyptian origin should therefore seriously be considered. Also, a date in the first half of

accusative first person pronoun: “Will the Lord accept (me) by means of thousands of rams...” The Coptic versions of Mic 6:7 actually add a first person pronoun functioning as direct object. The addition is certainly secondary, but it shows how ancient readers would naturally interpret the verse.

¹⁷ It is also possible, of course, that the text of Codex A in Micah was influenced by the Prayer of Azariah on this point.

the second century is probably too high: it is doubtful whether the Septuagint version of Psalms, the Twelve, Jeremiah and Ezekiel existed in this early period.

If its putative Maccabaeian background is thus rendered improbable, one is led to inquire again whether the prayer may not have been created from the start in order to fill in the story told in Dan 3. Two principal arguments are fielded against this view, but they are not as strong as is usually thought.

Many commentators defend the independent origin of the prayer because its terms are very general and do not reflect the specific situation of Azariah and his friends. If the prayer had been written for its present context, so they argue, it would not have kept silent on the burning furnace or the obligation to worship an idol. The argument is not entirely persuasive. Prayers inserted into narrative passages often remain rather conventional. Esther's prayer, in addition C to the Septuagint text, similarly mentions neither the decree issued by Haman, nor the risks of coming to the King unbidden.¹⁸ Besides, our prayer does contain some possible references to the situation of the three men. Firstly, in verse 43, the imperative "deliver us" (ἐξελοῦ) links up with the thematic verb of the narrative context: "What god will *deliver you* (ἐξελεῖται) from my hands?" asks Nebuchadnezzar in verse 15; "There is a god who is able to *deliver us* (ἐξελέσθαι)" reply the three in v. 17. And in the end, in verse 96 (v. 29 in the MT), the King agrees: "There is no other god who can *deliver* (ἐξελέσθαι) in this way." Secondly, from the mouth of Azariah, verses 39-40 can easily be understood as a humble allusion to the sacrificial and propitiatory force of martyrdom. "May we be accepted by means of a broken soul... and may you be pacified..."¹⁹

The other main argument in favour of the reigning consensus is that the confession of sin in the first part of the prayer is incompatible with the situation of the three men. Azariah and his friends are about to give up their lives in order to obey the law. How can they say, then, that they have been disobedient? To my mind, this argument is wrongheaded. The confession of sins is a fixed ingredient in prayers of this type in the Second Temple period. Esther in Addition C, the High priest in 3M 2 and

¹⁸ Another good example is the prayer of the High Priest in 3 Macc 2, which is also stated in very general terms.

¹⁹ The phrase καὶ ἐξιλάσαι ὀπισθὲν σου in the Septuagint text is difficult. The verbal form is certainly the aorist middle imperative. Since the active of this verb is never used in the Greek Bible, the aorist active infinitive ἐξιλάσαι (thus Rahlfs) is to be excluded as a possibility. The construction could be analogous to that of Jer 13:27: οὐκ ἐκαθαρίσθης ὀπίσω μου, "you have not been purified *so as to be* behind me." The meaning would be something like: "would that you be reconciled to us so that we might follow you again."

Daniel himself in Dan 9 all set out to confess the sins of their nation before formulating their specific request. Similarly, Azariah first declares his solidarity with the sinful people before putting forward his own special merit, and that of his friends, on the basis of which he dares to petition his god.

4. *Conclusion*

Many questions to do with the prayer of Azariah are difficult to answer on the basis of the available evidence. Nevertheless, the observations and reflections advanced in this paper shift the weight of evidence in favour of a Greek origin.

Thus, the prayer of Azariah probably reflects a stage in the textual history of Greek Daniel.²⁰ The author of the prayer of Azariah – either the original translator of the book or a later redactor – may have conceived the passage from the start as a supplement to the story of the three men in the fiery furnace.²¹ The secondary addition of prayers is a well-attested phenomenon in biblical and parabiblical literature, and Addition C to Esther furnishes an excellent analogy. At a crucial point in the story, the adding of a prayer allows an inside view of what the protagonists experience. The change of perspective, from outer to inner world, adds to the literary interest of the story. It also helps the reader to identify with the heroes. These literary considerations may explain the general terms dominating Azariah's prayer. The conventional style of the prayer was meant to allow the reader to apply it to him or herself. Not all of us are thrown into fiery ovens, but all of us may get into difficult situations because of our faith.

The preoccupations expressed in the prayer may thus reflect those of Greek-speaking Jews, probably from the Egyptian diaspora. The absence of political, religious and cultic institutions fits at once the situation of the friends of Daniel, in the Babylonian exile, and that of the later dispersion. The unjust and most wicked king is the historical

²⁰ Cf. Bogaert, "Daniel 3 LXX."

²¹ The Hebrew name may have been chosen in the attribution of the prayer because it stressed the relation of the man to his God. To Nebuchadnezzar, he was Abednego, but to the God of Israel he was Azariah. Why the prayer was attributed specifically to him is impossible to know. One of the three had to be selected. Perhaps the author of the prayer knew the meaning of the name and thought it fitting that a prayer for deliverance should be pronounced by one named "the Lord helps".

Nebuchadnezzar as much as the divinised Ptolemaic ruler.²² The “hateful rebels” of verse 32 may refer to “modernising” Jews who, in Alexandria as in Jerusalem, encouraged the abolition of some of the more constraining obligations of the Jewish religion. In these latter details, Azariah would appear to be very close to 3 Maccabees which also revolves around the question of faithfulness to the Jewish religion in a pagan state bent on assimilating its citizens.²³

If these conclusions are on target, the prayer also attests the way the Greek version was received as scripture within the very community that brought it into existence. The Law, but also the Prophetical writings and the Psalms, in their Greek version, very soon became the object of a living tradition of interpretation among Egyptian Jews.

²² A few details in the Septuagint text of Dan 3 may indicate that the statue erected by Nebuchadnezzar was viewed as an effigy of the King himself by the translator, see in particular Dan 3:18.

²³ See in particular 3 Macc 2:28-30. 3 Maccabees probably depends on Greek Daniel and is to be dated slightly later; see 3 Macc 6:6.

ON THE ROLE OF EXTERNAL TRADITIONS IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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1. Introduction

A burning issue in Septuagintal studies is the question of the extent to which the persons responsible for the Old Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible made use of external traditions in their attempts to make the intention of their source texts evident. Closely related to this is ascertaining the intention of these traditions, as well as the role played by such data. Scholars have divergent views on these issues. There is a consensus that such external traditions are utilised in the LXX. A large group argues that, since the Septuagint in its inception was a Jewish document, it is natural to expect evidence of Jewish-orientated external traditions. G. Veltri, for one, argues that the LXX contains elements of Jewish exegesis;¹ since it is, after all, a product of Jewish exegesis.² According to A. J. Baumgartner,³ M. B. Dick⁴ and J. Cook⁵ this applies to LXX Proverbs. They argue that this translator was actually influenced by Jewish legalism. G. Gerleman,⁶ M. Hengel,⁷ F. E. Deist,⁸ D.-M.

¹ G. Veltri, "Septuagint and Midrashic Traditions," in *Encyclopaedia of Midrash. Biblical Interpretation in Formative Judaism, Vol. II* (eds. J. Neusner and A. J. Avery-Peck; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 777.

² See also the research by Z. Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Fr. Chr. Wilh. Vogel, 1841) and *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: Verlag von Joh. Ambr. Barth, 1851).

³ A. J. Baumgartner, *Étude critique sur l'état de l'exte du Livre de S Proverbes*. (Leipzig: Druguline, 1890), 253.

⁴ M. B. Dick, *The Ethics of the Old Greek Book of Proverbs*, in *The Studia Philonica Annual*, 2 (1990): 20-50.

⁵ Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs - Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 318.

⁶ G. Gerleman, "The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document," *OTS* 8 (1950): 15-27.

⁷ M. Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus. Studien zur ihrer Begabung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh.s v. Chr.* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1973), 281.

⁸ F. E. Deist, *Witnesses to the Old Testament* (Pretoria: NGK Boekhandel, 1988), 165.

D'Hamonville⁹ et al., on the other hand, find evidence of Greek philosophical – more specifically Platonic and/or Stoic – influences in the LXX and more pertinently in this unit. Gerleman formulates his view as follows: “The Greek reshaping of the book of Proverbs relates to form as well as to the content, to the style as well as to the ideas.”¹⁰ He also thinks that “Stoicism with its religious stress and strong interest in ethics” is of special significance.

In this contribution I will address the issues of the extent to which the Septuagint was in fact influenced by external exegetical traditions and what their function was. I will deal with a number of, hopefully, representative examples from the books of Genesis, Proverbs, Job, Hosea and Ezekiel.

2. Methodological Issues

With respect to the issues at stake, there are a number of guidelines that have been formulated to address them appropriately. Firstly, since all translation is in essence interpretation, one should accept that each translator is at pains to make evident what he perceives to be the intention of his parent text. Secondly, and this is obvious, for this purpose the Old Greek text should be the focus of research.¹¹ Thirdly, Veltri has demonstrated that the presence of a specific exegetical, textual or theological problem in the parent text could be a reason why external traditions are in fact applied. These include what he calls “changed verses as midrashic parenthetical references,”¹² as well as those changes that were allegedly brought about by elders or scribes for “the sake of Ptolemy.”¹³ Fourthly, some scholars think that external data were simply added inadvertently in the Septuagint. Naturally this will be tested in this contribution. Finally, it is of crucial significance to determine the translator’s general approach towards his Semitic parent text. I have demonstrated that the *Vorlage* of LXX Proverbs does not differ

⁹ D.-M. D’Hamonville, *La Bible D’Alexandrie. Les Proverbes. Traduction du texte de la Septante, Introduction et notes par David-Marc D’Hamonville. Avec la collaboration de Sœur Épiphanie Dumouchet pour la recherche patristique* (Paris: Les Éditions du cerf, 2000), 108.

¹⁰ G. Gerleman, “The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document,” 15.

¹¹ In the case of LXX Proverbs there is still much uncertainty about the text that needs to be studied, since the Old Greek has not been reconstructed systematically. In the Göttingen edition this task has been allocated to Peter Gentry.

¹² G. Veltri, “Septuagint and Midrashic Traditions,” 779.

¹³ See the seminal article by Emanuel Tov, “The Rabbinic Tradition Concerning the ‘Alteration’ Inserted into the Greek Pentateuch and their Relation to the Original Text of the LXX,” *JSJ* XV (1984): 65-89.

dramatically from the MT.¹⁴ Formulated differently, the text-critical value of this unit is extremely low.¹⁵

3. *Examples in the Septuagint*

3.1. *LXX Genesis*

3.1.1. *Gen 2:2*

MT:

ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי מלאכתו אשר עשה
וישבת ביום השביעי מכל מלאכתו אשר עשה

LXX:

καὶ συνετέλεσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἕκτῃ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ ἃ ἐποίησεν καὶ κατέπαυσεν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ ὧν ἐποίησεν

This verse contains references to the number of days that God was actively involved in creation. The Septuagint, the Peshitta, the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Genesis Midrash (Bereshith Rabbah) read the equivalent of the "sixth" day, whereas the Massoretic text has the equivalent of the reading "seventh." From a text-critical perspective it is a question of which one of these readings is the original.

This is a well-known textual problem and scholars have proposed various solutions.¹⁶ Basic to this textual problem are two exegetical issues. Firstly, the Hebrew could be interpreted as if God worked on the seventh day, a notion that would have been unacceptable in certain Jewish circles. Secondly, it would seem that God actually both worked and rested on this day. These issues have been addressed variously in Jewish exegetical circles. The Fragmentary Targum uses the verb חמד

¹⁴ See Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 334.

¹⁵ See Cook, The text-critical value of the Septuagint of Proverbs, in: *Seeking out the Wisdom of the Ancients. Essays in honor of Michael V. Fox on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday* (eds. R. L. Troxel, K. G. Friebel and D. R. Magary; Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, Indiana, 2005), 407-419. This translator had the freedom to interpret his parent text rather freely at times.

¹⁶ See S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 321, and James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 12.

(desire) for כלה.¹⁷ It is not immediately evident whether this is an exegetical rendering, since the Hebrew does have the nuance of “desire” in its semantic field. Moreover, the reference to the “seventh day” is retained. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan clearly attempted to remove this apparent problem.¹⁸ Even though the equivalent of the reading “seventh day” is retained, it does add a reference to “*the ten objects which he created between the suns...*” According to *b. Pesahim* 54a these objects include “the well, manna, rainbow, etc.” Evidently the equivalent of the phrase “between the suns” represents an attempt to avoid the apparent exegetical problem that God was actively busy on the Sabbath. According to this view, God had actually completed his work just before the Sabbath commenced.¹⁹

In the light of these exegetical glosses it would therefore be possible, on the one hand, to infer that the equivalent of the Hebrew reading השביעי created an exegetical problem for the Septuagint translator, who subsequently “corrected” it to “the sixth.” However, taking into account the complicated transmission history of texts in the early Judaic period, it is possible that there actually existed a Hebrew *Vorlage* which read the equivalent of “sixth” instead of “seventh.” The Sam Pentateuch in fact attests to such a Hebrew reading. Although the Peshitta could have been influenced by the Septuagint, it is also possible that it reflects a similar Hebrew parent text.

This remains a difficult textual problem that could be solved by a combination of a text-critical and a literary critical approach.²⁰ Accordingly I argue that the reading “seventh” is an original reading, also because it is a more difficult reading, and that the translator of the Septuagint changed it to “sixth,” because it suggested that God had actually worked on the Sabbath. It is therefore possible that the person responsible for this reading indeed took into account external exegetical traditions.

¹⁷ M. L. Klein, *The Fragment-Targums of the Pentateuch According to Their Extant Sources: Texts, Indices and Introductory Essays* (Vol. 1; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1980), 45.

¹⁸ M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch) nach der Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. Add. 27031)* (Berlin: S. Calvary & Co., 1903), 3.

¹⁹ J. Bowker, *Introduction to Rabbinic Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 12.

²⁰ J. Cook, “Exegesis in the Septuagint,” *JNSL* 30.1 (2004): 4.

3.2. LXX Proverbs

I have discovered many examples of external traditions in this unit. I discuss three (pre-)rabbinically motivated ones, two with possible Greek philosophical roots and one that could be a combination of the two.

3.2.1. Proverbs 2 verses 11 and 17

Verse 11

MT:

מזמה תשמר עליך תבונה תנצרכה

prudence will watch over you;

understanding will guard you,

LXX:

βουλή καλή φυλάξει σε

ἔννοια δὲ ὁσία τηρήσει σε

good counsel will guard you,

and holy intent will protect you,

Verse 16

MT:

להצילך מאשה זרה מנכריה אמריה החליקה

To save you from the loose woman,

from the adulteress with her smooth words,

LXX:

τοῦ μακρὰν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας

καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης

in order to remove you far from the straight way,

and to make you a stranger to a righteous opinion.

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

Verse 17

MT:

העזבת אלוף נעוריה ואת ברית אלהיה שכחה

who forsakes the partner of her youth

and forgets the covenant of her God;

LXX:

υἱέ μή σε καταλάβῃ κακή βουλή
 ἡ ἀπολείπουσα διδασκαλίαν νεότητος
 καὶ διαθήκην θεῖαν ἐπιλεησμένη
 My son, do not let bad counsel overtake you,
 that which forsakes the teaching of youth
 and has forgotten the divine covenant;

Scholars have different opinions on these verses. Gerleman has suggested that the addition of the adjectives καλή and κακή in conjunction with the noun βουλή is evidence of Stoic influence.²¹ He formulates his view as follows: “The Greek translator thinks it necessary to emphasise their religious contents by making small alterations in wording.”²² This he deems a typically Stoic characteristic. However, I have argued that these alterations are based on Jewish, pre-rabbinic perspectives, since the Greek concepts represent the well-known Jewish tradition of the good and evil inclinations (היצר הרע and היצר הטב) inherent in man.²³

3.2.2. Proverbs 28 verse 4

MT:

עזבי תורה יהללו רשע ושמרי תורה יתגרו במ
 Those who forsake the law praise the wicked,
 but those who keep the law struggle against them.

LXX:

οὕτως οἱ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὸν νόμον ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἀσέβειαν
 οἱ δὲ ἀγαπῶντες τὸν νόμον περιβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς τεῖχος
 Likewise those who forsake the law and praise impious deeds;
 However, those who love the law build a wall around themselves.

The translator is seemingly interpreting the Semitic parent text.²⁴ The Hebrew verb גור with a direct object has the nuances “to apprehend, to attack” as part of its semantic field in certain contexts. It is, however, also possible that the Hebrew reading גור was inadvertently understood, or perhaps deliberately interpreted, as גדר (wall). In this instance the *torat*

²¹ Gerleman, “The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document,” 19.

²² J. Cook, “The Law of Moses in Septuagint Proverbs,” *VT* 49/4 (1999): 461.

²³ Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 125 and Cook, “The Origin of the Tradition of the היצר הרע and היצר הטב,” *JSJ* 83/2 (2007): 80-91.

²⁴ G. Gerleman, *The Septuagint Proverbs as a Hellenistic Document*, 15.

Moshe has as its function to protect the righteous, which is different from the view found in some later rabbinical writings. In the Mishna and in even later rabbinical writings such as *m. Ḥabot* 1:1 it is the torah that has to be protected! (The latter [²*Abot*] used to say three things: Be patient in justice, rear many disciples and make a fence around the torah).²⁵ However, the view found in LXX Proverbs corresponds to some extent with the Book of Aristeas par 139: the following statements are made:

περιέφραξεν ἡμᾶς ἀδιακόποις χάραξι καὶ σιδηροῖς τείχεσιν

When therefore our lawgiver, equipped by God for insight into all things, has surveyed each particular, *he fenced us a bout w ith i mpregnable palisades and with walls of iron*, to the end that we should mingle in no way with any other nations, but remain pure in body and soul, free from all vain imaginations, worshipping the one Almighty God above the whole creation.²⁶

That this is indeed a reference to the cultic laws is clearly observed in par. 143: “Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, *he hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity*, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or touch, or hear or see.” Here we thus have reference to an ancient exegetical tradition of the people of God being surrounded by the law in order to preserve them.

These two examples are clearly (pre-?)rabbinically motivated interpretations, as are some of the following.

3.2.3. Proverbs 9 verse 10

The example just discussed is evidence of the prominent role of the torat Moshe in this book. It in fact has a greater role in the LXX than in MT.²⁷ The Greek noun νόμος appears as pluses in comparison to the Hebrew in two passages, Proverbs 9:10 and 13:15, which are explained with reference to pre-rabbinical exegetical traditions.

Proverbs 9 verse 10

MT:

תחלת חכמה יראת יהוה ודעת קדשים בינה

The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the holy ones is insight.

²⁵ J. Cook, “The Law of Moses,” 458.

²⁶ M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (letter of Aristeas)* (New York: Harper, 1973).

²⁷ J. Cook, “The Law of Moses,” 461.

LXX:

ἀρχὴ σοφίας φόβος κυρίου

καὶ βουλή ἁγίων σύνεσις

10a τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord

And the counsels of saints is understanding,

For to know the law is the sign of a sound mind.

Proverbs 13 verse 15

MT:

שכל טוב יתן חן ודרך בגדים איתן

Good sense wins favour, but the way of the faithless is their ruin.

LXX:

σύνεσις ἀγαθὴ δίδωσιν χάριν

τὸ δὲ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς

ὁδοὶ δὲ καταφρονούντων ἐν ἀπωλείᾳ

Sound discretion gives favour,

And to know the law is the sign of a sound mind.

But the ways of scorers end in destruction.

These passages have an identical addition (to know the law is the sign of a sound mind), which is part of the systematic application of exegetical perspectives by the translator.²⁸ According to I. L. Seeligman, the addition in chapter 13:15 should be seen as the original, where it acts as an explication of חן יתן טוב שכל (Good sense wins favour).²⁹ This interpretation he in turn relates to a pre-rabbinical statement from Midrasch Misle: “Wenn die Schrift von חן redet, so meint sie immer Thorah.”

In all three of these cases there are no specific problems in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. It would rather seem that the translator in fact inserted the exegetical traditions into the text in order to explicate it, i.e. to make an “ideological/theological” statement. The law of Moses is emphasised since it had been devalued in the historical context in which the translation was made.³⁰ The next two examples of externally motivated

²⁸ I have argued that this focus on the law became necessary in the wake of the Hellenisation of Palestine, after the Antiochian crisis (Cook 2008 in press).

²⁹ I. L. Seeligmann, “Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegeese,” *SVT* 1 (1953): 179.

³⁰ 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*

traditions can be found in Prov 6:8 and Prov 9:18. Both these passages contain larger additions and could be termed “midrashic additions,” except that they are not motivated by Jewish exegetical traditions, but rather by Greek external traditions.

3.2.4. *Proverbs chapters 6 and 9*

Since I have dealt at length with these examples elsewhere, I will only refer to them cursorily.³¹

MT:

תבין בקיץ בחמה אגרה בקציר מאכלה
it prepares its food in summer,
and gathers its sustenance in harvest.

LXX:

έτοιμάζεται θέρους τήν τροφήν
πολλήν τε ἐν τῷ ἀμῆτῳ ποιεῖται τήν παράθεσιν
a. ἡ πορεύθητι πρὸς τήν μέλισσαν
καὶ μάθε ὡς ἐργάτις ἐστὶν
τήν τε ἐργασίαν ὡς σεμνήν ποιεῖται
b. ἣς τοὺς πόνους βασιλεῖς καὶ ἰδιῶται πρὸς ὑγίειαν προσφέρονται
ποθεινὴ δέ ἐστὶν πᾶσιν καὶ ἐπίδοξος
c. καίπερ οὖσα τῇ ῥώμῃ ἀσθενῆς
τήν σοφίαν τιμήσασα προήχθη

8 it prepares its food in summer
and it makes its provision plentiful in harvest time.
a. Or go to the bee
and learn how industrious she is
and how seriously she performs her work;
b. whose products kings and commoners use for their health.
Yes, she is desired by all and honored.
c. Although she is physically weak,
by honoring wisdom she was promoted.

In the case of Prov 6:8, on the addition of the passage involving the bee, which also appears in Aristotle’s *Historia Animalium*,³² the translator

Johan Lust (eds. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: University Press/ Uitgeverij: Peeters; Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2005), 76.

³¹ Cf. J. Cook, “The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs - Is His Style the Result of Platonic and/or Stoic Influence?,” in *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, (eds. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2007), 549-556 and J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 164-168 and 278-286.

took the Hebrew tradition as point of departure to “explain” a “theological/ideological/religious” point of view. This view also concerns a contrast/dualism (a definite characteristic of this translator), namely the rich and the poor.³³ The translator, moreover, interprets this dualism in a religious way, because he refers to wisdom, an attribute that is indispensable for the righteous.

In my opinion the translator, who (as I have demonstrated abundantly already) was well versed in the Greek language, made use of Greek thought (Aristotle?) in order to explicate the intention of the parent text he was translating. Hence he does not draw Aristotle's philosophical view from this Greek motif, but utilises it in order to explain a religious issue in the Semitic text.

The same seems to have happened in connection with Proverbs 9, where two added strophes (18b and c) mention foreign waters.

MT:

ולא ידע כי רפאים שם בעמקי שאול קראיה

But he does not know that the dead are there,
that her guests are in the depths of Sheol.

LXX:

18 ὁ δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι γηγενεῖς παρὰ αὐτῆ ὄλλυνται
καὶ ἐπὶ πέτευρον ἄδου συναντᾶ

a. ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον μὴ ἐγχερονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ

μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν

b. οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃ ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον

καὶ ὑπεβήσῃ ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον

c. ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου

καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίης

d. ἵνα πολὺν ζήσης χρόνον

προστεθῆ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς

18 But he does not know that primeval men perish by her,
and he meets up with a springboard of Hades.

a. On the contrary, run away, do not linger in the place,
neither fix your eye upon her,

b. for so you will cross foreign water

³² Cf. T. Forti, “Bee’s Honey—From Realia to Metaphor in Biblical Wisdom Literature,” *VT* LVI/3 (2006): 327-341.

³³ Cf. J. Cook, “Contrasting as a Translation Technique,” in *From Tradition to Interpretation: Studies in Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (eds. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 403-414.

and pass through a foreign river.

c. However, abstain from foreign water

and do not drink from a foreign well,

d. that you may live for a long time
and years of life may be added to you.

Water is a multivalent symbol in the book of Proverbs.³⁴ It is in fact one of the central issues in Proverbs and in chapter 5:15-17 the springs and channels of water are equated with male sperm, which is a reference to the dangers of sexuality.³⁵ In the present context, however, this reference is a metaphorical one, as is the case with the reference to the foreign river, which is an indirect reference to the river Styx. The translator applies this metaphor ingeniously on more than one level. He is not only relating wisdom directly to water, but the water in verse 18b is related to other, foreign literary traditions. The translator refers to a well-known Greek tradition, namely the myth about the river Styx, which is traversed on the way to Hades. In the process he does not utilise this tradition in a positive way but, on the contrary, he negatively connects this tradition with the foolish woman. In this way he warns the novice of the dangers lurking at Dame Folly's (whore)house. It should be noted that these pluses are added here in the context of an account of Hades.

D'Hamonville interprets this reference positively in connection with the "mythologique de l'Hadès," more specifically in regard to the "mythe d'Eurydice."³⁶ And as is customary with him, he attempts to explicate this notion by referring to the later reception in, amongs others, Clemens Alexandrinus.³⁷

The final example is more complicated and on the face of it does not follow the guidelines that were mentioned above.

³⁴ Cf. J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 284.

³⁵ Cf. W. McKane, *Proverbs – A New Approach* (London: SCM Press, 1970), 318.

³⁶ D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 216.

³⁷ This is the result of his methodological position within the project of La Bible D'Alexandrie, cf. Cook, "Translating the Septuagint," in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (eds. Ausloos, Cook, García Martínez, Lemmelijn, and Vervenne; Leuven: Leuven: University Press/ Uitgeverij: Peeters: Leuven-Paris-Dudley, MA, 2008), 27.

3.2.5. Proverbs 19 verse 15

This chapter follows the same trends as in the rest of Proverbs.³⁸ For one thing it has many contrasts that do not appear in the Hebrew parent text.³⁹ Verse 7, for example, has contrasts, i.e. ἀνήρ δὲ φρόνιμος and ὁ πολλὰ κακοποιῶν that have no equivalent in the Hebrew. Verse 15 also contains a significant lexeme that could have been externally motivated. For another, this chapter obtains characteristic textual and exegetical phenomena.

Verse 15

MT:

עצלה תפיל תרדמה ונפש רמיה תרעב

Laziness brings on deep sleep, an idle person will suffer hunger.

LXX:

δειλία κατέχει ἀνδρογύναιον

ψυχὴ δὲ ἀεργοῦ πεινάσει

Timidity restrains the effeminate;

and the soul of the idle will suffer hunger.

The lexemes ἀνδρογύναιος and ἀνδρογυνος are used interchangeably in different mss in 18:8 and 19:15. Moreover, in the LXX they appear exclusively in these two contexts in Proverbs. The 1st stich clearly has no relationship with the Hebrew. D’Hamonville is of the opinion that this verse has been influenced by Platonic thought.⁴⁰ He bases his inference upon, inter alia, the fact that the lexeme ἀνδρογυνος appears in Plato’s *Banquet* (Symposium 189e)⁴¹ on the nature of mankind, which reads as follows:

For our original nature was by no means the same as it is now. In the first place, there were three kinds of human beings (ἀνθρώπων), not merely the two sexes, male (ἄρρε) and female (θῆλυς), as at present: there was a third kind as well, which had equal shares of the other two,

³⁸ See my *Text and Tradition – A n Exegetical Commentary on the Septuagint of Proverbs*. This monograph will be published by the Society of Biblical Literature as part of the Septuagint commentary series (in preparation).

³⁹ I have in fact defined this characteristic as a translation technique in “Contrasting as a Translation Technique in the LXX of Proverbs,” in *From Tradition to Interpretation: Studies in Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (eds. C. A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 403-414.

⁴⁰ D’Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 109.

⁴¹ T. E. Page et al., eds., *Plato With an English Translation by W. R. M. Lamb* (London-New York: William Heinemann-The Macmillan Co, 1966), 74.

and whose name survives though the thing itself has vanished. For man-woman (ἀνδρογυνος) was then a unity in form no less than name, composed of both sexes and sharing equally in male and female; whereas now it has come to be merely a name of reproach.

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

It is not evident that the translator in fact makes use of this Platonic writing. For one thing, here Plato uses different nouns for male (ἄρσσην) and female (θηλυς) compared to LXX Proverbs. The first does not appear in Proverbs at all and θηλυς occurs only in chapter 30:31, where it has no Semitic *Vorlage*. Moreover, in LXX Proverbs ἀνήρ occurs 144 times and γυνή 27 times as equivalents for male and female respectively. These differences are conspicuous and, if the translator did indeed utilise Plato, it remains a question why Proverbs does not reflect this more explicitly. It therefore remains uncertain whether the translator in fact had the same intention with the application of ἀνδρογυνος as Plato had. The fact that ἀνδρογύναιος is used only twice in Proverbs, and in different mss for that matter, naturally complicates the matter. Here it is used as equivalent for the Hebrew noun אִנְיָהּ. This Hebrew noun appears only in Gen 2:21 and 15:22; 1 Sam 26:12; Is 29:10; Job 4:13 and in Prov 19:15; in Proverbs as well as in Gen 2:21 it occurs together with the verb נָפַח, where reference is made to the creation of woman. In this regard D'Hamonville relates verses 14 and 15 in Proverbs 19.⁴² He thinks that the application of the verb ἀρμόζεται leads to “un theme étranger à l'hébreu,” in the sense that man and woman are “harmonised” leading to the interpretation of the ἀνδρογυνος. However, the 2nd stich in verse 14 is a rather free interpretation of the Hebrew. Ἀρμόζεται is not related to the Hebrew and corresponds with Prov 8:30, which has been taken by scholars as “harmonising,” leading to a Stoic interpretation.⁴³ However, I have chosen the nuance “fitting together,” which has nothing to do with harmony as argued by D'Hamonville and others.⁴⁴ In my view none of these contexts actually exhibits Stoic influence.

Interestingly enough there are rabbinical reflections in, inter alia, *Ber. Rabbah* VIII, 1 that correspond to some extent with these Platonic views:

⁴² D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 109.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 210.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 232.

AND GOD SAID: LET US MAKE MAN, etc. (1,26). R. Johanan commenced [his discourse]: *Thou hast formed me behind and before*, etc. (Ps CXXXIX, 5). Said R. Johanan: If a man is worthy enough, he enjoys both worlds, for it says, '*Thou hast formed me for a later [world] and an earlier [world].*' But if not, he will have to render a full account [of his misdeeds], as it is said, *And laid Thy hand upon me* (ib.). R. Jeremiah b. Leazar said: When the Holy One, blessed be He, created Adam, He created him an hermaphrodite [bi-sexual](אנדרוגינוס),⁴⁵ for it is said, *Male and female created He them and called their name Adam* (Gen. v, 2). R. Samuel b. Nahman said: When the Lord created Adam he created him double-faced, then He split him and made him of two backs, one back on this side and one back on the other side. To this it is objected: But it is written, *And He took one of his ribs*, etc. (Gen II, 21)? [*Mi-zalothaw* means] one of his *sides*, replied he, as you read, *And for the second side [zela()] of the tabernacle*, etc. (Ex. XXVI, 20). R. Tanhuma in the name of R. Banayah and R. Berekiah in the name of R. Leazar said: He created him as a lifeless mass extending from one end of the world to the other; thus it is written, *Thine eyes did see mine unformed substance* (Ps. CXXXIX, 16). R. Joshua b. R. Nehemiah and R. Judah b. R. Simon in R. Leazar's name said: He created him filling the whole world. How do we know [that he stretched] from east to west? Because it is said, '*Thou hast formed me behind (ahor) and before (kedem).*' From north to south? Because it says, *Since the day that God created man upon the earth, and from the one end of heaven unto the other* (Deut. IV, 32).

This passage addresses many issues concerning the creation of man, inter alia, the androgynous human being. The Greek influence on the lexeme אנדרוגינוס is evident. The Greek form appears in Plato as well, where the hermaphrodite is a third gender beside that of male and female. Similar references also appear in later rabbinic writings, e.g. in Mishna *Bikkurim* 2:3, which reads: "and the androgyne has ways in common with males and females."⁴⁶ Veltri holds the opinion that the creation of the androgyne is influenced by Gnostic mythology, as witnessed in the hermetic tractate *Poemendres*.⁴⁷ The problem is that these texts are dated rather late (2nd-3rd century). Hence this does not explain why this tradition is used in Jewish literature, and especially in the Septuagint. If this noun indeed represents the Old Greek, then the LXX could be an important witness to an earlier tradition. Whether it has been influenced by Jewish exegetical or Greek philosophical

⁴⁵ See *Midrash Bereshit Rabba codex Vatican 60 (Ms. Vat. Ebr. 60)*, a page index by Rabbi A. P. Sherry (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing Ltd, 1972).

⁴⁶ See G. Veltri, "Septuagint and Midrashic Traditions," 784.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

perspectives unfortunately remains unclear. The tradition as used in *Ber Rabbah* is, of course, a late one, even though it could be based on earlier traditions.⁴⁸ It is also possible that the influence actually came from both sides. I have demonstrated above that the translator of Proverbs in fact made use of Greek philosophical perspectives, including Aristotle, but never in a constructive manner.⁴⁹ He seems to employ such perspectives in order to explicate a Judaic perspective in the text. However, the problem with the reading under discussion is that it does not provide additional insight into any obviously pertinent problem.

Finally it is also possible that the lexeme ἀνδρόγυνος has nothing to do with the Platonic passage, but that it is in effect a statement about these men, that they were sexually weak.⁵⁰ A hint could be found in the nuance of “insensibility of spirit,” suggested by Brown, Driver and Briggs.⁵¹ This interpretation corresponds with the view by J. Freudenthal⁵² that the Septuagint has no explicit reference to any Greek philosophical perspectives.⁵³

3.3. LXX Job

The book of Job is part of the wisdom literature and the Old Greek text is regarded as one of the more freely rendered units.⁵⁴ The text used is the publication by J. Ziegler.⁵⁵ Needless to say, I have discarded the added Theodotonic text (see Pietersma’s review).⁵⁶ A characteristic of this text is that it is substantially shorter than the Hebrew (MT). C. E. Cox has suggested three possible reasons: 1) the meaning of the Hebrew is

⁴⁸ See J. Neusner, *Comparative Midrash. The Plan and Program of Genesis and Leviticus Rabbah* (Brown Judaic Studies 111; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1986).

⁴⁹ Cf. Cook, “The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs,” 524-538.

⁵⁰ At the conference Jan Joosten made this suggestion, which was followed up by a remark by Bill Loader that it may have homoerotic nuances.

⁵¹ Cf. F. Brown with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon with an Appendix C containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody, Mass: Hendrickson Publishers, 2006), 922.

⁵² J. Freudenthal, “Are There Traces of Greek Philosophy in the Septuagint?,” *JQR* 2/3 (1890): 205-222.

⁵³ In a private communication Hermann-Josef Stipp also rejects Platonic influence in this regard. Firstly, for Plato the hermaphrodite was a positive phenomenon and secondly a thing of the distant past; according to him, these would not have been issues against which the translator would have wanted to react.

⁵⁴ Cf. C. E. Cox, “Job,” in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 667.

⁵⁵ J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* XI.4 Job (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

⁵⁶ A. Pietersma, review of J. Ziegler ed., *Job. Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, Vol. 11/4, *JBL* 104 (1985): 305-311.

sometimes obscure; 2) the argumentation in the book is repetitive; and 3) perhaps Job did not have the same authority as other books of the Hebrew scriptures.⁵⁷ Cox also thinks that the abbreviation of the Greek text is the result of the translator's work, whereas other scholars hold the view that a deviating parent text is an acceptable option.⁵⁸ These issues have a direct bearing upon the text under discussion in that one could expect interpretation by the translator. Verse 16 reads somewhat different from MT, namely that Job lived 240 years instead of 140 years. There are also a number of Theodotonic and other additions in verse 17.

3.3.1. *Job 42 verse 14*

MT:

ויקרא שם האחת ימימה ושם השנית קציעה ושם השלישית קרן הפוך

He named the first Jemimah, the second Keziah, and the third Keren-happuch.

LXX:

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὴν μὲν πρώτην Ἡμέραν τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Κασίαν
τὴν δὲ τρίτην Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ

And he called the first day and the second Cassia and the third Horn of Amaltheia (plenty).

The translator is clearly interpreting in this verse. The word ימימה is taken as יום, day. The second word, קציעה, is seemingly rendered literally as Κασίαν, which has the nuance of cinnamon in its semantic field. The Hebrew is related to a variety of cinnamon that is used as an ingredient of anointing oil. The third word, however, is a probable exegetical rendering. Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ is a description that appears in Homer, where it refers to the horn of plenty that was created by Zeus from the she-goat that nursed him in his childhood.⁵⁹ It remains a question whether the translator in fact followed the Homeric tradition directly. This Hebrew verse is already interesting, since only the names of Job's daughters are mentioned, as is the case with Baal's children in the Ugaritic myths.⁶⁰ C. H. Gordon has also drawn sociological parallels

⁵⁷ Cox, "Job," 667.

⁵⁸ Cf. H. M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the LXX of Job, Especially V The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX of Job: The Text and the Script," *HUCA* 35 (1964): 57-78.

⁵⁹ Cf. J. N. Bremmer, "Amaltheia", in *Der neue Pauly. Encyclopädie der Antike* (eds. H. Cancik and H. Schneider; Stuttgart: Verlag J. B. Metzler, 1999), 568.

⁶⁰ Cf. C. H. Gordon, "Homer and the Bible. The Origin and Character of East Mediterranean Literature," *HUCA* 26 (1955): 43-108.

between Homer and the patriarchal period of the Hebrew Bible. Hence it must be possible that the Hebrew already led the translator to this seemingly Homeric interpretation.⁶¹

3.4. LXX HOSEA 4:16

The book of Hosea is part of the so-called 12 smaller prophets, which according to G. E. Howard were all translated by one person.⁶² The Greek rendering of these prophets is based upon Rahlfs's edition.⁶³ Howard defines this rendering as "sometimes distant from the base text and sometimes close to it."⁶⁴ He mentions the fact that Hosee is quite different from the MT in many instances and that literalness is not the most characteristic style of the translator.⁶⁵

3.4.1. Hosea 4 verse 16

MT:

כי כפרה סררה סרר ישראל עתה ירעם יהוה כבבש במרחב

Like a stubborn heifer, Israel is stubborn; can the LORD now feed them like a lamb in a broad pasture?

LXX:

ὅτι ὡς δάμαλις παροιστρῶσα

παροίστρησεν Ἰσραηλ

νῦν νεμήσει αὐτοὺς κύριος

ὡς ἄμνον ἐν εὐρυχώρῳ

For like a frenzied heifer,

Israel went into a frenzy.

Now the Lord will feed them

Like a lamb in a broad place.

The verbal form παροιστρῶ occurs twice in this verse and can be translated as "to rage madly." This verb appears in the LXX and also in classical Greek literature, here only without the preposition. In Euripides, *Bacchus* 119 the related noun refers to "sexual passions." Aristotle 596 b

⁶¹ Cf. M. H. Pope, *Job Translated with an Introduction and Notes* (AB 15; New York: Doubleday, 1965), 292.

⁶² Cf. G. E. Howard, "Hosee," in A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 781.

⁶³ A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum Graece Iuxta LXX Interpretets*. (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935).

⁶⁴ Howard, "Hosee," 777.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 778.

14 uses the noun οἷστρος (insane passion) in reference to a small insect, a worm that drives animals and men to rage: “Some of these are omnivorous, having a taste for every juice, for example the flies, while others are bloodsuckers like horse fly and GADFLY.”

There are also parallels with the mythical story about Zeus and Io. According to this myth in Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 645-686 the former falls in love with Io, the daughter of Inachos, king of Argos. Zeus then turns into a heifer and abducts her after turning her into a beautiful white cow. Naturally Hera is not amused and in turn sends an οἷστρος (insane passion) to trouble Io: 835 “saluted as the renowned spouse of Zeus that was to be thence, stung (οἷστροῦ) by the gad-fly...”

E. Bons finds in this verse in Hosea an allusion to the myth of Io.⁶⁶ This is, however, clearly just a loose allusion and not a direct citation and can thus hardly be used as determinative evidence.

H.-J. Stipp mentioned that παροιστροῦ is also used to render סרב in some contexts, e.g. Ezek 2:6.⁶⁷ According to him, it must be possible that the *Vorlage* of the translator of Hosea contained forms of this root or he simply took it as such. Some scholars in fact accept that the Dodekapheton and Ezekiel were translated by the same person. If this were the case then it is simply unnecessary to speculate about Greek mythological influences in this regard.

3.5. LXX Ezekiel 27:5

The Greek version of Iezekiel was translated relatively literally,⁶⁸ however, according to J. N. Hubler, the translation exhibits both semantic levelling as well as differentiation.⁶⁹ The choice of terminology could also, according to him, reflect adaptations according to political contexts. Ideological considerations, including political contextualisation and religionising,⁷⁰ thus play a role in the translation. One could therefore expect interpretation.

⁶⁶ E. Bons, “Une vache folle dans la Bible? La comparaison ὡς δάμαλις παροιστροῦσα παροιστροῦσεν Ἰσραηλ, (Os 4,16^{LXX}) et son arrière-fond littéraire,” in *L'Écrit et l'Esprit. Etudes d'histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (OBO 214; eds. D. Böhler, I. Himbaza and P. Hugo; Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press-Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 37.

⁶⁷ In a private communication.

⁶⁸ J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum XVI.1 Ezekiel* (Göttingen, 1977).

⁶⁹ Cf. J. N. Hubler, “Iezekiel” in A. Pietersma & B.G. Wright (eds.), *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title*. Oxford, 2007, 946.

⁷⁰ Cf. J. Cook, “Exegesis in the Septuagint,” 1-19.

3.5.1 *Ezekiel 27 verse 5*

MT:

ברושים משניר בנו לך את כל לחתים ארו מלבנון לקחו לעשות תרן עליך
 They made all your planks of fir trees from Senir; they took a cedar from
 Lebanon to make a mast for you.

LXX:

κέδρος ἐκ Σανιρ ὠκοδομήθη σοι ταινίαί σανίδων κυπαρίσσου ἐκ
 τοῦ Λιβάνου ἐλήμφθησαν τοῦ ποιῆσαι σοι ἴστους ἐλατίνους
 A cedar from Sanir was built for you, fillets of timber of cypress were
 taken from Lebanon to make fir-tree masts for you.

The phrase ἴστους ἐλατίνους appears only rarely in Greek literature. According to HR, it is found only in Ezek 27:5 and in Homer (*Od.* 2:424). It remains difficult to determine direct influence in this regard, since these seem to be at most allusions. I have discovered a plethora of similar examples in the LXX version of Proverbs, where D’Hamonville interprets similar allusions as direct evidence of Platonic and/or Stoic influence. From the above it should be evident that I am sceptical of such inferences.

4. *Conclusions*

In this contribution I have demonstrated that the translators of the Septuagint in some instances used external exegetical traditions in their endeavours to render their parent texts. It is imperative that one should distinguish between different books in this corpus. In the book of Proverbs I have found no convincing examples of influence from Greek philosophical perspectives, be it Platonic and/or Stoic influence. As a matter of fact, what on the face of it seems to be Platonic/Stoic, in some instances turned out to be Jewish oriented or Judaically motivated. The final word has clearly not yet been spoken on this issue. However, I remain sceptical of attempts to prove that these translators in fact positively applied Greek-oriented perspectives, including Greek mythological influences.⁷¹ The most that can be inferred from the examples from Job, Hosee and Iezekiel that I dealt with above is that in by far most of these cases one can at most speak of inter-textual

⁷¹ Cf. Cook, “The Translator of the Septuagint of Proverbs,” 524-538. See also Freudenthal, “Traces of Greek Philosophy?,” 205-222.

allusions. None of these examples evinced direct influence from Greek, philosophical/mythological thinking.

PSALMS AS MAGIC?
P.VINDOB. G 39205 REVISITED

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Several years ago my colleague Michael Ernst and I published a sheet of parchment from the Vienna Papyrus Collection containing Ps 43:21-24.27 and Ps 44:1-2 in LXX version (P.Vindob. G 39205 = P.Bingen 16).¹ The main importance of this fragment is the fact that it has preserved signs of a double life: one as part of a parchment codex of very good quality, the other as a single sheet with a different purpose apart from the codex and later.

1. *A Fragment of a Codex Containing Psalms LXX*

About the origin of the codex (where it was produced, housed and finally found) nothing is known. The quality of the material is excellent, and this makes it difficult to distinguish hair side from flesh side, the latter representing the recto. The right margin is preserved completely; about 1-2 mm of it are folded backwards. Of the upper margin 3.5 cm from the left are preserved completely; the rest is incomplete, which is also true of the lower and left margins. On the right and upper margins there are several holes that might stem from producing the parchment² or from some secondary drying.³

¹ Peter Arzt-Grabner and Michael Ernst, “Ps., 43, 21-24.27 und Ps., 44, 1-2 LXX,” in *Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen Octogenarii (P.Bingen)* (ed. Henri Melaerts; Studia varia Bruxellensia 5; Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 79-84, pl. 9; cf. LDAB (Leuven Database of Ancient Books) No. 7997; Alfred Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments: Die Überlieferung bis zum VIII. Jahrhundert* (ed. Detlef Fraenkel; Vol. I, 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 421-422 (No. 2218).

² Cf. D. MacDonald in an email to the author (11 February 1999): “Parchment was, of course, expensive and only a few pages could be made from an entire hide, so there was always the attempt to get as many pages as possible out of a hide. Perhaps to get this page they simply had to incorporate some marginal material. The problem here is that the holes are on two sides of the page, while hides were prepared first and then pages cut from them. Perhaps in this case the hide was trimmed to a smaller rectangular piece, perhaps the finest belly section, before processing, and the holes represent the upper right corner of that rectangular section from which pages were subsequently cut. If the hide had shrunken more than expected in processing, it might be necessary to incorporate edge areas with holes that would usually be trimmed away.” But, such a procedure – to my knowledge – is

Based on a reconstruction of the missing text between the front and the back side of the fragment, the original size of the codex must have been about 14 x 13 cm, which means that it was a type X codex, according to E. G. Turner's typology.⁴ On the verso the pagination number 124 (PKΔ with supralinear stroke) is preserved, which is another hint as to the estimated original size, as a reconstruction of the space needed for the text of Ps 1-43 LXX leads to a number of about 120-130 pages. Therefore, it is very probable that P.Vindob. G 39205 was originally part of a one-column codex starting with the book of Psalms in the Septuagint version.⁵ Whether Psalms was followed by another book of the LXX is uncertain. The text was written with brown ink, but many letters have faded and are only legible with the help of ultraviolet light. Preserved are Ps 43:21-24 on the front, and the last verse of Ps 43 and the first two verses of Ps 44 on the back side (which is equivalent to Ps 44:21-24.27 and 45:1-2 of the Hebrew Bible). The preserved text is arranged in stichs and reads:

Recto

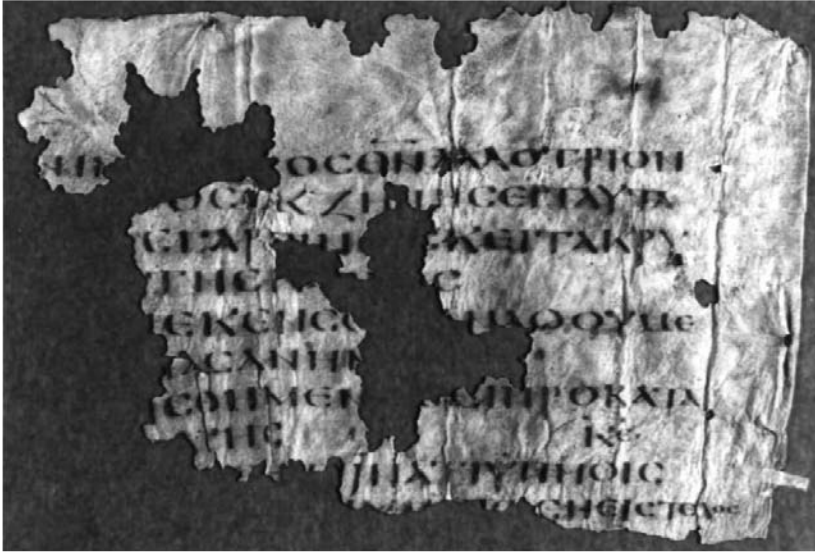
ἡμ[ῶν πρ]ὸς ἑν̄ ἀλλότριον
 [οὐχί] ὁ ἑς ἐκζητήσει ταῦτα
 [αὐτὸ]ς γὰρ γινώσκει τὰ κρύ-
 [φια] τῆς κ[αρδί]ας
 5 [ὅτι] ἔγχεκεν σο[ῦ θ]ανατούμε-
 [θα] πᾶσαν ἡμ[έραν].
 [ἐλογ]ίσθημεν [ὡ]σεὶ πρόβατα
 [σφ]αγῆς
 [ἐξεγέρθ]ητι ἵνα τί ὑπνοῖς κέ'
 10 [ἀνάστηθι κα]ὶ μὴ [ἀ]πόση εἰς τέλος

not attested elsewhere; cf., e.g., several articles in P. Rück, ed. *Pergament: Geschichte, Struktur, Restauration, Herstellung* (Historische Hilfswissenschaften 2; Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991); see also the bibliography pp. 421-428.

³ Again D. MacDonald in an email to the author (11 February 1999): "Wet parchment allowed to dry by itself often curls and wrinkles. The holes could represent an attempt to keep the wet parchment page from curling and wrinkling by stretching it on a frame and securing it to the frame with stitching." I. A. Sparks in an email to the author (February 10, 1999) makes a similar point.

⁴ Cf. Eric G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Haney Foundation Series 18; Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1977), 28: "Breadth 15-12 cm. 'Square'" (examples pp. 28-29).

⁵ Cf. Rahlfs and Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis: Überlieferung*, 421-422 (contrary to the ed. pr. P. Bingen 16).



There were about nine additional lines on the recto containing Ps 43:25-27 that are now missing. The verso which preserves also the pagination of this page starts with the last three words of Ps 43.

Verso

$\overline{\rho\kappa\delta}$

- $\overline{\mu\delta}$ τοῦ ὀνόματό[ς σου]
 εἰς τὸ τ[έ]λος ὑπὲρ τῶ[ν]
 ἀλλοιω[θη]σομένων [τοῖς]
 5 ὑἱοῖς Κο[ρε εἰς σ]ύνεσ[ιν ὧδῃ]
 ὑπὲρ τ[οῦ ἀ]γαπητοῦ
 Ἐξηρ[εύξατ]ο ἡ καρδ[ία μου]
 λόγον [ἀγ]αθόν
 λέγω ἐγὼ τὰ ἔργα μ[ου τῶ]
 10 βασιλεῖ
 ἡ δὲ γλῶ[σσά μου κάλαμος]



The Greek text attests only minor changes to Rahlfs's edition, but some of them are only attested in this fragment:

– Recto, line 5 (= Ps 43:23): [ἔ]γκεν (instead of ἔνεκα) as also in Sinaiticus, Alexandrinus, and P.Lips. inv. 39 (= Rahlfs 2013; Aland AT 59).

– Recto, line 6 (= Ps 43:23): πᾶσαν ἡμ[έραν] instead of ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.

– Recto, line 7 (= Ps 43:23): [ὁ]σεῖ instead of ὄς.

– Verso, line 11 (= Ps 44:2): most probably ἡ δὲ γλῶ[σσά μου] instead of ἡ γλῶσσά μου.⁶

The academic discussion following the edition of P.Vindob. G 39205 was mainly concerned with two points: the fragment's date and its secondary use, i.e. the question of whether it was later used as an artefact of magic or not.

2. The Date of P.Vindob. G 39205

The writing of the parchment belongs to the 'biblical majuscule' but, contrary to the date that we suggested in the ed. pr., and according to the palaeographical remarks of F. Morelli and P. Orsini, the specimen

⁶ For further comments on the variants see P.Bingen, 82-83.

illustrates its formal type in an initial⁷ or even advanced state of decadence.⁸ According to G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, during the advanced state of decadence of the ‘biblical majuscule’ the “contrast between thick and thin strokes appears more accentuated than before ... owing to variations in the angle of writing,” and also “the decorative roundels at the ends of the thin lines are now more evident.”⁹ Orsini compares the writing of P.Vindob. G 39205 to that of P.Ant. I 13 (a fragment of parchment containing parts of *Acta Pauli et Theclae* that – according to G. Cavallo – has to be dated to the end of the first quarter of V C.E.),¹⁰ and to the writing of P.Vindob. G 39209 (= MPER.NS IV 26; mid V C.E.), and he dates P.Vindob. G 39205 to the first half of V C.E.

The comparison to other manuscripts allows for a more accurate dating of the parchment to the second half of V or beginning of VI C.E.: Codex Guelferbytanus Weissemburgensis 64 (see fol. 194-201, 299, 302-303, 311; V);¹¹ Washington MS I (LDAB 3288; Van Haelst 0054; second half V);¹² P.Vindob. G 26093 (MPER.NS IV 29; LDAB 3290; beginning VI).¹³ An outstanding manuscript of the advanced state of decadence of ‘biblical majuscule’ is the Codex Alexandrinus (British Library, Royal Ms. 1 D V-VIII), which can be dated to the third quarter

⁷ Cf. Pasquale Orsini, *Manoscritti in maiuscola biblica: Materiali per un aggiornamento* (Studi archeologici, artistici, filologici, letterari e storici 7; Cassino: Edizioni dell’Università degli Studi dei Cassino, 2005), 58-59: “La scrittura è una maiuscola biblica appartenente alla fase iniziale della decadenza del canone. L’angolo di scrittura mostra delle oscillazioni, visibili soprattutto nei tratti obliqui discendenti da sinistra a destra. Lievi orpelli ornamentali sono presenti alle estremità dei tratti sottili.”

⁸ Cf. Federico Morelli, “La raccolta dei *P. Bingen*,” *CÉg* 77 (2002): 312-321, here 314: elements like “il forte contrasto chiaroscurale, l’accentuazione dei puntini di coronamento alle estremità dei tratti sottili, o la introduzione di elementi estranei al canone come il M di $\theta[\alpha\nu\alpha\tau\acute{o}\mu\epsilon][\theta\alpha]$ a l. 5, fanno attribuire a una fase avanzata di decadenza del canone.”

⁹ Guglielmo Cavallo and Herwig Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300-800* (Bulletin Supplement 4; London: University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, 1987), 56.

¹⁰ Cf. Guglielmo Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Studi e testi di papirologia 2; Firenze: Le Monnier, 1967), 73-74, pl. 57c (contrary to ed. pr., where the parchment is dated to IV C.E.; cf. Cavallo, *Ricerche*, 74 n. 3).

¹¹ Cf. Cavallo, *Ricerche*, 80-81, pl. 66 (= fol. 194 verso)

¹² Cf. *Ibid.*, 87-93 (esp. 91 and 93), pl. 78. For the Z in P.Vindob. G 39205 compare Washington MS I, p. 96, ed. facs. Henry A. Sanders, *The Old Testament Manuscripts in the Freer Collection*, vol. 1, *The Washington Manuscript of Deuteronomy and Joshua* (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 8; New York: Macmillan, 1917). Notice also the reduced characters at the end of several lines on the same page, similar to l. 10 of P.Vindob. G 39205 (cf. also several lines of Codex Alexandrinus, fol. 60 recto; see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 65; see below).

¹³ Cf. Cavallo, *Ricerche*, 81-82, pl. 68b.

of V C.E.¹⁴ (for a comparison with P.Vindob. G 39205, see especially specimens of the third hand, e.g. folio 60 recto).¹⁵ Both manuscripts also have in common reduced characters at the end of several lines (see P.Vindob. G 39205, recto, line 10). For the strange M in l. 5 of the recto, which is clearly different from other Ms of the fragment, see Cod. F 205 of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (LDAB 2215; second half V or first half VI).¹⁶

3. *The Secondary Use of P.Vindob. G 39205*

As several foldings of the parchment are still clearly visible, it is fairly certain that this sheet was still in use later when it was no longer a part of the codex. The outer margin is preserved completely, whereas the inner margin next to the binding is severely damaged, which means that the sheet was folded from right to left (when looking at the recto).¹⁷ Also the increasing spaces between foldings from right to left confirm this reconstruction. The foldings are – from right to left – at cm 1.2, 2.4, 3.5, 4.8, 7.6; the hole in the fragment's centre and the lost part in the upper left corner suggest additional foldings at cm 5.9 and 9.2.

That is what is visible, and what requires some explanation. To think of a secondary use of this sheet of parchment as an amulet or phylacterion is a possible solution, as many amulets were folded to keep them close to one's body or at a safe place because they were supposed to have some apotropaeic power.¹⁸ And especially particular verses of Psalms served as texts that were believed to grant protection and safety.¹⁹ But whereas some scholars are very sure about a widespread use of

¹⁴ Cf. *Ibid.*, 77-79.

¹⁵ See *Ibid.*, pl. 65.

¹⁶ See, e.g., fol. 31 recto (see Cavallo, *Ricerche*, pl. 99; idem, "Considerazioni di un paleografo per la data e l'origine dell' «Iliade Ambrosiana»,» in Guglielmo Cavallo, *Il calamo e il papiro: La scrittura greca dall'età ellenistica ai primi secoli di Bisanzio* (Papyrologica Florentina 36; Firenze: Edizioni Gonnelli, 2005), 163-174, pl. XLIII-XLIV.

¹⁷ Usually the margin next to the binding is preserved best as this part was most protected against damage from outside.

¹⁸ Cf., e.g., P.Duk. inv. 778, ed. by Amphilochios Papatthomas and Csaba A. La'da, "A Greek Papyrus Amulet from the Duke Collection with Biblical Excerpts," *BASPap* 41 (2004): 93-113 (= Rahlfs 2199; LDAB 2992; VI-VII C.E.).

¹⁹ On Psalms as amulets see Paul Collart, "Psaumes et amulettes," *Aegyptus* 14 (1934): 463-467; Claire Préaux, "Une amulette chrétienne aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles," *CdÉ* 10 (1935): 361-370, here 364 n. 6; Robert A. Kraft and Antonia Tripolitis, "Some Uncatalogued Papyri of Theological and Other Interest in the John Rylands Library," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51 (1968): 137-163, here 141 n. 4. See also the bibliography in the following footnote below.

biblical texts for amulets and quite frankly regard such artefacts as proof of the use of magic among Christians,²⁰ others insist that we have to be very careful before attributing ‘magic’ qualities – especially in the sense of having manipulative powers to influence a god or demon or the powers of nature – to an artefact that is not associated with explicit signs of magical use (such as particular drawings or instructions for a magical ritual).²¹

Looking at P.Vindob. G 39205, the fact that Psalms were used for amulets does not necessarily mean that this parchment fragment was also ever used as an amulet; and because it does not show any sign at all of explicit magical use, its apotropaeic use remains doubtful, although this cannot be completely excluded. We have to take into account that the foldings and the way it was preserved simply mean that someone folded this sheet of parchment when it was no longer part of a codex, most probably to keep it as something valuable. Besides using it as an amulet,²² other possibilities are imaginable: to keep the text for memorising,²³ for liturgical reasons, or just by coincidence.²⁴ Anyway, although P.Vindob. G 39205 is just a small fragment with a few verses of two psalms, it is still a convincing example to demonstrate the great value and appreciation of the LXX among Christians for whom it was still important to preserve a single sheet containing some sacred text, even after this piece of parchment was no longer part of a codex but – in several senses – fragmentary.

²⁰ Cf., e.g., Hermann Harrauer and Christian Gastgeber, “Bibel und Amulett,” in *Alles echt: Älteste Belege zur Bibel aus Ägypten* (ed. Jürgen Schefzyk; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 37-43; Thomas J. Kraus, “Septuaginta-Psalms 90 in apotropäischer Verwendung: Vorüberlegungen für eine kritische Edition und (bisheriges) Datenmaterial,” *BN.NF* 125 (2005): 39-73; idem, “P. Oxy. V 840 – Amulett oder Miniaturcodex? Grundsätzliches und ergänzende Anmerkungen,” *Zeitschrift für a n t i k e s C h r i s t e n t u m* 8 (2004): 485-497. On magical amulets in general see Campbell Bonner, *Studies in Magical Amulets: Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950).

²¹ Cf., e.g., Hans Förster, “Christliche Texte in magischer Verwendung: Eine Anfrage,” in *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1-7 August, 20 04*, Vol. 1 (ed. Jaakko Frösén, Tina Purolo, and Erja Salmenkivi; Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum 122/1; Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 2007), 341-352.

²² Förster, “Christliche Texte,” 352, finally concludes: “Und in diesem Sinn ist das gegenständige Pergamentblatt wahrscheinlich als Amulett, jedoch allein deshalb nicht unbedingt auch als magisch zu qualifizieren.”

²³ Cf. Förster, “Christliche Texte,” 346.

²⁴ Cf. Cornelia Römer, “Christliche Texte V: 2000-2001,” *APF* 47 (2001): 368-376, here 368.

EXAMINING THE ‘PLUSES’ IN THE GREEK PSALTER: A STUDY OF THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION *QUA* COMMUNICATION

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A. INTRODUCTION

The Greek Psalter has been called a literal, even “isomorphic,” translation more than once. For instance, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) operates on the assumption that the Greek Psalter (like most other translated books of the LXX) was designed much like an interlinear translation.¹ In so doing, “interlinearity” accounts for so-

¹ The introduction to the NETS Psalms translation refers to the term “interlinear” as a *metaphor* or *visual aid* illustrative of the text-linguistic make-up or constitutive character of the Septuagint in its inception (Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, eds., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title* [New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007], xv). As such it is largely used as a heuristic to explain “interference” in the translation, instances where the formal features of the parent text interrupt the natural use of the Greek language. In other discussions, however, attempts have been made to argue that the LXX (generally) was *designed* as an interlinear translation to function as a sort of linguistic crib for students of a Jewish-Hellenistic school, irrespective of an actual interlinear or diglot layout historically. Thus interlinearity has implications for explaining the historical origins of the LXX. See especially, A. Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer. The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique “From Alpha to Byte”*. University of Stellenbosch 17-21 July, 2000 [ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002], 337-64; also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading Between the Lines – Towards an Assessment of the Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies* (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 2005). For a recent critique of the interlinear model, see Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the ‘Interlinear Paradigm’ in Septuagintal Studies,” in *Studies in Translation: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo (Supplements to the Journal of the Study of Judaism 126)*; eds. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), 163-178.

For other works pertaining to interlinearity and its hermeneutical ramifications, see A. Pietersma, “Hermeneutics and a Translated Text, Delivered: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, December 9, 2005, on the Occasion of the Farewell to Professor Dr. Johan Lust, 2005,” n.p. [cited 1 August 2008]. Online: <http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~pietersm>; idem, “Messianism and the Greek Psalter: In Search of the Messiah,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism* (ed. Michael A. Knibb; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 49-75; idem, “Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits (The Psalter as a Case in Point),” in *Septuagint*

called unintelligibility in (most) Septuagintal translations because of their close linguistic relationship with their Semitic source texts.²

On the face of it, a comparison of the number of different lexical items in the Greek version of the Psalms against the number of different lexical items in the Masoretic Text (MT) appears to support this assumption.³ In fact, the Greek Psalter (excluding Ps 151) operates with 3.2% less overall vocabulary than the MT.⁴ When compared with the

Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures. (SCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 33-45; idem, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 1-12; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretive Significance of LXX-Psalms 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 71-105; idem, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Leiden, 2004* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 27-46.

²The interlinear paradigm emphasizes, on the whole, what is semantically *unintelligible*, rejecting *discourse*-level sensitivity on the part of the translators. For recent discussions highlighting this phenomenon, see Albert Pietersma, "Translating a Translation with Examples from the Greek Psalter," in *Translating a Translation* (BETL CCXIII; ed. Hans Ausloos, et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 169-182; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Who's afraid of Verlegenheitsübersetzungen?," in *Translating a Translation*. (BETL CCXIII; ed. Hans Ausloos, et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 197-212. Interestingly, the translation of the Psalms (NETS) seems to demonstrate considerable textual sensibility, sensitivity, and coherence, at least as much as the NRSV on which it is based. For remarks about the disruption of coherence in the Greek Psalter, see Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 543.

³Though one should not uncritically assume that the MT represents the LXX *Vorlage*, we use it nevertheless, methodologically, as a surrogate for the MT tradition (proto-MT) from which it grew. Clearly, on a macro-level, the Greek Psalter was based on an MT-type *Vorlage*. On the text-critical level, Qumran material (Q) will be consulted for the leverage they can offer in clarifying individual readings. Variants from this corpus could signify differences in the LXX *Vorlage* from our current MT, thereby obscuring or negating the status of a plus or minus. Throughout this article all Q references are included for the sake of *comparison with the MT*. Therefore, the appropriate data shall be provided when Q is extant and demonstrably agrees with the MT (e.g. =11QPsa^a), or deviates from it (e.g. 11QPsa *variant form*). All reconstructed texts in brackets [] – as provided in the DJD (DJDJ) series – will be ignored unless stated otherwise. Instances in which Q is not extant will not be mentioned. The majority of Psalm references cited come from J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPsa)* (DJD IV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965); F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)* (DJD XXIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); Eugene Ulrich, Frank Moore Cross, Joseph A. Fitzmyer, Peter W. Flint, Sarianna Metso, Catherine M. Murphy, Curt Niccum, Patrick W. Skehan, Emanuel Tov, and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *Qumran Cave 4. XI: P salms t o C hronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

⁴Although the interlinear model is not dependent upon a "morpheme for morpheme" correspondence, per se, one would expect that a translation characteristically "interlinear" would in fact betray a very high level of formal correspondence. This is precisely the point made for the Psalms in the introductory comments of the NETS translation ("To the

Septuagint versions of Genesis, Proverbs, Qohelet, and Isaiah, each *arguably* based on an MT-type *Vorlage*, the Greek Psalms come closest to a 1:1 correspondence with the Hebrew in terms of the size of its lexicon.⁵ The polar extremes among these five display an amazing 40% spread in lexical verbosity against an assumed MT-type *Vorlage*.⁶

Table 1.⁷ MT/LXX lexical comparison of “verbosity”

	MT(BHS)	LXX(Rahlfs)	deviation from MT	LXX semantic mode
Isaiah	2,589	2,255	-12.1%	Integration ⁸

Reader of Psalms”): “There can be no doubt that the NETS paradigm of the Greek as an interlinear translation of the Hebrew is applicable to the book of Psalms. That is to say, the linguistic relationship of the Greek text to the Hebrew text is one of dependence and subservience. Yet within that model it has its own profile. Its translation is literal, if literalness is understood to refer to a high degree of consistency in one-to-one equivalence, including not only so-called content words but structural words as well. Thus literalness might be labeled its central characteristic.” Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, 542.

⁵ Though there are differences in the arrangement of chapters and verses in LXX Proverbs, Johann Cook argues for an MT-type *Vorlage*. Alternatively, Emanuel Tov argues that recensional differences account for the shift in order. Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs – Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?: Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); Emanuel Tov, “Recensional Differences Between the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls, Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins Presented to J. Strugnell* (College Theology Society in Religion 5; ed. Harold W. Attridge et al.; Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990), 43-56.

⁶ For a comparative analysis of “verbosity” among English Bible translations, see Karen Jobes, “Relevance Theory and the Translation of Scripture,” *JETS* 50/4 (2007): 773-97, esp. 796. Whereas verbosity in Jobes’ article consisted of the total number of words of the target compared to the total number of words of the source, the present study only compares the total number of *different* words for the sake of LXX comparisons.

⁷ I would like to thank Kirk Vukonich for preparing the database from which these lexical statistics were collated. All raw data used came from Accordance 6.9.2 (Copyright 2006 Oaktree Software, Inc.). The Hebrew vocabulary was derived from the Groves-Wheeler Westminster Hebrew Morphology 4.4, and the LXX comes from the Kraft/Taylor/Wheeler Septuagint Morphology Database v. 3.02, which is based on Alfred Rahlfs ed., *Septuaginta id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

⁸ The term *integration* refers to the lexical-semantic mode in which the Greek translation operates with a smaller vocabulary than its presumed source text. One way this can be accounted for is when a translator opts for a one (Greek) to many (Hebrew) lexical ratio, which itself could reflect an issue of creativity, translational defaults, convenience, or other reasons. The term *differentiation* refers to the opposite situation, where the Greek vocabulary is larger than that of its presumed source. A many (Greek) to one (Hebrew) lexical ratio may be partly responsible for this. Integration and differentiation as a characteristic of a translation could be indicative of whether it is more or less literal, respectively, though naturally much more would need to be accounted for. For such a proposal see Emanuel Tov and Benjamin G. Wright, “Computer Assisted Study of the

Psalms 1-150	2,246	2,175	-3.2%	Integration
[Ps 1-151]	2,246	[2, 184]	[-2.8%]	[Integration]
Qohelet	582	632	+9.2%	Differentiation
Genesis	1,815	2,072	+14.2%	Differentiation
Proverbs	1,375	1,762	+28.1%	Differentiation

Surprisingly, these data show that LXX-Isaiah, a translation characterized by some as “actualization” or “fulfillment-interpretation” and at least partly incongruent with interlinearity, operates with 12.1% fewer unique lexemes than the MT.⁹ On the other hand, LXX-Ecclesiastes has been called “very literal” by some, and even equated with Aquila by others, though the Greek text operates with a 9.2% larger vocabulary than the MT.¹⁰ Yet we concur with Karen Jobes when she warns that the “polarities of formal versus functional equivalence...do not do justice to how language works and how translations accurately communicate the meaning of the source text into a language whose grammatical and syntactical structures differ from those of the source text.”¹¹

For our present task, however, we are not concerned with whether or not the Greek translation was a faithful translation of its source text. Rather, we shall take a glimpse at one phenomenon, the Greek pluses (additions), so as to ascertain how they provide insight into the often overlooked interpretive nature of the Greek Psalter, especially when considered as a whole. Since the Greek Psalter is often characterized as being a hyper-literal translation, and rightly so in places, its lucid expressions, which do appear from time to time, tend to be overshadowed. This is notably evident when one considers the Greek pluses that seem to enhance communicative sense. For instance, in Ps 7:3, rendering the difficult Hebrew participles *פרק ואין מציל* (lit. “tearing

Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX,” *Textus* 12 (1985): 149-187.

⁹ Isaac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah* (MEOL 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948), 83-86; Arie van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah 23 as Vision and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 10-11.

¹⁰ Albert Pietersma refers to the translator of Qohelet as “the most prototypical translator (being very literal) and Iob as the least prototypical (being very free).” Albert Pietersma, *New English Translation of the Septuagint*, xviii. Johann Cook refers to the translator of Qohelet as a “literal” translator, but “not a mechanical one” (Johann Cook, “Aspects of the Relationship Between the Septuagint Versions of Kohelet and Proverbs,” in *Qohelet in the Context of Wisdom* (ed. A. Schoors; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1998), 489. For the equation of LXX-Ecclesiastes and Aquila, see D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (SVT 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 21-33; Johann Cook, “Aspects of the Relationship Between Kohelet and Proverbs,” 492. For a more recent argument, pro Aquila, see especially Françoise Vinel, *L’Ecclésiaste (La Bible d’Alexandrie 18)*; Paris: Cerf, 2002).

¹¹ Karen Jobes, “Relevance Theory,” 797.

away there is no one to deliver”),¹² the Greek opts for a genitive absolute construction, possibly adding μη ὄντος: μήποτε ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων τὴν ψυχὴν μου μὴ ὄντος λυτρουμένου μηδὲ σώζοντος “lest he like a lion seize my soul, with no one to redeem or save.”¹³

Indeed, additions in the Greek often make for smoother readings than would be the case with a strictly source-oriented representation. Ps 67(68):31b offers an interesting case where a Hebrew imperfect וַפָּחַ is traded for a participial object clause, with the article (plus) and the substantival participle it governs enclosing its object (τὰ τοὺς πολέμους θέλοντα). Of further interest is the accusative subject (τοὺς δεδοκιμασμένους) of a passive infinitive (τοῦ μὴ ἀποκλεισθῆναι), hence the purpose clause of NETS, “in order that those tested by silver not be shut out. Scatter nations that want wars.” Many other such examples where a plus aids the clarity and even sophistication of the Greek could be illustrated.¹⁴

Thus, to characterize the Greek Psalter as an interlinear translation based on a supposedly uniform text-linguistic relationship between source and target seems a bit overstated, since without having a fully critical edition, it is difficult to explain away the pervasive differences that do occur or to incorporate them into such a model.¹⁵ Over 400 pluses occur in the text of *Psalmi cum Odis* as compared with the MT, and

¹² Translations of the Hebrew come from the NRSV unless indicated otherwise (e.g. lit.). Translations of LXX examples come from NETS, unless indicated otherwise.

¹³ Though פָּחַ could have been present in the LXX *Vorlage*, cf. Syriac (Sy hereafter). As for the logic of the Greek, Charles Thomson’s translation conveys a conditional idea “if there be none to redeem – none to deliver.”

¹⁴ For example see Ps 7:3 (see above); 31(32):9 πᾶν μὴ ἐγγιζόντων πρὸς σέ; 67(68):31b (see above); 77(78):6 υἱοὶ οἱ τεχθησόμενοι (ידן); 77(78):30 οὐσης ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν (בפימם); 104(105):19 μέγροι τοῦ ἐλεθεῖν τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ (תע-דע).

¹⁵ Though it is but a semi-critical edition, the best available edition of the Greek Psalms to date is Alfred Rahlfs ed., *Psalmi cum Odis. Septuaginta Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis Auctoritate*, X. Göttingen, 1931. A fully critical edition is still awaited. For further details regarding the status of the Greek text and the current state of scholarship regarding the text of the Greek Psalter, see Albert Pietersma, “The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und s eine Tochterübersetzungen* (eds. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 12-32; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Peter C. Austin and Andrey Feuerverger, “The Assessment of Manuscript Affiliation Within a Probabilistic Framework: A Study of Alfred Rahlfs’s Core Manuscript Groupings for the Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSup 332; ed. Robert Hiebert, Claude Cox, and Peter Gentry; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 98-124; Ariane Cordes, “*Der Septuaginta-Psalter?: Zur Geschichte des Griechischen Psalmentextes und seiner Edition*,” in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte*. (Band 32; ed. Erich Zenger; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 2001), 49-60.

minuses occur with roughly one quarter of the frequency.¹⁶ Nearly every psalm is numerously affected in one way or another.¹⁷ While the Greek Psalter constitutes a smaller vocabulary than its presumed *Vorlage*, the statistics in Table 1 do not account for the numerous pluses that serve in part as communicative clues with no additive (unique) lexical stock,¹⁸ as they often appear in the form of small clarifying words of repetitive vocabulary, in the form of relative pronouns, prepositions, interjections, etc. To these we now turn.

B. THE 'PLUSES' OF THE GREEK PSALTER

The pluses (and minuses) of the Greek Psalter offer a gold mine of translational and scribal activity.¹⁹ Yet locating and evaluating them is

¹⁶ In addition to *Psalmi cum Odis* we shall note differences in the important post-Rahlfs Bodmer Papyrus XXIV (= 2110), which covers Greek Pss 17:45-118:44 with but few intermittent lacunae. Instances where 2110 agrees with *Psalmi cum Odis* have not been marked. See Rodolphe Kasser and Michel Testuz, eds., *Papyrus Bodmer XXIV: Psaumes XVI I-CXVIII* (Cologny-Geneva: Bibliothèque Bodmer, 1967). Against this edition, Albert Pietersma's critical review and many corrections shall be considered. See Albert Pietersma, "The Edited Text of P. Bodmer XXIV," *BASP* 17.1-2 (1980): 67-79. For further studies on Papyrus Bodmer XXIV see Dominique Barthélemy, "Le Psautier Grec et le Papyrus Bodmer XXIV," *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 3rd series, 19 (1969): 106-110; idem, "Le Papyrus 24 jugé par Origène," in *Wort, Li ed und Gottesspruch, Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (vol. 1; ed. Josef Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter-Verlag, 1972), 11-19; Albert Pietersma, "Ra 2110 (P. Bodmer XXIV) and the Text of the Greek Psalter," in *Studien zur Septuaginta: Robert Hanhart zu Ehren* (MSU 20; ed. Detlef Fraenkel et al.; Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 262-286; idem, "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*. (OBO 109; ed. Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano; Freiburg: Universitäts-verlag/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 184-202; idem, "Origen's Corrections and the Text of P. Bodmer XXIV," *JNSL* 19 (1993): 133-142.

¹⁷ Possible instances where both pluses and minuses occur include: Ps 9:25(10:4) [see below]; 41(42):6 ἵνα τί /? עוֹד. Note that ἵνα τί may render the *Vorlage*. Some Heb mss and Sy have the interrog. מַה. For עוֹד see minus section below; 57(58):8 לָמוֹ/סֵם; 117(118):12 κησ(ὶ)οῦν/בִּי; 146(147):1 G *supr. scr.* בִּי (>4QPs^d).

¹⁸ In a "relevance-theoretic" sense communicative clues help convey stylistic properties in communication that crosses a language boundary. As such they are "clues that guide the audience to the interpretation intended by the communicator" within interlingual communication (Ernst August-Gutt, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* [Manchester: St. Jerome, 2000], 134). For a theoretical account of relevance theory as applied to LXX hermeneutics, see Randall X. Gauthier, "Toward an LXX Hermeneutic," *JNSL* 35/1 (2009), 19-48.

¹⁹ While pluses are the object of our present study with communicative significance in view, minuses are of lesser value. This is because the communicative significance of a

frequently not as straightforward as one might assume.²⁰ For example the phrase בַּרְדַּ וְגַחְלֵי אֵשׁ (“hail and burning coals of fire”) not present in LXX-17:14 is most likely a dittographic doubling from the previous verse of the Hebrew, as it is also not included in the parallel passage of 2 Sam 22:14; it was likely not present in the *Vorlage* of the Greek Psalter.²¹ While we may call it a minus, it is likely only *apparently* so. More subtly, it is not immediately clear whether ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ (“before him”) in Ps 9:25(10:4) is an intentional rendering of כָּל מַצְוֹתָיו (“all his plans”), representative of a different *Vorlage*, or whether it is a true plus.²² In the present study we shall not regard as pluses such instances where Greek content seems to correspond with Hebrew content, even when there is no clear semantic overlap.²³ Therefore, in Ps

minus is more difficult to ascertain, since one is more often than not reduced to an argument of silence, i.e. what we do not have before us can speak little for its lack of existence.

²⁰ Pluses may also be found extensively on the CCAT database online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/gopher/text/religion/biblical/parallel>, though CCAT was not consulted for the present work. Pluses in the Greek Psalter are partially listed in a number of other sources including the marginal notations of *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS), and the apparatuses of Rahlfs (1979) manual edition, and *Psalmi cum Odis*. Additionally, one may locate pluses in the BHS apparatus, as listed here by BHS versification: MT-Ps 1:4^b; 2:2^c, 10^a; 3:3^b; 4:4^c; 5:7^a, 11^a, 12^b; 7:7^d; 9:19^b; 10:12^a, 15^d; 11:1^a, 4^{b[2x]}; 12:2^a, 9^b; 13:3^b, 6^a; 14:1^a, ^d, 3^c, 5^a; 16:2/3^d, 5^b; 17:1^a, 17^c; 18:36^d, 40^b; 19:6^a, 15^b; 20:5^a; 22:2^a, 32^b; 23:6^b; 24:4^b, 6^b; 25:21^a; 26:11^a, 12^a; 27:5^b, 12^c; 28:2^a, 3^b; 29:1^a, ^b; 30:13^b; 31:1^a, 2^a; 33:10^a, 16^c; 34:18^a, 21^a; 37:28^a; 38:1^a, 17^a; 40:17^b; 41:2^a; 42:6/7^b, 10^c; 44:1^a, 10^c; 45:4/5^a, 6^b, 10^d; 48:5^a, 12^b; 49:15^b; 50:15^b, 18^b; 51:8^b; 55:24^b; 56:10^c, 14^b; 57:4^a; 65:2^b; 67:1^c; 68:14^c; 69:2^a, 31^a; 72:17^a; 74:20^a; 75:2^a, 9^a; 76:1^a; 77:14^a, 16^a; 77:19^a; 78:6^b, 15^a; 79:9^a; 80:1^c, 8^b, 16^c; 81:1^b, 9^a; 84:6^b; 85:9^a; 86:10^a; 88:3^a, 6^c; 89:2^a; 94:15^b; 95:6^a; 97:10^c; 98:1^a, ^b, 3^a; 102:26^a; 104:10^a; 105:33^a, 35^a; 106:32^a, 43^a, 44^a; 107:20^a; 109:21^a, 26^a; 112:4^a; 114:6^a; 115:17^a, 18^a; 118:2^a, ^b, 4^a, 16^a; 119:24^a, 47^a, 49^a, 68^a, 85^a, 93^a, 97^a, 103^b, 119^d, 139^a; 134:1^a; 138:1^c; 139:6^b; 142:8^a; 143:8^a; 146:4^a; 147:1^a, 8^a, 9^b, 11^a; 148:5^a.

²¹ Note, however, that 4QPs^c does support אַחַד [] לְ []; the rest is missing because of a lacuna.

²² See Ps 35(36):3 (=4QPs^a) for a similar situation.

²³ For our purposes, we shall regard as a plus any Greek formal content that cannot be reasonably attributed to formal content in a Semitic counterpart. Conversely, minuses are instances where Hebrew content does not appear to be rendered in the Greek. The words “pluses” and “additions” are used interchangeably in this article. For a bibliography and further reading on pluses and minuses see Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 46-47, 127-133.

There will always be debatable instances throughout where the translator may have been attempting to make sense of an idiom. Greek idioms for Hebrew idioms may, arguably, still be said to produce pluses in their formulation, since a rigidly isomorphic rendering could have been chosen, and sometimes was (cf. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος p. 68-69 below). Furthermore, as could be expected, some instances noted here will

16(17):8, though it is not clear whether ὡς κόραυ ὀφθαλμοῦ (“as the apple of the eye” or “as the eye’s pupil”) renders כַּאִישׁוֹן בַּת עַיִן (lit. as the pupil, the daughter of the eye) or בַּת alone, leaving כַּאִישׁוֹן as a minus, we shall not treat it as a minus since it seems reasonably clear the Greek was motivated by the Hebrew as we have it.²⁴ Interpretive issues like these abound.²⁵ One further point before we move on: for our present purposes, since the superscriptions²⁶ of the Greek Psalter are unique as headings for individual Psalms and collections and so warrant study on their own, we shall not engage them further in the present study.²⁷

undoubtedly be the result of differences in the LXX *Vorlage*, which only a fully critical investigation of the Psalter will shed light on.

²⁴ *LEH* 2:264 glosses κόρη “pupil” as in the “pupil of the eye” or “apple of the eye.” *BDAG* 560, however, states: “primarily meaning ‘girl, young woman’...in our literature used in imagery of something held dear.” The translator probably attempted to find an equivalent expression in the Hebrew that would include the notion of a girl = daughter (בַּת). In such an instance, one Greek word would translate two Hebrew words, thereby resolving the issue.

²⁵ As a result, until we have in hand a fully critical edition of the Psalter, the quantity of pluses and minuses must remain relatively open. Only a close comparative reading can provide a substantially representative list. Nevertheless, it is not important to compile a list of pluses for the sake of having a list, but to understand them for their interpretive and text-critical value, whether they be attributed to translator or a later hand.

²⁶ Superscriptions include Ps 10(11):1; 13(14):1; 23(24):1; 24(25):1; 26(27):1; 28(29):1; 29(30):1; 30(31):1; 32(33):1; 37(38):1; 42(43):1; 43(44):1; 47(48):1; 64(65):1; 70(71):1; 79(80):1; 80(81):1; 90(91):1; 92(93):1; 93(94):1; 94(95):1; 95(96):1; 96(97):1; 97(98):1; 98(99):1; 103(104):1; 115:1(116):10; 118(119):1; 136(137):1; 142(143):1; 143(144):1; 145(146):1; 146(147):1; 147:1(147:12); 148:1.

²⁷ For a trenchant examination of the superscriptions see especially Albert Pietersma “Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter,” in *Proceedings of the X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Oslo, 1998* (SBLSCS 51; ed. Bernard A. Taylor; Atlanta: SBL 2001), 99-138. Pietersma examines multiple superscriptions that are additive to the existing Hebrew, highlighting instances that are apparently compositional rather than translational. Compositional instances are in many cases shown to be motivated exegetically, i.e. by internal criteria from the Greek text. In such cases, Pietersma consistently argues against their originality on three grounds: (1) when all external witnesses support a superscription, internal data are used to weigh against originality; (2) when external data are mixed, for or against a reading, internal data showing exegetical impetus weigh as evidence for a later accretion; (3) when there is no internal evidence for exegesis, Pietersma also argues for a non-original superscription. It would appear that Pietersma’s *assumptions* about interlinearity (though he does not engage this issue here) and what the translator would or would not do based upon those *assumptions* (i.e. compose or add to his Greek without an underlying Hebrew counterpart), motivate his conclusion that such additions most likely arose in the text’s reception history. In essence, if a superscription is compositional, it does not reflect OG. We argue, however, that while many additions are no doubt the result of a complex reception history, the Greek-Psalter was also as an act of interlingual communication for a new audience that provides substantial evidence of additive liberties that did not necessarily stem from the semantic content of a Semitic parent.

Aside from minor additions such as the acrostic markers in Ps 118(119), e.g. α' αλφ, β' βηθ, etc.²⁸ as well as other minor musical notations (e.g. διάψαλμα), or frozen forms (e.g. αλληλουια),²⁹ the Greek Psalter characteristically communicates its message more explicitly than the Hebrew in numerous ways. More precisely, whereas Hebrew poetry remains dense and terse, the Greek is permeated with clarifying words, i.e. verbs, nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and various particles that function as communicative clues to the intended interpretation of its parent text.³⁰ Put differently, often what is assumed or implied in the Hebrew is made more explicit in the Greek. For the sake of illustration, we shall begin with a look at additions in various parts of speech, with grammatical and syntactical significance. Afterward, we shall consider additions on a larger, intertextual scale.

1. Grammatical/Syntactical Analysis of Additions

1.1. Verbs

Against an implicit Hebrew verb, the Greek Psalter tends to add verbs (often εστιν) at the end of a clause, and often in possessive relationships. In such cases, the verb is unnecessary in the Greek, but supplied for explicit communication. Ps 11(12):5 says, τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῶν εστιν ("our lips are our own"), but in the MT וְנִפְתָּח וְנִתְּנָה ("our lips [are]

For other treatments of the superscriptions, see: Henry B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1989), 250-53; Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuaginta-Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte*. (Band 32; ed. Erich Zenger; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 2001), 125-148; R. Stichel, "Zur Herkunft der Psalmüberschriften," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte*. (Band 32; ed. Erich Zenger; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 2001), 149-162; Albert Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition & Reception* (SVT 99; ed. Peter W. Flint and Patrick D. Miller; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 443-475.

²⁸ Both of the above examples are lacking in 2110, though 2110 has its own numbering system. Note the corresponding acrostic letters in BHS א, ב, etc. Ps 118(119):1[2x], 9[2x], 17, 25[2x], 33[2x], 41[2x], 49[2x], 57[2x], 65[2x], 73[2x], 81[2x], 89[2x], 97[2x], 105[2x], 113[2x], 121[2x], 129[2x], 137[2x], 145[2x], 153[2x], 161[2x], 169[2x].

²⁹ For a discussion of αλληλουια in the Psalter, consult Janes Smith, "The Meaning and Function of Αλληλουια in the Old Greek Psalter," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Leiden, 2004* (ed. Melvin K. H. Peters; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 141-152.

³⁰ Jacobus Naudé calls attention to the simplifying tendencies of translation, often in the form of disambiguation (of the source) and additions (in the target), relative to the findings of *corpus-based translation studies*. Jacobus Naudé, "It's All Greek: The Septuagint and Recent Developments in Translation Studies," in *Translating a Translation* (BETL CCXIII; ed. H. Ausloos et al.; Leuven/Paris/Dudley, 2008), 235-36.

our own”). Other additions make for clarifying connections among verses. In 51(52):8 the Greek adds *καὶ ἐροῦσιν* as a segue into v.9: *καὶ ὄψονται δίκαιοι καὶ φοβηθήσονται καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν γελάσονται καὶ ἐροῦσιν* (“And righteous ones will see and fear and will laugh at him and say”), but the MT (=4QPs^c) reads, *ויראו צדיקים ויראו ועליו ישחקו* (lit. The righteous will see and fear, and will laugh at him”). Many other examples could be discussed.³¹

1.2. Nouns and Adjectives

Where the Hebrew implies or assumes a subject, the Greek often supplies one for the sake of clarity. For instance the subject is explicit in 33(34):18 *ἐκέκραξαν οἱ δίκαιοι καὶ ὁ κύριος εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν* (“the righteous cried, and the Lord listened to them”) where it is only implicit in the MT (*צעקו ויהוה שמע*, “they cry out, and YHWH hears”).³² Greek pluses in this category, however, more regularly consist of *κύριος* or *θεός*.³³ Consider *ὅτι ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν ὁ κύριος* (“because in our humiliation the Lord remembered us”) in 135(136):23, whereas the MT (= 4QPsⁿ) reads, *לנו זכר לנו שבשפלנו* (“It is he who remembered us in our lowly state”). Additionally, in the case of *κύριε*, the Greek Psalms portray a heavier use of the vocative than the MT, where 27 of the 268 occurrences are additive.³⁴ Additive adjectives occur frequently as well. *Πᾶς* occurs with some regularity in the Greek Psalter. As in Ps 2:10 (*יִשְׁפֹּט = πάντες οἱ κρινόντες*), 74:3(75:2)*³⁵ (*נפלאות =*

³¹ See also Ps 25(26):3 *ἐστιν*; 36(37):26 *ἔσται*, 39 *ἐστιν* [though 2110 could read *αὐτῶν* see A. Pietersma, “The Edited Text of P. Bodmer,” 71]; 41(42):10 *εἶ* (see BHS note); 43(44):16 *ἐστιν*; 48(49):13 *ὦν*, 21 *ὦν*; 49(50):8 *ἐστιν* [>2110], 18 *ἐτίθεις* (though cf. *שמה* of Sy and Targ.; possibly in LXX *Vor*); 51(52):8 *ἐροῦσιν* (=4QPs^c); 57(58):12 *ἐστιν*; 58(59):10 *εἶ* (cf. Sy which places the 2nd pers pro. *הוא* before *אלהים*, though this may testify to the same type of plus in both), 18 *εἶ* (same issue as in v.10); 77(78):35 [2x] *ἐστιν*; 88(89):9 *εἶ*; 90(91):2 *εἶ*; 91(92):16 *ἔστιν*; 101(102):26 *εἶσιν* (=4QPs^b); 129(130):4 *ἐστιν*.

³² Although, in Ps 33(34):18 *οἱ δίκαιοι* is also in Targ and Sy. The LXX *Vor* may have included it as well.

³³ *Κύριος* and *θεός* are attested variously in the Syriac and Targum. See, for example, Ps 2:12 *κύριος*; 17(18):8 *ὁ θεός* (=11QPs^c); 21(22):32 *ὁ κύριος* (also in Sy); 96(97):10 *κύριος* (also Targ); 97(98):1 *κύριος*; 102(103):11 *κύριος* [>2110]; 135(136):23 *ὁ κύριος* (=4QPsⁿ).

³⁴ Ps 5:11 (=4QPs^a); 7:7*; 24(25):21* [>2110]; 30(31):20* (a few Heb Mss include *יהוה*); 34(35):18*, 23; 39(40):17; 43(44):27; 47(48):12* [>2110] (a few Heb Mss and Sy include *יהוה*); 50(51):20* [>2110]; 54(55):24; 78(79):9; 79(80):8 [*ὁ θεός* in 2110]; 83(84):6; 87(88):3* [>2110]; 93(94):19* [>2110]; 101(102):26 (=4QPs^b); 118(119):7* [>2110], 68 (also Sy), 85, 93*, 97, 168; 137(138):1 (several Heb Mss and Versions include *יהוה*, so BHS app.); 138(139):13; 141(142):8*; 142(143):8.

³⁵ In this paper an asterisk (*) indicates material deemed either unoriginal or of questionable origin in the NETS marginal readings, as based on the original NETS Psalms

πάντα τὰ θαυμάσιά σου),³⁶ and the Greek Psalter tends to quantify its Hebrew counterpart in such instances with a πάντες + article + participle or πάντες + article + noun construction, where πᾶς is typically plural.³⁷ Other examples could be noted.³⁸

1.3. Pronouns

Relative pronouns are frequently added for the sake of clarity and explicit communication. Occurring in multiple syntactical arrangements, relative pronouns regularly circumvent readings which, if translated woodenly, might produce awkward Greek.³⁹ Consider the following examples: In the *nominative*, e.g. 82(83):15 ὡσεὶ πῦρ ὃ διαφλέξει δρυμόν “like a fire that will blaze through a forest,” but the Hebrew employs an imperfective form כּאשׁ תּבעֵר יֵער “As fire consumes the forest”; *genitive*, e.g. 18(19):4 λόγοι ᾧν οὐχὶ ἀκούονται αἱ φωναὶ αὐτῶν “words, the articulations of which are not heard,” but in the Hebrew דברים בלי נשמע קולם “words; their voice is not heard”; *dative*, e.g. 31(32):9 μὴ γίνεσθε ὡς ἵππος καὶ ἡμίονος οἷς οὐκ ἔστιν σύνεσις lit. “do not be like a horse or a mule in whom there is no understanding,” but in the Hebrew אַל תהיו כסוס כפרד אין הבין “Do not be like a horse or mule, without understanding”; *accusative*, e.g. 7:16 καὶ ἐμπεσεῖται εἰς βόθρον ὃν εἰργάσατο, lit. “and he shall fall into the hole that he made,” but the Hebrew again employs an imperfective form:

fascicle published in 2000. Albert Pietersma ed., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under that Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Many questionable readings have been eliminated altogether in the revised 2007 edition. Since NETS is interested in translating the OG, as far as possible, it questions not only pluses, but also readings within *Psalmi cum Odis* that appear to be spurious (e.g. καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ μακροθύμος, a non-plus, is questionably original in 7:2) as well as variant readings not included in the body of *Psalmi cum Odis* that appear to be original (e.g. the underlined word is omitted in *Psalmi cum Odis*, but translated in NETS because of a preferable variant: Ps 7:7 καὶ ἐξεγέροθητι; 41(42):6 ἢ ψυχὴ μου; 42(43):5 ἢ ψυχὴ μου; 46(47):5 ἑαυτοῦ, though *Psalmi cum Odis* = αὐτοῦ; 48(49):10 ἐπὶ εἰς τέλος; 53(54):3 κρινεῖς though *Psalmi cum Odis* = κρινόν; 89(90):16 ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα σου; 104(105):28 καὶ οὐ παρεπίκραναν).

³⁶ πάντα > 2110, also attested in Sy.

³⁷ Ps 2:10 (one Heb Ms includes כּל); 5:7, 12* (also Sy; בּכה אהבי in 4QPsa); 17(18):40*; 20(21):9 (2 Heb Mss and Targ include לּכל); 23(24):1 (also Sy); 74:3(75):2*; 75(76):6 (also Sy); 98(99):8; 102(103):20 (a few Heb Mss include כּל); 117(118):4; 137(138):4; 145(146):4 (also Sy).

³⁸ Ps 21(22):17 πολλοί (also Targ); 35(36):5 πάσι (4QPsa דרך כּול); 83(84):11 μία; 85(86):10* ὁ μέγας; 104(105):33* πᾶν [>2110].

³⁹ This is especially noticeable in Hebrew asyndetic relative clauses, where the translator (or later hand) sometimes opts for a clarifying pronoun for the sake of Greek sense. See Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, 1990), §19.6a.

יפלו בשחת יפלו, lit. “and fall into a pit they make.”⁴⁰

Personal pronouns are very often interjected in the translation for clarity to serve as an *explicit subject*, e.g. 73(74):13 σύ συνέτριψας τὰς κεφαλὰς τῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὕδατος (“you shattered the heads of the dragons upon the water”), but in the MT the subject is merely implicit in the verb: שברת ראשי תנינים על המים (“you broke the heads of the dragons in the waters”); *explicit p redicate*, e.g. 55(56):10 ἰδοὺ ἔγνων ὅτι θεός μου εἶ σύ (“Look, I knew that you are my God”), but in the MT, זה ידעתי כי אלהים לי (“This I know, that God is for me”); *explicit indirect o bject*, e.g. 118(119):84 πότε ποιήσεις μοι ἐκ τῶν καταδιωκόντων με κρῖσιν; (“When will you do me right against those who persecute me?”), but in the MT מתי תעשה ברדפי משפט (“When will you judge those who persecute me?”); and as an *explicit direct o bject*, e.g. 45(46):2 βοηθός ἐν θλίψεσιν ταῖς εὐφρούσαις ἡμᾶς σφόδρα (“very much a helper in afflictions that befall us”), but in the MT עזרה מאד בצרות נמצא מאד (“a very present help in trouble”). By making explicit what was evidently implicit in the source to the translator, these subtle shifts often amount to a rewriting of the text with significant differences in meaning. Many other examples could be examined.⁴¹

⁴⁰ See also Ps 7:7 ῶ (also Sy), 16 ὄν; 9:16 ῆ; 9:28(10:7) οὐ; 14(15):3 ός; 17(18):1 ῆ, 44 ὄν; 18(19):4 ῶν; 20(21):12 ῆν; 24(25):12 ῆ; 26(27):7 ῆς; 31(32):2 οὐ [though 2110 shifts to the nominative ός], 9 οῖς; 32(33):12 ὄν (=4Ps^d); 33(34):9 ός; 34(35):8 ῆν; 43(44):2 ός; 44(45):9 ῶν (=4QPs^e); 52(53):6 οὐ; 55(56):13 ᾶς; 56(57):2 οὐ; 57(58):8 οὐ; 64(65):5 ὄν; 67(68):17 ὄ [>2110]; 73(74):2 ῆς, 12 ᾶ, 60 οὐ; 79(80):16 ὄν, 18 ὄν; 80(81):6 ῆν (=11QPs^d); 82(83):15 ὄν; 83(84):6 οὐ, 7 ὄν; 88(89):49 ός [>2110], 50 ᾶ (the reconstruction in 4QPs^e suggesting that אשר occurred here is due to the spaces allowable in the line, following a few Heb Mss, Sy, Targ, La+*sicut*, see DJD XVI, 79); 89(90):15 ῶν; 92(93):1 ῆτις [>2110]; 93(94):13 οὐ (=4QPs^b); 95(96):10 ῆτις; 98(99):7 ᾶ; 103(104):9 ός; 104(105):8 οὐ; 108(109):19[2x] ὄ, ῆν [ῆν > 2110]; 115:3[116:12] ῶν; 117(118):22 ὄν, 24 ῆν [possibly lacking (>) in 2110, though note the inserted, superscripted η]; 131(132):5 οὐ; 140(141):9 ῆς. Other pronouns such as indefinite-relative (77[78]:8 ῆτις [=11QPs^d]), demonstrative (94[95]:10 ἐκείνη [also Sy]; 117[118]:22 οὗτος), and interrogative pronouns (88[89]:7 καὶ τίς) also occur as pluses.

⁴¹ See for example Ps 2:8 σοι (also Sy, see BHS app. תג-); 2:11 αὐτῶ; 3:8 σύ; 4:4 μου; 9:2 σοι; 9:31(10:10) αὐτόν; 17(18):36* αὐτή; 19(20):10 σε; 20(21):3 αὐτόν; 21(22):2 <πρόσχε<μοι>; 21(22):25 μου; 25(26):12 σε; 26(27):5* μου [>2110]; 31(32):7 με; 33(34):18 αὐτῶν; 33(34):7 αὐτοῦ; 34(35):5 αὐτούς; 45(46):2 ἡμᾶς; 48(49):13 αὐτοῖς [καὶ ὠμοιώθη αὐτοῖς > 2110, though Sy supports καὶ ὠμοιώθη αὐτοῖς, so BHS app.; =4QPs^c]; 55(56):10 σε, εἰδὺς; 65(66):19 μου [> 2110]; 68(69):27 αὐτοῖ; 69(70):4* μοι [> 2110; mlt Heb Mss and Vers support לי, so BHS app.]; 73(74):13 σύ; 73(74):6 αὐτήν; 77(78):6 αὐτά (=11QPs^d); 80(81):8 με; 90(91):4 σε (also Sy); 101(102):3 σε, 24 αὐτῶ (=11PQs^a), 26 σύ [>2110; =4QPs^b]; 103(104):32 αὐτήν (=11QPs^a); 104(105):39 [2x]* αὐτοῖς [>2110; =4QPs^c]; 105(106):29 αὐτόν (though see BHS app. A few Heb Mss and Vers support והו), 32 αὐτόν (also Sy), 43 αὐτόν (also Sy and Targ); 106(107):20 αὐτούς (also Sy); 107(108):12 σύ (a few Heb Mss and Sy support אתה, so BHS app.);

1.4. *Particles*

Since particles are, generally speaking, relatively scarce in biblical poetry, additive particles could also play an important role in discourse analysis of the Greek Psalms.⁴² Among other things, a variety of adverbs and other mixed particles could show a communicative attempt to make semantic coherence of the Hebrew with ramifications beyond the level of word, clause, or verse.⁴³ For example 1:4 adds οὐχ οὕτως “not so”; 6:11 σφόδρα “very much”; and 22(23):2 ἐκεῖ “there.” Other particles include: interjections 26(27):6 ἰδοὺ “behold”; inferential particles 30(31):23* ἄρα “then, therefore”; and intensive particles as in 121(122):6 δὴ (“indeed”), etc.⁴⁴

1.5. *Prepositions*

Individual prepositions and phrases are sometimes added into the Greek Psalter where they are absent or only implicit in the Hebrew. Take for example: ὑπὲρ ἐμέ (37[38]:20, =4QPs^a); πρὸς σέ (73[74]:23); ἐν ἐμοί and πρὸς αὐτόν (84[85]:9), περὶ (115:3[116:12]), etc.⁴⁵

1.6. *Conjunctions*

Not surprisingly, conjunctions also play an additive role in the Greek Psalter.⁴⁶ In 9:21, for instance, ὅτι introduces an object clause after a

113:20(115:12) ἡμᾶς (also Sy, see BHS app. = ויברכנו); 113:25(115:17) σε; 118(119):84 μοι; 144(145):16 σύ.

⁴² Ironically, it is also precisely the relative paucity of particles in poetry that should steer one away from the expectation of drastic discourse-level results.

⁴³ A contrasting view is that the translator operated on a more or less logocentric model, where context played little if any role in translational decision making. See S. Oloffson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. (CBOTS 30; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), 14; A. Pietersma, “Translating a Translation,” 169-182.

⁴⁴ See also Ps 7:6* ἄρα; 34(35):14[2x] οὕτως, 25* εὐγε [εὐγε is only found once in 2110, albeit within a hypothetical reconstruction. There is not enough room on the line, however, for a second occurrence.]; 36(37):2 ταχύ (=11QPs^d); 38(39):8 οὐχί; 67(68):3 οὕτως (a few Heb Mss include ב, so BHS app.); 73(74):8 δευτε; 76(77):11 νῦν; 82(83):11* ὡσεὶ; 93(94):8 δὴ; 121(122):6 δὴ, 7 δὴ; 132(133):1 δὴ (=11QPs^b).

⁴⁵ See also 1:4 ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς; 9:25(10:4) ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ; 9:36(10:15) δι’ αὐτήν; 10(11):4 εἰς τὸν πένητα (also SyroHex and LXX papyrus Londiniensis, so BHS app.); 16(17):7 ἐπι σέ; 17(18):36 εἰς τέλος; 18(19):15 διὰ παντός; 74(75):9 εἰς τοῦτο (also Sy = וְיָאֵל so BHS app.); 84(85):9 ἐν ἐμοί and πρὸς αὐτόν [instead of πρὸς αὐτὸν καρδίαν 2110 reads ἐπι καρδίαν μου]; 89(90):10 ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς.

⁴⁶ For example, Ps 5:5* οὐδέ (while οὐδέ could well render אִלַּי, a few Heb Mss read אִלַּי); 9:21 ὅτι; 9:34(10:13) γάρ; 9:35(10:14)* οὐν; 15(16):2 ὅτι; 25(26):12* γάρ (=4QPs^f); 28(29):8* καὶ (also Sy); 30(31):24 ὅτι; 32(33):20 ὅτι (also Sy = כִּי); 36(37):29* δέ [> 2110]; 41(42):6 ἵνα τί (a few Heb Ms include the interrog.); 48(49):10 ὅτι [note shift in word order in 2110]; 53(54):6 γάρ; 54(55):17* δέ; 55(56):4* δέ; 59(60):14* δέ

verb of perception (γνώτωσαν), though only the sense of the Hebrew warrants it, e.g. ידעו גוים אנוש המה (lit. Let nations know they [are] men). In 53(54):6, γάρ introduces an explanatory clause: ἰδοὺ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς βοήθει μοι (“For, look, God helps me”), whereas the MT has no conjunction לִי הנה אלהים עוזר (lit. “Behold, God is my helper”).⁴⁷ Ps 70(71):8 adds an entire result clause ὅπως ὑμνήσω τὴν δόξαν σου “that I may sing a hymn to your glory,”⁴⁸ and in 80(81):11 γάρ serves as an explanatory conjunction, e.g. ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ θεός σου (“For I am the Lord your God”), though the Hebrew does not include it אנכי יהוה אלהיך (“I am the Lord your God”).

1.7. Articles

Articles are only occasionally added in the Greek translation. Instances where an article governs an unexpected participle in the Greek make for questionable pluses.⁴⁹ Since a substantival participle in 59(60):12 takes the place of the Hebrew perfect form, it is arguable whether the change in part of speech is to be regarded as a plus at all: οὐχὶ σὺ ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀπωσάμενος (“Are you not the one that rejects us, O God?”) אלהיך זנחתנו (“Have you not rejected us, O God?”). In a few questionable instances, an article is used to introduce an adjectival clause (e.g. 67[68]:25* αἱ πορεῖαι τοῦ θεοῦ μου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ⁵⁰ ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ, “the processions of my God, my King, who is⁵¹ in the holy place”; Ps 91(92):13* reads ὡσεὶ κέδρος ἣ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ πληθυνθήσεται, lit. “they shall increase like a cedar which is in Lebanon”).⁵²

[>2110]; 61(62):2 γάρ (a few Heb Mss and Sy = כִּי); 65(66):15* καὶ [>2110]; 71(72):6* καὶ; 72(73):25 γάρ; 80(81):11 γάρ; 87(88):17* καὶ [>2110]; 88(89):11* καὶ; 90(91):15* καὶ; 98(99):5 ὅτι (a few Heb Mss support כִּי); 101(102):27* καὶ [>2110, though = 4QPs^b]; 114(116):8* καὶ (though several Heb Mss and Sy include וְ); 132(133):3* καὶ (though one Heb Ms and Sy attest to וְ, so BHS app.); 137(138):1 ὅτι ἤκουσας τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου; 142(143):9* ὅτι (a few Heb Mss include כִּי here).

⁴⁷ Also Sy

⁴⁸ 2110 expansively reads σπας ολην την ημεραν υμνησω την δοξαν της μεγαλοπεραν σου.

⁴⁹ For example, Ps 70(71):18 ἡ ἐρχομένη; 76(77):15 ὁ ποιῶν; 77(78):6 οἱ τεχθισόμενοι; 79(80):2[2x] ὁ ὀδηγῶν, ὁ καθήμενος; 83(84):13 ὁ ἐπιζών; 96(97):9* ὁ ὑψιστος [>2110].

⁵⁰ > 2110

⁵¹ Gloss limited to NETS (2000) marginal note, but eliminated altogether in the 2007 edition.

⁵² In 2110 ἣ precedes κέδρος thereby serving a different function. Frag. 2 from 1QPs^a includes just enough of the text to represent the MT (וְ בלבנון כִּי). See DJD I, 69.

2. *Intertextual Additions*

Under the rubric “intertextual additions,” we shall now consider five categories into which pluses in the Greek Psalter may be grouped: 1. Intra-psalm additions, 2. Inter-psalm additions, 3. Extra-psalm additions, 4. Idiomatic additions, 5. Other additions. Moving concentrically outward from highly localized pluses (1), to additions in the Psalms further removed (2), then to other books (3), and finally even to potentially non-textual influences (4 & 5), we shall briefly highlight examples that may be likewise indicative of attempts at increasing communicative effectiveness, which in turn could signify (potentially) increased exegetical importance.

2.1. *Intra-Psalm Additions*

Intra-psalm additions are pluses that can be attributed to semantic content from within the same verse or psalm, many of which may also be idiomatic additions (see 2.4. below), and comprise the largest number of examples.⁵³ We have attempted to include examples here that were most likely motivated from within the given psalm. For instance, Ps 117(118):1 and v.29 form an *inclusio* around the psalm with the reading, ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι ἀγαθός ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος

⁵³ Ps 13(14):1 οὐκ ἔστιν ἕως ἐνός [cf. 13(14):3]; 17(18):20 ὀύσεταιί με ἐξ ἐχθρῶν μου δυνατῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν μισούντων με [cf. 17(18):18]; 36(37):36 [see example explained in 2.1.]; 37(38):17 οἱ ἐχθροί μου [cf. 37(38):20 and 40(41):12?]; 38(39):12 ταράσσεται [cf. 38(39):7]; 44(45):6 δυνατέ [cf. 44(45):4]; 44(45):10 περιβεβλημένη πεποικιλμένη [cf. 44(45):14]; 55(56):5* ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν [cf. 55(56):3, 6, common expression, see 2.4. below]; 57(58):11* [>2110; ἀσεβῶν parallels ἀμαρτωλοῦ in same verse]; 64(65):2* ἐν Σιων... ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ [>2110; completes parallelism in verse, see also 101(102):22]; 68(69):30 τοῦ προσώπου σου [σου >2110; cf. 68(69):18]; 72(73):13 [see above, cf. 72(73):11]; 73(74):5 καὶ οὐκ [cf. 73(74):9 οὐ γνώσεται]; 79(80):16 [also in Sy]; 103(104):10 ὕδατα >2110, though =4QPs^d וַיִּבְרַח [cf. Ps 103(104):3, 6]; 108(109):21 ἔλεος see same verse; 113:11(115:18) ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐν τῇ γῆ [reads with partial variation in 2110; cf. 113:11(115:3)*, also 112(113):6; 134(135):6; 49(50):4]; 113:17(115:9) οἶκος [a few Heb Mss and Sy attest to בית; cf. 113:20(115:12), also Ps 97(98):3; 117(118):2; 134(135):19]; 113:26(115:18) οἱ ζῶντες [cf. explicit contrast οἱ νεκροί 113:25(115:17)]; 117(118):6 βοηθός [also Sy, cf. 117(118):7]; 117(118):28 εἰ σύ [=11QPs^a, cf. same verse, harmonizes parallel]; 117(118):28 ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ὅτι ἐπήκουσάς μου καὶ ἐγένου μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν [=11QPs^a], cf. 117(118):21]; 118(119):24 τὰ δικαιώματά σου [cf. Ps 118(119):5, 8, 12, 16, 23, 24, 26, 33, 48, 54, 56, 64, 68, 71, 80, 83, 93, 94, 112, 117, 118, 124, 135, 141, 145, 155, 171]; 118(119):47 σφόδρα [cf. Ps 118(119):4, 8, 43, 47, 51, 96, 107, 138, 140, 167]; 118(119):119* διὰ παντός [=5QPs, cf. common expression, 2.4., 118(119):33, 44, 109, 117; see also Ps 15(16):8; 18(19):15; 24(25):15; 33(34):2; 34(35):27; 37(38):18; 39(40):12,17; 49(50):8; 50(51):5; 68(69):24; 69(70):5; 70(71):6,14; 71(72):15; 72(73):23; 73(74):23; 104(105):4; 108(109):15,19]; 135(136):7* μόνω [cf. 135(136):4].

αὐτοῦ (“Acknowledge the Lord, because he is good, because his mercy is forever”). Verses 2, 3, and 4 each include the plus ὅτι ἀγαθός as they harmonize with the inclusio (cf. also LXX-Ps 53:8; 134:3; 146:1). Further, where v.3 reads εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ααρων (“Do let Aaron’s house say”), v.2 likewise harmonizes with εἰπάτω δὴ οἶκος Ἰσραηλ (“Do let Israel’s house say), where οἶκος is a plus.⁵⁴ Similarly, ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ in 36(37):36 is an addition most likely motivated by τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ in v.10 of the same psalm. Likewise, υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου (ἰβ) in 79(80):16 harmonizes with υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου (םדא ἰב) in v.18.

2.2. *Inter-Psalm Additions*

2.2.1. *Near*

Inter-psalm references sometimes arise between two different psalms in close proximity,⁵⁵ and are perhaps the clearest illustration of cross pollination among the Psalms.⁵⁶ Either exegetical familiarity or liturgical explanations could be offered, among others. Consider the examples below, where the single-underlined material in the examples on the right is the suggested source from which the double-underlined plus material was derived.

⁵⁴ MT-Ps 118:2 is identical to 4QPs^b at this point, and probably represents the LXX *Vorlage*. The gap in v.3 must certainly represent the MT reading, but v.4 is missing altogether. However, 2110 lacks οἶκος, ὅτι ἀγαθός in 117:2 and ὅτι ἀγαθός in v.4.

⁵⁵ Inter-psalm references are pluses that can be attributed to semantic content within other psalms. This category is divided into two subcategories: *Near* – These consist of adjacent psalms or psalms within relatively close proximity, e.g. psalms within “collections”; *Far* – These consist of psalms further removed, neither adjacent nor part of a collection in the Hebrew (MT) tradition. Editorial work on the Hebrew Bible has grouped Psalms in a way that proximity and collection have a bearing on exegesis. Since LXX Psalms follows the MT tradition and there is evidence that the Greek psalms were in many cases grouped into collections at least in terms of their reception history, we have simply followed this trend. In this way we have offered a system of categorization that looks at highly local instances of additions and works outward to instances further removed. See pertinent studies on macro-level redaction in the Hebrew Psalter in Gerald H. Wilson, *The Editing of the Hebrew Psalter* (SBL Dissertation Series 76; Chico: Scholars Press, 1985); Nancy. L. deClaisse-Walford, *Reading from the Beginning: The Shaping of the Hebrew Psalter* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997); Marko Marttila, *Collective Reinterpretation in the Psalms: A Study of the Redaction History of the Psalter* (FAT II/13; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2006), 164-239.

⁵⁶ See for example Ps 23(24):4-5 τῶ πλησίον αὐτοῦ οὗτος [cf. 14(15):4 or 23(24):7], οὗτος ties v.4 and 5 together; 36(37):28 ἄνομοι δὲ ἐκδιωχθήσονται [allusion? Ps 100(101):5, 8; Isa 29:20; though note that 2110 omits δέ. Pietersma however argues for αγ[ιοι] in agreement with 2013 Sa (A. Pietersma, “The Edited Text of P. Bodmer,” 71); see BHS app. for suggested confusion]; 52(53):3 ἦ [see above]; 72(73):28* ἐν ταῖς πύλαις τῆς θυγατρὸς Σιών [cf. 9:15]; 116(117):2 μένει [cf. μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 110(111):3, 10; 111(112):3, 9].

a. LXX-Ps 25:9 in 27:3

	<u>Ps 27(28):3</u>	<u>Ps 25(26):9</u>
MT	אל תמשכני עם רשעים ועם פעלי און	אל תאסת עם חטאים נפשי ועם אנשי דמים חיי
NRSV	Do not drag me away with the wicked, with those who are workers of evil.	Do not sweep me away with sinners, nor my life with the bloodthirsty.
LXX	μη συνελκύσης μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν <u>τὴν ψυχὴν μου</u> καὶ μετὰ ἐργαζομένων ἀδικίαν <u>μη συναπολέσης με</u>	<u>μη συναπολέσης</u> μετὰ ἀσεβῶν <u>τὴν ψυχὴν μου</u> καὶ μετὰ ἀνδρῶν αἱμάτων τὴν ζωὴν μου
NETS	Do not drag <u>my soul</u> away with sinners; together with workers of injustice <u>do not destroy me</u>	Do not <u>destroy my soul</u> together with the impious and my life with men of blood

There are insufficient external grounds for regarding the pluses in this verse as secondary,⁵⁷ in which case the translator may have drawn from the material in LXX-Ps 25:9. The subject matter of vindication of the righteous (τὴν ψυχὴν μου, με) and judgment of sinners/wicked (ἀμαρτωλῶν, ἀσεβῶν) in close proximity prompted a close comparison between the two verses.⁵⁸

At other times proximity within “collections” proved to be an attraction between psalms, either for the translator or later compiler. The following example from the so-called “Songs of Ascents” shows such an intertextual connection. If secondary, such connections most likely show evidence that Greek Psalms were intended to be used in collections.

b. LXX-Ps 134:2 in 133:1

	<u>Ps 133(134):1*</u>	<u>Ps 134(135):2</u>
MT	העמדים בבית יהוה בלילות	שעמדים בבית יהוה בחצרות בית אלהינו

⁵⁷ The additional reading with τὴν ψυχὴν is witnessed by B' Sa R' Aug and He*. Witnesses without τὴν ψυχὴν are also strong: S La^G Ga L'' 1219'. *Psalmi cum Odis* gives no support for μη συναπολέσης με either way.

⁵⁸ Ps 27:3 thereby establishes a more explicit parallel idea (A μη συνελκύσης, B μετὰ ἀμαρτωλῶν, C τὴν ψυχὴν μου, B' μετὰ ἐργαζομένων ἀδικίαν, A' μη συναπολέσης, C' με), in contrast to the incomplete parallelism of the Hebrew (A, B, C, -, -, C'). Whether poetic devices such as parallelism are intentional in the translated Greek of the Psalms (or other books) is questionable, but nevertheless needs further consideration. For a study that examines the possibility of Greek poetic devices in translation, see D. L. Gera, “Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15,” *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 107-120.

NRSV	who stand by night in the house of the Lord!	you that stand in the house of the Lord, in the courts of the house of our God.
LXX	οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου <u>ἐν ἀύλαϊς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν</u>	οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου <u>ἐν ἀύλαϊς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν</u>
NETS	who stand in the Lord's house! <u>in the courts of our God's house.</u>	you that stand in the Lord's house, <u>in the courts of our God's house.</u>

Though several witnesses testify to four stichs in LXX-Ps 133:1,⁵⁹ the fourth stich, ἐν ἀύλαϊς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν, is lacking in *O*. Its originality is questionable (so NETS), but was most likely motivated by LXX-Ps 134:2, from which the following two stichs are identical: οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν οἴκῳ κυρίου ἐν ἀύλαϊς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν (“you that stand in the Lord’s house, in the courts of our God’s house”). An editing hand would have thereby eliminated בלילות for the addition.

2.2.2. *Far*

Far inter-psalm additions are pluses that can be attributed to semantic content within psalms further removed than 2.2.1.⁶⁰ For example, it is possible that ναοῦ ἁγίου αὐτοῦ “his holy shrine” from 17(18):7 arose as an attempt to harmonize with 10(11):4, where ἐν ναῶ ἁγίῳ αὐτοῦ occurs. Similarly, from the known parallels between Ps 52(53):3 and 13(14):2, the added ἦ⁶¹ suggests that one influenced the other.⁶²

a. LXX-Ps 32:9 in 148:5

	<u>Ps 148:5*</u>	<u>Ps 32(33):9</u>
MT	יהללו את שם יהוה כי הוא צוה ונבראו	כי הוא אמר ויהי הוא צוה ויעמד
NRSV	Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he commanded and they were created.	For he spoke and they were created.
LXX	αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ὅτι αὐτὸς <u>εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν αὐτὸς</u> ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν	ὅτι αὐτὸς <u>εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν αὐτὸς</u> ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν

⁵⁹ Ga SyHe A. Note also that Sa (1+2, 3, 4) and T(1, 2, 3+4) read with three stichs, but the content of the four as in Ra is merely grouped differently.

⁶⁰ E.g. Ps 12(13):6 καὶ ψαλῶ τῷ ὀνόματι κυρίου τοῦ ὑψίστου [cf. 7:18]; 105(106):48 γένοιτο γένειτο [cf. Ps 40(41):14; 71(72):19; 88(89):53].

⁶¹ In 2110 (Ps 52:3), ἦ is lacking. Since Ps 17:45 begins 2110 it cannot be compared with 13:2. Also Sy, see BHS app.

⁶² Likewise 13(14):5 οὐ οὐκ ἦν φόβος, though 1 Heb Ms reads פחד היה לא (cf. 52[53]:6 οὐ). It is conceivable that the earlier psalm drew from the later in the Greek, since 13:5 presents the more substantive plus.

NETS	Let them praise the name of the Lord, for he <u>spoke, and they came to be</u> ; <u>he</u> commanded, and they were created.	Because he it was that <u>spoke, and they came to be</u> ; he it was that commanded, and they were created.
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Though NETS questions its originality, *Psalmi cum O dis* offers no variants for the plus in LXX-Ps 148:5, which inserts εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν αὐτός between αὐτός and ἐνετείλατο from 32[33]:9 (cf. also Sy).⁶³ By shifting the Hebrew bicolon to a tricolon in the Greek (cf. the tricolon in v.13, αἰνεσάτωσαν τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ὅτι), the translator (or a later scribe) likely had greater concerns in mind than just word or clause-level mediation. For instance, 32:3 is a call for its participants to ἄσατε αὐτῷ ἄσμα καινόν (“sing to him a new song;” cf. 149:1), accompanied by a κιθάρα (“lyre”) and ψαλτηρίῳ (“harp,” 32[33]:2; cf. 146[147]:7; 150:3). In 32(33):4, the righteousness of the word of the Lord (εὐθὴς ὁ λόγος τοῦ κυρίου) and faithfulness of “all his works” (πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ) is echoed again in LXX-Ps 144:13 (though cf. 11QPs^a) and v.17 leading into the final doxology of the Psalter. Israel is called to fear the Lord (cf. 32[33]:8,18; 144[145]:19; 146[147]:11) because his power is unparalleled, as exemplified in his creative work (32[33]:9; 148:5*). The people are further called to recognize God’s unfettered administrative power and rule over his kingdom (148:13-14). As such, they are not to trust in the devices of mere humans or their institutions (32[33]:17; 146[147]:10). Thus, doxological themes of creation and kingdom justice portrayed in miniature in Psalm 32(33) are subsequently expounded upon in the doxology of the *Final Hallel* (145[146]-150), offering a possible explanation for such an intertextual connection in the Greek of 148:5.

b. LXX-Ps 101:3 in 137:3

	<u>Ps 137(138):3</u>	<u>Ps 101(102):3</u>
MT	ביום קראתי ותענני	ביום אקרא מהר ענני
NRSV	On the day I called, you answered me	answer me speedily in the day when I call
LXX	ἐν ἡ ἂν ἡμέρα ἐπικαλέσωμαί <u>σε</u> <u>ταχύ</u> ἐπάκουσόν μου	ἐν ἡ ἂν ἡμέρα ἐπικαλέσωμαί <u>σε</u> <u>ταχύ</u> εισάκουσόν μου

⁶³ Since this plus is also in Sy, it could suggest its presence in the LXX *Vorlage*. Unfortunately 11QPs^a has too many lacunae to tell, definitively, whether the Hebrew there could support such a reading (צוה ונבראו [] הללו את). The editor did not attempt to reconstruct the missing text. See DJDJ IV, 23. It is negligible whether εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν αὐτός is the plus (so NETS) or αὐτός εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν is the plus (c.f. BHS app).

NETS In the day I call upon you, hearken in the day when I call upon you,
to me quickly listen to me speedily

In the Psalms, בּיּוֹם is rendered as ἐν ἡμέρᾳ 14 times,⁶⁴ and twice in the genitive τῆς ἡμέρας.⁶⁵ However, בּיּוֹם + קרא (in any order) occurs 7x in the Psalms,⁶⁶ (usually) where בּיּוֹם is rendered with an indefinite temporal clause (ἐν ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα, “the day in which,” “whenever,” or simply “when”; cf. 19[20]:10; 55[56]:10; 101[102]:3; 137[138]:3), and קרא with ἐπικαλέω in the subjunctive taking an additive object (σε).⁶⁷ A quick comparison (above) demonstrates identical Greek verses vis-à-vis a varied MT text, a point one would miss from the NETS translation perhaps because of its dependence upon the NRSV.⁶⁸ We suggest that two factors were at play: (1) a nearly systematic treatment of the Hebrew idiom in the Greek, i.e. ἐν ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα + ἐπικαλέω; and (2) 137(138):3 was likely influenced by the ταχύ of 101(102):3.⁶⁹ Thus, the translator was possibly influenced by more than just the immediate Hebrew before him.

c. LXX-Ps 108:3 in 119:7

	<u>Ps 119(120):7</u>	<u>Ps 108(109):3</u>
MT	אני שלום וכי אדבר המה למלחמה	ודברי שנאה סבבוני וילחמוני חנם
NRSV	I am for peace; but when I speak, they are for war.	They beset me with words of hate, and attack me without cause.
LXX	μετὰ τῶν μισούντων τὴν εἰρήνην ἤμην εἰρηνικός ὅταν ἐλάλουν αὐτοῖς ἐπολέμουν <u>μὲ δωρεάν</u>	καὶ λόγοις μίσους ἐκύκλωσάν με καὶ ἐπολέμησάν <u>μὲ δωρεάν</u>
NETS	Among those who hate peace I was for peace; when I would speak to them, they would fight me <u>without reason</u>	And they surrounded me with words of hate and made war on me <u>without cause</u> .

Of the 10 occurrences of the noun in the Psalms, מלחמה (*struggle, war*)

⁶⁴ These references do not include plural constructions (e.g. 36[37]:19, ובימי = ἐν καιρῶ). Ps 17(18):1; 17(18):19; 19(20):2; 26(27):5; 40(41):2; 49(50):15; 58(59):17; 76(77):3; 77(78):9; 85(86):7; 109(110):3, 5; 139(140):8; 145(146):4.

⁶⁵ Ps 118(119):164; 135(136):8.

⁶⁶ Ps 19(20):10; 49(50):15; 55(56):10; 85(86):7; 101(102):3; 114(116):2; 137(138):3.

⁶⁷ However, in 49(50):15, the qal imperative וקראני is likewise an imperative in Greek (ἐπικαλέσαι), and 85(86):7 uniquely presents κράζω: ἐν ἡμέρα ... ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ / קראני ... בּיּוֹם.

⁶⁸ The verbal forms of the MT vis-à-vis the Greek temporal construction (ἐν ἣ ἂν ἡμέρα) include an infinitive construct (MT-Ps 20:10), an imperfect (MT-Ps 56:10 and 102:3) and a perfect form (MT-Ps 138:3).

⁶⁹ ταχύ is lacking in La^G.

is rendered 8x in the Greek with the noun πόλεμος “war,”⁷⁰ but 2x with the verb πολεμέω “to fight, make war” (LXX-Ps 108:3 and 119:7). With such striking similarities in content between Ps 108(109) and 119(120), it is not surprising that one might influence the other. Indeed, this is apparently what happened in LXX-Ps 119:7, where the translator either confused or read ממהלמהל for חל (וילמוני = ἐπολέμησάν με, cf. MT-Ps 109:3),⁷¹ or alternatively drew directly from the Greek, since the semantic difference between the nominal and verbal Hebrew forms is small. The second option better explains the presence of δωρεάν in our verse.⁷²

d. LXX-Ps 70:2 in 30:2

	<u>Ps 30(31):2</u>		<u>Ps 70(71):2</u>
MT		<u>גַּלְתִּי</u> דַּקְרַתְךָ	<u>גַּלְתִּי</u> דַּקְרַתְךָ
NRSV	in your righteousness	<u>deliver me.</u>	In your righteousness <u>deliver me</u> <u>and rescue me;</u>
LXX	ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου	<u>ῥῦσαί με καὶ</u> <u>ἐξελοῦ με</u>	ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου <u>ῥῦσαί με</u> <u>καὶ ἐξελοῦ με</u>
NETS	in your righteousness	<u>rescue me and</u> <u>deliver me.</u>	In your righteousness, <u>rescue me,</u> <u>and deliver me</u>

LXX-Ps 30:2 was likely influenced by ἐν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ σου ῥῦσαί με καὶ ἐξελοῦ με in LXX-Ps 70:2, indeed the strong parallels between verses 2-3 would have motivated the comparison. One might be tempted to regard καὶ ἐξελοῦ με as the plus,⁷³ since (a) it is lacking in S La^G Ga(non 1098) in 30:2 (as well as S for 70:2), (b) there is no corresponding *wāw*, and (c) ἐξαίρεω/ῥύομαι as parallel terms are virtually synonymous, making a purely semantic decision difficult to make. Upon comparison with the MT-Ps 71:2, however, we may note that ῥῦσαί με renders גַּלְתִּי and καὶ ἐξελοῦ με renders גַּלְתִּי (cf. MT-Ps 31:2); the more likely plus in LXX-Ps 30:2 is apparently ῥῦσαί με (καί). At any rate, there can be little doubt that LXX-Ps 70:2 influenced 30:2 if the MT is a close representative of the *Vorlage*, whether by translation or later scribal (liturgical?) manipulation. If the influence was original, as in cases where later psalms (in number) influence earlier psalms (e.g. LXX-Ps 134:2 in 133:1 or 70:2 in 30:2), we should not *necessarily* assume that each psalm was translated

⁷⁰ Ps 17(18):35, 40; 23(24):8; 26(27):3; 45(46):10; 75(76):4; 88(89):44 (=4QPs^a); 139(140):3; 143(144):1 (=11QPs^b).

⁷¹ In effect ממהלמהל is transformed into a transitive construction ἐπολέμουν με δωρεάν.

⁷² δωρεάν is lacking in La^G.

⁷³ 2110 reads καὶ ἐξελοῦμαι

consecutively from 1 to 150. Such subtle cross-referenced influences could be circumstantial evidence of the translator's intimate knowledge of the Hebrew parent. Alternatively, on the assumption that the MT-150 was translated more or less consecutively (LXX 1-150[151]), evidence that later psalms influenced earlier psalms might indicate editorial, and thus reception, activity.

2.3. *Extra-Psalms Additions*

Extra-psalm additions are pluses that can be attributed to semantic content from passages outside of the Psalter. These show a wider "reach" throughout the Scriptures that may prove more substantive on an interpretive level than accretions based on a closer proximity. Not surprisingly, these examples are infrequent. For instance, two verses in LXX-Ps 135 have pluses of questionable origin, counterbalancing the consistent di-stich structure in every verse with a quatrain in v.16 and 26*.⁷⁴ Though the fourth stich was obviously derived from within the psalm, the third was probably influenced by LXX-Deut 8:15 (cf. LXX-Ps 113:8). A similar analysis applies to v.26.

a. LXX-Gen 12:3 in LXX-Ps 71:17

	<u>Ps 71(72):17</u>	<u>Gen 12:3</u>
MT	יהי שמו לעולם לפני שמש יגן שמו ויתברכו בו כל גוים יאשרוהו	ואברכה מברכיך ומקללך אאר <u>ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה</u>
NRSV	May his name endure forever, his fame continue as long as the sun. May all nations be blessed in him; may they pronounce him happy.	I will bless those who bless you, and the one who curses you I will curse; and in you <u>all the families of the earth</u> shall be blessed."
LXX	ἔστω τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ <u>εὐλογημένον</u> εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας πρὸ τοῦ ἡλίου διαμενεῖ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ <u>πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς</u> πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν	καὶ <u>εὐλογήσω</u> τοὺς <u>εὐλογοῦντάς</u> σε καὶ τοὺς καταραμένους σε καταράσσομαι καὶ ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν σοὶ <u>πᾶσαι αἱ</u> <u>φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς</u>
NETS	Let his name be <u>blessed</u> through the ages, his name shall endure as long as the sun. <u>All the tribes of the</u> <u>earth</u> will be blessed in him; all the nations will pronounce him happy.	And I will <u>bless</u> those who <u>bless</u> you, and those who curse you I will curse, and in you <u>all the tribes of the earth</u> shall be blessed.

⁷⁴ Note the additive questionable 3rd and 4th stichs: (3) τῷ ἐξαγαγόντι ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου (4) ὅτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ ("who brought water out of the sharp rock; for his steadfast love endures forever").

Any reference to the Abrahamic promise from Gen 12:3 in the Hebrew of Ps 72, comparatively implicit though likely present, is made explicit in the Greek, where it derives *παῖσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς* directly from LXX-Gen (cf. also Gen 18:18; 28:14). Whereas English translations struggle with the nuance of the hithpael jussive *וַיְבָרֶכְוּ*, by rendering it as a “reflexive-reciprocal” (e.g. NET, “May they use his name when they formulate their blessing”)⁷⁵ or a passive (NRSV, “May all nations be blessed in him”), the Greek opts for the passive *εὐλογηθήσονται*, likely motivated by *ἐνευλογηθήσονται* in LXX-Gen 12:3. The earlier addition *εὐλογημένον* too came from the blessing motif enhanced in the Greek version. If original, the translator has opted for an intertextual alignment with a well-known passage.

2.4. Idiomatic Additions

Idiomatic additions include pluses that can be attributed to common idioms, collocations, couplets, and/or expressions that may have been operative even for the translator. As such these may have had an important influence on how the translator communicated idioms or well-known couplets from his source text.⁷⁶ For instance, the common couplet “Jacob and Israel” (*Ἰακώβ* and *Ἰσραηλ*) may have served as the impetus in Ps 97(98):3 for *τῶ ἰακωβ*, which is a plus (*ἐμνήσθη τοῦ ἐλέους αὐτοῦ τῶ Ἰακωβ* καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας αὐτοῦ τῶ οἴκῳ Ἰσραηλ).⁷⁷ Another example would include the common couplet “poor and

⁷⁵ The *New English Translation of the Bible* (NET) should not to be confused with NETS.

⁷⁶ See for example Ps 4:8 [“wine and oil,” which occurs as a couplet in both Hebrew (*וַיְשַׂמְנוּ*) and Greek (*οἶνος καὶ ἔλαιον*), e.g. 1 Chr 12:41; 2 Chr 31:5; 1 Esdr 6:29; Neh 10:38; Prov 21:17; Joel 2:24. The Greek reads *ἀπὸ καιροῦ σίτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου αὐτῶν ἐπληθύνθησαν* “from the season of their grain and wine and oil they multiplied” for the Hebrew *וַיִּשְׂבְּעוּ מִדָּגָן וּמִיַּיִן מִתֵּימָנָהּ* “more than when their grain and wine abound.” According to the BHS apparatus, however, *וַיִּצְהַרְם* is present in both a Qumran and Syriac reading. In such a case it is conceivable that the LXX *Vorlage* included the couplet as well.]; 27(28):3 *τὴν ψυχὴν μου* [very common expression]; 40(41):2 [see example in this section]; 52(53):5 *πάντες* [also multiple Heb Mss and Sy; cf. 13:4, and the common expression *πάντας τοὺς ἐργαζομένους τὴν ἀνομίαν* in Ps 5:6; 6:9; 58(59):6; 91(92):8, 10; 93(94):4; 100(101):8]; 56(57):5 *καὶ ἐρρύσατο* [also Sy, cf. 6:5; 16(17):13; 55(56):14; 56(57):5; 85(86):13; 88(89):49; 114(116):4; 119(120):2]; 67(68):34 *ψάλατε τῶ θεῷ* [2110 reads *τῶ κυρίῳ* cf. Ps 46(47):7; 74(75):10; 103(104):33; 145(146):2; 146(147):7]; 103(104):28 *τὰ σύμπαντα* [=11QPs^a (*יְבַעַשׁ*), cf. Ps 38(39):6; 103(104):28; 118(119):91; 144(145):9]; 118(119):103 *καὶ κηρίον* [cf. 117(118):12 [also a plus, see BHS app.] and 18(19):11, common *μέλι* and *κηρίον*].

⁷⁷ See also Ps 13(14):7; 21(22):24; 52(53):7; 77(78):5, 21, 71; 80(81):5; 97(98):3; 104(105):10, 23; 113(114):1; 134(135):4; 147:8(147:19)

needy.”⁷⁸ Ps 40(41):2 reads μακάριος ὁ συνίων ἐπὶ πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα “Happy is he who considers poor and needy,” where the second of the couplet is not represented in the MT, לֵאשְׁרֵי מִשְׁכִּיל אֵל דַּל “Happy are those who consider the poor,” but “filled in” by the translator.

a. LXX-Ps 32:5 in 83:12

	<u>Ps 83(84):12</u>	<u>Ps 32(33):5</u>
MT	כִּי שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמִגֵּן יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים חֵן וְכִבּוּד יִתֵּן יְהוָה	אָהַב צְדָקָה וּמִשְׁפָּט חֶסֶד יְהוָה מִלֵּאָה הָאֵרֶץ
NRSV	For the LORD God is a sun and shield; he bestows favor and honor.	He loves righteousness and justice; the earth is full of the steadfast love of the LORD.
LXX	ὅτι ἔλεον καὶ ἀλήθειαν <u>ἀγαπᾷ</u> κύριος ὁ θεός χάριν καὶ δόξαν δώσει	<u>ἀγαπᾷ</u> ἐλεημοσύνην καὶ κρίσιν τοῦ ἐλέους κυρίου πλήρης ἡ γῆ
NETS	Because mercy and truth the Lord <u>loves</u> , favor and glory he will bestow	He <u>loves</u> mercy and justice; the earth is full of the mercy of the Lord.

Ps 83(84):12 offers a common couplet ἔλεον καὶ ἀλήθειαν (“mercy and truth”), followed by a plus, ἀγαπᾷ. Though we might expect סֶחַח וְאִמָּה,⁷⁹ instead we have שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמִגֵּן “sun and shield.” MT-Ps 84:9 had already referred to God as מִגֵּן “shield”, which the Greek personalized as ὑπερασπιστής “protector” (“one who shields”). Though מִגֵּן in the MT seems appropriate, the temptation to harmonize toward a common couplet was too great for the translator, especially with ἔλεος καὶ ἀλήθεια in the next psalm (84[85]:11). Yet, it is the addition ἀγαπᾷ that warrants our attention presently. Other couplets are evident in the Psalter relative to what the Lord does/bestows, or what characterizes his rule: e.g. δικαιοσύνη καὶ εἰρήνη “righteousness and peace” (84[85]:11); ἐλεημοσύνη and κρίμα “mercy/alms and judgment” (102[103]:6). In the LXX-Psalms elsewhere, the Lord ἀγαπᾷ, *inter alia*, κρίσιν (36[37]:28; 98[99]:4) and ἀλήθειαν (50[51]:8), making LXX-Ps 32:5 (=4QPs^a) a possible influence in 83:12 for the verb. Between the common couplet (84:11) and a reworking of an earlier passage, the שֶׁמֶשׁ וּמִגֵּן of the MT, if representative of the *Vorlage*, were reworked into a more accessible image.

b. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος

⁷⁸ E.g. Ps 34(35):10; 36(37):14; 69(70):6; 71(72):13; 73(74):21; 85(86):1; 108(109):22.

⁷⁹ Ps 24(25):10; 60(61):8; 84(85):11; 88(89):15 (as well as other occurrences outside the Psalms).

The extended idiom εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος occurs 11x and only in the Psalms,⁸⁰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος appearing as a plus in 71(72):19. Trading a Hebrew idiom for Greek one, the Greek idiom occurs in three forms throughout the Psalms against a varied Hebrew counterpart. Consider the three:

- (1) αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος
- (2) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος
- (3) εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος

The following comparative chart shows corresponding MT values:

MT	(1)	(2)	(3)	
עוד		X		Ps 83(84):5...τῶν αἰῶνων
לעד	X			Ps 9:19
לעד		X		Ps 60(61):9; 88(89):30; 110(111):3, [10* ..τοῦ αἰῶνος >2110]; 111(112):3, 9
עדי עד		X		Ps 82(83):18; 91(92):8
עולם	X			Ps 60(61):8; 72(73):12; 88(89):2, 3, 38
לעולם	X			Ps 9:8; 11(12):8 =11QPs ^c ; 14(15):5; 28(29):10; 29(30):7, 13 =4QPs ^s ; 30(31):2; 32(33):11; 36(37):18, 28; 40(41):13; 43(44):9; 44(45):3; 48(49):9 [?] , 12; 51(52):11 =4QPs ^c ; 54(55):23; 70(71):1; 71(72):17; 72(73):26; 74(75):10[defec]; 77(78):69; 78(79):13; 80(81):16; 85(86):12; 88(89):29, 37, 53; 91(92):9[defec]; 99(100):5; 101(102):13 =4QPs ^b ; 102(103):9; 103(104):31 =11QPs ^a ; 104(105):8 =11QPs ^a ; 105(106):1; 106(107):1; 109(110):4; 110(111):5, 9; 111(112):6; 116(117):2; 117(118):1, 2, 3 [1-3 = 4QPs ^b], 4, 29 =11QPs ^a ; 118(119):89, 98, 111,112,142 =5QPs,144, 152, 160; 124(125):1; 134(135):13 =4QPs ^k ; 135(136):1-15, 16[2x], 17-25, 26[2x]; 137(138):8; 145(146):6, 10
לעולם			X	Ps 71(72):19
עולמים	X			Ps 60(61):5
הלעולמים	X			Ps 76(77):8; 84(85):6[defec]
עד עולם	X			Ps 47(48):9
עולם ועד		X		Ps 44(45):7 (=11QPs ^d); 103(104):5
עולם ועד			X	Ps 9:37(10:16); 47:15; 51(52):10 = 4QPs ^c
לעולם ועד			X	Ps 9:6 =11QPs ^c ; 44(45):18; 118(119):44; 144(145):1, 2, 21
לעד לעולם		X		Ps 110(111):8
לעד לעולם			X	Ps 148:6

⁸⁰ LXX-Ps 9:6,37; 44:18; 47:15; 51:10; 71:19; 118:44; 144:1-2, 21; 148:6.

Of the 135 occurrences in the LXX-Psalter of some form of either (1), (2), or (3) above, it is clear that the shortest form (1) is far and away the most common, preferring לעולם over other options.⁸¹ Since all three variations seem to occur interchangeably,⁸² there is nothing to warrant any semantic difference from one to the other. While (2) is a periphrastic rendering of the Hebrew, especially of וַיַּעַד and לַעֲד, (3) is quite expansive. Yet, interestingly, though never occurring in the Hebrew Psalms, the Aramaic of Dan 7:18 reads עַד עֲלַמָּא וְעַד עַלְמָא עַלְמָא, a “literal” fit for εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος.⁸³ If the Aramaic portions of Daniel were composed in or around the Maccabean period,⁸⁴ a date arguably contemporaneous with the composition of the Greek Psalter,⁸⁵ it is possible that the translator was flexing a known idiom for a current audience, above and beyond any formal adherence to a text.

2.5. Other Additions

It is often not clear why pluses exist beyond the four categories discussed above. The final category of intertextual additions comprises a mixed group of miscellaneous pluses whose origin can be attributed to (possible) composition, misreading, a different *Vorlage*, or a later hand.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Two odd occurrences not represented in the chart are Ps 40(41):14 (ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα = מהעולם ועד העולם) and 101(102):29 (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα = לפניך).

⁸² (1) and (2) both occur in Ps 60(61):5, 8 and v.9 respectively; (1) and (2) both occur in 88(89):2, 29, 37, 38, 53 and v.30 respectively; (1) and (2) in 91(92):9 and 8; (1) and (2) in 103(104):31 and 5; (1) and (2) in 110(111):5, 9 and 3, 8, 10; (1) and (2) in 111(112):6 and 3, 9; (1) and (3) in 9:8, 19 and 9:6, 9:37(10:16); (1) and (3) in 47(48):9 and 3; (1) and (3) in 51(52):11 and 10; (1) and (3) in 71(72):17 and 19; (1) and (3) in 118(119):89, 98, 111,112,142,144, 152, 160 and 44; (1) | (2) | and (3) occur in 44(45):3 / 7 | and 18 respectively.

⁸³ LXX-Daniel and Theodotion both read ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων. Unfortunately 4QDan^d is too fragmented here.

⁸⁴ Louis F. Hartman and Alexander Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel*. (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1978), 9-18.

⁸⁵ The extended idioms in both the Greek and Aramaic (of Daniel) may give further credence to a (roughly) mid-second century dating of the Greek Psalter. See Tyler F. Williams, “Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSup 332; ed. Robert Hiebert, Claude Cox, and Peter Gentry; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 248-276.

⁸⁶ See for example Ps 17(18):36* καὶ ἡ παιδεία σου αὐτὴ με διδάξει (cf. Sy and θ’); 28(29):1* ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱοὺς κριῶν [see BHS app., duplication?; cf. 64(65):14; 65(66):15; 113(114):4, 6]; 67(68):5* ταραχθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ [cf. Judith 4:2; composed or added]; 70(71):8 ὅπως ὑμνήσω τὴν δόξαν σου (=4QPs^a); 86(87):5* μῆτηρ [cf. μη τη σ?]; 87(88):6* ἐρροιμμένοι [>2110], though the BHS app. regards this as original G*; 106(107):29 καὶ ἐπέταξεν [4QPs^f = ם ויחשו גלי ם ערעה לדמנ[ה] ויפוך שעה לדמנ[ה] ויחשו גלי ם cf. ἐπέταξεν in (late texts?): 1Esd 6:18; Esth 1:8 and addition to 1:1; Dan 2:2; Bel 1:14;

As to later additions including Christian interpolation, consider the well-known extended addition in Ps 13(14):3 from Rom 3:13-18. This addition, which Alfred Rahlfs referred to as “christlichen Zusätzen,”⁸⁷ was likely Paul’s composition inspired by LXX-Ps 5:10, 139:4; 9:28; Isa 59:7; Ps 35:2 to make his own point, and later retranslated into Hebrew and likewise inserted into the Septuagint version at some later stage.⁸⁸ Others cases of Christian interpolation could be discussed.⁸⁹

Still other instances show that the reason for a reading is less certain. For example, in 70(71):8 (=4QPs^a), the MT reads *ימלא פי תהלתך* “My mouth is filled with your praise,” but the Greek trades the imperfect form *ימלא* (*nip^cal* jussive?) for a passive imperative. In the additive second clause the Greek offers the result of the initial verbal idea: *πληρωθήτω τὸ στόμα μου αἰνέσεως ὅπως ὑμνήσω τὴν δόξαν σου* “Let my mouth be filled with praise, that I may sing a hymn to your glory.” With no obvious parallel in sight, this clause could represent the translator’s contribution.

A similar example occurs in 137(138):1, where *ὅτι ἤκουσας τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου* “because you heard the words of my mouth” is added in the Greek. Indeed, the second colon *נגד אלהים אומרך* “before the gods I sing your praise” is transitioned with a coordinating

1Macc 5:49; 12:43]; 107(108):2 *ἑτοιμία ἡ καρδία μου* [>2110, cf. 56(57):8 see doublet, diff *Vorlage?*, though it may have included *בִּי נבון* in 108:2. The NRSV translates both: “My heart is steadfast, O God, my heart is steadfast”; 117(118):12 *καθίστιον* [cf. 118(119):103 [also a plus] though possibly 18(19):11?]; 129(130):6 *πρωίας μέγροι νυκτός*; 137(138):1 *ὅτι ἤκουσας τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ στόματός μου*; 139(140):9 *κατ’ ἐμοῦ... μήποτε*; 144(145):13 *πιστός κύριος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὄσιος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ* [cf. 11QPs^a].

⁸⁷ A. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 30-31.

⁸⁸ The apparatus of *Psalmi cum Odis* indicates that Ga supports this addition, while it is lacking in both L’ and A’. Briggs argues that the references to Ps 5:9, 10:7; 36:1; 140:4 and Isa 59:7-8 “came into G at an early date by a marginal reference to Rom 3:10-18, and in Cod. Kenn. 649” of the Hebrew consonantal text “were translated back into Heb” (E. G. Briggs, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms*. [ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1906], 104). See also Swete, *Introduction*, 251. The Hebrew text as presented in the BHS apparatus follows:

קבר פתוח גְרוֹנִים לְשׁוֹנִים יְחַלְקוּן חֶמֶת עֲבָשׁוּב תַּחַת לְשׁוֹנִים אֲשֶׁר פִּיהֶם אֱלֹה וּמְרֻמָּה מְלֵא קְלוֹ רַגְלֵיהֶם
לְשִׁפּוֹף דָּם: מִזֶּל רַע וּפְגַע רַע בְּדַרְכֵיהֶם וְדָרְךְ שְׁלוֹם לֹא יָדְעוּ אִין פֶּחַד אֱלֹהִים לִגְדַּד עֵינֵיהֶם:

⁸⁹ E.g. 118(119):139* *ὁ ζήλος τοῦ οἴκου σου* [=5QPs; cf. 68[69]:10 (קנאת ביתך)], where a corrector of A treated *ὁ ζήλος τοῦ οἴκου σου*. *Psalmi cum Odis* regards the original reading of A (also Aug^{mar} L’) as *ὁ ζήλος σου* (“zeal for you” so NETS). Since LXX-Ps 68:10 is quoted in John 2:17, it is conceivable that *τοῦ οἴκου* is a Christian interpolation. Note, the BHS apparatus regards the plus as the original LXX (*), citing A (as well as the Lucianic recension), though not distinguishing between original and corrector as in *Psalmi cum Odis*. Note also that R’Aug^{mar} also supports *κατέφαγέν* from 68(69):10].

conjunction in the Greek καὶ ἐναντίον ἀγγέλων ψαλῶ σοι “and before angels I will make music to you.” That the Greek trades וְיִהְיֶה for ἀγγέλων illustrates a common exchange in the translation. That is to say, though we have focused on pluses in the present work, occurrences where a Greek word bears a significant semantic shift from its Hebrew counterpart are quite common and more typically the object of study.

A third example from 139(140):9 shows a communicative addition to the Greek in view of a difficult Hebrew text: διελογίσαντο κατ’ ἐμοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπης με μήποτε ὑψωθῶσιν “they schemed against me; do not abandon me, that they may not be exalted!” (1) makes explicit the object of the scheming κατ’ ἐμοῦ, and (2) explicates the purpose of the psalmist’s plea with a subordinating conjunction (μήποτε), which designates a negative purpose clause (“lest”). In the light of a difficult Hebrew reading, וְלֹא יִרְוּ אֶל תַּפְק יְרֹמּוּ “do not further their evil plot,” smoothed out by the NRSV, the Greek takes pains to clarify and explain. But even subtler accretions show interpretive intent. For instance, according to Eberhard Bons, καὶ εἶπα in 72(73):13 is likely the translator’s addition that serves “to underline that the following verses are to be considered the Psalmist’s speech...”⁹⁰

C. THE ‘MINUSES’ OF THE GREEK PSALTER

Though it is possible that the translator of the Psalms could have neglected words, phrases, or larger portions for the sake of effective communication, it is difficult to see how or why this might occur. Since the Greek Psalms tend to replicate the semantic content of the Hebrew into Greek – and if anything adding to it, as we have seen – an intentional minus is even more difficult to comprehend. For the sake of illustration, we shall quickly note a number of minus readings. For instance סִלְה occurs 4 times without the normal Greek counterpart διάψαλμα, and יִהְיֶה לְלִי likewise occurs 12 times without Greek representation.⁹¹ More likely, such shifts in musical, liturgical, and

⁹⁰ Eberhard Bons, a contributor to the *Septuaginta-Deutsch* (LXX.D) translation project, concludes his detailed study of LXX-Ps 72 by stating, “To sum up these observations, one may say that the examples quoted demonstrate that Ps 72LXX can hardly be considered a literal translation of the consonantal text preserved in the MT. On the contrary, confronted with a certain number of rare or enigmatic words and constructions, the translator prefers to give a rather free translation” (Eberhard Bons, “Translating and Annotating Ps 72LXX,” in *Translating a Translation* (BETL CCXIII; ed. Hans Ausloos, et al.; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 145.

⁹¹ Διάψαλμα occurs as a plus in Ps 2:2; 33(34):11; 49(50):15 (cf. Hier. *Psalterium iuxta H ebraeos*); 67(68):14 (also S^w, see BHS app.); 79(80):8 [>2110]; 93(94):15

formulaic or frozen terms reflects editorial activity that adjusted the text according to immediate needs. Nevertheless, words with functional significance are also left blank at times in the Greek translation, including particles, conjunctions, pronouns (and pronominal suffixes), and superscriptions (e.g. לְדוֹד Ps 121[122]:1 [>Targ]; 123[124]:1 [=11QPs^a though > in a few Heb Mss]).

In three verses ὅτι translates the couplet כִּי עוֹד,⁹² although their close proximity more likely argues for communicative equivalence as opposed to a neglect of כִּי.⁹³ However, כִּי has no Greek counterpart in 7 verses,⁹⁴ whereas כֹּל is lacking in the Greek in at least two places⁹⁵ as is the case with the particle וְגַם.⁹⁶ Though the Greek at times trades a particle for a participle,⁹⁷ four other minus-particles could be mentioned: אִזּוֹ,⁹⁸ אֵלֶם,⁹⁹ אֶף,¹⁰⁰ and אִשֶּׁר.¹⁰¹ There are also notable independent personal pronouns and pronominal suffixes that find no representation in the Greek.¹⁰²

Beyond the level of morpheme or word, there are also larger minuses. In Ps 89(90):17,¹⁰³ 91(92):10, and 92(93):3¹⁰⁴ an entire colon was either

[>2110], whereas סֵלָה is lacking a Greek counterpart 4x in Ps 3:9; 23(24):10; 45(46):12 (also > in Sy); 87(88):11 (also > in Sy). See also the *Prolegomena to Psalmi cum Odis*, §9.5. Αλληλουια occurs as a plus 12x, see 104(105):1 (=11QPs^a); 106(107):1; 113(114):1; 114(116):1; 115:1(116:10) (=4QPs^o); 116(117):1; 117(118):1 (=4QPs^b); 118(119):1; 135(136):1; 146(147):1 (=4QPs^d); 147:1(147:12); 148:1 (=11QPs^a), whereas יהּ הִלְלוּ is a minus 12x, see 103(104):35 (=11QPs^a); 104(105):45 (>Sy); 105(106):48 (>Sy); 112(113):9; 113:26(115:18) (>Sy); 115:10(116:19) (>Sy); 116(117):2; 134(135):21; 145(146):10 =11QPs^a though >Sy); 147:9(147:20) (=4QPs^d); 148:14; 149:9 (=11QPs^a).

⁹² Though עוֹד is a true minus in Ps 48(49):10 (=4QPs^j).

⁹³ Ps 41(42):6, 12; 42(43):5

⁹⁴ Ps 23(24):2 (> σ' and θ'); 115:7(116:16) (>Sy); 117(118):10, 11 (also גַּם, 12 (=4QPs^b); 127(128):2, 4 (> few Heb Mss, Sy and Hier, so BHS app.); 146(147):1 (though 4QPs^d reads הִלְלוּ נַעִים נְאוֹה [הִלְלוּ] הִלְלוּ נַעִים נְאוֹה)

⁹⁵ Ps 88(89):51; 118(119):128.

⁹⁶ Ps 113:10(115:2) (see BHS app. >4QPs^b?, though in 4QPs^o the text is reconstructed without the particle [DJD XVI, 140]); 115:9(116:18) (> in a few Heb Mss)

⁹⁷ Ps 37(38):15 אִשֶּׁר - ἀκούων); 41(42):3 לֵאמֹר - τὸν ζῶντα (> in one Heb Ms and Sy); 117(118):11 (סְבוּיִי גַם סְבוּיִי - κυκλώσαντες ἐκύκλωσάν με).

⁹⁸ Ps 55(56):10.

⁹⁹ Ps 57(58):2.

¹⁰⁰ Ps 88(89):44; 107(108):2.

¹⁰¹ Ps 103(104):17 (lacking also in α', Sy, and Hier); 118(119):38 (=4QPs^g).

¹⁰² Independent pronouns include: אֲתָהּ Ps 62(63):2; 82(83):19; הֵם 94(95):10; מִהּ 20(21):2 (also > Sy); 73(74):9; pronominal suffixes include: אֶלַיְךָ 39(40):6; בְּהֵם 9:26(10:5); לָךְ 119(120):6 (4QPs^c = לְנַפְשִׁי); 122(123):4; בְּהֵם 105(106):45; 144(145):15 (11QPs^a = לְהֵמָּה); לְךָ 26(27):2 (also > Sy); 30(31):22; 143(144):2 (> in a few Heb Mss, though =11QPs^a and 11QPs^b); לְךָ 57(58):8.

¹⁰³ Also lacking in a few Heb Mss.

¹⁰⁴ 4QPs^m is reconstructed with the BHS wording (DJD XVI, 132).

neglected in the Greek or absent in its *Vorlage*.¹⁰⁵ Verse 115:5(116:14) is lacking from LXX-Ps as well as a few Heb manuscripts, though its near equivalent (cf. נג) occurs just four verses later (115:9[116:18], =4QPs^b). A late, post-translational redaction of (MT-) Ps 116 is evidenced by its own internal corruptions,¹⁰⁶ as well as externally, in that the LXX treats it as two psalms (LXX-Ps 114, 115). Many other examples could be discussed.¹⁰⁷

D. CONCLUSION

In the present study we have attempted to provide numerous examples from the Greek Psalter – the implications of which extend to both text-critical and hermeneutical concerns – where communicative clues of the translator have affected all levels of grammar and syntax. Not all “parts of speech” are equally exploited as additions. For example, articles and particles are seldom added, whereas relative pronouns offer a rich variety of examples that are rarely duplicated or contravened by the Versions. Pluses in the Greek Psalter demonstrably arise at the word level, and extend to the level of the phrase, clause, verse, and beyond. More interestingly, perhaps, are the many *intra*- and *inter*-textual connections made throughout the Psalter. In a few instances, though circumstantial, non-textual influences (e.g. idioms, collocations) may have motivated translational choices. With communicative assumptions in view, communication models such as relevance theory may aid our understanding of the Greek Psalms (or presumably any book of the LXX) as to how the constraints of communication bear on larger hermeneutical decisions.

On the level of textual criticism, instances in which the LXX and the Syriac and/or Targum reading agree may testify to a common LXX

¹⁰⁵ In Ps 91(92):10, if not for the following vocative יהוה, also a minus, one might assume the LXX-Ps was attempting to streamline repetition (cf. כי הנה איביך). However, LXX-Ps has a propensity to add the vocative κύριε, not remove it. A similar situation occurs just 9 verses later, where another doublet is omitted (cf. Ps 92[93]:3 ישאז נהרות דכים), this time the third colon of the line. Similarly, the final colon of Ps 89(90):17 (ומעשה ידינו כוננרו) is omitted in the Greek. כי הנה איביך יהוה is also lacking in a few Heb Mss and the Old Latin.

¹⁰⁶ An additional minus includes the second colon of Ps 115:8(116:17) ובשם יהוה אקרא =4QPs^b, perhaps not surprisingly in close proximity to the other issues noted. Observe its presence, however, in Ps 114(116):4 and 115:4(116:13).

¹⁰⁷ See, for example, Ps 27(28):7 (לבי); 34(35):20(ארץ דברי); 38(39):9 (אל); 51(52):3 (אל); 57(58):5 (חמת, also > Sy); 59(60):2 (את-אדום); 67(68):9 (אלהים); 72(73):25 (לא); 76(77):9 (אמר, also > Sy, see BHS app.); 97(98):9 (לפני-יהוה); 109(110):3 (לך טל); 117(118):5 (יה; > also in σ); 125(126):6 (משך, =11QPs^a); 104(105):19 (עת).

Vorlage reading. Alternatively, such agreements could indicate “versional” influences, or even similar tendencies among the Versions with respect to the types of additions that are introduced, all of which needs further investigation. Certainly the BHS apparatus itself offers variations in the Masoretic text that would argue against a plus in the Greek. Yet, on the whole, Qumran material shadows the MT where pluses are concerned. In a few instances it is evident that a Greek “plus” should actually be attributed to a difference in the *Vorlage*. The Bodmer Papyrus (2110) likewise may “correct” our understanding of numerous readings, though it more frequently corroborates *Psalmi cum Odis* in this regard. With all of this in view, even if we were to remove every demonstrable text-critical example from our database as evidence for a difference in *Vorlage* or later addition, i.e. the Greek “plus” is not really a plus or is at least not original, the number of unaffected pluses in the Greek Psalter would still be remarkably substantial.

This study has also indicated that intratextual “borrowing” may have operated bi-directionally. That is to say, assuming the overall MT “order” of Psalms as we know it in our Greek witnesses, earlier Psalms (in number) appear, at times, to derive material from later psalms. The opposite tendency occurs more often, however. It is not difficult to imagine numerous explanations for this phenomenon: (a) the translator may have had an intimate knowledge of the psalms such that earlier psalms drew material from later psalms, in the Greek; (b) the Greek Psalter was not (necessarily) translated chronologically, from 1 to 150 (or 151); (c) that earlier psalms sometimes borrow from later psalms could be evidence for reception activity, where later liturgical needs drew from the existing translation of later psalms. Other options are conceivable.

While one cannot not deny numerous examples of Hebrew interference in the Greek, which is a point that has not been our focus here, in other places the Greek seems to communicate a clear and/or explicit message in its own right. The (original) pluses of the Greek Psalter, then, are part and parcel of a translation that is more of a “mixed bag” than are representative of a translation that is linguistically integral, characteristically. Though statistics may aid our endeavor, how “literal” one may regard the Greek translation of the Psalms is a matter that requires careful qualification. More importantly, this is not something that should be fully realized apart from considering the pluses *in toto*.

As such, this contribution has aimed at presenting the data, as they stand, rather than eliminating arguable pluses while retaining others. One must look at all instances, both spurious and original, to make such a determination in the first place. As we have shown throughout, there are

many instances in which patterns arise among like-pluses, offering an essential overview to any individual plus that might have been missed otherwise if taken in isolation. In view of poor or incomplete external evidence, a frequent idiom in the Greek, even a compositional one, might just bode well for its originality after all, on internal grounds.

THE GREEK TRANSLATION OF LAMENTATIONS: TOWARDS A MORE NUANCED VIEW OF ITS 'LITERAL' CHARACTER

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1. *Introduction*

The way in which translators went about rendering their *Vorlagen* into the various respective target languages remains an important focus point in the study of the ancient versions of the Jewish scriptures. Septuagint (LXX) research is no exception. Analyses of translation technique enjoy pride of place in most areas of research in LXX studies, including the use of the Greek translations in text-critical work, the study of syntax in the LXX books, and the reception of the translations in Hellenistic times and / or the New Testament, to name only three prominent examples. If the term 'translation technique' is not understood as a mechanical translation method or system, but rather as the process whereby the translators rendered their source texts into Greek, one of the main objectives of its analysis would be to replace the general (and unhelpful) designations 'literal' or 'free' with more nuanced translation profiles of the respective LXX books. Because translation technique is so central to many areas of LXX research, Anneli Aejmelaeus has recently argued that such a nuanced translation profile should focus on all the various aspects of the translation process:

Bei einer zu jeder solchen Arbeit gehörenden Charakterisierung des jeweiligen Septuaginta-Übersetzers ist es wichtig, dass die verschiedenen Aspekte der Übersetzungstätigkeit möglichst vielseitig berücksichtigt werden, um ein möglichst nuanciertes Porträt des jeweiligen Übersetzers zu erzielen: dass sowohl der grammatische und lexikalische Sprachgebrauch wie auch das inhaltliche Anliegen und die Adäquatheit der Übersetzung betrachtet werden. Zum Porträt des Übersetzers gehören seine Stärken und seine Schwächen, die Kompetenz, die er in seltenen Spitzenleistungen zum Ausdruck bringt,

und die Performanz, die in der Vers-für-Vers- Wort-für-Wort-Fleißarbeit durchgehend zu beobachten ist.¹

Our focus in the present contribution will be on the Greek translation of the book of Lamentations (LXX Lam). LXX Lam is generally described as a very 'literal' translation of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that was in most respects similar to the consonantal base of the Masoretic manuscripts. Other interesting features of this translation are its inclusion in the so-called *kaige* group of translations and revisions and the possibility that the Old Greek text - that is, the text which scholars regard as the original translation of a particular LXX book - was the work of Theodotion.² We will not dwell any further on these issues, however, but rather restrict our attention to the 'literal' character of LXX Lam.

In an important study on the textual versions and theology of Lamentations, Bertil Albrektson gives a short description of what he sees as the characteristics of LXX Lam.³ According to Albrektson, the Greek translator of Lamentations did not produce the meaning of the Hebrew sentences, but rendered each word mechanically in an 'atomistic' way. By disregarding the context and coherence of passages the translator sometimes read a Hebrew word 'incorrectly,' deriving it from the 'wrong' root, or "brought out a shade of meaning which a word may have elsewhere in the O.T. but which is wholly unsuitable in the passage

¹ Aejmelaeus, "Übersetzungstechnik und theologische Interpretation: Zur Methodik der Septuaginta Forschung," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter. Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 2001), 9.

² For recent overviews of the different opinions regarding the characteristics of the *kaige* group, the books that exhibit the characteristic features of this group, and the historical context in which the revisions and translations came into being, see S. Kreuzer, "Die Septuaginta im Kontext alexandrinischer Kultur und Bildung," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta. Band 3* (ed. H. J. Fabry and D. Böhler; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007), 44-53; idem, "From 'Old Greek' to the Recensions: Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Reference Text of the Septuagint?," in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 225-237; L. J. Greenspoon, "The *Kaige* Recension: The Life, Death, and Postmortem Existence of a Modern- and Ancient Phenomenon," in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden 2004* (ed. M. K. H. Peters; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 5-16; idem, "Recensions, Revision, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Traditions," *Textus* 17 (1990): 153-167; R. A. Kraft, "Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers*, Forty Years Later," *BIOSCS* 37 (2004): 1-28; N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000): 142-153; P. J. Gentry, "The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job and the Question of the *Kaige* recension," *Textus* 19 (1998): 141-156; and T. McLay, "*Kaige* and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998): 127-139.

³ Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations. With a Critical Edition of the Peshitta Text* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1963).

in question.”⁴ In some instances, the Greek translation seems to indicate that the translator may have thought of an Aramaic word that resembles the consonants of the Hebrew word in his *Vorlage*. As a result, LXX Lam “must have made a strange impression on a Greek reader who did not have access to the original. In some places it was doubtless unintelligible.”⁵ Albrektson attributes the ‘literalness’ of LXX Lam to the probability that its translator was not a good Hebraist and often did not understand the constructions and idioms in his Hebrew text.⁶

However, if we take seriously the suggestion of van der Louw that the Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures were made in the same way in which authors and copyists produced and transmitted Greek and Latin writings in antiquity, that is, by means of dictation,⁷ some of these characteristics of LXX Lam may be attributed not to the incompetence of the translator, but rather to the practicalities of the translation process.⁸ In view of the fact that ancient authors dictated their texts to a secretary and that multiple copies of literary texts were made by way of dictation to a number of scribes, van der Louw argues that the possibility that this procedure (dictation) was also employed for the LXX translations merits serious consideration.⁹ He envisages different possible setups for the dictation process, but deems the most probable model to be one where one person recites the source text, an interpreter makes a translation and several scribes write this translation down.¹⁰ This understanding of the translation process could, on the one hand, give a plausible explanation for some ‘un-Greek’ renderings in the LXX books. The reading aloud of the Hebrew text to the interpreter, his interpretation, translation and reciting of the translation to the scribes, as well as their writing down of the translation, take time and require that the translation units be quite small.¹¹ It is not difficult to imagine that the interpreter could lose

⁴ Ibid., 208.

⁵ Ibid., 208.

⁶ Ibid., 209.

⁷ Theo van der Louw, “The Dictation of the Septuagint Version,” *JSJ* 39 (2008): 211-229.

⁸ The stress here is not so much on the correctness of van der Louw’s model as on the fact that the evidence from the translations can be interpreted in more than one way.

⁹ The secretary was usually a slave who would take down the dictation of the author on wax tablets and afterwards write out the text in more detail.

¹⁰ Van der Louw, “The Dictation of the Septuagint Version,” 221.

¹¹ An important question that presents itself with regard to this necessity of small translation units is whether the person responsible for the dictation of the Hebrew text would have ‘divided’ his reading into small sense units / verses rather than pausing at arbitrary points in the text. Above and beyond the well-known references to sense division in rabbinic literature and the identification of division into verses with a *silluq* accent by the Masoretes, small sense units / verses are also presented in a few early (pre-Christian)

contact with the syntactical structure in cases of long sentences. This could lead to renderings that would sound strange to Greek hearers of the translation. On the other hand, van der Louw suggests that this dictation model offers an explanation of ‘misreadings,’ that is, “phonetic errors on both the Hebrew and also on the Greek side.”¹² Because the unvocalised Hebrew texts were read aloud, the reader of the text had to interpret and clearly pronounce not only individual words, but also words in their relationship to one another on the clause and (depending on the length of the translation unit) the sentence level.¹³ In turn, the interpreter had to think about this recited text and formulate an appropriate translation into Greek. The scribes who took down the translations would then also have to understand what they heard from the interpreter. It stands to reason that words and letters could be confused with other similar looking and sounding words and letters in such a translation process. It is also clear that, in cases where the evidence points to the probability that the

manuscripts of both the LXX and the Targumim (4Q_{tg}Lev, perhaps in 4Q_{tg}Job, but not in 11Q_{tg}Job) by means of spacing and graphic indicators such as *dicola*. However, the majority of Hebrew and Aramaic biblical texts from Qumran and other sites in the Judean Desert do not indicate any division into small sense units / verses. See the discussion by E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2004), 135-139, who ascribes this situation to the possibility that the practice of dividing a text into verses had its origin in the oral tradition of Scripture reading in the synagogue services (probably from the mid-second century B.C.E. onwards). Since the evidence for small sense divisions / verses is rather limited for the time when the LXX translations were made, the possibility presented by the dictation model that the original Greek translations may reflect a particular ‘verse-division’ by the person(s) who dictated the parent text to the translator(s) (according to an oral tradition?) could contribute to our knowledge of the ‘exegetical’ traditions which determined the limits of verses.

¹² Van der Louw, “The Dictation of the Septuagint Version,” 224.

¹³ A. van der Kooij, “Perspectives on the Study of the Septuagint. Who are the Translators?” in *Perspectives in the Study of the Old Testament and Early Judaism, A Symposium in Honour of Adam S. van der Woude on the occasion of his 70th Birthday* (ed. F. García Martínez and E. Noort; Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1998), 214-229. Van der Kooij emphasises the importance of this ‘reading aloud’ in his discussion of who the translators of the LXX books could have been, that is, to which circles or milieu in ancient Judaism the translators may have belonged. With reference to passages from the Book of Aristeas and from Ben Sira, van der Kooij argues that the translators may have been learned scribes from the leading circles of Jewish society who, in the process of translation, read the texts aloud and interpreted them. According to this view, the ‘reading’ of the Hebrew *Vorlagen* was done on a clause level and not in an atomistic word-by-word way. This interpretation of the texts may also explain differences between the *Vorlage* as it was ‘read’ and the rendering into Greek. In this regard van der Louw (“The Dictation of the Septuagint Version,” 226) suggests that van der Kooij’s ‘learned scribes’ could have been part of the dictation process, either as those who recited the Hebrew text or as the interpreters who made the translation.

translation was made from a Hebrew text similar to the Masoretic texts, words, letters, clauses and even sentences could be understood differently from how the texts were later vocalised, pointed and accented by the Masoretes.¹⁴

Moreover, since Aramaic exercised some influence on Hebrew from at least the Persian period onward and grew to prominence as both a spoken and written language even before the time when the Greek translations were produced, it should come as no surprise that LXX Lam reflects the translation of Aramaic rather than Hebrew words in some passages.¹⁵

Finally, our extant witnesses to the Hebrew text of Lamentations, including the vocalised Masoretic manuscripts, confront the modern-day reader with many instances where the text is either problematic or even corrupt. In problematic texts commentators and translators struggle to wrest some coherent meaning from them, while a corrupt text yields no sense at all and suggestions for different kinds of emendation of the text abound. The possibility that the ancient reader and translator of LXX Lam experienced similar difficulties with their *Vorlage* cannot, therefore, be rejected out of hand.¹⁶

These short remarks on the practicalities of the translation process, the state of Hebrew at the time of the Greek translations and the difficulties of the Hebrew text of Lamentations show that the characteristics of LXX Lam's translation profile can and should be described in a more nuanced manner. One possible way in which to achieve this goal is to make use of the criteria for the analysis of literal

¹⁴ In view of the diversity of texts that existed at the time when the LXX translations were made, as witnessed by the textual finds at Qumran, the possibility that a particular Greek translation was based on a Hebrew text that differed from what we know as the Masoretic text should, of course, not be excluded.

¹⁵ With regard to the language proficiency of those who were responsible for the Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures, much, of course, depends on where the translations were made. Since Aramaic was the language of administration in the Persian Empire, it was well known in all parts of the ancient Near East, including Egypt, as the Elephantine papyri indicate. Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek and even Latin, at a later stage, were spoken and written in Palestine. See A. Millard, *Reading and Writing in the Time of Jesus* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 84-131.

¹⁶ J. Elwolde, "Language and Translation of the Old Testament," in *The Oxford Handbook of Biblical Studies* (ed. J. W. Rogerson and J. M. Lieu; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 135-158. Elwolde argues that the following issues are equally taxing for ancient and modern translators: finding the appropriate meaning of words with more than one sense in a particular context, identifying the precise referent of animal, colour and kinship terminology, as well as terms for emotions, and accurately rendering figurative language.

renderings identified by Emanuel Tov.¹⁷ These criteria include the degree to which translators rendered all occurrences of a Hebrew root, word or construction by the same Greek equivalent ('internal consistency'), the representation of all the morphological parts of a Hebrew word, as well as all the individual parts of a Hebrew sentence with a Greek equivalent (this is known as 'quantitative representation'), the adherence to the word order of the Hebrew text used for comparison (usually the Masoretic texts), and the linguistic adequacy of the Greek translators' choices of translation equivalents.

In what follows, passages from LXX Lam are tested against two of these criteria, namely, internal consistency and word order. The discussion of these examples is intended to demonstrate the necessity for a more refined description of LXX Lam's 'literalness.'¹⁸

2. *Internal Consistency*

The book of Lamentations is a collection of five laments over the destruction of Jerusalem and the consequences of this for the inhabitants of the city. Ulrich Berges makes a sound argument that one cannot speak of a single overarching theology of Lamentations in the light of the complexity of the book's composition history, on the one hand, and the fact that each of the laments retains its own particular perspectives and specific characteristics, on the other:

Von einer übergreifenden, alle fünf Kapitel aufeinander abstimrenden Gesamt- oder Endredaktion kann keine Rede sein, denn jedes Gedicht hat seine eigene Ausrichtung und seine spezifischen Merkmale behalten. Bei der Entstehung der Klgl ist demnach eher an Kompilation als an Redaktion zu denken. Daher kann diese Sammlung auch nicht auf eine einzige theologische Strömung reduziert werden ... Daher geht die Frage nach der Theologie der Klgl sowohl an der Komplexität der Entstehungsgeschichte als auch an der poetischen Qualität der Gedichte vorbei.¹⁹

¹⁷ Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research. Revised and Enlarged Second Edition* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 20-24.

¹⁸ It goes without saying that no attempt will be made here to present a more nuanced view of LXX Lam's translation profile. Such a profile cannot simply be drawn from the few examples that we are able to discuss in the present study.

¹⁹ Berges, *Klagelieder (HThK[AT])*; Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 2002), 36.

Certain ‘motifs’ are nevertheless represented in most of the laments.²⁰ Two of these ‘motifs,’ the wrongdoing / sins / trespasses of Jerusalem’s inhabitants and the anger / wrath of God, will serve as test cases for the degree to which the Greek translator consistently rendered frequently recurring Hebrew words with the same Greek equivalent.

3. *Words of Wrongdoing*²¹

Three Hebrew words of wrongdoing are used more than once in the Hebrew texts of Lamentations: nominal and verbal forms of the root אטח (various meanings of committing an offence, being at fault or sinning), forms of the noun יע (‘transgression,’ ‘sin’), as well as nominal and verbal forms of the root פעע (‘rebellion,’ ‘revolt,’ ‘transgression’). The following lists indicate that the Greek translator of Lamentations translated these words of wrongdoing in different ways:

3.1. *The root אטח*

Lamentations 1:8

האטח אטח – ἁμαρτίαν ἤμαρτεν

Lamentations 3:39

יטח יע – περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 4:6

מחטת – ὑπὲρ ἀνομίας

Lamentations 4:13

מחטת – ἐξ ἁμαρτιῶν

Lamentations 4:22

על חטאתיך – ἐπὶ τὰ ἀσεβήματά σου

Lamentations 5:7

אטח – ἤμαρτον

Lamentations 5:16

ננטח – ἡμάροτομεν

²⁰ For the concept of ‘motif,’ see the remarks of H. Utzschneider and S. A. Nitsche, *Arbeitsbuch literarwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung* (Gütersloh: Chr Kaiser Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2001), 190.

²¹ It is debatable whether a heading such as ‘words of wrongdoing’ is adequate to cover all of the nuances of the Hebrew words and their Greek equivalents treated in this section. What is clear, however, is that both this group of words, as well as the group of words denoting anger / wrath, form so-called *Wortfelder*. Utzschneider and Nitsche (*Arbeitsbuch literarwissenschaftliche Bibelauslegung*, 93) describe a *Wortfeld* as follows: “Unter einem Wortfeld versteht man eine ‘Gruppe von Wörtern inhaltlicher Zusammengehörigkeit’, die sich in ihren Bedeutungen gegenseitig begrenzen und zusammen ein Inhaltsfeld, einen Sinnbezirk ‘bilden.’”

In all of the three occurrences of the verbal form of the root **אטח** it is rendered by a form of the Greek verb *ἀμαρτάνω* ('to do wrong,' 'to err,' 'to sin'). The different nominal forms appear five times in the Hebrew texts. The form **תאטח** is translated with *ἀσέβημα* ('impious' or 'profane act,' 'sin'), once with *ἀνομία* ('transgression,' 'evil conduct,' 'iniquity,' 'wickedness') and once with *ἀμαρτία* ('guilt,' 'sin'). *Ἀμαρτία* is also employed twice as an equivalent for the nominal form **אטח**.

3.2. *The root ען*

Lamentations 2:14

עֲוֹןךָ – ἐπὶ τὴν ἀδικίαν σου

Lamentations 4:6

עֲוֹן – ἀνομία

Lamentations 4:13

עֲוֹנוֹת – ἀδικιῶν

Lamentations 4:22

עֲוֹנְךָ – ἡ ἀνομία σου

עֲוֹנְךָ – ἀνομίας σου²²

Lamentations 5:7

עֲוֹנוֹתֵיהֶם – τὰ ἀνομήματα αὐτῶν

The noun **ען** is represented by three different Greek words in the respective passages, namely, forms of *ἀνόμημα* ('transgression of law,' 'iniquity,' 'wickedness'), *ἀνομία* (which also serves as an equivalent for **חטא**) and *ἀδικία* ('wrongdoing,' 'injustice,' 'wrongful act,' 'offence').

3.3. *The root פשע*

Lamentations 1:5

הִישָׁעִיהָ – ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀσεβειῶν αὐτῆς

Lamentations 1:14

הִישָׁעִי – τὰ ἀσεβήματά μου

Lamentations 1:22

²² Most of the morphological and syntactical parts of the quoted Hebrew words (prepositions and pronominal suffixes, for example) are represented by an individual Greek equivalent. This can point to LXX Lam's 'literalness.' However, one must also take into consideration those instances where the Greek and the Hebrew texts show differences in gender, person or number. In the case of 4:22 the second occurrence of **עונך** (singular noun with a second-person singular suffix) is not translated with a singular form of *ἀνομία* as is done earlier in the verse, but with a plural form of the same Greek word.

יע כל פשע – περὶ πάντων τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων μου
 Lamentations 3:42
 ונענו – ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν²³

The nominal forms of the root פשע are therefore variously translated with forms of ἁμαρτημα (‘sin’, ‘offence’), ἀσέβημα (which also serves as an equivalent for ἁσχη) and ἀσέβεια (‘ungodliness,’ ‘impiety,’

²³ The Greek text of this passage is a matter of dispute among scholars. See A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes. Editio altera quam recognovit et emendavit Robert Hanhart* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006); J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Jeremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Jeremiae* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), and P. J. Gentry, “Lamentations,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (eds. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 932-941. The consonants of the Masoretic texts read as follows: ונענו פשענו ומרינו אתה לא סלחת. Rahlfs gives the Greek text as ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν καὶ οὐχ ἰλάσθης. Accordingly, Rahlfs presupposes that ἡμαρτήσαμεν is the equivalent of ונענו and that ἡσεβήσαμεν is the equivalent of ומרינו. Conversely, Ziegler reconstructs the Greek text of 3:42 as ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν καὶ οὐχ ἰλάσθης. Ziegler therefore includes καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν in his text and in the critical apparatus he draws attention to the fact that this phrase was omitted in the Greek manuscripts due to homoioteleuton. According to this reconstruction, ונענו would be rendered by ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν and ומרינו by καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν. In contrast to the proposals of both Rahlfs and Ziegler, Gentry (“Lamentations,” 933-934) is of the opinion that the original Greek translation was as follows: ἡμεῖς ἡσεβήσαμεν καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν καὶ σὺ οὐχ ἰλάσθης. Apart from making a convincing case for the inclusion of the pronouns ἡμεῖς and σὺ, Gentry draws on observations concerning translation technique in order to support his reconstruction of the text. His argument rests on the fact that (nominal) forms of פשע were mostly represented by words from the ἄσεβ root (although it was also once rendered by a form of ἁμαρτημα, as the list indicates). In addition, verbs formed from ἁμαρτάνω consistently serve to render forms of the Hebrew verb אטח. As a result, Gentry (“Lamentations,” 933) concludes that ἡσεβήσαμεν is the rendering of the Greek translator for ונענו, that ἡμαρτήσαμεν is to be attributed to harmonisation from parallel passages and that the loss of καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν occurred through parablepsis. In our opinion, Ziegler and Gentry are correct in treating καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν as part of the original translation. Excluding 3:42, forms of the verb παρεπιγράφω appear in two other passages of LXX Lam (1:18 and 1:20). In both of these instances the Greek verb represents a particular form of the Hebrew verb מרה. Incidentally, a participial form of the verb πικραίνω is also used to render the adjective מר in 1:4. It therefore stands to reason, despite the fact that the Greek translator was not wholly consistent in his choices of translation equivalents for words of wrongdoing, that he would in all probability have represented ומרינו by καὶ παρεπιγράναμεν in 3:42. Moreover, if we treat ἡμαρτήσαμεν ἡσεβήσαμεν as a *lectio duplex*, that is, as a double translation, it is not improbable that the original translator could have employed both of these words in order to render ונענו. Tov (*The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 129) notes that double translations could indeed pertain to the translation technique of a given LXX book, if the Greek text contains two or more alternative translations based on the same Hebrew *Vorlage*. Other examples of double translations in LXX Lam are found at 1:12, 2:20, 5:10 and 5:15.

‘iniquity,’ ‘wrongdoing,’ ‘injustice’). In the interesting case of 3:42 the single occurrence of the verbal form of this root seems to be rendered by a double translation consisting of the roots ἀμαρτάνω and ἀσεβέω (‘to be impious,’ ‘to act profanely,’ ‘to commit sacrilege’).

4. Words of Anger / Wrath

No less than three different Hebrew words and two word combinations expressing (God’s) anger or wrath are employed in the Hebrew texts of Lamentations: אַף (‘anger’), חרון (‘burning’: often used in combination with אַף), חרי (‘heat,’ ‘fervour’: always used in combination with אַף), חמה (‘rage,’ ‘wrath’), and עברה (‘anger,’ ‘fury’). Although the Greek translator rendered these various words and word combinations with only two Greek equivalents, the lists below show that he did not do so in a consistent way:

4.1. The root אַף

Lamentations 1:12

See below under the root חרון

Lamentations 2:1

באפו – ἐν ὀργῆ αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 2:1 (LXX 2:2)

ביום אפו – ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 2:3

See below under the root חרי

Lamentations 2:6

אפו בזעם – ἐν ἐμβρομῆματι ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 2:21

אפך ביום אפך – ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς σου

Lamentations 2:22

יהוה אף יהוה – ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς κυρίου

Lamentations 3:43

באף – ἐν θυμῷ

Lamentations 3:66

באף – ἐν ὀργῆ

Lamentations 4:11

See below under the root חרון

4.2. The root חרון

Lamentations 1:12

אפו חרון ביום חרון – ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 4:11

אפו חרון – θυμὸν ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ

4.3. *The root* חרי

Lamentations 2:3

אף בחרי אף – ἐν ὀργῆ̄ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ

4.4. *The root* חמה

Lamentations 2:4

חמתו – τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 4:11

את חמתו – θυμὸν αὐτοῦ²⁴

4.5. *The root* עברה

Lamentations 2:2

בעברתו – ἐν θυμῶ̄ αὐτοῦ

Lamentations 3:1

עברתו – ἐν ῥάβδῳ̄ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ

Whilst the roots חמה and עברה are consistently translated with forms of the Greek word θυμός ('anger,' 'wrath,' 'fury,' 'rage,' 'angry emotion'), the word אף and its combinations with חרון and חרי are not translated in the same way in all the passages in which they occur. אף and חרון are variously rendered by either θυμός or ὀργή ('anger,' 'rage,' 'wrath,' 'punishing destructive anger'), even in 1:2 and 4:11, where similar constructions are used.

The conclusion that can be drawn from these lists is that the same Hebrew root / word / construction was translated with more than one Greek equivalent in the various passages and that the same Greek root / word sometimes served to render different Hebrew words belonging to the same *Wortfeld*. With regard to the criterion of 'internal consistency,' it should therefore be clear that, at least in the cases of words of wrongdoing and words of anger, the Greek translator did not consistently translate each occurrence of a given Hebrew root with the same Greek equivalent. Moreover, although these lists include only a small sample of words that are often repeated in Lamentations (and these results should

²⁴ It is interesting to note that in LXX Lam the object marker את is not itself represented by a Greek word as is the case with books such as Ecclesiastes (where it is translated the preposition σύν). Rather, the Hebrew word and the object marker are represented by the chosen Greek equivalent in the accusative case.

of course not be generalised into conclusions for LXX Lam as a whole) it can nevertheless be surmised that the ‘literalness’ of LXX Lam can be described in a more refined way when the translator’s treatment of important and frequently recurring words in Lamentations is investigated in greater detail.

5. *Word Order*

In all five of the laments that together make up the book of Lamentations LXX Lam exhibits only eight instances where the word order of the Greek text deviates slightly from the word order of the Hebrew text used for comparison. These instances are in 1:2, 1:8, 1:10, 1:20, 3:4, 3:31, 3:56 and 4:13. Without a doubt the agreement in word order between LXX Lam and the Masoretic text (the Hebrew text used for comparison) contributes to the impression of LXX Lam’s ‘literalness.’ However, the observation that the arrangement of words in the overwhelming majority of LXX Lam’s sentences agrees with the arrangement of words in the corresponding sentences of the Masoretic text does not do justice to the syntax of the Greek translation. The general impression of ‘literalness’ must also be nuanced from a syntactical point of view. For example, the number quoted above concerning the deviations in word order between LXX Lam and the Masoretic text does not take into consideration the large number of pluses, minuses and changes of conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns / pronominal suffixes in the Greek translation. Neither does it take into account the many passages where the Greek translator rendered Hebrew words, phrases or clauses with typical Greek constructions or in a good Greek style. And finally, it does not include those instances where the Greek translation exhibits a reading or an interpretation of certain words or sentence constructions that differ from the vocalised Masoretic text (without presupposing a *Vorlage* that deviates greatly from the Masoretic text’s consonantal base). The following examples illustrate from a syntactical viewpoint why the ‘literalness’ of LXX Lam could be described in a more nuanced way even when the word order of these Greek sentences agrees with the word order of the Hebrew text used for comparison.

5.1. *Lamentations 1:3*

MT

גלתה יהודה מעני ומרב עבדה
היא ישבה בגוים לא מצאה מנוח
כל רדפיה השיגוה בין המצרים

LXX Γιμελ²⁵

μετακίσθη ἡ Ἰουδαία ἀπὸ ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ
 πλήθους δουλείας αὐτῆς
 ἐκάθισεν ἐν ἔθνεσιν οὐχ εὔρεν ἀνάπαυσιν
 πάντες οἱ καταδιώκοντες αὐτὴν κατέλαβον αὐτὴν ἀνὰ
 μέσον τῶν θλιβόντων

The word order of LXX Lam agrees with the word order of the Masoretic text's consonantal base. The Greek text exhibits two pluses, namely the addition of the genitive pronoun αὐτῆς in the translation of נַעַ and הַבְּדַע with ταπεινώσεως αὐτῆς and δουλείας αὐτῆς respectively. There is also no Greek equivalent for the independent personal pronoun הִיא (a minus).

R. Schäfer suggests that the addition of the pronouns was made under the influence of the number of pronouns in the surrounding context of verse 3.²⁶ The pronoun αὐτή, for example, appears no less than seven times in verse 2, where it refers not to Judah, but to Jerusalem. This is a far simpler explanation than the one given by Albrektson: “the αὐτῆς of 1.3a is in fact a corruption of an original αὐτή = היא in 1.3 ... The resultant δουλείας αὐτῆς may then have influenced a scribe to add an αὐτῆς after ταπεινώσεως as well.”²⁷ Be that as it may, with the addition of independent personal pronouns in verse 3 the Greek text leaves no doubt that it is either ‘away from’ or ‘because of’ her own ‘humiliation’ and ‘multitude of slavery’ that Judah was deported.

In the Hebrew text היא serves as the subject of the verb ישבה. ישבה is vocalised and treated by commentators as a finite verb and not as a third-person feminine singular participle.²⁸ Therefore, the use of the

²⁵ For an argument that the alphabetic labels should be included in the Old Greek text, see A. 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. J. Greenspoon & O. Munnich; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 183-201.

²⁶ Schäfer, “Lamentations,” in *Biblia Hebraica Quinta. General Introduction and Megilloth* (ed. A. Schenker; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004), 113*.

²⁷ Albrektson, *Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations*, 57.

²⁸ In 4QLam there is unfortunately a tear in the manuscript exactly where this verb was written. Only parts of the two horizontal strokes of the letter ב and the ה at the end of the word have been clearly preserved. See F. M. Cross, “4QLam,” in *Qumran Cave 4. XI Psalms to Chronicles. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVI* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 229-237. Cross reconstructs the form of the verb as בַּשְׁבַּח. Consequently, the possibility that this verb appeared as a participle in the manuscript of 4QLam is very slim, since 4QLam was written in a full orthography. One characteristic of a full orthography is the abundant use of *matres lectionis*. If the verb was understood as a participle by the copyist of 4QLam it would, in all probability, have had the form יושבה.

independent personal pronoun seems to be redundant, since the finite verb is already marked for person, number and gender.²⁹ Schäfer makes the observation that the Greek translator rendered the pronoun היא with αὐτή in 1:4 and 1:8.³⁰ In those verses היא introduces a new subject, which is not the case in 1:3. He consequently attributes the minus to the possibility of an adjustment to the Greek style, similar to the adjustment to the Latin style in the Vulgate translation.³¹ In accordance with this suggestion it may be speculated that the Greek translator perhaps found the pronoun היא superfluous in this context and as a result omitted it from the translation.

The renderings of גלתה and המצרים in LXX Lam also merit further discussion. The Hebrew verbal root גלה has, depending on the stem formation in which it is used, a number of different meanings ranging from ‘uncovering,’ ‘revealing’ to ‘deporting’ and ‘going / taking into exile.’ In the translation process a decision had to be made as to which meaning was best suited for the present context. This implies that the syntactical context had to be interpreted at least to some extent.³² This is important in the light of the fact that modern-day commentators are divided in their opinion as to how the verb גלתה and the following preposition מן are to be understood. Some of these scholars are in agreement with the interpretation of the Greek translator who translated גלתה with an aorist passive form of the verb μετακίζω and the following preposition with ἀπό. The latter has a locative meaning in this case (‘away from’).³³

²⁹ B. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 293-297.

³⁰ Schäfer, “Lamentations,” 113*.

³¹ The Vulgate text of 1:3 reads as follows: migravit Iuda propter afflictionem et multitudinem servitutis; habitavit inter gentes nec invenit requiem, omnes persecutores eius adprehenderunt eam inter angustias. The text is quoted from the edition prepared by R. Gryson, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

³² Apart from 1:3 this verbal root is employed three more times in the book of Lamentations. In 2:14 and 4:22 the Piel form of the verb is translated with a form of the Greek verb ἀποκαλύπτω (‘to uncover’, ‘to reveal’, ‘to disclose’). The Hiphil infinitive of גלה is also used in 4:22, where it is rendered by an infinitive form of the Greek verb ἀποκίζω (‘to carry away’, ‘to send into exile’). With regard to 1:3, גלתה is vocalized as a Qal third-person feminine singular perfect in the Masoretic text and translated into Greek as μετακίσθη (‘she was deported’, ‘she was led away captive’).

³³ A locative meaning for the preposition is propagated by H. J. Kraus, *Klagelieder (Threni)* (BKAT; Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Neukirchen Verlag, 1960), 21; W. Rudolph, *Das Buch Ruth. Das Hohelied. Die Klagelieder* (KAT; Gerd Mohn: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1962), 204; and C. Westermann, *Die Klagelieder. Forschungsgeschichte und Auslegung* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 99. These commentators all give the translation of the Hebrew text as “Weggeführt ist Juda aus...” Berges (*Klagelieder*, 88) also understands the prepositions to have a locative meaning in

In all probability the participial form τῶν θλιβόντων in LXX Lam reflects a reading of the consonants המצרים as a Hiphil participle plural form of the root צר (+ definite article) rather than as a plural form of the noun מצר with the definite article as the vowels of the Masoretic text indicate. The Hebrew consonants allow for both interpretations. The value judgement that LXX Lam shows a ‘misreading’ or reflects a ‘wrong’ analysis of the Hebrew text is therefore not correct.³⁴

5.2. Lamentations 4:15

MT	סורו טמא קראו למו סורו סורו אל תגעו כי נצו גם נעו אמרו בגוים לא יוסיפו לגור
LXX	Σαμχ ἀπόστητε ἀκαθάρτων καλέσατε αὐτούς ἀπόστητε ἀπόστητε μὴ ἄπτεσθε ὅτι ἀνήφθησαν καί γε ἐσαλεύθησαν εἶπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν οὐ μὴ προσθῶσιν τοῦ παροικεῖν

The word order of LXX Lam agrees with the word order of the Masoretic text’s consonantal base. The Greek translation therefore does not lend support to the argument of some commentators and the critical apparatus of the *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) that a part of this strophe should be deleted. The Hebrew text of Lamentations 4:15 is, on the whole, rather problematic. Especially the verbs נצו and נעו are a headache for commentators and translators. Concerning the Greek equivalents, the verb σαλεύω (in the passive form meaning ‘to be driven to and fro,’ ‘to be shaken’) does serve a number of times for the Hebrew root נוג. However, neither the suggestion to change the *hapax legomenon* נצו (root נוג ‘to leave,’ ‘depart,’ ‘flee’) into נדו (‘to move to and fro,’ ‘become aimless / homeless’) in view of the parallelism with נעו (root נוע ‘to quiver,’ ‘move unsteadily’)³⁵ nor the proposal to keep נצו³⁶ and understand נעו in its broader meaning of ‘wandering about,’ ‘roaming around’³⁷ provides an adequate explanation for the Greek translator’s choice of ἀνήφθησαν (root ἀνάπτω; in the passive meaning ‘to be

agreement with the other German commentators, but is nevertheless of the opinion that גלה should be taken in its active meaning. His translation therefore reads as follows: “Juda ging in die Verbannung aus Elend und schwerer Knechtschaft.”

³⁴ Schäfer, “Lamentations,” 113*.

³⁵ Berges, *Klagelieder*, 233.

³⁶ The argument to retain this form of the verb finds support from the fact that it is preserved in 5QLam^d (see also note 44 below).

³⁷ J. Renkema, *Klaagliederen* (COT; Kampen: Kok, 1993), 387.

kindled,’ ‘to be lightened up,’ ‘to be ravaged by fire’). In contrast to these proposals, the Masoretic accent indicates that נצו is to be derived from the root נצה (‘go to ruin,’ ‘fly,’ ‘hasten’).³⁸ If the verb נצו is derived from the root נצה rather than from נוץ, then an interesting text from the book of Jeremiah may assist us in unravelling the mystery behind ἀνήφθησαν in LXX Lam:

5.3. *Jeremiah 48:9 (31:9 LXX)*

MT	תנו ציץ למואב כי נצא תצא ועריה לשמה תהיינה מאין יושב בהן
LXX	δότε σημεῖα τῇ Μωαβ ὅτι ἀφῆ ἀναφθήσεται καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ πόλεις αὐτῆς εἰς ἄβατον ἔσονται πόθεν ἔνουκος αὐτῆ;

The critical apparatus of BHS instructs the reader to read נצא תצא as תצָה נצָה (infinitive absolute + third person feminine singular imperfect form of נצה) and refers to the readings of the LXX and Peshitta versions. Other scholars suggest that the second verb is correctly preserved in the Masoretic text as an imperfect form of the root יצא (‘to go away’),³⁹ whereas only the נ of the first of these two words needs to be emended into ה in order to derive from נצה.⁴⁰ If the difficult Hebrew word ציץ is interpreted as meaning ‘wing(s),’ then this emended form, נצה, can here be understood in the sense of ‘to fly.’ The significance of these emendations for the translation in LXX Lam 4:15 lies in the possibility that the translator of LXX Jeremiah could have heard (if the dictation model is accepted) or could have read⁴¹ the consonants in such a manner that he derived these two words from the root נצה and not from the roots נצא and יצא.⁴² The Greek translation ἀφῆ ἀναφθήσεται (‘she will be

³⁸ Rudolph, *Die Klagelieder*, 249.

³⁹ W. L. Holliday, *Jeremiah 2 (Hermeneia)*; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 342.

⁴⁰ See R. P. Carroll, *Jeremiah. A Commentary (OTL)*; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1986), 780, who notes that either word-play or confusion may explain the reading נצא תצא in the Masoretic text. He translates the text as follows: “Give wings to Moab, for she would fly away”. See also the similar translation of G. Fischer, *Jeremia 2 6-52 (HThK[AT])*; Freiburg-Basel-Wien: Herder, 2005), 499: “Gebt Flügel Moab, denn fliegend wird es ausziehen.”

⁴¹ Unfortunately, the text of Jeremiah 48:9 has not been preserved in any of the Jeremiah manuscripts from the caves at Qumran. Without such external support it is very difficult to assume with any measure of certainty that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Jeremiah could have read נצה תצה in this passage.

⁴² It is interesting that ἀνάπτω forms were indeed used to render forms of the root יצא (‘to go away’) as well as עלה (‘to go up’) in the LXX. In these passages, however, the verbs are used in combination with words for fire in order to describe the outbreak of fire

kindled with kindling'), which points to a destructive act, would consequently imply an understanding of נצה as 'go to ruin' and not as either 'fly' or 'hasten.' If this possibility is conceded, then there seems to be a precedent for translating נצה with a (passive) form of the verb ἀνάπτω as is the case in LXX Lam 4:15. It follows from this interpretation that the translator of LXX Lam also intended the parallel verb σαλεύω to have the connotation of an act of 'destruction.' Σαλεύω is used in this sense also in other books of the LXX.⁴³

Another difference between the Greek and the (vocalised) Hebrew text is the interpretation of this strophe's syntactic structure. Whilst קראו and אמרו appear in the Masoretic text as Qal perfect forms, the consonants allow for LXX Lam's interpretation of these verbs as plural imperatives. The adjective טמא, used here, according to the majority opinion among modern interpreters, as an exclamation, is translated with a plural form of the adjective ἀκάθαρτος.⁴⁴ The genitive case is

or flames, which is not the case in the Masoretic text of Jeremiah 48:9. The Greek verb ἀνάπτω also served as an equivalent for various other Hebrew words relating to fire or burning: אור (Hiphil form: 'shine,' 'illuminate'), להט (Piel form: 'scorch'), נשק (Niphil form: 'be kindled'), בער (Qal form: 'burn with fire'; Piel form: 'kindle') and יצת (Niphil form: 'be kindled,' 'be burned'; Hiphil form: 'set on fire'). The last two words are also found in passages from Lamentations, namely at 2:3 (בער) and 4:11 (יצת). In both instances the Hebrew word is translated with a form of ἀνάπτω. This constitutes another example where one Greek root was employed by the translator of LXX Lam in order to render more than one Hebrew root. Whether the Hebrew words form part of a particular *Wortfeld* is debatable when LXX Lam 4:15 is included in the discussion. In support of the view that these words do indeed form a *Wortfeld*, it may be argued that the notion of 'destruction' is present in all three of the passages in Lamentations where the Greek translator used a form of ἀνάπτω. LXX Lam 2:3 (NETS version): "(and) he kindled in Jakob a flame like fire, and it consumed all things around." LXX Lam 4:11 (NETS version): "The Lord completed his wrath; he poured out the anger of his wrath and kindled a fire in Sion, and it consumed her foundations." If the translator did indeed read נצה in the sense of 'go to ruin', then the notion of 'destruction' is the common denominator between these passages in LXX Lam where forms of ἀνάπτω were employed.

⁴³ G. Bertram, "σαλεύω," in *Theologische Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament* (ed. G. Friedrich; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1964), 65-67.

⁴⁴ The text of Lamentations 4:15 is preserved in the very fragmentary manuscript 5QLam^a. The verb קראו can easily be recognised on the last line of one of the fragments. The word preceding it (טמא in the Masoretic text) exhibits an interesting feature. On the photographs one can see a part of the first letter of the word and a few ink traces of the other letters. A tear in the manuscript robs us of any certainty, but the top of the last letter resembles the form of the *waw* in קראו. In the critical edition of the text the letter is reconstructed as a *waw* (marked with a dot above it in order to show that the identification of this letter is not certain, but 'probable'). The full word is then given as טמאו (circlets are placed above the ט and מ in order to indicate that the identification of these letters is 'possible,' but also uncertain). See M. Baillet, J. T. Milik, R. de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert III* (Oxford: Clarendon Press,

necessitated by the compound verb ἀπόστητε (second-person plural imperative of ἀφίστημι; ‘keep far from’) indicating that ἀκαθάρτων is the object of this verb. These ‘unclean ones’ would therefore also be the referent of the pronoun αὐτούς. This is at odds with the view of most commentators, who take לְמו (on which αὐτούς is based) to refer to the prophets and the priests mentioned in 4:13. These prophets and priests are interpreted as the subjects of נָצוּ and נָעוּ, but not of קָרְאוּ and אָמְרוּ. Accordingly, Renkema argues that an impersonal subject can be supposed for these two verbs:

(D)e vertaling ‘zij roepen’, met de profeten en priesters als subject, is vanwege bijgevoegde gesuffigeerde praepositie לְמו niet mogelijk, tenzij men daaraan een reflexieve betekenis wil toekennen: zij roepen met betrekking tot henzelf ... Tegen deze opvatting pleit de inhoud van het voorafgaande 4:14. Blind raken zij daar onreine zaken aan, maar hier zien zij ineens scherp hun eigen onreinheid en de naderende voorbijgangers, en zijn vervolgens zo alert hen te waarschuwen ... Daarom ligt hier een onpersoonlijk subject voor de hand: ‘men roept’, waarbij te denken valt aan omstanders en voorbijgangers.⁴⁵

Moreover, the phrase לֹא יוֹסִיפוּ in the last colon is rendered by a typical Greek construction: οὐ μὴ + subjunctive in a strong negation clause. Nonetheless, the combination of the προστίθημι form with τοῦ + infinitive is considered by scholars to be a ‘Semitism’ / ‘Hebraism’ which denotes repeated or continued action: ‘to continue,’ ‘to repeat (to do something),’⁴⁶ ‘still do as formerly,’ ‘do something again.’⁴⁷ As such the Greek translation succeeds in capturing the sense of the Hebrew clause, although the use of the Greek subjunctive construction adds a tone of ‘finality’ that is absent from the Hebrew text.

Notwithstanding the agreement in word order between the Greek text of LXX Lam 1:3 and 4:15 and the word order of the Masoretic text of these verses, it should be clear from the discussions above that the translation of these verses cannot be designated indiscriminately as ‘literal.’ Such a description must be refined from the perspective of the

1962), 176. In this verbal form the root נָטַט can be an imperative (second-person plural) or a perfect (third-person plural) in the Qal, Piel or Pual stem formations. In the case of the Qal formation the word would mean ‘become (ceremonially) unclean.’ In the Piel formation it means ‘defile’ and in the Pual ‘to be defiled.’

⁴⁵ Renkema, *Klaagliederen*, 386.

⁴⁶ J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Part II K-Ω; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 2:405.

⁴⁷ T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1993), 204.

Greek translator's treatment of roots, words and constructions within clauses or full sentences.

6. Conclusion

The aim of the present study is certainly not to oppose or disprove the position on the 'literal' character of LXX Lam's translation profile. An attempt was rather made to show that a more nuanced view of the Greek translation's 'literalness' is both necessary and possible. In order to make such an argument, we implemented two out of a set of five criteria whereby the literalness of the Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures can be analysed. By testing the consistency with which LXX Lam's translator rendered frequently recurring words in Lamentations, it was indicated that the translator did not always use the same Greek equivalent for a particular Hebrew root / word / construction and that some Greek words served as an equivalent for more than one Hebrew word belonging to the same *Wortfeld*. The comparison between the Greek and Hebrew texts of two passages where the word order of the Masoretic text and LXX Lam agree, namely Lamentations 1:3 and 4:15, demonstrated that the Greek translator sometimes interpreted the syntactic make-up of the passages differently from the way it is represented in the vocalised Masoretic text, that he added or omitted syntactic elements and that certain renderings in the LXX can be attributed to a sensitivity to Greek style.

These results add up to the conclusion that, as a first step towards a more nuanced translation profile of LXX Lam, its 'literalness' can be described in a more detailed and refined manner with reference to the translator's treatment of important words as well as from the point of view of syntax. This can be achieved by taking into account the various elements and conditions that may have played a role in the translation process. Such a nuanced translation profile of LXX Lam will have a valuable contribution to make to the study of interpretation in this particular book, the discipline of textual criticism, the analysis of LXX syntax, and other areas of research on the Greek translations of the Jewish scriptures.

PART TWO
RECEPTION

SECTION ONE: THE NEW TESTAMENT

HAB 2:3-4 IN THE HEBREW TRADITION AND IN THE SEPTUAGINT, WITH ITS RECEPTION IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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1. *Hab 2:3-4 in the Hebrew Tradition (MT / 1QpHab / Mur 88 / 4QXII^g)*¹

We have two main textual witnesses for the Hebrew text of our pericope: the Masoretic Text (MT)² and the text of the Habakuk-pesher from Qumran cave 1 (1QpHab).³ In the Minor Prophets scroll from Wadi Murabba`at (Mur 88) the section Hab 1:13-2:18 is almost completely missing.⁴ Only one word from Hab 2:2 and one from 2:3 are legible. Similarly the Minor Prophets scroll from Qumran cave 4 (4QXII^g) is in a

¹ When I started to study theology in 1974, my first teacher in the field of the New Testament was Prof. Dr. August Strobel. In his habilitation A. Strobel wrote on the reception-history of Hab 2:2-4 in ancient Jewish and early Christian writings, published under the title “Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Hab 2,2ff,” (vol. 2; *Novum Testamentum Supplementum*; Leiden: Brill 1961). Strobel was one of the first exegetes who discovered the importance of this Old Testament passage (Hab 2:2-4) – especially in the LXX version – for ancient Jewish and early Christian theological thinking. Several drafts of this paper were discussed with my colleagues from Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D) Heinz-Josef Fabry (Bonn), Martin Rösel (Rostock) and Hans Schmoll (Neuendettelsau), whom I owe many insights: thank you! A word of thanks should also go to Christoph Aschoff (Saarbrücken), who helped me with the translation into English.

² For the MT I quote from the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS).

³ Cf. on 1QpHab besides Strobel esp. Karl Elliger, *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie 15; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1953); Millar Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (vol. 1; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950); William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakuk* (SBLMS 24; Missioulia: Scholars Press, 1979).

⁴ Cf. on Mur 88 Pierre Benoit et al., eds., *Les Grottes de Murabba`at* (DJD II; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961); Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1965), 142; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992).

poor condition.⁵ Only fragment 102,3 makes it possible to read one line attesting to Hab 2:4.⁶

The MT is not easy to understand concerning v. 3, but we have to deal with really difficult problems concerning v. 4. Let us, first of all, have a look at the context:⁷ Hab 2:1ff is to be understood as an answer to the complaint of the prophet in Hab 1:12-17.⁸ Before this (second) complaint Hab 1 had already started with a (first) lament (1:2-4), introduced by the question: “How long?” It is the question concerning the time of God’s helpful intervention. The prophet received the answer that the Chaldeans functioned as God’s means of punishment. The complaint continues in v. 12, reminding JHWH of being the holy God of the people מְקַדֵּם. V. 12 takes up the question from 1:2 and 3 and is therefore the authentic interpretation of it.⁹ Then in 2:1-4 the divine answer is to be found.

V. 1 contains an introduction: the prophet tells us what he is going to do: “I will stand at my watchpost, and station myself at the rampart; I will keep watch to see what he will say to me, and what he will answer concerning my complaint.”

V. 2 speaks of God’s answer and the divine commandment: “Then the LORD answered me and said: Write the vision, make it plain on tablets, so that a runner can read it.”

⁵ Cf. on 4QXII^b Eugene Ulrich et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets* (DJD XV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

⁶ Cf. William H. Brownlee, *The Text of Habakuk in the Ancient Commentary from Qumran* (JBLMS 11; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1959), esp. 43; Radu Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews: An Investigation of its Influence with Special Consideration to the Use of Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38* (WUNT.II 160; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2003), esp. 149ff.

⁷ For this overview I quote from the NRSV.

⁸ Cf. Karl Elliger, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja, Haggai, Sacharja, Maleachi* (ATD 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1950), 37-40; Friedrich Horst and Theodore H. Robinson, *Die Zwölf Kleinen Propheten* (HAT 14; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1964), 178-180; Lothar Peritt, *Die Propheten Nahum, Habakuk, Zephanja* (ATD 25.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 61-66; Wilhelm Rudolph, *Micha - Nahum - Habakuk - Zephanja* (KAT XIII.3; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1975), 211-217. He regards the section as “Die entscheidende Antwort Jahwes” (p. 211). Whereas Rudolph and Horst regard v. 5 as part of the answer, Elliger and Peritt are right in considering v. 4 as the end of the pericope. Peritt regards v.5 correctly as a “Zwischen-Satz” (p. 67).

⁹ Peritt, ATD 25.1, 57, citing Wellhausen.

V. 3 continues with God's speech and says that "there is still a vision for the appointed time" (כי עוד חזון למועד). "It speaks of the end (קץ) and does not lie. If it seems to tarry, wait for it; it will surely come, it will not delay."

V. 4 is still God's speech, but it starts anew with הנה: "Look at the proud! Their spirit is not right in them." The verse ends with the formulation that "the righteous will live by their faith".¹⁰

With v. 5 a new section begins. Vv. 5-20 contain five grievances against oppressors (6b-8, 9-11, 12-14, 15-18, 19-20), introduced by vv. 5-6a. For our purpose we only have to deal with vv. 3-4.¹¹

1.1. Verse 3:

The Hebrew text is difficult. Many suggestions have been made to solve the text-critical problems. Karl Elliger in the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (BHS) proposed not reading ויפח but ויפרח, derived from the root פרח, or ופתח, derived from the root פתח, because in his view ויפח does not make good sense; the reading proposed by him is supported by the LXX, which has ἀνατελεῖ. Therefore, according to Elliger, the verb ἀνατελεῖ in the LXX indicates a *Vorlage* like this.¹²

To my mind, this correction of the MT is not justified. Although 1QpHab differs in the spelling of the word ויפח, it does not differ as far as the root of the word is concerned and is therefore a witness to MT.¹³

ויפח seems to be an impf. hiph. of פוח. Although the section Hab 1:13-2:18 is almost completely missing in Mur 88, we have one legible word in Col. XVIII line 19, which confirms the reading of the MT.¹⁴ So there is no reason to make changes in the MT of v. 3.

The subject in v. 3b ("If it seems to tarry ...") could either be the vision חזון or the end-(time) קץ. Both are masculine nouns. The commentaries differ in their interpretation. Most of them advocate the opinion that חזון is the subject.¹⁵ According to Lothar Perlitt's most recent commentary of 2004, the vision is expected: "if the vision seems to tarry, wait for it, it will surely come ..."¹⁶ As for the MT he might be

¹⁰ The NRSV gives the plural. The Hebrew text has a singular.

¹¹ The NRSV adds v. 5 to the section vv. 1-4.

¹² Cf. also Elliger, ATD 25, 37.

¹³ Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 151 in line with Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 108ff; Brownlee, *Text*, 118, Brownlee, *Pesher*, 125.

¹⁴ Benoit, *Murabba'at*, 199, Tov, DJD VIII, 149.

¹⁵ Cf. e.g. Elliger, ADT 25, 39; Rudolph, KAT XIII.3, 215; Horst, HAT 14, 179.

¹⁶ Perlitt, ATD 25.1, 65.

right that the vision is the subject, although it could also be the time. In 1QpHab 7:13 the understanding is quite clear: it says that all times of God come according to a certain order: כּוֹל קִיּוּצֵי אֱלֹהִים יָבוֹאוּ לְתַכּוּנָם כַּאֲשֶׁר חִקַּק, “all the ages of God will come at the right time, as he established.”¹⁷ The subject here is clearly not the vision, but the time. This understanding is similar to that of the Greek translation of the LXX, as we will see later on.

The pi. form יֵאָחֵר is mostly translated as “delay.”¹⁸ I’m questioning whether this is right here. I would prefer to translate it as “hold off” (in German: “ausbleiben”¹⁹). This understanding of the pi. form is attested to in Gen 24:56; Ex 22:28; Deut 7:10. The point is that the vision is given for the appointed time, therefore it will not hold off, even if it might seem so. A delay can mean, for example, that the train is late: delayed for 10 minutes. Delay here means that it is running late (in German: “Verzögerung/Verspätung”). But this is not the specific meaning of יֵאָחֵר. לֹא יֵאָחֵר means the vision will not hold off, that is to say abstain from coming, but it will surely come.²⁰

According to the research of A. Strobel, אָחֵר can either be used transitively or intransitively.²¹ In Hab 2:3 it occurs without a preposition and without *nota ac cusativi*. Therefore it is used intransitively. The meaning of the Hebrew אָחֵר is not the same as of the Greek word χροονίζειν. Χροονίζειν means delay. This *can* be the meaning of אָחֵר, but in a specific sense אָחֵר means to hold off, so in our case the best translation might be: to fail to appear.

¹⁷ English translation according to Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 200.

¹⁸ According to W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (eds. R. Meyer and H. Donner; 18th ed.; Berlin: Springer-Verlag, 1987), 39, it is derived from אָחֵר “to linger, to tarry.”

¹⁹ Cf. Peritt, ATD 25.1, 62.

²⁰ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 169: “ausbleiben”. According to Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 10.168 the verb יֵאָחֵר is used intransitively (in the sense of “fail to appear / ausbleiben”), but simultaneously the causative meaning is still implied: to cause to abstain, i.e. to hold off. The verb occurs without a preposition or *nota accusativi* (168). According to HAL, both seem to be given here: to hold off; to hold back, to stay long, to tarry, to hesitate (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 12 n. 1). But in fact the verse is about the total non-appearance and not only about a temporal delay. Delay is the meaning of χροονίζειν, which is not quite congruent with אָחֵר pi. Χροονίζειν has a chronological scale in mind, whereas אָחֵר pi. refers rather to a punctual event. In Greek the momentum of the delay prevails, in Hebrew the non-appearance (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 161).

²¹ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 161ff. esp. 165f. 168.

1.2. Verse 4:

V. 4 is a *crux interpretum*. The second word עפלה has a feminine ending, but there is no subject to which this adjective could be related. Many suggestions have been made to solve the problem.²² The NRSV translates: “Look at the proud! Their spirit is not right in them. But the righteous live by their faith.” This translation may be not far from what the prophet meant, but it has no real base in the textual tradition. עפלה is a feminine adjective, not a noun. Also the plural form is unattested.

According to Lothar Perlitt, no suggestion has been convincing since Julius Wellhausen’s in 1892.²³ So he adheres to the MT, although in his view v. 4aα cannot be translated. In his commentary he therefore inserts a *lacuna*. Sticking to the MT was also the decision of the Committee for the Textual Analysis of the Hebrew Old Testament, as recorded by Dominique Barthélemy.²⁴

If we take 1QpHab into account, the MT is sustained: 1QpHab confirms even the consonants of the Masoretic text tradition. So עפלה and nothing else should be the starting point for further thoughts and the solution has to be sought on a level other than the text-critical.

According to Koehler-Baumgartner’s Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon,²⁵ in conditional clauses הנה can sometimes be translated as “if” or as “even if.” This is the case in 1 Sam 9:7; 2 Sam 18:11; 2 Kings 7:2; Isa 41:27.²⁶ Here the meaning of הנה comes close to הן. If הנה could be translated as “if,” then עפלה could be related to נפש נפשו. עפלה לא ישרה נפשו. נפש עפלה means “puffed up” or “presumptuous” (in German: “aufgeblasen / vermessen”). The Minor Prophets scroll from Qumran (4QXII^b) is – as already mentioned – in a very poor condition and therefore gives us no further argument for v. 4aα. But in frgm. 102 line 3 two words are legible: [ן] ישרה נפש, a witness to the second part of v. 4a. V. 4b is quite clear in the MT so that the whole v. 4 would read: “If it (the spirit / נפש) is puffed up / presumptuous, his spirit is not right in him, but the righteous / just will live through his faith / faithfulness.”

²² The most extensive list is provided by Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament 3* (OBO 50.3; Fribourg / Göttingen: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992). A list with nine alternatives is discussed by Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 163-170.

²³ Perlitt, ATD 25.1, 65. Those who know L. Perlitt can imagine what it means that he rejects the proposal of the great Julius Wellhausen.

²⁴ Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle 3*, 844; cf. Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 163 n. 51.

²⁵ HAL, 1:242 Nr. 10.

²⁶ Here a *varia lectio* is proposed in HAL.

So my suggestion for the translation and understanding of the Hebrew text would be as follows:

(3) For there is still a vision for an appointed time. It speaks of the end(-time) and does not lie. If it seems to tarry, wait for it; it will surely come and not hold off/fail to appear. (4) If it (the spirit) is puffed up/presumptuous, his spirit is not right in him, but the righteous/just will live through his faith/faithfulness.

For a smooth translation I propose to move the word “spirit” to the beginning and translate: “If his spirit is presumptuous, it is not right in him, but ...”

V. 3 predicts the vision for an appointed time. This promised vision will surely come and not fail to appear. V. 4 speaks about two different reactions to this prediction. The one whose spirit is presumptuous / arrogant cannot please God, but the one who trusts God will live through his faith. This understanding fits perfectly into the context: to his lament, Habakuk received the answer which we find in vv. 3-4 with an introduction in v. 2b, that although there might be doubts the vision for the appointed time will surely come. The reaction to this prediction can be twofold: there is the one who doubts the reliability of God and the one who trusts in God’s reliability. The first cannot please God, but the second will live through his faith.

2. *Hab 2:3-4 in the Greek Text Tradition: LXX / 8HevXIIgr*²⁷

The *Vorlage* of the LXX in Hab 2:3-4 is not easy to detect. As a preliminary hypothesis we take the MT as the *Vorlage*.

2.1. *Verse 3:*

According to Dietrich-Alex Koch, with whom I agree, the text of Josef Ziegler in the Göttingen edition preserves the original – or to be more precise: it is the oldest wording we can get.²⁸ All other variants are secondary. They derive either from New Testament citations which had an impact on the text of Hab 2 LXX or they are the result of scribal errors.

²⁷ Cf. on 8HevXIIgr Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

²⁸ Josef Ziegler, ed., *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum. Dodecim Prophetarum* (Vol. XIII; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1943). Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Der Text von Hab 2,4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament* (ZNW 76; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1985), 68-85.

The relation of the LXX to the tradition of the MT can be described like this: the Hebrew masculine חזן is translated as the Greek feminine ὄρασις; the Hebrew למועד is rendered by the Greek εἰς καιρὸν. The word ἀνατελεῖ, v. 3a, may be the result of a misreading: ויפרח instead of ויפח.²⁹ The translation of כזב as εἰς κενόν is not common, but not impossible. In Hos 12:2 the Hebrew כזב is also translated as κενά.³⁰ The Hebrew לוּ חכה (wait for it) is translated as ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν. Here the masculine sg. pronoun αὐτόν translates a Hebrew masculine pronoun. In the Hebrew text the masc. pronoun is related to the masc. noun חזן. As I have already said, חזן, v. 3a, is translated as the feminine ὄρασις. Ὅρασις would have required the feminine pronoun αὐτήν. So the related noun must be a different one. A masculine noun in v. 3a is καιρός. The possibility that αὐτόν is to be understood as a neuter pronoun – referring to εἰς πέρασ or κενόν – is only theoretically true.³¹

George E. Howard in the *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) therefore understands the verse like this:³²

For there is still a vision for the appointed time; and it will rise up at the end and not in vain. If it should tarry, wait for it, for when it comes it will come and not delay.

In the footnote we read that “it” always means the appointed time, i.e. the verbs ἀνατελεῖ, ὑστερήσῃ, ἤξει and χρονίση are not related to ὄρασις but to καιρός, the appointed time. I think, concerning v. 3b (“If it should tarry ...”) George Howard’s translation is rather convincing. As far as the second part of v. 3a is concerned, I’m not completely sure if the subject of ἀνατελεῖ is also the appointed time. Ανατέλλω is not necessarily related to καιρός but can also refer to ὄρασις.

Be that as it may: In v. 3b it is the καιρός which is predicted, and it is said that it will not tarry and will surely come. This understanding does not accord with the opinion of other scholars. According to A. Strobel in his aforementioned monograph³³ or Chr. Rose³⁴ or *La Bible*

²⁹ Cf. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 3, CXLIX; cf. Marguerite Harl, et al., *La Bible d’Alexandrie: Les Douze Prophètes 4-9* (BdA 23.4-9; Paris: Cerf, 1999), 274; Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 56; Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 153f.

³⁰ Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle* 3, CL; Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 154.

³¹ Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 214 n. 59.

³² *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (eds. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin Wright; London, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007).

³³ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 53.

³⁴ Christian Rose, *Die Wolke der Zeugen* (WUNT II.60; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1994), 53.

*d'Alexandrie*³⁵ and others, there is a change in the subject between v.3a and v. 3b.

Strobel thinks of the coming of God himself: “Es geht nicht mehr um das Verziehen der prophetischen Vision, sondern um eine säumende Person.”³⁶ The opinion that the text in v. 3b is not talking about the delay of the prophetic vision any longer, but about a tarrying person is also discussed as a possible interpretation by Radu Gheorghita in his monograph on the role of the LXX in the Letter to the Hebrews.³⁷ Gheorghita – like Strobel – thinks of the *kyrios* himself and not of a Messianic figure. Rose, *La Bible d' Alexandrie* and others think of a Messianic figure. In BdA we read: “Malgré ce changement de genre, aussi bien Juif que chrétiens liront en ce stique une invitation à l'attente messianique.” According to Chr. Rose, it is not quite clear what kind of Messianic figure is meant in v. 3b, but for him there are good reasons to understand it in the sense of the coming of the (dauidic) Messiah.³⁸

For me this argument is not convincing. My reasons are given below:

1. In the New Testament ὁ ἐρχόμενος is indeed used to denote a Messianic figure (e.g. Mt 11:3; Lk 7:19). And we have other participles used with a definite article with Messianic overtones: ὁ ὄνόμενος from Isa 59:20 in Rom 11:26, or ὁ ἀνιστάμενος from Isa 11:10 in Rom 15:12. But here in Hab 2 we do not read ὁ ἐρχόμενος! We only have ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονοῖση. No definite article is used and therefore there is no need to understand this second half of the verse in a personal sense. The phrase ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονοῖση translates the Hebrew **יִבָּא יְהוָה לֹא יִאָּחַר**, using a *figura etymologica* **בֵּא יִבָּא** in the first part: it will surely come. (The Hebrew infinitive is translated as a participle in Greek. Perhaps the translator read **בֵּא** instead of **בֵּב**).

2. The use of the verb ἀνατέλλω provides another argument. Although ἀνατέλλω can be used to denote the rising up of a Messianic figure in later times,³⁹ the term is not restricted to this sense. It is also more commonly used to denote the rising of the final salvation: Isa 45:8; 58:8; 60:1; 61:11 and others.⁴⁰ So I'm convinced that καιρός is the noun to which ἐρχόμενος ἦξει is referring (cf. interestingly Hab 3:12, where καιρός is a plus in relation to the MT).

³⁵ BdA 23.4-9, 274.

³⁶ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 53.

³⁷ Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 214.

³⁸ Rose, *Die Wolke*, 54 n. 106, in line with Ziegler, Harder, Ahlborn, Otto, et al.

³⁹ Be it the Doresh ha-Torah or the Messiah from Levi or from Judah; Strobel, *Untersuchungen* 55.

⁴⁰ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 56.

3. Καιρός in the LXX is a very comprehensive or loaded term. It refers to the time of God's intervention (cf. Gen 6:13).⁴¹ Καιρός can also refer to the eschatological time or event.⁴² As we can see from other Old Testament instances, καιρός has many eschatological implications (Dan 7:22 LXX [here καιρός means the final judgement]; 8:17 LXX [here we read ὥρα καιρῶ]; Ps 80:16 LXX [here even God is related to καιρός]; Ezek 7:12 [the καιρός, the end time comes]). According to A. Strobel, the eschatological hour is meant by εἰς καιρόν and εἰς πέρας.⁴³ This is the same in 1QpHab 7:5-12.⁴⁴

4. Χρονίζειν later on became a central terminus to denote the delay in the occurrence of the eschatological events. So I agree with A. Strobel that in Hab 2:3-4 LXX we find the starting point (he speaks of "zentraler Schriftbeweis") of the process of eschatological delay.⁴⁵

To sum up my argument for v. 3 LXX: I do not find any personal or even Messianic overtones or Messianic interpretation of the Hebrew text in the Greek translation. This will be found later in a New Testament citation of Hab 2, in the Letter to the Hebrews (10:38), but not in Hab 2:3 LXX. In contrast to the Hebrew text, the LXX emphasises the coming of the final καιρός instead of the coming of the final vision. What we find here points to the motif of the eschatological measurement: "Eschatologisches Maß." This motif was thoroughly analysed by Rainer Stuhlmann.⁴⁶ According to his research, there is an appointed time when salvation will come as well as an appointed number of those to be saved, as well as measurements of sin and punishment, suffering and mischief.

⁴¹ Marguerite Harl, *La Bible d'Alexandrie 1: La Genèse* (BdA 1; Paris: Cerf, 21994), 130; according to Isabelle Assan-Dhôte et Jacqueline Moatti-Fine, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Baruch, Lamentations, Lettre de Jérémie* (BdA 25.2; Paris: Cerf, 2005), 179, Thr 1:21; 4:19 [MT 18] refers to the coming of the Messiah, cf. Gen 6:13, but this seems to be very disputable to me!

⁴² Gerhard Dellling, *ThWNT III* (1938), 460.

⁴³ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 48.

⁴⁴ Dan 11:27 reminds one of Hab 2:3 (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 52f, following Seeligmann), but now the expectation of the great turn of the times is in sight (p. 53).

⁴⁵ Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 56 and 77 (citation: p. 77). I do not agree with Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 56 that Hab 2:3 LXX is already to be understood in a Messianic sense. For the process of eschatological delay cf. inter alia 2 Pet 3:9 (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 87ff); *b. Mak* 23b-24a (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 192ff); Euseb, *Dem. ev.* VI, 14 (Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 153ff).

⁴⁶ Rainer Stuhlmann, *Das eschatologische Maß im Neuen Testament* (FRLANT 132; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

The concept of the eschatological measurement is theonomous by nature. It is God who determined it in his wisdom.⁴⁷

Later we also find the idea that the sins of the people hinder the appearance of the eschatological things. This line of thinking can be called anthroponomous, but this already signals a development. At the beginning the concept of eschatological measurement was theonomous. So my translation of the LXX text of v. 3 would read:

For there is still a vision for an appointed time (καιρός),
and it (the καιρός) will rise up at the end and not in vain.
If it (the καιρός/appointed time) should tarry, wait for it,
for it will surely come and not delay.

2.2. Verse 4:

V. 4 starts with a conditional *ἐάν*. Can this be a translation of הנה or do we have to reckon with a different *Vorlage*? I have already mentioned that in some instances of the Hebrew Bible הנה has the meaning of “if” in conditional clauses. Here it comes close to Hebrew הן. As Dietrich-Alex Koch has already shown, in Ex 4:1; 8:22; Jer 3:1 and Hag 2:12 the LXX translates הן as *ἐάν*.⁴⁸ So there is no need to presuppose a different *Vorlage*.

Starting with *ἐάν*, the translator forms a conditional clause with v. 4aα as protasis and v. 4aβ as apodosis: *ἐάν ὑποστείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἢ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ* (*ὑποστείληται* is a 3rd pers. sg. aor. subjunctive). The crucial question is: what or who is the subject of *ὑποστείληται*? Most commentators connect v. 4a to v. 3b because of the parallelism. In *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (BdA) we read: “pour le lecteur de Ha 2,3b-4a la logique suggère un parallélisme: s'il est en retard ... s'il se dérobe ... avec le même sujet.”⁴⁹ The *New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) translates: “if it should tarry, wait for it ... If it draws back, my soul is not pleased in it.”⁵⁰ And the footnote says, that “it” refers to the appointed time, the καιρός.

In one case *ὑποστείληται* is connected with the coming figure, in the other case with καιρός. Both understandings are possible from a

⁴⁷ “Die Stelle [Hab 2:3] ist in ältester Zeit durchweg theozentrisch ausgelegt worden: Gott ist der Ordner der Zeiten, ist daher auch der Herr über den Ablauf der ‚letzten‘ Zeit. Mit Ausgang des 1. Jahrhunderts bricht sich eine stärker anthropozentrische Erklärung Bahn. Für sie ist charakteristisch, daß die Ursache der Verzögerung nicht in Gottes eschatologischer Zeitdisposition, sondern in der menschlichen Schuldhaftigkeit, welche dem Heil entgegensteht, gesehen wird.” Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 77.

⁴⁸ Koch, *Text*, 73 n. 28.

⁴⁹ BdA 23.4-9, 275.

⁵⁰ NETS, 808.

grammatical point of view. But as I argued concerning v. 3, there is no coming figure mentioned in the text. So this understanding can be ruled out. If so, how is it to be understood that “my soul” (= God’s soul) is not pleased in the *καίρως* which draws back? Remember that we have God speaking in v. 2-4. The translation of NETS – “If ‘it’ (the *καίρως*) draws back, my soul is not pleased in ‘it’ (the *καίρως*)” – does not make much sense to me. And what about v. 4b (“But the just shall live by my faith.”): how is it related to v. 4a? If we had *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, it would signify a coming figure who draws back, then v. 4a as understood by BdA would make sense. But again, as I tried to show beforehand, *ἐρχόμενος* does not refer to a coming person. And as for NETS: the connections made in the translation between v. 3 and v. 4 and between v. 4a and v. 4b are not convincing.

To me the following insights are decisive:

1. V. 4a must not necessarily be connected with v. 3b. Instead, we have the beginning of a new idea in v. 4a. Therefore the *ἐὰν ὑποστέιληται* is not in parallel with *ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ*.

2. V. 4a stands in an antithetical parallelism to v. 4b. The following arguments lead me to draw this conclusion:

a. V. 4b starts with *ὁ δέ*, which looks backwards and requires an antithesis in v. 4a. Normally one would expect *ὁ μὲν*, but this can also be absent;⁵¹

b. In the MT in v. 4a we also have a new beginning and not a continuation of v. 3b. And as I said before, there is no need to presuppose any other *Vorlage* than the MT;

c. In the MT v. 4a and v. 4b also stand in an antithetical opposition;

d. This is the same for TgJon⁵² and for the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr).⁵³ In Aquila and in Theodotion too, v. 4a is not connected to v. 3b but signals a new beginning.⁵⁴

e. And last but not least: in the Letter to the Hebrews v. 4 is also understood as an entity in itself (Heb 10:38). Of course this last argument can only be a kind of confirmation of what I said before.

So my conclusion concerning v. 4 is that v. 4 as a whole refers to v. 3. In v. 3 the coming of the *καίρως* is predicted; in v. 4 we find two different reactions to this prediction: the one who draws / shrinks back

⁵¹ Cf. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, (15th ed.; ed. F. Rehkopf; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), § 447.

⁵² Gheorghita, *Role of the Septuagint*, 152.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 157.

and is not faithful in God's prediction,⁵⁵ and the other one who relies on God's word and will therefore live by his faith.⁵⁶

If we understand ἐὰν ὑποστείληται in the sense of "if someone draws / shrinks back," one would normally expect a "τις": ἐὰν τις ὑποστείληται, but this is not obligatory, instead it is possible that the 3rd pers. sg. can replace a subject or pronoun.⁵⁷ And on the basis of v. 4b, we need not necessarily have an indefinite pronoun such as τις in v. 4a.

There is one additional argument for my understanding of v. 4a, which can be derived from the Hebrew *Vorlage*: if the *Vorlage* was indeed a text like MT, then the equivalent for τις is missing there. And so the translator stuck to his *Vorlage*, although his Greek sentence is not as smooth as it could be. Given the fact that the LXX translator interpreted v. 4aα as a conditional clause and thought of it as a speech of God, he had to take v. 4aβ as God's rejection of the one who draws / shrinks back.⁵⁸ Therefore he read וַפֶּן instead of וַפֶּן – there is only a slight graphical difference – which resulted in the Greek translation ἡ ψυχὴ μου.

There is still one problem to be discussed, v. 4b: ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται. The question is how ἐκ πίστεώς μου has to be understood, either as a subjective or as an objective Genitive. Grammatically both options are possible. Judging from the context, I would suggest reading it as a *genitivus objectivus*, which means faith in God and not God's faithfulness.

So my translation of v. 4 would read:

If (someone) draws / shrinks back (that is to say: has no confidence in the announcement of the κατ'ὸς), my soul is not pleased in him. But the righteous will live by faith in me (that is to say: through his confidence in my trustworthiness).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ "Drawing back/Zurückweichen" is only rarely attested to in the New Testament. In Greek literature it often describes the drawing back in critical situations (Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, *ThWNT VII* (1964), 598; Karrer, *ÖTK 20/2*, 254) or the behaviour of human beings vis-à-vis mighty persons: Deut 1:17 LXX; Job 13:8 LXX.; Philo, *Spec. IV*, 77.

⁵⁶ Martin Rösel pointed out to me that this idea is along the lines of Psalm 1.

⁵⁷ Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik auf der Grundlage von K. Brugmanns Griechischer Grammatik* (Bd. 2; HAW I.2; München: C. H. Beck, 1950), 245.

⁵⁸ According to Koch, *Text*, 73 it signals the "Verwerfung des Zurückweichenden durch Gott."

⁵⁹ The understanding "faith in me" presupposes that we have an objective Genitive (contra Koch, *Text*, 74 n. 32 and Rose, *Die Wolke*, 53 n 101 et al, with Rudolph KAT XIII.3, 216). This is the sense that Heinz-Josef Fabry also translates in: Wolfgang Kraus and Martin Karrer, eds., *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), ad loc: "Denn (es) wird noch eine Vision für den entscheidenden Augenblick (geben) und sie wird zum Ziel

To sum up my reflections on Hab 2:3-4 LXX, I would like to say: v. 3 is about a prediction of the coming *καιρός*. *Καιρός* signifies the eschatological time and the coming of God's salvation. The subject of the sentence is not the vision (as in MT) but the *καιρός*. In contrast to the MT, where *לֹא יֵאָחַר* means that the vision will not fail to appear, the Greek text speaks of a temporal delay which will not occur because God has fixed the eschatological *καιρός*. V. 4 is about two different reactions to this prediction: the one who draws back, who does not please God ("my soul" stands for God), and the other one who will live through faith in God. There is no need to understand Hab 2:3-4 in a Messianic way. Later the term *ἐρχόμενος* became a Messianic title because of the insertion of the article *ὁ*, and *ἀνατολή* could also be interpreted in this way. But this is not the case with Hab 2:3-4 LXX. On the contrary, Hab 2:3-4 LXX is about the coming of the promised eschatological events, which are to come, even if it seems to the oppressed people as if they were delayed. But in God's temporal arrangements everything comes to pass according to God's will: "for all the time fixed by God will come about in due course as He ordained, that they should ..." (cf. 1QpHab 7:13).

3. *Hab 2:3-4 in the New Testament*⁶⁰

After this lengthy discussion of two difficult verses in MT and in LXX, I can be much briefer in my consideration of Paul and Hebrews. I will start with Hebrews 10 and then turn to Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17.

3.1. *Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38*

Before we start with the consideration of the content, I need to say that as far as the textual basis is concerned, I agree again with D.-A. Koch's analysis: the text of the N-A²⁷ testified to especially by P46 is to be seen as the original wording of Heb 10:37-38.⁶¹ The differences between the citation in Hebrews and the text of Hab 2:3f LXX have to be explained as alterations made by the author of Hebrews.

kommen, nicht aber ins Leere (gehen); wenn er sich verzögert, warte auf ihn, weil er gewiss kommen wird und (bestimmt) nicht ausbleibt. Sollte einer sich zurückhalten, hat meine Seele keine Freude an ihm, der Gerechte aber wird aus dem Glauben an mich leben."

⁶⁰ Cf. on the use of the Minor Prophets in the New Testament H. Utzschneider, "Flourishing Bones - The Minor Prophets in the New Testament," in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*. (SCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Scholars Press / Leiden: Brill, 2006), 273-292.

⁶¹ Koch is only concerned with v. 38, but the same is true for v. 37.

In the Letter to the Hebrews the citation of Hab 2:3f functions as a final justification for the call to ὑπομονή.⁶² This exhortation starts in 10:32 by reminding the readers or listeners of their former probation. V. 36 formulates this clearly: ὑπομονῆς γὰρ ἔχετε χρεῖαν... Vv. 37-38 are the scriptural substantiation of the call. V. 39 contains the parenthetical conclusion.⁶³

It is hard to decide whether the author of Heb took his citation from a scroll or whether he cited from memory or from a testimonium. All three are possibilities. The fact that he does not use a citation formula is not a decisive argument. We find this elsewhere in Heb.⁶⁴ The differences between the texts of Heb and Hab are also not decisive in this respect. We have to leave this question open.

The first interesting point is that the author of Heb introduces his quotation from Hab 2 by means of another biblical quotation: Isa 26:20: ἔτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον. Ἔτι γὰρ seems to be added by the author. There is only a very short time for the necessary endurance: ὑπομονή. In the book of Isa the whole verse says that the congregation shall hide (ἀποκρύβηθι) for a short time until the wrath of God has passed. This is not the same in Heb: "Im Hebräerbrief ist diese Zeitbestimmung auf die Zukunft bezogen."⁶⁵ The discrepancy between shame before the people and honour which will be received by God will last for a very short period only.⁶⁶ And this is true because ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει.

We find three alterations in Heb in comparison to the Hab text: 1) Heb leaves out ὅτι 2); it reads οὐ χρονίσει instead of οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ; and 3) it inserts the definite article before ἐρχόμενος.

Leaving out ὅτι can be explained by the flow of the sentence in Heb 10:37. The alteration between οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ and οὐ χρονίσει is possibly due to the future aspect and is only a stylistic alteration.⁶⁷ The article before ἐρχόμενος makes the Messianic understanding definite:

⁶² Koch, *Text*, 76.

⁶³ Cf. Erich Gräßer, *An die Hebräer (10,19-13,25)*, EKKNT XVII.3, Neukirchen Zürich: Benziger Verlag Neukirchener Verlag 1997), 70ff.81; Hans-Friedrich Weiß, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, KEK XIII (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 552; Martin Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer: Kap 5, 11-13,25* (ÖTK 20/2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus 2007), 242f.

⁶⁴ On this topic see esp. Karrer, ÖTK 20/2, 247-249.

⁶⁵ Friedrich Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (Biblische Untersuchungen 4; Regensburg: Pustet Verlag, 1968), 186.

⁶⁶ Karrer, ÖTK 20/2, 250; David A. DeSilva, *Perseverance in Gratitude: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary on the Epistle 'to the Hebrews'* (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), 357ff.

⁶⁷ Gräßer, EKKNT XVII.3, 76.

Jesus was the one who came and he is the one who is to come on his second advent.

In v. 38 the subject changes. It is not ὁ ἐρχόμενος who is spoken of. V. 38 is a citation of Hab 2:4, but in a reverse order: V. 4b stands first. Also, the position of the pronoun μου has changed. Hab 2:4 reads: ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται, Heb 10:38 reads: ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται. This is in accordance with Hab 2:4 Cod A, but it is not the original wording. In Heb 10:38 ἐκ πίστεως is used as an adverbial reference to δίκαιος, and insofar Heb marks an important *step* in the Christian understanding of πίστις,⁶⁸ God's righteous one will live through faith. Faith in this context comes close to steadfastness. The one who trusts God with confidence will be rewarded with περιποίησιν ψυχῆς (v. 39).

In v. 38b Hab 2:4a is quoted, connected with v. 38a by καί. We find here the same antithesis that we had in Hab 2:4 – but the other way round. The subject of ὑποστειλῆται is again the righteous one from v. 38a. If he drew back, God's soul would not be pleased with him. But – and this is what v. 39 immediately adds – we are not among those who shrink back and thus perish, but are among those who have faith and preserve their souls. So we have a christological understanding of Hab 2:3 in Heb 10:37 and an ecclesiological understanding of Hab 2:4 in v. 38.

3.2. Hab 2:4 in Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17

In Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17 one stichos of Hab 2:4b is quoted. But the quotation is not fully congruent with Hab 2:4. Paul leaves out δέ and μου in Gal 3:11 and omits μου in Rom 1:17. According to D.-A. Koch, the omission of μου – which is the work of Paul and not because of his Hab text – is only a slight alteration, but it signals a fundamental change in the understanding of the text, especially of the word πίστις.⁶⁹ According to Koch, Paul in Gal 3 wants to unfold the dichotomy of ἔργα νόμου and πίστις with an argument derived from Scripture. Πίστις always means the πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ: faith in Jesus Christ. Koch concludes: “Aus dem Schriftwort über die Treue Gottes, der den Gerechten bewahren wird, ist eine Aussage geworden, die den unlöslichen und exklusiven Zusammenhang von δικαιοσύνη und πίστις Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ formuliert.”⁷⁰ For Koch the same understanding is to be found in Rom 1:17: “Das in Gal 3,11 vorliegende Verständnis von Hab

⁶⁸ Karrer, ÖTK 20/2, 253-255f.

⁶⁹ Koch, *Text*, 83.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

2,4b setzt Paulus auch in Röm 1,17 voraus, wo er das Zitat im gleichen verkürzenden Wortlaut anführt.”⁷¹

What D.-A. Koch argues for is indeed an important feature for Protestant theology and also for the understanding of Pauline argumentation, but I hesitate to subscribe fully to what Koch says. Of course, for Paul πίστις is always connected with Jesus, but for Paul faith in Jesus is also quite the same faith Abraham had in God and does not compete against it. It is the אֱמוּנָה which made Abraham a righteous one, and those who believe like Abraham are blessed: ὥστε οἱ ἐκ πίστεως εὐλογοῦνται σὺν τῷ πιστῷ Ἀβραάμ (Gal 3:9). Or as we read in Rom 4:12: Abraham is the father of those who walk in the footsteps of the faith that our father Abraham possessed when he was still uncircumcised.

The diversion from Hab 2:4 is not so significant either. As I argued above, ἐκ πίστεώς μου is most likely to be understood as a *genitivus objectivus*: because of faith in me (= God). So the righteous one will live because he trusts in God. This is not far from Rom 1:17 and Gal 3:11. Faith is not a prerequisite to live or to be saved, but it is the *modus* how one is able to live or to be saved. Faith in Hab 2:4 LXX is also not a precondition, but the *answer* to God’s promise. This way, although Paul is citing in an abbreviated way, his understanding of the quotation is not far removed from the quotation itself.

4. Conclusions

4.1. Hab 2:3-4 LXX consists of two parts: 1) V. 3: the prediction of a vision and of the κακός which will surely come; 2) V. 4: we find two different reactions to this prediction. The one is arrogant and does not trust in God’s promise, the other one is faithful and will live by his faith in God.

4.2. There is no Messianic interpretation of the Hebrew text of Hab in the LXX. Instead we find the motif of eschatological measurement. Not ὁ ἐρχόμενος but the κακός is the subject. This κακός will come and not delay.

4.3. In Hebrews we find a christological reading of Hab 2:3 and an ecclesiological reading of v. 4. Through the inversion of the two parts of the verse in Heb 10 in contrast to Hab 2 the different reactions are emphasised.

4.4. In Gal and Rom Paul takes up only the last stichos of Hab 2:4. His understanding becomes clear through the alterations he made. He left out μου and in this way he emphasises πίστις, which is in his

⁷¹ Ibid., 83.

understanding the faithfulness of the believers in God – quite the same as the πίστις of Abraham, who believed in God’s promise and was therefore deemed to be righteous. This way Paul did not depart from the meaning of the citation of Hab 2:4b, but gave the text a certain culmination and honed its argument in a specific way.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE MINOR PROPHETS IN HEBREWS

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A. INTRODUCTION

In a recent study on the *Vorlage* of the explicit quotations in Hebrews by this author, an interesting observation was made with regard to the hymnic nature of some of these quotations.¹ This hymnic tendency of the quoted texts was particularly observed in the second occurrence of the quotations from Jer 31(38):33, 34b in Heb 10:16-17 and that of Ps 40(39) in Heb 10:8-9, i.e. in the author's "midrashic" sections on these quotations. A similar tendency was also observed in Heb 7:1-3 in the paraphrase from Gen 14:17-20 (with parallels in Philo and Josephus). The same phenomenon was also apparent in the only two quotations from the Minor Prophets, namely those from Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38 and Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26.

The author of Hebrews shows a clear preference for hymnic texts when he quotes from his Scriptures. The first half of the 28 explicitly quoted texts that are to be found in *Ad Hebraeos* are almost all from the Psalms, as well as from the Song of Moses, or from hymnic sections in Scripture. The second half of these quoted texts contains in all cases a text from the Torah. These Torah quotations are combined with quotations from the Prophets, which alternate with quotations from the Psalms – with the quotation from Prov 3:11-12 in Heb 12:5-6 being the only exception to this pattern. With the three quotations from the Prophets in Hebrews (Jer 31[38]; Hab 2; Hag 2) and another quotation from the Song of Moses (Deut 32:35, 36 in Heb 10:30) in the latter section – all of them showing hymnic tendencies – the unknown author of Hebrews' preference for the presentation of quotations of this nature seems to be confirmed.

But this raises a fundamental question with regard to the *Vorlage* of these quotations. Should this hymnic tendency be ascribed to an existing *Textvorlage* that contained such tendencies, or to the active role of the author in presenting these passages, or to a liturgical tradition that might lie behind these tendencies? It is the primary purpose of this brief study

¹ Cf. G. J. Steyn, "A Quest for the Assumed LXX *Vorlage* of the Explicit Quotations in Hebrews" (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, Stellenbosch University, 2009).

to investigate the *Vorlage* of the two quotations from the Minor Prophets in an attempt to get closer to an answer to this question. The investigation will be conducted along tradition-historical and text-critical lines.

B. [ISA 26:20] + HAB 2:3B-4 IN HEB 10:37-38²

The first line of the conflated second quotation (a phrase from Isa 26:20) corresponds to one of the Odes that are only to be found in Codex Alexandrinus, namely the *Ode of Isaiah* (i.e. Ode 5).³ Furthermore, the fact that Ode 4 (LXX-A) is an *Ode of Habakkuk* (although Hab 3, *not* Hab 2) surely raises suspicion about the nature and origin of several of these passages that were utilised by the author of Hebrews, particularly here in Heb 10, namely those from Jer 31(38); Ps 40(39); Deut 32; Isa 26 (and Hab 2?). It certainly highlights the hymnic nature of the texts that were used in Heb 10.

1. Tradition-Historical Investigation

1.1. Background of Hab 2

Appealing, but difficult to prove here, is the speculative suspicion among some scholars that Habakkuk might have been a cultic prophet⁴ and that this section was part of a liturgy that was in use for the New Year's

² For an in-depth discussion on the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 in Hebrews, see the extensive study of R. Gheorghita, *The Role of the Septuagint in Hebrews: An Investigation of Its Influence with Special Consideration of the Use of Hab 2:3-4 in Heb 10:37-38* (WUNT 160; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); D. H. van Daalen, "The 'emunah / πίστις of Habakkuk 2.4 and Romans 1.17," in *Studia Evangelica* 7 (ed. E. A. Livingstone; TU 126; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982), 523–527; J. A. Fitzmyer, "Habakkuk 2:3–4 and the New Testament," in *To Advance the Gospel* (New York: Crossroad, 1981), 236–246. On the relation between Habakkuk, the Commentary on Habakkuk from Qumran Cave 1, Paul and Hebrews, see J. A. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1959).

³ S. Kistemaker states that "we may be certain that the hymns circulated among the early Christians for quite some time before they were recorded in the present order, and that many of these hymns were sung in the churches near the end of the first century A.D. already" (*The Psalm Citations in the Epistle to the Hebrews* [Amsterdam: Wed. G. van Soest N.V., 1961], 47 n.1). The scepticism of A. Pietersma with regard to a pre-NT date should, however, clearly be noted; cf. A. Pietersma, "The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997* (eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U Quast; MSU XXIV; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 12–32, here 27.

⁴ R. R. Wilson, *Prophecy and Society in Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1980), 276–279.

festival in Jerusalem.⁵ The section of Habakkuk from which the NT quotations (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11; Heb 10:37, 38) are taken is the one that is devoted to Yahweh's second response to Habakkuk (Hab 2:1-5).⁶ Habakkuk's vision centres on the "judgment and destruction to be visited upon Israel by the Chaldaeans."⁷ This is another vision, or oracle,⁸ delivered by Yahweh to a *prophet* in the past (cf. Heb 1:1). Other oracles that were used by the author of Hebrews were those given to Jeremiah (Jer 31[38]) and the quotations from Exodus (Exod 25:40; 24:8), which were taken from sections where God appeared to "the prophet" (Deut 18) Moses. One might add here God's promise to the patriarch Abraham in the Aqedah tradition of Gen 22 (cf. Heb 6:14). Add to these also the hymnic material: the Ode of Moses (Deut 32/Ode 2) and that of Isaiah (Isa 26/Ode 5), plus the Psalms "of David." Most of these passages were already familiar to our author via the early Jewish and Christian traditions. Then there were also other cases where *the Son* was heard speaking through Ps 22 and Isa 8 (Heb 2:12-13), as well as through Ps 40(39) (Heb 10:5). This strategy points to a careful and conscious selection of particular passages that are utilised by the author of Hebrews in support of his opening statement. It also points to the likelihood of the author's knowledge of the broader context from which these quotations were taken – via the tradition or discovered and studied by him.

1.2. *The Use of Hab 2 in the Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*

The interpretation of Habakkuk played an important role in early Judaism – especially at the Dead Sea Scrolls community with their *Peshet on Habakkuk* (1QpHab). This community interpreted the 'reader' of Hab 2:2 "as the Teacher of Righteousness and applied Habakkuk 2:3b and 4b to the doers of the Law in Judah, whom God will deliver from condemnation because of their suffering and their faithfulness or loyalty to the Teacher of Righteousness (1QpHab 6:12–8:3)."⁹ This applies

⁵ R. L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (WBC 32; Dallas: Word Books, 1984), 103.

⁶ See M. H. Floyd, "Prophecy and Writing in Habakkuk 2,1-5," *ZAW* 105/3 (1993): 462.

⁷ H. W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1989), 301.

⁸ See R. D. Weis, "Oracle," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. V (ed. D. N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 28-29, here 28. E. Grässer calls it a "prophetisches Heilsorakel" (*An die Hebräer. 3. Teilband. Hebr 10,19–13,25* [EKK XVII/3; Zürich: Benziger Verlag, 1997], 74).

⁹ M. Silva, "Old Testament in Paul," in *Dictionary of Paul and his letters* (eds. G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin and D. G. Reid; Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 1993), 630-642, here 640. Also A. van der Kooij, "Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta," in *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen*

especially to 1QpHab 7:5–8:3, which deals with the peshet on Hab 2:3-4, and which is interpreted in a strongly eschatological way. This is not the place to discuss the document, or chapter 2 of Habakkuk, but suffice it to say that it certainly is interesting that column 8 has references to the office of the high priest who cooperated politically with the Romans in order to gain personal wealth. These contrasts between the Teacher of Righteousness and the corrupt high priestly office at the end of the Hasmonean period certainly situates Hebrews' Jesus as High Priest according to the order of Melchizedek (King of Righteousness) within an interesting eschatological setting.¹⁰ Hab 2:4 also played a prominent role in Jewish apocalyptic literature,¹¹ as well as in rabbinic literature.

The connection between Hab 2:3-4 and its interpretations in early Judaism with those who observe the *Law*, who are the righteous and who will be delivered from judgement, is thus clear. This brings us to another Pharisaic rabbi, Paul, who also deals with the interpretation of the Law in his letters to the early Christians in Galatia and Rome, with references to Hab 2:4 in Gal 3:11b and Rom 1:17b.¹² In Gal 3:1-14 Paul argues about the importance of justification through *faith* in contrast to the Law (3:8). In Gal 3:10 he quotes Deut 27:26 and argues that no one is justified before God by the Law (3:11) – after which Paul quotes Hab 2:4 (ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται). In Romans, again, Paul refers to Hab 2:4 in connection with faith. Paul's quotation in Rom 1:17b follows from his argument that the righteousness of God is revealed through faith for faith. It is along these lines that the unknown author of Hebrews interprets the quotation from Hab 2:3b-4: ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐσμὲν ὑποστολῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἀλλὰ πίστεως εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς (Heb 10:39). After this follows Heb 11 with the so-called “list of faith heroes.”

Hermeneutik (ed. H. G. Reventlow; Gutersloh: Gutersloher Verlagshaus, 1997), 9-25, on p. 19; G. H. Guthrie, “Hebrews,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 919-995, here 982.

¹⁰ There might also be a possible allusion to Hab 2:3-4 in 1QH 5:27.

¹¹ Cf. 4 *Ezra* 4:26-27, 34, 39; 2 *Bar.* 21:21, 25; 54:17.

¹² See D.-A. Koch on these in *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHTh 69; Tübingen: Mohr, 1986) and D.-A. Koch, “Der Text von Hab 2 4b in der Septuaginta und im Neuen Testament,” *ZNW* 76/2 (1985): 68-85.

2. Text-Critical Investigation

2.1. Readings of Hab 2:3b-4

One of the most important discoveries on the text of the Minor Prophets is the Greek scroll from Nahal Hēver: 8HevXIIgr¹³ - which contains the text of our quotation from Hab 2:3b-4.¹⁴ The text was attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel, or Theodotion in Greek, by Dominique Barthélemy¹⁵ – therefore known as the Theodotion recension, or the *kaige* recension (based on the frequency of its usage of καὶ γε). It is probably based on a proto-Masoretic “Hebrew consonantal text which is nearly identical to the MT.”¹⁶ The text shows striking similarities with that which was used by Justin Martyr (ca. 150 C.E.) and with Origin’s *Quinta*. Another text from the Dead Sea Scrolls – referred to above – that is of interest for the reading of Hab 2:3b-4 is that of 1QpHab 7,9-17,¹⁷ when stripped of its commentary:

Hab 2:3b-4 MT	1QpHab 7,9b-10a, ¹⁸ 14b-15a, ¹⁹ 17 ²⁰	8HevXIIgr	Hab 2:3b-4 LXX
כִּי־בֹא יְבוֹא	כִּי בוא יבוא	ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει	ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει
לֹא יֵאָחֵז:	[] ולוא יאחר	καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ.	καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ.
הִנֵּה עֹפְלָה	הנה עופלה	ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,	ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
לֹא־יִשְׁרָה	לוא ישרה	οὐκ εὐθεῖα	οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ
נִפְשׁוּ בוּ	[] [נפשו בו]	ψυχῇ αὐτοῦ [...	ἢ ψυχῇ μου ἐν αὐτῶ
וְצַדִּיק	[] וצדיק...	καὶ δ[ί]καιος	ὁ δὲ δίκαιος
בְּאַמְנֹתוֹ יִהְיֶה:	[] באמנתו יהוה	ἐν πίστει αὐτοῦ	ἐκ πίστεώς μου
		ζήσεται[α].	ζήσεται.

¹³ See E. Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hēver (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); P. W. Flint, “The Biblical Scrolls from Nahal Hēver (including ‘Wadi Seiyal’),” in *Qumran Cave 4.26: Miscellaneous Texts, Part 2* (ed. S. J. Pfann; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

¹⁴ The sections from Habakkuk that were preserved here are Hab 1:5-11; 1:14-2:8; 2:13-20; 3:9-15. For an investigation into the text of Hab 2:19-20 in the MT, LXX and 8HevXIIgr, see D.-A. Koch, “Die Überlieferung und Verwendung der Septuaginta im ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert,” in *Begegnungen z wischen C hristentum u nd Judentum in Antike und Mittelalter. Festschrift für Heinz Schreckenberg* (eds. D.-A Koch and H. Lichtenberger; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum Bd. 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 215-244.

¹⁵ D. Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d’Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), 144-157.

¹⁶ M. A. Sweeney, “Book of Habakkuk,” in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, Vol. 3 (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1-6, here 2.

¹⁷ Text and translation taken from F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Volume One 1Q1-4Q273* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 16-17.

¹⁸ “... it definitely has to come and will not delay []” (vv. 9-10a).

¹⁹ “See, it is conceited and does not give way [his soul within him]” (vv. 14b-15a).

²⁰ “[..But the righteous man will live because of their loyalty to him]” (v. 17).

Looking at the differences between the MT and the LXX, it is not far-fetched to assume that either the LXX did not understand the vision in Hab 2 any longer and thus reflected a new intention, or that the variant readings are to be traced back to another *Vorlage* of the current text.²¹ There are also a number of differences to be noted between the Greek texts of 8HevXIIgr and the eclectic text of the LXX regarding the reading of Hab 2:4. In some of these instances the readings of 8HevXIIgr are closer to the Hebrew MT. If the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Greek translation of 8HevXIIgr looked similar to that of the MT, then the other Greek translations that represent the text of the LXX probably read the *waw* suffix (i-), i.e. αὐτοῦ, as a *yod* suffix (ʾ. -), i.e. μου.²² When turning to the variant readings amongst the LXX witnesses themselves, some alternatives are to be found. None of them is supported by any papyri and hardly any of them by some uncials. They are clearly secondary and almost all of them are the result of influence from the reading in Hebrews.

2.2. *Alternative Readings of Heb 10:37-38*

Difficult to ascertain here is the presence and the position of μου²³ at both its occurrences as printed in NA27. Easier to understand is the fact that it is retained in the *second* case with ἡ ψυχὴ by *all the witnesses* (although its position is shifted by some) – so that one can fairly safely assume the validity of its inclusion there. Possibilities regarding the *first* occurrence, however, are the following: (a) μου ἐκ πίστεως: with the strong combined support of P⁴⁶ ⲛ and A, as well as support from the LXX Alexandrian group of witnesses; (b) ἐκ πίστεως μου: only supported by D* amongst the uncials,²⁴ as well as by the LXX witnesses ⲛ B. It is possible that the presence of the pronoun in its second occurrence in Heb 10:38, but particularly its presence in the LXX, probably led to its inclusion here in the first instance by D* and the rest. It would also explain the reason for its place after ἐκ πίστεως; (c) it is omitted by P¹³ and D² – as well as supported by the LXX uncial W^c. The

²¹ Cf. E. Ahlborn: “Letzteres ist wahrscheinlicher, wenn man vor allem den Schlußteil des Zitates ins Auge faßt” (Die Septuagintavorlage des Hebräerbriefes [Ph.D. diss., Georg-August-Universität, 1966], 91).

²² As suggested by, amongst others, E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 91; M. Karrer, *Der Brief an die Hebräer. Kapitel 5, 11-13,25* (Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament 20/2; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2008), 241.

²³ See D.-A. Koch, *Text von Hab 2*, 70-74.

²⁴ E. Grässer confirms this: “Sie ist schwach bezeugt und scheidet deshalb als ursprünlich aus” (*Hebräer*, 77 n. 82). Also D.-A. Koch, *Text von Hab 2*, 74.

Pauline readings in Gal 3:11 and Rom 1:17 also omitted μου²⁵ – which most likely led to its omission here by these witnesses in Heb 10:38.

Scholars in general tend to prefer the inclusion of μου in Heb 10:38 and argue that its omission in Hebrews is secondary and was influenced by the reading in Paul.²⁶ The author of Hebrews himself, though, is not dependent on Paul, as is clear from the length of the text that he quotes and from the differences in reading.²⁷ The presence of μου in the second occurrence in the same text probably also signals its presence in the first occurrence.²⁸ It could thus be possible that Hebrews already made the transposition and that this influenced the LXX witnesses, or alternatively, that it already existed in the textual tradition of the LXX.²⁹

2.3. Comparison Between the Readings of Hab 2:3b-4 and Heb 10:37-38

This quotation from Hab 2:3b-4 belongs to the group of quotations in Hebrews that were quoted before his time already, but they are cited where he presents an expansion of the same passage. Similar cases are to be found when Ps 8:5-7 and Jer 31(38):31-34 are quoted in Hebrews. In the Habakkuk case, Paul had already quoted from the passage, but only a short line though, whereas Hebrews presents a longer version. In all three these instances (Hab 2; Ps 8; Jer 31[38]) the part that was quoted prior to the time of Hebrews forms the ending of the quotation, and the expansion by the author of Hebrews takes place by adding some immediately preceding lines from the same text. Furthermore, all three of these cases are expansions from quotations that are only to be found in early Christian literature.

Gal 3:11

ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται

Rom 1:17

ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται

²⁵ Cf. the following witnesses: W^{*vid} B & Q V cet it sy^h.

²⁶ Cf. R. McL. Wilson, who argues that “the majority of late manuscripts of Hebrews, with one papyrus, omit the possessive, but this is probably an assimilation to Paul” (*Hebrews* [NCB Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987], 200). Also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 93; F. Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (Biblische Untersuchungen 4; Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 1968), 184; P. Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 554; D.-A. Koch, *Text von Hab 2*, 75; H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 297 n. 7; H.-F. Weiss, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 550 n. 30; M. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 240; and B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (London: United Bible Societies, 1975), 669, are all of a similar opinion.

²⁷ Cf. E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 93.

²⁸ So also P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554.

²⁹ Cf. H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303.

It is clear from the above that the text of 8HevXIIgr differs at a number of points from that of the LXX. The latter seems to be closer to Heb 10:37-38 than the former.³⁰ However, when comparing the LXX with the reading in Heb 10:37-38, the following differences are noted: (a) ὅτι in the LXX is replaced with the definite article ὁ; (b) the aorist subjunctive of the LXX is changed to a future indicative³¹ – resulting in the omission of μή (which conforms to *koine* usage)³² and the diphthong –ει instead of the long –η; (c) καί is included before the phrase ἐὰν ὑποστείληται in the NT text – called for because of the shift of clauses in order to join the two parts of the sentence.³³

Hab 2:3-4 LXX

διότι ἔτι

ὄρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας
καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν, ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ,
ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν,
ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίση.
ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ,
ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως μου ζησεται.

Heb 10:37-38

ἔτι γὰρ

μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,

ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει·
ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ~~μου~~ ἐκ πίστεως ζησεται,
καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,
οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ.

Although doubtful, it is certainly interesting that if μοῦ should be omitted in its first occurrence in Heb 10:38, then again a similar pattern unfolds in the presentation of the quotation, as is noticeable with the second (re-) quotation from Jer 31(38):33-34 in Heb 10:16-17. A parallel structure is created by the transposition of line d between lines a and b (reversal of the clauses), by changing the aorist subjunctive to a future indicative, and by replacing ὅτι with the definite article ὁ at the beginning of the Habakkuk quotation. Both inverted lines in Hebrews (a and d) now have a noticeable 12-syllable structure and striking assonance:

³⁰ So also E. Ulrich, who points out that this is one of the cases where the NT “appears to be quoting the OG form of the text rather than the recensional 8HevXIIgr” (“The Dead Sea Scrolls and Their Implications for an Edition of the Septuagint Psalter,” in *Die Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* [eds. A. Aejmelaeus and U Quast; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000], 323-336, here 335).

³¹ Not too much should be made of this change. It is “eine unbedeutende, stilistische Variante” and both forms are so close that the “Textlesart oft schwankt” (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

³² P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554. This omission is thus most likely a conscious one made by the author of Hebrews in relation to his *Vorlage* (E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

³³ S. Kistemaker, *Psalms Citations*, 49; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554.

ὁ ...-ος ... ἦξ- ...-ει

ὁ ...-ος ... ἐκ- ...-αι

This rearrangement, plus the addition of the Isaian phrase just before it, yet again creates a hymnic format³⁴ in which the quotation is presented.³⁵

Hab 2:3b-4 LXX

διότι ἔτι

ὄρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας
καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν, ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ, ὑπόμεινον
αὐτόν,

a. ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίση.

b. ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,

c. οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ,

d. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου ζήσεται.

Heb 10:37-38

ἔτι γὰρ

μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,

a. ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἦξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει.

d. ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ~~μου~~ ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται,

b. καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται,

c. οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ.

By interchanging the line from the last clause of the Habakkuk quotation, the meaning changes from “my righteous one” now to be the subject of both parts, and not the vision of the ὑποστείληται.³⁶

2.4. Summarising Remarks on the Vorlage of the Quotation

The dimension regarding the temporal perspective on Christ’s second coming is highlighted here. Known technical terminology is used in this regard.³⁷ The author of Hebrews then probably used the phrase from Isa 26:20 from memory³⁸ as a fixed expression and merges it with his own

³⁴ So also H. van Oyen: “(De schrijver) ontwikkelt het citaat en bevindt zich hiermede dichter bij de oorspronkelijke bedoeling van de profeet” (*De B riefaa n de H ebreëen*. Nijkerk: G. F. Callenbach N.V., *Hebreëen*, 1962, 3rd ed.), 184.

³⁵ A. Strobel thinks that this rearrangement leads to a better understanding of the “Urtext” (*Der Brief an die Hebräer* [NTD 9; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975], 206).

³⁶ So noticed by a number of scholars in the past, for instance, E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554; G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 983.

³⁷ See Philo *Leg.* 2.69. The words ὅσον ὅσον “appears to be a colloquial form,” according to B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 337. He refers to Aristophanes *Vesp.* 213 and Leon. Tarent. LXX.4 (*Anthol.* 1.238). So also S. J. Kistemaker, *New Testament Commentary. Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984), 302.

³⁸ B. F. Westcott speaks of “freely using familiar language to convey his own thought” (*Hebrews*, 348). M. Karrer, too, assumes that the absence of an introductory formula, the conflation of Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b-4, and the rearrangement of the quoted lines point to a situation where the author quoted these lines from memory and not from a Scroll, or he quoted from a testimonium that originated shortly before his time (*Hebräer*,

reworking of the quotation from Hab 2:4,³⁹ which was known via the early Christian tradition, but he expanded upon it and rearranged it in poetic format. Some scholars suspect that the combination of the two quotations might already have been made in the traditions that were available by the time that the author of Hebrews wrote.⁴⁰ This is doubtful,⁴¹ however, as the author of Hebrews usually follows the practice of paying attention to the context of his quotations.

The quotation, consisting of a conflation of two quoted texts,⁴² is in exact agreement neither with the Hebrew readings, nor with the Greek readings of Hab 2:3b-4. The reading in Hebrews is, nonetheless, closer to the LXX reading than to that of the MT.⁴³ Furthermore, the reading between 1QpHab and Hab 2:4a LXX differs, which makes it questionable to assume a *Vorlage* similar to 1QpHab for Heb 10:38.⁴⁴ This leaves the issue of how these differences in the text of Heb 10:37-38 should be explained. Is this the result of another *Textvorlage*⁴⁵ that was

247). S. J. Kistemaker, in turn, thinks in a similar direction when pointing to the fact that Isa 26 “was chanted or read in worship services of the ancient synagogue and of the early Christian church” (*Hebrews*, 302; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 47).

³⁹ I. L. Seeligmann talks about this as a case where the NT contains a “free reminiscence” of the OT, particularly through “contamination” of two different passages (*The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* [FzAT 40; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004], 158 n. 23).

⁴⁰ Cf. H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen zu dem eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem, auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Habakuk 2,2ff.* (NT.S II; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 84.

⁴¹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 555; D.-A. Koch, *Text von Hab 2*, 76, n. 39. So also E. Grässer: “(es) ist nicht nachweisbar” (*Hebräer*, 76 n. 61).

⁴² E. Tönges correctly states that “This practice appears frequently in other Jewish literature, and such study and interpretation of Scripture was an established practice in first-century Judaism” (“Jesus-Midrash,” in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods – New Insights* [ed. G. Gelardini; Leiden: Brill, 2005], 107-127, here 95).

⁴³ Cf. also J. de Waard: “In general the LXX character of Heb 10,37.38 is ascertained beyond doubt. Heb 10,38 follows the deviating reading of Hab 2,4a LXX” (*A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* [STDJ 4 ZWO; Leiden: Brill, 1965], 19). Also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 182; S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49; S. J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 302; H. van Oyen, *Hebräer*, 186; H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 548, 550; M. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 250.

⁴⁴ For a discussion on the relation between 1QpHab and Hebrews see, amongst others, H. Kosmala, *Hebräer – Essener – Christen. Studien zur Vorgeschichte der frühchristlichen Verkündigung* (StPB 1; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 97ff; A. Strobel, *Untersuchungen*, 79-86.

⁴⁵ E. Ahlborn has already pointed out that Hebrews’ δίκαιός μου is particularly supported by the Alexandrian tradition, some witnesses of the Lucianic recension and the Catena group. “Es ist möglich daß der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes die Variante seiner Vorlage, einem der alexandrinischen Gruppe nahestehenden Text, entnommen hat. Doch

followed by the author? Were these changes available to him via a liturgical tradition⁴⁶ or some kind of “promise list”⁴⁷ in an oral tradition, or even an existing “testimonium to the coming of Christ.”⁴⁸ Or do these changes come from the hand of this early Christian writer himself?⁴⁹

3. *Hermeneutical Adaptation*

3.1. *Introductory Formula*

A typical introductory formula with a verb of saying, as encountered time and again in Hebrews, is absent here. Technically speaking, these quoted phrases could thus be taken not to be explicit quotations.⁵⁰ However, the two words ἔτι γὰρ introduce the quoted phrases⁵¹ from Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b-4 in Heb 10:37. This, in turn, is closely connected with the immediately preceding phrase κομίσησθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν. The link between the promise and a quotation that follows can be noted at other places in Hebrews as well.⁵²

ist die Bezeugung zu schwach, um dieses Urteil zur Gewißheit zu erheben” (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 94).

⁴⁶ The inclusion of ὁ with ἐρχόμενος and possible knowledge of this from Ps 118(117):26 via the liturgical tradition might be evidence in this regard.

⁴⁷ M. Karrer thinks in this direction, suggesting an early Christian testimonium that originated shortly before the time of Hebrews. “Im Testimonium könnte unsere Zitatenskombination nämlich in einer Reihe von Gottesworten gestanden haben.” Because of the difficulty of proving such a theory, Karrer chooses to keep the possibility open that the author of Hebrews also could have made these changes himself (*Hebräer*, 249).

⁴⁸ E. E. Ellis, *Paul’s Use of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1957), 93.

⁴⁹ E. Ahlborn concludes that the author of Hebrews used another *Vorlage* than that known today, altering it independently (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 94-95). M. Karrer, however, doubts redactional changes by the author resulted in the form of this quotation, mainly because “der auffällig freie Umgang mit dem Schrifttext ist für den Hebräer-Autor ungewöhnlich” (*Hebräer*, 249). But the author’s use of Gen 14:17-20 in Heb 7:1-3 might be used as a counter-argument against this position. P. Ellingworth, for instance, thinks that it is “less probably his source,” but rather that it was the author of Hebrews who made the changes (*Hebrews*, 554). So, similarly, H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549.

⁵⁰ Cf. H. Löhr, *Umkehr und Sünde im Hebräerbrief* (BZNW 73; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 111. Also E. Grässer: “Das hat nichts mit der Bekanntheit des Textes zu tun, sondern mit der Textfunktion” (*Hebräer*, 75).

⁵¹ So also J. de Waard, *Comparative Study*, 19; B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 347.

⁵² E.g. the quotation from Gen 22:17 in Heb 6:14.

3.2. *Some Remarks on the Interpretation of the Quotation*

The phrase from Isa 26:20 with which the author of Hebrews opens his conflated quotation has clear eschatological overtones.⁵³ Turning to the Habakkuk section, it also points in an eschatological direction.⁵⁴ Furthermore, both 1QpHab 7:5–8:3 and Heb 10:37f. are close to each other regarding the usage of Hab 2:3.⁵⁵ However, a major difference in the interpretation⁵⁶ of Hab 2:3b-4 between 1QpHab of the DSS community and Heb 10:37-38 is that the former deals with the end time that is long in coming – without referring to the messiah, whereas the latter saw time as hastening towards its end,⁵⁷ adding the definite article before ἐρχόμενος to refer to the imminent coming of Christ,⁵⁸ which “strengthens a messianic reference already implicit in the LXX.”⁵⁹ The author of Hebrews thus clearly interprets his quotation in a christological way – a connection that is probably made on the basis of a messianic understanding of the words of the prophets.⁶⁰ Only those who have not shrunk back, but persevered, will receive God’s promise (10:35-36):

⁵³ H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 301; G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 982. He adds that “this inaugurated eschatology is oriented to a person, for the theology here is overtly messianic” (984).

⁵⁴ Cf. G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 982.

⁵⁵ Cf. F. Schröger: “es geht beiden Autoren um die Treue, um das Nicht-Weichen im Blick auf das nahe Eschaton; das Nicht-Weichen (Hebr 10,39) entspricht der Gesetzesbeobachtung, die 1QpHab 8,1-3 aus Hab 2,4 herausliest” (*Verfasser*, 186-187).

⁵⁶ Although “Hebrews reflects a similar situation of eschatological expectation ... there are important differences as well” (H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303).

⁵⁷ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549.

⁵⁸ Cf. A. T. Hanson, “Hebrews,” in *It is Written: Scripture citing Scripture* (eds. D. A. Carson and H. G. M. Williamson; Cambridge: University Press, 1988), 292-301, here 295-296; L. C. Laughton, “The Hermeneutic of the Author of Hebrews as Manifest in the Introductory Formulae and Its Implications for Modern Hermeneutics” (M.A. thesis, University of Pretoria, 2005), 81; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 184; E. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 76; R. McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 199; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NICNT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 274; S. Kistemaker, *Psalms Citations*, 49.

⁵⁹ P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 554; G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 983. I. L. Seeligmann called this “an utterly remarkable conversion of the Hebraism ἐρχόμενος ἤξει into a Messianic prophecy...” (*Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 158 n. 23).

⁶⁰ Cf. F.F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 273; S.J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 302; S. Kistemaker, *Psalms Citations*, 48; H.W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 302; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 187; E. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 76; G. Schunack, *Der Hebräerbrief* (Zürcher Bibelkommentare; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag Zürich, 2002), 159. Also A. Strobel: “Die Prophetenstelle erweist sich als Kernbeleg jüdischer Messiaserwartung” (*Hebräer*, 205). H. van Oyen makes the point that particularly Hab 2:3 is given a messianic connotation and that the terms “faith,” “justification,” “life,” “perfection” are all christologically determined – “zij wortelen alle in de schaduwen van de vroegere bedeling, maar treden pas in Christus in het volle, heerlijke hemellicht” (*Hebreeën*, 184, 185).

the Coming One is coming in a little while and the righteous, who lived by faith, will be saved (10:38-39).

The quotation from Hab 2:4 consists of three main elements:

- a. receiving the reward: ὁ δὲ δίκαιος μου ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται;
- b. perseverance: ἐὰν ὑποστείληται;
- c. doing the will of God: εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχὴ μου ἐν αὐτῷ.

The author of Hebrews picks these elements up and forms a semantic *inclusio* around the quotation in verses 36 and 39 as the direct result of his interpretation:

- b. perseverance (ὑπομονῆς ἔχετε, v. 36; οὐκ ὑποστολῆς εἰς ἀπώλειαν, v. 39);
- c. doing the will of God (τὸ θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντες, v. 36; ἀλλὰ πίστεως, v. 39);
- a. receiving the reward (κομίσησθε τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, v. 36; εἰς περιποίησιν ψυχῆς, v. 39).

Scholarship has indicated this as a rabbinic technique of reinforcement, adding “support to an exhortation by quoting a biblical phrase, often using ‘for’ as part of the introductory formula.”⁶¹

Included amongst these elements are the phrases from Isa 26:20 and Hab 2:3b, which add a temporal perspective on these matters.⁶² Especially the *period* of a “short, short while” (μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον) as expressed through the quoted words from Isa 26:20 in connection with Christ’s second coming, reminds one of the “short while” (βραχύ τι) of the quotation from Ps 8:5-7 in Heb 2:6-8 in connection with Christ’s first coming. So too does the *action* of Christ’s second “coming” here in Hab 2:3b-4 (ἤξει) remind one of Christ’s first “coming” (ἤκω) in the quotation from Ps 40(39):7-9 earlier in the same chapter, in Heb 10:5-8. The μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον,⁶³ on the one hand, and the ἐρχόμενος ἤξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίση, on the other hand, serve a repetitive and emphatic function in order to appeal to, and encourage, the recipients of the document to persevere. The interpretation of Habakkuk in Hebrews is thus along the lines of perseverance in faith, which leads onto Heb 11 and the list of “faith heroes.” What follows thus in Heb 11 is closely connected to the conflated quotation from Isa 26:20 + Hab 2:3b-4, and most probably intended to be an extended commentary on the quotation.

⁶¹ G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 843-44; and G. H. Guthrie, “Hebrews’ Use of the Old Testament: Recent Trends in Research,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 2/1 (2003): 271-294, here 281-282.

⁶² See T. A. Lewis, “‘And if he shrinks back’ (Heb. X.38b),” *NTS* 22 (1975/76): 88-94.

⁶³ A “short time” was probably understood to be a period of ca. forty years according to 1QpPs 37:10 (cf. A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205).

Hebrews focuses on the *perseverance* in faith⁶⁴ and by placing μου before ἐκ πίστεως, it now belongs to δίκαιος so that the phrase ἐκ πίστεως carries the weight.⁶⁵

By adding the definite article before ἐρχόμενος, Hebrews uses yet another description for the Son – a familiar one within the early Christian tradition⁶⁶ (cf. Matt 11:3; Luke 7:19-20; John 6:14; 11:27), but probably already known via the early Jewish liturgical tradition.⁶⁷ The addition of the article makes it easier to relate this prophecy to Christ's second coming.⁶⁸ This is directly rooted within the eschatology of early Christianity about an imminent coming of Christ.⁶⁹ The author of Hebrews adds his voice, or rather the voice of the prophets(!), to this *promise*⁷⁰ and he does so by means of reworking Hab 2:3b-4 in a midrashic manner.

⁶⁴ Cf. V. Rhee, "Christology, Chiasm, and the Concept of Faith in Hebrews 10:19-39," *Filologia Neotestamentaria* 16 (2003): 33-48. Also S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 49; H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 185; A. F. J. Klijn, *De Brief aan de Hebreeën* (De Prediking van het Nieuwe Testament; Nijkerk: G. F. Callenbach, 1975), 116; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205, 206; H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 303; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 555; H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 550; E. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 75; M. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 256-257; G. H. Guthrie, *Hebrews*, 984 – they all make the point that both Paul and Hebrews use the quotation in their own way.

⁶⁵ "Nicht mehr also von der Treue (πίστις) Gottes ist hier die Rede; vielmehr bezeichnet πίστις nunmehr die Art und Weise, in der der Mensch des eschatologische Heilsgut, die ζωή, gewinnen wird" (H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 550).

⁶⁶ So also H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 549; M. Karrer, *Hebräer*, 249.

⁶⁷ E. Ahlborn reckons that "Der Titel ὁ ἐρχόμενος darf von Ps. 117(118), 26 her in der Urgemeinde als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden" (*Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92).

⁶⁸ So also E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 92; J. M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T & T Clark, 2004), 144.

⁶⁹ Cf. the expositions of A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 205-206; and G. Schunack, *Hebräerbrief*, 158-160, on Heb 10:37-38 in this regard. H. W. Attridge says: "The context, with its imagery of resurrection as well as judgment, suggests an eschatological scenario and probably facilitated the understanding of the phrase [i.e. 'a brief while', GJS] as a reference to the end time" (*Hebrews*, 301).

⁷⁰ M. Karrer also points to the centrality of the "promise" here (*Hebräer*, 250). Keeping in mind the absence of a formal introductory formula, as well as the explicit link with the "promise," G. Schunack captures the situation aptly: "Die Kombination von Zitaten der LXX-Version von Jes. 26,20 und Hab. 2,3f. wird nicht förmlich als Schriftzitat eingeführt, sondern unmittelbar als verheißungsvolle und entscheidungsträchtige Aussage Gottes in Anspruch genommen" (*Hebräerbrief*, 158).

C. HAG 2:6 IN HEB 12:26

1. *Tradition-Historical Investigation*1.1. *Background Regarding Hag 2*

The name of the prophet Haggai means “festival.” The setting of Hag 2 takes place against the backdrop of a festival event on the 21st of the seventh month (i.e. 21 Tishri), when the Lord spoke ἐν χειρὶ Ἀγγαίου τοῦ προφήτου (LXX Hag 2:1). This was the last day of the last of the three annual Jewish pilgrimage festivals, namely the Festival of Tabernacles (*Sukkoth*), which started on the 15th of Tishri and was celebrated for seven days. It was celebrated initially as the time during which the re-dedication of Solomon’s temple was remembered, but later the commemoration of the exodus from Egypt also became part of the festival. Booths were erected during the five days between *Yom Kippur* and *Sukkoth*.

The book of Haggai displays a carefully planned chronological order, according to some scholars. Its five sections⁷¹ are dated according to the months and days of the Babylonian lunar calendar in 520 B.C.E.⁷² Hag 1:15b – 2:9, the third and middle section (connected to 17 October to 17 December, according to the Julian calendar), forms a unit and deals with the promised glory of the new temple.⁷³ An oracle of assurance is conveyed here during the dedication of the post-exilic Second Temple (516 B.C.E.) by the prophet Haggai to the governor Zerubbabel and to the high priest Joshua (πρὸς Ἰησοῦν ... τὸν ἱερέα τὸν μέγαν, Hag 2:2, 4).⁷⁴ Scholars have noted that “there are obscure references to an apocalyptic-like shaking of the cosmic order and the overthrow of kingdoms, events which should avail to fill the temple with the treasures

⁷¹ G. H. Guthrie points to a fourfold structure, organised around messages that are introduced with דְּבַר-יְהוָה in Hag 1:3; 2:1; 2:10 and 2:20 (*Hebrews*, 989).

⁷² Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Haggai. A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1988), 17; E. Achtemeier, *Nahum-Malachi* (Interpretation; Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1986), 94.

⁷³ P. A. Verhoef, *The Books of Haggai and Malachi* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 91.

⁷⁴ F. F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 382. According to P. Ellingworth, the references to a high priest called Ἰησοῦς in Hag 1-2 may have drawn “the attention of the author of Hebrews to this passage, but his use of the quotation and its context show care and restraint, and he could not fail to note that Jesus/Joshua in Haggai is stated to be the son of Jehozadak, and that Jesus in Haggai is not the speaker but the one addressed by God” (*Hebrews*, 685).

of the nations and establish Zerubbabel as Messiah” (Hag 2:6-7, 20-23).⁷⁵

Looking at the Jewish apocalyptic literature of the rabbis, this particular passage was considered to be messianic and the “shaking” was understood eschatologically with reference to a cataclysmic final shaking of heaven and earth.⁷⁶ Especially Hag 2:6 was considered to be messianic, for it is reported that Rabbi Aqibah (died ca. 135 C.E.) applied this text to affirm the coming of the messiah at the end of the second Temple.⁷⁷

1.2. *The Use of Hag 2 in the Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*

There is no evidence in early Jewish and early Christian literature of explicit quotations from Hag 2:6. The motif of heaven and earth that shook, though, occurs at some places. It is found in the Dead Sea Scrolls, for instance, in 4QExhortation, which is based on the Flood.⁷⁸ A similar motif of the shaking of the people, heaven and earth – in this order, as in the MT and the LXX versions – is also found in the *Testament of Levi* (cf. *T. Levi* 3:9).⁷⁹ When turning to the NT, it is striking to note that no other NT writer quoted from Haggai, except for the author of Hebrews with excerpts from Hag 2:6 and 2:21.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ J. K. West, *Introduction to the Old Testament* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1981), 419.

⁷⁶ Cf., for instance, *Jub.* 1:9; *1 En.* 45:1; *Sib. Or.* 3.675-80; *Ps.-Philo, L.A.B.* 19:5; 2 *Bar.*; 32:1; 59:3; also *b. Sanh.* 97b; *Exod. Rab.* 18 [81a]; *Midr. Ta n̄huma B* (דְּבָרִים). Similarly: S. J. Kistemaker, *Hebrews*, 398; and F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192, 193.

⁷⁷ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 54. See also the rabbinic *Sanh* 97 b, which interprets Hag 2:5 in a messianic way.

⁷⁸ It reads: “...[and] all the foundations of the ea[rth sh]ook, [and wa]ter broke forth from the abysses, all the sluice-gates of the heavens were opened and the abysse[s] overflowed [with] mighty waters” (4Q370, Col. 1, v. 3c-4). (Cf. F. García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. *DSS Study Edition II*, 732-733).

⁷⁹ Translation: “When the Lord looks upon us, we all are shaken: both the heavens and the earth and the abysses are shaken at the presence of his majesty.”

⁸⁰ Cf. some later authors who quote this passage: Athanasius (ca. 297 – 373), the Bishop of Alexandria (*Ep. Serap.* 26); John Chrysostom (ca. 344/354 – 407) (*Hom. Heb. 1–34*, Vol. 63); Concilia Oecumenica (ACO): *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431* I,1,5; Didymus Caecus (*In Genesim*, Codex p.25); John Damascenus (*Sacra parallela* 96; *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli* 95); Origen (*Cels.* 7,30); Theodoretus (*Interpretatio in xiv epistulas sancti Pauli* 82,777).

2. Text-Critical Investigation

2.1. Readings of Hag 2:6

Hag 2:6 MT

עוד אַחַת מְעַט הִיא וְאֵי מְרַעִישׁ
אֶת־הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ
:אֶת־הַיָּם וְאֶת־הַחַרְבָּה:

Hag 2:6 LXX

Ἐτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω
τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν,

The MT and LXX readings are close to each other. One difference, though, is the presence of the words **היא טמעת** in the MT, which read literally “once again, a little while it is.” The LXX, Peshitta and Heb 12:26 read differently here, lacking the two Hebrew words. The inclusion in the MT was probably the result of a gloss.⁸¹ Another difference is the MT plural **הַיָּם**, which has been translated into the singular τὸν οὐρανὸν in the LXX.

2.2. Alternative Readings of Heb 12:26

The only variant amongst the NT witnesses is the substitution of σείσω with σείω.⁸² The reading of σείσω should be preferred, however, based on the combined evidence of ρ^{46} , \aleph and A. The future, σείσω, is well attested and the variant (the present form, σείω) might have been influenced by Hag 2:21⁸³ that has a very similar reading to Hag 2:6, following the same order of heaven first and then earth.

2.3. Comparison Between the Readings of Hag 2:6 and Heb 12:26

Hag 2:6

Ἐτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω
τὸν οὐρανὸν
καὶ τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν
καὶ τὴν ξηρὰν,

Heb 12:26

ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω
οὐ μόνον τὴν γῆν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν.

⁸¹ Cf. P. A. Verhoef for a discussion on the textual difference between the MT and the LXX (*Haggai-Malachi*, 101).

⁸² By D Ψ \aleph K L P 81 104 326 1834 Arm (See NA27; F. F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 380; A. H. Cadwallader, “The Correction of the Text of Hebrews towards the LXX,” *NT* 34/4 (1992): 257-292, here 274) – possibly by assimilation to Hag 2:21 LXX (H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 378, n. 7; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 686; E. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 331).

⁸³ H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 378; F. F. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 380.

The LXX reads: “yet once more I will shake *heaven and earth*, and sea and dry land,” whilst Heb 12:26 reads: “yet once more I will shake not only *the earth but also heaven*.” The author of Hebrews made some changes to the text from which he quotes: (a) he omitted the references to sea and land;⁸⁴ (b) inserted οὐ μόνον... ἀλλὰ (καί),⁸⁵ probably to emphasise the reference to heaven;⁸⁶ and (c) interchanged the units τὴν γῆν and τὸν οὐρανόν, the latter now in an emphatic position and necessary after the insertion.⁸⁷ These changes assist in the contrast of the past and future shakings and in emphasising the shaking of heaven as well.⁸⁸ The result is that the final quake will be far more drastic than the first.⁸⁹ In Heb 1:10-12 the description of the transitory heavens of Ps 102(101):26-27 was cited, which is now recalled by the quotation of this oracle here.

2.4. Remarks on the Vorlage of the Quotation

This passage was known in the Jewish apocalyptic tradition and was connected with a messianic expectation. It is interesting to note that all the citations found in Heb 12 have a decidedly Jewish background.⁹⁰ In the Yom-Yahweh passages (e.g. Isa 13:13), and in the Theophany passages (e.g. Judg 5:4; 2 Sam 22:8; Ps 68[67]:8) is σείω “a common rendering of רָעַשׁ, especially for the ‘shaking of the earth’.”⁹¹ The quoted passage is adapted from the LXX⁹² and relies more on the eschatologically oriented wording of the LXX⁹³ than on that of the MT. The metaphor of “shaking” was found by the writer in the LXX text of

⁸⁴ Cf. H. W. Wolff, who points to the fact that the OT has an “unusual four-term announcement of an impending threat,” whereas the two-term formula is much more frequent (*Haggai*, 71, 80).

⁸⁵ See A. Strobel: “Der Wortlaut selbst ist im Sinne der für den Hebr. typischen Schlußfolgerung vom Kleineren zum Größeren (s. ‘nicht nur, sondern auch’) verändert” (*Hebräer*, 241).

⁸⁶ E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 95; P. Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 686.

⁸⁷ Cf. S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 54.

⁸⁸ According to E. Grässer: “Um das Überbietende der letztmaligen Weltkatastrophe hervorzuheben...” (*Hebräer*, 332).

⁸⁹ H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380; B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 419; F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192. Similarly also H. van Oyen, *Hebreeën*, 234.

⁹⁰ S. Kistemaker, *Psalm Citations*, 53.

⁹¹ J. Verheyden, “Describing the Parousia: The Cosmic Phenomena in Mk 13,24-25,” in *Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C. Tuckett; Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997), 525-550, here 545-546.

⁹² E. Ahlborn, *Septuaginta-Vorlage*, 95; B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 420; H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380; E. Grässer, *Hebräer*, 331. Cf. A. Strobel: “Wie immer ist auf die Fassung der LXX zurückgegriffen” (*Hebräer*, 241).

⁹³ H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380.

Hag 2:6.⁹⁴ Despite the fact that the reading of the quotation from Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26 is unlike either the MT or the LXX,⁹⁵ it shows influence from the LXX.⁹⁶

By citing the temporal adverbs ‘yet once again’ (ἔτι ἄπαξ) in the author’s exegetical comment on this passage in the verses following, he placed his focus on the distinctive element of the LXX version.⁹⁷ The Hebrew could have been translated as ἔτι ὀλίγον,⁹⁸ but the LXX translated it with ἔτι ἄπαξ, which the author of Hebrews then follows in his argumentation.

The differences between the readings in LXX and Hebrews, as discussed above, were probably the work of the author of Hebrews rather than being due to the text of his *Vorlage*. There is, however, one possible exception: the omission of the “sea and dry land.” The fact that the fourfold threat as presented in the MT and the LXX is unusual – in comparison with the more usual twofold one – leaves open the slight possibility that his *Vorlage* might only have had the twofold danger.

3. *Hermeneutical Adaptation*

3.1. *Introductory Formula*

The quotation is introduced with the phrase νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελλται λέγων⁹⁹ – thus once again with a verb of saying and pointing to God as the Subject, here as “Promiser.”¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the term ἐπαγγέλλομαι,¹⁰¹ which is encountered several times in Hebrews, and which is often closely connected with a quotation, also appears here in the introductory formula of Heb 12:26. The promise is linked to Hag 2:6 (διότι τὰδε λέγει κύριος παντοκράτωρ), which, in turn, is interpreted in a midrashic way.¹⁰² This introduction of the quotation as a “promise”

⁹⁴ A. Cody, *Heavenly Sanctuary and Liturgy in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (St. Meinrad: Grail Publications, 1960), 85.

⁹⁵ It is, according to H.-F. Weiss, “ein sehr freies, im Grunde schon interpretierendes Zitat, das hier vorliegt” (*Hebräer*, 688).

⁹⁶ G. Howard, “Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations.” *NT* 10 (1968): 208-216, here 210.

⁹⁷ H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380.

⁹⁸ Cf. F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 192.

⁹⁹ So also F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 190.

¹⁰⁰ See Heb 6:13 (+ Gen 22:17); 10:23; 11:11 and 11:17 (+ Gen 21:12). See also Rom 4:21 and Gal 3:19.

¹⁰¹ See P. Ellingworth for a discussion of the term in this context (*Hebrews*, 686).

¹⁰² F. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 193.

is in line with the original character of Hag 2:6 as an eschatological message of salvation for Israel.¹⁰³

3.2. *Some Remarks on the Interpretation of the Quotation*

The events at Sinai as depicted in the description of Exod 19:18 were probably at the back of the mind of the author of Hebrews.¹⁰⁴ Particularly the trembling of the mountain during the theophany might have led him to utilise this particular passage from Hag 2:6. It is part of yet another oracle received by a prophet, on the one hand, and in actual fact a promise, on the other hand.¹⁰⁵ The passages of Joel 2:10 and Hag 2:6, 21 that combine the shaking of heaven “represent a later development of the Theophany genre in which the shaking of the heaven has become almost an independent motif that is used to characterize theophany of the Lord as a universal event and as ‘ein neues Heilshandeln’.”¹⁰⁶ The wording of the LXX, ἔτι ἄπαξ, provides for an eschatological¹⁰⁷ interpretation of the quotation by the author of Hebrews, as can be seen when he refers back to it in his brief midrash which starts in Heb 12:27.

Presented against the backdrop of the first covenant and Moses on Mount Sinai during which the mountain shook, the author uses apocalyptic imagery¹⁰⁸ that he finds in the oracle of Haggai – but of which the motif occurs more widely as could also be seen in the wording of LXX Ps 17:8 and LXX Ps 76:19. He adapts the quotation from Hag 2:6 by emphasising the eschatological shaking of the *heavens* too,¹⁰⁹ and not only the earth, as was the case with Moses according to those two

¹⁰³ H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 687.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. F. F. Bruce: “This earthquake remained deeply rooted in the national memory, and is celebrated in the Psalter and other Old Testament poems” (*Hebrews*, 382). Also implied by A. F. J. Klijn, *Hebreeën*, 141; A. Strobel, *Hebräer*, 241.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. H. W. Wolff, *Haggai*, 80. B. F. Westcott says that “this final catastrophe of the world, however awful in itself, is a ‘promise,’ because it is for the triumph of the cause of God that believers look” (*Hebrews*, 419). Also according to R. McL. Wilson, it “is really a promise, for after the shaking of heavens and earth and sea, it goes on to end with ‘I will fill this house with splendour’” (*Hebrews*, 233).

¹⁰⁶ J. Verheyden, “Describing the Parousia: The Cosmic Phenomena in Mk 13,24-25,” in *Scriptures in the Gospels* (ed. C. Tuckett; Louvain: Peeters Press, 1997), 525-550, here 545-546.

¹⁰⁷ Closer to “Hellenistic eschatology” than to “Apocalyptic eschatology” according to H.-F. Weiss, *Hebräer*, 688. E. Grässer explains it as follows: “Für Hebr liegt die heilvolle Zukunft damit außerhalb der Schöpfung, was ihn charakteristisch von apokalyptischen Texten...trennt” (*Hebräer*, 332).

¹⁰⁸ Cf. H.-F. Weiss: “die Art und Weise, in der Hag 2,6 in V.27 tatsächlich ausgelegt wird, liegt keineswegs auf der Linie jüdischer und urchristlicher Apokalyptik, sondern ist viel eher wiederum Indiz für eine ‘dualistische’ Interpretation” (*Hebräer*, 689).

¹⁰⁹ This recalls the transitory heavens which were mentioned in the quotation from Ps 102(101): 26-27, cited in Heb 1:10-12 (H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 380).

Psalms.¹¹⁰ This adaptation of Hag 2:6 is achieved by two alterations: firstly, the interchange of the two entities τὴν γῆν and τὸν οὐρανόν, and secondly, the addition of οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καί. This sets the scene of the new covenant and the eschatological kingdom. The reversal in word order makes this “a prophecy of the final consummation.”¹¹¹

The last sentence of the author’s midrash in Heb 12:27-29 on Hag 2:6 is an allusion to Deut 4:24 and Deut 9:3 – the latter belonging to the section from which the author quoted v. 19 a few lines earlier in Heb 12:21. The understanding of the nature of God as a consuming fire (καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν πῦρ καταναλίσκων) expresses the intensity and severity of God’s judgement – in Deut 9:3 against the Anakim, in Deut 4:24 against idolatry within the covenantal relationship.

D. CONCLUSION

The *Vorlage* of the two quotations from the Minor Prophets in Hebrews was investigated from a tradition-historical angle and a text-critical angle. It was established, with regard to the conflated quotation from Isa 26/Hab 2, that it was neither in exact agreement with the Hebrew readings (including 1QpHab), nor with the Greek readings (including 8HevXIIgr) of Hab 2:3b-4 – though nonetheless being closer to the LXX readings. A parallel structure is created by the transposition of the last line of the quotation to a position between the first two lines (reversal of the clauses), by the change to the future indicative, and by the substitution of ὅτι with ὁ. No convincing text-critical support could be found to support any of these differences, so that it seems most likely that they should be ascribed to the writer of Hebrews.

With regard to the quotation from Hag 2, the quoted passage is adapted from the LXX and relies more on the eschatologically oriented wording of the LXX than on that of the MT. However, some differences between the quoted text in Hebrews and those of the existing textual traditions were noted: the omission of “sea and land,” the insertion of the strong contrasting οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ (καί), and the interchange of the units τὴν γῆν and τὸν οὐρανόν. The differences between the LXX and Hebrews’ readings were probably the work of the author of Hebrews rather than being due to the text of his *Vorlage*. One possible exception, though, is the omission of “the sea and dry land.”

¹¹⁰ Cf. also Exod 19:18; Judg 5:4; Ps 68:7-8; 114:7.

¹¹¹ R. McL. Wilson, *Hebrews*, 233. Cf. G. H. Guthrie: “The author quotes Hag 2:6, weaving an interpretation into his quotation to speak of the coming judgment” (*Hebrews*, 990).

We were faced with three possibilities regarding the *Vorlage* of the quotations from the Minor Prophets in Hebrews, i.e. the existence of another *Textvorlage*, influence from the liturgical traditions and differences as a result of the work of the author of Hebrews. What became clear from this brief study is that the possibility of another *Textvorlage*, which possibly read the same as the quotations from the Minor Prophets in Hebrews, might be excluded. It is almost impossible to decide between the two remaining possibilities. If it is true that Habakkuk 2 was part of a liturgy that was in use for a New Year's festival in Jerusalem, as well as with Haggai 2 taking place against the backdrop of the Festival of Tabernacles, it might be possible that the author of Hebrews knew these passages from the liturgical traditions and might even have been influenced by the wording of such an oral liturgical tradition. On the other hand, there might be four reasons to assume that these versions of the Minor Prophet quotations in Hebrews were the result of the interpretative work of the author of Hebrews: (a) there is proof that he might have known the Habakkuk quotation via the Pauline tradition and that he expanded on the quotation; (b) the conflation with the phrase from Isaiah 26 and the Habakkuk quotation might be ascribed to the author; (c) he, furthermore, shows a definite and clear preference for hymnic texts and made similar adaptations elsewhere; and (d) when he quoted a second time from both Jer 31(38) and from Ps 40(39) in those midrashic sections, he showed a similar tendency to represent those quotations in a way that was also closer to a hymnic format.

What remains to be investigated, though, is whether the whole grand plan and structure of the quotations in Hebrews probably reflects an underlying liturgical cycle that was known to the author and/or the recipients of his book – either from the known Jewish Festivals, or similar to the so-called Angel Liturgy found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls, or even an unknown early Christian liturgical rite. But that is a study for those who are brave enough in future to venture where angels fear to tread!

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ELEMENTS IN HEBREWS 1?¹

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1. Introduction – *The LXX in Hebrews*

... the boundaries that separate tradition from its milieu are always exceedingly porous, although as theologians we often notoriously invent protective strategies that mask the necessary fluidity of traditions.²

The ‘lack of genealogy’ of the Epistle to the Hebrews continues to puzzle scholars. Fred Craddock observes that Hebrews displays “an extended engagement with the text of the Greek Old Testament,” acknowledging that “Jewish and Hellenistic thought had been long blended.”³ However, this paper submits examples from Hebrews 1 to suggest that it may be ancient Egyptian mythology which supplies what Craddock expresses as “the major lines and subtler nuances of the writer’s argument and appeal.”⁴ Fifth century B.C.E. Aramaic papyri found as far down the Nile as Elephantine in Upper Egypt,⁵ later Greek papyri and Hellenistic iconography from Egypt suggest that something of the three thousand years of Egyptian myth and ritual left their mark on the Judean colonists in the service of the Persian sovereigns and the last pharaohs, as well as on those of the Diaspora in Egypt under the

¹ This material is based upon work supported financially by the National Research Foundation.

² J. Wentzel van Huysteen, *Alone in the World? Human Uniqueness in Science and Theology. The Gifford Lectures, University of Edinburgh, Spring, 2004* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2006), 29.

³ F. B. Craddock, “The Letter to the Hebrews,” in *The New Interpreter’s Bible: New Testament Survey* (ed. Leander E. Keck et al.; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 287-296.

⁴ Concerning the usefulness of myth Ithmar Gruenwald explains: “Myth is a mode of cognition ... in its own right ... there is no longer any reason to measure it against scientific knowledge, nor is any philosophical-allegorical interpretation required to justify its cognitive validity” (*Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel* [Leiden: Brill, 2005], 94). Neither in my opinion, is myth any threat to Christian faith in fact it confirms its veracity.

⁵ See for instance the phrase occurring in several letters: “I have blessed you by Ptah, that he may let me behold your face in peace” (Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Department of the History of Jewish People, 1986), 10, 12.

Ptolemies.⁶ The ancient Egyptian iconography continued well beyond the Hellenistic period: for example consider the wall painting in a second century C.E. Roman tomb of an upper-class Alexandrian. It is painted in the ancient Egyptian style showing the winged sun-disk above the deceased, who is flanked by the goddesses Isis and Nephthys.⁷

If we are to believe the biblical tradition that Moses grew up in the Egyptian royal court as an aristocrat, he would have studied Amun theology⁸ and learned to read and probably write hieroglyphs.⁹ Christological understanding arose only gradually¹⁰ and we should keep in mind that the last hieroglyphic inscription was made long after Christianity was well established.¹¹ It is only from the fifth century C.E. that “the Pharaonic world stood severed from human consciousness, represented only in the Bible, and in Greek and Latin accounts of pre-Christian Egypt, often with negative judgements on the Egyptian way of life and beliefs.”¹² Thus, in spite of the ideological polemic directed against Egypt in the Hebrew Bible,¹³ ancient Egyptian ideas must have

⁶ Also see Peder Borgen, *Early Christianity and Hellenistic Judaism* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 71, and Joseph M. Modrzejewski, who presents further iconographical examples: Alexander the Great as Pharaoh before the god Amon, ca. 330 B.C.E. and Augustus as sovereign of Egypt wearing an Egyptian wig, ca. 30 B.C.E. (*The Jews of Egypt. From Rameses III to Emperor Hadrian* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995], 53, 162).

⁷ Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (London: British Museum Publications, 1986), 203.

⁸ Karl W. Luckert, *Egyptian Light and Hebrew Fire* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1986), 125.

⁹ In the speech given by Stephen reported in Acts 7:22, Moses is described as having been “instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.” Writing by Moses is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible at Num 33:2; Deut 31:9, 22, 24. T. C. Mitchell refers to the 15th century B.C.E. inscribed sphinx in the British Museum, found at Serabit al-Khadem, Sinai, which bears Proto-Sinaitic writing similar in form to Egyptian hieroglyphs (*The Bible in the British Museum: Interpreting the Evidence* [London: British Museum Press, 2005], 31). This suggests that the developer(s) of this script borrowed both the idea of writing and the form of the letters from the Egyptians. Jan Assman suggests that the Israelites to whom the Law was given should be seen as culturally Egyptian - their “ethnicity” did not yet exist (*Moses the Egyptian* [London: Harvard University Press, 1997], 70, 73). He has gone so far as to suggest that the Ten Commandments could have been written in hieroglyphs.

¹⁰ Oscar Cullman, *The Christology of the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1956), 317.

¹¹ In the sanctuary of Isis on the island of Philae at the end of the fourth century (J. van der Vliet and L. Zonderhoven, “Het Koptisch,” *Phoenix* 44, 2/3 [1998]: 104).

¹² Stephen Quirke and Jeffrey Spencer, eds., *The British Museum Book of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), 125.

¹³ Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Theologies of the Old Testament* (London/New York: T & T Clark, 2001), 53, following Assman, *Moses the Egyptian*, and Mark S. Smith, *The*

been part of the apperceptive mass of the Alexandrian intellectual climate.¹⁴ Nick Wyatt perceives the cultures of the Ancient Near East as a ‘seamless robe,’ so that cross-fertilisation from a variety of cultural contacts will have contributed to the growth of symbolic ideas and practices.¹⁵ Crispin Fletcher-Louis confirms that “it is accepted that ancient Near Eastern beliefs surrounding the activity of kings has left some impression on Old Testament literature.”¹⁶ The intimate contacts that the Israelite patriarchs had with Egypt, and subsequent political contacts during the Bronze Age, actually provide the explanation of how these elements, under the influence of the monarchy in the first millennium, became a component of the symbolic repertoire of the chief God in Israel. This article presents the hypothesis that a precursor to the divine sonship of Jesus can be seen in a concept that was already present in the institution of ancient Egyptian divine kingship. The king in Egypt was, through ritual, made a divine mediator. This was also expressed in Judean royal theology reflected in the texts presented in this article. In this way the concept of a combination of both divine and human dimensions was incorporated into Judean kingship, and thus ancient Egyptian elements are detectable in the MT.

Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Text (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 5-6, 9, 249.

¹⁴ Apperceptive mass is defined by Raymond J. Corsini as “a group of present ideas, influential in determining what new ideas shall gain admission to consciousness and in what way new objects shall be perceived” (*The Dictionary of Psychology* [London: Brunner-Routledge, 2002], 61). Mark Smith notes that the data in attested sources of Israelite history indicate a pluralism of religious practice in ancient Israel (*The Early History of God* [San Francisco: Harper, 2002], 18, 202), and according to Karel van der Toorn, the Deuteronomic emphasis on the unity of Yahweh must be understood against this background (“Yahweh יהוה” in *DDD* 910-919). Othmar Keel and Christoff Uehlinger state that there is no doubt that both Israel and Judah took for granted that other deities besides Yahweh existed, and they conclude that these powers and authorities were subordinate to Yahweh, mediating the protection and blessing of Yahweh (*Gods, Goddesses, and Images of God in Ancient Israel* [trans. T. H. Trapp; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1998], 280). For instance Nili Shupak suggests that the blending of elements deriving from different cultures and religions which prevailed in the ancient Near East beginning with the New Kingdom in Egypt (15th century B.C.E.), enabled a residue of the Egyptian solar religion to be preserved in certain circles of sun worshippers in Israel, and that this is how the concepts and beliefs concerning the Egyptian god Aten (the sun disc) may have been retained by the Israelites (“The God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God: a Reconsideration of Habakkuk 3:3-7,” *JANES*, 28, 97-116, [2001]: 116).

¹⁵ Wyatt, *Space and Time in the Religious Life of the Near East* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 29.

¹⁶ C. H. T. Fletcher-Louis, *Luke-Acts - Angels, Christology and Soteriology* (Tubingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1997), 116.

It is less than two hundred years since hieroglyphs, i.e. the Egyptian legacy of mythological and wisdom literature, became decipherable again, but we need to take this legacy into account when reading biblical texts. Hebrews was written before the end of the first century C.E. during the period during which hieroglyphs were still readable and before the catastrophic end to the vital association between Jews and Christians. The unknown author of Hebrews, who wrote in “sophisticated” Greek¹⁷ was believed by Luther, and generally accepted by recent scholarly opinion, to have been the Jewish Christian from Alexandria, namely Apollos, “eloquent and well versed in the Scriptures” (Acts 18:24).¹⁸ Three thousand years of Egyptian culture must have been part of the apperceptive mass of the Alexandrian scholars in the heyday of the Alexandrian school – the intellectual context into which Christianity was born.

2. Methodology

To some extent the ‘apperceptive mass’ amounts to what Gert Steyn denotes as the *traditional-historical* level, but the concept of apperceptive mass goes further in explaining how new combinations of ideas from different cultures come about.¹⁹ An example which we will be considering is what Martin Hengel calls “the traditio-historical problem” of the origin of “sitting at the right hand of God.”²⁰

My hypothesis is that ancient Egyptian beliefs about the divinity of the pharaoh and his function of maintenance of justice actually provide a

¹⁷ Martin Karrer, “The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint,” in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 336.

¹⁸ Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt*, xvii, and other scholars have recognised that nascent Christianity was rooted in Alexandrian Judaism. John P. Meier notes the ‘nervous tendency’ of some commentators to ignore that the author of Hebrews, “steeped in Alexandrian-Jewish theology, was able to integrate speculation about eternal existence and relationship with God into more traditional and historical New Testament affirmations about Jesus Christ” (“Structure and Theology in Heb 1:1-14,” *Biblica* 66, [1985]: 181). Meier points out that Alexandrian-Jewish philosophy was also the major philosophical milieu in which the pre-Nicene Fathers thought and wrote, and that the author of Hebrews took over a whole group of philosophical underpinnings and presuppositions which can be labeled ‘middle Platonism.’ For the Egyptian connection to middle Platonism, see the *Corpus Hermeticum* and the *Chaldean Oracles* in Annette M. H. Evans, “The Development of Jewish Ideas of Angels: Egyptian and Hellenistic Connections, ca. 600 B.C.E. to ca. 200 C.E.” (unpublished D.Phil. diss., University of Stellenbosch, 2007), 205, 218, 292-294.

¹⁹ G. J. Steyn, “Psalm 2 in Hebrews,” *Neotestamentica* 37/2 (2003): 262.

²⁰ M. Hengel, *Studies in Early Christology* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1995), 175.

key which unlocks some of the mystery of Hebrews. The function of the pharaoh was to defend his people from any onslaught from outside the borders of Egypt, and to rule with justice tempered with mercy. These functions were closely tied up with his priestly office – the pharaoh was in theory the only one qualified to perform the priestly ritual of sacrifice by virtue of the fact that his divinity was a divine institution.²¹ This concept is different from the generalised ancient Near Eastern concept of the divinisation of the ruler. The myth of Osiris and Horus reflects and hallows the institution of divine kingship; the legitimacy of the reigning king depends on the principle that he is both the living ‘son’ and the immediate divine reincarnation of Osiris, his dead predecessor. The transmission of the *Ka* (life-force) from father to son implies the transmission of the father’s office to the son and guarantees the latter’s legitimacy.²² Mythologically and through ritual, the living pharaoh was conceived of as the divine son of the god Osiris, but he also had an earthly mother, as often in folk mythologies about the culture hero.²³ Thus in ancient Egypt the pharaoh was the perfect mediator between heaven and earth because his descent was from heaven as well as from earth.²⁴

The agenda for a biblical book is often set in the opening chapter.²⁵ In Hebrews 1 three striking allusions from the Greek version of the Hebrew

²¹ L. L. Grabbe, ed., *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scriptures in the Hellenistic Period* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 29-31; David P. Silverman, “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (eds. David O’Connor and David P. Silverman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 61; O. Keel, *The Symbolism of the Biblical World: Ancient Near Eastern Iconography and the Book of Psalms* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1978), 29.

²² J. van Dijk, “Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. M. Sasson; New York: SCM Press, 1992), 1705-6.

²³ E. Yassif, *The Hebrew Folktale. History, Genre, Meaning* (trans. J. S. Teitelbaum; Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996), 36.

²⁴ The idea of a mortal king as a divine entity is also expressed by an ancient myth recorded during the Middle Kingdom (2040-1640 B.C.E.) in *Papyrus Westcar* (John Baines, “Origins of Egyptian Kingship,” *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 17; Silverman, “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, 71). In *Papyrus Westcar* the father of King Shepseskaf (c.2491-2487 B.C.E.), the last king of Dynasty 4, is Re of *Sakhebu*, a form of the sun god. The first three kings are ‘sons of Re’ by a human mother: “Who is she, the aforementioned *Reddjedet*? The *Djedi* said: She is the wife of a *wab*-priest of Re, Lord of Sethebu, she being pregnant with the children of Re.” Several sequences of scenes in temples of the New Kingdom (1539-664 B.C.E.) clarify this ancient myth: the sun god Re sires the heir to the throne with an earthly woman of royal descent, thus endowing the progeny with a two-fold legitimacy for the future office, divinity and royal mortality (Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978], 32).

²⁵ Meier, “Structure and Theology,” 169.

Bible hint at the possibility of an ancient Egyptian apperceptive mass. David Hay noted that “the unusual weight to be put on Psalm 110 in the epistle is suggested at the outset by the prominence of two references in the majestic opening chapter.”²⁶ T. K. Oberholtzer too, has pointed out that Psalm 110 (109) is crucial to the argument of Hebrews because of its king-priest motif, alluded to twelve times in the epistle.²⁷ In order to examine these allusions on the *hermeneutical* level, we shall be shuttling back and forth from key verses in Hebrews 1 and certain texts mainly from Psalm 109 in the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible. In some instances the Greek version differs from the MT, and these will be briefly noted and their possible significance considered. For a fairly literal English translation of both the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the King James Version is used. The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) is also given.²⁸

3. Allusions to Egyptian Mythology in Hebrews 1

3.1. *The Son of God: Heb 1:5*

τίни γὰρ εἶπέν ποτε τῶν ἀγγέλων υἱός μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ
σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε καὶ πάλιν ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς
πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν;

For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee? And again, I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son? (KJV).

This idea of the Father bringing forth a son is implicit in Ps 109 (110):3b, although the words in the two texts are not identical.

Psalm 109 (110):3b

ἐκ γαστρὸς	מרחם
πρὸ	משחר
ἔωσφόρου	דל
-	לס

²⁶ D. M. Hay, *Glory at the Right Hand. Psalm 110 in Early Christianity* (Nashville/New York: Abingdon Press, 1973), 85.

²⁷ T. K. Oberholtzer, “The Warning Passages in Hebrews, Part 1: The Eschatological Salvation of Hebrews 1:5-5:5” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 145/577, (1988): 91.

²⁸ NETS is to be found at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ps.pdf>.

ἔξεγέννησά σε

ךדתך

NETS: “From the womb, before Morning-Star, I brought you forth.”

KJV: “From the womb of the morning, thou hast the dew of thy youth.”

NRSV: “From the womb of the morning, like dew, your youth [or, “the dew of your youth”] will come to you”.

A pointer to the significance of Heb 1:5 is indicated by Hans-Joachim Kraus in his discussion of Ps 110:3b: “The whole verse is a reference to the heavenly, divine origin of the king and should be understood accordingly.”²⁹ Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 clarify the underlying intention of the allusion in Heb 1:5 to Father and Son.³⁰

²⁹ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 60-150* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1989), 350. That the word טֹט ‘dew’ is not rendered in the LXX is not clearly understood. The significance of dew in esoteric circles is that “the precipitation of the morning dew is a symbol of the emanation of the Cosmic Mind into the realm of matter” (Matthew Black, *The Secret History of the World* [London: Quercus, 2007], 27). The absence of ‘dew’ in the LXX could be attributable to anti-Egyptian ideology in the work of a conservative LXX translator because the concept conveyed by ‘dew’ in the MT context is recognisable in an ancient Egyptian mythological text (ca. 1300-1100) about the god Ptah who creates the world by what his mind conceives through the action of his tongue. See Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 B.C.E.-395 C.E.* (trans. David Lorton; Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2004), 41; James B. Pritchard (ed.), *The Ancient Near East. An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 1; Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. The Old and Middle Kingdom* (Vol 1; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973; repr., 2006), 54-57. It is arguable that the author of Hebrews could not have had direct access to the concept of ‘dew’ if it is not present in the LXX, but note the observation by R. T. McLay on the plurality of texts that existed in the period when the New Testament arose (*The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003], 113). The connotation of freshness in association with birth as regeneration may be contributing to the meaning. In this regard, cf. Isa 26:19, where dew is mentioned in connection with the arising of the dead, a concept contained in the ancient Egyptian mythology about the god of the dead, Osiris. As a metaphor in the MT, the concept of dew suggests the possibility of a connection between ancient Egyptian ideas and the concept in the MT of divine birth, which is certainly also conveyed in the Septuagint: “From the womb ... I brought you forth.” Interestingly, in *I Enoch* 39:5-6, in his journey through the heavens Enoch, sees “mercy like dew upon the ground” (see Evans, *Jewish Ideas of Angels*), 128.

³⁰ Amongst other scholars, Steyn has noted the connection between Psalm 2 and 2 Sam 7 in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Heb 1:5, the key word being *υἱός* (Steyn, “Psalm 2,” 263-64). Steyn notes that key words are typical of the style of the author of Hebrews. The chiasma ABBA of sonship and paternity in Heb 1:5 echoes that in the combination of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14a and strengthens the connection. H. W. Bateman has pointed out the similar structural uses of the Hebrew scriptures in both Heb 1:5-13 and 4QFlor 1.1-19 in that they both “string Old Testament passages together, usually quoting them verbatim, but occasionally altering them slightly to strengthen their argument” (“Two First-Century

Ps 2:6, 7 ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἅγιον αὐτοῦ διαγγέλλων τὸ πρόσταγμα κυρίου κύριος εἶπεν πρὸς με υἱός μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε

“But I was established king by him, on Sion, his holy mountain, by proclaiming the Lord’s ordinance: The Lord said to me, ‘my son you are; today I have begotten you’” (NETS).

2 Sam 7:14a ἐγὼ ἔσομαι αὐτῷ εἰς πατέρα καὶ αὐτὸς ἔσται μοι εἰς υἱόν

“I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me” (NETS).

In Ps 2:6, where NETS renders πρόσταγμα as “ordinance,” Kraus, on the basis of parallels in the Egyptian ritual of the king, translates the MT equivalent as ‘enactment’ to emphasise the legitimising nature of the proclamation. Kraus stresses that a “conspicuous difference exists already between the Egyptian and the Mesopotamian perspectives ... in Egypt sonship with God is most consistently understood as mythological ... Contrary to that, in Babylonia and Assyria the king is most often understood to be a servant.”³¹ Heb 1:4-5 expresses the Son’s unique regal relationship with Yahweh. Meier stresses that the statements about Jesus in Hebrews are rooted in the idea that Jesus is the Son of God, and that the whole argument of the Epistle revolves around the idea of the son who has become the perfect high priest by his death and exaltation.³² The context of divine sonship links the principle to the Egyptian mythological content of the divine pharaoh, who is at the same time the son Horus and the god of the dead, Osiris. In ancient Egyptian mythological terms the living king is always the god Horus, the son of the deceased king who becomes Osiris, god of the dead. This ensures the continuity of the pharaonic divine kingship. Horus is both the living ‘son’ and the immediate divine reincarnation of his dead predecessor. The ritual transmission of the father’s office to the son guarantees the

Messianic Uses of the OT: Heb 1:5-13 and 4QFlor 1:1-19,” *Evang Theol Soc Jnl* 38 [1995]: 14). They also use similar introductory formulas to introduce their Old Testament passages, mainly for exegetical reasons.

³¹ H.-J. Kraus, *Psalms 1-59, I* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press, 1989), 130-131.

³² Meier, “Structure and Theology,” 184, 188.

latter's legitimacy, no blood relation is necessary.³³ Kraus summarises: "The Pharaoh is *Deus incarnatus* ... The god Amon has begotten him with the queen mother."³⁴

3.2. *Eternal Enthronement, Eternal Righteousness: Heb 1:8*

πρὸς δὲ τὸν υἱὸν ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου

"But unto the Son he saith, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: a scepter of righteousness is the scepter of thy kingdom" (KJV).

Compare LXX Ps 44:7, 8a (45:6, 7a)

ὁ θρόνος σου ὁ θεὸς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος ῥάβδος εὐθύτητος ἢ ῥάβδος τῆς βασιλείας σου ἠγάπησας δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἐμίσησας ἀνομίαν

Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever: the scepter of thy kingdom is a right scepter. Thou lovest righteousness, and hatest wickedness (KJV).

In Psalm 44(45) the king is nowhere called 'son,' yet Peter C. Craigie asserts that the concept of sonship is also at the heart of this royal covenant.³⁵ In Heb 1:8 God addresses the *enthroned* King as 'Son.' This marks a renewal of the relationship between God and the newly crowned king, just as in Egypt between Osiris the deceased king and his newly crowned son Horus, where the new Pharaoh becomes Horus the son of Osiris, i.e. attains sonship of Osiris the god of the dead, upon his enthronement.

The 'scepter of righteousness' in Heb 1:8 introduces the concept of eternal righteousness. The symbolism of the Pharaoh's sceptre

³³ Van Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 1705-06.

³⁴ Kraus, *Psalms 1-59*, I, 131.

³⁵ Craigie derives this idea from the Sinai covenant between God and the בני ישראל children/sons of Israel" noting that in the covenant with the house of David "the focus is narrowed to a relationship between God and the king" (Craigie, *Psalms 1-50*, [Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1982], 65). When a new descendant of the Davidic dynasty ascended to the throne, the covenant was renewed in the coronation.

hieroglyphically represents power, dominion³⁶ and righteous rule.³⁷ By means of the ancient Egyptian coronation ritual, the royal ideology denotes a divine mission to promote and establish righteousness, and the sceptre conveys the concept of continuation into perpetuity. The idea of perpetual righteousness is developed further in Heb 5:6b by introducing the mysterious character Melchizedek: ‘Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec’ (KJV).³⁸ By this means the ancient Egyptian idea of the eternal continuity of the son of god on the throne is combined with eternal priesthood.³⁹

3.3. *Sitting at the Right Hand of God, Enemies as a Footstool: Heb 1:13*

πρὸς τίνα δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων εἶρηκέν ποτε κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἄν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου

But to which of the angels said he at any time, Sit on my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool? (KJV).

Compare Ps 109:1:

³⁶ Richard H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art. A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 181-183, 188.

³⁷ John Eaton, *The P salms: A Historical and Spiritual Commentary with an Introduction and New Translation* (London/New York: T&T Clark International, 2003), 385.

³⁸ This ingenious idea is then repeated and expanded in Heb 7:17. The allusions appear to be derived from LXX Ps 109:4b: σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ. You are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek. Cf. Gen 14:18 “And Melchizedek king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: and he was the priest of the most high God.” L. Hunt reports a recently discovered wall painting in the Coptic Church of the Virgin at Dayr al-Baramous (Wadi Natrun) depicting an Eucharistic scene showing the sacrifice of Isaac, with Abraham and Melchizedek, i.e. the association of Melchizedek with the priestly function of sacrifice (“Oriental Orthodox Iconography and Architecture,” *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Orthodoxy* [ed. Kenneth Parry; Malden, USA: Blackwell Publishing, 2007], 388-419). In its context in the Egyptian monastery the concept is likely to be much older than the painting, which is dated to 1200 CE.

³⁹ The symbol of the sceptre is sometimes used interchangeably with the shepherd’s crook or staff (Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, 183). Philip J. Nel notes that the Chester Beatty text iv lines 269, 293 and 297-8, praise the sun god Amun-Re as the “great shepherd” and “brightest source of life for all” (“Yahweh is a Shepherd: Conceptual Metaphor in Psalm 23,” *Horizons in Biblical Theology* 27, [2005]: 79). He concludes that the shepherd metaphor for the king in Egypt also signifies the exertion of justice, and he points out that the “royal ideology of the ancient Near East accepts an intricate relation between the godhead and the king as his earthly representative, and in the Egyptian instance, bodily incarnation of the divine.”

εἶπεν ὁ κύριος τῷ κυρίῳ μου κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου (LXX).

The Lord said to my Lord, “Sit on my right until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet” (NETS).

See Fig. 1 where the strong Egyptian coloring of the concept expressed in Heb 1:13b is inescapable. The concept of enemies as a footstool is specifically expressed again later in Heb 8:1 and 10:12. There are later parallels in other cultures to the concept of the king with his feet on his enemies, but the earliest evidence of the king actually sitting on the lap of the mother-figure goddess with his enemies as his footstool is Egyptian. Whereas the above quotation from Heb 1:13b is virtually identical to the LXX text, the same meaning is also perceptible, but not at all identical in wording to LXX Ps 109:1, in Heb 1:3b:

καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ποιησάμενος ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς

(Who) when he had by himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high; (KJV).

Right in the beginning of Hebrews, in Heb 1:3a the idea of priestly sacrifice is introduced by stating καθαρισμὸν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν “(Who) when he had by himself purged our sins,” followed in verse 3b by ἐκάθισεν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς μεγαλωσύνης ἐν ὑψηλοῖς, “sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high” (KJV). In Ps 110 (109):4 the idea of priestly sacrifice is introduced by mentioning Melchizedek, but in Hebrews, although the concept of Christ as the great high priest is prepared for in chapter 1, Melchizedek as the archetype is introduced only in chapter 5. The idea of priestly sacrifice introduced in Heb 1:3, in combination with Heb 1:13, culminates in Heb 8:2 and 12:2 with “sitting at the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens/throne of God.” Thus, in combination with the indication of a special place of honour, Heb 1:13b also prepares the reader for the association of the idea of priestly sacrifice. In the same breath as it were, the possible implication that Jesus is nothing more than an angel is ruled out in Heb 1:13a, “But to which of the angels said he at any time.” In commenting on the above verse Kraus notes that the place at the right hand of the king is a distinctive place of honour, which indicates that the king is installed to an associate rulership, thereby becoming a participant in Yahweh’s

strength and victory.⁴⁰ Segal points out that “in all the earliest traditions, the second figure in heaven is always seen as a complementary figure, suggesting the notion of a divine helper who carried God’s name.”⁴¹ As precursor to sitting down “at the right hand of the Majesty on high,” the phrase “when he had by himself purged our sins” stresses “the heart of the decisive saving event” and hints at the “once-for-all” nature of Christ’s sacrifice.⁴² Hay has noted that the account of the sitting down on the divine throne is underlaid by “a cosmic enthronement schema, not originally Christian.” This observation makes sense of the remarkable stress in Heb 1:2, 3a, 6a, 10 of Jesus as the Pre-incarnate Son before his exaltation.⁴³

4. *The Angelology of Hebrews I*

If one looks at the angelology of Hebrews 1, suppression of the polytheistic origins of Jewish angelology is perceptible at a deeper level, reflected indirectly in Heb 1:6, 7:

ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην
λέγει καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ καὶ
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἀγγέλους λέγει ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ
πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα

And again, when he bringeth in the firstbegotten into the world, he saith, And let all the angels of God worship him. And of the angels he saith, Who maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire (KJV).

Heb 1:6, 7 is clearly an allusion to LXX Psalm 103(104):4, and perhaps indirectly to Deut 32:8b.

⁴⁰ Kraus, *Psalms II*, 348, 349.

⁴¹ Alan Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven: Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 262.

⁴² Meier, *Structure and Theology*, 183.

⁴³ Hay, *Glory*, 86. The hints of ancient Egyptian mythological connections referred to above reassert the creation story of Genesis 1, and go further by claiming that it was by his word that the Son of God made the world. A parallel is to be found in ancient Egyptian mythology where the Egyptian god Ptah made the world through the agency of his word. See the Memphite Theology of Creation, dated to the Ramesside Period (ca. 1300-1100): “Ptah thought of and created by speech the creator-god Atum (“Totality”) thus transmitting the divine power of Ptah to all other gods” (Dunand and Zivie Coche, *Gods and Men* 41. For other translations, see Pritchard, *Texts and Pictures* 1, and Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 54-57).

LXX Ps 103:4 ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον
 He who makes spirits his messengers (or angels) and flaming fire his ministers (NETS).

MT Ps 104:4
 עשה מלאכיו רוחות משרתיו אש להט
 who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire (KJV).

LXX Deut 32:8b
 ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ
 He set the bounds of the people according to the angels of God.

MT Deut 32:8
 בהנחל עליון גוים בהפרידו בני אדם יצב גבלת עמים למספר בני ישראל
 he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel (KJV MT Deut 32:8b).

The NRSV translation of Psalm 104:4 reveals an ideological awkwardness about the status and function of angels: “You make the winds your (or his) messengers, fire and flame your (or his) ministers.” The NRSV translator of MT Psalm 104 eliminates the allusion to angels by rendering רוחות as “winds” and מלאכיו as “messengers.”⁴⁴ This seems to be an attempt to harmonise the passage with MT Deut 32:8b, which makes no mention of angels and instead alludes to the “children/sons of Israel” בני ישראל, whereas the LXX has ἔστησεν ὄρια ἔθνῶν κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων θεοῦ. Smith suggests that the MT “perhaps reflects a discomfort with the polytheistic theology of Israel,”⁴⁵ and Rösel notes the factor of the awareness of the translator that the Hebrew-Aramaic texts were authoritative religious writings, thereby strengthening the tendency to harmonisation.⁴⁶ At the other extreme, NETS renders LXX

⁴⁴ Robert C. Dentan, “Psalms,” in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible: New Revised Standard Version* (eds. B. M. Metzger and Roland E. Murphy; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 674-801.

⁴⁵ Mark Smith, *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism. Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 156.

⁴⁶ Martin Rösel, “Towards a Theology of the Septuagint,” in *Septuagint Research. Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (eds. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden; SCS 53; Atlanta: SBL, 2006), 244. On the other hand, Timothy McLay considers that when *Odes of Solomon* 2:43 and Heb 1:6 are taken into account the striking difference between 4Q Deut q, MT and OG of Deut 32:43 “provide an excellent

Deut 32:8b as “according to the number of all the divine sons” whereas the NRSV translator renders Deut 32:8b as “he fixed the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the gods,”⁴⁷ thus blatantly revealing the polytheistic origins of Jewish angelology, even though the MT makes no mention of angels and instead alludes to the “children/sons of Israel” בני ישראל.

The rendering in the LXX Ps 103:4 is in conformity with Mach’s observation that in the Greek translation of Daniel angels are nothing more than executive agents,⁴⁸ whereas the NRSV translator of Deut 32:8b goes beyond the MT text, explaining this on the basis of a text from Qumran, whereas the polytheistic origins are totally suppressed in the MT and to some extent suppressed in the Greek version and to some extent also in MT Ps 104:4. The idea that angels are nothing more than executive agents is implicit in Hebrews chapter 1. In Heb 1:6, and summarising in the final verse of Heb 1, the author, perhaps via LXX Ps 103:4, seems to reflect Mach’s observation. The author’s ‘protective strategies’⁴⁹ remain intact: “Other gods are ignored ... the main interest moves to Christology.”⁵⁰

5. Conclusion

Craddock sees Hebrews as a strong pastoral exhortation to a church in crisis.⁵¹ He recognizes that in spite of this the distance between the present day church and Hebrews remains. One reason for this phenomenon may be that the church is still ensconced in the doctrinal clarification wrought according to the anti-Egyptian polemic in the Hebrew Bible, which became cast in concrete over the many centuries

example of the plurality of texts that existed in the period when the New Testament arose” (*Use of the Septuagint*, 113).

⁴⁷ Bernhard W. Anderson supplies a note to the effect that although the MT has “the Israelites,” “the gods” is based on a manuscript found at Qumran, and specifies his use of *gods* as “the divine beings who belong to the heavenly court” (“Deuteronomy,” in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible*, 260). He goes further and explains that the plural *us, our*, in Gen 3:22, 11:7, and Isa 6:8 probably also refers to the divine beings who compose God’s heavenly court (1 Kings 22:19; Job 1:6).

⁴⁸ Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1992), 105. This is consistent with the “surface” character of Jewish angelology in the perception of angels as flames of fire, performing a messenger function (Evans, *Jewish Ideas of Angels*, 83; Smith, *Origins*, 116).

⁴⁹ Van Huysteen, *Alone in the World?*, 29.

⁵⁰ Karrer, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 353.

⁵¹ Craddock, *Letter to the Hebrews*, 287.

that hieroglyphs were not decipherable.⁵² Perhaps the author of Hebrews was someone who understood the underlying meaning of the mythical foundation of ancient Egyptian kingship. The claims of modern-day Copts that such knowledge was prescient of Christianity are evidenced in a sixth-dynasty statuette of Pharaoh Pepy II and mother figure, ca. 2350-2250 B.C.E..⁵³ See the development of this mythological idea culminating in Christian iconography of Mary as Madonna with the infant Jesus on her lap. (Figs 1-4).⁵⁴ In spite of anti-Egyptian ideology in the Hebrew Bible, ancient Egyptian mythology provided a model for a certain understanding of Christianity. The unknown author of Hebrews reflects this without making the mythological connections explicit, hence the puzzle.

⁵² J. A. Timbie, "Coptic Christianity," in Parry, *Eastern Orthodoxy*, 97.

⁵³ Iris El Masri Habib, *The Story of the Copts – The True Story of Christianity in Egypt* (California: Coptic Bishopric for African Affairs, 1987), ix; Aziz S. Atiya, *A History of Eastern Christianity* (London: SCM Press, 1986), 20-21.

⁵⁴ Coptic iconographical rules insist that Mary sits on the right of Jesus, because he is God. In this regard, it is interesting that in the painting from the tomb of Kenamun, where the feet of the infant Pharaoh Amenhophis rest on a footstool made up of fettered enemies, the pharaoh sits at the right of the wetnurse goddess (O. Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 1978), 254.

FIGURES

Fig 1. Thutmosis IV, 1422-1413 B.C.E.⁵⁵ Note that the mother figure is at the right of the infant, as in all the following images.

⁵⁵ Keel, *Symbolism of the Biblical World*, 255.



Fig. 2. Bronze statue of Isis and Horus, Late Period.⁵⁶



Fig. 3. A tomb stela of the Early Christian (Coptic) period from Medinet el Faiyum in Middle Egypt, demonstrating the transition from Isis and Horus to Mary and Jesus.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Pierre Du Bourget, *Die Kopten* (Baden-Baden: Holle Verlag, 1967), 94.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

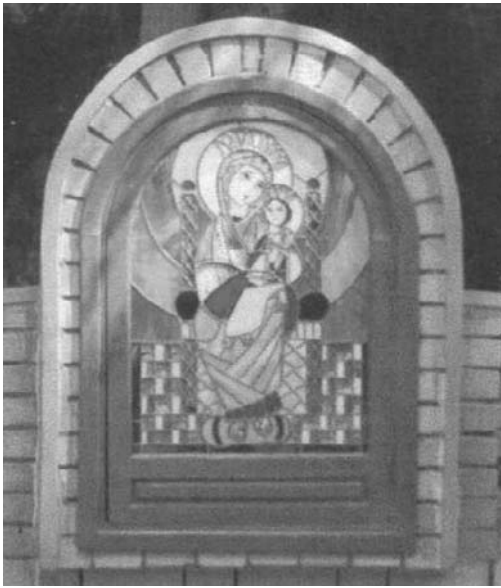


Fig. 4. A Coptic icon at the monastery of Anba St Bishoi, Wadi Natrun, in the Western desert of Egypt (Photo by author).

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MT AND LXX CONTEXTS OF OLD TESTAMENT QUOTATIONS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: ISAIAH 45:18-25 AS A CASE STUDY¹

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1. Introduction

Taking into account the Old Testament context of quotations² in the New Testament while studying the text of the New Testament should be a *sine qua non* for analysing these quotations; at the very least, an inquiry should be made as to whether the context in which the quotation originally appeared played a role in shaping the New Testament author's theology. In many cases this context should be sought in the Septuagint (LXX),³ seeing that it is the LXX from which most of these quotations were drawn.⁴ As a translation, the LXX inevitably conveys a different message to the reader than the Hebrew Scriptures would. In some cases there is a great deal of disagreement between these two texts, due in part to 'actualization' – an adaptation of the text to events contemporary to the time of the translators.⁵ This is especially true of the book of Isaiah,

¹ This article is the result of part of the research done for an MTh degree at the University of Pretoria under the supervision of Prof. G. J. Steyn.

² "Quotation" is used here in its broadest sense.

³ The term "Septuagint" is not here used as if it is the original translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, but rather in a sense encompassing all the possible Greek *Vorlagen* of any given New Testament author.

⁴ J. A. Loader, "Die Problematik des Begriffes *hebraica veritas*," *HTS* 64 (2008): 227-251. See also M. Müller, "The Septuagint as the Bible of the New Testament Church: Some Reflections," *SJOT* 7 (1993): 194-207 and idem, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) for a convincing argument that the LXX was preferred among early Christians.

⁵ See, for instance, K. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 93-101; B. W. R. Pearson and S. E. Porter, "Isaiah Through Greek Eyes: The Septuagint of Isaiah," in *Writing and Reading the Scroll of Isaiah: Studies of an Interpretive Tradition* (eds. C. C. Broyles and C. A. Evans; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 531-546, here 534-536. This concept of 'actualization' has proven to be useful to modern-day exegetes as it illuminates the early period of interpretation and application of the Hebrew Scriptures – in this sense, the LXX is "ein herausragender Zeuge eigenständiger und kreativer jüdisch-hellenistischer Exegese, Ethik und Theologie" (M. Tilly, *Einführung in die Septuaginta*, [Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005], 9).

in which scholars such as Seeligmann⁶ and Van der Kooij⁷ have detected such a form of ‘actualization.’⁸

Studying the Old Testament context of a quotation in the New Testament, then, is of prime importance for New Testament scholars. In any given analysis of a *specific* quotation from the Old Testament in the New Testament an attempt should first be made to reconstruct the *Vorlage(n)* of the New Testament author. Urgent work still needs to be done on the methodology of such an enterprise, but this is not the aim of this article. Rather, this study aims only to indicate the differences between the contexts of the Masoretic Text (MT) and the LXX⁹ in a pericope which forms the contextual basis of more than one quotation in the New Testament – Isa 45:18-25.¹⁰ For this purpose the study will make use of the text as found in the critical editions of the *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* and the Göttingen edition of Isaiah.¹¹ To be sure, this study is only a general investigation. The reader should be aware that the *Vorlagen* of any New Testament reference to this pericope might not be these exact texts.

The study will first analyze Isa 45:14-25 in the MT, as it is the text most commented upon of the two and will form a good basis against

⁶ I. L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), especially 95-121. In 2004 Seeligmann’s work was reprinted as *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies*. This work also contains one further essay by Seeligmann and another essay by R. Hanhart.

⁷ A. van der Kooij, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998).

⁸ See also the work of S. J. Schweitzer, “Mythology in the Old Greek of Isaiah,” *CBQ* 66 (2004): 214-230, who argues that the translator kept in mind the mythological background of his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

⁹ The selection of the MT and the LXX as objects of study in this article is not based on the supposition that the LXX was necessarily translated from the MT. Other forms of the Hebrew Scriptures did exist, as attested by the finds at Qumran, and were often used as *Vorlagen* for translation into Greek. The MT and LXX versions have been selected only to indicate the degree of difference between possible *Vorlagen* of the New Testament text. Since the MT and the LXX are the Hebrew and Greek texts most familiar to the exegete of biblical literature, they provide a good point of comparison. The diversity of the LXX tradition is well known. For an excellent overview of these problems and some guidance in deciding the textual provenance of a quotation of the Old Testament in the New Testament, see R. T. McLay, *The Use of the Septuagint in New Testament Research* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 2003), especially 133-134.

¹⁰ In the list of *loci citati vel allegati* in the 27th edition of the Nestle-Aland *Novum Testamentum Graece*, references to Isa. 45:18-23 are listed five times: John 18:20; Mark 12:32; Acts 15:18; Rom. 14:11 and Phil. 2:10-11. (B. Aland, K. Aland, J. Karavidopoulos, C. M. Martini and B. M. Metzger, *Novum Testamentum Graece* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993], 793.)

¹¹ J. Ziegler, *Isaia Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983³).

which the LXX text can be compared. Differences in the contexts of the two texts will then be highlighted by comparing the LXX to the MT. Finally, some reflections will be given on the impact of these differences in the way the New Testament is understood.

2. *Delimitation*

First a comment on the choice of Isa 45:18-25 as a unit is necessary. Commentators have variously divided these verses and surrounding parts of Deutero-Isaiah into different groupings to form pericopes. In the greater context of 44:24-45:25,¹² there seems to be consensus on demarcating 45:14-25 as a smaller unit.¹³ Wilson convincingly points out the “rhetorical and structural features” that support such a reading: the envelope structure of the two confessions of the nations (verses 14-17 and 24-25); a “four part stanzaic structure of approximately equal length,” the repetition of the monotheistic statement and the binding force of the repetition of the stems of צדק (verses 19, 21, 23, 24 and 25), בוש (verses 16, 17 and 24), ישע (verses 15, 17, 20, 21 and 22) and סתר (verses 15 and 19).¹⁴ A question more disputed is how to divide Isa 45:14-25 into smaller units.¹⁵ Wilson¹⁶ notes that 45:14-25 is mostly divided into two (14-17 and 18-25)¹⁷ or three (14-17, 18-19 and 20-25)¹⁸

¹² So divided, for instance, by G. W. Grogan, “Isaiah,” in *The Expositor’s Bible Commentary with the New International Version of the Holy Bible: Volume 6* (eds. F. E. Gaebelin and R. P. Polcyn; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 266-273 and H. M. Wolf, *Interpreting Isaiah: The Suffering and Glory of the Messiah* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1985), 199-200.

¹³ This has been the conclusion of most scholars, using different methods to read this text, even if not taking 44:24-45:25 as a unit. Among these scholars, one could include: J. D. W. Watts (*Isaiah 34-66* [WBC 25; Waco, 1987], 158 and 163); D. Schneider (*Der Prophet Jesaja: 2. Teil: Kapitel 40 bis 66* [Wuppertaler Studienbibel; Wuppertal: R. Brockhaus Verlag, 1993], 128 and 137); A. Wilson (*The Nations in Deutero-Isaiah: A Study on Composition and Structure* [ANET 1; Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986], 88); U. Berges (*Jesaja 40-48* [Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament; Freiburg: Herder, 2008], 371).

¹⁴ Wilson, *The Nations*, 95.

¹⁵ One should note that it is difficult to pinpoint the structure of Isaiah in general (U. Berges, “Das Jesajabuch als Buch. Zu neuesten Entwicklungen in der Prophetenforschung,” *TRev* 104 (2008): 3-14, here 3).

¹⁶ Wilson, *The Nations*, 84.

¹⁷ E.g. B. S. Childs, *Isaiah* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2000), 354-355; W. A. M. Beuken, *Jesaja: Deel IIA* (De Prediking van het Oude Testament; Nijkerk: Uitgeverij G.F. Callenbach, 1979); P. D. Hanson, *Isaiah 40-66* (Interpretation; Louisville: John Knox Press, 1995), 111. J. Goldingay and D. Payne take this view, but caution that the break between verses 17 and 18 is not complete. J. Goldingay and

sections, but there are many exceptions.¹⁹ This study chooses to divide Isa 45:14-25 into two sections, 14-17 and 18-25, on account of the repetition of the introductory phrase *כִּי אֶמַר יְהוָה* which occurs in both verses 14 and 18. This division is appropriate for this study as the phrase also occurs in the LXX text (οὕτως λέγει κύριος), and serves there, too, as the beginning of a new unit.²⁰

3. *Isa 45:18-25 in the MT*

3.1. *Verse 18*

While the *כִּי* (“for”) of verse 18 serves to link the following verses to those preceding, it is also a clear marker that a new address has begun.²¹ Clearly, verse 18 is marked off from the preceding verses by the “elaborately expanded messenger formula” which also signifies a change in speaker.²² Deutero-Isaiah interrupts Yahweh’s speech with this messenger formula which is concerned with two things: creation and habitation. These two concepts, according to him, are linked; everything, including the people dwelling on earth, belongs to the “Lebensraum Gottes,”²³ and this serves to highlight Yahweh’s sovereignty²⁴ and his unique deity.²⁵ Yahweh did not form the earth to be desolate (*לֹא־תִהְיֶה*),²⁶ but rather so that people may dwell in it (*לְשֹׁבְתֵי*). Echoes of the empty

D. Payne, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (Vol. 2; London: T & T Clark, 2006), here 44.

¹⁸ E.g. C. Westermann, although he does not believe that verses 14-17 belong together. Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66: A Commentary* (OTL, Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969), here 169.

¹⁹ E.g. E. J. Young and Berges, who divide Isa 45:14-25 in three sections: 14-17, 18-21 and 22-25. E. J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah: The English Text, with Introduction, Exposition, and Notes. Volume III: Chapters 40 through 60* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1972); Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*. K. Baltzer chooses to divide Isa 45:14-25 into four sections: verses 14-17, 18-19, 20-24 and 25. Baltzer, *A Commentary on Isaiah 40-55* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001)

²⁰ Of course, the *כִּי* in the MT serves to bind these two sections more strongly. See also the discussion below concerning this verse in the LXX.

²¹ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 427.

²² Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 49.

²³ Schneider, *Prophet*, 133.

²⁴ S. Lee, *Creation and Redemption in Isaiah 40-55* (Jian Dao Dissertation Series 2: Bible and Literature 2; Hong Kong: Alliance Bible Seminary, 1995), 46.

²⁵ Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 50.

²⁶ *תִּהְיֶה* normally has the sense of “nothingness,” but in this instance, “uninhabitability” would be a good translation (J. L. Koole, *Isaiah: Part 3 : Volume 1: Isaiah 40-48* [Historical Commentary on the Old Testament; Kok: Pharos Publishing House, 1997], 477).

land of Israel can be heard in this statement,²⁷ but the emphasis is clearly more on the fact that it is Yahweh who created the heavens and the earth. This is accentuated by at least four different verbs in the first part of the verse: ברא (“create”), יצר (“form”), עשה (“make”) and כון (“establish”). It is only He who could have done these things, as is attested by the first words Yahweh actually utters in this verse: אֲנִי יְהוָה וְאֵין עוֹד (“I am Yahweh, and there is no other”).²⁸

3.2. Verse 19

Yahweh declares in verse 19 that He has not spoken in secret (לֹא בִסְתֵר) (דְּבַרְתִּי). This might be a reference to the art of divination in use in the cults of the heathen nations and their secret oracles.²⁹ Some commentators take this statement as a reference to the Torah.³⁰ The statement should be seen in conjunction with the next clause – בְּמִקְוֵם אֲרָץ – וְשֵׁךְ לֹא אָמַרְתִּי (“in a dark place of the earth I did not say”) – with which it forms a parallelism. This enigmatic phrase can be interpreted in at least two ways:³¹ Babylon,³² or the realm of the dead.³³ This last option is the most convincing. Yahweh has spoken publicly and not through the

²⁷ Wolf, *Interpreting Isaiah*, 200; see also Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 211.

²⁸ W. A. M. Beuken discusses at length how וְאֵין עוֹד should be understood. Beuken, “The Confession of God’s Exclusivity by All Mankind. A Reappraisal of Isaiah 45, 8-25,” *Bijdr* 35 (1974): 335-356, here 336-340. He concludes that וְאֵין עוֹד should be supplemented to read וְאֵין עוֹד יְהוָה (“and there is no other Yahweh”). The only other option Beuken proposes is to read וְאֵין עוֹד אֲנִי (“there is no other me”), which is obviously superfluous. Beuken limits his options to these two choices as he believes וְאֵין עוֹד to link with אֲנִי יְהוָה. It would, however, be best to keep the whole context of Yahweh’s speech in mind: by analogy with verse 21 and verse 22, one infers that it is אֱלֹהִים or אֱל that is elided at the end of verse 18. The fact that this is not stated already in verse 18 serves to create suspense.

²⁹ H.-J. Kraus, *Das E vangelium de r U nbekanntem P ropheten: Je saja 40-66* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1990), 85; J. L. McKenzie, *Second I saiah* (Anchor Bible; New York: Doubleday & Company, 1968), 83; Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 19; Wilson, *The Nations*, 100. Watts lists as an example the oracle of Delphi, a particularly apt example since it involves the defeat of Croesus by Cyrus. Croesus “misinterpreted” an ambiguous divination of the oracle of Delphi to mean that he, and not Cyrus, would win in the ensuing war. It is probable that the priests at Delphi indeed backed Croesus, but that their message was deliberately ambiguous as a precaution in the case of Croesus’s defeat. The extent to which this particular incident relates to Deutero-Isaiah, however, is not clear.

³⁰ See Wilson, *The Nations*, 100.

³¹ For Koole (*Isaiah*, 479), וְשֵׁךְ in Deutero-Isaiah always refers to the absence of salvation. This is yet a third way of interpreting this phrase.

³² Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 53.

³³ Baltzer, *Commentary*, 246; McKenzie, *Second Isaiah*, 82; B. M. Zapff, *Jesaja: 40-55* (Neue Echter Bibel; Würzburg: Echter Verlag, 2001), 280.

secret and obscure ways associated with heathen divinations, which also have recourse to consultation with the dead.³⁴ This interpretation is preferable, as it links with the argument of verse 20 and 21, where the fugitives of the nations are challenged to produce evidence of their predictive power.

The noun תהו, which also occurs in verse 18, needs some clarification. Tsumura takes תהו to be outside of the direct speech quoted by Yahweh.³⁵ This would be translated as: “I did not say to Jacob’s descendants (in a land of) desolation, ‘Seek me!’” Tsumura bases this interpretation in part on the occurrence of the word in verse 18, and brings תהו into connection with אָרֶץ הַשָּׁדָה in the first part of the verse. It is thus understood in a locative sense.³⁶ However, “I did not say ... ‘Seek me!’” would be a very strange thing indeed for Yahweh to say, even if the emphasis is supposed to be on the place where Yahweh speaks.³⁷ It would be better to take תהו in verse 19 as an abstract rendering, “in vain.”³⁸ The occurrence of תהו in both verse 18 and verse 19 is an instance of poetic wordplay. The same word is used in a different sense; yet the link is clear: Yahweh’s concern with the inhabitants of the earth is not without reason.³⁹

In Yahweh’s speech דִּבֶּר צֶדֶק מִיְשָׁרִים (“speaking right, declaring truths”) serves a twofold purpose. It not only legitimises once again Yahweh’s choice of Cyrus as his instrument,⁴⁰ but it is also set against the nations’ ambiguous counsel referred to in verse 19a⁴¹ and verses 20-21.

The “hidden God” of verse 15 and Yahweh’s speaking openly in verse 19 creates obvious tension.⁴² These two statements are clearly linked by the use of the same root,⁴³ but they are not used in quite the

³⁴ Zapff, *Jesaja*, 280. These practices were also known in the ancient world, and even amongst the people of Israel and Judah. McKenzie (*Second Isaiah*, 82) cites 1 Sam. 28:13 as an example, where Saul consults Samuel by way of a necromancer.

³⁵ D. T. Tsumura, “*Tōhû* in Isaiah XLV 19,” *VT* 38 (1988): 361-363, here 363.

³⁶ Tsumura, “*Tōhû* in Isaiah,” 361.

³⁷ Even if תהו is indeed outside of the direct speech quoted by Yahweh, it would be better to take it in an abstract sense: “I did not say to the offspring of Jacob in vain: ‘Seek me!’”

³⁸ Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 173. Koole (*Isaiah*, 480) suggests “chaos” for the occurrence of תהו in both verse 18 and verse 19. This translation has the benefit of keeping the poetic wordplay contained in the Hebrew text, but sacrifices some of the intended meaning.

³⁹ See also Schneider, *Prophet*, 133; Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 212.

⁴⁰ Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 162.

⁴¹ Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 55.

⁴² K. D. Hutchens, “Isaiah 45:14-23,” *Int* 60 (2006): 198-200.

⁴³ Koole, *Isaiah*, 479; Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 53.

same way.⁴⁴ Verse 19 refers not only to the revelation of Yahweh's working in history, but also to the fact that his predictions are not as ambiguous and secretive as those of the so-called gods of the heathen nations.

3.3. Verse 20

From verse 20 on, Yahweh does not address only Israel, but clearly also the nations, while Israel "retires to the background, remaining, however, a very interested and intended listener."⁴⁵ This is done in a juridical context – the פְּלִיטֵי הַגּוֹיִם ("fugitives of the nations") are invited to come and present their evidence in a trial.⁴⁶ Koole remarks that verse 20a is the normal way of "summoning the opposite party."⁴⁷ This is shown by the use of קָבַץ in the Niph'al, as well as the imperative of בּוֹא, which here functions as a legal term. Koole believes יִהְיֶה also strengthens the case for reading verse 20a in a juridical sense.

The expression פְּלִיטֵי הַגּוֹיִם ("fugitives of the nations") occurs but once in the Bible, and this has given rise to a whole range of interpretations.⁴⁸ The context makes it clear that this group is depicted in a negative sense, whoever they are.⁴⁹ Franke believes the statement to be all-inclusive, taking it as a "distant parallel" to כָּל-אַפְסֵי-אָרֶץ ("all the ends of the earth") in verse 22, and the general theme of verse 23.⁵⁰ What is clear is that it is a partitive genitive, "because when a group of people is designated in the *nomen r ectum*, these always form the larger entity which has been destroyed and of which a small part has escaped."⁵¹ This means that the fugitives are those people remaining from the nations, not

⁴⁴ Berges (*Jesaja 40-48*, 430) also takes the meaning to be on different levels. For Berges, verse 19 concerns the fact that Yahweh does not have a cult statue, while verse 15 concerns Yahweh's hiddenness behind the workings of history.

⁴⁵ Beuken, *God's Exclusivity*, 347.

⁴⁶ Beuken, *Jesaja*, 253; Koole, *Isaiah*, 481; Lee, *Creation and Redemption*, 90-92; Schneider, *Prophet*, 134. Baltzer (*Commentary*, 248) does not believe this to be a trial scene, even though he acknowledges that some of the elements of a trial are present.

⁴⁷ Koole, *Isaiah*, 481.

⁴⁸ C. A. Franke, "Is DI 'PC': Does Israel have Most Favored Nation Status? Another Look at 'the nations' in Deutero-Isaiah," *SBLSP* 38 (1999): 272-291, here 282-283. Franke lists some of these interpretations, including both Jewish and non-Jewish interpretations.

⁴⁹ Baltzer, *Commentary*, 249.

⁵⁰ Franke, "Favored Nation," 283.

⁵¹ Koole, *Isaiah*, 482; see also Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 431; Beuken, *Jesaja*, 253. Goldingay and Payne (*Exegetical Commentary*, 55) speculates that the genitive could perhaps be epexegetical or appositional, but if this is the case, the meaning remains more or less the same.

those that have fled from the nations.⁵² If this is the case, who are the fugitives fleeing from? Beuken suggests that it is those who have escaped God.⁵³ Watts is of the opinion that it is the refugees who are present in Babylon at this stage, bringing their idols to the city for safekeeping.⁵⁴ The greater context, however, suggests that it is those nations who have survived the war waged by Cyrus on Babylon.⁵⁵ The rest of the verse further elucidates who this group is. The *הַנְּשָׂאִים אֶת־עֵץ פִּסְלָם וּמִתְפַּלְלִים אֶל־אֱלֹהִים לֹא יוֹשִׁיעַ* (“those who carry the wood of their idol, and who pray to a god who cannot save”). This is reminiscent of the processions of Babylon,⁵⁶ but certainly also of the Ancient Near East as such. A parallelism between *עֵץ פִּסְלָם לֹא יוֹשִׁיעַ* and *אֱלֹהִים לֹא יוֹשִׁיעַ* can clearly be seen.⁵⁷ This does not betray Deutero-Isaiah’s ignorance of heathen practices – for heathen nations, idol and god are not simply always equated – but rather, it emphasises Deutero-Isaiah’s theological point of view: there are no other gods.⁵⁸

The three African nations, representing all the defeated heathen nations, already declared Yahweh’s presence in Israel in verses 14-15; now those that have escaped are also invited to join in this recognition.⁵⁹ The speech is working towards the climax in verse 23 where *everyone* will declare Yahweh’s sovereignty.⁶⁰

3.4. Verse 21

The trial scene continues in verse 21. The remainder of the nations are challenged to produce evidence of the predictive power of their oracles and their divinations, as already hinted at in verse 19. Here, as is usual for Deutero-Isaiah,⁶¹ *מִי* (“who”) is used in a rhetorical question to affirm

⁵² Beuken (*God’s Exclusivity*, 342) refutes the idea that the “fugitives” could be Israelites escaping from the nations by pointing out that the reference to idolaters would then make considerably less sense.

⁵³ Beuken, *Jesaja*, 253.

⁵⁴ Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 162.

⁵⁵ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 431; Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 55; see also Baltzer, *Commentary*, 249.

⁵⁶ Beuken, *Jesaja*, 253.

⁵⁷ K. Holter, “The Wordplay on *אֱלֹהִים* (‘God’) in Isaiah 45,20-21,” *SJOT* 7 (1993): 88-98, here 91-92.

⁵⁸ Holter, “Wordplay,” 94.

⁵⁹ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 432.

⁶⁰ It is also noteworthy that this scene also prepares for Isa. 46:1-4, where the word *נִשְׂאֵם* occurs once again (Baltzer, *Commentary*, 249).

⁶¹ The use of *מִי* in rhetorical questions is well attested in Isaiah. J. K. Kuntz lists the following occurrences: 40:12, 13, 14, 18, 25; 41:2, 4, 26; 42:19 (2x), 24; 43:13; 44:7 (2x); 45:21; 46:5; 48:14; 50:1, 9; 53:1. J. K. Kuntz, “The Form, Location and Function of

“the uniqueness and incomparability of Israel’s God.”⁶² This is made clear by the next rhetorical question (הֲלוֹא אֲנִי יְהוָה – “was it not I, Yahweh?”) and the repetition of the now familiar statement וְאֵין־עוֹד אֱלֹהִים (“and there are no other gods”). Even if those challenged take counsel, the only logical conclusion is that Yahweh alone is God.⁶³ The thing predicted, the זֶאת (“this thing”), refers back to that which could not have been predicted in verse 19a.⁶⁴ Yahweh, however, rightly predicted the events concerning the rule of Cyrus.⁶⁵ Even more striking in the comparison between verse 20 and verse 21 is the use of the root יָשַׁע (“to save”).⁶⁶ Wooden idols and their associated gods are not capable of saving, while Yahweh is typified as a saving God.

3.5. Verse 22

A conditional sentence⁶⁷ at the beginning of verse 22 comes as a surprising turn.⁶⁸ Salvation is offered to כָּל־אֶפְסַי־אֲרָץ (“all the ends of the earth”) which had until now refused to acknowledge the reign of Yahweh and deserves judgement.⁶⁹ This position continues right through till the end of verse 25.⁷⁰ In Isa 45:22, the אֶפְסַי־אֲרָץ “are also invited to experience his saving and liberating intervention for themselves.”⁷¹ This offer of salvation has a logical causal link to the conclusion reached in verse 21b and reiterated once again at the end of verse 22: there is no other god besides Yahweh.⁷² Gelston points out that this “salvation” is not the same as the Christian understanding of the term, but rather of a political nature.⁷³ The “salvation” of the אֶפְסַי־אֲרָץ is still to come as it is

Rhetorical Questions in Deutero-Isaiah,” in *Scroll of Isaiah* (eds. Broyles and Evans), 121-141, here 128.

⁶² Kuntz, “Rhetorical Questions,” 140.

⁶³ Schneider, *Prophet*, 134.

⁶⁴ Y. Gitay, *Prophecy and Persuasion: A Study of Isaiah 40-48* (Bonn: Linguistica Biblica, 1981), 194.

⁶⁵ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 433; Beuken, *God’s Exclusivity*, 347.

⁶⁶ Holter, “Wordplay,” 89.

⁶⁷ A. Gelston, “Universalism in Second Isaiah,” *JTS* 43 (1992): 377-298, here 389.

⁶⁸ Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 175-176, followed by Beuken, *Jesaja*, 254; Schneider, *Prophet*, 135.

⁶⁹ Grogan, “Isaiah,” 272.

⁷⁰ Childs, *Isaiah*, 355. Baltzer (*Commentary*, 250) describes verses 22-24 as “entirely universal.”

⁷¹ Gelston, “Universalism,” 391.

⁷² Beuken, *God’s Exclusivity*, 338; Gelston, “Universalism,” 390; Hutchens, “Isaiah 45:14-23,” 199; Wolf, *Interpreting Isaiah*, 200.

⁷³ Gelston, “Universalism,” 390. Gelston therefore gives as a possible translation the word “liberation.” See also the discussion of יָשַׁע as a key word by Gitay (*Prophecy and Persuasion*, 200). Gitay takes the occurrence of this root in verse 15 as ironical, but the

given in the imperfect tense, while Israel's salvation is eternal and is given in the perfect tense in verse 17.⁷⁴

Who are the אֲפִסֵי-אָרֶץ? Koole believes that, since the theme of "salvation" is carried on in this verse, Yahweh is still addressing the fugitives of the nations.⁷⁵ This is true, but only in part.⁷⁶ In fact, here Yahweh addresses all the nations *in toto*.⁷⁷ Deutero-Isaiah employs the poetic device of *merism*: "the ends of the earth" signifies not only the extremes but everything in between. Therefore, an added nuance of this description of the nations is that it refers to "the all-embracing sphere of God's sovereignty."⁷⁸ This reference to the whole earth clearly echoes the themes of creation and habitation in verse 18.⁷⁹

3.6. Verse 23

Verse 23 undoubtedly forms the climax of this pericope. By this time it has been established that there is no greater authority than Yahweh, the only true God. This, then, is the only authority Yahweh can swear by: Himself.⁸⁰ Young takes the צְדָקָה ("righteousness") as if it relates to מִפִּי ("my mouth"), and not דְּבַר ("word").⁸¹ This is certainly possible, even if strange. However, it would be better to take the statement as two parallel

occurrence in verses 20-22 as positive. This should be understood against Gitay's understanding of this speech and its rhetorical structure, consisting of an introduction, refutation and a thesis. What is definitely noteworthy in Gitay's analysis is that the repetition of the root in verses 20-22 in a positive sense is "impressive as well as effective."

⁷⁴ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 436.

⁷⁵ Koole, *Isaiah*, 485. See also Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 58.

⁷⁶ Unless one takes the fugitives of the nations also to refer to the heathen nations, as does Wilson (*The Nations*, 103).

⁷⁷ Beuken, *God's Exclusivity*, 342; Berges, *Jesaja 40 -48*, 435; Gelston, "Universalism," 388. Beuken notes that now, once again, אֵל is used instead of יְהוָה, a sign that the nations are addressed, and not Israel. Beuken further points to the parallel structure of Isa. 52:10 (וְיָרָאוּ כָּל-אֲפִסֵי-אָרֶץ אֶת יְשׁוּעַת) – "Yahweh will expose his holy arm to the eyes of all the nations, and all the ends of the earth will see the salvation of our God") which clearly equates the "nations" with the "ends of the earth." Gelston also lists passages where the phrase occurs, but finds nothing to suggest that it is only exiles of Israel or that it is not the nations in general that are referred to.

⁷⁸ Baltzer, *Commentary*, 249.

⁷⁹ Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 176.

⁸⁰ Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 58; Schneider, *Prophet*, 135; Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 216.

⁸¹ Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 217.

clauses,⁸² with **צָדָקָה** and **דָּבָר** placed directly next to each other for the sake of emphasis.⁸³ The first three clauses, then, all emphasize the act of swearing an oath.⁸⁴ The content of this oath is indicated by **כִּי** (“that”) – every knee will bow to Yahweh, and every tongue will swear to Him. The two parallel clauses (verb – **כָּל** – subject) are both to be taken with **לִי** (“to me”), on account of structure and the lack of a conjunction. As Young notes, it is possible that bowing the knee and swearing with the tongue “allude to cultic acts, but in this particular context the thought is that of complete submission to the Lord God of Israel.”⁸⁵ This submission is a submission to Yahweh by the whole of humanity,⁸⁶ indicated by the use of **כָּל** (“every”). Although this submission is a logical consequence of Yahweh’s exclusivity – and the use of **כָּל** once again accentuates this claim to exclusivity⁸⁷ – it is not necessarily voluntary.⁸⁸ There is a definite division into two groups, which comes to the fore in verse 24: a voluntary group and an involuntary group.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, both groups will submit before Yahweh and have to confess that He is the only true source of salvation. Concerning this confession, the repetition of the verb **שָׁבַע** – first uttered by Yahweh and then applied to every human – is striking.⁹⁰ The oath uttered by every human can be seen as the response to the oath of Yahweh.⁹¹ This oath flows into verse 24.⁹²

⁸² See Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 159. Koole (*Isaiah*, 487) rightly notes that if **צָדָקָה** is taken as the subject, the use of the masculine in **אֵצֶל** is strange. Nevertheless, Koole concedes that it is the best option and provisionally takes it to be the subject.

⁸³ This also recalls the **צָדָק וְדָבָר** of verse 19 (Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 59).

⁸⁴ See Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 216.

⁸⁵ Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 217; see also Baltzer, *Commentary*, 250; Gelston, “Universalism,” 389. Baltzer, working with the general idea that Deutero-Isaiah is a drama, is of the opinion that bending the knee could be a stage direction.

⁸⁶ Gelston, “Universalism,” 388.

⁸⁷ Beuken, *God’s Exclusivity*, 348.

⁸⁸ Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 217; *contra* Koole, *Isaiah*, 488; cf. also Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 176.

⁸⁹ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 437; see also Hutchens, “Isaiah 45:14-23,” 199-200.

⁹⁰ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 436; Zapff, *Jesaja*, 282. According to M. A. Seifrid, to “swear to” someone normally entails a promise – here the situation is reversed in that Yahweh is the one that promises. M. A. Seifrid, “Romans,” in *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (eds. G. K. Beale and D. A. Carson; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 607-694, here 685.

⁹¹ Koole, *Isaiah*, 489.

⁹² Schneider, *Prophet*, 136; Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 174.

3.7. Verse 24

In the enigmatic clause אָדָּ בִּיהוָה לִי אָמַר צְדָקוֹת וְעַז, it is difficult to decide the referent of לִי (“to me”). This is due mainly to the awkward position of אָמַר (“he said”). The clause, in essence, is the content of the confession made to Yahweh in verse 23.⁹³ It is, therefore, clear that the subject of אָמַר is not Yahweh, but someone confessing his righteousness (צְדָקָה) and power (עַז). The לִי could then refer to either Yahweh, on the same level as the speech of verse 23, which could be translated “‘surely, in Yahweh,’ it is said of me, ‘is righteousness and strength,’”⁹⁴ or to the one that confesses, translated along the lines of “surely, in Yahweh there is righteousness and strength for me.”⁹⁵ The exact translation need not be determined to note that emphasis is placed upon Yahweh as being righteous and strong, i.e. a saving God.⁹⁶ Not only Israel, but everyone – the whole world – that has decided to accept Yahweh’s offer of salvation is included in this confession.⁹⁷ This offer, however, is not unconditional – those who are “enraged” (הַנִּחָרִים)⁹⁸ against Yahweh “will come to him and be shamed” (עָדְיוֹ יָבֹא וַיִּבְשֹׁוּ).⁹⁹ This conditional nature of the offer turns verses 24-25 into a *Mahnwort*.¹⁰⁰

3.8. Verse 25

All the זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל (“seed of Israel”) receives the promise that they will be justified (יִצְדָּקוּ) and will rejoice (וַיִּתְהַלְּלוּ) in Yahweh. Here, to be justified in effect means to receive salvation.¹⁰¹ In the light of the preceding “universalism,” it seems strange that Israel is now declared to be the one saved. Some, then, take “the seed of Israel” in this verse to be

⁹³ Seifrid, “Romans,” 685.

⁹⁴ Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 60; Koole, *Isaiah*, 490.

⁹⁵ Baltzer, *Commentary*, 250.

⁹⁶ Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 217.

⁹⁷ Baltzer, *Commentary*, 249; Westermann, *Isaiah 40-66*, 174.

⁹⁸ Clements notes that the precise group meant by this expression is not defined. He suggests that Deutero-Isaiah is referring to the members of the heathen nations who showed contempt for a god who let his people be shamed and suffer. Clements, “Isaiah xlv 20-25,” *Int* 40 (1986): 392-397, here 396. However, the participle (הַנִּחָרִים) probably refers to a future event just preceding the subjects’ coming to Yahweh and their shaming. This would in turn imply that “those enraged” either *become* enraged or are *still* enraged by that time.

⁹⁹ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 439.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 434.

¹⁰¹ Young, *Book of Isaiah*, 218.

descriptive of those that accepted Yahweh as the only God.¹⁰² Rather, the verse should be seen to refer only to Israel as an ethnic group.¹⁰³ Israel's salvation is already fixed, a certainty – as shown by the use of the perfect verb in verse 17, as opposed to the nations, whose salvation is conditional – indicated by the use of an imperfect verb and a conditional clause in verse 22.¹⁰⁴ This, however, does not detract from the fact that the nations, too, have a chance to be justified and to rejoice in Yahweh.

4. *Isa 45:18-25 in the LXX*

4.1. *Verse 18 – LXX*

Isa 45:18 has a more definite break with the preceding section than the MT. No equivalent for כִּי is present – this section could thus be read as not tied directly with the previous one.¹⁰⁵ כִּי also has no equivalent in verse 22, but there it does not affect the sense as the link between the two parts can be inferred.

The four words in the MT that describe a creative act in verse 18 are translated by only three words in the Greek: בּוֹרָא – ποιήσας; יַצֵּר – καταδείξας; וַעֲשֶׂה – καὶ ποιήσας αὐτήν; בּוֹנֵנָה – διώρισεν. The use of διορίζω for בָּנָה renders the meaning “to delimit” rather than the MT's more natural “to establish.” This narrower range of vocabulary inevitably causes the LXX to lose some poetic force. The same goes for the use of κατοικεῖσθαι for לְשִׁבְתָּ יְצִרָה, where the LXX “condenses and paraphrases the second colon”¹⁰⁶ of the Hebrew parallelism.

The interpretation of תְּהוֹ as a “place of desolation,” which surely fits the context of the MT, is not possible in the LXX, where the expression εἰς κενόν (“in vain”) is used.

4.2. *Verse 19 – LXX*

The second occurrence of תְּהוֹ in the MT is taken in the LXX as the verb's direct object¹⁰⁷ – μάταιον ζητήσατε (“seek something

¹⁰² Beuken, *Jesaja*, 256; Koole, *Isaiah*, 492. Beuken (*Jesaja*, 255) bases his conclusion on Isa. 44:3, and Koole on Isa. 44:5. There is nothing, however, in these verses which indicates that the people concerned include heathen nations.

¹⁰³ Schneider, *Prophet*, 137.

¹⁰⁴ Berges, *Jesaja 40-48*, 436.

¹⁰⁵ Goldingay and Payne (*Exegetical Commentary*, 51) make the remark that this could be the result of uncertainty on the part of the translator whether the Hebrew כִּי served as a tie to the previous section.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Tsumura, “*Tōhū in Isaiah*,” 361.

worthless”). Not only does this change the sense of the passage – in the MT it reads “seek Me in vain” – but the wordplay of one term with different meanings is now done away with by the use of two different terms. Once again, one of the poetic traits of the MT is exchanged for a more clear definition of the text. The same can be said with regard to the LXX’s rendering of $\text{פְּשֵׁי חַרְטֻמִּים בְּמִקְוֵה}$ as $\epsilon\upsilon\ \tau\acute{o}\pi\omega\ \gamma\eta\varsigma\ \sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\omega}$. The noun פְּשֵׁי is represented in the LXX by an adjective, $\sigma\kappa\omicron\tau\epsilon\iota\nu\tilde{\omega}$ – removing the possible ambiguity of the Hebrew. The added $\sigma\upsilon\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ found just before this phrase in the LXX continues the trend: a less ambiguous understanding emerges.

In the LXX, the expression $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$ is used twice, the second time with a predicate nominative, $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$. Ἐγὼ εἰμι is also used in verse 18 to translate $\text{אֲנִי הִנֵּה$. Thus, much more emphasis is placed on the expression in the LXX text.¹⁰⁸

4.3. Verse 20 – LXX

The expression $\sigma\omega\zeta\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\ \tau\omega\nu\ \xi\theta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ leaves no doubt in the LXX that a group of people is addressed that has been kept “safe” from the nations. This differs markedly from the MT. The LXX also has a verb here instead of the MT’s noun, thus avoiding any ambiguity whatsoever. The choice of $\sigma\omega\zeta\omega$ is a natural one because of the end of the verse: so-called gods of other nations cannot save ($\sigma\omega\zeta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu$) them. The LXX has here the plural, “gods,” probably referring to the polytheistic environment in which this translation was made.¹⁰⁹ However, the LXX makes it quite clear that these are only so-called gods by adding $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ (“as if”) to the expression.

An interesting difference between these two texts is that the LXX places “wood” ($\xi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu$) and “figure” ($\gamma\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\mu\mu\alpha$) in apposition, while the MT most probably reads a *status c onstructus* for עֵץ (“wood”). This change does not alter the meaning that much, but it does lend a more poetic effect to the LXX’s text.

4.4. Verse 21 – LXX

Verse 21 begins in the LXX with $\epsilon\iota$, thereby changing command – the MT has two imperatives – into question. The result of this clause is that

¹⁰⁸ The possibility exists that the translator of the LXX had in mind the first three of the ten commandments (Exod 20:2-7) and adapted (whether consciously or unconsciously) his text towards such an interpretation. The first three commandments fit the sense of this section: Yahweh is the only true God; He is not a mere idol (cf. Isa 45:20); and his Name should not be used “in vain” ($\epsilon\pi\iota\ \mu\alpha\tau\alpha\iota\omega$).

¹⁰⁹ See Goldingay and Payne, *Exegetical Commentary*, 56.

the nations “may know ... who has made these things audible” (ἵνα γνῶσιν...τίς ἀκουστά ἐποίησεν ταῦτα). Instead of the nations being asked to provide the answer to the question as in the MT – a rhetorical device – the answer will be provided to them. In the place of the third-person feminine pronominal suffix added to the Hiph’il of דגג (“to tell”), the LXX employs a passive verb with the personal pronoun (ἀνηγγέλη ὑμῖν). Not only is the recipients of the message clarified, but emphasis is placed on the nations by addressing them in the second person.

Once again, הַיְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ is rendered by a different expression, this time by ὁ θεός. הַיְהוָה simply reads as ἄλλος, and אֱלֹהֵינוּ is left out completely. Where the MT has three different expressions, the LXX has only one.

4.5. Verse 22 – LXX

The MT’s Niph’al imperative, יִשָּׁעוּ (‘‘be saved’’), has as its equivalent in the LXX text the future indicative, σωθήσεσθε (‘‘you will be saved’’). Attention is directed away from the action on the part of the people to the act of saving performed by Yahweh. This is in accord with the change of יִשְׁלָחוּ (‘‘fugitives’’) to σωζόμενοι (‘‘those who are saved’’) in verse 20.

4.6. Verse 23 – LXX

No matter which way רַחֲמֵי מִפִּי צְדָקָה דְּרַחֲמֵי is understood in the MT, the LXX makes it quite clear that ‘‘righteousness’’ (δικαιοσύνη) does not qualify ‘‘words’’ (οἱ λόγοι). This results in a more balanced chiasm than that of the MT, which has an awkward ו (‘‘and’’) separating subject and verb. The LXX once again clarifies the expression.

The difficult construction in the MT at the end of verse 23 and the beginning of verse 24 reads considerably more easily in the LXX. בְּיְהוָה is rendered τῷ θεῷ, and now becomes part of the previous clause. Where the MT has a parallelism (bow – knee – swear – tongue), the LXX adds a chiasm (to me – bow – swear – to God). Verse 24 is now introduced by λέγων, removing a considerable amount of ambiguity.

The difference between בְּכָל לִשָּׁנָה (‘‘[every tongue] will take an oath’’) and ἐξομολογήσεται (‘‘[every tongue] will confess / praise’’) is great. Even though one might argue that there is considerable semantic overlap, the Greek term opens up avenues of interpretation far removed from the Hebrew.

4.7. Verse 24 - LXX

No trace remains of the equivocal use of לֵי in the MT. In the LXX, Yahweh is the one ‘‘to whom righteousness and glory will come’’ (δικαιοσύνη καὶ δόξα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἥξουσιν). This change balances the

two statements in the verse as positive and negative: righteousness and glory will come to Yahweh, but those who set themselves apart from Him will be put to shame. The change from “power” (רַג) to “glory” (δόξα) should also be noted here. These two differences, in concord, change the statement from a confession of trust to the giving of a tribute.

There is also a marked difference in meaning between בְּלִי הַנְּתִירִים בּוֹ (“all who rage against Him”) and πάντες οἱ ἀφορίζοντες ἑαυτούς (“all who set themselves apart from Him”), although both these expressions denote some form of rebellion against Yahweh.

4.8. Verse 25 – LXX

For the sake of clarity, the LXX adds ἐν τῷ θεῷ in Isa 45:25, making the parallelism already present in the MT more explicit.

The LXX concludes this section with a promise that “all the seed of the sons of Israel” (πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ) – an elaboration and elucidation of the MT’s “all the seed of Israel” (בְּלִי-יָרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל) – “will receive glory” (ἐνδοξασθήσονται). In the MT the nation of Israel “will exult” (וַיִּלְלֵהוּ). The conclusion to which this section comes differs in the MT and the LXX – and therefore also the significance of Yahweh’s claim to exclusivity also differs.

The LXX’s choice of ἐνδοξασθήσονται mirrors the choice of words in verse 24 – it seems that for this section of Isaiah in the LXX, “righteousness” and “glory” are linked to form a word-pair. This conveys a different theological motive to any reader(s) of these two texts.¹¹⁰

5. Isa 45:18-25 and the New Testament

The differences indicated above will have an impact on the way Old Testament quotations in the New Testament are evaluated. Some cursory remarks on two of the New Testament passages alluding to Isa 45:18-25 will suffice to illustrate some of this impact. Of course, each one of these passages deserves to be studied in its own right. The following remarks are merely exploratory.

In Rom 14:11 Paul applies Isa 45:23 to a juridical context. In all probability Paul quotes from the LXX. The context of the Old Testament

¹¹⁰ J. W. Olley (“The Translator of the Septuagint of Isaiah and ‘righteousness’,” *BIOSCS* (1980): 58-74) investigated the concept of “righteousness” in LXX Isaiah, which in general, for Isaiah, means to be put in the right relationship with God. Olley notes that in Isa. 45:25, “righteousness” could be understood in the more classical sense of punishment, but even then with the added connotation of possible forgiveness. Interesting to note is that “righteousness” takes on a different meaning in the LXX than in the MT.

quotation is thus infused with a greater inclination to universalism (LXX verse 24) and a clearer definition of the nations (LXX verse 21). This suits Paul's message, namely, that *all* will be judged by God. The added emphasis in the LXX on "salvation" (σωζόμενοι – verse 20) also more neatly aligns with Paul's message. Needless to say, the different wording of the LXX in verse 23 (ἐξομολογήσεται) has a direct influence on the New Testament, as it is part of the quotation.

Mark 12:28-34 is a story in which Jesus is challenged by a teacher of the law to give the greatest commandment. As a riposte to Jesus' answer, the teacher posits a reply composed of quotations (Mark 12:32) from Deut 6:4, Isa 45:21 and Deut 4:35. Although both the MT and the LXX could serve as a basis for the quotation from Isa 45:21, the LXX supplies a more fitting context, since even more emphasis is placed on the uniqueness of God in the LXX through the repetition of the phrase ἐγὼ εἰμι (verse 18 and 19). This phrase also ties in neatly with Mark 12:32, since it is reminiscent of the Decalogue. The preposition πλὴν (verse 21) has the added benefit of serving as a natural link with Deut 4:35.

6. Conclusion

Although the basic premise of the argument might be the same, there are clear differences between Isa 45:18-25 in the MT and the LXX. Some differences do not affect the meaning much, such as the change from רַבּוֹתַי לְאֵלֹהִים to ξύλον γλύμμα. Some changes, however, do affect the meaning and should be kept in mind when studying the Old Testament context of a quotation in the New Testament. The LXX text does not have as many clearly defined breaks. Nor does the LXX have the same poetic force as the MT (e.g. the limited range of vocabulary in LXX Isa 45:18) – although in some cases, the LXX creates new poetic elements, or at least, heightens the poetic effect (e.g. the chiasm in LXX Isa 45:23). Whatever one's views on the relationship between form and meaning, one can hardly deny that these two texts will be received differently on account of their different poetic structure.

An important difference between the LXX and the MT in Isa 45:18-25 is that the LXX is almost invariably more lucid than the MT. This might be due to the nature of the LXX as a translation. Inevitably, interpretation and the inadequacy of any language to completely convey another language will result in the loss of some ambiguity present in the source language. A translation will further add characteristics of its own – for instance, the added emphasis on the act of "saving" in LXX Isa 45:22.

Finally, the different effects of reading the pericope of Isa 45:18-25 in the MT or the LXX as a context in which an Old Testament quotation used in the New Testament is found can be illustrated by Rom 14:11 and Mark 12:32. In both these texts the Old Testament context of the LXX gives added meaning to the New Testament pericope in which the quotation is used.

Without doubt, this study has not disentangled all the problems of Isa 45:18-25, nor has it investigated the contexts of both MT and LXX (Deutero-)Isaiah to their fullest extent. Much more study is needed, especially on the text and context of LXX Isaiah. Indeed, studying the context of LXX texts is in general an unexplored field. A fuller view of both the LXX and MT needs to be added to this study. As the scope of the investigation broadens, even more differences between the contexts of these texts will surface. The brief sketch of the differences between Isa 45:18-25 in the LXX and the MT given here serves only as a platform from which studies on the Old Testament context of quotations in the New Testament can build. The clear difference in meaning (and consequently theology) between the contexts of the MT and the LXX should alert New Testament scholars to take seriously the difference between the MT and the LXX if they are to study adequately quotations of the Old Testament that appear in the New Testament.

SECTION TWO: FROM JOSEPHUS TO AUGUSTINE AND BEYOND

THE USE OF NAMES AS EVIDENCE OF THE SEPTUAGINT AS A SOURCE FOR JOSEPHUS' *ANTIQUITIES* IN BOOKS 1 TO 5

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1. *Introduction*

Despite the vast body of literature dedicated to dissecting and understanding the works of Josephus, there are still areas of fruitful research and investigation for the patient historian who is willing to peel away the layers of meaning and context typical of the works of this historian. This article will examine how and to what extent Josephus used the Septuagint as one of his sources in his second great work, *The Antiquities of the Jews* (*Ant.*)

Any source-critical analysis of Josephus' *Ant.* is fraught with many difficulties. Not least is the voluminous size of the work which stretches over twenty books. The lack of a cohesive internal structure throughout the work and Josephus' frequent tendencies to elaborate or change the historical record to suit his own literary agenda makes a systematic analysis of his source material problematic and somewhat daunting.¹

We know that Josephus used the Septuagint as he makes specific reference to this in *Antiquities* (1.10-13). The question how Josephus used the Septuagint in relation to other material he had to hand and to what extent he made use of it is extremely difficult to answer. The focus of this study will therefore be very narrow and will examine a sample of toponyms and proper name lists from *Ant.* books 1 to 5 and compare these to those found in the Septuagint (LXX) and the Masoretic Text (MT). The objective will be to see if any similarities can be found both in number and form of the names used by Josephus in order to determine if these could be used as an indicator of the source material as well as to the nature of its use.

I must say at the outset that this is not a terribly unique approach. As far back as 1913, D. A. Schlatter of Tübingen University published a

¹ See P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works, and The ir Importance* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1988), 81-104; S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 1979), 24-47; A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: T. Bertelsmann, 1968).

monograph on this problem in *Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus*.² He concentrated only on biblical proper names but tried to match Hebrew names from Josephus with those from the MT. The major conclusion to be drawn from Schlatter's work is that Josephus' forms of transliteration of Greek to Hebrew words was similar to the approach adopted by the later Greek versions of the bibles of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. A much older work is that of J. von Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus in der Jüdischen Arch. Buch XII-XVII* published in 1882. Numerous shorter studies have been published regarding only names related to regions, specific cities, people and places, but more so to correct textual and geographical errors in the LXX and Josephus or, even the MT.³

Shaye Cohen observes that the study of numbers and names as a means towards identifying exactly which bible Josephus used is not tenable due to the unreliable nature in which names and numbers were recorded and transmitted between different texts.⁴ However, even though one accepts this argument, it does not mean that it should not be revisited from time to time for further re-evaluation as this paper intends to do, albeit on a limited scale.

² A. Schlatter, *Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus*, (Gutersloh: T Bertelsmann, 1913)

³ There is a huge body of research devoted to the onomatology and toponymics of the Land of Israel and the *dramatis personae* of Biblical history and beyond. For the narrow scope of this study, I refer to a small sample: Eberhard Nestle, "Some Contributions to Hebrew Onomatology," *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 13/3 (1897): 169-176; Henry A. Redpath, "The Geography of the Septuagint," *The American Journal of Theology* 7/2 (1903): 228-30; G. Buchanan Gray, "The 'Encyclopaedia Biblica'" (Vols. I and II) and the "Textual Tradition of the Hebrew Proper Names," *JQR* 13/3 (1901): 375-391; L. Gruenhut, "Jazer and its Site," *JQR* 2/2 (1911): 241-244; Max L. Margolis, "Transliterations in the Old Testament," *JQR* 16/2 (1925): 117-125; Paul Romanoff, "Onomasticon of Palestine," *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 7 (1935-1936): 147-227; Naomi G. Cohen, "Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus' Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar Throughout the Antiquities?," *JQR* 54/4 (1964): 311-332; A. F. Rainey, "The Toponymics of Eretz Israel," *BASOR* 231 (1978): 1-17; Tal Ilan and Jonathan J. Price, "Seven Onomastic Problems in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*," *JQR* 84, No. 2/3 (Oct. 1993 – Jan. 1994): 189-208; Richard S. Hess, "A Typology of West Semitic Place Name Lists with Special Reference to Joshua 13-21," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 59/3 (1996): 160-170; Eyal Regev, "Josephus on *Gibeah*: Versions of a Toponym," *JQR* 89, No. 3/4 (1999): 351-359.

⁴ Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 36 n. 45.

2. *Josephus and his Sources: Sacred and Biblical Sources?*

Ant. can be divided into two main parts: books one to ten which deals with the foundational epoch of Israel and eleven to twenty which focuses on the period after the Babylonian exile. As this study is focused on books one to five,⁵ these deal with the era of the patriarchs and the formation of the Israelite state, such as it was, outside of Canaan and books six to ten recount the story of the people inside the Promised Land.⁶ For the first ten books therefore, Josephus was reliant primarily on scriptural sources based on the law and the lives of the prophets.⁷

Josephus generally follows the story line of the first ten books of the MT and in his own words, “each in its own place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure that I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything” (*Ant.* 1.17).

Josephus reassures his reading audience on a number of occasions very early in *Antiquities* of his literary intentions and integrity as a writer of some importance:

Now I have undertaken the present work, as thinking it will appear to all the Greeks worthy of their study: for it will contain all our antiquities and the constitution of our government, as translated (Ἐβραϊκῶν μεθρομηνευσμένην γραμμάτων) out of the Hebrew Scriptures (*Ant.* 1.5).

The precise details of our scripture records (ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς) will, then, be set forth, each in its place, as my narrative proceeds that being the procedure I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything (*Ant.* 1.17).

It is soon obvious that the introductory notes to *Ant.* are as much about the history of the Jews as it is about Josephus himself. This is characteristic of all his works and is not surprising as Josephus was essentially a creature of the Hellenistic world and its influences. His writings therefore reflected the basic historiographical elements required for authors who wished to make an impact on their target audience. As Mason has shown in the introduction to the *Life* of Josephus, Josephus’ works conformed to four basic tenets of rhetoric: ‘the versatility of rhetorical argument; the ubiquity of rhetorical training, assumptions, and instincts; the importance of character in persuasion; and the role of

⁵ See N. G. Cohen, “Josephus and Scripture: Is Josephus’ Treatment of the Scriptural Narrative Similar Throughout the *Antiquities* I-XI?” *JQR* 54/4 (1964): 311-332.

⁶ P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome*, 89-90.

⁷ *Ibid.* 89

antithesis or opposition.’⁸ If rhetoric can be defined as the forceful art of persuasion (Aristotle: *Rhet.* 1.2.11335B), then Josephus needs to be seen as an objective seeker of the truth in opposition to others who contort the truth for their own ends. He was therefore perpetuating a Hellenistic tradition of claiming to speak or write only the truth. Hence the relevance of the word ἀκρίβεια which appears in a number of passages reflecting a Platonic tradition to be precise in all matters.⁹ That Josephus was aware of this precept probably as the result of a Hellenistic education can be seen by a relevant passage from *Against Apion*, ‘Nay, Plato principally imitated our legislator in this point, that he enjoined his citizens to have the main regard to this precept, “That every one of them should learn their laws accurately” (*Ag. Ap.* 2.257).¹⁰

As becomes apparent, Josephus soon proceeded to re-cast substantial portions of the history of the Jews to conform to the Hellenistic writing genres in which he was probably trained and conversant with. That Josephus relied primarily on textual sources for *Ant.* can be accepted. ‘I have translated the Antiquities from the sacred texts, being a man who was a priest by descent’ (*Ag. Ap.* 1.54).¹¹ Josephus stresses his priestly lineage and pedigree throughout his works (for example, *Ant.* 15.418; 16.387; *Ag. Ap.* 1.54; *B.J.* 1.3; 3.352; 5.419). This enabled Josephus to cast himself as an authoritative interpreter who was well qualified to write a translation of his people’s history as it gave him the necessary gravitas and credibility, especially if he wished to win over a largely sceptical reading audience.¹² Bilde concisely sums up Josephus’ credentials as a ‘Jewish historiographer’ thus, ‘Personal experiences, the fundamental material and the literary expertise, according to his own information, were at hand’ to give him the confidence and *nous* to produce his work.¹³

⁸ S. Mason, *Life of Josephus* (Leiden: Brill 2003), xxxvii-xli. See also S. Cohen *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 24-41.

⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 65.

¹⁰ On the Hellenistic imperative to be precise and accurate, see also Thucydides 1.20.3, 22.2, 97.2, 134.1; 5.20.2; Polybius 12.4d 1-2, 120. 4-5, 27.1; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ant. Ro m.* 1.6.3. For more on this see footnote 65 in Mason, *Life of Josephus*

¹¹ Rajak has observed that juxtaposing ‘priest’ and ‘sacred writings’ was intended in order to make the connection between the two cognate Greek words *hierus* and *hieron*. T. Rajak, *Josephus* (Duckworth: London, 2002), 18.

¹² P. Bilde, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome*, 111-112.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 62.

2.1. *Sacred Sources*

Josephus' background as one trained in the priesthood and well-versed in the current philosophical-religious trends of the first century, (*Life* 1-7; *Ant.* 20.263) meant he had the access and skills by which to engage with the current available sacred (and non-sacred) literature at his disposal. By the age of nineteen he had already completed his 'formal education and started to involve himself in 'public life' and had chosen to follow the philosophies of the Pharisaic sect, which, in his own words, '...is rather like the one called the stoic among the Greeks' (*Life* 12).¹⁴ Some seven years later he was sent on an embassy to Rome, thereby exposing him to the Diaspora and international affairs and currents of the Roman Empire (*Life* 13).

Josephus' relationship with the Jewish sacred texts is a complex one and is open to much debate. Although interesting and important in itself, I do not intend to deal with the topic in this paper.¹⁵

That Josephus made use of the LXX, can be concluded from the reference he makes to it in a brief passage to the Greek Scriptures in *Ant.*:

I found then that the second of the Ptolemies, that king who was so deeply interested in learning and such a collector of books, was particularly anxious to have our law and the political constitution based thereon translated into Greek (*Ant.* 1.10)

Further references to his use of sacred scriptures are:

- (a) "I have translated the Antiquities out of our sacred books: which I easily could do, since I was a priest by my birth, and have studied that philosophy which is contained in those writings" (*Ag. Ap.* 1.54).

¹⁴ Was this an observation made with hindsight later in his life, or did his priestly schooling make this distinction already? By the first century, Stoicism was the most popular school in the Empire. See F. H. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1975), 16; Both Stoics and Pharisees debated the issue of fate and free will and the power to good or evil. See *Ant.* 18.12-15. S. Mason, *Flavius Josephus on the Pharisees* (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 137-40; See also Mason, *Life*: fn. 92, pp.20. Rajak puts a more nuanced gloss on this topic by saying that Josephus was not really immersed in Stoicism as such, but wanted to place his belief system on a plane commonly understood by Greeks (Rajak, *Josephus*, 100); See Rist for a detailed account of Stoic philosophy: J. M. Rist, *Stoic Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), esp. ch. 7.

¹⁵ For detailed accounts see S. Cohen, *Jos ephus in G alilee and Rome*, 35-41; H. Attridge, *The Interpretation of B iblical H istory in t he Antiquitates J udaicae of F lavius J osephus* (Missoula: Scholar's Press, 1976), 31-32.

- (b) “For my part, I have recounted each detail here told just as I found it in the sacred books...” (*Ant.* 2.347).
- (c) “But since I have promised to give an exact account of our history, I have thought it necessary to recount what I have found written in the Hebrew books (Ἑβραϊκᾶς βίβλους) concerning this prophet” (*Ant.* 9.208).
- (d) After twenty long chapters, Josephus finishes off this lengthy book with a flourish by once again confirming his intent:

“...and all as recorded by the Holy Scriptures. For this was what I promised to do at the beginning of my history...” (*Ant.* 20.261).

2.2. *Historical Sources*

Josephus makes frequent and varied references to the extant and non-extant historical sources he used. Nicholaus of Damascus is either referred to or quoted as a source 30 times in his works; Manetho 6; Berossus 7; Dios 3; Menander 4; Philostratos 2; Megasthenes 2 as well as numerous other ancient source documents he knew about or had to hand. In his own words, Josephus states:

Moreover, my words are attested by all historians of antiquity, whether Greeks or Barbarians: Manetho the annalist of the Egyptians, Berossus the compiler of the Chaldaean traditions; Mochus, Hestiaeus, along with the Egyptian Hieronymus, authors of Phoenician histories, concur in my statements; while Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, as well as Ephorus and Nicolas, report that the ancients lived for a thousand years. But on these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy (*Ant.* 1.107)

It was customary for Hellenistic writers to proclaim that they were devoted to the truth and accuracy of their historical narratives as well as a faithful adherence to their source materials. Josephus was no exception to this literary practice. (See *Ant.* 1.17)

Hellenistic writers were compelled to demonstrate the veracity of their work by declaring that these were in fact accurate translations of sacred texts. It is no accident that Josephus as a Hellenized oriental author would also emphasize that his work too was based on translations of sacred texts (*Ant.* 1.5). Josephus was also not alone in stating that he neither added nor omitted anything (οὐδὲν προσθεῖς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπών), *Ant.* 1.17; 10. 218). This phrase was also used by

Thucydides (*De Thuc.* 8 p. 824); Dionysus (*Antiquitates* 1.73.1); Lucian (*Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* 47).¹⁶

This formulaic approach to history writing was widespread throughout the Hellenistic world. Besides those authors already mentioned a brief summary of other writers who followed the oath to fidelity and accuracy is listed below and clearly shows that Josephus had become part of the literary tradition of his time:

Greek writers

- Ctesias (FGrH 688 F 5 = Diodorus Siculus 2.32.4)
- Hecataeus of Abdera (FGrH 264 F 25 = Diodorus Siculus 1.69.7)

Oriental writers

- Berossus (FGrH 609 T 1 = F1)
- Manetho (FGrH 609 F 1 = CA 1.73)
- Philo of Byblus (FGrH 790 F 1 = Eusebius *PE* 1.9.21)¹⁷

It will be apt to end off this section with an eloquent passage from Josephus that leaves no doubt as to his credentials as a Hellenistic author:

But let no one blame me for writing down everything of this nature, as I find it in our ancient books; for as to that matter, I have plainly assured those that think me defective in any such point, or complain of my management, and have told them, in the beginning of this history, that I intend to do no more than translate the Hebrew books into the Greek language, and promised them to explain the facts, without adding anything to them of my own, or taking anything away from them (*Ant.* 10.218).¹⁸

3. Analysis

A cursory reading of Josephus' *Antiquities* as well as those of the other writers of his period show that in reality nothing could have been further from the truth. An author was expected to take great liberties with a given source. An author could create additional details to dramatize a

¹⁶ S. Cohen disagrees with Schalit's assertion that there is little in common between the writers mentioned above and Josephus, Cohen, 27 n. 11. See also A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus*, xix-xx.

¹⁷ This partial list is from S. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome*, 27.

¹⁸ See R. Doron, "The Jewish Hellenistic Historians before Josephus," *ANRW* II 20.1:246-297 on the tradition of rewriting certain aspects of the Jewish Bible and in whose footsteps Josephus was to follow.

text and was at liberty to freely refashion a story in order to create something new. There were no boundaries on consistency or style and a writer could adapt freely as much as was deemed necessary in order to create the desired content. An author could faithfully quote a source verbatim and then suddenly create additional ‘facts’ to suit a particular narrative objective. It was far more acceptable to embellish, omit and create than to be seen to plagiarize the works of others.

It should be no surprise therefore to find that Josephus’ ‘translation’ of the Jewish sacred texts is not an accurate rendition of the Jewish bible, but a rather loose paraphrase of the major events. This is particularly true of *Ant.* books one to five. He was however, faithful to the *essence* of the biblical narrative, although he forsook the chronological order of many of the events and juxtaposed certain stories in favour of a thematic reconstruction. It is obvious that he did not intend to simply rewrite the bible, but to recast the whole oeuvre in a way that would be acceptable to a Greek audience.

With this then as the background, it is clear that any attempt to delineate the sources used by Josephus, becomes a rather tricky exercise. In order to ‘test’ Josephus’ accuracy as a translator from either the LXX or the MT source material, I have randomly selected a number of proper name and place name lists from *Ant.* books one to five and tried to see if there was some similarity in the order, accuracy and number of names which were recorded compared to the MT and the LXX. If one of the ‘original’ sources (i.e. LXX or MT) were similar to the Josephus text, then an appropriate analysis could be made and conclusions drawn as to the source and method Josephus used.

3.1. *The Sons of Cain*

The first list is from Genesis 4:17-23; *Ant.* 1.62-65 and deals with the sons of Cain and their offspring.

MT		LXX	Josephus
Enoch	חנוך	Ενωχ	Ἀνώχου
Irada	עירד	Γαιδαδ	Ἰαράδης
Mehuel	מחויאל	Μαιηλ	Μαρουήλος
Methusaleh	מתושאל	Μαθουσαλα	Μαθουσάλας
Lamech	למך	Λαμεχ	Λάμεχος

Jobel	יבל	Ιωβελ	Ἰώβηλος
Jubal	יובל	Ιουβαλ	Ἰούβαλος
Thobel	תובל קין	Θοβελ	

Although the word order is the same, the Semitic names have been transliterated in the LXX into Greek approximations of the Semitic original. Josephus on the other hand has rendered all the names into a Graecized format and has not merely taken them as is from the LXX.

While there are eight names in the MT and LXX, Josephus lists seven and has omitted one name, Thobel-Cain, from his list. Was this carelessness in the transmission of the information by Josephus or later omissions by copyists? One commentary suggests that קין was left out in the LXX as it was not a name but a noun denoting “smith.”¹⁹ Quite possibly, Josephus picked up on the confusion surrounding the name and simply left it out of his ‘translation’ which would be in keeping with the tendency of Greek writers to amend as they saw fit.

3.2. *The Sons of Japheth (Gen 10:2; Ant. 1.122-5)*

MT		LXX	Josephus
Gomer	גומר	Γαμερ	Γόμαρος
Magog	מגוג	Μαγωγ	Μαγώγης
Madai	מדי	Μαδαι	Ἰαυάνου
Javan	יון	Ιωυαν	Μάδου
Tubal	תבל	Ελισα	Θεόβηλος
Meshech	משך	Θοβελ	Μέσχου
Tiras	תירס	Μοσοχ	Θείρης
		Θιρας	

The name order differs in all three versions. Significantly, there are seven names in Josephus’ list which aligns with the MT, however, there is an additional name in the LXX list, that of Ελισα.

The only significant conclusion to be drawn is that Josephus may have followed a MT version. Can one conjecture that he exercised

¹⁹ H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (vol. 1; Brill: Leiden, 1996), 303.

editing rights and disregarded the additional name in the LXX, which may have been a copyist's error and here preferred one version over the other as being correct?

3.3. *The Sons of Javan (Gen 10:4; Ant. 1.127-8)*

MT		LXX	Josephus
Elisha	אלישה	Ελισα	Αλισᾶς
Tarshish	תרשיש	Θαρσις	Θάρσος
Kittim	כתים	Κίτιοι	Χέθιμος
Dodanim	דדנים	Ῥόδιοι	

Josephus introduces this passage (*Ant.* 1.127) with the words, ‘of the three sons of Javan...’

The order of the names is the same across all three texts; however the number of names is the same in both the MT (four) and the LXX (four). Josephus however mentions only three and omitted Ῥόδιοι. Of interest is the translation of the Hebrew name *Dodanim* as *Rodanim* in the LXX which can be ascribed to the confusion arising between the similarity of the *resh* and the *dal eth* during scribal transmission of the original Hebrew text. H. St. J Thackeray in his translation (Loeb) based largely on Niese, notes this omission as well and adds that Ῥόδιοι is also missing from one group of MSS. of the Greek bible but does not specify which. Swete's 1909 translation does however include Ῥόδιοι. Also interesting is that in both the MT and the LXX the name of *Tarshish* is not followed by a conjunctive *waw* or *καί*. Both names, Κίτιοι and Ῥόδιοι have suffix endings that refer to ‘nations’ or a ‘people,’ but Josephus renders Κίτιοι in the form of a person's name, Χέθιμος. Josephus may thus have omitted *Dodanim*, because it too, like *Kittim*, bears the suffix of the third person plural indicating the name of a nation or group of people.²⁰

²⁰ Many toponyms appear also in one form or another as eponyms. This was due largely to the close link between the social structure and settlement patterns, resulting in place names becoming tribal genealogies. See A. F. Rainey, “The Toponymics of Eretz-Israel,” 1-17.

3.4. *The Sons of Shem (Gen 10:22; Ant. 1.143-144)*

MT		LXX	Josephus
Elam	עֵלָם	Αἰλαμ	Ἐλυμος
Ashur	אַשּׁוּר	Ἀσσουρ	Ἀσσοῦρας
Arphachsad	אַרְפַּחְשָׁד	Ἀρφαξαδ	Ἀρφαξάδης
Lud	לֹוד	Λουδ	Λούδους
Aram	אַרַם	Ἀραμ	Ἄραμος
		Καϊναν	

The order of the names is the same in all three texts except that the LXX has an additional name (Καϊναν) which does not appear in MT or in Josephus. This name is controversial and is possibly due to attempts to reconfigure the chronological order of the patriarchs.²¹ The genealogical origins of *Cainan* are indeed confusing: *Cainan* first appears in Gen 5:9 as the son of *Enosh*; according to the LXX however he now is the son of *Shem*; nor is *Cainan* mentioned again in Gen 11 when the genealogy of *Shem* is again enumerated. However, mention is made again of *Cainan* in Luke 3:36, but here is given *Arphachsad* as his father. The inconsistency and difficulty of working with the LXX is further seen in 1 Chron 1:17 where *Cainan* is left out of the genealogical tables as a son of *Shem*. Did the writer of Luke notice the difference in the fathers attributed in the LXX version of Gen 11:12 and try and correct it?²² Using this same argument, it is possible to deduce that Josephus picked up on these inconsistencies and did not merely translate scribal errors, but edited his script to avoid the scrutiny of his readers. If so, it can be said that this is exactly how he dealt with the problem of *D/Rodanim* in the previous table and should be given more credit as a more ‘precise’ interpreter than is often allowed in this instance.

²¹ F. N. Jones argues that those LXX manuscripts that included the second Cainan are ‘spurious’ and that this point was recognized by later commentators and scribes which is why Cainan is omitted from these later manuscripts. F. N. Jones, *Chronology of the Old Testament: Solving the Bible’s Most Intriguing Mysteries* (Green Forest, AZ: New Leaf, 2004), 29-30.

²² See Jones, 31, who also comments that it should not be taken for granted that Luke relied on the LXX and not a Jewish text merely because he was a gentile.

3.5. *The Sons of Mizraim (Gen 10:13-14; Ant. 1.136-7)*

MT		LXX	Josephus
Ludim	לודים	Λουδιμ	Φυλιστίνου
Anamim	ענמים	Ενεμετιμ	Λουμαίου
Lehabim	להבים	Λαβιμ	Ἀναμία
Naphtuhim	נפתחים	Νεφθαλιμ	Λαβίμου
Pathrusim	פתרסים	Πατροσωνιμ	Νεδέμου
Casluhim	כסלחים	Χασλωνιμ	Πεθρωςίμου
Caphtorim	כפתרים	Καφθοριμ	Χεσλοίμου
			Χεφθώμου

The order of the names is the same for the MT and LXX, but Josephus has an additional name. Josephus probably mistranslated his source by adding the name Φυλιστίνου as a son when in fact both MT and LXX state that the founder of the Philistines was *Casluhim*... ‘out of whom came Philistim...’ (Gen 10:14). This could have been due to a misreading of MT and LXX although it does not exclude the possibility of a ‘rogue’ variant of either two texts or simply just scribal error, as the phrase suggesting the origin of Philistine is situated between the names Casluhim and Caphtorim. In Amos 9:7 it is written that the Philistines came from Caphtorim, and so too in Jeremiah 47:4, ‘the remnant of the country of Caphtor.’²³

3.6. *The War Against the Midianites (Numbers 31:8; Ant. 4.161)*

This passage refers to the kings of the Midianite people that were slain by Moses and his army:

MT		LXX	Josephus
Evi	אוי	Ευιν	Ἔχος
Rekem	רקם	Ροκομ	Σούρης

²³ Caphtor may refer to Crete or as a designation for the whole Aegean world: B. Schmidt, *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Israel* (SBL: Atlanta 2007), 98.

Zur	צור	Σουρ	Ῥοβέης
Hur	חור	Ουρ	Οὔρης
Reva	רבע	Ροβοκ	Ῥέκεμος
Balaam	בלעם	Βαλααμ	

Josephus shows only five kings and omits *Balaam* son of *Beor*, who was also slain during these battles as related in both MT and LXX. Either Josephus or later transcribers of his work may have carelessly left out the name; on the other hand he may have used a source that excluded this proper name. Josephus digresses and adds that *Rekem* was also the name of a city and the capital of all Arabia. The omission may be due to the fact that *Balaam* comes after the main list as an additional clause. Josephus was technically correct, as *Balaam* was not one of the kings of the Midianites, but a prophet. This does not entirely exclude the possibility that it could have been left out of the MT or LXX that Josephus used for a later revision. On the other hand, one could surmise that Josephus had an agenda in leaving out *Balaam* as he was portrayed in a generally positive light until he fell out with the Israelites when he was blamed for their later troubles that arose when they sinned and took Midianite women and worshipped the Moabite god, *Baal-Peor* (Num 31:16). Josephus does not mention the death of *Balaam* at the hands of the Israelites at all, which is significant given the important role he played and the space given to him by Josephus.²⁴

4. Translation Problems

The translators of the Septuagint faced formidable obstacles when it came to rendering Semitic proper names into an understandable form of Greek. As Redpath has demonstrated that simply transliterating Hebrew words into Greek can be problematic as the translator has to deal with an entirely different form of vocalization as found in the Masoretic tradition.²⁵ This was particularly true when dealing with the vast body of Semitic names in Genesis.

Dealing with proper names during the Hellenistic period meant that Hebrew names garnered Greek equivalents, as in Jason for Joshua. Thus

²⁴ Balaam became known as the ‘cursing prophet’ in later literature. See 2 Peter 2:15; Jude 11; and Revelation 2:14.

²⁵ H. A. Redpath, “The Geography of the Septuagint,” *The American Journal of Theology* 7/2 (1903): 289-307.

too, place names increasingly took on Graecized forms as for example the identification of *Chidekel* for Tigris in Gen 2:14. More obvious is the use of *Aegyptus* by Josephus instead of a transliterated form of *Mizraim*. *Mizraim* is in fact used on only five occasions in the LXX (Gen 10:6, 13; 1 Chron 1:8, 11; 2 Esdras 9:1).

The names dealt with in this article are no exception and are mostly rather torturous transliterations by Josephus or later revisions by copyists. It can be clearly seen that Josephus is willing to create a distinctive vocabulary of words and doesn't merely ape the spellings and renditions of names found in the LXX in order to render them intelligible to Greek readers.²⁶ This is interesting as it shows that Josephus was not a mere copyist, but was willing to cast Semitic names into a creative version of his own or in the forms current in his day. In his own words, he wrote:

'...for such names are written here after the manner of the Greeks, to please my readers; for our own country's language does not so pronounce them, but the names in all cases are of one and the same ending; for the name we here pronounce Noeas, is there Noah, and in every case retains the same termination' (*Ant.* 1.129).

As is evident, in most cases he maintained the essential Semitic elements but elaborated extensively by adding Greek case endings and sometimes changing vowel forms and inflecting them like true Greek words. This is true for at least the first five books of *Ant.* From Judges onwards Josephus borrows more word forms from the LXX and much less so than from the Masoretic text.²⁷

5. Concluding Remarks

The lists of names presented in this article have highlighted the types of confusion the approach has demonstrated. The confusion can be characterized as follows:

- Mistakes by Josephus or copyists in copying a name or a list of names
- Problems Josephus may have had in organizing the material to hand
- Lapses in memory of events
- Transposition of names

²⁶ Bilde, *Flavius Josephus Between Jerusalem and Rome*, 98.

²⁷ D. A. Schlatter, *Die Hebräischen Namen bei Josephus*, (Gütersloh: T Bertelsmann, 1913), 7

- Differences due to emendations to correct or purposefully recast a particular narrative line²⁸

Based on these points, the following conclusions can be drawn:

1. Attempts to try and determine the nature of the relationship Josephus had with the LXX or the MT as a source by examining place and proper names is fraught with many difficulties and complexities on a textual and lexical level (particularly with reference to the creation phase in Josephus' history, namely books one to five). There are just too many inconsistencies in Josephus (and the LXX and MT) to enable one to come to any definitive conclusion, a point stressed by all eminent scholars in the field of Josephan studies.
2. The random lists selected are only a small sample and are thus statistically insignificant, but I think it serves to illustrate two main difficulties with Josephus: the first is that he probably used a variety of textual sources. He himself stated so clearly on numerous occasions throughout all his works and I find no good reason not to believe this. Secondly, Josephus didn't merely copy verbatim, but diligently adapted, not only events, but also names of people and places when he thought there was a need to correct them. This is clearly in line with the historical writing tradition of his period and places him squarely within this Hellenistic genre. It is very likely that Josephus regarded his *Ant.* as a refinement to the accounts found in LXX and MT.
3. It has proven to be methodologically (and otherwise) very difficult to determine whether Josephus' affinity lies with the LXX or the MT, especially with regards to the first five books of *Ant.* As an historian, he made use of all the available material to hand, although as it has been shown, he did so in a manner consistent with and typical of the Hellenistic genre of history writing.
4. As seen, it is simply not possible to find any consistency in the naming conventions Josephus employs, especially in the first quarter of *Ant.* Without a definitive *Vorlage*, one cannot ascertain whether the manuscripts extant today have been corrupted, or whether the versions used by Josephus were likewise corrupted or simply just different. It would therefore not be prudent to draw any definitive conclusions on lists of jumbled names as an indicator of

²⁸ T. Ilan and J. Price, "Seven Onomastic Problems in Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum*" *JQR* 84, no. 2/3 (Oct. 1993-Jan. 1994): 189-208.

Josephus' relationship between any of the sacred texts he used. The fact that he used the LXX does not necessarily mean that he was dependent on it. Nor is it possible to postulate as to the extent of the use he made of the LXX as a source, because we don't know in what form the manuscript/s were that he used. From the little research done so far it is not clear at all if he used an Aramaic *Targum*. In short, the use of names only as evidence of source material is interesting, but unfortunately unreliable.

Josephus was not trying to rewrite the Bible, but to tell the story of the Jewish people to a select audience of readers by rearranging and compressing the biblical narrative to achieve a desired literary effect. In order to meet this objective, he can and does take the liberty to use or simply ignore many names that occur in the Bible.²⁹

In the closing remarks to their article, Ilan and Price (*supra*) state it as succinctly as possible where they write that 'in such cases we must simply accept the unsolved problem, whether it be caused by tendentiousness, carelessness, ignorance or lack of interest on the part of Josephus.'

²⁹ See Ilan and Price who identified seven 'missing persons' in *B.J.* In their article they argue for a joint textual and historical approach in order to explain the inconsistencies in Josephus' works.

WISDOM IN THE WISDOM OF SOLOMON AND CLEANTHES'
HYMN TO ZEUS

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Any texts can be compared, but not all comparisons are equally relevant or meaningful.¹ When we compare texts, it is of crucial importance to know why we are doing so, because the rationale for the comparison is going to determine which aspects of the text or textual elements will be the focus of attention.² There may indeed be many different reasons for comparing two texts. The texts concerned may have obvious similarities in content that require explanation, for example, whether there is a genealogical relationship between the two texts, or whether the similarities are due to other factors. Texts may furthermore be compared to determine the characteristics of a particular form, genre, or rhetorical strategy. A third reason may be to identify the religio-historical locus of a text in comparison to other texts, or to establish the probable cultural, religious, conceptual and other frames of reference of the first readers of a text.³ In the case of the latter, further selection criteria have to be applied as well, because any ancient text could conceivably contribute to our understanding of the social and cultural world of early Christianity.⁴

¹ For further discussion of the problem of comparison, with a recent bibliography, see Johan C. Thom, “‘To Show the Difference by Comparison’: The *New Wettstein* and Cleanthes’ *Hymn*,” in *Reading Religions in the Ancient World: Essays Presented to Robert McQueen Grant on His 90th Birthday* (ed. David E. Aune and Robin Darling Young; NovTSup 125; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 81-100.

² Cf. Jonathan Z. Smith’s warning that any comparison is a construction made by the scholar for his or her own reasons (*Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* [Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion 14, CSJH; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990], 51, 115).

³ Some NT scholars, especially in Germany, increasingly use Umberto Eco’s concept of the ‘encyclopedia of the reader’ to indicate these frames of reference. See Umberto Eco, *Lector in fabula: La cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi* (Studi Bompiani 22; Milano: Bompiani, 1979); *The Role of the Reader: Explorations in the Semiotics of Texts* (Advances in Semiotics; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1979). The concept of ‘encyclopedia’ was first explained in Eco’s *A Theory of Semiotics* (Advances in Semiotics; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 98-100, 105-21.

⁴ Cf. the criteria applied in the *Neuer Wettstein* (Gerald Seelig, “Einführung,” in *Texte zur Briefliteratur und zur Johannesapokalypse* [ed. Georg Strecker and Udo Schnelle;

In the case of the Wisdom of Solomon and Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* there are good reasons why a comparative reading would be appropriate and productive. There is general consensus that the Wisdom of Solomon shows clear signs of Stoic influence,⁵ while Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* is one of the best representative texts of early Stoicism.⁶ It is therefore not surprising that these two texts have important central topoi in common, such as the role of Reason (*Logos*) or Wisdom (*Sophia*) in structuring and maintaining the cosmic order, and the moral problem presented by people who do not recognise God's providential care of the world. The two texts use comparable strategies to address these issues: both contain hymnic celebrations of the divine beings responsible for the world-order, as well as a protreptic element in which human beings are exhorted to recognise and obey the divine dispensation. In the analysis that follows I will concentrate on those elements the two texts have in common, and not attempt to give a detailed analysis of wisdom discourse as it functions in each of the two texts.⁷ The aim of this analysis will nevertheless be to contribute to our understanding of wisdom discourse in general by comparing the similarities and differences between the shared topoi and strategies in these two texts.

1. Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*

Cleanthes of Assos (331/30-230/29 B.C.E.) followed Zeno of Citium to become the second head of the Stoa in Athens in 262/61. His *Hymn to*

Vol. 2.1 of *Neuer Wettstein: Texte zum Neuen Testament aus Griechenland und Hellenismus*; assisted by Gerald Seelig; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1996], XII-XIV); also Gerald Seelig, *Religionsgeschichtliche Methode in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart: Studien zur Geschichte und Methode des religionsgeschichtlichen Vergleichs in der neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte 7; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2001), 312-13. In his review of the *Neuer Wettstein*, Hans-Josef Klauck warns that comparison can potentially be endless ("Wettstein, alt und neu: Zur Neuausgabe eines Standardwerks," *BZ* 41 [1997]: 94).

⁵ See James M. Reese, *Hellenistic Influence on the Book of Wisdom and Its Consequences* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1970), *passim*; John J. Collins, "Natural Theology and Biblical Tradition: The Case of Hellenistic Judaism," *CBQ* 60 (1998): 5-6.

⁶ See also Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*, 36. Reese refers to the *Hymn to Zeus*, but does not make detailed use of the text.

⁷ I will especially not discuss the last, historical section of the Wisdom of Solomon, although I agree with John Collins that "there is an underlying coherence to the book as a whole. It proposes an understanding of Wisdom and its role in the cosmos and in history, and draws inferences from this for human conduct" (*Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* [OTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997], 182).

Zeus is the only complete text of any length to survive from early Stoicism.⁸ We know nothing about the circumstances of its composition or its function beyond what may be deduced from the *Hymn* itself. The poem has been preserved by its inclusion in Stobaeus' *Anthology*, which also provides the only definite ancient testimony to the *Hymn*. Scholars have suggested that the *Hymn to Zeus* formed part of one of Cleanthes' other known works (e.g. περὶ θεῶν), that it was an introduction to a lecture series, or that it was written for use in the Stoa's communal worship, but there is no definite evidence for any of these positions.⁹ Its prominent position in the opening chapter of Stobaeus' *Anthology* (1.1.12 ed. Wachsmuth) probably indicates that it was still considered an important philosophical school text in later antiquity.¹⁰

The 39-line hexameter poem presents us with a complex interplay of literary, philosophical and religious motifs.¹¹ The poem displays the literary form of a conventional cult hymn, makes use of epic phraseology and contains several allusions to earlier authors. Significant parts of the *Hymn* may be interpreted in both a philosophical and a religious sense, which is mainly because of the ambiguous nature of Zeus as being both immanent and transcendent.

The composition of the *Hymn to Zeus* has the typical tripartite structure of ancient hymns, namely Invocation (vv. 1-6), Argument (vv. 7-31) and Prayer (vv. 32-39). Careful analysis of the composition shows that the main issue addressed in the poem is the bad people who by their

⁸ For a text and translation, as well as an introduction and detailed commentary on the *Hymn*, see Johan C. Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus: Text, Translation, and Commentary* (Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 33; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005). To the bibliography on the *Hymn* listed in this work we should now add the chapter on the *Hymn* posthumously published in Günther Zuntz, *Griechische philosophische Hymnen* (ed. Hubert Cancik and Lutz Käppel; Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum 35; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 27-42; as well as Elizabeth Asmis, "Myth and Philosophy in Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus," *GRBS* 47 (2007): 413-29.

⁹ See Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, 6-7, 11-12.

¹⁰ Cf. Matthias Perkams, "Kleanthes," *RAC* 20 (2004), 1258. We unfortunately have no other explicit evidence of its reception in antiquity, although a good case has been made that Lucretius composed the introductory hymn to Venus as an Epicurean counterpart to the *Hymn to Zeus*; see Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Kleanthes: Hymnus auf Zeus," in *Reden und Vorträge*, Vol. 1 (4th ed.; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1925-26), 328; Ernst Neustadt, "Der Zeushymnos des Kleanthes," *Hermes* 66 (1931): 393-95; and esp. Elizabeth Asmis, "Lucretius' Venus and Stoic Zeus," *Hermes* 110 (1982): 458-70. For other possible allusions to the *Hymn to Zeus* see Johan C. Thom, "Doing Justice to Zeus: On Texts and Commentaries," *Acta Classica* 48 (2005): 4-5.

¹¹ For more details, see Thom, "Doing Justice to Zeus."

foolish behaviour disturb the rational order God established in nature.¹² Although the poem starts out by praising Zeus (vv. 7-16), the main function of the *Hymn* is not encomiastic, but rather to remind people of their rightful position in the cosmos and their concomitant responsibilities, and to request God's assistance in restoring the disturbance caused by human folly.

2. *The Wisdom of Solomon*

Despite the points of similarity mentioned earlier, the *Wisdom of Solomon* is of course a very different text than the *Hymn to Zeus*. In terms of genre it belongs to Jewish wisdom literature, although it was strongly influenced by Hellenistic philosophical thought.¹³ It is a considerably longer work than the *Hymn*, which means that it contains a much greater diversity of topics. The book is usually divided into three major sections: the 'book of eschatology' (1:1-6:21), the 'book of wisdom' (6:22-10:21) and the 'book of history' (chapters 11-19), but the exact demarcation of these units is disputed.¹⁴ Instead of third-century B.C.E. Athens, the *Wisdom of Solomon* was probably written in Alexandria around the turn of the common era.¹⁵ The main function of the book remains a contentious issue: some scholars argue that it is primarily encomiastic, with hortatory aspects, while others contend that the work is protreptic, with a considerable epideictic element.¹⁶ Important for the purpose of comparison with the *Hymn to Zeus* is that we find the combination of praise of the divine wisdom or world-order with an exhortation to live a life guided by wisdom.

¹² See Johan C. Thom, "The Problem of Evil in Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus*," *Acta Classica* 41 (1998): 45-57.

¹³ See Reese, *Hellenistic Influence*. For the *Wisdom of Solomon* as wisdom literature, see esp. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 178-221. Lester L. Grabbe provides a valuable survey of issues in recent scholarship on the *Wisdom of Solomon* (*Wisdom of Solomon* [Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997]). The standard recent commentaries remain David Winston, *The Wisdom of Solomon: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 43; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1979); and C. Larcher, *Le Livre de la Sagesse ou La Sagesse de Salomon* (Ebib n.s. 1, 3, 5; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1983-85).

¹⁴ See David Winston, "Solomon, Wisdom of," *ABD* 6 (1992), 120; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 179-80; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 18-23.

¹⁵ Dates vary between 220 B.C.E. and 50 C.E., but recent scholars prefer a date just before or after the beginning of the common era. See Winston, "Solomon, Wisdom of," 122-23; Grabbe, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 87-91; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 178-79.

¹⁶ Cf. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 181-82.

3. *Wisdom in the Hymn to Zeus*

3.1. *Terminology*

The term σοφία ('wisdom') is not explicitly used in the *Hymn to Zeus*, but the motif of wisdom is implied throughout the poem. A synonymous term, γνώμη, occurs in a prominent position in v. 35 in the Prayer at the end. The latter term is ambivalent, referring either to an intellectual ability, such as the power of judgment, or to the result of an intellectual process, such as knowledge; in the *Hymn* it could mean either or both. Most scholars therefore translate the term in the context of the *Hymn* with a translation equivalent encompassing both aspects, for example, 'insight,' 'wisdom' or 'understanding.'¹⁷ Another important term used in the poem is λόγος, 'reason' or 'rationality' (vv. 12, 21). Although λόγος is a common technical term in Stoicism,¹⁸ its use here has interesting features, to which we shall return in a moment. In Hellenistic Judaism, *logos* became functionally equivalent to wisdom;¹⁹ it is therefore an important point of contact between our two texts. Other phrases related to wisdom and insight are σὺν νῶ, 'with understanding' (v. 25) and its opposites ἀνοΐαι, 'folly' (v. 17) and ἀπειροσύνη, 'ignorance' (v. 33).²⁰

The wisdom motif in the *Hymn to Zeus* is directly related to the perception and acceptance of the divine rationality at work in the universe. It may conveniently be discussed under three headings: (a) wisdom and the cosmos; (b) human beings and wisdom; and (c) God and wisdom.

¹⁷ See the discussion in Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, 153-55.

¹⁸ See Hermann Martin Kleinknecht, "λέγω κτλ. B," *TDNT* 4 (1967), 84-85; A. A. Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy: Stoics, Epicureans, Sceptics* (2nd ed; Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986), 144-47; Thomas H. Tobin, "Logos," *ABD* 4 (1992), 348-49.

¹⁹ See Burton L. Mack, *Logos und Sophia: Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie im hellenistischen Judentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 13-14; Tobin, "Logos," 350-51. Cf. esp. *ibid.*, 350: "The connection between wisdom and *logos* was also made explicitly ... in the Wisdom of Solomon.... God's word and God's wisdom were used in this text as two parallel ways of describing God's creation of the world and his creation of human beings (Wis 9:1-2)." See also Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 38-40; Winston, "Solomon, Wisdom of," 125.

²⁰ In v. 26 many scholars accept Wilamowitz's emendation ἄνευ νόου ('without understanding') for the nonsensical MS reading ἄνευ κακοῦ; see the discussion in Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, 128-29. If accepted, this would provide another example of lack of understanding.

3.2. *Wisdom and the Cosmos*

According to the first part of the Argument of the *Hymn* (vv. 7-16), the cosmos is an exemplary participant of the divine order: it willingly obeys God's rule (vv. 7-8); no event in the cosmos takes place outside God's planned order (vv. 15-16). Nature is indeed the perfect instantiation of the conformity to the divine order that Cleanthes holds up as ideal for the wise (v. 35). The cosmos is, however, not only an exemplum of rational behaviour, but is imbued with rationality itself: the κοινὸς λόγος, the reason shared by all, permeates the whole cosmos to give it structure and coherence (vv. 12-13). This *logos* is carried throughout nature by Zeus' thunderbolt, an iconographic representation of the Stoic 'designing fire' (πῦρ τεχνικόν) or fiery *pneuma*, the material mode of God's creative activity that therefore functions as material substratum for the divine intelligence.²¹

The rationality inherent in the cosmos, manifested in the inevitable order and regularity of natural events, has a normative dimension as well, because this world-order is the best of all possible orders, and it has to be followed by humans and gods alike (cf. vv. 37-39). In the *Hymn*, the universal *logos* is therefore the same as the universal law (vv. 24, 39) on which God's rule is based (vv. 2, 35).²² This law is characterised by justice (δίκη, vv. 35, 39).

The rational world-order is not static or fixed, however: according to vv. 18-21, there are (still) elements that are in conflict with this order, and the divine plan is continually being realised (cf. γίνεσθαι, v. 21). The *logos* is therefore at the same time the divine rationality underlying nature as well as being its ultimate goal.

Although it is not stated explicitly in the *Hymn*, the discordant elements disrupting the divine harmony are probably the actions of bad people, because the Stoics did not consider natural calamities or physical suffering to be evil.²³

3.3. *Human Beings and Wisdom*

According to the *Hymn to Zeus*, human beings have an ambivalent position in the cosmos. On the one hand, humans are exceptionally privileged compared to other creatures: they alone can trace their origin

²¹ See Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, 77-78, 84.

²² See A. A. Long, *Epictetus: A Stoic and Socratic Guide to Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 154, on the distinction between inner and outer aspects of order in the *Hymn to Zeus*.

²³ See Thom, "Problem of Evil."

directly to Zeus, and they alone bear his likeness (vv. 4-5). Despite the textual problem in v. 4, the most probable interpretation of this verse is that the likeness humans have in common with God is that they share in the same rationality and virtues.²⁴ Because of their privileged position, they are able to communicate with God and to honour and praise him (vv. 3, 6, 36-39).

The *Hymn to Zeus*, on the other hand, also portrays a negative side to the role of human beings. Alone of all things in the cosmos, bad people (κακοί) disrupt God's world-order through their foolish actions (vv. 15-17). They reject his *logos* (v. 22) and are apparently unable to perceive and to obey God's universal law (vv. 24-25). Despite their efforts to achieve good things, they chase after misguided goals such as fame, riches and pleasure, and end up with the complete opposite of what they intended to achieve, namely a fragmented and incoherent life (vv. 26-31). Their behaviour is described as full of strife, undisciplined and indulgent (vv. 27-29). The problem with these bad people is that they try to substitute their own goals for the divine *logos*, but they fail miserably. This failure may itself be a result of the universal law they are trying to evade, that is, the logic inherent in the world-order ensures that irrational actions will have unfortunate and detrimental consequences.

The *Hymn to Zeus* therefore conveys the irony that human beings, the very species of creation best equipped to appreciate, understand and

²⁴ The MS reading ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμὲν † ἧχου μίμημα λαχόντες is metrically unacceptable. My interpretation is based on Meineke and Pearson's combined conjectures γενόμεσθα θεοῦ μίμημα. For the interpretation, cf. Musonius Rufus, frg. 17, p. 90.4-6, 13-14 ed. Hense: καθόλου δὲ ἄνθρωπος μίμημα μὲν θεοῦ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων ἐστίν, ἐκείνῳ δὲ παραπλησίας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετάς· . . . οὕτω καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μίμημα τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡγητέον, ὅταν ἔχη κατὰ φύσιν, ὁμοίως ἔχειν . . . ("In general, of all creatures on earth man alone resembles God and has the same virtues that He has. . . . So man, as the image of Him [sc. God], when living in accord with nature, should be thought of as being like Him . . ."; trans. Cora E. Lutz, "Musonius Rufus 'the Roman Socrates,'" *YCS* 10 [1947]: 1-147; slightly adapted). Cf. also Cicero, *Leg.* 1.25: *iam uero uirtus eadem in homine ac deo est, neque alio ullo in gen<ere> praeterea. est autem uirtus nihil aliud, nisi p erfecta e t ad summum p erducta n atura: est i gitur h omini cum deo s imilitudo* ("Moreover, virtue exists in man and God alike, but in no other creature besides; virtue, however, is nothing else than virtue perfected and developed to its highest point; there is therefore a likeness between man and God"; trans. C. W. Keyes in LCL); Arius Didymus ap. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 15.15.5 (*SVF* 2.528, part): κοινωvίαν δ' ὑπάρχειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους [sc. θεοῦς καὶ ἀνθρώπους] διὰ τὸ λόγου μετέχειν, ὅς ἐστι φύσει νόμος ("[Gods and men] are members of a community because of their participation in reason, which is natural law"; trans. A. A. Long and D. N. Sedley, *The Hellenistic Philosophers* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987], frg. 67L3). See further the detailed discussion in Thom, *Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus*, 54-67.

therefore obey the rationality of God's rule, are also the group most inclined to ignore this rationality and to replace it with their own misconceived thinking. Only God can save them from their destructive ignorance and return them to their rightful role in the world-order (vv. 33-39).

Who and what are the bad people? They are not accused of any immoral behaviour; they are rather epistemologically impaired, caught up in their folly and ignorance, unable to follow the logic of God's world-order. Initially, they appear to be a particular group of people, but there is a subtle rhetorical shift from the bad people (vv. 17, 22), to humanity in general that has to be saved from its ignorance (v. 33), to the all-inclusive 'we' who must learn to respond appropriately to the special honour bestowed on humans by praising God (vv. 36-37). All people are therefore in need of God's assistance to achieve their true goal in life which, in the metaphor of the *Hymn*, is continually to sing in the choir praising God's works and the universal law (vv. 37-39),²⁵ or in the more usual Stoic formulation, to live in agreement with nature.²⁶ The *Hymn* thus has a strong universalistic tone: all people share in the same privileges and shortcomings.

3.4. *God and Wisdom*

In Stoicism God as active principle is often identified with the world intellect, with the *logos*, with the universal law, with the fire, with providence, with fate as the nexus of natural events, even with the cosmos as unity itself.²⁷ In the *Hymn to Zeus*, however, Zeus is depicted in more personalist and theistic terms as the god who rules the world with his law and with justice (vv. 2, 35), who leads the cosmos (v. 8), who guides everything with the fiery thunderbolt in his hands (vv. 9-10), who directs the universal *logos* (v. 12), who composed the universe in such a way that the rational order results from it (vv. 20-21).²⁸ Cleanthes' God is distinct from his works and from the rational world-order embodied in his *logos*. As the ultimate form of rationality, this Stoic deity transcends the world structured and ordered by him; he is thus

²⁵ Cf. also Epictetus' use of this metaphor in *Diss.* 1.16.15-16, 18, 20-21.

²⁶ Cf. Cleanthes ap. Stobaeus 2.7.6a (*SVF* 1.552).

²⁷ Cf., e.g., Diogenes Laertius 7.88, 134, 135, 137; also Eduard Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1919-23), 3.1:333-34.

²⁸ For the personalist depiction of Zeus in the *Hymn to Zeus* see Thom, "Doing Justice to Zeus," 8-12, 14-17.

immanent and transcendent at the same time.²⁹ This gives him space to act: he is able to change disorder into order (v. 19) and thus to repair the damage caused by the bad people's folly and to save them from it (v. 33). He is not only the embodiment of wisdom: he makes use of it himself and can help people find it (vv. 34-35).³⁰ The gift of wisdom itself entails the ability to appreciate the divine order that is based on wisdom (vv. 35-37).

To sum up: the main problem addressed in the *Hymn to Zeus* is that human beings in general lack the wisdom to understand their own position and role in the cosmos. Their resulting behaviour not only causes their own lives to be incoherent and aimless; it also disrupts the rational world-order envisaged by God. Only God himself can restore the rational order and grant them the wisdom to lead truly meaningful lives.

4. *Wisdom in the Wisdom of Solomon*

We may now use the preceding analysis of the *Hymn to Zeus* as a lens to focus in on comparable features of the Wisdom of Solomon.

Like the *Hymn*, most of the first half of which is concerned with the praise of God and his rational world-order, a significant portion of the Wisdom of Solomon is devoted to the praise of divine wisdom (most of Wis 6-10). As in the *Hymn*, this encomium is not a goal in itself, but provides the foundation for an exhortation to live wisely.

4.1. *Wisdom and the Cosmos*

Just as the *logos* forms the underlying pattern or backbone of the cosmos in the *Hymn*, so wisdom is described as a spirit (*pneuma*) that fills the world and holds all things together (Wis 1:6-7). Wisdom fashions all things (7:22; 8:6), pervades and penetrates all things (7:24), can do all

²⁹ See Thom, "Doing Justice to Zeus," 14-15. Cf. also G. Verbeke's view that the deity is for Cleanthes both immanent and transcendent (*Kleanthes v an A ssos* [Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren 11/9; Brussels, 1949], 193-94). For the concept in Stoicism in general, see Abraham P. Bos, "Immanenz u. Transzendenz," *RAC* 17 (1996), 1059-60: "Ihre [sc. Stoic philosophy's] Theologie kann mit recht als kosmische Theologie bezeichnet werden. Für irgendeine Form von Transzendenz im Sinne einer höheren Ebene der Wirklichkeit ist darin kein Platz. Sofern Gott aber dem Kosmos gegenüber steht als dessen Urheber u. Lenker, wird er trotzdem manchmal auch als dem Kosmos u. der Materie transzendent dargestellt."

³⁰ Somewhat surprising for a Stoic poem, there is thus a suggestion that divine revelation may complement a natural theology.

things and renews all things (7:27); she stretches throughout the universe and orders all things (8:1). Wisdom thus represents the creative, structuring and sustaining force in the cosmos. Because she is intimately involved in creation, “the fashioner of the things that exist” (8:6)³¹ and the one “who makes all things” (8:5), she knows and understands everything (9:11): from the overall “constitution of the world” (7:17) and the causes of celestial and climatic changes (7:18-19), down to the nature of animals, human beings and plants (7:20). She herself is “an initiate in the knowledge of God” (8:4) and can therefore impart both secret and manifest knowledge (7:21-22). Her teaching covers not only the physical, but also the moral reality, the latter including justice and the other cardinal virtues (8:7), as well as conveying an understanding of historical developments, of human discourse and of interpretation (8:8).

Wisdom therefore mediates between two dialectical pairs: between the structure and knowledge of the cosmos, on the one hand, and between the cosmic and moral orders, on the other. The grounds for her ability to mediate in these regards are not made explicit, apart from the mythological explanation that wisdom is a close associate of God (cf. e.g., 8:3-4). Both sets of mediations seem to be based on the same assumption found in the *Hymn to Zeus*, namely that the rationality underlying the world-order is of the same kind as the rationality shared by humans. Humans can therefore understand the world-order because their faculty of reasoning corresponds to the way the world is structured. Likewise, the cosmic and the moral order share the same rationale, that is, the same *logos* or *sophia*.

4.2. *Human Beings and Wisdom*

In the *Hymn to Zeus*, as we have seen, there is a strong universalistic trend: all human beings share in the faculty of reason and are able to participate in praising God.³² Although the Hymn focuses on the bad people who flee from the universal reason and law, it seems that all

³¹ All translations of the Wisdom of Solomon are taken from the NETS.

³² The tension between the universalism and particularism in the Wisdom of Solomon is one of the contentious issues of interpretation; see Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 43-46; Winston, “Solomon, Wisdom of,” 125-26; Collins, “Natural Theology and Biblical Tradition,” esp. 11-15; Michael Kolarcik, “Universalism and Justice in the Wisdom of Solomon,” in *Treasures of Wisdom: Studies in Ben Sira and the Book of Wisdom* (Festschrift M. Gilbert; ed. N. Calduch-Benages and J. Vermeylen; BETL 143; Leuven: University Press; Uitgeverij Peeters, 1999), 289-301. Because this tension manifests itself especially in the last ‘historical’ part of the book dealing with the Egyptians, which has no parallel in the *Hymn to Zeus*, it will not be discussed here.

people are in need of God's assistance to acquire wisdom. It is possible to deduce from the poem what it means to be wise and good, but such people are not the focus of attention.

In the Wisdom of Solomon a very different approach obtains: here we find a sharp contrast between the foolish (ἄφρονες; 1:3; 3:2) and the wise (σοφοί; 4:17), or in the preferred terminology of this book, between the ungodly (ἄσεβεῖς; cf. 1:9, 16; 3:10; 4:3, 16; etc.) and the righteous (δικαίοι; cf. 2:10, 12; 3:1, 10; 4:7, 16; etc.). The ungodly are characterised both by their misguided reasoning and by their unjust behaviour. Their thoughts are described as perverse, deceitful and foolish (1:3-5); they reason unsoundly (2:1); they despise wisdom and instruction (3:11), and lack understanding (4:15, 17). Like the bad people in the *Hymn to Zeus*, they are ignorant of their own role and position in the world, and of their relationship to God. As a consequence, their lives and behaviour are directed by misguided goals: they live for the pleasures and advantages of the moment (2:1-9); they are focused on marriage, children (3:12-4:6; 13:17), honour (5:4), health (13:18), possessions, prosperity and success (5:8; 13:17-19). All their endeavours come to nothing, however, because they reject wisdom; they are therefore described as miserable (ταλαίπωρος) (3:11), just like the *kakoi* in the *Hymn* (v. 23).

The Wisdom of Solomon goes beyond the *Hymn to Zeus*, however, in explicating in great detail the consequences of the folly of the ungodly. In the *Hymn to Zeus* the folly of the bad people disrupts God's world-order and the coherence of their own lives. In the Wisdom of Solomon folly makes people unable to recognise God in the goodness and beauty of his creation (13:1-9); they therefore worship created things instead (Wis 13-15). Because of their folly, the ungodly also do not recognise the righteous for what they are; they therefore persecute and destroy them (2:10-20; 5:4-5). Finally, their folly means that they do not understand their own possibilities as human beings, so that they miss out on immortality (1:12-15; 2:21-24).

We have seen that in the *Hymn to Zeus* the logic of the justice of the universal law entails a correlation between actions and consequences, so that the foolish behaviour of the *kakoi* wreaks itself on them. Such a fixed relationship between actions and consequences is even more explicit in the Wisdom of Solomon.³³ The ungodly bring death upon

³³ This is a common motif in the wisdom tradition; see Eckhart Otto, "Gerechtigkeit I: Biblisch I. Alter Orient und Altes Testament," *RGG* 3 (2000), 703: "In der Weisheit wird das gemeinschaftsgemäße Tun und das daraus resultierende positive Ergehen sowie die Konkordanz von Tat und Ergehen als G. bez[eichnet]. Der Tun-Ergehens-Zusammenhang

themselves by their erroneous way of life (1:12, 16), and folly brings its own punishment (11:15-16; 12:23), while wisdom protects the righteous and gives them immortality (1:15; 5:15; 8:13, 17; 10:1, 4-6; 15:3). It is indeed built into creation itself that the unrighteous be punished, but those who trust in God be shown kindness (16:24).

The logic of wisdom furthermore entails that it must be sought in order to be found (6:12-20; cf. 1:1-2; 3:9; 8:18).³⁴ This leaves us with the paradox that one has to have a measure of goodness and wisdom in order to become wise (cf. 8:19-20), since the desire for wisdom is itself the first principle of wisdom (6:17). Wisdom herself indeed “goes about seeking those worthy of her” (6:16). This finds its obverse in the *Hymn to Zeus*: the people who flee from God’s *logos* are unable to perceive the universal law (*Hymn to Zeus* vv. 22-24; cf. Wis 10:8). At the same time there appears to be a limit to how far one can advance in wisdom on the basis of one’s own innate ability only: even Solomon, who was naturally gifted, realised that “[he] would not possess wisdom unless God gave her to [him]” (cf. 8:19-21).³⁵ The final resort of those desiring wisdom is therefore prayer.

4.3. *God and Wisdom*

Solomon prays for wisdom, because only God can ultimately grant it (Wis 9). In the metaphor of the book of Wisdom, wisdom is the close associate of God, who sits beside him on his throne (9:4) and has perfect knowledge of God’s works (9:9, 11). Wisdom is of course an aspect of God, often identified with his spirit (*pneuma*) (9:17; cf. 1:4-7). She is described as “a breath of the power of God,” “an emanation of the pure glory of the Almighty” (7:25); “a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the activity of God and an image of his goodness” (7:26).³⁶ The acts of God and wisdom are indeed frequently interchanged throughout

wird durch das soziale Gedächtnis der Gemeinschaft hergestellt. . . . JHWH sorgt dafür, daß so die Taten auf das Haupt des Täters zurückfallen, und greift strafend dort ein, wo sich der Zusammenhang von Tat und Ergehen nicht einstellt”; Josef Scharbert, “Gerechtigkeit I: Altes Testament,” *TRE* 12 (1984), 407-10; Bible in general: Alexandra Grund, “Tun-Ergehens-Zusammenhang I: Biblisch,” *RGG* 8 (2005), 654-56.

³⁴ Cf. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 40-42; Winston, “Solomon, Wisdom of,” 125 (“Pursuing Wisdom”).

³⁵ Cf. Collins, “Natural Theology and Biblical Tradition,” 8; with the comment by Kolarcik, “Universalism and Justice,” 290 n. 4.

³⁶ In these verses God is depicted as a transcendent creator, with Wisdom as an intermediary figure. The background of this idea is Platonic, but also found a place in Middle Stoicism. See Collins, “Natural Theology and Biblical Tradition,” 5. I tried to show above that this view of God is already discernible in the *Hymn to Zeus*.

the book. As is the case with the *logos* or reason in Stoicism, so *sophia* provides a convenient commonality between God and human beings. Because humans have the innate faculty of reasoning and understanding, that is, the capacity for wisdom, they should be able to understand God, the very basis of wisdom, and his world, the manifestation of this wisdom.³⁷ In both our texts, however, human rationality is not enough; it needs the gift of God's wisdom.

5. Conclusion

Despite the differences in time, social location and religio-historical contexts, there is clearly a significant similarity in the way the role of wisdom is conceived between our two texts. This shows that in antiquity notions of wisdom as a mediating figure transcended ideological boundaries, which in turn should make us cautious not to restrict our investigations to just one cultural or ideological context.

³⁷ Cf. Winston, *Wisdom of Solomon*, 38; Winston, "Solomon, Wisdom of," 125.

THE STRANGE WOMAN IN PROVERBS, LXX PROVERBS AND *ASENETH*

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This paper contains two main sections. The first deals with the depiction of the so-called “Strange Woman,” “Woman Wisdom” and “Woman Folly” in Proverbs, and especially the way the LXX translation treats the “Strange Woman” and “Woman Folly.” The second discusses *Joseph and Aseneth*. The connection between the two sections is that *Joseph and Aseneth* is one of the many instances where we find later use of these images, in particular in this case in relation to the depiction of Aseneth as “Strange Woman,” who in the course of the narrative becomes with her seven virgins a reflection of Wisdom herself and her seven-pillared dwelling depicted in Proverbs 9.

1. *Proverbs*

The reader of Proverbs meets the personified figure of Wisdom already in 1:20-33, after the author in Solomon’s persona has warned against bloodshed and greed. “Wisdom cries out in the street, in the squares she raises her voice. At the busiest corner she cries out; at the entrance of the city gates she speaks” (1:20-21).¹ She confronts the simple ones and scoffers for their refusal to listen, warning them that their waywardness will be their death. She makes a reappearance in persona in 8:4-36, similarly described as raising her voice at the crossroads and city gates. There she promises prosperity to the wise, reports her unique role from before creation, promising life. Her third appearance has her build a seven-pillared house, prepare a feast and have her maids invite the simple to the feast (9:1-7). By contrast, “the foolish woman” of 9:13-18 is loud and ignorant, sits at her door or on high places in the town offering forbidden food, luring the ignorant to death and Sheol. Thus, the so-called Woman Folly is the counterpart of Woman Wisdom. As

¹ Translations are taken from the NRSV and NETS, unless I have made modifications, in which case I indicate this with an asterisk.

Wisdom's teaching repertoire is wide, so Folly's enticements may be seen to cover all wickedness.²

The images are not without their precedents. Various goddesses of wisdom may have parented the development of wisdom's personification, here.³ Depicting her as calling out in the public places may be a deliberate reversal of the wayward woman, frequently the prostitute who hits the streets.⁴ We may, indeed, be seeing a complex development where imagery from street women, which generates the Strange Woman, is made also to serve the depiction of Woman Wisdom, who in turn, in 9:13-18, serves to generate her counterpart, Woman Folly, who now follows the stance of Woman Wisdom in calling from her house. The development only works, in relation to both Wisdom ironically and Folly typically, because of concern with the quite concrete phenomenon of the other or strange woman. It is clear as we read Proverbs that this specific concern has not been left behind in such development, but remains prominent in Solomon's advice, not least in the warnings about adulterous women and their husbands, which are too concrete to be dissolved into metaphor.

Thus 2:16-19 already warns against the "strange woman" (מאשה זרה), set in parallel to "the outsider woman⁵ with her smooth words (מנבריה אמריה החליקה) who forsakes the partner of her youth and forgets her sacred covenant"*⁶ and whose ways lead to death.⁷ In 5:3-20 these

² So Claudia V. Camp, "What's so Strange about the Strange Woman?" in *The Bible and the Politics of Exegesis: Essays in Honor of Norman K. Gottwald on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. David Jobling, Peggy L. Day and Gerald T. Sheppard; Cleveland: Pilgrim, 1991) 17-31: "a single figure the greatest evil imaginable..." (27).

³ On the origins of personified wisdom see the discussion in Michael V. Fox, *Proverbs 1 – 9* (AB 18A; New York: Doubleday, 2000), 331-41.

⁴ So Athalya Brenner, *The Israelite Woman: Social Role and Literary Type in Biblical Narrative* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 44; Mark Sneed, "'White Trash' Wisdom: Proverbs 9 Deconstructed," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 7/5 (2007): 2-10, here 7.

⁵ I translate "outsider woman" rather than the interpretive "adulteress" on grounds discussed below and partly to leave open its application.

⁶ Matthew Goff, "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)," *JSJ* 39 (2008): 20-45, notes an allusion to the covenant of marriage in 4QInstr^a/4Q415 2 ii.4. See also William Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in Sectarian and Related Literature at Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, forthcoming, 2009), 300-301. Camp, "What's so Strange?" notes the reversal of initiative compared with Mal 2:14 which also speaks of abandoning one's spouse and one's marriage covenant, but as a male initiative (26).

⁷ As noted by Carol A. Newsom, "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom: A Study of Proverbs 1-9," in *Gender and Difference in Ancient Israel* (ed. Peggy L. Day; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1989), 142-60, the MT of 2:18, which reads ביתה (also preserved in the LXX) and is usually emended on grounds of parallelism to נחבתה ("for her way

warnings are elaborated, where again the strange woman (זרה; 5:3) whose “speech is smoother than oil” (וחלק משמן חכה) is identified as an adulteress (5:20) and her ways as leading to death (5:5). Other dangers include the loss of one’s wealth and possessions to strangers (5:9-10), presumably not foreigners but husbands demanding compensation.⁸ The image of water serves as an exhortation to chastity: “drink water from your own cistern” (5:15) means engage in sexual relations with your own wife. Scattering one’s springs abroad (5:16) is about engaging in sex with others. In 5:18-20 one’s fountain is one’s reproductive organ, blessing indicates offspring, and rejoicing indicates sexual pleasure in fondling your own wife’s breasts in intoxicated passion, not those of another man’s wife.

The theme of the adulteress returns in 6:24, where the commandments can “preserve you from the evil woman (מאשת רע), from the smooth tongue of the outsider woman (מחלקת לשון נכריה)”* (cf. 2:16-17). The cost of doing so and so arousing a husband’s ire receives further attention in 6:24-35 where it far exceeds the mere loaf of bread one might pay for a prostitute so that you can be lucky even to come away with your life (6:26), if you sleep with your neighbour’s wife (אשת רעהו) (6:29). In 7:4-5 the author suggests seeing Wisdom as one’s wise sister, who will help protect one from the strange woman (מאשה זרה), then reports a typical scene of a loud and wayward woman, dressed like a prostitute,⁹ in the street, the squares, the corners, public places, seizing and kissing the pass-by, enticing him to a night of sex while her husband is away, and so snaring him into her house of death (7:6-27). The intrinsic evidence favours taking both זרה and נכריה in these warnings as referring not to ethnicity,¹⁰ or association with foreign cults,¹¹ but sexual impropriety, women outside the licit range.¹²

[rather than “her house”] leads down to death”), may be original and would convey the notion of her house as a devouring womb (148-49).

⁸ So Hilary Lipka, *Sexual Transgression in the Hebrew Bible* (Hebrew Bible Monographs 7; Sheffield: Phoenix, 2006), 157.

⁹ She is therefore not a prostitute. It is possible that she is plying her trade on a temporary basis, as suggested by K. van der Toorn, “Female Prostitution in Payment of Vows in Ancient Israel,” *JBL* 108 (1989): 193-205, here 199. This could make sense if she were poor, as Sneed, “White Trash,” argues (4), but the context indicates otherwise, as Gale A. Yee, *Poor Banished Children of Eve: Women as Evil in the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), notes (156), and makes no mention of payment. Her likeness to a prostitute relates to her intent to seduce. As Goff, “Hellish Women,” observes, זונה need not in itself imply prostitution, but simply a woman acting immorally (27).

¹⁰ Cf. Yee, *Poor Banished Children*, 135, 143, 149, 151, who sees the fear as alienation of Jewish property; similarly Harold C. Washington, “The Strange Woman (אשה זרה/נכריה) on Proverbs 1-9 and Post-Exilic Judaeon Society,” in *A Feminist*

These rich accounts supply detail for the brief description of the woman of foolishness (אִשָּׁת כְּסִילוֹת), when she then arrives in 9:13-18.¹³ Sexual wrongdoing will certainly be part of her repertoire, though juxtaposed to Woman Wisdom she symbolises much more.¹⁴ We have then in Proverbs both a symbolic image of Folly, depicted as a wayward woman, and at the same time specific warnings concerning the dangers which wayward married women pose to young men through adulterous liaisons, a danger also threatening patriarchal society as a whole.¹⁵ The symbolism of Woman Folly still leaves concrete warnings about

Companion to Wisdom Literature (ed. A. Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 157-84; Joseph Blenkinsopp, "The Social Context of the 'Outsider Woman' in Proverbs 1-9," *Biblica* 72 (1991): 457-73, who sees the concern as preventing intermarriage (457, 467).

¹¹ Gustav Boström, *Proverbiestudien: Die Weisheit und das fremde Weib in Spr. 1-9* (Lund: Gleerup, 1935); Richard J. Clifford, *Proverbs* (Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1999), 27. The allusion to sacrifice and paying vows in 7:14 appears best understood as referring to Israel's cult. On this see Camp "What's so Strange?," 21-22.

¹² So Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, who outlines the major alternative views (134-41); Goff, "Hellish Females," 26-27, "not the addressee's wife" (27); Camp, "What's so Strange?" writes: "it is difficult to construe this particular text as representing anything other than an Israelite wife who is faithless to her husband" (26). Bruce K. Waltke, *The Book of Proverbs Chapters 1-15* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) emphasises her negative intent, concluding that she must be seen as more than just an adulteress; she is "a lustful apostate to the godly community" (124).

¹³ So Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 262; R. N. Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs: A Survey of Modern Study* (History of Biblical Interpretation 1; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 141.

¹⁴ Goff, "Hellish Females," rightly notes: "Woman Folly (or foolish woman; אִשָּׁת כְּסִילוֹת), who only appears in Prov 9:13-18, is not exactly the same as the Strange Woman" (28), whose counterpart is the man's wife, whereas folly's counterpart is wisdom. "Unlike the Strange Woman, Woman Folly does not lurk through city streets or lay (sic) in ambush for her victims. She calls out to passers-by and invites them to her house, as does Woman Wisdom (8:5; 9:5; vv. 15-16)" (28). She also makes no explicitly sexual statements except to quote a proverb about stolen bread tasting sweeter (cf. 30:20) (28). On the other hand, as Gale A. Yee, "'I have Perfumed My Bed with Myrrh': The Foreign Woman ('išša zārā) in Proverbs 1-9," in *A Feminist Companion to Wisdom Literature* (ed. A. Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 110-26, shows, and as more than a single hearing would conclude, there is one woman, Woman Folly, who incorporates the Strange Woman, just as there is one Woman Wisdom, who both calls from her house like Woman Folly and walks the streets like the Strange Woman. The concrete danger which the Strange Woman poses is representative of the overall danger posed by Woman Folly, symbolic of all such foolish ways.

¹⁵ On this see Newsom, "Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom," 142-160; and also Gail Corrington Streete, *The Strange Woman: Power and Sex in the Bible* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 105-13; Camp, "What's so Strange?," 26-28.

adulterous women, which help shape it, intact.¹⁶ This is then also how we see Proverbs being heard and interpreted in subsequent generations.

2. *Proverbs LXX*

When we turn to the innovative translation of Proverbs into Greek, we notice that the image of Wisdom in 1:20-21 has been lifted to a higher level of respectability.¹⁷ From simply crying out in the street, raising her voice, crying out on the corner of the top of the walls, and speaking at the city gates, she “sings hymns (or: is feted with hymns)* in the streets” (ἐν ἐξόδοις ὑμνεῖται), “leads frankly” (παρρησίαν ἄγει) in the squares, “proclaims” (or “is proclaimed”)* (κηρύσσεται) “on the top of the walls” (ἐπ’ ἄκρων δὲ τειχέων), “waits” (παρεδρεύει) “at the gates of the powerful” (ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις δυναστῶν) and “speaks boldly” (θαρροῦσα λέγει) “at the gates of the city” (ἐπὶ δὲ πύλαις πόλεως). This renders the image’s origin in the street woman perhaps less visible.

Where 2:16-19 introduces the adulteress, LXX make no mention of her, focusing instead on being removed from “from the straight way” (ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας) and “righteous opinion” (τῆς δικαίας γνώμης) and espousing “bad counsel” (κακὴ βουλή) which forsakes “the teaching of youth and has forgotten the divine covenant” (διδασκαλίαν νεότητος καὶ διαθήκην θείαν ἐπιλελησμένη) – nothing about a strange woman, a smooth-talking outsider woman (מאשה זרה מנכריה) and her marriage covenant, but about “bad counsel,”¹⁸ now not leading to

¹⁶ Thus Claudia V. Camp, “Power, Powerlessness, and the Divine: New Inquiries in Bible and Theology,” in *Woman Wisdom and the Strange Woman* (ed. Cynthia L. Rigby; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), writes of her as “a portrait of idealized evil in its multiple dimensions” (219). Newsom, “Woman and the Discourse of Patriarchal Wisdom,” speaks of a “curious slippage between the literal and the symbolic” (155).

¹⁷ On the issue of the extent to which LXX Proverbs reflects a different Hebrew text or a rather free translation with additions, see Emanuel Tov, “Recensional Differences between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in Emanuel Tov, *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (VTSup 72; Leiden Brill, 1999), 419-32; Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs? Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 29-36; Goff, “Hellish Females,” 22-25.

¹⁸ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, noting that the passage has “nothing to do with sexual issues” (132), suggests that κακὴ βουλή may be an allusion to the “evil inclination” (יצר הרע), which he then argues is best understood as a reference to foreign wisdom (137). See also Johann Cook, “אשה זרה (Proverbs 1-9 Septuagint): A Metaphor for Foreign Wisdom?” *ZAW* 106 (1994): 458-76, here 464-65. Against this Goff, “Hellish Females,” notes יצר הרע normally denotes an inner disposition and nothing in the passage suggests the counsel is foreign (30). He concludes: “The LXX translator presumably understood her core value not as representing a real and wicked woman but in her function

death, but housed beside it and Hades.¹⁹ The author has clearly understood the image symbolically and chosen to represent what it symbolises in his translation, dropping the image itself.

The warning against the adulterous woman in 5:3-20 has also been significantly rewritten. In 5:3 the LXX warns against “a worthless woman” (φάυλη γυναικί), not a “strange woman” (הרה), identifying her as a “prostituting woman, who for a period pleases your palate” (γυναικὸς πόρνῃς ἢ πρὸς καιρὸν λιπαίνει σὸν φάρυγγα), having no equivalent in the Hebrew text. LXX probably intends a specific warning, here about immoral women,²⁰ but then reverts to the abstract in 5:5, where it renders “her feet” by “the feet of folly” (τῆς γὰρ ἀφροσύνης οἱ πόδες). This probably turns the warning in 5:8 about keeping away from the adulterous woman into a warning about folly: “Make your way far from her; do not go near the doors of her houses” (μακρὰν ποιήσον ἀπ’ αὐτῆς σὴν ὁδὸν μὴ ἐγγίσης πρὸς θύραις οἴκων αὐτῆς), the plural better suited to the abstract notion of “folly.”²¹ In the image of water which follows (5:15-16) it appears that LXX does not envisage a reference to chastity and promiscuity. Now the son is to drink from his own vessels (plural, so not his wife) (πῖνε ὕδατα ἀπὸ σῶν ἀγγείων καὶ ἀπὸ σῶν φρεάτων πηγῆς) and not to keep his well water to himself but share it with others (μὴ ὑπερεκχείσθω σοι τὰ ὕδατα ἐκ τῆς σῆς πηγῆς εἰς δὲ σὰς πλατείας διαπορευέσθω τὰ σὰ ὕδατα), the opposite of what it meant in the original metaphor! LXX deletes the allusion to one’s penis as a fountain, replacing it with: “Let your well of water be solely your own” (ἡ πηγὴ σου τοῦ ὕδατος ἔστω σοι ἰδία; cf. יהי מקורך ברוך (5:18), but then retains reference to one’s wife (5:18), neatly rendered by Cook: “the fawn of your love and the foal of your favors” (5:19), and in whose love one is to indulge, but gone are the references to breasts and intoxication. The erotic has been minimised.

as a symbol for ideas and attitudes that are immoral” (31). See also Fox, *Proverbs 1 – 9*, 376.

¹⁹ So Goff, “Hellish Females,” 30, who sees in the relocation a mythologising of the figure (32). Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, notes that the Greek of 2:18 uses μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν to describe the location of “bad counsel,” which could mean “with the shades”, as he translates in NETS or “with the giants,” based on a possible meaning of ואל רפאים (140-41). This might be an allusion to the Watcher myth or to Greek notions of Tartarus. See also Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 375.

²⁰ Like its Hebrew equivalent, זונה, πόρνη is best understood in a broad sense of any immoral woman, rather than narrowed to prostitution. On this see Goff, “Hellish Females,” 39 n. 61.

²¹ So also Goff, “Hellish Females,” 31. But see Fox, who suggests it refers to “a residential complex,” noting a similar plural in 7:8 (*Proverbs 1 – 9*, 390) and 31:27 (404), in both of which it is literal.

Warnings not to be intoxicated with another woman or embrace the bosom of an adulteress (5:20) become simply: “Do not be for long with a strange woman, nor be held in the arms of someone not your own” (μη πολὺς ἴσθι πρὸς ἀλλοτριαν μηδὲ συνέχου ἀγκάλαις τῆς μη ἰδίας). In this passage we find further evidence that the translator is reading the image symbolically, but here he appears also to retain the concern about the concrete dangers of the strange woman, but moving freely between the woman and the broader danger she represents though still embodies. As Goff notes, “In this chapter descriptions of a promiscuous female are side by side with a depiction of her as personified folly.”²²

In 6:24-35 the translator reproduces the warnings against adultery with minimal change, probably because they did not lend themselves easily to symbolic treatment. The warnings about the offended husband’s vengeance best suit a literal, not a symbolic interpretation. Thus the section begins by warning that adultery is likely to cost far more than the loaf of bread which you pay for a prostitute, and ends with the outraged husband, who will not be bought off with a bribe on the day of reckoning (6:27-35).²³ There are, nevertheless, some minor changes. In 6:24 the words “from the evil woman, the smooth tongue of the outsider woman” (היה רע מלשון נכריה) become “from a married woman and from the slander of a strange tongue” (ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ὑπάνδρου²⁴ καὶ ἀπὸ διαβολῆς²⁵ γλώσσης ἀλλοτρίας).

The change to ἀπὸ διαβολῆς γλώσσης ἀλλοτρίας (“slander of a strange tongue”) may indicate that the translator is using ἀλλότριος to indicate “foreign” and so might have understood הרי similarly. At a literal level, which the immediate context with its emphasis on the husband’s response assumes, the translator would have envisaged adulterous relations with foreign women, possibly acting as prostitutes. If so, then the reference to slander might well refer to slander coming from the husband (perhaps even from the foreign community). This makes better sense than to envisage the woman herself engaging in the slander. Alternatively one could understand ἀλλότριος as meaning what it meant in 5:20, where it simply refers to a woman “not your own” (τῆς μη

²² Goff, “Hellish Females,” 31.

²³ There is no need to see in ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως a reference to eschatological judgement. So Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 402.

²⁴ Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, attributes the change to the translator’s noting that the woman is married according to 6:29 (186). He sees her foreignness as in 2:17 as indicative of her having lost touch with her tradition, but here as having become a total stranger (186). On the likely reading by the translator of רע in 6:24 as referring not to evil but to neighbour see Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 401.

²⁵ Goff, “Hellish Females,” notes that, despite the reference to honey dripping lips in 5:3, LXX tends to mute the woman’s seductive smooth talking (cf. 2:16; 7:5, 21) (39).

ιδί(ας), since they belong to another husband, similarly in chapter 7,²⁶ rather than because they are foreigners. Ἀπὸ διαβολῆς γλώσσης ἀλλοτριᾶς (“slander of a strange tongue”) could simply refer to their verbal pitch not their language, but it would still not be clear why we would have a reference here to slander. On balance, an allusion to foreign language may well be the author’s intention here.²⁷ Reference to foreign language might indicate that the author also has a symbolic intent, namely foreign wisdom, as Cook suggests, though this would be in addition to the obvious literal concern about actual adultery and the dangers of the outraged, probably foreign, husband.²⁸

The translation rewrites 6:25 to emphasise the danger of being overcome, supplemented with a reference to being captivated not just by her eyelashes, as in the original, but also through one’s own eyes, typical in warnings against sexual wrongdoing.²⁹ Then instead of contrasting payment to a prostitute with paying with one’s life for adultery in 6:26b, LXX replaces the latter with: “a men’s lady hunts for precious souls” (γυνὴ δὲ ἀνδρῶν τιμίας ψυχὰς ἀγρεύει). Except for the possible allusion to foreign wisdom, which is tenuous, the translator does not appear to have dealt with the warnings about the dangers of adultery, especially from the offended husband, in anything other than a literal sense, but has probably adjusted them by adding a reference to the possibility of slander from foreigners.

In the following chapter LXX retains the allusion to making Wisdom one’s sister (7:4), but less directly (εἶπον τὴν σοφίαν σὴν ἀδελφὴν εἶναι “Say that wisdom is your sister”; cf. אמר לחכמה אחתי את “Say to wisdom, ‘You are my sister’”), and then transforms 7:6-9 from the author spying what foolish young men do, to the “strange and sinful woman” peeping out onto the streets “from a window out of her house” at a young man and then in 7:10 going to meet him. To the comment that she looked like a prostitute, it adds the words: “who causes the hearts of young men to flutter” (7:10). Instead of “loud and wayward,” “she is excited and debauched” (ἀνεπτειρωμένη δὲ ἐστὶν καὶ ἄσωτος). Her pitch (7:13-20) is much as in the Hebrew, but with fewer spices, as is the

²⁶ Goff, “Hellish Females,” notes that the image in Proverbs 7 makes no mention of ethnic background but is explicit about her being married (40). Cf. Cook, “אשה זרה,” 466.

²⁷ Cf. Goff, “Hellish Females,” 40.

²⁸ Cook, “אשה זרה,” 466.

²⁹ μὴ σε νικήσῃ κάλλους ἐπιθυμία μηδὲ ἀγρευθῆς σοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς μηδὲ συναρπασθῆς ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῆς βλεφάρων (“Do not let desire for her beauty overcome you nor be captivated by your eyes nor be captured by her eyelashes”)*; cf. אל תחמד פייה אל תחמד פייה ואל תקחך בעפעפייה בלבבך (“Do not desire her beauty in your heart, and do not let her capture you with her eyelashes”). Cf. NETS, which translates: “Let not her desire for beauty conquer you.”

account of his entrapment (7:21-23) and the final exhortation (7:24-27).³⁰ In 7:18 LXX renders בַּאֲהָבָה נִתְעַלְסָה (“let us delight ourselves with love”) with ἐγκυλισθῶμεν ἔρωτι (“let us embrace in love”), which could also mean: “Let us roll ourselves in love,”* significantly more suggestive. There are no indications here of a symbolic reading on the part of the translator. The focus remains on the concrete danger which the woman presents rather than the abstract danger she can also represent.³¹

In its rendering of the passage about Woman Folly in 9:13-18, LXX has transformed the text, including by additions which frame the image.³² Thus 9:12 now has the addition:

(a) ὃς ἐρείδεται ἐπὶ ψεύδεσιν, οὗτος ποιμανεῖ ἀνέμους

ὁ δ' αὐτὸς διώξεται ὄρνεα πετόμενα

(b) ἀπέλιπεν γὰρ ὁδὸς τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἀμπελῶνος

τοὺς δὲ ἄξονας τοῦ ἰδίου γεωργίου πεπλάνηται

(c) διαπορεύεται δὲ δι' ἀνύδρου ἐρήμου

καὶ γῆν διατεταγμένην ἐν διψώδεσιν

συνάγει δὲ χερσὶν ἀκαρπῖαν

(a) He who supports himself with lies will as well herd winds,
and the same person will pursue flying birds,

(b) for he has forsaken the ways of his vineyard
and has caused the axles on his own farm to go astray.

(c) Yes, he travels through an arid wilderness
and a land destined for drought,

and gathers barrenness with his hands. (9:12a-c)

The imagery depicts adultery: its inevitable lies,³³ its chasing birds, its abandonment of one's own vineyard,³⁴ its destabilising one's household,

³⁰ In 7:27 the author translates מוֹת חַדְרֵי אֵל בֵּיתָה יִרְדּוּת (“Her house is the way to Sheol, going down to the chambers of death”) as ὁδοὶ ἄδου ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς κατὰγουσαι εἰς τὰ ταμίεια τοῦ θανάτου (“Roads of Hades are her house leading down to the chambers of death”).

³¹ So also Goff, “Hellish Females,” 36. He notes that in 7:18 both the Hebrew and the Greek, in particular, “depict the woman as an unapologetically erotic figure” (36 n. 60).

³² Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, sees 12ab as having existed in Hebrew, but c and 18a-d as additions (419-20); but see the critical assessment in Johann Cook, “The Text-Critical Value of the Septuagint of Proverbs,” in *Seeking Out the Wisdom of the Ancients: Essays Offered to Honor Michael V. Fox on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (ed. Ronald L. Troxel, Kelvin G. Friebel and Dennis R. Magary; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 407-19, here 414-16; Tov, *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, who sees 12a and b as “innertranslational pluses” (423).

³³ Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, suggests that it refers to “foreign doctrines and beliefs,” as (420); similarly Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 271.

and its threat to future generations. The supplements to 9:18b continue the warning against the foolish woman:

- (a) ἀλλὰ ἀποπήδησον μὴ ἐγχρονίσῃς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
μηδὲ ἐπιστήσῃς τὸ σὸν ὄμμα πρὸς αὐτήν
(b) οὕτως γὰρ διαβήσῃς ὕδωρ ἀλλότριον καὶ ὑπερβήσῃς
ποταμὸν ἀλλότριον
(c) ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου
καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίης
(d) ἵνα πολὺν ζήτησῃς χρόνον
προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς
(a) On the contrary; run away; do not linger in the place;
Neither fix your eye upon her,
(b) for so you will cross strange water and pass through a strange
river.
(c) However, abstain from strange water,
and do not drink from a strange well,
(d) that you may live for a long time
and years of life may be added to you. (9:18a-d)

The additions in 9:18 call the hearer to run away, not linger, nor fix one's eyes on the woman, probably an allusion to Lot's wife and the destruction of Sodom (Gen 19:26),³⁵ with the warning: "for so you will cross strange water and pass through a strange river," probably an allusion to the river Styx,³⁶ a variation on the translator's mythologising about death (2:18; 5:5; 7:27).³⁷ The allusion to Sodom and Gomorrah probably implies an allusion to sexual sin. It then adds: "However, abstain from strange water, and do not drink from a strange well, that you may live for a long time and years of life may be added to you" (ἀπὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου ἀπόσχου καὶ ἀπὸ πηγῆς ἀλλοτρίας μὴ πίης ἵνα πολὺν ζήτησῃς χρόνον προστεθῇ δέ σοι ἔτη ζωῆς). This picks up 5:15, which in Hebrew enjoins chastity: "Drink water from your own cistern, flowing water from your own well" (*תּוּבַת מִים מִבוֹרַיךְ וְנוֹלֵם בַּבַּיִת*); cf. LXX *πίνε ὕδατα ἀπὸ σῶν ἀγγείων καὶ ἀπὸ σῶν φρεάτων πηγῆς* "Drink water from your own vessels and the from the

³⁴ Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, notes the use of vineyard as a reference to one's own wife (Cant 1:6; 8:11; Isa 5:1) (420).

³⁵ So Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 284.

³⁶ So also Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 284.

³⁷ On the translator's mythologising of death see Goff, "Hellish Females," 32. "Proverbs 9:18 can be understood as a poetic elaboration of 2:18, 5:5 and 7:27, which state that the strange Woman leads me to Sheol" (35).

cisterns of your well”).³⁸ The additions thus frame the account of Woman Folly with a reinforcement of the dangers of adultery.

The invitation and consequences depicted in 9:13-18 are much the same as in Hebrew with slight variations of order. Instead of speaking of a “foolish woman” who is “loud” and “ignorant,” LXX renders: “a foolish and audacious woman who knows no shame comes in need of a morsel of food” (γυνή ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα ἐνδεῆς ψωμοῦ γίνεταί ἢ οὐκ ἐπίσταται αἰσχύνῃν). This addition about her seeking food fits the image of a desperate woman plying prostitution for food, recalling the prostitute’s meagre pay in 6:26 (ἐνὸς ἄρτου). The frame of 9:12a-c and 18a-d implies she is married.

Thus both the translation of 9:13-18 and the additions within it and at either end of it enhance the image of the woman as an adulteress, now depicted as engaging in prostitution. However as a counterpart of Woman Wisdom, closely linked to the Law by the addition in 9:10a (τὸ γὰρ γνῶναι νόμον διανοίας ἐστὶν ἀγαθῆς “For to know the Law is the sign of a sound mind”),³⁹ Woman Folly also functions as a symbol, representing folly and wickedness, understood as transgression of Torah. Goff is even more specific seeing her as representing “Gentile ways of life that Jews should not wholly adopt.”⁴⁰ With Fox he therefore interprets the imagery of entering strange water and passing through a strange river in the additions of 9:18 as an allusion to living in the Diaspora,⁴¹ rejecting Cook’s suggestion of an allusion to Styx,⁴² because, as he argues, the reference would then be to death which would make little sense in the symbolism.⁴³ Precisely because of the reference to death, I think Cook’s suggestion makes better sense of the imagery. To

³⁸ Goff, “Hellish Females,” notes this as a possibility but does not embrace it (43).

³⁹ So Goff, “Hellish Females,” 43-44; see also Johann Cook, “‘Theological / Ideological’ *Tendenz* in the Septuagint – LXX Proverbs: A Case Study,” in *Interpreting Translation: Studies of the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETL 191; ed. F. Garcia-Martinez and M. Vervenne; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 65-79, 75-76, who draws attention also to the expansion in 28:4 which depicts Law as a fence, as in *Arist* 139 (75-76).

⁴⁰ Goff, “Hellish Women,” 44. See also Fox, *Proverbs 1 – 9*, 423.

⁴¹ Fox, *Proverbs 1 -9*, writes: “The ‘strange water/river’ must represent foreign cultures, not foreign woman (in spite of the woman/water metaphor in 5:15-18), for the author would not wish the reader to ‘pass through’ or ‘cross over’ the woman in question” (422). His chief argument against Cook’s identification of these with foreign philosophies is a similarly literal interpretation of the image: one could avoid these without having to pass through them (422). The interpretation proposed above presumes a double use of “strange water” for both the woman and that to which she leads and with which she is identified, namely death.

⁴² Cook, *Septuagint of Proverbs*, 284; Cook, “זרה אשה,” 474.

⁴³ Fox, *Proverbs 1-9*, 422.

follow this woman, both literally, and in terms of the lawlessness she symbolises, is to follow the path to death.

Cook, however, agreeing with a suggestion of Martin Hengel, takes Woman Folly along with the earlier references to the strange woman as alluding solely to the dangers of foreign philosophy, writing: "As a matter of fact, the ladies mentioned in Prov 2:16-19; 5:1-11; and 15-23; 6:20-35; 7 and 9 are all metaphors for the foreign wisdom, ... namely Greek philosophy of the kind encountered in the Hellenistic period."⁴⁴ This might have more weight if there were evidence of using and targeting particular philosophical concepts and ideas, but this is not evident. The probable allusion to Styx suggests, on the contrary, a willingness to embrace some elements of Hellenistic culture, though Cook has shown that such influence is minimal.⁴⁵

Between the options of either arguing that the reference is solely literal or solely symbolic in the LXX of 9:12-18 is the more likely option that the image functions at both levels. The LXX's addition of reference to the woman coming in need of a morsel of food (9:13b) seems to imply something concrete, namely a woman engaging in prostitution, echoing 6:16. This implied allusion matches earlier changes which bring prostitution more into focus (5:3; 7:10). Whereas the Hebrew notes prostitution but primarily addresses the danger of adulteresses, LXX includes acts of prostitution in its depiction of the adulteress as the prime exhibit of danger and wickedness. On the other hand, the juxtaposition to Woman Wisdom clearly intimates a symbolic meaning as well. It makes best sense to see the woman as both a symbol and as a concrete instance of what she symbolises. In this way justice can be done both to the literal and to the symbolic elements. She is an instance of the lawlessness she represents.

This relates in turn to the way the previous passages are to be understood. Here caution must be exercised in assessing what might have been a translator's intent, so far as that is ever recoverable. We cannot assume, for instance, that a translator operated with a uniform understanding. This means, on the one hand, that the clearly symbolic treatment in 2:16-19, which is also evident in part in 5:3-20, cannot be automatically assumed as the translator's reading of 6:24-35 with its very concrete warnings about vengeful husbands and probable slander from foreigners as the rewards of adultery or of 7:4-27 with its detailed image

⁴⁴ Cook, *Se ptuagint of P roverbs*, 285; similarly 138; Cook, "אשה זרה," 469; cf. Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (2 vols; London: SCM, 1973), 1:281.

⁴⁵ See his contribution to the current volume.

of seduction leading to death.⁴⁶ Nor, on the other hand, should such concrete warnings be taken as a basis for arguing a concrete meaning in every other instance. To see the concern as being with behaviour contrary to Torah (whether in relation to foreigners or not) of which the woman is a concrete instance, both enables one to hold the symbolic and literal reading together and makes good sense of the texts. While one might argue that those passages which deal with the concrete dangers of adultery might have been translated with little regard for their content, the additions elsewhere about prostitution make it much more likely that the translator would not have ignored such dangers.

At one level, making claims about what a translator might or might not have intended remains highly speculative. At another, the dangers posed by the fact that men married in their late twenties would have made such warnings always pertinent. It is also noteworthy, as discussed below, that those who later used Proverbs, both the original and the LXX translation, when drawing on such passages, retained their literal warnings, usually beside the symbolic meaning, and so treated the strange woman and woman of folly both as an instance and as a symbol of disregard of Torah, and not for instance as purely symbolic, whether of foreign philosophy or another such danger.

Thus while the translator at some points renders warnings about the adulterous woman (2:16-19) in ways that transform them into an abstract warning about folly, consistent with the image of Woman Folly, he still retains the specific warning about adulteresses in 6:24-35 and 7:1-27, and in a new framing of 9:13-18 shows the close relationship between the woman as both symbolic representative and specific instance. Generally, references to dangerous passions remain, a fire that can burn, but positive descriptions of sexual intimacy are more demure: breasts and intoxication do not make the cut. The translator seems more happy to reproduce details of danger.

Beyond Proverbs 1-9 the translator sometimes removes references to “the strange woman” altogether, as from 22:14 where (lit.) “The mouth of a strange woman is a deep pit” (שוחה עמקה פי זרות) becomes: “The mouth of the transgressor is a deep hole” (βόθρος βαθὺς στόμα παρὰ νόμου),⁴⁷ or can add new ones, as in 23:33, where עיניך יראו זרות

⁴⁶ On the issue of whether Proverbs may indeed employ Hellenistic philosophical ideas, see Goff, “Hellish Females,” 42-43.

⁴⁷ Similarly in 23:27-28 the reference to the prostitute is transformed into a statement about strange houses and wells: πίθος γὰρ τετραγμένως ἐστὶν ἀλλότριος οἶκος, καὶ φρέαρ στενὸν ἀλλότριον (“For a pierced cask is a strange house, and a strange well is narrow”); cf. בִּי שוּחָה עִמְקָה זֹנָה וּבְאֵר צָרָה נְכִרִיָּה (“For a prostitute is a deep pit; an outsider woman is a narrow well”)*, and applied to “the transgressor” (παῖς παρὰ νόμου). Greek

ותבך ידבר תהפכות (“Your eyes will see strange things, and your mind utter perverse things”) becomes οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὅταν ἴδωσιν ἄλλοτριάν τὸ στόμα σου τότε λαλήσει σκολιά (“When your eyes see a strange woman, then your mouth will speak perversely”), indicating that the specific remains a concern.

3. The “Strange Woman” in *Joseph and Aseneth*

The Strange Woman of Proverbs has an afterlife. In the writing of Ben Sira and in his grandson’s Greek translation of it she remains the immoral woman without a symbolic superstructure.⁴⁸ In 4Q184 *The Wiles of the Wicked Woman* she also remains the immoral woman, representative of the evils of sexual wrongdoing, because of which, it claims, some sought to alter the statutes (1.25). Sexual wrongdoing featured significantly in documents of conflict apparently emanating from the early days of what probably became the Essene movement.⁴⁹ Of these the *Damascus Document* draws on Proverbs’ exhortations to introduce its exposé of Israel’s history as a litany of sexual wrongdoing.⁵⁰

Further afield we find *Joseph and Aseneth* where the Strange Woman of Proverbs walks again. The work, first thought to be a third- or fourth-century Christian composition, is now widely regarded on good grounds

retains references to prostitutes in 29:3 and 30:20, but 30:19 changes “the way of a man with a girl” (ודרך גבר בעלמה) into “the ways of a man in his youth” (καὶ ὁδοὺς ἀνδρὸς ἐν νεότητι). See also 31:3, which changes giving one’s strength to giving one’s wealth to women.

⁴⁸ See my paper, “‘Proverbs’ ‘Strange Woman’ in the Septuagint and Ben Sira,” presented at the Septuaginta Deutsch conference in Wuppertal, 2008, to be published in the conference proceedings.

⁴⁹ On this see Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 326-40; also Goff, “Hellish Women,” 32-39.

⁵⁰ This work cites Prov 7:24 “Now, my children listen to me” in 2.14, with echoes also in 1.1 and 2.2. Perhaps already raising sexual issues in its reference to those who choose the fair neck, its first named sin (1.18-19), the work follows the citation of Prov 7:24 with an exposition of Israel’s history in 2.14 – 3.12a as a litany of sexual wrongdoing, from the Watchers to the monarchy. It rails against those teachers who in response to such sexual enticements shift the boundaries (of the Law), playing on the similarity between חֵיק “boundary” and חֵיק “statute” (4.12; cf. also 1.16; 5.20; 19.16; 20.20) and so revile “the statutes of God’s covenant, saying, ‘They are not certain’” (CD 5.12). The opposition group identified as scoffers who dispute laws (20.11), who follow the scoffer (1.14), are seekers of smooth things (also an echo of Proverbs), who seek to change the Law (CD 1.18).

as being Jewish.⁵¹ Its distinctive features of heavenly transformations, meals that mediate eternal life, and honeycomb symbolism, belong as much to the earlier as the later period. The motifs of conversion and intermarriage and its image of relatively peaceful coexistence with Egyptians suggest a date prior to the measures of Trajan (117 C.E.) and Hadrian (135 C.E.)⁵² and possibly the revolts of 38 C.E., and perhaps earlier still since no hints of Rome appear, so that we are most probably dealing with a work from the late first century B.C.E. or the early first century C.E.⁵³ Written in Greek it comes to us in a longer and shorter recension which most see as an abridgement,⁵⁴ but the material which concerns us is shared by both.

The issue of intermarriage is evident throughout, its context suggested by the author's use of *Jubilees* and apparent knowledge of literature associated with Levi which reports his visions, such as we know in the *Aramaic Levi Document*.⁵⁵ This is more significant for the work than has been recognised thus far, since in both Levi is depicted as the champion of those who oppose intermarriage to Gentiles, including proselytes, and both suppress Jacob's negative comments about his vengeance on the Shechemites (cf. Gen 34:30; 49:5-7). The work appears to be written as a response to this hardline position, which is associated particularly with Levi and priestly heroes like Phinehas. Thus in *ALD* 3a / 4Q213a/4QLevi^b ar 3-4; and *Jub.* 30:5-23 we find priestly provisions against intermarriage (Lev 21:9; cf. also 16:21) have applied

⁵¹ On earlier attempts to link Aseneth with the Essenes or the Therapeutae, see Randall D. Chesnut, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Meal Formula in *Joseph and Aseneth*: From Qumran Fever to Qumran Light," in *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Princeton Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Volume 2: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2006), 397-425, who concludes that "the persistent claims of kinship between *Joseph and Aseneth* and the Essenes or Therapeutae emanate more from Qumran fever than from compelling evidence" (409).

⁵² So Oegema, "Joseph und Aseneth," 101; John J. Collins, "*Joseph and Aseneth*: Jewish or Christian?," *JSP* 14 (2005): 97-112, 109.

⁵³ So Gerbern S. Oegema, "Joseph und Aseneth (JSHRZ II/4)," in *Einführung zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit: Unterweisung in erzählender Form* (JSHRZ 6.1.2; ed. Gerbern S. Oegema; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2005), 97-114, 100-101.

⁵⁴ See the discussion in Christoph Burchard with Carsten Burfeind and Uta Barbara Fink, *Joseph und Aseneth* (PVTG 5; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 39-46. I use this as the text edition and Burchard's translation based on it in *OTP* 2.202-47. I indicate modified translation with an asterisk.

⁵⁵ On this see William Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees on Sexuality: Attitudes towards Sexuality in the Early Enoch Literature, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Book of Jubilees* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 91-94, 100-104 (*ALD*); 155-96 (*Jubilees*).

to the priestly people as a whole (*Jub.* 16:15-19; 33:20; cf. *Exod* 19:6).⁵⁶ This stance is relatively widely attested in such documents as *4QMMT* (B 8-9, 39-49, 75-82; C 4-8),⁵⁷ so-called *Pseudo-Philo* (9:5; 18:13-14; 21:1; 30:1; 44:7; 45:3), and probably Addition C of *Esther*, where she claims not only to abhor the bed of “the uncircumcised” but also “of any alien” (παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου).⁵⁸ A loophole in such hardliners’ argument, however, is Joseph’s marriage to *Aseneth* (*Gen* 41:45), which even *Jubilees* includes, but without comment.⁵⁹ *Aseneth* exploits it playfully to defend marriage to Gentile women who become proselytes.⁶⁰

We find fairytale features throughout, typical of Hellenistic romances.⁶¹ *Aseneth* is the most beautiful woman on earth, a virgin upon whom no man has ever set eyes, having a bed on which no one else has sat, attended by seven virgins equally unseen and untouched, all having the same birthday, living together in a tower of ten chambers (1:4; 2:2-6, 9). The men of Egypt and not least Pharaoh’s firstborn all want her, but she despises men. Pharaoh admonishes his son for wanting someone beneath him (1:6-9). The issue of appropriate marriage is well on the agenda. She has additional saving features for the Jewish audience and its concerns: she looks more like an Israelite than an Egyptian and is compared to the great beauties of their times, Sarah, Rebecca and Rachel (1:5). This makes her just one little bit more acceptable to become Joseph’s wife. The marriage theme comes more directly into focus when, having welcomed her parents back from the harvest, *Aseneth* hears her father’s proposal that she marry the mighty man of God, Joseph, who is about to make a visit (3:5 – 4:8). We reach this point in the narrative having been told of *Aseneth*’s courtyard being full of fruiting trees, springs, and big cisterns (1:10-12), part of the author’s suggestive erotic playfulness.

Here we find our first echo of Proverbs’ strange woman, but in an exchange rich in irony. *Aseneth* is appalled at her father’s proposal, to hand her over “like a captive” to a man who is “an alien (ἀνδρὶ

⁵⁶ On this see Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 91-94, 165-75.

⁵⁷ Loader, *Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 53-90.

⁵⁸ See also *Tob* 1:9; 4:12-13; 1 *Macc* 1:11-15; 2 *Macc* 14:3, 37-38; 2 *Bar* 42:4-5; 48:22-24; cf. 41:3-4; *T. Job* 45:1-3; *Ps. Sol.* 17:28.

⁵⁹ On the possible pro-Egyptian stance of *Jubilees* as partly explaining the anomaly see Loader, *Enoch, Levi, and Jubilees*, 292-93.

⁶⁰ A similarly tolerant stance appears to be assumed in *Theodotus* 5-6, according to which Jacob is apparently genuine in offering marriage on the basis of the Shechemites’ being circumcised (similarly *T. Levi* 6:3).

⁶¹ See Oegema, “Joseph und Aseneth,” who sees it as most comparable to “Amor and Psyche” (*Apul. Metam.* 4:28–6:24), but also similar to Ruth, Esther, Tobit, and Judith (97-98); Burchard, *OTP*, 2.183-85; Humphrey, *Joseph and Aseneth*, 39-40.

ἀλλοφύλω),⁶² and a fugitive (φυγάδι), and (was) sold (as a slave) (πεπραμένω) ... a shepherd's son from the land of Canaan, and he himself was caught in the act (when he was) sleeping with the female head of the household"* (κοιμώμενος μετὰ τῆς κυρίας αὐτοῦ) and released from the darkness of prison when, like old women, he interpreted dreams (4:9-10). Her preference is to marry "a king's firstborn son" (4:11) – indeed she will! Her stance is a hard-line one: no marrying foreigners! They are immoral! In the initial description the author had already identified a flaw in her character, her arrogance (2:1), and here repeats it (4:12). It is also the implied flaw of all such hardliners.

She storms upstairs to her room full of idols only to catch sight of Joseph's arrival depicted like the sun-god coming now to Heliopolis, sun-city (5:2-7). She immediately falls in love at first sight, repents of her arrogant disdain and wants to marry him and serve him forever (6:1-8). Having greeted Pentephres her father, and ensured he had a table separate from the Egyptians, a nice touch reversing Genesis (43:32), Joseph looks up, sees her and wants her banned because, the author tells us, all the wives and daughters of Egypt were constantly pestering him wanting to sleep with him (7:1-3). This is entertainment, but with serious intent, for these are "strange women." The author reminds us how Joseph remains a virgin. Joseph remembers his father Jacob's words (7:4), reported as:

Φυλάξασθε τέκνα μου ἰσχυρῶς⁶³ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας τοῦ κοινωνῆσαι αὐτῇ. ἢ γὰρ κοινωνία αὐτῆς ἀπωλεία ἐστί καὶ διαφθορά.

My children, guard strongly against associating with a strange woman, for association (with) her is destruction and corruption. (7:5)

This alludes to the story of his resisting Potiphar's wife in *Jub.* 39:7, but fills it with familiar content from Proverbs (cf. ἵνα σε τηρήσῃ ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας "so that she may keep you from the strange and sinful woman"; 5:5; cf. also 6:24; 7:5, 16-17, 27; 9:18). As Kraemer notes, for its account the author assumes "the underlying framework of the traditions in Proverbs."⁶⁴ The author applies those traditions with

⁶² Possibly ἀλλογενεῖ. See Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth*, 373.

⁶³ Possibly ἀσφαλῶς. On this see Burchard, *Joseph und Aseneth*, 374.

⁶⁴ Ross Shepard Kraemer, *When Joseph Met Aseneth: A Late Antique Tale of the Biblical Patriarch and His Egyptian Wife, Reconsidered* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 25. She argues that Prov 7:5 LXX, which merges the two figures of its Hebrew original into one, and depicts the woman as "strange/foreign" and "sinful",

subtlety. Thus Pentephres protests that she is not a “strange woman,” but his daughter and, as a fellow virgin, Joseph’s sister (7:7). Unlike the hardliners, he takes “strange woman” only to mean women wanting illicit sex. Joseph apparently falls for the argument that virginity makes them kin (7:8), but when Aseneth appears and is told to greet him with a kiss (8:4), Joseph placed his hand between her breasts, which, the entertainer tells us, promptly stood up like apples (8:5), pushes her away and declares that to kiss a strange woman (φιλησαι γυναικι ἄλλοτριαν) who worships idols or for a woman to do the same is an abomination (8:5-7). So here is another definition; the strange woman may be moral, but her idolatry is what defiles, though usually the two go together.

To cut a long story short, Aseneth is devastated (8:8). Joseph is moved (8:9), compassion being a core value for the author, and prays for her conversion (8:9). Seven days of “over-the-top” repentance follow: clothes, idols, food flung from windows, sackcloth and ashes gathered in the skin removed from her entrance, a symbol of first intercourse, mixed on the floor with tears making mud, followed by three sorry songs for good measure (9–13), including the confession that like the strange woman of Prov 9:13 she has been ἄφρων καὶ θρασεῖα (“foolish and arrogant”). This playful but serious account of the process of her conversion is followed by an encounter in her inmost chamber with a Joseph-like man from heaven, who assures her of her acceptance into the ranks of the people of God as one who can feast on their food of eternal life, symbolised by tasting honeycomb, and he then renames her City of Refuge, symbol of all such proselyte Gentiles to come whose marriages are thus blessed (14–17). Here Woman Wisdom makes her appearance as heavenly Metanoia who intercedes for those who make this change, and then the original strange woman herself, Aseneth, emerges with her seven virgins, identified with the Woman Wisdom’s seven-pillared dwelling of Proverbs 9 (17:4-6),⁶⁵ a City of Refuge blessed by Wisdom herself.

The elaborate repentance, affirmation, aetiology, identification with Wisdom’s dwelling, all serve to cement the claim that marriage to foreign women who become proselytes is blessed. Indeed, Jacob himself then blesses her (22:7-9), but the climax of the author’s irony, as yet not

underlies Aseneth 7.6 (25). See also her discussion on pp. 23-24; and Edith M. Humphrey, *Joseph and Aseneth* (Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 87-88.

⁶⁵ On this see Dieter Sanger, *Antikes Judentum und die Mysterien: Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zu Joseph und Aseneth* (WUNT 2.5; Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1980), 73-76.

recognised in discussions to date, is what I call the conversion of Levi. For the author has the ultimate hardliner, Levi, become Aseneth's champion. This is much more than depicting him as caring for Aseneth as he did for Dinah, for the two are in opposite categories. It is precisely in this context concerned with intermarriage that the author reminds the readers of Levi and his heavenly visions, and then declares: "Levi would love Aseneth very much, and see her place of rest in the highest, and her walls like adamantine eternal walls, and her foundations upon a rock of the seventh heaven" and "Aseneth loved Levi exceedingly above all Joseph's brothers" (22:13).

Aseneth still retains the adulteress elements of the Strange Woman of Proverbs in its reinterpretation, as instanced in all the women wanting to seduce Joseph, but this version is much more strongly a foreigner engaged in idolatry, even if moral, and stands in dialogue with other streams of tradition, not least the rigorist position on intermarriage. For such women are far from a lost cause, as Aseneth, their archetype and now heavenly protector under Woman Wisdom, proves. As in Proverbs LXX Aseneth as the strange woman is not just a symbol, nor just a concrete case, but becomes both. Against the hardliners traditionally associated with Levi who will have none of it, her story with its heavenly elevation provides the warrant for the softer line, allowing all such marriages where Gentile brides convert. And Levi loves it – and her!

THE RECEPTION OF THE *SUSANNA* NARRATIVE (DAN. XIII; LXX) IN EARLY CHRISTIANITY

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1. *Introduction*

The story of Susanna (Dan. XIII; LXX) seems to have been a source of fascination since its very beginning. Moreover, ambiguity in interpretation seems to be a characteristic feature of this brief but striking addition to Daniel. From its primitive form to its expanded and developed version in the LXX and its revision in Theodotion, and even up to its reception in the art of the Renaissance, Susanna has been a narrative in flux. This paper examines how the Christians in the first five centuries read and understood the Susanna narrative.

The methodological basis for this excursus is gender studies. Susan Sered and Samuel Cooper assert: "The story of Susanna is fundamentally a gendered story."¹ This implies that when reading Susanna, especially through the androcentric and patriarchal glasses of reception through early Christianity, a hermeneutic of suspicion will suffice for the investigation.² This study entails description, synthesis and reflection. Description entails investigating instances in the writings and art of the early Christians where the Susanna narrative occurs. Examination of the literary and socio-historical contexts of the writings and artworks is implied, but the approach still remains descriptive. Synthesis requires assembling the data from the descriptive process into various categories, either by similarity or contrast. The final process, namely reflection, reviews the study critically and draws its conclusions.

¹ S. Sered and S. Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control: Anthropological Reflections on the Book of Susanna," in *The Judgement of Susanna: Authority and Witness* (SBLJL 11; ed. E. Spolsky; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1996), 43.

² Cf. D. Boyarin, *Carnal Israel: Reading Sex in Talmudic Culture* (New Historicism - Studies in Cultural Poetics 25; Berkeley: University of California, 1993), 167-170; P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University, 1988), 5-10; E. Schüssler-Fiorenza, *Sharing Her Word: Feminist Biblical Interpretation in Context* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 80-82.

2. Describing the Early Christian Readings of the Susanna Narrative

This description is not intended to be an exhaustive account of all the Susanna references in the scope of Christianity covered by this study. Only samples of interest from the first five centuries will be examined.³ Rather, it aims to discuss the most influential and elaborate references in order to gain an understanding of the ancient authors' reasoning and deliberation about the Susanna narrative.⁴ It does, however, also discuss a less formal (not necessarily less important) source, namely instances of the Susanna narrative in early Christian art.

2.1. Prelude: The Revision of Theodotion

The reception of Susanna in the early church is in essence a literary reception. It is a narrative which has undergone significant redaction and revision. The pre-Septuagintal form of Susanna, possibly a Judaized secular folktale as Carey Moore theorizes, remains a matter of speculation.⁵ The narrative of Susanna in the LXX already exhibits much development with regard to its plot and characters.⁶ Moreover, the placement of the addition at the beginning of Daniel in the Theodotion version attests to its popularity and influence in later centuries.⁷ But for the Christian tradition it would be the second-century revision of

³ A slightly wider scope is covered by B. Halpern-Amaru, "The Journey of Susanna Among the Church Fathers," in *The Judgement of Susanna: A Authority and Witness* (SBLEJL 11; ed. E. Spolsky; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1996), 21-34. The brevity of this essay does not allow the author to deal with all the references to, and explanations of, Susanna in early ecclesiastical literature. But this allows the study to venture into greater depth regarding each individual author. Therefore, Tertullian, Origen and Africanus will be treated as examples from the second/third century, Hippolytus from the third century and Zeno of Verona from the fourth. It is also noted that the Syriac/Coptic authors are also excluded because of the limited scope. Other authors such as Novatian, Pseudo-Chrysostom, Ambrose, Methodius, Asterius and Jerome a century later, in no sense of less importance, will be discussed only briefly and grouped within the main categories mentioned above.

⁴ The translations for the ancient texts are taken from the *NPNF* or *ANF* versions, unless otherwise indicated, because of their literalness and availability. For the citations from Origen, the source is the Greek text in J.-P. Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.

⁵ C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther, and Jeremiah: The Additions* (AB 44; New Jersey: Doubleday Publishing, 1977), 88-89.

⁶ Halpern-Amaru, "Journey of Susanna," 22.

⁷ Cf. H. Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung: Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zum Septuaginta-Text und zur Theodotion-Bearbeitung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 11-17, 81-87, for the Greek text and commentary.

Theodotion that would occupy the central position of the narrative's literary reception.⁸ Betsy Halpern-Amaru states:

[I]t is noteworthy that the areas where Theodotion most radically departs from the Old Greek – the elevation of heroic and villainous characterization over communal, legal issues and the absence of explicit, positive Jewish associations (i.e., no reference to Susanna as “Jewess” and the synagogue no longer the scene of justice) – are particularly significant when the story becomes intertwined with the development of Christian self-definition.⁹

The Theodotion revision, therefore, provided the basis for the reception of the Susanna narrative in the early church. This is evident in a number of instances, especially in doctrinal and liturgical contexts.

In the doctrinal sense, the influence is seen as early as the first half of the third century in Origen's preference for the Theodotion revision over and above the Old Greek version.¹⁰ Furthermore, Jerome, in the Prologue of his *Commentarium in Danielelem*, remarks that the text of Daniel was read in the churches in its revised form by Theodotion. Even on the fourth-century tomb inscriptions at the catacombs of Priscilla in the Capella Greca, the text of Theodotion is quoted.¹¹ Theodotion's revision therefore prepared the ground in which this narrative would be shaped in a distinctively Christian way.

2.2. Tertullian

Tertullian conveniently utilises Susanna in his theological ethics. This is especially seen in *De Corona*. The fact that Susanna, a married woman, is wearing a veil is significant to Tertullian. The veil becomes a symbol of her chastity and innocence. She did not invite *porneia*. Her body was covered, thereby indicating that she submitted to the acceptable norms of a patriarchal society, which made her chaste and innocent (*Cor.* iv.1).

⁸ Some very helpful works on the origin and development of the additions to Daniel are: D. W. Clanton, “(Re)Dating the Story of Susanna: A Proposal,” *JSJ* 34/2 (2003): 121-140; Engel, *Susanna-Erzählung*, 10-17, 78-141; P. Grelot, “Les Versions Greques de Daniel,” *Biblica* 47 (1966): 381-402; K. Koenen, “Von der Todesmutigen Susanna zum begabten Daniel: Zur Überlieferungs-geschichte der Susanna-Erzählung,” *TZ* 54 (1998): 1-13; Moore, *The Additions*, 30-35; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “4Q551: A Vorlage to Susanna or a Text Related to Judges 19?,” *JJS* 48 (1997): 349-351; E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1992); F. Zimmerman, “The Story of Susanna and Its Original Language,” *JQR* 48 (1957-59): 236-241.

⁹ Halpern-Amaru, “Journey of Susanna,” 24.

¹⁰ is evident, as mentioned, in the Prologue to Jerome's *Commentarium in Danielelem*, and is also seen in his use of Origen's comments when discussing the Susanna narrative in chapter xiii of the commentary; cf. Engel, *Susanna-Erzählung*, 24-27, 40.

¹¹ Halpern-Amaru, “Journey of Susanna,” 22-27.

The concepts of sexuality and the body are, in these early Christian writings, intricately linked to issues of salvation.¹² The behaviour of the self is directly linked to its eschatological end.¹³ Later in his life, approximately 160 C.E., Tertullian would join the Montanists, who advanced a strong programme of sexual asceticism.¹⁴ His Montanist convictions seemed to have undermined his traditional Stoic frame of reference, in which moderation and nature (sex is, of course, natural) played an important role. Susanna, in this instance, may also pose a challenge to Tertullian's age/gender hierarchy. In the narrative it is not the young women who are weak, but the old men. These nuanced opposites are highlighted by Sered and Cooper by using Levi-Strauss's model. The young, beautiful woman may be contrasted with the old and, implicitly, ugly men – as good is opposed to evil.¹⁵ Novatian's (250 C.E.) view on Susanna may have proved to be a slight corrective to Tertullian's strict, patriarchal mores in his reading of Susanna. Novatian argues that Susanna is the epitome of the virtuous, holy woman. All women are supposed to measure themselves against her. He also states that her chastity was "the honour of her body" (*De Disciplina et Bono Pudicitiae*). Although still peering through a patriarchal lens, Novatian "assured the married, sexually-active Christian a place in paradise."¹⁶ Other authors also employ this motif of chastity regarding the Susanna narrative; they include Methodius, Ambrose, Asterius and Chrysostom.

2.3. *Hippolytus of Rome*

Hippolytus, while attempting to address canonical matters in his *Commentarium in Danielelem*, does not hesitate to utilize Susanna in an anti-Judaistic way. His first premise in doing this is based on the exclusion of Susanna in the Hebrew text. According to Hippolytus, the rabbis were ashamed by what was done by the elders and therefore attempted to remove the whole incident from the text.¹⁷ The effectiveness of Susanna in anti-Judaistic polemic would be utilised by

¹² Very similar to Tertullian's views are those of Clement of Alexandria, who especially emphasises Susanna when discussing the sanctity of virginity (*De Virginitate* i.13); cf. Brown, *Body and Society*, 65-72.

¹³ K. Berger, *Identity and Experience in the New Testament* (trans. C. Muenchow; Augsburg: Fortress Press, 2003), 60-68.

¹⁴ K. A. Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity: The Iconography of Susanna in Early Christian Art," *Oxford Art Journal* 16 (1993): 6; cf. P. Brown, *Body and Society*, 76-77.

¹⁵ Cf. Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 43-44, who have successfully applied this model to the Susanna narrative.

¹⁶ Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," 1.

¹⁷ Hippolytus, *Commentarium in Danielelem*, De Susanna vi. 8-14.

many authors after Hippolytus, for instance in Pseudo-Chrysostom's *De Susanna*. The elders, (or as Hippolytus says, the "circumcision"), are also fervently associated with the actions of Satan.¹⁸

The second premise provided by Hippolytus is that the story must be allegorized. The "true meaning" of the narrative would only be revealed later, according to Hippolytus, in the passion of Christ. The villainous elders of Susanna are compared to the elders who delivered Christ into the hands of Pontius Pilate. The piety and innocence of Susanna is then juxtaposed to the innocence of Christ. This is developed even further by Hippolytus in his rearranging of Matthew's genealogy to include Susanna. With Susanna now included in the genealogy of Jesus, she shares in the messianic ancestry. Hippolytus also does not hesitate to compare the bath of Susanna with baptism.¹⁹ This pro-Christian, anti-Judaistic interpretation is developed by Hippolytus in his comparison between Susanna and the *ecclesia*. As Boitani states:

She was the figure of the church, her husband Joachim that of Christ. The garden adjoining his house figured the society of saints, planted like fruitful trees amidst the church. Babylon is the world. The two elders represent the two people who conspire against the church, that of Circumcision and that of the Gentiles.²⁰

Thus, in the earliest exegesis of the early church, the Susanna narrative is utilized as an anti-Judaistic polemic, on the one hand, and on the other, in a pro-Christian way. It was interpreted by the first exegetes in a typically allegorical fashion, with Susanna symbolising the most sacred of entities, namely Christ and also the church.²¹

2.4. *The Correspondence Between Origen and Africanus*

One of the most elaborate accounts of the thinking of the early Christians regarding Susanna is found in the correspondence between Julius Africanus and Origen.²² It is a crucial source for scholarship for two reasons: firstly, it is dialogue. The notion of a dialogue entails that aspects an author would assume his audience knows are often elaborated for the sake of clarity and fuller explanation. The evolution and

¹⁸ Ibid., vi. 9-10.

¹⁹ Ibid., vi. 7.

²⁰ P. Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," in *The Judgement of Susanna: Authority and Witness* (SBLEJL; ed. E. Spolsky; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 1996), 14.

²¹ Another interesting allegorical motif in Susanna is the Mariological one advanced especially by Methodius (*Symposium*, cf. especially xi. 2) showing that the Susanna narrative even had an influence on the earliest Mariological developments.

²² Jerome, both in the preface and chapter xiii of his *Commentarium in Daniele*, uses Origen's comments extensively for the section on Susanna.

progression of the deliberation aids the modern researcher in reconstructing and structuring the arguments of an ancient author.

Secondly and more specifically, the dialogue between Africanus and Origen illustrates the ambiguity of the issue of Susanna's authority among the pre-modern scholars of the early church. Africanus epitomizes an opinion opposite to the earlier view of Hippolytus. Africanus calls the Susanna narrative forgery. He bases his arguments on the inconsistency between Susanna and the book of Daniel (the motif of dreams and visions are absent in the former), the elaborate style of the Greek (puns, for instance) and also on an argument based on the background of the Jews in exile. According to Africanus, the Jews during the exile could not possibly have had so much judicial independence as implied in Susanna. In opposition to Hippolytus, Africanus notes that the exclusion of Susanna in the Hebrew text should be grounds for confirming its spuriousness. Several decades later Jerome would advance more or less the same arguments.

Origen's response is a parallel to the views of Hippolytus. He responds to each of Africanus' arguments. Firstly, regarding the Greek puns in the text, Origen mentions a number of other possible Greek puns which are present in texts which are products of a Semitic *Vorlage*, specifically the texts in Daniel which are not considered additions (*Ep. Afr.* i-iv). Furthermore, the presence of Greek puns does not suffice as evidence that there was no Hebrew original. They may have been deliberately introduced by the translators, a process known as transduction. Secondly, Origen interestingly refers to a relationship he has with a Hebrew scholar, who, according to Origen, not only accepted the Susanna narrative as Scripture, but could even provide the names of the elders (*Ep. Afr.* vii). He possibly alludes to Jeremiah xxix when he says (*Ep. Afr.* viii):

And I knew another Hebrew, who told about these elders the following traditions: They pretended to the Jews in captivity, who were hoping by the coming of Christ to be freed from the yoke of their enemies, that they could clearly explain the things concerning Christ ... and in such a manner they deceived the wives of their countrymen. This is why the prophet Daniel calls the one waxen old in wicked days, and says to the other: "In such a manner have you dealt with the children of Israel, but the daughters of Israel would not abide your wickedness."²³

Here, as in the case of Hippolytus, the Christological motif is introduced. He states that the killing of the prophets was hid from the Scriptures in order to protect Judaism. A typically anti-Judaistic tone is maintained in

²³ Cf. MPG 11:64:27-65:7.

the argument, referring to many of Jesus' woe statements regarding Jerusalem. To summarise, just as the Jews did not elaborate on the killing of the prophets nor accept Christ as the Messiah, so they rejected the history of Susanna. Finally, Origen draws a parallel between the wisdom of Daniel depicted in the Susanna narrative with that of Solomon. This is a theological argument in that, although the Susanna narrative does not contain dreams and visions, it is in line with the macro-tradition of the wisdom and prophets of the Old Testament (*Ep. Afr.* x-xi).

Finally, regarding the socio-historical arguments of Africanus, Origen remarks (*Ep. Afr.* xiv):

[I]t is no uncommon thing, when great nations become subject, that the king should allow the captives to use their own laws and courts of justice. Now, for instance, that the Romans rule, and the Jews pay the half-shekel to them, how great power by the concession of Caesar the ethnarch has; so that we, who have had experience of it, know that he differs in little from a true king! Private trials are held according to the law, and some are condemned to death. And though there is not full licence for this, still it is not done without the knowledge of the ruler, as we learned and were convinced of when we spent much time in the country of that people. And yet the Romans only take account of two tribes, while at that time besides Judah there were the ten tribes of Israel. Probably the Assyrians contented themselves with holding them in subjection, and conceded to them their own judicial processes.²⁴

The same line of argumentation is found with Hippolytus in that, during the exile, the Babylonians may have treated the Jews humanely enough to have them work out their own judicial problems.

Origen then constantly defends the status of the church as being above that of Judaism. As with Hippolytus, Origen utilizes Susanna as a polemic especially against Jewish leadership. He attempts to use Africanus' arguments to his advantage.

2.5. *Zeno of Verona*

Susanna features extensively in Zeno's discourse on virtue and wisdom. In his *Tractatus de Sancta Susanna*, Zeno, the former Bishop of Rome, appeals to the notion that Susanna's true protection was her virtue and wisdom. Had she committed adultery, she would certainly have been found guilty. However, Zeno, in a subtle way, removes from the elders the role of antagonists, and replaces them with the devil. This demonological shaming device was also prevalent in Hippolytus' anti-

²⁴ MPG 11:81:21-84:13.

Judaistic remarks. Susanna's true opponent was the devil – the opponent of all virtue. Zeno states that Susanna:

...[I]nstructed women by the example of her chastity ... She was going to her punishment not as an adulterous body in whom the immoderate lust of an old man had burned, but as a body which the devil slandered, which virtue protected and which inviolate modesty adorned.²⁵

The body of Susanna, her chastity and her salvation are here also intricately linked in Zeno's reasoning. Very much the same reasoning is found in Tertullian and also in Pseudo-Chrysostom's *De Susanna*, in which the virtue and wisdom of Susanna, in typical Chrysostomian fashion, is praised.

2.6. *Susanna in Early Christian Iconography*

Why would it be important to examine the Susanna motif in early Christian art? Firstly, the art of the early Christians may provide a different picture of Susanna than the one which is found in the church Fathers. Kathryn Smith makes a very important remark in this regard:

Although it is a commonplace of medieval art history to use contemporary theological texts to interpret religious imagery, there would appear to be a formidable intellectual, conceptual gulf between the world of the catacomb frescoes and carved sarcophagi – produced by or in painters' and sculptors' workshops for a lay clientele – and that of the third and fourth century Church Fathers.²⁶

Up to this point this study has only examined "official" views on Susanna. But it is more often than not true that the "official" statements and policies do not correspond with the views of the laity. The value of early Christian art lies here – it provides a glimpse into the opinions of the unheard masses. These artworks are also texts and in fact difficult texts in that they generate more than one meaning. Robin Jensen notes: "The problem with pictures is that they almost never send just one single, clear message."²⁷ However, a study on the reception of Susanna in the early church would be incomplete if the artworks that draw on her narrative are not taken into account.

²⁵ Zeno, *Tractatus de Sancta Susanna*; cf. Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," 14.

²⁶ Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," 3.

²⁷ R. M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (London: Routledge Press, 2000), 8.

The earliest artistic witnesses to Susanna in Christianity are found in the Greek Chamber of the catacomb of Priscilla in Rome.²⁸ The layout of the wall paintings in the catacomb is significant. The first picture shows Susanna being accused by the two elders. They hold her hands down, breaking the typical *orans* stance that Susanna adopts in the other paintings. The *orans* motif is a crucial aspect of the iconography of Susanna.²⁹ The orant, typically a veiled woman praying to God with her hands in the air, is always a symbol of chastity and subordination to God.³⁰ An *orans* motif should also be understood to include God in the picture, not as a visible but as an implicit presence. Susanna is in fact veiled, a conceptualisation that Tertullian developed in great detail with reference to Susanna. The primary orientation of the orant is towards God. The laying on of hands has a double meaning: firstly, it refers to the judicial accusation of Susanna by proclaiming her guilty (of adultery), but also seems to allude to the guilt of the elders, who are preoccupied with touch and sensuality (holding her head and sleeveless arm);³¹ secondly, it may have a more positive meaning, sacrificial and expiatory.³² Smith deliberates: “To the community, Susanna appeared both culpable and a willing sacrifice; rather than loudly protesting her innocence...”³³ This is certainly different than the motifs found centuries later in Renaissance art depictions of Susanna. The Renaissance art would eroticize Susanna to the fullest extent.³⁴ It is seen specifically in artworks by painters such as Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti), Guido Reni and Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), all entitled *Susanna and the Elders*. An exception to this would certainly be Rembrandt’s two *Susanna* paintings, with the Venus motif quite prevalent (covering of the

²⁸ Cf. Smith, “Inventing Marital Chastity”, 3-24, for the images of the artworks discussed.

²⁹ Cf. W. Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church* (New York: Lowrie Press, 1947 [2007]), 64.

³⁰ Cf. Dan. 8:35.

³¹ An interesting study by Bohn also shows the significance of the “gaze.” Although written within the context of modern Bologna, it still provides some useful insights into non-verbal gestures in the Susanna narrative (cf. B. Bohn, “Rape and the Gendered Gaze: *Susanna and the Elders* in Early Modern Bologna,” *BibInt* 9 [2001]: 259-286). The issue of the attempted rape and accusation is discussed in full by J. A. Glancy, “The Accused: Susanna and Her Readers,” in *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (FCB 7; ed. A. Brenner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 297-299.

³² Lev. 1:4; 16:1-34; cf. Smith, “Inventing Marital Chastity,” 6.

³³ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁴ For a full discussion and images of the artworks pertaining to Susanna in the Renaissance, see D. W. Clanton, *The Good, the Bold and the Beautiful: The Story of Susanna and Its Renaissance Interpretation* (Library of Biblical Studies; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2006).

genitals and breasts). The viewer is still placed next to the elders, but the painting does not invoke a voyeuristic response, but rather the viewer feels shamed, as the elders should have felt.³⁵ Whereas the Renaissance paintings, with exception of Rembrandt's, places the viewer next to the voyeuristic elders, the early Christian art positions the viewer rather closer to Susanna. In another fourth-century catacomb, that of Petrus and Marcellinus in Rome, the elders are depicted with muscular legs which are out of proportion, immediately focussing the viewer's attention on the sexual fervour of the elders, and thereby also endorsing Susanna's chastity. The second depiction in the catacomb of Priscilla shows Daniel, Susanna and the elders. Daniel hearkens unto Susanna after she has cried out to God for aid. As stated previously, Susanna is depicted as an orant in this picture, with her eyes and hands pointing upward to God. The eyes and hands of the elders point to Susanna's body, again contrasting Susanna's focus on God with the elders' preoccupation with her body and, inevitably, her guilt. The third and final picture shows both Daniel and Susanna in an orant stance, giving praise to God, with the elders absent. The elders are removed from the narrative and only Daniel and Susanna are present, with God's presence presupposed.

Depictions of Susanna on sarcophagi are also prevalent. These motifs, however, differ from the wall paintings of the catacombs. The late third-century Via Lunganara sarcophagus places Susanna in the centre, in an orant stance, between two trees. Susanna is isolated from the elders. In another catacomb, the fourth-century Major catacomb in Rome, is found this same motif of the orant Susanna in isolation. The function of this artistic device is to make the viewer, who now becomes Susanna's judge,³⁶ aware of the separateness of Susanna, as well as her piety and faith.

Another interesting theme prevalent in the Christian iconography of the fourth century is Susanna holding a scroll. In the case of the Susanna sarcophagus in the Musée de l'Art Chrétien, dated middle of the fourth century, Susanna opens the scroll and points it toward the viewer (not as if she is reading it). This is a motivation for the viewer to learn from the wisdom of Susanna, and may also be an allusion to the acceptance of the

³⁵ For more elaborate discussions on voyeurism in these artworks, see M. Bal, "Between Focalization and Voyeurism: The Representation of Vision," in *Reading "Rembrandt": Beyond the Word-Image Opposition* (Cambridge New Art History and Criticism; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 138-176; M. Bal, "The Elders and Susanna," *BibInt* 1 (1993): 1-19. Another interesting work in this regard is that of M. D. Garrard, "Artemisia and Susanna," in *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany* (eds. N. Broude and M. D. Garrard; New York: Westview, 1982), 146-171.

³⁶ Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity," 12.

Susanna narrative as canonical, since it may hold vague similarities with the *traditio legis* motif, in which Christ holds the scroll and hands it over to the apostles. In some cases the orant motif and scroll motif are combined, as in the case of the fragment of a sarcophagus lid in the Campo Santo Teutonico in Rome, dated middle to late fourth century.

Finally, an interesting feature of the Gerona sarcophagus, currently affixed in a wall in the church of San Felix, in Gerona, Spain needs to be noted. This late fourth-century sarcophagus, like the wall paintings of the catacomb of Priscilla, provides a flowing narrative of Susanna's experience, from her accusation to her vindication. The final scene on the sarcophagus seems puzzling at first. It shows Daniel laying his hands on Susanna's head. Daniel is not depicted as small, as in some of the other portrayals, which points to his youthfulness (as in the catacomb of Callistus), but stands high above Susanna. Smith provides an illuminating explanation.³⁷ This imagery is typical of Christian baptismal iconography. As stated, Hippolytus also drew a connection between Susanna's bathing and baptism. In Christian baptismal iconography the baptiser always stands higher than the candidate, with one hand on the candidate's head. This serves as a stark contrast to the elders, who also laid their hands on Susanna's head.

The language of the early Christian imagery provides rich insights into the narrative and symbolism of Susanna. Walter Lowrie is correct in saying that the "deliverance of Susanna was one of the earliest themes, but it happens that the scene in which Daniel confounds the elders is not found before the third century."³⁸ Primarily, the art enables the viewer to become active in the narrative, whether as a judge or merely as a participant in the crowd. The viewer engages actively with the text. The location of these artworks is also of importance. Why are they in catacombs and on sarcophagi? Along with the other accounts from the Old Testament such as those of Jonah and the whale, the young men in the furnace and Daniel in the lions' den, Susanna is a narrative about being rescued from death. The accusation against her would inevitably result in death, but, as Piero Boitani states: "She is, however, rescued from death by Daniel or rather God ... The Saviour vanquishes death, Susanna is risen."³⁹ Susanna may therefore, even have played a role in Christian theorizing regarding eschatological justification. This, however, remains speculation and requires more detailed investigation.

³⁷ Ibid., 19-20.

³⁸ Lowrie, *Art in the Early Church*, 59.

³⁹ Boitani, "Susanna in Excelsis," 10.

3. *The Reception of Susanna in the Early Church: A Synthesis of the Results*

In order to synthesise the findings of this study, two aspects may be delineated from the overview of the literary and artistic witnesses. Firstly, the typology of Susanna is discussed; secondly, remarks will be made on Susanna as a symbol.

3.1. *Typology and the Susanna Narrative*

The most common feature present in the early church's reception of Susanna is the use of typology. Old Testament figures are often used in typologies and Susanna is no exception. Both in literary and artistic witnesses Susanna is often grouped with prominent Old Testament figures such as Noah, Jonah and Daniel. Three main typological categories have emerged, namely Susanna as a type of Christ, the church and Mary. Attention will also be devoted to the typology of the elders.

According to the late ancient witnesses, Susanna functions extensively as a type of Christ. Firstly, her innocence, faith and chastity are also typified in Christ, especially seen in Tertullian and in the artworks depicting the *orans*. Susanna, like Jesus, was falsely accused by the Jewish elders and had to go to trial. Her silence is also similar to the silence of Jesus during his trial. The words of Daniel in Theodotion (xlvi) resonate here: "I am innocent of the blood of this woman." The words of Pilate to Jesus seem similar, as Hippolytus has noted. Susanna's trial initially has striking similarities with the trial of Jesus. Hippolytus even goes so far as to include Susanna in Matthew's messianic ancestry. She stands alone and the people close to her do not come to her aid. The same was true of Jesus. The faith of Jesus and of Susanna is substantially the same. Susanna's exoneration seems to have been linked to a developed doctrine of eschatological justification and resurrection. This was seen in the location of the artworks, which were widely present in catacombs and sarcophagi. God redeemed Susanna in the same way that he redeemed Christ. This is symbolised in the baptism imagery found in the iconography.

The significance of this type lies in the fact that, from a gender-oriented perspective, Susanna is one of the few women who typify Christ. This phenomenon attests to the immense popularity of Susanna in early Christianity. More importantly, it illustrates that despite the dominant patriarchal mores of the time, certain authors did not hesitate to identify a heroic female figure such as Susanna with Christ. Furthermore, the Susanna narrative provided a convenient Christological basis for the

rise and function of virginity in early Christianity, which is often primarily viewed in Mariological terms.

Susanna also figures frequently as a type of the church, especially in Hippolytus. It is unfortunate that this type is implemented in an anti-Judaistic polemic. This illustrates again the limits and problems related to typology and allegory. With most of the authors discussed, the story is reshaped in a way to create antagonism within Judaism towards the church. The logical inference of typology is that the production of one type often implies or insinuates other types not always mentioned. In this instance, with Susanna as a type of the church, the elders are typified as the Jews, who are immediately linked with the major antagonist of the church, namely Satan.

Further implications of this can be illustrated by way of Levi-Strauss's model, specifically implemented by Sered and Cooper.⁴⁰ If Susanna is the church and her opponents are the Jews, it may imply that, since the elders are dishonest, defeated, hypocritical and lustful, the same is true of the Jews, thus leading to cultural stereotyping. Therefore, the church must be faithful, victorious, pious and chaste – the attributes of Susanna. It must be said that, with Hippolytus at least, the other elder signifies the gentiles. This does not alleviate the problem, but rather polarizes the factions even more. Vladimir Propp, when discussing folktale morphology, explains the typical structure of a folktale, which always has antagonist and protagonist oppositions.⁴¹ In the process of typologising, these oppositions create social polarization, hence make one pole the protagonist and the other the antagonist. This is also evident in the Christ typology of Susanna, in which many authors typified Susanna as Christ and linked the elders with Satan.

Finally, the concept of Susanna as a type of Mary figure also emerged. But this is only a consequence of the church typology and is still quite underdeveloped in the earlier ecclesiastical authors. As a type of the church through her chastity and virginity, she is often mentioned in relation to Mary. This was seen with Methodius, and it also figures in Jerome's polemic against Helvidius, in which he mentions that Mary, like Susanna, stood falsely in the shoes of an adulteress.⁴² Ambrose⁴³ and

⁴⁰ Sered and Cooper, "Sexuality and Social Control," 43-44.

⁴¹ V. Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale* (Houston: University of Texas Press, 1968); Cf. A. A. Berger, *Narratives in Popular Culture, Media and Everyday Life* (London: Sage, 1996), 23-30.

⁴² Jerome, *Adversus Helvidium de Mariae Virginitate Perpetua*, iv. Jerome specifically mentions Mary, the wife of Joseph, as the falsely accused adulteress.

⁴³ Ambrose, *De Viduis*, iv.20.

Augustine⁴⁴ also speak of Mary and Susanna in the same terms. These developments, however, seem to occur at the same time that virginity became a prominent issue in the church and may have influenced a more developed Mariology only in later centuries.

3.2. *Susanna as Symbol*

Susanna exists as the symbol of chastity and her story was very active in the theorizing of the church on sexuality. Despite her popularity in pro-virginity discourses, she also figures in pro-marriage apologetics, as Smith has shown in her research on the Susanna iconography.⁴⁵ This symbol of chastity, however, still functions within a patriarchal worldview. Susanna's chastity could not be separated from her silence (during the trial) and her veiling, which is rather a symbol of her subordination and marital fidelity. This motif was common in the ancient world. For example, according to Smith, the Vestal Virgins could marry later in their lives.⁴⁶ With the exception of strict sects such as the Montanists, marriage was never seen as a threat to chastity. Susanna is also the symbol of chastity's victory over *porneia*. The iconography situates the viewer in the place of Susanna, who is now the *orant par excellence*. The *orans* motif illustrated that chastity is guarded by faith in God, even in the face of threats of physical violence. This physical and violent threat is seen in the breaking of the *orans* motif, as presented in the Priscilla catacombs. Furthermore, the use of the *orans* motif by early Christian iconographers represents the performativity of chastity. Chastity is envisioned as silent, prayerful and subordinate trust in God, the guardian of chastity.

A second symbol one could relate to Susanna is that of martyrdom. Susanna did not object in the face of her trial and pending demise, but remained holy and faithful and was saved by God. Technically, Susanna is not a martyr, since she was not physically killed. She is rather a confessor of faith and chastity. But the relationship between martyrdom and chastity with virginity, even into monasticism, should not be understated.⁴⁷ Some scholars argue that when the church did not have martyrs, this need was replaced with strict notions of chastity and especially virginity, which shaped the monastic movement.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Augustine, *De Sancta Virginitate*, xix; see also *Sermones* xlvi.

⁴⁵ Smith, "Inventing Marital Chastity", 3-24.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Castelli, *Martyrdom and Memory: Early Christian Culture Making* (Gender, Theory and Religion; Columbia: Columbia University Press, 2007), 146.

⁴⁸ B. Ramsey, *Beginning to Read the Fathers* (New Jersey: Paulist, 1985), 122-148.

In a third instance, Susanna also functions as a symbol of wisdom and virtue. Again, virtue was thought of as in essence a masculine characteristic, but was here personified and challenged by the woman Susanna. This is prevalent in the writings of Zeno and in the iconography of the scrolls.

Finally, Susanna may provide an exciting possibility as a gender-parallel to Brown's "Holy Man" in late antiquity.⁴⁹ The symbol of the holy woman is characterised as the chaste and veiled woman. But like Susanna, she is often very wealthy and aristocratic. We read of many female benefactors in late antiquity. An example is Olympias, a dear friend of John Chrysostom, bishop of Constantinople, who used a great deal of her fortune to build a monastery solely for women. She is also virtue and wisdom personified. This image of the woman would also provide an interesting late ancient parallel (or contrast?) to Bruce Winter's construction of the "New Roman Woman."⁵⁰ Many Roman motifs were also present in the iconography. Despite the patriarchal context, the holy woman can aid us in challenging, rethinking and redescribing gender relations in late antiquity. Context, after all, is not merely about applying data in order to extract certain truths, but constantly enables a culturally sensitive dialogue, a reading-between-the-lines and a re-evaluation, from the world of text and narrative to the *Sitz im leben* and worldview.

4. Reflections and Concluding Remarks

The reception of Susanna in early Christianity was by no means monolithic. A wide variety of not only different, but even contrasting, opinions have been described and categorised. From the perspective of gender studies and even late ancient cultural anthropology, Susanna becomes a challenging phenomenon which demands investigation. The Susanna narrative becomes a model folktale that would shape Christian thinking for centuries. It has been shown that she would not be silenced by patriarchal mores, on the one hand, but unfortunately also that her story has been re-told by those in power and often moulded to suit ignoble means.

Susanna stands out as a narrative that would typify and symbolize all the things held dear by the early Christians. So striking is the narrative

⁴⁹ P. Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy man in Late Antiquity," *JRS* 61 (1971): 80-101.

⁵⁰ B. W. Winter, *Roman Wives, Roman Widows: The Appearance of New Women and the Pauline Communities* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 17-37.

that this character impressed the most prominent authors, and captured the imagination of first Christian artists. It shows how both authors and artists would creatively use personification to highlight and colour their thoughts and emotions on what she represented. This was shown to be the case even up to the Renaissance.

Regrettably, the story of Susanna, while originally a folktale of Judaism, became reshaped to become a weapon against its own origin. For all its positive applications, the negative anti-Judaistic application cannot be avoided or ignored.

This does leave a bitter-sweet memory – but a memory that cannot be evaded. As Halpern-Amaru explains: “Like the Church that adopts her as its own alter ego, Susanna’s Jewish roots are subsumed within a new persona. Dejudalized, she becomes an active participant in the development of Christian theology.”⁵¹

⁵¹ Halpern-Amaru, “Journey of Susanna,” 29.

AUGUSTINE, JEROME AND THE SEPTUAGINT

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1. Introduction

In letter 28 of 394 or 395 C.E. Augustine pleads with Jerome not to make a new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew and in letter 71 of 403 C.E. he again expresses the wish that Jerome should rather make a new translation of the Septuagint.¹ The academic quarrel between Augustine and Jerome, documented in their correspondence of the turn of the 4th century, constitutes a fascinating piece of reading especially for the insights it affords into their characters and weaknesses. Their differences of opinion not only about the new translation, but also about whether Paul was lying (in Galatians) or whether Jonah sat under an ivy plant or a gourd are all familiar, as is the embarrassing incident of Augustine's letter to Jerome (*Ep.* 40), circulating in Rome and Italy long before it reached its addressee. This article presents a content analysis of the section of the correspondence concerning the difference of opinion about the translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew, which is read against the background of Augustine's remarks in three other works: the *Confessions*, *Christian Instruction* and *The City of God*.

The central problem prompting Jerome's new translation was the numerous discrepancies between the various Latin translations in circulation at this stage. Augustine himself complains that "whenever in the early days of the faith a Greek codex came into anybody's hands, and he felt that he had the slightest familiarity with each language, he rushed in with a translation."² This is probably an exaggeration, but the fact of the matter is that the translation into Latin did not take place in a coordinated fashion; the names of the translators are not known; they may have made oral translations during church services which were

¹ I use the dating given by Robert B. Eno, "Epistulae," in *Augustine Through the Ages* (ed. Allan D. Fitzgerald; Grand Rapids, Michigan/ Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 1999).

² *Doctr. chr.* 2. 11.16 *ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus uenit codex Graecus et a liquantum facultatis sibi u triusque linguae habere uidebatur, a usus e st interpretari.* The text of *Doctr. chr.* used here is that published in the *Corpus Augustinianum Gissense 2* (ed. Cornelius Mayer; Basel: Schwabe, 2004). All translations from *Doctr. chr.* are by Edmund Hill, trans., *Teaching Christianity* (New York: New City Press, 1996), unless otherwise indicated.

written down later. Moreover, the Latin was not learned or elegant, to say the least.³ However, the divergence of the different versions had the potential of seriously undermining the authority of scripture and of the preacher, as Augustine puts it in letter 71:

The variations found in the different codices of the Latin text are intolerably numerous; and it is so justly open to suspicion as possibly different from what is to be found in the Greek, that one has no confidence in either quoting it or proving anything by its help.⁴

It is clear that this is a problem that warrants urgent attention. But the two church fathers envisage radically different solutions, which Hennings argues is to an important extent determined by the dominating tradition within which each works:⁵ Augustine follows the general trend amongst Latin-speaking Western Church Fathers to see the Septuagint as normative, while Jerome, influenced by the Eastern Church, shows a preference for the Hebrew text, without completely denying the authority of the Septuagint.⁶ However, in the correspondence, neither Augustine nor Jerome refers to these traditions as motivation for their respective points of view. Augustine initiates the debate and offers a number of arguments of a logical or practical nature for his resistance to Jerome's translation to which the latter eventually responds.

In my examination of the differences of opinion on the translation articulated in the correspondence between the two, I detect in Augustine's arguments some inconsistencies and internal contradictions. This may be attributed to an emotional attachment to the Septuagint which he does not succeed in supporting with logical arguments. In order to illustrate this, section 1 of the article examines some aspects of Augustine's general approach to the interpretation of Scripture, and section 2 his attitude to the Septuagint; section 3 considers his obvious

³ Negative reaction to the style of scripture is documented in Augustine's disappointment with the lowly style of Scriptures at his first attempt to find truth there (*Conf.* 3.5.9) and Jerome's dream that his yearning for Cicero's elegant Latin would be held against him in the day of judgment when the iudex would say to him: *Ciceronianus es, non Christianus* (*Ep.* 22.30).

⁴ *Ep.* 71.6 *Latinae ueritati ... quae in diuersis codicibus ita uaria est, ut tolerari uix possit, et ita suspecta, ne in Graeco aliud inueniatur, ut inde aliquid proferre aut probare dubitemus.* The Latin text for the letters used here is that of the *Corpus Augustinianum*. The translation of the letters used here is by Wilfrid Parsons, *Saint Augustine: Letters* (Vol. 1; Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1951).

⁵ Ralph Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Augustinus und Hieronymus und ihr Streit um den Kanon der alten Testaments und die Auslegung von Gen. 1, 11-14* (Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 1995), 131 and 196-197.

⁶ See also Carolinne White, *The Correspondence (394-419) Between Jerome and Augustine of Hippo* (Lewiston, Queenston, Lampeter: Edwin Mellen, 1990), 37.

awareness of the benefits of recourse to the original, and the last section analyses the criticism in letters 28 and 71 also with reference to Jerome's answer in letter 112 (*Ep.* 75 in collections of Augustine's letters).

2. *Augustine's Approach to the Interpretation of Scripture in 'Confessions' and 'Christian Instruction'*

Four guidelines for interpreting Scripture may be gleaned from the last section of book 12 of the *Confessions*:⁷ 1) that the intention of the author has to be sought⁸ (also in book 11 Augustine expresses the wish that he could have taken hold of Moses and asked him directly what he had meant, reminding himself that he would not have understood this answer if it were given *hebraea voce*);⁹ 2) the reader's assumption must be that Scripture is always true;¹⁰ 3) the interpretation must serve the "twin commandments of charity" (love of God and your neighbour)¹¹ and 4) if

⁷ *Conf.* 12.18.27 – 12.32.43.

⁸ E.g. *Conf.* 12.18.27 *dum ergo quisque conatur id sentire in scripturis sanctis quod in eis sensit ille qui scripsit, quid mali est si hoc sentiat quod tu, ... ostendis verum esse* [Provided, therefore, that each person tries to ascertain in the holy scriptures the meaning the author intended, what harm is there if a reader holds an opinion which you ... show to be true]. The text of *Conf.* quoted here is that by James J. O'Donnell, *Augustine Confessions*, (3 vols; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); the translation used for all passages from the *Conf.* is that by Maria Boulding, trans., *The Confessions* (New York: New City Press, 2002).

⁹ *Conf.* 11.3.5 *scripsit hoc Moyses, scripsit et abiit, transit hinc a te ad te, neque nunc ante me est, nam si esset, tenerem eum et rogarem eum et per te obsecrarem ut mihi ista panderet, et praeberem aures corporis mei sonis erumpentibus ex ore eius, et si hebraea voce loqueretur, frustra pulsaret sensum meum nec inde mentem meam quicquam tangeret* [Moses wrote that statement; he wrote it and went away, and made his Passover, his passing from you to you; and so he is not here face to face with me now. If he were, I would take hold of him and ask him and in your name implore him to open these mysteries to me. I would bend my bodily ears to the sounds that broke from his mouth, though if he spoke Hebrew those sounds would knock in vain at the door of my perception, for nothing of what was said would reach my mind.]

¹⁰ See e.g. 12.18.27 *et cum eum veridicum credimus, nihil quod falsum esse vel novimus vel putamus audemus eum existimare dixisse* [And since we believe him to be truthful, we do not presume to interpret him as making any statement that we either know or suppose to be false].

¹¹ E.g. *Conf.* 12.25.35 *propter quae duo praecepta caritatis sensit Moysen, quicquid in illis libris sensit, nisi crediderimus, mendacem faciemus dominum* [Unless we believe that Moses meant whatever he did mean in his books with an eye to those twin commandments of charity, we shall make the Lord out to be a liar].

all other rules are obeyed, even meanings which the author did not intend may legitimately be deduced from his words.¹²

In *Confessions* 12 Augustine is in fact still trying to make progress on the interpretation of Genesis 1, which he started already in book 11. Here he relates a series of different interpretations of the first verse of Genesis 1 and expresses his preference for accepting a multitude of interpretations as valid:

Accordingly, when anyone claims, '[Moses] meant what I say,' and another retorts, 'No, rather what I find there,' I think that I will be answering in a more religious spirit if I say, 'Why not both, if both are true? And if there is a third possibility, and a fourth, and if someone else sees an entirely different meaning in these words, why should we not think that he was aware of all of them.'¹³

The point I am trying to illustrate is that Augustine's approach in general could be called pluralistic. Normally he welcomes more points of view or more interpretations as contributing to a better overall understanding (as long as they don't violate the other "rules").

In *Christian Instruction* 2 Augustine discusses a number of problems with the Latin text and how they may be dealt with. The emphasis on the gains of considering multiple versions is stated explicitly:

In fact, this state of affairs [the plurality of Latin versions] has been more of a help than a hindrance to the understanding of the scriptures, provided

¹² *Conf.* 12.26.36 *vellem ergo, si tunc ego essem quod ille et mihi abs te Geneseos liber s cribendus a diungeretur, t alem m ihi e loquendi f acultatem d ari et eum t exendi sermonis modum ut neque illi qui nondum queunt intellegere quemadmodum creat deus, tamquam excedentia vires suas, dicta recusarent et illi qui hoc iam possunt, in quamlibet veram sententiam cogitando venissent, eam non praetermissam in paucis verbis tui famuli reperirent, et s i al ius aliam vi disset i n l uce v eritatis, nec ipsa in ei sdem verbis intellegenda deesset* [If I had been in his place then, and the task of writing the Book of Genesis had been laid upon me, I would have wished that such a gift of eloquence should be given me, and such skill in weaving words, that readers unable to understand how God creates would not reject what I said as too difficult for them, while those who could already understand it, whatever might be the true idea they had arrived at by their own reasoning, should not find that their idea had been overlooked in your servant's few words. Finally I would hope to have written in such a way that if anyone else had in the light of truth seen some other valid meaning, that too should not be excluded, but present itself as a possible way of understanding in what I had said].

¹³ *Conf.* 12.31.42 *Ita cum alius dixerit, 'hoc sensit quod ego,' et alius, 'immo illud quod ego,' religiosius me arbitror dicere, 'cur non utrumque potius, si utrumque verum est, et si quid tertium et si quid quartum et si quid omnino aliud verum quispiam in his verbis videt, cur non illa omnia vidisse credatur.*

only that readers are not casual and careless. The examination of several versions has often been able to throw light on obscurer passages.¹⁴

Even where he discusses the existence of two contradicting translations of Isaiah 7:9 known to him, one of which is a patently wrong rendering of the original Hebrew, he still settles on retaining both: *Unless you believe, you shall not understand* and *Unless you believe, you shall not endure*,¹⁵ and opts for using both versions to come to a better understanding of the central truth expressed.¹⁶

Which of these two, though, followed the original words one cannot tell, unless one reads copies of the original language. But all the same, for those who are shrewd readers, something important is being suggested by each version.¹⁷

In each of the instances above, we see Augustine insisting that additional perspectives should be welcomed and that increased insights may be gained from alternative ways of expressing the same truth. From a purely rational perspective a man of such convictions should not in principle be one to close his mind to the additional insights possibly afforded by a translation from the Hebrew. Yet this is the attitude that seems to emerge from his correspondence with Jerome on the matter of the new translation of the Old Testament. But before the letters are analysed, an examination of Augustine's attitude to the Septuagint, expressed in *Christian Instruction* and in *The City of God*, and his views on recourse to the original languages of Scripture in *Christian Instruction* may further illuminate the case in point.

¹⁴ *Doctr. chr.* 2.17: *quae quidem res plus adiuvit intelligentiam quam impediuit, si modo legentes non sint negligentes. nam nonnullas obscuriores sententias plurimum codicum saepe manifestavit inspectio.*

¹⁵ *Doctr. chr.* 2.17 *item illud eiusdem Esaiiae: nisi credideritis, non permanebitis* (Is 7,9) [Again, there is that text of the same prophet Isaiah, *Unless you believe, you shall not understand*, which another translator rendered, *Unless you believe, you shall not endure*]. The first (wrong) translation seems to have existed in some Greek versions (καὶ εἰν μὴ πιστεύετε, οὐδὲ μὴ συνήτε) while the second is a truer rendering of the Hebrew (אִם לֹא תִאֱמְנוּ כִּי לֹא יִבְיָאוּ), whether via a different Greek translation or through recourse to the original.

¹⁶ Interestingly enough this strategy enables him to rescue what is in fact a patently wrong translation of the Hebrew, but one which expresses a central tenet of his thinking about faith and reason, namely that belief precedes understanding.

¹⁷ *Doctr. chr.* 2.17 *quis horum uerba secutus sit, nisi exemplaria linguae praecedentis legantur, incertum est. sed tamen ex utroque magnum aliquid insinuat sententiarum legentibus.*

3. Augustine on the Septuagint

Augustine relates the legend of the miraculous translation of the Septuagint both in *Christian Instruction*, the first two and a half books of which were written during the last years of the 4th century C.E., and in the magnum opus of his mature years, *The City of God*, written between 413 and 426, his seventy-second year. The two accounts do not differ greatly. Each reports the two possible scenarios for the translation in circulation since Aristides and Philo: first, the version of the miraculous identical translation by 70 translators working in isolation; second, the version where the 70 translators did not work in isolation, but conferred to reach consensus.

What I find strange is that in *Christian Instruction*, written at the same time as letter 28, where he first complains about Jerome's new translation, Augustine's formulation – here where he speaks to “insiders,” those who want to “teach Christianity” – communicates a detached attitude as far as the stories and their relative merits are concerned. He simply states: “if, as it is told and many with not too little trustworthiness recount, they sat in separate cells ...”¹⁸ and continues a few lines further on “but if they worked together to come to consensus ...”¹⁹ It is important to note, however, that for him one of these versions must be true: identical translations or one translation agreed on through consensus. He does not, in writing, as far as I have been able to ascertain, consider any other possibilities (e.g. that the text is the result of normal human activity and subject to human error).²⁰

However, I would have expected that in the later version of the legend (in *The City of God* 18.42-43), after his correspondence with Jerome, when he must have become more aware of the problems besetting the Septuagint, he might have been less ready to assert the validity of the legend of the miraculous origin. But Augustine sounds more convinced of the miraculous-identical-translations-variant of the

¹⁸ *Doctr. chr.* 2.22 *si, ut fertur multique non in digni fide praedicant, singuli c ellis etiam singulis separati cum interpretati essent.*

¹⁹ *Doctr. chr.* 2.22 *si autem contulerunt ut una omnium communi tractatu iudicioque uox fieret.*

²⁰ That scepticism about the inspired nature of the Septuagint was possible at that time, is illustrated by the fact that Jerome had, as he explains in the prologue to *Chronicles*, “ceased to believe that the Septuagint was inspired” (White, *The Correspondence*, 36). One should also bear in mind that to a certain extent Augustine is playing to different audiences in the different works discussed here and that the contents and tone are certainly adapted to accommodate what each audience needs or wants to hear.

legend. (This may of course be due to the fact that the intended audience is at least formally to some extent a non-Christian audience.)²¹

On an intellectual level it is at least conceivable that, by this time, Augustine must have considered other possibilities. Even in this, the most positivistic account he gives of the events, he does not assert unequivocally that the legend of the miraculous translation is true. But he seems emotionally deeply attached to the story and his formulation here is clearly designed to convince the reader of the superior divine status of the Septuagint, a status emanating from its miraculous origin:²²

The tradition is that the agreement in the words of their versions was marvellous, amazing, and plainly inspired by God: so much so that although each of them sat in a separate place when engaged on the task ... they did not differ from one another in a single word, not even by a synonym conveying the same meaning; they did not even vary in the order of words. There was such a unity in their translations that it was as if there had been one translator; for in truth there was the one Spirit at work in them all.²³

Up to this point we have reported speech dependent on *traditur* and subjunctives dependent on *tamquam*. But already at the end of the section above, as well as in the next section, the indirect speech is replaced by statements in the indicative and we seem to hear the narrator's own voice, perhaps in the *re vera* above and definitely in the first-person plural verb at the end of the next section:

And this was the purpose of their receiving such a marvellous gift of God; that in this way the authority of those Scriptures should be

²¹ A. D. R. Polman comes to the same conclusion: "As late as 426 he continued ... to believe in the pseudo-miracle of their strange consent. If anything, his conviction had grown stronger" (*The Word of God according to St. Augustine* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1961], 186).

²² Polman is severely critical of what I call Augustine's "emotional attachment" to the Septuagint: "Only complete ignorance of the actual truth could have persuaded St. Augustine to hold that all differences between the Septuagint and the Hebrew text were due to prophetic visions. Thus he conjured up the most far-fetched allegories to explain what a mere glance at the original text would have explained without any trouble, and stuck to his completely baseless and confabulated account of a divinely inspired translation through thick and thin" (*The Word of God*, 188).

²³ *Civ.* 18.42 *traditur sane tam mirabilem ac stupendum planeque diuinum in eorum uerbis fuisse consensum, ut, cum ad hoc opus separatim singuli sederint (ita enim eorum fidem Ptolomaeo placuit explorare), in nullo uerbo, quod idem significaret et tantundem ualeret, uel in uerborum ordine aliter ab alio discreparet; sed tamquam unus esset interpres, ita quod omnes interpretati sunt unum erat; quoniam reuera spiritus erat unus in omnibus.* The text of *Civ.* used here is from the *Corpus Augustinianum*. All translations from *Civ.* are by Henry Bettenson, trans., *St Augustine: Concerning the City of God Against the Pagans* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

emphasized, as being not human but divine – as indeed they were – and thus should benefit the Gentiles who were destined to believe in Christ. And we now see this result achieved.²⁴

It is important to note that Augustine's formulation when addressing the audience of *The City of God* is markedly different from his choice of words and tone in the correspondence with Jerome. However, it seems clear that Augustine sees the Septuagint as a special, new and divine revelation designed especially for Christianity, an idea he also expresses in *Christian Instruction*, where he speaks of the 70 translating "as the Holy Spirit, who was guiding them and gave them all one mouth, judged would be most suitable for the Gentiles."²⁵ Of course, to his mind, the Hebrew version of the Old Testament is also a prophetic revelation by God, made through the same Spirit, though to a different people in a different era (*Civ.* 18.43).²⁶ Yet, probably because of his conviction that the prophetic revelation in the Septuagint was especially designed for Christians, he remains reluctant to let the translations from the Septuagint be supplemented by Jerome's new translation (of the other divinely inspired text). But this, as I point out below, is based on his fear that the translation will not supplement, but replace the versions from the Septuagint.

The third section of this article is a discussion of Augustine's remarks in *Christian Instruction* on the value of the knowledge of the original languages. These remarks seem to me to contradict in some respects what he says to Jerome in the letters.

4. Augustine on the Value of Knowledge of the Original Languages

The first three books of *Christian Instruction*, as I have said, were probably written at about the time when Augustine first reacted to the

²⁴ *Civ.* 18.42 *et ideo tam mirabile dei munus acceperant, ut illarum scripturarum non tamquam h umanarum, s ed, s icut er ant, t amquam di uinarum et iam i sto m odo commendaretur auctoritas, c redituris quandoque gentibus profutura, quod iam uidemus effectum.*

²⁵ *Doctr. c hr.* 2.22 *itaque fi eri p otest ut s ic ill i in terpretati s int, quemadmodum congruere gentibus ille, qui eos agebat et qui unum os omnibus fecerat, spiritus sanctus iudicauit.*

²⁶ *Civ.* 18.43 *spiritus enim, qui in prophetis erat, quando illa dixerunt, idem ipse erat etiam in septuaginta uiris, quando illa interpretati sunt; qui profecto auctoritate diuina et aliud dicere potuit, tamquam propheta ille utrumque dixisset quia utrumque idem spiritus diceret* [For the very same spirit that was in the prophets when they uttered their messages was at work also in the seventy scholars when they translated them. And the Spirit could have said something else as well, with divine authority, as if the prophet had said both things, because it was the same Spirit that said both].

news of Jerome's translation. In book 2 of this work, where he discusses the understanding of proper signs (the literal meaning of words) and metaphorical signs, he seems perfectly aware that recourse to the original is a salutary and obvious course of action:

The best remedy for ignorance of proper signs is the knowledge of languages; and in addition to the Latin language, the people whom I have now undertaken to advise have need of the two other languages of the divine scripture, namely Hebrew and Greek, so that they can have recourse to the earlier versions whenever doubt about the meaning of a text is raised by the infinite variety of Latin translations.²⁷

After discussing some Hebrew words that are left untranslated in the Septuagint, he continues:²⁸

But it is not because of these few words, which can be very easily noted and asked about, that knowledge of these languages is necessary, but because of the variety of the translations, as has been said.²⁹

The principle implied here is that going back to the original language is the most responsible way to access the meaning of a text. Moreover, the passage implies that Augustine is not inclined to deny that the Septuagint is already a translation and that recourse to the original may also bear fruit when studying this text.

Following the discussion of a number of instances of problematic translations in the Latin (one of which I referred to above), Augustine repeats the argument for translation from the original: "But the proper meaning of a passage ... can only be definitely ascertained from an

²⁷ *Doctr. c hr. 2.16 co ntra i gnota signa pr opria magnum r emedium e st linguarum cognitio. et Latinae quidem linguae homines, quos nunc instruendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad scripturarum diuinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebraea scilicet et Graeca, ut ad ex emplaria pr aecedentia r ecurratur, si qu am dubitationem at tulerit Latinorum interpretum infinita uarietas.*

²⁸ Augustine first discusses "Hebrew words untranslated in the books of the Bible" either because they have "more sacred associations, like Amen or Alleluia" or because they "could not be translated" (he names Raca and Hosanna) and declares what we are all very much aware of: "There are some words, after all, in particular languages which defy translation into any other language." *Doctr. chr. 2.16 quamquam et Hebraea uerba non interpretata s aepe i nueniamus i n libris, sicut am en et alleluia et racha e t osanna ... quorum partim propter sanctiorem auctoritatem, quamuis interpretari potuissent, seruata est antiquitas, sicut s unt amen et alleluia, partim uero in aliam linguam t ransferri non potuisse di cuntur, sicut al ia du o qu ae posuimus. s unt enim qu aedam uerba ce rtarum linguarum, quae in usum alterius linguae per interpretationem transire non possint.*

²⁹ *Doctr. c hr. 2.16 sed n on propter h aec p auca, q uae n otare a tq ue i nterrogare facillimum est, sed propter diuersitates, ut dictum est, interpretum illarum linguarum est cognitio necessaria.*

examination of it in the language they are translating from.”³⁰ He is not referring only to the Greek, because he continues (using the plural): “So one should ... aim at a knowledge of those languages from which the scriptures have come to their Latin version.”³¹

But this is only part of the conclusion Augustine draws from this premise. The other alternative he offers as part of the same conclusion is a little surprising in this context: “So one should either aim at a knowledge of those languages ... or else get hold of translations which have been most strictly literal, word for word, renderings of the original.”³² The second option is a practical way out when recourse to the original is impossible, but it remains a rather weak conclusion to draw from what goes before.

All of these remarks, to my mind, together with what I have called Augustine’s pluralistic approach to the interpretation of Scripture, should provide a perfect platform for wholehearted support of Jerome’s intention to re-translate the Old Testament by going back to the Hebrew. But when Augustine criticises Jerome’s project in his letters it is difficult to escape the impression that he has forgotten what he says in *Christian Instruction*. However, the one factor that seems to override the logic explicated here is Augustine’s attitude to the Septuagint that I examined above.

5. Augustine’s Criticism of Jerome’s Intention to Translate the Hebrew

In letters 28 and 71 (which incidentally reach Jerome at the same time, almost 10 years after letter 28 was written)³³ Augustine explicitly asks Jerome to make a new Latin translation from the Septuagint rather than from the Hebrew. But a closer examination reveals that it is not the translation as such which he opposes. It is the possibility of this new translation becoming the standard text read in the African churches and usurping the authority of the Septuagint that he finds unsettling.³⁴ It is

³⁰ *Doctr. chr.* 2.19 *sed quoniam et quae sit ipsa sententia ... non apparet, nisi in ea lingua inspiciatur quam interpretantur.*

³¹ *Doctr. ch r.* 2.19 *linguarum illarum, ex quibus in Latinam scriptura peruenit, petenda cognitio est.*

³² *Doctr. chr.* 2.19 *aut linguarum illarum, ex quibus in Latinam scriptura peruenit, petenda cognitio est a ut habendae interpretationes eorum qui se uerbis nimis obstrinxerunt.*

³³ See e.g. Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*, 29-30 on the fate of *Ep.* 28.

³⁴ See also Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*, 45 on *Ep.* 82: “In der Frage der Übersetzung des Alten Testaments aus dem Hebräischen zeigt sich Augustinus überzeugt, möchte aber dennoch nicht, dass diese Übersetzung in den Kirchen zur Lesung gebraucht wird.”

important to remember that Augustine is a young priest with only a few years of experience when he formulates letter 28, but a bishop with more than 10 years' experience in ecclesiastical matters when letter 71 is written and that he had not received any answer from Jerome by the time he dispatched letter 71. In letter 28 we have a detailed version of his objections:

Therefore, I ask, and the whole group of students of the African Churches joins me in asking, that you would spare neither trouble nor labor in translating the books of those who have treated so well of our Scriptures in Greek ... In translating the sacred canonical scriptures into Latin, I should like you to do the same thing you did in translating Job, that is, to point out by appropriate signs the variations between your version and the Septuagint, which has such preponderant authority ... I say nothing of the Seventy, whose unity of thought and intention is greater than that of a single writer would be, and I do not venture to express as certain an opinion on any part of their work, except that I think an overwhelming authority is to be attributed to them in this matter, without question.³⁵

No word here about "the proper meaning of a passage ... [that] can only be definitely ascertained from an examination of" the original. The appeal is presented simply as a preference, not as a logically motivated request: Augustine simply "would rather" that Jerome translated the Septuagint. In letter 71 he repeats that he "should like" Jerome not to translate from the Hebrew.³⁶ The tone as well as the claim to speak for the African church strikes me as surprisingly confident (if not arrogant) when one considers Augustine's youth and inexperience compared to Jerome's advanced years and renown.

³⁵ *Ep. 28.2 petimus ergo et nobiscum petit omnis Africanarum ecclesiarum studiosa societas, ut i nterpretandis e orum l ibris, q ui G raece s cripturas n ostras quam optime tractauerunt, curam a tque o peram i npendere non graueris ... d e uer tendis autem i n linguam L atinam s anctis l itteris c anonicis l aborare t e nollem, ni si e o m odo, q uo I ob interpretatus es, ut signis adhibitis, quid inter hanc tuam et LXX, quorum est grauissima auctoritas, interpretationem distet, appareat. satis autem nequeo mirari, si aliquid adhuc in H ebraeis e xemplaribus i nuenitur, quod t ot i nterpretes i llius l inguae p eritissimos fugerit. omitto enim LXX, de quorum uel consilii uel spiritus maiore concordia, quam si unus homo es set, n on au deo i n aliquam partem c ertam ferre s ententiam, nisi quod e is praeminentem auctoritatem i n h oc m unere sine c ontrouersia t ribuendam e xistimo.* Hennings notes that Augustine formulates his criticism of Jerome here "deutlich als offizielle Anfrage der nordafrikanischen Kirche," but also points out that the letters are in fact "Privatbriefe ... keine offiziellen Schreiben" (*Der Briefwechsel*, 29 and 109).

³⁶ *Ep. 71.6 plurimum p rofueris, s i e am s cripturam G raecam, quam s eptuaginta operati sunt, Latinae ueritati reddideris* [It would be more valuable if you translated that Greek text, which the Seventy produced, into precise Latin (my own translation)].

The request is combined with, but not logically connected to, repeated references to the authority of the Septuagint. In contrast to the confident presentation of the request, the motivation by recourse to the authority of the Septuagint seems surprisingly diffident. Augustine does not insist on the divine inspiration of the Septuagint nor its special status as a text for Christians, probably because he is aware of Jerome's disillusionment with this text.³⁷ The remark near the end of this section most clearly illustrates the ambivalence I detect when he speaks to Jerome about the Septuagint.³⁸ Augustine says that he "dare not put his opinion [on the Septuagint] on any fixed side," except to repeat that it must enjoy "very high authority."

Augustine tries to convince Jerome that the place for knowledge of Hebrew in the study of Scripture is secondary and subordinate, ancillary to the study of the Septuagint, not as the basis for an independent new translation. This point of view is also clear in letter 71, where he criticises the fact that Jerome does not use the same text critical signs as in previous work on the Old Testament:

But, in this later translation, which is made from the Hebrew, there is not the same authority for the words, and it rouses no little disquiet when one wonders why in the former translation the asterisks are placed with such care as to show even the most insignificant parts of speech which are lacking in the Greek texts, but are found in the Hebrew, less care is shown in assigning these particles to their place.³⁹

Most fascinating, as Hennings points out, is the fact that this amounts to quite a blunder,⁴⁰ a misunderstanding of Jerome's use of these signs, something which the latter rather sharply points out in his answer in letter 112:

I am sorry to say, but you seem to me not to understand the issue about which you enquire. For the former version is a translation from the Septuagint and wherever there are *virgulae*, i.e. obelisks, it means that

³⁷ Polman also remarks that in the letters to Jerome "St. Augustine never once mentioned that the Seventy were divinely inspired in their translation, although he had frequently suggested this inspiration elsewhere. He was also strangely circumspect in pronouncing on the 'fact' of their miraculous unanimity" (*The Word of God*, 185).

³⁸ White speaks about the "tentative" nature of Augustine's remarks to Jerome (*The Correspondence*, 35).

³⁹ *Ep. 71.3 porro in hac posteriore interpretatione, quae uersa est ex Hebraeo, non eadem uerborum fides occurrit nec parum turbat cogitantem, uel cur in illa prima tanta diligentia figantur as terisci, ut minimas et iam p articulas orationis indicent de esse codicibus Graecis, quae sunt in Hebraeis, uel cur in hac altera, quae ex Hebraeis est, neglegentius hoc curatum sit, ut hae eadem particulae locis suis inuenirentur.*

⁴⁰ Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*, 114.

the Septuagint said more than is the case in the Hebrew; but where there are asterisks, i.e. shining stars, something was added from Theodotus's edition by Origen; and there I translated from the Greek.⁴¹

This kind of mistake by someone as intellectually gifted as Augustine certainly was is strange, to say the least. One cannot help but wonder whether his lack of emotional detachment concerning all matters pertaining to the Septuagint did not contribute to this lapse in judgement.

However, in letters 28 and 71 Augustine does also offer arguments that are on the level of the logical or at least the practical: 1) he does not think it likely that a new translation from the Hebrew may yield any new insights;⁴² 2) the introduction of a new translation may cause unrest in some congregations;⁴³ 3) the use of a translation from the Hebrew in the West will cause a rift between the churches of the East and West;⁴⁴ 4) the Septuagint enjoys very wide circulation;⁴⁵ and 5) it is the text quoted by the apostles themselves in the New Testament.⁴⁶

Many aspects of these arguments are open to easy refutation. I start with his argument that new insights are improbable:

I should be greatly surprised if anything should now be found in the Hebrew texts which had escaped the notice of so many learned interpreters of that language ... But those others disturb me more, who, in making later versions ... not only disagree among themselves, but

⁴¹ *Ep.* 112.19 *pace tua dixerim, uideris mihi non intellegere, quod quaesisti. illa enim interpretatio septuaginta interpretum est et t, u bicumque uirgulae, id est obeli sunt, significatur, quod septuaginta plus dixerint, quod uam habetur in Hebraeo, ubi autem asterisci, id est stellae praeuocantes, ex Theodotus editione ab Origene additum est; et ibi graeca transtulimus.* The text for this letter by Jerome is from the *C orpus Augustinianum*. The translation here and elsewhere is my own working translation.

⁴² *Ep.* 28.2 *mirari, si aliquid adhuc in Hebraeis exemplaribus inuenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguae peritissimos fugerit* [I should be greatly surprised if anything should now be found in the Hebrew texts which had escaped the notice of so many learned interpreters of that language]. See Hennings's remarks about the lack of Latin translations from the Hebrew before Jerome (Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*, 113). The complaint about the redundancy of Jerome's translation is thus totally unfounded.

⁴³ See *Ep.* 71.4 *Quisquis autem in eo, quod ex Hebraeo translatum est, aliquo insolito permotus fu erit et falsi criminis intenderit* [But, if anyone is disturbed by an unusual passage translated from the Hebrew, and claims that it is wrong ...].

⁴⁴ *Ep.* 71.4 *perdurum erit enim, si tua interpretatio per multas ecclesias frequentius coeperit lectitari, quod a Graecis ecclesiis Latinae ecclesiae dissonabunt* [It will be very difficult if they begin to read your translation more commonly in many churches, because the Latin churches will differ from the Greek].

⁴⁵ *Ep.* 71.6 *neque enim paruum pondus habet illa, quae sic meruit diffamari* [Surely, that version has no little weight which was duly published abroad].

⁴⁶ *Ep.* 71.6 *Septuaginta ... qua usus apostolos non solum res ipsa indicat, sed etiam te adtestatum esse mihi* [The Septuagint ... which experience shows was used by the Apostles – a fact which you asserted, as I recall].

leave many points to be explained and elucidated later. And these points are either obscure or they are clear. If they are obscure, you may get the blame for error; if they are clear, those authors get the credit for trustworthiness.⁴⁷

The untenable logical consequence of such an argument would be that once a subject has been dealt with, no-one else may work on it again,⁴⁸ an argument which Jerome was quick to turn against Augustine. There are also internal contradictions: does the lack of agreement between the other scholars translating the Hebrew not rather prove the opposite, namely that more research is needed? Furthermore, the argument that if the issues at stake were difficult, Jerome would probably also err, while if they were not, the 70 would not have erred, is certainly an oversimplification of a complicated situation and too facile to be taken seriously, as Jerome's laconic reply in letter 112 neatly illustrates:

Your wisdom should answer me why following such worthy and renowned interpretations you found something different in your explanation of the Psalms. For, if the Psalms are obscure, it must be believed that you too could have been mistaken about them; if they are clear, it is not credible that they could have been mistaken about them. Whatever the case, your translation will have been superfluous and by the same rule nobody will dare to speak on anything after someone else has already done so; if someone has dealt with any subject, no one else would have the liberty to write on it too.⁴⁹

Also Augustine's other arguments in letter 71, as I have said, are open to objection: as to the unrest that might arise in congregations, Augustine sketches dramatically what happened in Oea, when a reading from Jerome's new translation during a Church service deeply offended the members of the congregation.⁵⁰ Without presenting any arguments, he simply assumes that this type of incident will repeat itself. The related

⁴⁷ *Ep.* 28.2 *satis a utem nequeo mirari, si a liquid adhuc in Hebraeis exemplaribus inuenitur, quod tot interpretes illius linguae peritissimos fugerit. ... illi me plus mouent, qui, cum posteriores interpretarentur ... non solum inter se non consenserunt, sed etiam reliquerunt multa, quae tanto post eruenda et prodenda remanerent. si enim obscura sunt, te quoque in eis falli posse creditur; si manifesta, illos in eis falli potuisse non creditur.*

⁴⁸ "Bereits im ersten Brief an Hieronymus hat Augustinus das Verhältnis von alter und neuer Übersetzung so zugespitzt, dass strenggenommen er jede weitere Arbeit an einmal bearbeiteten Stoffen unmöglich macht" (Hennings, *Der Briefwechsel*, 115).

⁴⁹ *Ep.* 112.20 *respondeat mihi prudentia tua, quare post tantos et tales interpretes in explanatione psalmorum diuersa senseris. si enim obscuri sunt psalmi, te quoque in eis falli potuisse credendum est, si manifesti, illos in eis falli potuisse non creditur. ac per hoc utroque modo superflua erit interpretatio tua et hac lege post priores nullus loqui audebit et, quodcumque alius occupauerit, alius de eo scribendi licentiam non habebit.*

⁵⁰ See White's discussion of the incident (*The Correspondence*, 38-39).

argument is that a difference of opinion about a rendering from the Greek can be easily solved (because texts as well as persons with enough knowledge of the Greek are readily available) while in the case of a translation from the Hebrew both a Hebrew text and an individual with sufficient expertise and credibility might be harder to come by.⁵¹ This argument and the one about the rift between the Eastern and Western churches raise interesting socio-religious issues that I cannot go into here. But both are based on practical considerations, not on sound scholarly principles pertaining to the practice of translation, as is the argument about the wide circulation enjoyed by the Septuagint. The last argument about the apostles quoting from the Septuagint and not the Hebrew is also not the axiom Augustine assumes it to be:⁵² for Jerome, it was exactly the fact that the apostles quoted some texts found in the Hebrew but not in the Septuagint that seriously undermined the authority of the latter.⁵³

6. Conclusion

The arguments Augustine offers in letters 28 and 71 for resisting Jerome's new translation do not represent, to my mind, a convincing and cogent enough case to win the day, nor did they prevail in the end. In

⁵¹ Augustine relates how uproar broke out, how Jews were found to arbitrate and that they were of the opinion that the translation from the Greek was correct and Jerome's rendering wrong. On the basis of this he expresses the opinion that Jerome may have been mistaken. *Ep. 71.5 factus est tantus tumultus in plebe maxime Graecis arguentibus et inflammantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus - Oea quippe ciuitas erat - Iudaeorum testimonium flagitare. utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia hoc esse in Hebraeis codicibus responderunt, quod et Graeci et Latini habebant atque dicebant? quid plura? coactus est homo uelut mendositatem corrigere uolens post magnum periculum non remanere sine plebe unde etiam nobis uidetur aliquando te quoque in nonnullis falli potuisse et uide, hoc quod uale sit in eis litteris, quod uae non possunt conlatis uisitatam linguarum testimoniis emendari* [There was such a disturbance made among the people by the Greeks arguing and stirring up passions with the charge of falsity, that the bishop – it was in the city of Oea – was forced to call on the testimony of the Jews. Was it through ignorance or malice that they answered that what the Greeks and Latins said and maintained was found in the Hebrew texts? To make a long story short, the man was forced to correct an apparently wrong statement, not wishing to run the great risk of remaining without a flock. After this, it seems to us that you, also, among others, can be wrong, and you see the sort of thing that can happen when a text cannot be corrected by comparison with the familiar languages].

⁵² Polman says, "He claimed that the apostles had approved the Septuagint, and ignored the fact that their quotations from the Old Testament often differed from the LXX" (*The Word of God*, 185).

⁵³ White, *The Correspondence*, 37.

letter 82 (of 405) Augustine suddenly expresses himself convinced of the validity of what Jerome plans to do.⁵⁴ By the time he writes *The City of God* Jerome's translation is a fait accompli, and he praises him as "highly learned" and "an expert in all three languages."⁵⁵ His fear, too, of it replacing the translations from the Septuagint in the African churches had not materialised (yet).

Some of Augustine's objections are based more on practical considerations than on scholarly principles and in places he contradicts his own views, expressed in other works.⁵⁶ The strongest argument, to my mind, that of respecting the authority of the Septuagint as a divine revelation especially for the Christian Faith, is not presented clearly and unequivocally when he addresses Jerome, but shrouded in ambiguities. My conclusion is that, for all Augustine's emotional attachment to the Septuagint, he may have realised that he had no real intellectual arguments on which to base this preference.

⁵⁴ *Ep.* 82.34 *de i nterpretatione t ua i am m ihi p ersuasisti, q ua u tilitate s cripturas uolueris transferre de Hebraeis, ut scilicet ea, quae a Iudaeis praetermissa uel corrupta sunt, proferres in medium.* [You have now convinced me of the benefits to be secured by your proposal to translate the Scriptures from the original Hebrew, in order that you may bring to light those things which have been either omitted or perverted by the Jews].

⁵⁵ *Civ.* 18.43 *homo doctissimus et omnium trium linguarum peritus.*

⁵⁶ Hennings also points to the fact that for Augustine "kirchliche Gewohnheit" is more important than the "wissenschaftlich anerkannte integritas, mit der Hieronymus den Vorrang des hebräischen Textes rechtfertigt" (*Der Briefwechsel*, 111).

SECTION THREE: MISCELLANEA

THE TREATMENT OF *HAPAX LEGOMENA* IN MT EZEKIEL, IN THE LXX EZEKIEL AND PESHITTA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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1. Introduction

In the Masoretic Text of Ezekiel close to thirty *hapax legomena* occur. This paper will compare the treatment of these words in the LXX and the Peshitta.¹ One must first of all take the *Vorlagen* of the versions in consideration, as in some instances the base text may differ. In 1:14, for example, the original LXX does not have the verse, while the later recensions give a transcription of the Hebrew word in question as a place name. All the examples will be discussed in this paper, classified in terms of similarities in the treatment of the examples.

2. Definition and Identification of *Hapax Legomena*

In this paper twenty-seven examples of *hapax legomena* will be discussed, all of them on the list of what Greenspahn calls absolute and non-absolute *hapax legomena*.² Greenspahn dealt extensively with the issues of definition and identification, so they will not be discussed here. The examples discussed here are generally regarded as *hapax legomena* in the literature. Some additional examples could be added to these examples, some of them listed by Greenspahn as well. Most of these are probably the result of textual corruption and were addressed by way of Ketib and Qere remarks in the manuscripts and printed editions. The examples to be discussed are sufficient to elucidate the way in which the two versions dealt with them.

¹ For the different texts the following editions were used: Hebrew: K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, eds., *Biblia Hebraica St uttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984). This will be referred to as BHS. Septuagint: J. Ziegler, *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta XVI 1; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977). Peshitta: M. J. Mulder, *Ezekiel* (The Old Testament in Syriac III 3; Leiden: Brill, 1985).

² F. E. Greenspahn, *Hapax Legomena in Biblical Hebrew. A Study of the Phenomenon and its Treatment since Antiquity with Special Reference to Verbal Forms* (SBL DS 74; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984), 33.

In his study Greenspahn has a chapter on the treatment of the *hapax legomena* in the versions. Excluding the possibility of a variant *Vorlage*, he identified two major groups of interpretations in the versions where the translator identified the *hapax* with a known word, namely those instances where an unusual meaning was ascribed to the word or those where some form of philological modification was used to ascribe a meaning to the *hapax*.³ He refers to the tendency of Aramaic versions to use apparent cognate words.⁴ This is an example of philological modification, the second possibility mentioned above. There are, however, instances where the *hapax* can not be related to a known word. In these instances at least two methods could have been used by translators. One is the context of the word and the other the appeal to authority, translating in the same manners as others have done.⁵ In the second instance, tradition could play an important role. This is quite common in Aramaic versions, such as the Targums and Peshitta. In the following sections the examples from Ezekiel will be discussed in a number of groups, according to their treatment in the two versions.

3. *The Versions had no Problem with the Hapax*

In Ezekiel 4:9 the word דַּחַן occurs. The verse reads as follows:

וְאֶתֶּה קַח־לְךָ חֲטִיִּן וְשֵׁעֲרִים וּפּוֹל וְעֵדְשִׁים וְלֶחֶן וְכִסְמִים וְנִתְתָּה אוֹתָם בְּכֵלֵי אֶחָד
וְעָשִׂיתָ אוֹתָם לֶךְ לְלֶחֶם מִסֵּפֶר הַיָּמִים אֲשֶׁר־אֶתֶּה שׁוֹכֵב עַל־צִדְּךָ שְׁלֹש־מֵאוֹת
וְתִשְׁעִים יוֹם תֹּאכְלֵנּוּ:

Take wheat and barley, beans and lentils, millet and spelt; put them in a storage jar and use them to make bread for yourself. You are to eat it during the 390 days you lie on your side.⁶

Koehler and Baumgartner give ‘millet’ as translation equivalent, with reference to Arabic, Syriac and Akkadian cognates.⁷ The LXX has κέγχρος, also millet. The Peshitta has the cognate noun, with the same meaning (ܕܚܢܐ). In Ezekiel 5:1 the word הַגְּלָבִים occurs:

³ Ibid., 47.

⁴ Ibid., 49.

⁵ Ibid., 55.

⁶ The translation of the Hebrew is from the NIV in all the examples.

⁷ HALOT, 1:218-19.

וְאַתָּה בְּנֵי אָדָם קַח־לְךָ חֶרֶב חֲדָה תַעַר הַגְּלָבִים תִּקְחָנָה לְךָ וְהַעֲבַרְתָּ עַל־רֹאשְׁךָ
 וְעַל־זְקָנְךָ וְלִקְחָתָ לְךָ מֵאֲזִי מִשְׁקָל וְחִלְקָתָם:

Now, son of man, take a sharp sword and use it as a barber's razor to shave your head and your beard. Then take a set of scales and divide up the hair.

Koehler and Baumgartner translate the word with 'barber' and describes the word as a loan-word from Akkadian.⁸ The LXX also has the word for barber, but in the singular (κουρσεύς), against the plural of the MT. The Peshitta has the word for barber in the singular as well (ܠܚܝܘܢܝܐ). This may perhaps point to a different *Vorlage*, but still the two versions did not have a problem with the *hapax*. In Ezekiel 13:10 the word חִין occurs:

יַעַן וּבִיַעַן הִטְעוּ אֶת־עַמִּי לֵאמֹר שְׁלוֹם וְאִין שְׁלוֹם וְהוּא בְנֵה חִיין וְהִנֵּם טְחִים אֹתוֹ
 תִּפְלִ:

Because they lead my people astray, saying, "Peace," when there is no peace, and because, when a flimsy wall is built, they cover it with whitewash ...

Koehler and Baumgartner render it with 'interior wall.'⁹ The renderings of the LXX (τοιχος) and Peshitta (ܠܘܘܢܝܐ) agree with this.

In the same verse the word הִטְעוּ occurs. Koehler and Baumgartner render it with 'to lead astray.'¹⁰ The Peshitta renders it with the cognate verb, which is quite common in Aramaic and Syriac. The LXX used *πλανάω*. In Ezekiel 13:12 the word הִטִּיחַ occurs:

וְהִנֵּה נִפְלַ הַקִּיר הַלֵּזָא יֹאמֵר אֲלֵיכֶם אֵיךָ הִטִּיחַ אֲשֶׁר טַחְתָּם:

When the wall collapses, will people not ask you, "Where is the whitewash you covered it with?"

Koehler and Baumgartner renders it as 'clay-coating.'¹¹ The related verb (טוח) is a bit more common. The versions had no problem. The LXX adds 'your' to ἀλοιφή (plaster). The Peshitta uses ܠܘܢܝܐ (plaster). In Ezekiel 47:2 the word מִפְּבַיִם occurs:

⁸ Ibid., 191.

⁹ Ibid., 312.

¹⁰ HALOT, 2:377.

¹¹ Ibid., 375.

ויוצאני דְּרָדְד־שַׁעַר צְפוֹנָה וַיִּסְבְּנִי דְּרָדְד־חוּץ אֶל־שַׁעַר הַחוּץ דְּרָדְד־הַפּוֹנָה קִדְמִים
וְהִנֵּה־מַיִם מִפְּנִים מִן־הַכְּתָף הַיְמָנִית:

He then brought me out through the north gate and led me around the outside to the outer gate facing east, and the water was flowing from the south side.

Koehler and Baumgartner render it with ‘to spurt out.’¹² The LXX uses κατεφέρετο (to flow down) and the Peshitta the verb ܦܥܦ (to go out). In Ezekiel 47:12 the word לְתִרוּפָה occurs:

וְעַל־הַנַּחַל יַעֲלֶה עַל־שִׁפְתּוֹ מַזָּה וּמַזָּה כָּל־עֵץ־מֵאֲכָל לֹא־יָבֹל עָלָהּ וְלֹא־יִתֵּם פְּרִיָּו
לְחַדְשָׁיו יִבְבֵּר כִּי מִיָּמִיו מִן־הַמִּקְדָּשׁ הֵמָּה יוֹצְאִים וְהָיוּ פְּרִיָּו לְמֵאֲכָל וְעָלָהּ לְתִרוּפָה:

Fruit trees of all kinds will grow on both banks of the river. Their leaves will not wither, nor will their fruit fail. Every month they will bear, because the water from the sanctuary flows to them. Their fruit will serve for food and their leaves for healing.

Koehler and Baumgartner render it with ‘healing.’¹³ The LXX has ὑγίεια and the Peshitta ܠܥܘܠܡܢܐ, both faithful renderings of the Hebrew.

In all these instances the two versions had no problem with the *hapax legomena*. This can mainly be attributed to the existence of related verbs in Hebrew or cognate words in other Semitic languages, especially Aramaic. In none of these instances does the rendering of the Peshitta need to be ascribed to influence from the side of the Septuagint.

3.1. *The Word is Omitted by LXX and P*

In Ezekiel 16:4 the word לְמִשְׁעִי occurs:

וּמוֹלְדוֹתַיִךְ בְּיוֹם הַוּלְדָתְךָ אֵתְךָ לֹא־כָרַת שְׂרָדְךָ וּבְמָמִים לֹא־רַחֲצָתָ לְמִשְׁעִי וְהַמְלַח לֹא
הַמְלַחַת וְהַחֲתַל לֹא חֲתַלְתָּ:

On the day you were born your cord was not cut, nor were you washed with water to make you clean, nor were you rubbed with salt or wrapped in cloths.

¹² HALOT, 3:926.

¹³ HALOT, 4:1792.

Koehler and Baumgartner render the word with ‘for purification’ and regards the word as an Aramaism.¹⁴ The word is not translated in the LXX and Peshitta. It is translated in variants of the LXX and the Vulgate, taking it as a form of a root ישע (for salvation) according to Goshen-Gottstein and Talmon.¹⁵ Zimmerli suggests that the word could be an addition in the MT.¹⁶ The Aramaising explanation comes from Driver.¹⁷ Block has an extensive discussion of this word, but thinks that the omission in the versions may be attributed to the fact that the word was unknown.¹⁸ This is also Allen’s view, who supports the interpretation of Driver.¹⁹

3.2. *The Word is Omitted in the LXX, While the Peshitta Renders the MT in Agreement with Later Hebrew and Aramaic*

There is one example of this group, namely the word הַבְּזֹק in Ezekiel 1:14:

וְהַחַיּוֹת רָצוּא וְשׁוֹב בְּמַרְאֵה הַבְּזֹק:

The creatures sped back and forth like flashes of lightning.

BHS wants to change this word to הַבְּרִק, citing the Targum, Vulgate and Symmachus as support. The entire verse does not occur in the original Greek. Some variants of the LXX add verse 14 and give a transcription of this word (βεζεκ). Koehler and Baumgartner give ‘a flash of lightning’, but refer to the usual change, as in BHS, with the Targum and Vulgate.²⁰

Allen argues that scholarship sees the verse as a late intruder in the MT.²¹ He proposes, however, that the LXX followed the easier option by omitting verse 14. He regards ברק in verse 13 as an explanation of this word in verse 14. Zimmerli sees the verse as a textual addition, but accepts the change as in BHS.²² The Peshitta reads the last phrase of the

¹⁴ HALOT, 2:650.

¹⁵ M. H. Goshen-Gottstein and S. Talmon, *The Book of Ezekiel* (HUB; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2004). This will be referred to as HUB. Except where explicitly mentioned, the reference will be to the notes to the specific verse, without a page number given.

¹⁶ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979), 323.

¹⁷ G. R. Driver, “Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets” (H. H. Rowley, ed, *Studies in Old Testament Prophecy*, Edinburgh: Clark, 1950), 64.

¹⁸ D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel Chapters 1-24* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 473.

¹⁹ L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1994), 226-227.

²⁰ HALOT, 1:118.

²¹ Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, 7.

²² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 85.

verse as *כְּכֹכֵב נֹשֵׁעַ וְנֹשֵׁעַ*. The word in the MT is thus rendered by ‘like a shooting star,’ in agreement with the use in later Hebrew and Aramaic.²³

3.3. *The MT is Problematic and the LXX and Peshitta Probably had Two Different Vorlagen*

In Ezekiel 7:11 the word *הַ* occurs:

הַחֲמָס קָם לְמִטְהַרְשָׁע לֹא־מֵהֶם וְלֹא מֵהַמּוֹנִים וְלֹא מֵהֶמְהָם וְלֹא־תֵהָ בָהֶם:

Violence has grown into a rod to punish wickedness; none of the people will be left, none of that crowd – no wealth, nothing of value.

The LXX has: *καὶ συντριψεί στήριγμα ἀνόμου καὶ οὐ μετὰ θοοῦβου οὐδὲ μετὰ σπουδῆς.*

This word is part of a phrase regarded as corrupt by BHS. BHS and HUB refer to the reading of the LXX (without tumult and without haste) for the last section of the verse. HUB regards the rendering of the LXX as a condensation. HUB refers to the rendering by some variants of the LXX and Theodotion, which have *ὠραϊσμός*. The Vulgate and the Peshitta have a rendering of a Hebrew root *נח* (rest).²⁴ Zimmerli regards the MT as problematic as well, as do most commentators.²⁵ In this case the LXX probably had one *Vorlage*, and the Peshitta another.

3.4. *The MT is Problematic, the LXX Probably had a Different (Better) Vorlage and the Peshitta Tried to Render the MT*

An important example occurs in 2:6. For a more detailed treatment, the reader is referred to an earlier study by the author.²⁶ The MT reads:

וְאַתָּה בֶן־אָדָם אַל־תִּירָא מֵהֶם וּמִדְבָרֵיהֶם אַל־תִּירָא כִּי סָרְבִים וְסִלּוֹנִים אוֹתָךְ וְאַל־עֲקֹרְבִים אֶתָּה יוֹשֵׁב מִדְבָרֵיהֶם אַל־תִּירָא וּמִפְנֵיהֶם אַל־תַּחַת כִּי בַּיִת מְרִי הֵמָּה:

And you, son of man, do not be afraid of them or their words. Do not be afraid, though briars and thorns are all around you and you live

²³ Cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica Press, 1992), 196-197.

²⁴ Cf. HUB, note 6 to 7:11.

²⁵ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel I*, 197.

²⁶ H. F. van Rooy, “A New Proposal for an Old Crux in Ezekiel 2:6,” *JNSL* 33 (2007): 79-87.

among scorpions. Do not be afraid of what they say or [be] terrified by them, though they are a rebellious house.

In the article mentioned a new reading is proposed for the MT: **בִּי סְלוּנִים סְבִיבֵי אֹתָךְ**. The LXX had a different *Vorlage*, with the following reading proposed: **בִּי סְלוּנִים וְסְרָבִים סְבִיבוֹתָךְ**. The Peshitta tried to make sense of the text as in the MT and rendered the words as participles. In Ezekiel 21:20 the word **אַבְחַת** occurs:

לְמַעַן לְמוֹג לֵב וְהִרְבָּה הַמְכַשְׁלִים עַל כָּל־שְׁעָרֵיהֶם נְתַתִּי אַבְחַת־חֶרֶב אֲחַ עֲשׂוּיָהּ
לְבָרֶק מֵעֵטָה לְטָבַח:

So that hearts may melt and the fallen be many, I have stationed the sword for slaughter at all their gates. Oh! It is made to flash like lightning, it is grasped for slaughter.

The LXX has: ὅπως θραυσθῆ ἡ καρδία καὶ πληθυνθῶσιν οἱ ἀσθενούντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πύλην αὐτῶν, παραδέδονται εἰς σφάγια ῥομφαίας, εὖ γέγονεν εἰς σφαγήν, εὖ γέγονεν εἰς στίλβωσιν.

BHS 20d-d proposes to read the word in connection with the following word as **טבח-חרב**, or **טבח החרב**, referring to the reading of the LXX (offering, cf. verses 15 and 33). The first of these proposals is supported by Cooke,²⁷ Allen (referring to the LXX and Targum),²⁸ Block,²⁹ HUB, and Koehler and Baumgartner³⁰ and the second by Zimmerli.³¹ The consensus is that the text is corrupt and that the LXX preserved a better *Vorlage*. The Peshitta has a different reading: **ⲛⲉⲧⲁⲗⲁⲗⲁ**. This is ‘a sharpened sword.’ This may be an educated guess on the part of the translator.

3.5. The Peshitta Understood the Hapax and the LXX did not, But Used Contextual Exegesis

In Ezekiel 41:16 the word **שְׁחִיף** occurs:

הַסָּפִים וְהַחֲלוּנִים הָאֲטֻמוֹת וְהָאֲתִיקִים | סְבִיב לְשַׁלְשֶׁתָם נֶגְדַּת הַסָּף שְׁחִיף עַץ סְבִיב
סְבִיב וְהָאֲרָץ עַד־הַחֲלֹנוֹת וְהַחֲלֹנוֹת מְכֻסּוֹת:

²⁷ G. A. Cooke, *The Book of Ezekiel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1936/1970), 238-239.

²⁸ L. C. Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48* (WBC 29; Dallas: Word, 1990), 20.

²⁹ Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 674.

³⁰ HALOT, 1:4.

³¹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 430.

...as well as the thresholds and the narrow windows and galleries around the three of them – everything beyond and including the threshold was covered with wood. The floor, the wall up to the windows, and the windows were covered.

The LXX has: πεφατνωμένα, καὶ αἱ θυρίδες δικτυωταί, ὑποφαύσεις κύκλω τοῖς τρισὶν ὥστε διακύπτειν, καὶ ὁ οἶκος καὶ τὰ πλησίον ἐξυλωμένα κύκλω καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἔδάφους ἕως τῶν θυρίδων, καὶ αἱ θυρίδες ἀναπτυσσόμεναι τρισσῶς εἰς τὸ διακύπτειν.

Koehler and Baumgartner regard this word as a craftsman's technical term that is not yet understood with certainty. 'Wood veneer' is their translation.³² HUB has three notes including this word. The first one deals with the phrase חֲתִיבֵי הַחֵטֶב נִגְדָּה. The LXX has ὥστε διακύπτειν (so as to look through). The note says that the translation reflects a variance as a result of exegesis and refers to 1 Kings 6:15 and 2 Kings 9:30, perhaps from a root with a ק in the middle. The second note refers to עָבַר חֲתִיבֵי and refers to the Vulgate's *stratumque ligno* (and covered with wood), which is almost equivalent to the Targum and Peshitta. The note refers to a number of texts. The third note refers to a plus in the LXX. Zimmerli also sees the term as a technical craft term.³³ The Peshitta has 'a covering of wood,' and added 'doors' before it (דְּוָרֵי מַסְכָּה - and porches and windows and parapets were going around. There were doors for the three of them going around before the wood). As far as the LXX is concerned, the note of HUB links up with Zimmerli. Block has 'panelled with wood,' referring to an Akkadian cognate.³⁴ Allen refers to Driver who provided an explanation from Aramaic.³⁵ It is clear that Peshitta had some grasp of the meaning and the LXX did not. In Ezekiel 46.14 the word חֲתִיבֵי occurs:

וּמִנְחָה תַעֲשֶׂה עָלָיו בְּבֹקֶר בְּבֹקֶר שְׁשִׁית הָאֵיפָה וְשִׁמֹן שְׁלִישִׁית הַהֵיזֶל לָלֶס אֶת־הָ עֹת
מִנְחָה לִיהוָה חֲקוֹת עוֹלָם תָּמִיד:

You are also to provide with it morning by morning a grain offering, consisting of a sixth of an ephah with a third of a hin of oil to moisten

³² HALOT, 3:1315.

³³ W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 2* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 383.

³⁴ D. I. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel Chapters 2-48* (NICOT; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 552.

³⁵ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 224.

the flour. The presenting of this grain offering to the LORD is a lasting ordinance.

The LXX has: καὶ μαναα ποιήσει ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τὸ πρῶτον ἕκτον τοῦ μέτρου καὶ ἐλαίου τὸ τρίτον τοῦ ἰν τοῦ ἀναμειῖξαι τὴν σεμίδαλιν μαναα τῷ κυρίῳ, πρόσταγμα διὰ παντός.

Koehler and Baumgartner render the verb with ‘to splash, spray.’³⁶ This verb occurs in different Aramaic dialects. The LXX translates it with ἀναμειῖξαι (to mingle, mix up). The Peshitta uses the verb ܘܠܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܠܥܠܡܐ - to sprinkle). It is clear that the Peshitta understood the Hebrew, while the LXX was led by contextual exegesis. This is clear from the fact that the Peshitta renders the Hebrew faithfully, with a verb with a specific meaning related to the Hebrew, while the LXX has a more general term.

3.6. *The Peshitta Agrees with the MT, While the LXX Confused the Word with a Similar-looking Word*

In 7:25 the word קַפְּדָה occurs:

קַפְּדָה רָבָא וּבִקְשׁוּ שְׁלוֹם וְאֵין:

When terror comes, they will seek peace, but there will be none.

The LXX reads: ἐξίλασμός ἦξει καὶ ζητήσῃ εἰρήνην, καὶ οὐκ ἔσται. Koehler and Baumgartner translate it with ‘anguish, apprehension.’³⁷ The LXX renders it with ἐξίλασμός, ‘propitiation, atonement.’ HUB thinks that this may have been an interpretation based on etymology, taking the root as כּפּר. For this explanation, compare Zimmerli and Block.³⁸ The Peshitta renders it with ܠܠܥܠܡܐ, agreeing with the Hebrew.

3.7. *The LXX Interpreted the MT Correctly, While the Peshitta Has a More General Translation, Probably Deduced from the Context*

In Ezekiel 16.40 the word וּבִתְקוּדָה occurs:

וְהָעָלוּ עָלַיִךְ קֶהֱל וְרָגְמוּ אוֹתְךָ בְּאֶבֶן וּבִתְקוּדָה בְּתַרְבוֹתָם:

They will bring a mob against you, who will stone you and hack you to pieces with their swords.

³⁶ HALOT, 3:1250.

³⁷ Ibid., 1118.

³⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 200; Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 268.

Koehler and Baumgartner translate the word with ‘to slaughter,’ with reference to an Akkadian cognate.³⁹ The LXX understands the verb in this way as well (κατασφάζω). The Peshitta has a more general rendering: ‘to strike, wound’ (ܡܚܬܝܒܘܢ). It is probable that the Peshitta guesses the meaning, on account of the sword referred to.

3.8. *The LXX and Peshitta Took the MT as From a Different Root*

In Ezekiel 17:5 the word *צפצפה* occurs:

וַיִּקַּח מִזֶּרַע הָאֲרָץ וַיִּתְּנֶהוּ בַשְּׂדֵה-זֶרַע קֹחַ עַל-מִים רַבִּים *צפצפה* שָׁמָיִם:

He took some of the seed of your land and put it in fertile soil. He planted it like a willow by abundant water.

The LXX has: καὶ ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς γῆς καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ πεδῖον φυτὸν ἐφ’ ὕδατι πολλῶ, ἐπιβλεπόμενον ἔταξεν αὐτό.

Koehler and Baumgartner render the word with ‘willow,’ but refer to Zimmerli’s view of a kind of plant that grows next to rivers.⁴⁰ Allen translates it as a willow as well, referring to Mishnaic Hebrew and Arabic as Koehler and Baumgartner do.⁴¹ HUB refers to the reading of the LXX (ἐπιβλεπόμενον) and regards it as more or less equivalent to the Peshitta. It says that this is an etymological reading, taking the root as *צפ*. This is the view of Block as well.⁴² The Peshitta has ܘܡܫܘܬܐ, which can be translated as a watchman or a watch tower. This can be linked to the Hebrew *צפה* as well. In Ezekiel 27:24 the word *בְּרָמִים* occurs:

הַמָּה רִכְלִיךָ בַמִּכְלָלִים בְּגָלוּמֵי תְּכֵלֶת וְרִקְמָה וּבְגָנוּזֵי בְּרָמִים בַּחֲבָלִים הַבְּשִׂים וְאַרְזִים
בַּמְרִבְּלָתֶיךָ:

In your marketplace they traded with you beautiful garments, blue fabric, embroidered work and multicoloured rugs with cords twisted and tightly knotted.

The LXX has: φέροντες ἐμπορίαν ὑάκινθον καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς δεδεμένους σχοινίοις καὶ κυπαρίσσινα.

³⁹ HALOT, 1:167. Cf. Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 499.

⁴⁰ HALOT, 3:1050. Cf. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 355.

⁴¹ Allen, *Ezekiel 1-19*, 251.

⁴² Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 528.

Koehler and Baumgartner render it as two-coloured fabric, with reference to Akkadian, Syriac and Arabic cognates.⁴³ For the phrase *וּבִגְנָיִם בְּרָמִים* the LXX has *θησαυρούς ἐκλεκτούς*, ‘choice treasure boxes.’ HUB says it could be an etymological rendering in the LXX, taken from a root *ברר*. The same must then be true of the Peshitta, according to HUB. The Peshitta renders this phrase with *ܩܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ*. In this instance the Peshitta perhaps follows the LXX, or has a similar interpretation. Zimmerli says the LXX and Peshitta take the first word in the meaning of the first root in Koehler and Baumgartner, not the second.⁴⁴ Block translates the phrase as ‘multicoloured cloth’ and Allen has more or less the same.⁴⁵

3.9. *The MT is Problematic or Unknown and the Translations of the LXX and Peshitta are Probably Based on Contextual Exegesis*

In Ezekiel 21:20 the word *מַעֲטָה* occurs:

לְמַעַן לְמוֹג לֵב וְהִרְבָּה הַמְּכַשְׁלִים עַל כָּל־שַׁעְרֵיהֶם נָתַתִּי אֶבְחַת־חֶרֶב אֶחָד עֶשְׂרִי:
 לְבָרֶק מַעֲטָה לְטִבַּח:

So that hearts may melt and the fallen be many, I have stationed the sword for slaughter at all their gates. Oh! It is made to flash like lightning, it is grasped for slaughter.

The LXX has: *ὅπως θραυσθῆ ἡ καρδία καὶ πληθυνθῶσιν οἱ ἀσθενοῦντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν πύλην αὐτῶν, παραδέδονται εἰς σφάγια ῥομφαίας, εὖ γέγονεν εἰς σφαγήν, εὖ γέγονεν εἰς στίλβωσιν.*

BHS proposes the reading *מְרֻטָה* or *מְרֻטָּה(מ)*, with the meaning ‘polished.’ HUB refers to the reading of the LXX, Vulgate and Peshitta. It mentions the LXX (it is well-fitted for glittering) with regard to the first proposal of BHS and calls it a lexical parallel, meaning a choice influenced by the syntactic parallel in the immediate context. The Vulgate (*ad fulgendum amicti* – for the flashing of what is concealed) took the word from a root *עטה*, the first root as given by Koehler and Baumgartner.⁴⁶ The reading of the Peshitta is ascribed to contextual exegesis. The Peshitta has *ܩܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܘܬܐ* (prepared for slaughter). Block follows Driver and Reider in linking the word to an Arabic cognate, with the meaning to draw (a sword).⁴⁷ This is supported by Allen.⁴⁸ Zimmerli

⁴³ HALOT, 1:161-162.

⁴⁴ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 51.

⁴⁵ Block, *Ezekiel 25-48*, 67, 79; Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 82.

⁴⁶ HALOT, 2:611.

⁴⁷ Block, *Ezekiel 1-24*, 675.

⁴⁸ Allen, *Ezekiel 20-48*, 20.

refers to the first solution of BHS and follows that in his translation. He mentions the proposal of Driver as well.⁴⁹ Cooke is not in favour of the emendation and refers to two different Arabic roots, ^ʿatâ (to grasp) and ma^ʿaṭa (to draw, extend a sword).⁵⁰ These cognates give good possibilities, but they do not provide the explanation for the translation of the LXX and Peshitta. In this instance a choice is very difficult. In Ezekiel 23:24 the word וַיִּצַן occurs:

וּבָאוּ עֲלֶיךָ לַעֲזָן רָכֶב וְגִלְגָל וּבִקְהֵל עַמִּים צָנָה וּמָגֵן וְקֹבֵעַ יִשְׁמְרוּ עֲלֶיךָ סָבִיב וְנִתְּתִי
לְפָנֶיהֶם מִשְׁפָּט וּשְׁפָטוּךָ בְּמִשְׁפָּטֵיהֶם:

They will come against you with weapons, chariots and wagons and with a throng of people; they will take up positions against you on every side with large and small shields and with helmets. I will turn you over to them for punishment, and they will punish you according to their standards.

The LXX has: καὶ πάντες ἤξουσιν ἐπὶ σὲ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ, ἄρματα καὶ τροχοὶ μετ' ὄχλου λαῶν, θυρεοὶ καὶ πέλται, καὶ βαλοῦσιν φυλακὴν ἐπὶ σὲ κύκλῳ, καὶ δώσω πρὸ προσώπου αὐτῶν κριμα, καὶ ἐκδικήσουσιν σε ἐν τοῖς κριμασιν αὐτῶν.

Koehler and Baumgartner say that the word is unexplained.⁵¹ BHS refers to the reading of the LXX, 'from the north,' but proposes 'multitude.' These two possibilities are mentioned by Koehler and Baumgartner as well.⁵² HUB refers to the reading of the LXX and to the reading of variants of the LXX, agreeing with the Vulgate, Targum and Peshitta. It sees the reading of the LXX as a problematic lexical identification of the Hebrew word. The variants of the LXX have 'with weapons,' the Peshitta 'already armed' (حَد مَحْمَد) and the Vulgate 'equipped' (*instructi*). The commentaries mention these possibilities, but the exact meaning is still uncertain. In Ezekiel 27:11 the word וַיִּצַן occurs:

בָּנִי אֲרֹד וְחִילְךָ עַל־חֹמוֹתֶיךָ סָבִיב וְנִמְדִים בְּמַגְדָּלוֹתֶיךָ הָיוּ שְׁלֹטֵיהֶם תָּלוּ
עַל־חֹמוֹתֶיךָ סָבִיב הֵמָּה כָּלְלוּ יָפֶיךָ:

⁴⁹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel 1*, 430.

⁵⁰ Cooke, *Ezekiel*, 238.

⁵¹ HALOT, 1:254.

⁵² Ibid., 254.

Men of Arvad and Helech manned your walls on every side; men of Gammad were in your towers. They hung their shields around your walls; they brought your beauty to perfection.

The LXX has: υἱοὶ Ἀραδίων καὶ ἡ δύναμις σου ἐπὶ τῶν τειχέων σου φύλακες ἐν τοῖς πύργοις σου ἦσαν, τὰς φαρέτρας αὐτῶν ἐκρέμασαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρμων σου κύκλω, οὗτοι ἐτελείωσάν σου τὸ κάλλος.

Koehler and Baumgartner regard it as an unknown name of a people.⁵³ The LXX has φύλακες. HUB refers to this reading and says it is the same as the Peshitta. It regards it as a problematic lexical identification of the Hebrew word. Zimmerli says that the word has been understood as שמרים, watchers, by LXX and Peshitta, but he also regards it as a name of a tribe.⁵⁴ Block speaks of people coming from Gammad, an unknown place.⁵⁵ Allen does the same.⁵⁶ The LXX has ‘there were guards in your towers’. The reading of the Peshitta (ܦܘܠܐܟܝܢ) can be taken as the noun (guards) like the Greek, but it is also possible to take it as a participle proper, linking it to the previous phrase: ܥܡܩܘܠܘܢ ܡܢܬܠܚܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܘܡܘܬܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܘܡܘܬܝܢ (The children of Arvad and your army are standing on your walls and are guarding your towers). In this instance the LXX and Peshitta render the text according to the context. It is interesting to note that they are close to one another, though not exactly the same. In Ezekiel 27:17 the word ܦܢܝܓ occurs:

יהודה וארץ ישראל המה רכליך בחפטי מנית **פניג** ודבש ושמן וצרי נתנו מערבך:

Judah and Israel traded with you; they exchanged wheat from Minnith and confections, honey, oil and balm for your wares.

The LXX has: Ἰουδας καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, οὗτοι ἔμποροὶ σου ἐν σίτου πράσει καὶ μύρων καὶ κασίας, καὶ πρῶτον μέλι καὶ ἔλαιον καὶ ῥητίνην ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸν σύμμικτόν σου.

Koehler and Baumgartner say that the meaning is uncertain, but according to the context the word must refer to some product from the country.⁵⁷ BHS refers to two manuscripts with a slightly different reading, with a double λ. HUB refers to the phrase ἐν σίτου πράσει καὶ μύρων καὶ κασίας in the LXX, saying that this continues the list of

⁵³ Ibid., 196.

⁵⁴ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 46.

⁵⁵ Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, 57.

⁵⁶ Allen, *Ezekiel* 20-48, 81.

⁵⁷ HALOT, 3:937.

goods and is the result of a problematic lexical identification of the word. The Peshitta translates it with ‘millet’ (ܡܠܝܬ). Zimmerli discusses the various versions, but his conclusion is that the meaning is still uncertain.⁵⁸ Here the word is unknown and the versions are led by the context. In Ezekiel 39:2 the word *וְשֵׂאֲתִיד* occurs:

וְשֵׂבִתִּיד וְשֵׂאֲתִיד וְהֵעֲלִיתִיד מִיַּרְכְּתִי צִפּוֹן וְהִבְאוֹתִיד עַל־הָרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל:

I will turn you around and drag you along. I will bring you from the far north and send you against the mountains of Israel.

The LXX has: *καὶ συνάξω σε καὶ καθοδηγήσω σε καὶ ἀναβιβῶ σε ἀπὸ ἐσχάτου τοῦ βορρᾶ καὶ ἀνάξω σε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τοῦ Ἰσραηλ.*

Koehler and Baumgartner render it with ‘to lead along on a rope.’⁵⁹ BHS refers to the reading of the Targum, taking it from a verb *נשא*. HUB refers to the reading of the LXX and regards it as an etymological reading from a verb *נשא*. It refers to the Vulgate as well (*seducam te*). This reading is the same as that of the Targum. The beginning of the verse in the LXX can be translated as follows: ‘and I will assemble you and I will guide you.’ The Peshitta has at the beginning of the verse: *וְשֵׂבִתִּיד וְשֵׂאֲתִיד*. It can be translated as: ‘and I will give you peace (reconcile you, calm you) and I will gather you.’ Block has a useful discussion of the proposals.⁶⁰ He regards the word as inexplicable. The proposals include relating the word to an Egyptian word *sōsawa* (to proceed, walk along), emending the word on the basis of a word with a similar meaning in the Targum, or relating it to the verb with a Sin, meaning ‘to lift.’ It is quite clear that the word is problematic. The LXX probably can be explained as HUB did. The reading of the Peshitta is difficult to explain, but is probably an interpretation based on the context. In Ezekiel 46:22 the word *קטרות* occurs:

*בְּאַרְבַּעַת מְקַצְעוֹת הַחֲצַר הַצְּרוֹת קְטָרוֹת אַרְבַּעִים אַרְדָּ וְשָׁלְשִׁים רַחֵב מְדֵה אַחַת
לְאַרְבַּעַתָּם מְהַקְצָעוֹת:*

In the four corners of the outer court were enclosed courts, forty cubits long and thirty cubits wide; each of the courts in the four corners was the same size.

⁵⁸ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 48.

⁵⁹ HALOT, 4:1664.

⁶⁰ Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, 460.

The LXX has: ἐπὶ τὰ τέσσαρα κλίτη τῆς αὐλῆς αὐλὴ μικρά, μῆκος πηχῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ εὖρος πηχῶν τριάκοντα, μέτρον ἐν ταῖς τέσσαρσιν.

Koehler and Baumgartner refer to a number of possibilities, but conclude that the meaning is disputed.⁶¹ BHS says that the word is corrupt and refers to readings in the LXX and in the Lucianic recension, both pointing to ‘small,’ changing the 7 to 1. It proposes reading it as תִּרְצָקָ, referring to 42:5. HUB refers to the LXX as well, stating that it is almost equal to the Peshitta. HUB regards the LXX as a reading based on etymology, also mentioning the forms discussed above. Zimmerli mentions different possibilities as well, but opts for ‘small,’ with a writing error in the MT.⁶² The Peshitta has small courtyards (ܟܘܪܝܢܘܬܐ). Block wants to retain the MT with the meaning ‘fenced-in enclosures.’⁶³ Allen wants to retain the more difficult reading as well.⁶⁴ Here are two possibilities, a different *Vorlage* for LXX and Peshitta, or a contextual interpretation of a difficult word. The latter is more probable. In Ezekiel 27:15 the word רְבִיבִים occurs:

בְּנֵי יָדָן רְבִיבִים אִיִּים רַבִּים סְתָרְתָּ יָדָךְ קַרְנֹת שֹׁן נְהוֹבָנִים הַשִּׁיבוּ אֶשְׁכְּרָךְ:

The men of Rhodes traded with you, and many coastlands were your customers; they paid you with ivory tusks and ebony.

The LXX has: υἱοὶ Ῥοδίων ἔμποροὶ σου ἀπὸ νήσων ἐπλήθουναν τὴν ἔμπορίαν σου ὀδόντας ἑλεφαντίνους, καὶ τοῖς εἰσαγομῆνοις ἀντεδίδους τοὺς μισθοὺς σου.

Koehler and Baumgartner translate with ‘ebony’ and sees it as an Egyptian loan-word.⁶⁵ HUB refers to the translation of the LXX, Targum and Peshitta. It says that the LXX has an interpretation based on etymology, taking the root as רַבִּיב. For the reading of the Peshitta (ܟܘܪܝܢܘܬܐ – incense) HUB refers to Leviticus 2:1 and 15 and 1 Chronicles 9:29. The Targum translated it as peacock. Zimmerli says that the Targum and Peshitta did not understand the word, while the LXX misread it.⁶⁶ Block says that none of the versions understood it.⁶⁷ This is probably the case in this instance. In Ezekiel 27:20 the word שִׁטִּי occurs:

⁶¹ HALOT, 3:1095.

⁶² Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 499.

⁶³ Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, 682.

⁶⁴ Allen, *Ezekiel* 20-48, 248.

⁶⁵ HALOT, 1:237.

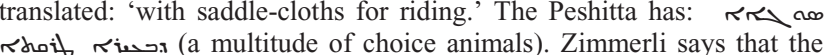
⁶⁶ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 47.

⁶⁷ Block, *Ezekiel* 25-48, 66.

דָּדָן רִכְלֹתֶיךָ בְּבַגְדֵי חֹפֶשׁ לְרִכְבָּהָ:

Dedan traded in saddle blankets with you.

The LXX has: Δαιδαν ἔμποροί σου μετὰ κτηνῶν ἐκλεκτῶν εἰς ἄρματα.

Koehler and Baumgartner understand it as referring to material for saddle-cloths.⁶⁸ HUB refers to the reading of the LXX ἐκλεκτῶν (the best animals). It says that this is equivalent to the Peshitta and that it could be an interpretation based on etymology, with a root חֶפֶשׁ. The Peshitta is not completely in agreement with the LXX. The LXX can be translated: ‘with choice animals for the chariots.’ The MT can be translated: ‘with saddle-cloths for riding.’ The Peshitta has:  (a multitude of choice animals). Zimmerli says that the LXX understands the word to refer to the horses that pulled the chariots.⁶⁹ In this instance the LXX perhaps had the same word as the MT in its *Vorlage*, but understood it from a different root, related to a verb with the meaning ‘to seek after,’ as suggested by BHS. The Peshitta linked this verse to the next verse and added a verb ‘to bring’: ‘they brought to you.’ It differs more from the LXX than suggested by HUB. The translation of the Peshitta was probably an attempt to make sense of a difficult Hebrew passage. In Ezekiel 42.12 the word הַגִּינָה occurs:

וּכְפֹתְחֵי הַלְשָׁכוֹת אֲשֶׁר דָּרְךְ הַדְּרוֹם פְּתַח בְּרֹאשׁ דָּרְךְ דָּרְךְ בְּכַנֵּי הַגְּדֵרֹת הַגִּינָה דָּרְךְ
הַקָּדִים בְּבוֹאָן:

... were the doorways of the rooms on the south. There was a doorway at the beginning of the passageway that was parallel to the corresponding wall extending eastward, by which one enters the rooms.

The LXX has: τῶν ἐξεδρωῶν τῶν πρὸς νότον καὶ κατὰ τὰ θυρώματα ἀπὸ ἀρχῆς τοῦ περιπάτου ὡς ἐπὶ φῶς διαστήματος καλάμου καὶ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τοῦ εἰσπορεύεσθαι διὰ αὐτῶν.

Koehler and Baumgartner want to read a noun גִּינָה with the article prefixed, for ‘a protecting wall’ together with the previous word.⁷⁰ The same is proposed by BHS. HUB has a number of remarks on this word and the surrounding ones. For the words דָּרְךְ הַגִּינָה the Peshitta reads

⁶⁸ HALOT, 1:341.

⁶⁹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 49.

⁷⁰ HALOT, 1:190, 238.

כַּלְמֵת כְּנִיָּוֶת. (in the way of the torrent?). This is an interpretation based on etymology, from a root כנ"י – valley. The LXX has καλάμου (reed, measuring rod) for this word. This is seen as a problematic lexical identification of a word in the Hebrew, with perhaps a phonetic interchange of י and ק. The phrase in the LXX can be translated as follows: ‘as it were the distance of a reed for light.’ Most of the proposals are discussed by Zimmerli.⁷¹ He says that the LXX did not understand this word and used the helping word for a reed. The Peshitta saw the word for a valley, as accepted by HUB. The proposal of Koehler and Baumgartner and BHS comes from Elliger. It is clear that the meaning of this technical term was lost very early on and the versions tried to make sense.

4. Conclusion

From the discussion above it is evident that the rendering of the *hapax legomena* in the two versions reflect a wide variety. In many instances one or both of the versions had no problem in understanding the *hapax legomenon*. Instances of a different *Vorlage* are scarce. In many instances where the Hebrew can be regarded as problematic, because of problems with the text or the fact that the meaning of a word is unknown, the versions resorted to a contextual interpretation. It is clear that the Peshitta did not use the LXX as a key in its translation of these words. In many of the problematic instances, the Peshitta and LXX each went their own way in solving the problem, frequently with a different contextual interpretation.

⁷¹ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel* 2, 396.

THE ROLE OF METATEXTS IN THE TRANSLATIONS OF SACRED TEXTS: THE CASE OF THE BOOK OF ARISTEAS AND THE SEPTUAGINT

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1. Introduction

Translations of sacred texts through the centuries were accompanied by metatexts narrating the origin and nature of the specific translation (for example, the Book of Aristeas² and the Septuagint [LXX]; *Dolmetschen* and the Luther Bible Translation; the metatexts in the Dutch Authoritative Bible Translation [*Statevertaling*], etc). However, in the twentieth century Bible translations accompanied by metatexts were very rare. But in the twenty-first century Bible translations have again made use of metatexts (for example, the successful *Nieuwe Bijbelvertaling*, *Das Neue Testament*, *The Schocken Bible*, *Die Bybel vir Dowes*, etc.). Metatexts will also play a major role in the next Afrikaans Bible translation. The aim of this article is to investigate previous scholarship and to suggest a new avenue for explaining the role of the Book of Aristeas as metatext in the translation of a sacred text, namely the LXX. This exploration will be continued in subsequent articles in the future.

The framework for this study is Descriptive Translation Studies, which adopts a descriptive approach towards translation in accounting for the role of metatexts in Bible and religious translations. The descriptive approach originated in the 1970s with Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and created the impetus for the study of translation to move in the direction of an investigation of the position of translated literature as a whole *vis-à-vis* the historical and literary systems of the target culture. As a key constituent of many descriptive approaches, such investigative study encourages researchers to ask what translation does in

¹ The author wishes to express his thanks to Ms Marlie van Rooyen for her assistance and input in editing this article.

² Although many sources still refer to the Book of Aristeas as the Letter of Aristeas, the author has chosen to use the term Book of Aristeas, as suggested in the writing of S. Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria* (London-New York: Routledge, 2003), 1. B.Ar. is used as the abbreviation for this text.

specific cultural settings.³ In other words, theorists attempt to account not only for textual strategies in the translated text, but also for the way in which the translation functions in the target cultural and literary system. From the early 1980s onwards there was a tendency in translation studies to move away from the normative approach of translation criticism, which deems a translation as good/faithful, bad or indifferent in terms of what constitutes equivalence between two texts. The focus is rather on a description and explanation of the translation in the light of the translator's ideology, strategies, cultural norms, etc.⁴

This study forms part of a National Research Foundation project, Corpus Translation Studies of Bible and Religious Translation, at the University of the Free State. The specific problem to be investigated in this sub-project is as follows: What is the specific relation between the metatext and the translation of a sacred text?

This paper aims to shed light on new trends in translation studies and acceptability issues concerning the translation of sacred texts. B.Ar. and the Septuagint will be discussed with regards to the text, content and interpretations in order to work towards a solution, referring to the translation dimensions of sacred texts.

2. *New Trends in Translation Studies and Acceptability Issues*

Maria Tymoczko indicates new trends in translation studies that will unseat current pretheoretical assumptions about translation in the next decade.⁵ The task of defining translation has not been completed and it will continue to form a central trajectory of translation research in the decades to come. Translation, like the concept 'game' discussed by Wittgenstein, is an open concept. In cognitive science such open concepts are sometimes called cluster concepts or cluster categories (transfer, realisation, transcoding, interpretation, etc.). Gideon Toury's definition of translation as "any target language text which is presented or regarded as such within the target system itself, on whatever grounds" is congruent with this notion of translation as a cluster concept, and it is important in part because it allows for cultural self-definition and self-representation in the field, elements that are central to the

³ See T. Hermans, *Translation in S systems: D descriptive and S system-oriented Approaches Explained* (Manchester: St Jerome, 1999).

⁴ A. Kruger and K. Wallmach, "Research Methodology for the Description of a Source Text and its Translation(s) – a South African Perspective," *South African Journal of African Languages* 17 (1997): 119-126.

⁵ M. Tymoczko, "Trajectories of Research in Translation Studies," *Meta* 50 (2005): 1082-1097.

internationalisation of the field of translation studies.⁶ Accordingly, various manifestations of translation are recognised. In line with Toury's definition – from research in the Bible corpus project (Afrikaans, Sesotho and Setswana Bible translations) – it seems that the nature of a translation is driven by acceptability norms of the readership (as can be seen in the translation strategy of the 1933 Afrikaans Bible translation, after the 1922 trial translation was rejected by the readership). This also becomes clear in Douglas Robinson's account.⁷ Robinson addresses the following aspects in defining the seemingly straightforward phrase 'the translation of sacred texts':

Translation: Can sacred texts be translated? Is a viable translation of a sacred text still a translation, or is it something else, something new? Should sacred texts be translated? How, when, for whom and with what safeguards or controls?

Sacred: Is a translated sacred text still sacred, or is it a mere 'copy' of the sacred text? What is sacrality? In what does it lodge or reside or inhere, and can it be transported across cultural boundaries? Does it have a stable centre that resists distortion or change when it undergoes such transportation?

Text: What boundaries could be set up around the textuality of sacred texts? What is a sacred text in an oral or illiterate culture? Do its liturgical uses (prayers, hymns or chants) count? Even in a literate culture that identifies a single book as its sacred text, what are the limits of that text?

The translation of sacred texts both within individual cultures and over the historical course of whole civilisations might be reduced to a simplified myth or narrative – one that would only pretend to reflect the reality it represents in the aggregate, not in every minute detail. Significant exceptions to specific claims made here are legion.⁸

It is impossible to address all these core issues at once. They serve to contextualise the nature of the translation of sacred texts. The various interpretations of the translation of one such sacred text, the LXX, will be discussed in this article. The investigation is demarcated to cover only one such metatext, namely B.Ar. and the LXX.

⁶ Cf. G. Toury, *In search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, 1980), 14, 37, 43-45.

⁷ D. Robinson, "Sacred Texts," in P. France, ed. *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 103-107.

⁸ Robinson, "Sacred Texts," 103-107.

3. *The Case of the Book of Aristeas and the Septuagint*

3.1. *Text of the Book of Aristeas*

The historical placing of B.Ar. varies from the end of the third century B.C.E. through to the second century C.E.⁹ Meisner¹⁰ and Bickerman¹¹ argue that it should be dated between 127-118 B.C.E. Honigman,¹² Meecham¹³ and Hadas¹⁴ opt for 145 B.C.E. Jobes and Silva¹⁵ favour a dating during the second century B.C.E. It should not be seen as a contemporary document to the origins of the Septuagint.¹⁶ Collins is convinced that it is indeed possible to date B.Ar. earlier.¹⁷ She reconstructed the year (281 B.C.E) that the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek was actually undertaken.

The letter of Aristeas to Philocrates appeared in print in a Latin translation by Matthias Palmerius of Pisa in Rome in 1471. The edition of the Greek text was not published until 1561. Until 1870 the latest edition of the text was that which Hody prefixed to his work *De Bibliorum Textibus*, published at Oxford in 1705.¹⁸ The transmitted manuscripts fall into two main groups, which may for convenience be divided into two further subgroups each.

3.2. *The Content of the Book of Aristeas*

Aristeas' story is presented in the guise of a letter to his brother Philocrates in which he details the purpose and outcome of a delegation sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.) to Eleazar, the High Priest in Jerusalem. Demetrius of Phalerum, the librarian of the royal library in

⁹ N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 41 and J. Cook, "Reconsidering Septuagintal Origins," *Journal for Semitics*, 14/2 (2005): 441-461.

¹⁰ N. Meisner, *Aristeasbrief* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlaghaus, 1977), 37.

¹¹ E. J. Bickerman, "Zur Datierung des Pseudo-Aristeas," *ZNW* 29 (1930): 280-298.

¹² Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 129.

¹³ H. G. Meecham, *The Letter of Aristeas* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), 332.

¹⁴ M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (New York: Harper, 1951).

¹⁵ K. H. Jobes and M. Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 34.

¹⁶ S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1993), 46.

¹⁷ N. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria & the Bible in Greek* (VTSup 72; Leiden-Boston-Koln: Brill, 2000), 5.

¹⁸ H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), 533-535. The translation used in this paper is the one by R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English: Pseudepigrapha* (Vol. 2; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

Alexandria, had reported to Philadelphus that, although the library already contained 200,000 volumes, there was no copy of the laws of the Jews (the five books of Moses). The king ordered that a letter be addressed to Eleazar requesting elders, six from each tribe, skilled in translating these books (i.e. the Torah), to be sent to Alexandria in order that a proper translation might be made for the king's library. The high priest complied with this request and sent 72 elders to the Egyptian king. These men had not only acquired for themselves knowledge of Jewish literature, but also had studied that of the Greeks. He also sent along with them precious parchments on which the Pentateuch was inscribed in gold. On their arrival in Alexandria the king entertained them with banquets on seven successive days. Each scholar was asked a question by the king, and their wisdom was demonstrated by their answers. Demetrius took the learned elders to the island of Pharos, where they completed their work in 72 days. The translation was then read to the Jews, who not only requested a copy of the entire work but also decided that since it had been translated accurately and in pious fashion, it was but right that it should remain as it was and that no revision of any kind might ever take place.¹⁹

3.3. *Classical Authors of the Book of Aristeas*

The tradition – as related to Aristeas – is found with slight differences among a few classical authors. Aristobulus, Aristeas and Philo all state that King Ptolemy was responsible for the translation of the Hebrew sacred writings into Greek. A comparison of the three versions reveals that each writer embellishes the plot in a distinct manner. Each writer creates “historical” details that support the exegetical endeavour undertaken. The story of the translation becomes a vehicle for creating all the components necessary to justify the exegete's role.

Philo's version of the Aristeas tradition mentions that there were only 70 (instead of 72) translators and the translation was completed within 70 days (not 72). According to Philo, the completion of the work was celebrated with an annual festival. His version is much shorter than Aristeas' and focuses on details of the translation process. Philo does not state that there were other translations, because from his point of view one divine translation is sufficient. Philo wants each word of the Greek text to have the same meaning as the Hebrew text. The translators work not by comparing results and harmonising as in the B.Ar., but instead are

¹⁹ John W. Wevers, “An Apologia for Septuagint Studies,” *BIOSCS* 18 (1985): 16-38 and G. J. Steyn, “Die ou Griekse vertaling (Septuagint). Deel I. 'n Kort oorsig oor die moontlike ontstaansgeskiedenis,” *Theologica Evangelica* 22/2 (1989): 9-18.

guided by the holy spirit. Philo also does not leave Moses' role in doubt. He states that the holy spirit worked directly on Moses' vocal chords in forming the original writings. Moses is a divinely inspired author and even the translation is divinely inspired. Philo, as interpreter, is the last link in the chain of interpretation.²⁰

Aristobulus' allegorical interpretations are presented as dialogue. He mentions that while there was a translation carried out under Ptolemy, this was not the only or even the first translation. The biblical story as Aristobulus recounts it includes an exodus, a conquest and legislation. Aristobulus' allegorical system has several components, including a divine transmitter behind the text (Moses), the need for an exegete to uncover the true meaning,²¹ and the idea that the text is a source of ancient, universal wisdom.

Josephus' rendition in the *Antiquities* verifies that the Pseudo-Aristeas letter was also in circulation during the first century A.D. According to Keough in a review of Abraham and David Wasserstein's *The Legend of the Septuagint*, Josephus' version is actually a story of the translation project itself. Josephus re-tells the story to draw attention away from the facts about the Jews' revolt that has failed, the city of Jerusalem that has fallen and the Temple which is destroyed. He focuses rather on an image that would offer a sharp contrast to these events namely that of 'the greatest representative of the most powerful and the most civilized monarchy of recent times dealing with the Jewish High Priest, actually his subject, on terms of near-equality.'²²

From the second century A.D. church leaders were quoting the Aristeas letter. One of the well-known additions is that the translators worked individually and that they compared their work after completion, which they then found corresponded miraculously. These claims were made by Irenaeus, Clemens of Alexandria, Cyrillus of Jerusalem and Augustinus. Epiphanius of Salamis (341-403 C.E.) said that the 72 translators worked in pairs of two and that they went out on the sea in 36 boats every night to eat with the king.²³

However, Aristeas's version of the story is the most famous and has survived as an addendum to the LXX. The author of B.Ar. presents this

²⁰ N. Janowitz, "The Rhetoric of Translation: Three Early Perspectives on Translating Torah," *HTR* 84/2 (1991): 129-140.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 129-140.

²² S. W. J. Keough – review of Abraham Wasserstein and David Wasserstein. *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) in *The Medieval Review* (2008) available online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/t/tmr>.

²³ Steyn, "Die ou Griekse vertaling," 9-18.

simple method of translation because Aristeas does not expend much effort in analysing or interpreting the specific wording of the Greek text. The translators give the king not only the translated text, but also provide a summary of the main components of the Jewish religion, which ends up occupying much more space than the story of the translation.²⁴

3.4. *The Role of the Book of Aristeas as Metatext*

3.4.1. *Genres and Their Role*

The B.Ar. has been the object of a great deal of controversy. According to Wevers, no one seriously questions its legendary character and the general consensus in the scholarly community is that it dates from the latter half of the second century B.C.²⁵ But what has exercised many scholars is the actual reason for the creation of the Aristeas legend. Obviously it was not written as a piece of historical research, as a serious attempt at understanding what had taken place more than a century earlier with respect to the translation of the Hebrew Torah into Greek, but rather to address some crisis in the time of the writer. Since our knowledge of the Jewish community in Alexandria during the second century B.C. is meagre indeed, scholars are largely left with examining the internal evidence of the Book itself.

According to Johann Cook, there are two schools of thought regarding the genre of the B.Ar.²⁶ One group suggests that its genre has no historical value at all (*Pseudepigraphon*), while the other group defines the genre of the B.Ar. as *historiography*.

3.4.1.1. The Book of Aristeas as *Pseudepigraphon*

These scholars are of the opinion that B.Ar. has no historical value at all.²⁷ It is viewed as fiction or legend and contains apologetic overtones to defend the translation.

(i) Humphrey Hody

Prior to 1705, the historicity of B.Ar. had been generally accepted. After Humphrey Hody's carefully argued demonstration (in *De bibliorum textibus originalibus* and with it *Contra hi storian L XX i nterpretum*

²⁴ N. Janowitz, "The Rhetoric of Translation," 129-140.

²⁵ Wevers, "Septuagint Studies," 16-38.

²⁶ J. Cook, "Translating the Septuagint: Some Methodological Considerations," in *Textual Studies in Early Judaism – the Septuagint and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BETL; eds. H. Ausloos, J. Cook, F. García Martínez, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 9-33 and J. Cook, "Reconsidering Septuagintal Origins," 441-461.

²⁷ J. W. Wevers, "An apologia for Septuagint Studies," *BIOSCS* 18 (1985): 16-38.

Aristeas nomine in scriptam) of the fictitious nature of the story of the origins of LXX as told in the B.Ar., few scholars questioned the correctness of Hody's views.²⁸

(ii) John Wevers

Wevers describes its genre as *Pseudepigraphon* – a term that seems to fit the legendary and seemingly fictitious nature of the story. Wevers makes two observations, one on the purported *intent* of the document, and the other relating to the *actual situation* of its production.

The purported *intent* of B.Ar. is to detail the origins of the Greek Pentateuch. Under royal orders the entire Pentateuch was translated by a committee of 72 translators on the island of Pharos in the first half of the third century B.C. Wevers agrees with Hody's view that B.Ar. is fiction and indicates that it would be methodologically sound not to accept anything stated in B.Ar. that cannot be substantiated elsewhere. Therefore he suggests that there is no good reason to believe either that the work had anything to do with Ptolemy Philadelphus, with the island of Pharos, with Palestinian translators, or with a parent Hebrew text sent from Jerusalem, or that it was a unified work. He accepts that the work was Alexandrian, since on linguistic grounds the Greek vocabulary contains items specifically known to have been current in Egypt. It was also the Greek text of the Pentateuch rather than the Hebrew that was used by Demetrius the Hellenist, who flourished in the last quarter of the third century B.C.²⁹

According to Wevers,³⁰ the *actual Sitz im Leben* for the Aristeas legend seems to betray B.Ar. itself. He notes that surprisingly little is said about the actual translation of the LXX. The work is divided into 322 sections. The story relating the king's orders, his letter to Eleazar, Eleazar's reply and the names of the 72 translators are all found in the first 50 sections. The actual work of the translation and its subsequent acceptance by both the Jewish community and the king are found in sections 301 to 322. The intervening 250 sections give a laudatory description of the temple, the Holy Land, the banquets provided by the king for the 72 translators, his posing of philosophical and ethical questions to the Palestinian guests, and the wisdom and piety of their responses. Aristeas defends the Greek Pentateuch by insisting on its Palestinian origin. Its parent text was not a local Alexandrian Hebrew text, but an ornate exemplar sent by the Jerusalem high priest himself. It was not the Alexandrian Jews who made the translation, but official

²⁸ Wevers, "Septuagint Studies," 16-38.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

representatives: six from each of the 12 tribes, selected by the high priest, in open assembly. The translation is rendered official through its adoption by the Jewish assembly and also rendered canonical. Like the Hebrew original, it was not allowed to undergo any revision, so that it might be preserved imperishable and unchanged.

(iii) Abraham Wasserstein and David Wasserstein

Shawn Keough mentions in a review of Wasserstein and Wasserstein's *The Legend of the Septuagint: From Classical Antiquity to Today*, how these two writers acknowledge that answers to questions on the LXX's actual origin must remain unknown until better evidence becomes available.³¹ They have provided what should be regarded as the definitive response to the remaining task, which is to investigate and describe the origins and subsequent developments of the legend around the LXX. The legend and the translation are thus clearly separated. Wasserstein and Wasserstein acknowledge that the B.Ar. has no historical value as a witness to the origins of the LXX. They argue that a Greek translation of the Torah existed at the time of its composition, and that there was a current of desire to cement its authority. The B.Ar. therefore serves as the basis for all subsequent versions of the legend, even when they differ widely from it.

3.4.1.2. *The Book of Aristeas as Historiography*

Other scholars take the historical situation implied by the authors seriously.³² There are many variations of this viewpoint. The main argument is that the metatext represents the truth in the sense that this is how the intended readers of the translation of the sacred text in fact perceived it to be.

(i) Nina Collins

Nina Collins argues that this book should indeed be taken seriously as a historical document. She bases her arguments upon B.Ar. Collins has to deal with numerous problems, of which the most prominent is the issue of different chronological systems in the various sources. She comes to the conclusion that the dates of Eusebius and Epiphanius endorse the basic historicity of Aristeas and the literary accounts. Her confidence in the historicity of Aristeas leads her even further to conclude that it is possible to arrive at an approximate date for the arrival of the translators in Alexandria and thus to estimate the total length of their stay. This date

³¹ Keough – review.

³² Cook, "Reconsidering Septuagintal Origins," 441-461.

has been pin-pointed to the year 281 B.C.E.³³ The view of Collins that B.Ar. should be understood literally should be treated with suspicion. There are simply too many inconsistencies that cannot be satisfactorily cleared by the theories of Collins.

(ii) Noah Hacham

According to Hacham, the author of B.Ar. transformed the biblical stories of the exodus and the giving of the Torah into a new foundation story of Egyptian Jewry.³⁴ The new story disregards the biblical hostility to Egypt and expresses sympathy for the Ptolemaic king who released the Jews from slavery, settled them in Egypt and initiated the translation of the Torah into Greek. He notes that B.Ar. should not be viewed only as a historical description of the translation of the Torah into Greek, but rather as a narrative recounting the Eleazar expedition. Hacham indicates that the B.Ar. also exhibits characteristics of genres such as utopian geography and philosophy. The combination of these characteristics leads one to search for the underlying ideology of the B.Ar. The core of this ideology is a combination of total loyalty to Judaism and a deep and active involvement with the Hellenistic world and culture.

This ideology is composed of minute details, whose interweaving constitutes the whole.³⁵ One prominent feature of the writer's *Weltanschauung* is the tendency to emphasise the sanctity and authority of the Greek translation of the Torah by the 72 elders, and to enhance its legitimacy and commitment to it. There are also various hints and expressions pointing at the great significance of the translation, which is similar to the Hebrew version. The Alexandrian Jews accepted the translation and forbade any additions or detractions. The Ptolemaic king himself also acknowledged the sanctity of the translation. Aristeas describes the translation of the Torah in ways similar to those of the biblical giving of the Torah, thereby emphasising the translation's sanctity and authority. The ideology of the B.Ar. is expressed clearly: a total commitment to the Torah and its sanctity, on the one hand, and a Greek cast for the Egyptian Jews, on the other. Hacham indicates that the B.Ar. should not be viewed as just another book emanating from ideology, but rather as a book that attempts to create a foundation story for this ideology – for Hellenistic Jewry.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ N. Hacham, "The *Letter of Aristeas*: A new Exodus story?" *Journal for the Study of Judaism* XXXVI, I (2005): 1-20.

³⁵ Hacham, "The *Letter of Aristeas*," 1-20.

(iii) Sylvie Honigman

Sylvie Honigman came up with novel interpretations of this writing as a whole in a study of the narrative of the B.Ar.³⁶ She proposed that its author actually followed Alexandrian literary practices and more specifically the text-critical work of Aristarchos on the edition of Homer in the creation of new manuscript editions of Homer, as the older ones had become inferior because they had deteriorated so badly. Honigman proposes that B.Ar. should be read against its Hellenistic, Alexandrian background.³⁷

Honigman brings novel perspectives to the fore, the most significant being that she takes seriously Homeric scholarship in Alexandria. Contrary to its accepted genre description as *pseudepigraphon* or ‘letter,’ she suggests that its genre should rather be defined as *historiography*, in the sense that the author in fact intended it to be seen as ‘true history.’ She also sees B.Ar. as a charter myth, referring to how the readers perceive the story. It is in fact Honigman’s intention to demonstrate that the role and purpose of B.Ar. was to turn the story of the origins of the LXX into a myth that would be believed by its readers. Honigman compares techniques used in B.Ar. with rhetorical techniques utilised by Alexandrian historians in order to demonstrate that it was not a compilation for apologetic purposes. One of the positive aspects of B.Ar. is that the author takes seriously the Alexandrian context of his writing.³⁸

3.4.2. *Intention of the Book of Aristeas as Metatext*

Honigman presents a new theory on the *intention* of the passage on the promulgation of the law. She distinguishes between the intent of the passage on the law and that of the writing as a whole. Even though she does accept the Jewishness of this writing, she maintains that what we have here is a blend of Greek form and Jewish content.³⁹

Honigman is convinced that B.Ar. does not have a fundamentally polemical intent, even though she admits that in the apology for the Law there is some polemic against prevailing philosophical viewpoints.⁴⁰ According to her, the thrust of the treatise is not apologetic, but rather “a multi-faceted presentation of Judaism.” Her interpretation is that the intention of the passage on the Law is aimed at the quality of the

³⁶ Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 33.

³⁷ Cook, “Reconsidering Septuagintal Origins,” 441-461.

³⁸ J. Cook, “Some Novel Developments in Septuagint Research,” *Old Testament Essays*, 18/3 (2005): 531-451.

³⁹ Cook, “Reconsidering Septuagintal Origins,” 441-461.

⁴⁰ Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 29.

translation (a new manuscript) and not at its sanctity. Honigman's view on the relationship between Hellenism and Judaism is nuanced. However, it remains a question whether one should underplay the apologetic intention of B.Ar. to the extent that she does.

In what follows the hypotheses by Naomi Janowitz, Dries de Crom and Raijo Sollamo will be considered.

3.4.3. *Other hypotheses to be considered*

3.4.3.1. *Naomi Janowitz*

According to Janowitz, the terms *anagnosis* and *akroasis* are of essential importance in understanding the twofold structure of the authority of the LXX translation.⁴¹ The authority of the LXX is only complete if both concepts are combined. The quality of all aspects of the translators' direct work on the text (*anagnosis*) is in itself not enough, but must be complemented by the mediation of the text (*akroasis*) to those that do not have direct access to it. There is more to the authority of the translation than the production of a good and accurate text, and it is not just a result of the meticulous labour of an individual translator or a group of translators. The diffusion of the translation and its reception are essential aspects of the process which makes a translation "complete" or authoritative. This is exactly why the authority of the LXX, in Jewish terms, could not have been proclaimed in any other way than through a public reading to, and acclamation by, the assembled faithful. For the author of the B.Ar., an authoritative text is both a 'good' text and an 'acclaimed,' or 'sacred' text.

3.4.3.2. *Dries de Crom*

Dries de Crom shows how the 'ideological' features of the B.Ar. have gained renewed significance in recent studies.⁴² In the past attention has been given to issues of the dating and authorship of the writing with the purpose of determining its historical value. Enquiries into its 'ideology,' i.e. its representation of a belief system, have been part of this research insofar as they potentially place us on the trail of the *Sitz im Leben* of the writing itself. De Crom also refers to the insights offered by Hadas and Honigman. They have shown that the digressions themselves are firmly linked to the rhetorical practices and literary conventions of the Hellenistic age. Thus, B.Ar. reflects the literary tastes of its time. It is not at all strange to find historical reports, utopian travelogues, deictic speeches and transcripts of official documents in one and the same

⁴¹ Janowitz, "The Rhetoric of Translation," 129-140.

⁴² D. de Crom, "The *Letter of Aristaeus* and the Authority of the Septuagint," *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*, 17/2 (2008): 141-160.

composition. The use of two distinguished narrative paradigms implies a double treatment of the subject matter. Since one paradigm is concerned with Alexandria and textual criticism, and the other with Sinai and the gift of the Law, it would seem that the Greek translation of the Law is discussed both from a Greek and a Jewish perspective.

3.4.3.3. *Raija Sollamo*

In Sollamo's opinion, B.Ar. is an apology for Diasporic Judaism *vis-à-vis* a more conservative, Palestinian type of Judaism, which also had supporters in the Alexandrian Jewish community.⁴³ In the Jewish community in Alexandria there was an urgent need to find a *modus vivendi* for Diasporic Judaism. For Aristeas the true self-identity of Diasporic Judaism meant adherence to the Torah and its Greek translation. In his view, the LXX of the Pentateuch was so good and accurate a translation that it was prohibited to correct it. Sollamo states that the social context of B.Ar. in the Jewish community was an ongoing debate about whether these translations should be revised according to the Hebrew parent text. At times the reader has the feeling that Aristeas is much more interested in the interpretation than the translation of the Torah. This debate was also very relevant with regard to the other books of the LXX, some of which had already been translated, while others were in the process of being translated. The main stream in Alexandrian Jewish community went in the direction of a more literal way of translating. B.Ar. defends the original, third-century translation against those who desired to correct it and bring it more closely into line with the Hebrew, but the writer could neither prevent the LXX translation of the Pentateuch from being corrected or revised in Egypt according to the Masoretic text, nor prevent the other books of Scripture from being originally translated in a very slavish way. By telling a story of the origin of the Greek translation for the Pentateuch, Aristeas makes his point clear.⁴⁴

3.4.4. *A New Role for the Book of Aristeas as Metatext: Translation Dimensions of Sacred Texts*

The viewpoints in 3.4.2. and 3.4.3. can be refined by utilising the translation dimensions of religious translation as suggested by Robinson.⁴⁵ The practice of the translation of sacred texts both within individual cultures and over the historical course of whole civilizations

⁴³ R. Sollamo, "The Letter of Aristeas and the Origin of the Septuagint," *Verlag GMBH* 9 (1980): 329-242.

⁴⁴ Sollamo, "Origin of the Septuagint," 329-242

⁴⁵ Robinson, "Sacred Texts," 103-107.

could be reduced to four stages or dimensions which reflect the reality such translations represent in the aggregate, not in every minute detail. Robinson refers to the dimensions of religious translation.

(i) Early unregulated translation

Historically, very little control is required in the first stage of the translation of one's own sacred texts. Although anyone who needs a translation is free to ask for one, and anyone capable of making one is free to make it but neither activity seems to occur with any great regularity. A few ancient sacred texts reveal a casual attitude towards translation, including a bilingual Akkadian/Sumerian sacred text from the 7th B.C.E. and a hymn to Sin, the moon god. It seems as though translations of sacred texts were relatively common in ancient Mesopotamia. Little information is available on the social, cultural and political situations in which these texts were produced.⁴⁶

(ii) Regulated translation

According to Robinson, regulated translation involves strict controls on who translates what, how and for whom, and whether and how, and with whom the resulting translations are shared and discussed.⁴⁷ This dimension entails either forbidding all translation or restricting the translation to a small group of insiders in one or more of the following ways:

- (a) the original (untranslated) texts are kept from the 'profane' (outsiders) – and are therefore not available for translation;
- (b) the texts are protected against discovery through the use of ciphers or keeping them in ancient scripts;
- (c) the texts are 'translated' (interpreted) orally to selected receivers (initiates) by members of the priesthood and only within the ritual space.

It is not clear why this secrecy was maintained. The most reasonable explanation is that esoteric religions underwent an evolutionary development from a more 'primitive' emphasis on ineffable experience (which may or may not coincide with dimension one) to a more 'modern' emphasis on restricting articulations of that experience to the initiated (dimensions two and three). Both aspects are present in evolutionary stages, as well as in trace form, even after translation was 'freely' permitted. The translation of a culture's sacred texts is regulated in order to maintain group cohesion. If the group's sacred text is the

⁴⁶ Willis Barnstone, *The Poetics of Translation: History, Theory, Practice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 146.

⁴⁷ Robinson, "Sacred Texts," 103-107.

product of direct divine revelation from the gods, interpreted by the group's own priests, and understandable only to the group itself, there is a strong social mandate for the group's existence: the group exists in order to worship the god(s) named in the text, indeed was almost certainly formed (according to myth) in order to provide such worship. Such regulation varies depending on whether the translation process is (a) out of a foreign language into the group's own language, or (b) out of the group's own language into a language or languages perceived as alien, including class dialects and despised vernaculars. If religious texts flow freely from culture to culture, they lose the mystical or supernatural power that seems to arise out of claims of direct divine revelation. The explanation is that translation distorts the meaning of the original, or because the original is too powerful, too brilliant, for the untrained eye.⁴⁸

(iii) Struggles for Expanded Access

The history of religion shows that the masses eventually demand and get vernacular translations of sacred texts. Examples of this include the LXX for the Hellenised Jewish community in inter-testamental Alexandria; the Latina and Vulgate for Latin-speaking Christians of the fourth and fifth century, etc. The third dimension is a transitional phase from a rigidly enforced ban on vernacular translation (dimension two) to open translation (dimension four). The regulation of the comprehensibility of actual translation is one mode typical of this dimension. This results in literal translation, which serves the purpose of keeping the sacred text largely incomprehensible to the masses. It is believed that the sacred text is potentially dangerous to unlearned readers, and that vernacular translation will mean the end of civilization.⁴⁹

(iv) Open translation

Another mode is to regulate the reader's mental preparation for translation. The belief is that the text was originally written for the masses and should not be kept from them. This openness, however, does not mean absolute freedom. Open translation seeks to control the reader's mental preparation for translation (for example, Martin Luther), to ensure that free interpretations will be as orthodox as possible.⁵⁰

Metatexts have been used as mediating tools of religious conflict in the translation of sacred texts. In the case of Martin Luther, he was accused of altering the Holy Scriptures in his translations. He defended himself in his famous *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (Circular Letter on

⁴⁸ Robinson, "Sacred Texts", pp. 103-107.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Translation) of 1530, after being criticised by the Church for the addition of the word *allein* (alone/only) in the translation of Paul's words in Romans 3:28. The charge was that the German implies that the individual's belief is sufficient for a good life, making 'the work of the law' (i.e. religious law) redundant. Luther counters by saying that he was translating into 'pure, clear German,' where *allein* would be used for emphasis.

It seems that B.Ar. shows a similar tendency as the *Dolmetschen* of Luther. The B.Ar. is not a legend, or a historical account of the origin of the LXX, neither is it apologetic to justify the LXX as translation. In the same way as the *Dolmetschen*, B.Ar. was written after the translation of the LXX had been completed and became a mediation tool to facilitate interpretations of the differences in the Greek and Hebrew in such a way as to ensure that free interpretations will be as orthodox as possible.

4. Conclusion

The interpretations of the Book of Aristeas as metatext of the Septuagint focus on it as a historiographical document. Some scholars (such as Honigman) take the historical situation implied by the authors seriously. Others view the text as fiction or legend containing apologetic overtones.

In line with Toury's definition, it seems that the nature of a translation is driven by acceptability norms of the readership (as can be seen in the translation strategy of the 1933 Afrikaans Bible translation, after the 1922 trial translation was rejected by the readership). This also becomes clear in Robinson's account of the translation dimensions of sacred texts. B.Ar. regulates the reader's mental preparation for reading the LXX as a free translation so as to ensure that free interpretations will be as orthodox as possible. This proposal provides a more complete translation context for ad hoc/historical/biblical literature explanations of Honigman, Janowitz, De Crom and Sollamo.

With regards to future study, the value of Aristeas for modern translations of the LXX should be investigated. The question is how the new translation schools are using the B.Ar. to justify their translations. These views are the interlinear model, the LXX-Deutsch and the free-standing replacement translation of the French, namely the reception-orientated interpretations.

According to Cook, the interlinear model is applicable only to the birth of the LXX, i.e. the original *Sitz im Leben*, and does not account for its complicated transmission history.⁵¹ The interlinear model takes

⁵¹ Cook, "Translating the Septuagint," 22-23.

seriously the fact that the LXX is a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible. Thus there is a natural link between the Greek and the Hebrew. This paradigm does not only focus on the Greek, although the Greek is what is aimed at in the final analysis. The interlinear paradigm is intended to indicate a linguistic relationship between two texts, one in Hebrew or Aramaic and the other in Greek. This paradigm is generally followed in the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) project.

The second school is the German one, which is closely related to the NETS project concerning most issues. The project adopts a methodological position between that of NETS and that of *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. Cook demonstrates that this project is primarily interested in the reception of the LXX.⁵² Correspondences between the NETS and German projects are that they both regard the text Old Greek as the basic text to operate with.

Both above-mentioned models stand in stark contrast to the other LXX project, namely the reception-orientated interpretation of the French one, *La Bible d'Alexandrie*. The main difference, as identified by Cook, is that the French project includes the reception of the Septuagint especially in Patristic literature, and not the Old Greek.⁵³ Thus, this paradigm in LXX Studies is that of the LXX as a free-standing translation.

The role of the Book of Aristeas as metatext in these projects will be investigated in a follow-up article to determine whether the Book of Aristeas controls the translators' mental preparation for the translation process, and if so, how it does this.

⁵² Cook, "Translating the Septuagint," 24-26.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 26.

KINGSHIP IDEOLOGY: A NEGLECTED ELEMENT IN ARISTEAS' CHARTER MYTH FOR ALEXANDRIAN JUDAISM

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The *Letter of Aristeas* is familiar to modern readers because of its status as the earliest source describing the translation of the Torah into Greek. It is in this regard that the work is paraphrased by Josephus,¹ appropriated by Philo,² and this close connection to the Septuagint is also the most likely reason for the work's preservation by Christian scholars.³ The events leading up to this translation and even the translation process itself take up a relatively small portion of the *Letter*, however, and other aspects of this text also warrant close investigation.

Kingship was an important development in the history and thought of the Hellenistic world,⁴ and this essay examines the portrayal of three kings from that period as presented in the *Letter* in order to investigate its ideological roots in Graeco-Macedonian, Jewish and Egyptian kingship. The way in which these portraits have been constructed contributes to the view that this text is best understood as a 'charter myth' for Alexandrian Judaism in which the author produces a multifaceted narrative that, in addition to exalting the Greek translation of the scriptures, explains and justifies the Jewish presence in Egypt.

1. *Aristeas' Narrative*

Seen one way, the outline of the *Letter of Aristeas* is straightforward:⁵ the introduction (1-8)⁶ is followed by a plan to translate the Jewish law

¹ *Ant.* 12.12-188.

² *Moses* 2.25-44.

³ M. Hadas, *Aristeas to P hilocrates: L etter of A risteas* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), 73-80; G. Zuntz, "Aristeas Studies II: Aristeas on the Translation of the Torah," *JSS* 4, No. 2 (1959): 126.

⁴ F. W. Walbank, "Monarchies and Monarchic Ideas," *CAH* Vol. 7 Part 1 (ed. F. W. Walbank, et al.; 2nd ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 62-100; G. J. D. Aalders H. Wzn., *Political Thought in Hellenistic Times* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975), 17-38.

⁵ See Zuntz, "Aristeas on Translation," 109.

(9-11). This plan is eventually executed (301-307) and the narrative concluded (308-322). This framework is fleshed out with a number of excursuses. However, a closer reading of the *Letter* shows that these are not merely digressions. Rather, they contribute to the author's larger purpose, which extends beyond a concern for narrating the story of the translation of the Jewish law.

The introduction to the *Letter of Aristeas* (1-8) indicates that this narrative (διήγησις),⁷ addressed to Aristeas' brother, Philocrates, is concerned with Aristeas' embassy to Eleazar, the high priest in Jerusalem, undertaken with regard to the translation of the Jewish law (3). In 9-11 Aristeas recounts the request made by the royal librarian, Demetrius of Phaleron, to the king, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, to obtain a translation of the Jewish law. Aristeas takes this opportunity to petition the king for the release of Jews enslaved by the king's father and the king issues an edict releasing 100,000 Jewish slaves (12-27). Demetrius' original request is restated in a letter from the librarian to the king (28-32) in which he suggests that the king approach Eleazar in order to obtain suitable translators for this project. The king's letter to Eleazar (35-40) and Eleazar's response (41-46) are both 'reproduced' by Aristeas. In 51b-82 Aristeas describes the gifts sent by the king for use in the Jerusalem temple and then proceeds to describe the temple, Jerusalem and the Judaean countryside (83-120). The virtues of the 72 translators provided by Eleazar are highlighted in the next section (121-127) which is followed by Eleazar's allegorical interpretation of the Law (128-171). The translators finally arrive in Alexandria and are received by the king (173-186). Their reception includes a symposium that stretches over seven nights during which they are each asked one question relating to kingship (187-300). The translators' work is described in 301-307 and the translation is read before the Jews of Alexandria who accept it (308-311). The translation is finally read before the king (312-317) who rewards the translators before they are sent back to Jerusalem (318-321). The narrative concludes with Aristeas once again addressing Philocrates (322).⁸

⁶ Numbers in parentheses refer to paragraphs in the *Letter of Aristeas*. The Greek text used is that of H. St. J. Thackeray, reprinted in Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*. Unless otherwise noted, I have also used Hadas's English translation.

⁷ Even though this text is not a letter, I follow the convention that continues to refer to it as the *Letter of Aristeas*.

⁸ This outline is adapted from S. Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas* (London: Routledge, 2003), 149.

Since at least the seventeenth century scholars have argued that the author of this narrative is not the Aristeas⁹ presented in the text.¹⁰ The character in the text is a Gentile member of the court of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, ruler of Egypt from 285 to 246 B.C.E. The writer of the narrative, on the other hand, was an Alexandrian Jew who wrote some time in the second half of the second century B.C.E.

Although this date is not universally accepted,¹¹ various pieces of evidence point to this as the most likely period of composition.¹² The documents that are copied into the narrative contain formulae that are only found in papyri from this time; the names of the Jewish elders suggest the Maccabean period; the language is late Ptolemaic; and the narrative contains Jewish literary and cultural phenomena that find parallels in other works from this period.

The purpose of the narrative¹³ has traditionally been seen in its relationship to the Greek translation of the Jewish law. It has been argued that the *Letter* was meant either to defend an existing translation or act as propaganda for a new translation.¹⁴ But the broader concerns exhibited by the narrative suggest that it should rather be read more generally as “a work of propaganda aimed at glorifying the Jews, their Law, their High Priest, their holy city and country, their temple and scholarly sages.”¹⁵

⁹ Following O. Murray, I will refer to the author and the character as ‘Aristeas’ and not ‘pseudo-Aristeas’ “since he was inventing himself, not impersonating another” (“Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship,” *JTS* 18 [1967]: 343, n. 7).

¹⁰ Humphrey Hody’s *Contra historiam Aristae de LXX interpretationibus dissertation* (1684) seems to be one of the first works to make this argument although Vives and Scaliger had raised doubts even earlier than Hody; see Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 5-9, 84-86 and O. Murray, “The Letter of Aristeas,” in *Studi Ellenistici II* (ed. Biagio Virgilio; Biblioteca di Studi Antichi 54; Pisa: Giardini, 1987), 15.

¹¹ P. M. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972], 1:696) places it slightly earlier, dating the *Letter* to around 160 B.C.E., during the reign of Philometor (180-145 B.C.E.). See also Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2:970-72; E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 BC-AD 135)* (ed. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman; 3 vols.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1986), 3.1:679-84.

¹² See Murray (“The Letter of Aristeas,” 16) for what follows; cf. E. J. Bickerman, “The Dating of Pseudo-Aristeas,” in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History: A New Edition in English Including The God of the Maccabees* (ed. A. Tropper, introd. by M. Hengel; 2 vols.; Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity / Arbeiten Zur Geschichte Des Antiken Judentums und Des Urchristentums 68/1; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 108-33.

¹³ In this section I follow the summary in Murray, “The Letter of Aristeas,” 16-18.

¹⁴ Although Tertullian (*Apol.* 18) had already noted that Aristeas assumes the authority of the Septuagint and does not feel the need to prove it (Bickerman, “Dating of Ps-Aristeas,” 110).

¹⁵ D. W. Gooding, “Aristeas and Septuagint Origins: A Review of Recent Studies,” *VT* 13, No. 4 (1963): 23.

Victor Tcherikover's argument that this propaganda was directed primarily towards fellow Jews¹⁶ has become the majority view, with recent studies allowing that there were possibly Gentiles "reading over their shoulders."¹⁷

Oswyn Murray refines this idea by suggesting that the purpose of the *Letter* is best understood in terms of "a charter myth for Alexandrian Judaism in all its aspects – its customs, its holy book, and its relations both with Judaea and the Ptolemies."¹⁸ Murray's article does not expand on this idea but his suggestion was taken up by Sylvie Honigman in a recent monograph.¹⁹ She begins with Kirk's definition of a 'charter myth' as a myth which "provides a record and validation of titles, lands, families, privileges, customs, and of course rituals."²⁰ Myth is understood as appealing to the emotions to create adherence "and in order to shape an attitude, engender pride and correct a stance." By "configuring the story [along] specific literary patterns," namely textual scholarship in Alexandria and the Jewish exodus narrative, Aristeas has turned the story of the translation of the Septuagint into myth,²¹ thereby giving the LXX the status of a sacred text. Thus Honigman revives, with modification, the older theory that places the LXX at the centre of the purpose of the *Letter*, but this emphasis is only achieved by relegating the sections of the text that do not deal with the translation to a lower level of importance within the narrative.

The concept of a charter myth is closely linked to 'ethnic identity' and the construction of that identity.²² The Alexandrian Jews' sacred scriptures played an important role in defining their identity, yet other

¹⁶ V. A. Tcherikover, "The Ideology of the Letter of Aristeas," *HTR* 51, No. 2 (April 1958): 59-85.

¹⁷ T. L. Donaldson, "Royal Sympathizers in Jewish Narrative," *JSP* 16, No. 1 (2006): 58; cf. J. M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE - 117 CE)* (*Hellenistic Culture and Society* 33; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 148-49.

¹⁸ Murray, "The Letter of Aristeas," 18. Fraser also sees the purpose of the *Letter* as providing the LXX with "an authority and a unity of composition – a foundation legend – which it lacked" (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:714).

¹⁹ Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*.

²⁰ Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 38 quoting G. S. Kirk, "Aetiology, Ritual, Charter: Three Equivocal Terms in the Study of Myth," *YCS* 22 (1972): 83-102. N. Hacham uses the term "foundation story" in much the same way ("The *Letter of Aristeas*: A New Exodus Story?" *JSJ* 36 [2005]: 1-20).

²¹ Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 39, 41.

²² See, e.g., U. Østergård, "What is National and Ethnic Identity?" in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt* (ed. P. Bilde, et al.; Studies in Hellenistic Civilization III; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1992), 30-38.

elements in the construction of that identity are also present in the *Letter of Aristeas*. In addition to highlighting the quality of the translation made in Alexandria, the *Letter* defines how that translation is to be interpreted (182-171). The presence of Jews in Egypt is explained (see below); their superiority over Egyptian theriolaters is pointed out (138); they are praised by Egyptian priests (140) and their wise men are admired by Greek philosophers (201, 235). All of these elements contribute to Aristeas' charter myth.

The centrality of the figure of the king in Aristeas' narrative suggests that the Jews' relationship with the ruling authorities was also an important aspect of their understanding of their identity and that it should be considered part of this charter myth. It is this aspect of the *Letter* that will now be investigated by exploring Aristeas' construction of kingship.

The *Letter of Aristeas* contains portraits of three kings, namely Ptolemy I Soter, Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and the ideal king described by the Jewish translators in response to Philadelphus' questions (187-300). Given that the narrative is written by a Jewish author who seems to be well placed within the Graeco-Macedonian royal court²³ that rules over Egypt, the kingship ideology one might expect to find in this text should consist of a mixture of Jewish, Hellenistic,²⁴ and Egyptian (or Pharaonic) models of kingship. The sculptures, epigraphic material and literature of this period all point to diverse expressions of Hellenistic kingship²⁵ and the *Letter of Aristeas* is no exception. In what follows I will attempt to distinguish between these three prominent ethnic constructions of kingship that make up this diversity in the *Letter* in order to examine the way in which the author has refashioned and reconstructed them in producing "the imagined and emotional king of art, philosophical writing and literature."²⁶

²³ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:698-700.

²⁴ Strictly speaking, 'Hellenistic kingship' should be used to describe the amalgamation of traditions with which this essay is concerned. However, I am using it to denote Graeco-Macedonian ideas of kingship and those ideas derived from that tradition in the Hellenistic age. Within the context of this discussion, then, it refers to those ideas which are not explicitly Jewish or Egyptian.

²⁵ J. Ma, "Kings," in *A Companion to the Hellenistic World* (ed. A. Erskine; Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 177-95.

²⁶ Ma, "Kings," 193.

2. *Aristeas' "Kingship Treatise"*

In the largest section of the *Letter* (187-300) Philadelphus entertains the Jewish translators at a series of banquets held over seven successive nights. At this symposium²⁷ the king asks each of the translators a question about kingship and concludes that he has profited from their teaching on this subject (294). The content of this section suggests a close connection between it and the Hellenistic *περὶ βασιλείας* genre.

According to Plutarch, Demetrius of Phaleron recommended that Soter procure and read books about kingship and ruling, “for the things that friends of kings dare not advise have been written in these books.”²⁸ Diogenes Laertius records the existence of a number of treatises entitled *Περὶ Βασιλείας*, produced by writers from almost every philosophical school in the Hellenistic period.²⁹ Unfortunately, none of the Hellenistic treatises mentioned by Diogenes Laertius have survived; the closest exemplars of this genre are a handful of Pythagorean fragments preserved by Stobaeus.³⁰ E. R. Goodenough’s essay on Hellenistic kingship³¹ concluded that the Hellenistic Pythagorean treatises by Archytas, Diotogenes, Sthenidas and Ecphantus present “the official political philosophy of the Hellenistic age.”³² Given the diversity of forms that Hellenistic kingship took, it is unlikely that anything approaching this “official political philosophy” existed. Rather, Hellenistic philosophers, drawing on the theories of their fourth-century

²⁷ The term ‘symposium’ is used in recognition of the similarity (albeit ‘limited’; see G. Zuntz, “Aristeas Studies I: ‘The Seven Banquets’,” *JSS* 4, No. 1 [1959]: 33) between this section and the symposium genre encountered in, for instance, Plato, Plutarch and Athenaeus. Strictly speaking, one might refer to these as ‘seven symposia,’ but the way in which the author has constructed this section makes it clear that it should be read as a whole rather than as seven discrete parts.

²⁸ *Mor.* 189D. Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ παρήνει τὰ περὶ βασιλείας καὶ ἡγεμονίας βιβλία κτᾶσθαι καὶ ἀναγινώσκειν. ἃ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὐ θαρροῦσι παραινεῖν, ταῦτα ἐν τοῖς βιβλίοις γέγραπται.

²⁹ Aalders H. Wzn., *Political Thought*, 17-38.

³⁰ L. Delatte, *Les Traités de la Royauté d’Ecphanté, Diotogène et St hénidas* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université de Liège; Fasc. 97; Liège: Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres / Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1942).

³¹ E. R. Goodenough, “The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship,” *YCS* 1 (1928): 53-102.

³² Goodenough, “Hellenistic Kingship,” 102.

predecessors, would have transposed these ideas into systems more appropriate to local conditions.³³

While none of these kingship treatises have survived intact, it is possible to catch glimpses of the genre in writings that address similar themes.³⁴ The symposium in Aristeas' narrative provides one such glimpse of a treatise or group of treatises known to an Alexandrian Jew in the second century.

A comprehensive description and discussion of the contents of the 72 questions and answers is beyond the scope of this essay. Instead, I focus on the important ideological traditions detectable in the symposium and illustrate them by discussing several examples. Each of the 72 questions and answers follows a general pattern: the king asks a question and is answered by the Jewish translator. The king expresses his delight or amazement at the answer before posing a question to the next scribe. Ten questions are posed on each of the first five nights and eleven questions are asked on the final two nights.

Attempts have been made to extract an original Περί Βασιλείας source from this collection,³⁵ but Aristeas is too imaginative an editor and his use of his sources too creative for them to be reconstructed with any certainty.³⁶

Even if Aristeas' sources cannot be reconstructed, different ideological strands can be identified within the symposium. There is, firstly, the Περί Βασιλείας source (or sources) reflecting Hellenistic kingship ideology. This genre can be discerned in some of the king's questions – he asks about “the essence of kingship” (211), “the most essential possession for a king” (265) and “the greatest thing in kingship” (291), and concludes the symposium with this statement: “The greatest blessings have accrued to me by your coming here, for I have profited

³³ In this regard, it is interesting that most of the known kingship treatises were composed at the Macedonian court and not in Alexandria, despite the proliferation of scholarship in that city during the third century (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:484-85).

³⁴ H. Sidebottom, “Dio Chrysostom and the Development of *On Kingship* Literature,” in *Advice and its Rhetoric in Greece and Rome* (ed. D. Spencer and E. Theodorakopoulos; Bari: Levante Editori, 2006), 117-57.

³⁵ See, e.g., Zuntz, “Seven Banquets”.

³⁶ He is not simply an “epitomator,” but uses his sources “as a basis for free invention rather than following them closely” (Murray, “Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship,” 353); see pp. 350-353 for a critique of Zuntz's reconstruction. Elsewhere Murray constructs a *hypothetical* Περί Βασιλείας treatise, taking Aristeas' symposium as his starting point (“Philosophy and Monarchy in the Hellenistic World,” in *Jewish Perspectives on Hellenistic Rulers* [ed. T. Rajak, et al., Hellenistic Culture and Society 50; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007], 21-27).

greatly by the doctrine which you have grounded for me with reference to kingship” (293-294).

The king’s questions are answered in terms of an ideal ruler’s virtues and character. The most important quality a king must possess is righteousness/justice (δικαιοσύνη; 209, 267, 277), shown in his ability to judge correctly and with impartiality (189, 252, 263). This virtue is not absolute and must be tempered by clemency (ἐπιείκεια; 187-188, 207). Self-rule and self-control, expressed most clearly in moderation, is also an important element in a king’s character (211, 221-223). These virtues are those which, in Greek thought, characterise wise people in general and are not limited to kings. In Aristotle the king rules by virtue of his exceedingly great moral qualities.³⁷ Here the translators urge the king to aspire to these great heights.

The second intellectual strand in the symposium is drawn from popular Hellenistic philosophy.³⁸ The question about the nature of philosophy (256) is the most explicit in this regard, but there is also advice on avoiding envy (224) and grief (232-233), a discussion of beauty (229), and even an explanation of dreams (213-214), all of which derive from popular Hellenistic philosophy.

The final ideological strand in this section of the narrative comes from Judaism. A more detailed analysis of the Jewish influence in the *Letter* will be offered below, but for now its presence can be demonstrated most clearly by the inclusion of a reference to God with every answer. Although these references often appear forced and unnatural, the fecund imagination that discovered or created a suitable reference for every answer must be admired. The king, for instance, is urged to imitate God (188), pray to God (103, 196) and honour God (234). Many of the answers simply encourage the king to recognise God’s sovereignty over, or action in, the world, including that in the life of the king himself (236, 247, 276, 285). This theistic basis of the translators’ answers is praised by both the king and his court philosophers (200-201), and the same approach is suggested as an appropriate policy for the king to adopt (189).

Aristeas has constructed a symposium in which the Jewish translators are portrayed as sages whose wisdom exceeds that of the Hellenistic court philosophers. The Jewish elders are praised by the king and by the

³⁷ See, e.g., *Pol.* III.xi.12-13.

³⁸ Murray cites 213, 224, 232, 256, and 257, but remarks that there are eighteen questions in total that fall into this category. He notes that these questions do not seem to come from any particular florilegium or handbook, and that no consistent doctrine can be found in them (“Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship,” 349).

Greek philosophers (200-201, 235). This is an important part of Aristeas' apologetic: the king is well served by having wise Jews in his court.

Aristeas' use of sources has been described as 'creative plagiarism'.³⁹ He drew on the contents of one or more *Περὶ Βασιλείας* treatises and Hellenistic philosophical handbooks, combining these with his understanding of Judaism and knowledge of the Jewish scriptures.⁴⁰ His ideal king exhibits the cardinal Greek virtues of justice, wisdom, courage and temperance,⁴¹ but these are combined with Jewish piety expressed supremely in the king's relationship to God.

What is absent in this portrait is any clear indication of Egyptian kingship. This is striking, given that Aristeas' narrative shows an awareness of Egyptian political conditions and is produced in an Egyptian context. In order to examine the Egyptian/Alexandrian context of this letter I now turn to the portraits painted of Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the rest of the narrative.

3. *Ptolemy I Soter*

Ptolemy I Soter has a small but important role to play in Aristeas' narrative. His name is mentioned only once – Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τοῦ Λάγου (13) – but he is referred to three times as 'the king's father' (4, 12, 22). It was Soter who

had overrun the whole of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, exploiting his good fortune and prowess, and had transplanted some and made others captive, reducing all to subjection by terror; it was on this occasion that he transported more than a hundred thousand persons from the country of the Jews to Egypt (12).

This event is recounted again in Philadelphus' letter to Eleazar, where the king notes that

many Jews have been settled in our country, some forcibly removed from Jerusalem by the Persians during their period of power and others who came into Egypt as captives in the train of our father (35).

³⁹ O. Murray, "Aristeas and His Sources," in *Studia Patristica, Vol. XII: Papers Presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Held in Oxford, 1971* (ed. E. A. Livingstone; *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alchristlichen Literatur* 115; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975), 126.

⁴⁰ Hadas's notes on the text point out numerous parallels between the *Letter* and the LXX (*Aristeas to Philocrates*, 92-227).

⁴¹ See, e.g., Plato, *Resp.* 427.

There is not enough evidence in the *Letter* to determine which of Soter's campaigns Aristeas has in mind.⁴² Soter most likely took slaves following each of his campaigns⁴³ and it is quite possible, given Aristeas' creative use of his sources, that the account presented in the text is an amalgamation of the three different campaigns in Syria. What is important in the narrative is that Soter is linked with the presence of Jewish slaves in Egypt.⁴⁴

Josephus records both a positive and negative tradition associated with Soter's treatment of the Jews. In his paraphrase of Agatharchides' account he depicts Ptolemy as seizing Jerusalem "by resorting to cunning and deceit" and then ruling it "harshly."⁴⁵ In contrast, Hecataeus' account⁴⁶ has many Jews, including a chief priest, Hezekiah (Ἑζεκιᾶς), follow Ptolemy I to Egypt because of his "kindliness and humanity" (τὴν ἠπιότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν)⁴⁷ and his "liberality" (τῆς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φιλοτιμίας).⁴⁸ With an eye on these two traditions, Tcherikover cautiously suggests that some Jews followed Hezekiah the high priest into Egypt in 312, but that "large-scale immigration took place only in 302 with the arrival of the prisoners."⁴⁹

The association of Soter with Jews enslaved in Egypt explains the need in Aristeas' narrative for Philadelphus' edict in which these slaves are freed. But Aristeas is unwilling to leave the matter at that and feels it necessary to provide an apologetic for Soter's actions, exonerating him from any responsibility for the enslavement of the Jews in Egypt.⁵⁰

First, the author notes that there were Jews in Egypt even before Soter's actions in Palestine. Some of these had been brought to Egypt

⁴² These campaigns took place in 320, 312, and 302/301 B.C.E. (V. A. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* [trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America / Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1966 (1959)], 50-58).

⁴³ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:57.

⁴⁴ Numerous data attest to the presence of Jews in Egypt at the beginning of the third century B.C.E., see V. A. Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," in *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* (ed. V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), 1-10.

⁴⁵ *Ant.* 12.3-6 (Marcus, LCL); cf. *C. Ap.* 1.209-211 (Thackeray, LCL).

⁴⁶ *C. Ap.* 1.186-189; cf. *Ant.* 12.9.

⁴⁷ *C. Ap.* 1.186.

⁴⁸ *Ant.* 12.9.

⁴⁹ Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 273, n. 12.

⁵⁰ There is one incongruity in Aristeas' otherwise positive description of Soter. He had overrun Coele-Syria and Phoenicia, "reducing all to subjection by terror" (φόβῳ πάντα ὑποχείρια ποιούμενος; 12). Is this possibly an example of 'editorial fatigue'? See M. Goodacre "Fatigue in the Synoptics," *NTS* 44 (1998): 46, for a definition.

from Jerusalem by the Persians (13, 35).⁵¹ Other Jews were in Egypt at an even earlier time – those who “had been sent out as auxiliaries (συμμαχιῶν ἐξαπεσταλμένων) to fight in the army of Psammetichus against the king of the Ethiopians” (13).⁵² Aristeas is thus aware of a pre-Hellenistic Jewish presence in Egypt⁵³ and highlights this in his defence of the first Ptolemaic king.

Second, Aristeas makes the point that Soter only took Jewish slaves at the insistence of his army. He enslaved the women, along with those too young or too old to fight, “not out of his own individual choice indeed, but because he was overborne by his soldiers, in return for the services which they had rendered in military action” (14). Soter is presented as having taken Jewish slaves reluctantly and only when his soldiers demanded them as reward for their military service.

Third, those who were taken from Judaea were treated well. We are told that “he selected and armed those that were fittest in age and outstanding in ruggedness” (14), making them soldiers and not slaves. In his letter to Eleazar, Philadelphus notes that his father

enrolled many in the armed forces at higher than ordinary pay, and likewise when he judged their chief men to be loyal he gave them fortresses which he built, so that the native Egyptians might be in awe of them (36).

Soter's appointment of able-bodied Jewish men as cleruchs is not that remarkable.⁵⁴ In Aristeas' narrative, however, his attitude towards these soldiers is characterised by munificence and not simply military pragmatism. Not only did Soter pay them better wages than his other soldiers, he also established them in garrison towns in positions superior to those of the native Egyptians.⁵⁵ Whatever the historical events behind

⁵¹ Cambyses (“the Persian” of *Let. Ar.* 13) conquered Egypt in 525 and annexed it to the Persian kingdom.

⁵² This could refer to either Psammetichus I (671-617 B.C.E.) (B. Porten, “The Jews in Egypt,” in *The Cambridge History of Judai sm.* Vol. 1 [ed. W. D. Davies and Louis Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984], 378-79) or Psammetichus II (594-589 B.C.E.) (Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 99-100).

⁵³ See Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 269-71.

⁵⁴ E. G. Turner, “Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *CAH* Vol. 7 Part 1 (ed. F. W. Walbank, et al., 2d ed.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 124-25; Tcherikover, “Prolegomena,” 11-15.

⁵⁵ The final clause – ὅπως τὸ πᾶν Αἰγυπτίων ἔθνος φόβον [μὴ] ἔχη διὰ τούτων – contains a significant textual variant. The μὴ is absent in Josephus (*Ant.* 12.44) and Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* 8.4) and this tradition probably represents the correct reading. Aristeas emphasises that Soter places the Jews in positions superior to those of the native Egyptians.

Soter's treatment of Jewish soldiers, there can be no doubt of Aristeas' desire to portray Soter's relationship with the Jewish soldiers as a positive, mutually beneficial one.⁵⁶

In summary, Aristeas has painted a portrait of Ptolemy I Soter in which the king is held blameless for the presence of Jewish slaves in Egypt during his reign. Moreover, he is shown to have acted generously towards some, raising them to positions above those of the native Egyptians. These events are included in Aristeas' narrative since Philadelphus' edict requires Jewish slaves in Egypt, and Aristeas is unwilling to allow a Ptolemy to be associated with the mistreatment of Jews.

4. *Ptolemy II Philadelphus*

Soter's son, Ptolemy II Philadelphus is a far bigger character in the *Letter of Aristeas*. The narrative arc begins with his assent to the translation of the law (9-11) and concludes with his praise for the law and those who had translated it (312-321), while the longest 'digression' – the symposium (187-300) – has Philadelphus asking these translators questions about kingship. The clearest description of Philadelphus, though, comes in Aristeas' discussion of the king's release of the Jewish slaves.

Philadelphus is introduced in 12-27 as a just and righteous ruler. His decree in 22-27 is drawn up out of a desire "to award justice to all men, and more particularly to those who are unreasonably tyrannized," and thus he always strives "to deal fairly with all men in accordance with justice and piety" (24). The king's own words identify him with the supreme royal virtue of δικαιοσύνη and this is echoed, albeit softly, when Eleazar addresses Philadelphus as "righteous king" (46).

The release of the Jewish slaves is the clearest demonstration of Philadelphus' clemency and mercy. His actions are described as bringing salvation to a great multitude (21) and his munificence is highlighted when Aristeas points out that Philadelphus added a clause releasing even those who had been enslaved prior or subsequent to Soter's military

⁵⁶ The papyri indicate that Jews in the second and first century were found throughout the various social strata of Ptolemaic Egypt; see Tcherikover, "Prolegomena," 10-19. It is likely that Soter had included Jewish mercenaries within his army and garrisoned them in order to protect himself from Egyptian uprisings.

campaign (26).⁵⁷ Philadelphus is a just, merciful, generous and philanthropic king – the great liberator of Egyptian Jews.⁵⁸ But his goodwill towards the Jews includes more than their liberation. Like his father, Philadelphus has appointed some Jews as soldiers, but has gone even further and appointed others as courtiers (37). The king's lavish generosity is emphasised once more in the final scene of the *Letter* in which he sends the translators back to Judaea with extravagant gifts (318-321). While these descriptions could be read as sycophancy, within the narrative they serve to assure the reader of the king's royal virtues.

Philadelphus' piety is also a very important aspect of his portrait. On two different occasions we see him bow down in the presence of the Jewish law (177, 317) and in his letter to Eleazar, the king characterises his actions on behalf of the Jewish slaves as

a pious deed and ... a thank-offering (χαριστικόν) [dedicated] to God the Most High, who has preserved our kingdom in tranquillity and in the mightiest esteem throughout the inhabited world (37).

Furthermore, the king sends gifts (51-82) as “dedicatory offerings for the Temple” and makes provision for sacrifices to be offered there (40). Another indication of the king's piety is the care he takes in providing the translators with kosher meals upon their arrival in Alexandria (181-184). He forbids the Egyptian priests from praying and instead invites the oldest Jewish priest to offer a prayer before the meal (184). Aristeas has cast Philadelphus as a Gentile ‘god-fearer’: Philadelphus' piety is directed towards the god of the Jews and not towards the Greek gods, although Aristeas assures him that they are one and the same (16).⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Murray (“The Letter of Aristeas,” 22) states that this document “is almost certainly built around a genuine decree of Philadelphos dated to 262/1 B.C. ... The reworking in the *Letter* alters the whole tone and purpose of the original, but third century formulae remain.” For the view that the document is entirely a fabrication, see Werner Schmidt, *Untersuchungen zur Fälschung hi storischer Dokumente bei Pseudo-Aristaios* (Habelts Dissertationsdrucke: Reihe Klassische Philologie, Heft 37; Bonn: Habelt, 1986).

⁵⁸ Philadelphus is possibly meant to be seen as an antitype to the Pharaoh of the biblical exodus story (Hacham, “New Exodus”; Honigman, *Septuagint and H omeric Scholarship*, 55-56).

⁵⁹ Donaldson's contention that Philadelphus “experiences a transformation from ignorance of Judaism to recognition and appreciation” (“Royal Sympathizers,” 49) cannot be sustained by the text. His analysis of this ‘transformation’ derives from his recognition that “Essential to a narrative ... is a certain absence of the ideal. Narratives are driven by disequilibrium” (“Royal Sympathizers,” 42). The absence in the *Letter*, however, has to do with a Greek translation of the LXX. The law experiences the most important transformation in Aristeas' *Letter*, not Philadelphus.

In addition to having virtue and piety, Philadelphus is marked by learning, wisdom and love of the arts. The latter is emphasised in a detailed description of the gifts the king sends to the temple in Jerusalem (51-82). He orders that the gifts be made with “diversity in artistic ingenuity” and we are told that “his own conceptions were majestic and he possessed an excellent natural gift for perceiving the effects objects would present” (56). “No little thought was bestowed upon them by the king, for he loved reputation for things beautifully made” (80). The image is that of a king who is familiar with, and a supporter of, the arts.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the king’s culture (παιδεία) is emphasised by his concern to surround himself with men of wisdom and learning (124-125, 321; cf. 290). It is the group of Jewish translators and not the Greek philosophers who fulfil that role within the narrative.

With the exception of δικαιοσύνη, the virtues discussed in the symposium are not found in the portrayals of Soter and Philadelphus. Nevertheless, despite the lack of verbal parallels, numerous ideological parallels are evident. The descriptions of these two kings are meant to resonate with the image of the ideal king constructed in the symposium.⁶¹

The presence of classical Greek constructions of kingship mediated through Hellenistic Περὶ Βασιλείας treatises were dealt with in discussing the symposium and we have seen that Aristean’s description of Soter and Philadelphus drew on these ideas without drawing on identical terminology. It remains for us to examine the Jewish and Egyptian elements of kingship ideology in the *Letter*.

5. Jewish Kingship

Elements of Jewish thought can be clearly discerned in Aristean’s narrative. His knowledge of the Septuagint is evident from his descriptions of the table presented by Philadelphus to the temple (52-72; cf. Exod 25:23-30, 37:10-16) and of the high priest’s vestments (96-99; cf. Exod 28-29).⁶² Furthermore, echoes of Ezra-Nehemiah⁶³ suggest that

⁶⁰ This description matches what other sources suggest about Philadelphus, especially with regard to the Library and Museum in Alexandria. For “Ptolemaic patronage,” see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:305-35.

⁶¹ The lack of exact verbal parallels might be explained by Aristean’s use of different sources. Aristean has not imposed the vocabulary of one source on another, yet these various sources all contribute to Aristean’s ideology of kingship.

⁶² Hadas, *Aristean to P hilocrates*, 121-23, 137-39; Murray, “The Letter of Aristean,” 20-21.

Aristeas' knowledge of the Greek translation of the Jewish scriptures extended beyond the Pentateuch.⁶⁴ It is thus not unreasonable to expect Aristeas to have been familiar with kingship as it is portrayed in these scriptures.

During the second century messianism was of growing importance in certain Jewish groups⁶⁵ and the Hasmoneans were increasingly blending royal and priestly roles.⁶⁶ The topic of monarchical rule was thus as important in Jewish circles as it was in the rest of the Hellenistic world.⁶⁷

While there are no explicit quotations from the LXX in the symposium, there are numerous parallels between Aristeas' description of kingship and ideas from Jewish wisdom traditions.⁶⁸ However, many of these ideas can also be found in non-Jewish Hellenistic sources, thus making it impossible to ascribe a uniquely Jewish provenance to them with any certainty.⁶⁹

The one exception to this concerns warfare. The answers to the questions about being invincible (193) and being "a source of fear" (φοβερός) to one's enemies (194) contain strong echoes of ideas found in Judaism. Although Hellenistic thought allowed for divine intervention in battle,⁷⁰ "Aristeas is deliberately denying any importance to military exploits, and emphasizing a policy of non-aggression and negotiation

⁶³ Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 38-40.

⁶⁴ There is even a possibility that 1 Esdras is alluded to; see Murray, "The Letter of Aristeas," 20-21.

⁶⁵ W. Horbury, "Messianism in the Old Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha," in *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar* (ed. J. Day, *JSOTSup* 270; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 402-33; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The One Who is to Come* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007).

⁶⁶ See J. C. VanderKam (*From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests After the Exile* [Minneapolis: Fortress / Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004], 240-336) for a discussion of the second-century high priests.

⁶⁷ M. W. Hamilton, "11QTemple 57-59, Ps.-Aristeas 187-300, and Second Temple Period Political Theory," in *Transmission and Reception: New Testament Text-Critical and Exegetical Studies. Texts and Studies 3/4* (ed. J. W. Childers and D. C. Parker; Piscataway, N. J.: Gorgias, 2006), 183-84.

⁶⁸ Specific examples can be found in Hadas's notes on the symposium (*Aristeas to Philocrates*, 172-215).

⁶⁹ The answer that recommends honouring parents (228) in response to a "great commandment" from God seems to be a clear allusion to the fifth commandment (Hamilton, "11QTemple and Ps.-Aristeas," 188) despite Hadas's observation that the same idea is found in Plato (*Laws* 4.717B) (*Aristeas to Philocrates*, 189).

⁷⁰ Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 176.

from strength.”⁷¹ Military victory and ‘spear-won land’ were important elements within Hellenistic kingship ideology,⁷² thus the source for Aristeas’ aversion to these ideas is rightly sought in Judaism.

While similarities between the symposium section of the *Letter* and the kingship section of the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 LVI-LIX) have been noted,⁷³ there is no indication that these two texts are dependent upon each other in any way.⁷⁴ Rather, their similarities derive from what is common in their Jewish worldviews. More striking than the similarities are the differences that arise from the distinct social contexts of the respective works.

As in Deuteronomy 17, the text upon which this section of the *Temple Scroll* is based, the king in 11Q19 LVI 12-21 is chosen by God to rule the land and people of Israel, and he will best be able to do this by following the laws presented to him by Israel’s priests. Even though God prospered and honoured Philadelphus (*Let. A ris.* 15, 19), and the implication of God’s sovereignty is that the king rules at God’s pleasure (e.g. *Let. Aris.* 199, 219, 224), there is no explicit statement concerning his special appointment by God in his role as king. Furthermore, there is no hint of eschatology in the *Letter*; any rewards or punishments the king might expect from God are present and not future. Thus, if Fitzmyer’s definition of the Messiah as “an awaited or future anointed agent of God in the end times”⁷⁵ is accepted, then there is no messianism present in the *Letter*.

Unlike the king in the *Temple Scroll*, Philadelphus is not expected to rule according to Israel’s laws. The king is told to follow the laws given by the legislators (τοῖς νομοθετήσασιν; 240). The plural noun suggests that the legislators in view here are those like the traditional Greek lawmakers – Lycurgus and Solon – and those who followed in their

⁷¹ Murray, “Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship,” 354; see also Zuntz, “Seven Banquets,” 23: “Never was an answer like this given by a Greek adviser to a Greek king; it is in the spirit of the O.T. Israel saved from the Egyptians at the Red Sea is the outstanding mythical example; close verbal parallels have been found in Ps. xix (LXX).8, Ps. Sol. xvii.33 and I Macc. iii.19.”

⁷² Walbank, “Monarchies,” 66.

⁷³ D. Mendels, “‘On Kingship’ in the ‘Temple Scroll’ and the Ideological *Vorlage* of the Seven Banquets in the ‘Letter of Aristeas to Philocrates,’” *Aegyptus* 59, No. 1/2 (1979): 127-36; Hamilton, “11QTemple and Ps.-Aristeas.”

⁷⁴ Mendels concludes that the *Letter* derives from “a Jewish ideological *Vorlage* which was dressed in a Hellenistic framework and terminology” (“‘On Kingship,’” 136) but stops short of suggesting that the *Temple Scroll* either provided or drew upon this same *Vorlage*.

⁷⁵ Fitzmyer, *The One Who is to Come*, 8.

footsteps.⁷⁶ The exhortation in the symposium to follow “the guidance of the laws” (279) concludes by observing that the king will achieve “an eternal memorial ... through following the divine commandment (θείω προστάγματι κατακολουθῶν).” There is no indication outside of the symposium section that Philadelphus will follow the Jewish law.⁷⁷ His deep reverence for these books (177, 312, 317) demonstrates that they “are worthy of transcription and of being included in [his] library” (10), but not that he will “follow carefully all the words of this law” (Deut 17:19).

In the *Temple Scroll* the temple is a place of authority (11Q19 LVII 11-15) and revelation (11Q19 LVIII 18-21) for the king, as well as being a place of cultic activity (11Q19 LX).⁷⁸ In contrast, Philadelphus, although he sends gifts and money for sacrifices (40), never visits the temple. The high priest is portrayed as an equal to Philadelphus⁷⁹ and not as having any religious authority over him.

It is not unexpected that a Jewish construction of Gentile monarchy written in the Diaspora should look quite different to one constructed in Palestine with a Jewish king in mind. But the kings in Aristeas' narrative are portrayed very positively, even when compared to those in other Jewish Diaspora narratives about foreign monarchies.⁸⁰ Philadelphus, for example, does not need to undergo a transformation, but shows himself to be a just and generous king, well disposed towards the Jews and their law from the start of the narrative.

Despite the obvious connections to Judaism, Aristeas' positive representation of the Ptolemaic monarchs does not draw heavily on Jewish elements of kingship. Those that are irreconcilable with Hellenistic kingship such as election of the king by God and the adherence to Israel's covenant have been abandoned and the result is a 'universal' philosophy of kingship.

⁷⁶ Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 194.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 209.

⁷⁸ The king is no longer primarily the focus of this column of the *Temple Scroll*.

⁷⁹ Bickerman, “Dating of Ps-Aristeas,” 115-21; VanderKam, *Joshua t o Caiaphas*, 159-60.

⁸⁰ Donaldson identifies four patterns of change describing the treatment of foreign kings in Jewish literature from the Second Temple period. With the exception of the *Letter of Aristeas* (see below), the kings in the other narratives all need to experience transformation of some sort before conforming to the ideal type in which “Gentile kings recognize Judaism's virtues, protect Jewish religion and venerate Israel's God” (“Royal Sympathizers,” 41-59, here 57).

6. *Egyptian Kingship*

Finally, Aristeas' stance towards Egyptian kingship ideology has to be examined. The Ptolemies, following the lead of Alexander the Great, were quick to adopt aspects of Pharaonic ideology in order to make their rule acceptable to the native Egyptian population.⁸¹ They participated in Egyptian animal cults, their military victories were portrayed in terms of liberation rather than conquest, they embarked on massive building programmes and provided financial support for the Egyptian priesthood – all activities previously undertaken by the Pharaoh. The Ptolemies also ensured that they were grafted onto the Egyptian royal lineage through elaborate myths and through the adoption of Egyptian royal titles that emphasised their Pharaonic function, and they introduced Greek elements into traditional Egyptian royal statuary in order to promote Ptolemaic kingship ideology.⁸² Most strikingly, Greek hero cults (and later, ruler cults) would find traction within the system of the Egyptian dynastic cults.⁸³ All of this indicates that historically Ptolemaic kingship was a synthesis between the Hellenistic βασιλεύς and the Egyptian Pharaoh,⁸⁴ and there are a handful of passages indicating that Aristeas was aware of some of these aspects of Ptolemaic kingship.

The letter from Eleazar (41-46) is addressed to “King Ptolemy ... and Queen Arsinoë your sister, and the children.” It is impossible to tell whether Arsinoë I or Arsinoë II is being addressed here,⁸⁵ and thus whether the high priest is portrayed as accepting Philadelphus’

⁸¹ See G. Hölbl (*AH history of Ptolemaic Egypt* [trans. T. Saavedra; London: Routledge, 2001], 77-102) for what follows.

⁸² P. E. Stanwick, *Portraits of the Ptolemies: Greek Kings as Egyptian Pharaohs* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002).

⁸³ Subtle differences did exist between them, though. “While the Egyptian pharaoh was the mortal bearer of a divine office during his lifetime and was the king carrying out the role of a god and mediator between the mortal and divine worlds, the charisma of the Hellenistic basileus alone was enough to transform him into a god. The superhuman qualities required of a basileus brought him into the company of the gods.” See Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 90-98, here 92.

⁸⁴ See Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 117. The Egyptian priests, the native elite group, were often co-opted into these synthesising attempts, but later uprisings (pp. 153-157) suggest that they were not as successful as the Ptolemies might have hoped. Socio-economic elements should not be ignored, however, and the failure of Ptolemaic kingship ideology to unify the state was probably only one of many different contributing factors.

⁸⁵ Although Arsinoë II had no children with Philadelphus, she probably adopted his former wife’s children (Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 116-17; Bickerman, “Dating of Ps-Aristeas,” 108, n. 4).

consanguineous marriage despite Old Testament prohibitions.⁸⁶ Elsewhere, however, the high priest, in defending the Jewish law, is critical of “the rest of mankind” who “defile themselves by their promiscuous unions” (152). It is difficult to see how this would have been understood within the Egyptian context as anything other than a critique of brother-sister marriages.⁸⁷

The nexus between religion and kingship was important in Ptolemaic Egypt.⁸⁸ The Egyptian ruler's cult had traditionally been tied to his office – the Pharaoh was a god and mediator between the other gods and the Egyptians. In contrast, the Hellenistic king's cult was often linked to his personal charisma and success as a leader, warrior, or founder of cities.⁸⁹ These ideas, brought together in order to provide an element of unity within the kingdom, played themselves out in both the dynastic cult, instituted by the Ptolemies themselves, and the ruler cults, usually initiated by worshippers.⁹⁰

If we look for evidence of a ruler cult in the *Letter* we find only a few softly-spoken but clear witnesses.⁹¹ Aristeas is careful in his description of the high priest's response to have him offer sacrifices *on behalf* (ὕπερ σοῦ) of the king and not *to* the king (45). The practice of offering sacrifices at the Jerusalem temple on behalf of Gentile authorities was not uncommon.⁹² Similar language is found on synagogue dedicatory plaques where, in the context of the ruler cult, this ‘loyalty formula’ is used to associate the king with the worship offered there without explicitly ascribing divinity to him.⁹³

Moreover, in the high priest's explanation of the Jewish law (128-171), he argues against polytheism and against those who would deify men for their great deeds. There is a further reference to the ruler cult in the symposium where the king is told that he will avoid pride (ὕπερρηφάνια) “by preserving equality” and reminding himself that he rules men as a man (262-263). Also missing from Aristeas' narrative is

⁸⁶ See, e.g., Lev 18.6-18.

⁸⁷ So Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 160, but see Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 22.

⁸⁸ Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 77-123; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:213-46.

⁸⁹ Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 92.

⁹⁰ See Walbank (“Monarchies”) for a general discussion of ruler cults (87-96) and dynastic cults (96-99).

⁹¹ Although the differences between the dynastic and ruler cult are important, it is difficult to ascertain which Aristeas has in mind in his critique; I use ruler cult in what follows to refer to both.

⁹² Schürer, *History of the Jewish People*, 2.311-12.

⁹³ Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:281-86, cf. 1:226.

any idea of the king deriving his right to rule through divine lineage or inheritance.⁹⁴ The opposite is, in fact, suggested: “the noblest by nature” (τὸ ἄριστον τῆ φύσει) should rule, regardless of their ancestry (288-290).

In terms of his relationship to God, the king should pray to God, he can expect God’s assistance if his desires are rightly ordered, but above all, he should imitate God in ἐπιείκεια, εὐεργεσία and δικαιοσύνη.⁹⁵ There is nothing to indicate that this imitation results from the king’s deification or his reception of cult worship. The king is not ‘ontologically’ different from his subjects.

Theriolatry was an important part of Egyptian religion and the Ptolemaic kings also mimicked the Pharaohs in these matters, most likely promoting these cults in order to win the support of native Egyptians.⁹⁶ Aristeas shows his aversion to animal cults by having Eleazar belittle those who would participate in them (138). The king is not directly criticised by Aristeas, though, and animal worship is attributed to “infatuated people, Egyptians and their like” (138). Aristeas establishes his readers, and their king, as being beyond the foolishness displayed by these sorts of people.

7. Conclusion

It was suggested above that any Jewish construction of kingship in Alexandria during the Ptolemaic period would contain, and have to take account of, Jewish, Egyptian and Graeco-Macedonian elements of kingship ideology. It is clear that these three systems have each contributed something to the synthesis evident in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

Judaism provides the fundamental theological and ethical structures of Aristeas’ worldview.⁹⁷ It is, however, a Judaism bereft of any particularism or nationalism and carefully tailored to satisfy its implied audience.⁹⁸ This same universalistic Judaism influenced Aristeas’ use of Jewish kingship material. His kings do not resemble Jewish kings but, nonetheless, they have been portrayed so as to be acceptable to Alexandrian Jews. The clearest expression of this is the exclusion of any

⁹⁴ This was an important part of Ptolemaic propaganda (Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 77-80).

⁹⁵ Murray, “Aristeas and Ptolemaic Kingship,” 359-60.

⁹⁶ Hölbl, *Ptolemaic Egypt*, 88-89.

⁹⁷ Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 59-66.

⁹⁸ J. J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 191-95.

positive Pharaonic elements of kingship. The strongest contribution to Aristeas' kingship ideology remains the Graeco-Macedonian tradition which gave rise to the *Περὶ Βασιλείας* treatises on which Aristeas drew when composing the dialogue between Philadelphus and the Jewish translators in the symposium. These ideals are not confined to that section, however, and they permeate Aristeas' discussion of Soter and Philadelphus in the other sections of his narrative.

It was assumed above that, amongst other things, a charter myth is meant to explain a group's genesis, validate its existence in a particular place, and justify its privileges, customs and rituals.⁹⁹ A number of these elements as they pertain to the Jewish community in Ptolemaic Alexandria are indeed found within Aristeas' *Letter*. The presence of Jews in Egypt is explained by their slavery under Soter and their subsequent release under Philadelphus.¹⁰⁰ The actions of these two kings contribute to explaining the Jews' social status in terms which raise them above the native Egyptians and place them on a par with the Greeks. This aspect of the *Letter* confirms Malinowski's observation about the important sociological function of 'myths of origin' in not only reconstructing the past but also constructing the present.¹⁰¹ Aristeas provided the Jewish community with an image of an ideal king under whom they could live and serve. The *Letter* assured its Jewish readers that the Ptolemaic kings are benevolent towards them and their religious traditions, a benevolence seen supremely in Philadelphus' endorsement of the Greek translation of their law.

⁹⁹ See n. 20.

¹⁰⁰ Hacham ("New Exodus") sees the *Letter* as a rewriting of the exodus story for the Alexandrian Jews to legitimate their presence in Egypt.

¹⁰¹ B. Malinowski, "Myth in Primitive Psychology," in *Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays*, by B. Malinowski (introd. by R. Redfield; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1948), 102-3; cf. Østergård, "What is National and Ethnic Identity?"

“EUNUCHS”? THE ANCIENT BACKGROUND OF *EUNOUCHOS* IN THE SEPTUAGINT

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1. Introduction

In the book of Genesis we read how Joseph was taken to Egypt where he lived in the house of Potiphar. The Hebrew calls him a קָרִיִּים of Pharaoh, the Septuagint has σπάδων (37:36) or εὐνοῦχος (39:1). In the Septuagint εὐνοῦχος is mostly used to translate the Hebrew קָרִיִּים. The aim of this contribution is to look at the cultural background of eunuchs in the ancient world. First an overview of the occurrences of the Hebrew קָרִיִּים and its translations in the Septuagint will be given. A detailed analysis or close reading of these texts and their contexts is not possible here. Then the role of eunuchs in the ancient world will be described, but again it is not possible to cover this phenomenon from Persia to China. Material from Achaemenid Persia and Assyria (including some of the iconographical sources) will also be examined. At the end some conclusions are drawn.

2. Biblical Corpus

The Hebrew קָרִיִּים occurs 45 times in the Masoretic Text, 10 times with רַב and שָׂר.¹ In the Septuagint it is translated 30 times as εὐνοῦχος, 2 times as σπάδων, 2 times as δυνάστας, 2 times with personal names. In Jer 45:7 the word is left out and Jer 39:13 does not appear in the Septuagint. Ἀρχιευννοῦχος is used for רַב and שָׂר הַקְּרִיִּים in Daniel. The Septuagint added εὐνοῦχος to Esther 2:23. The Vulgate mostly follows the Septuagint and has *eunuchus*.²

¹ Cf. the excellent contribution by Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, “קָרִיִּים,” *TDOT* 10:344-350.

² On Nehemiah as a eunuch – see Edwin Yamauchi, “Was Nehemiah the Cupbearer a Eunuch?,” *ZAW* 92 (1980): 132-143. Codex Alexandrinus has οἰνοχόος (cupbearer), but Vaticanus and Sinaiticus have εὐνοῦχος, which is simply an error (Yamauchi, “Nehemiah,” 136 and *Persia and the Bible* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990], 262). In Sirach (20:4; 30:19-20) the eunuchs are powerless men. In the Wisdom of Solomon (3:14) the upright eunuch is praised. In Judith (12:11) the eunuch Bagoas is in charge of the personal affairs of Holofernes.

MT		LXX	
סָרִיס	35	εὐνοῦχος	30 (+1 Esth 2:23)
		σπάδων	2
		δυνάστας	2
רַב סָרִיס	4	ἀρχιεσσοῦχος	1
		PN	2
		vs. not in LXX	1
שָׂר סָרִיס	6	ἀρχιεσσοῦχος	6
		word left out	1
	45		

In the MT there are different contexts:

The Joseph stories of Genesis tell how Joseph was sold to Potiphar, a סָרִיס of the Egyptian Pharaoh, rendered as σπάδων (37:36) or εὐνοῦχος (39:1). The pharaoh's chief cupbearer (Greek ἀρχιεσσοῦχος) and chief baker (40:7) are also called סָרִיס and this is translated by εὐνοῦχος in the Septuagint.

From the time of the kings of Israel there are royal officers or officials called in the Hebrew סָרִיס and translated as εὐνοῦχος. There is first the warning in 1 Sam 8:14-15 that the future king will give produce לְסָרִיסֵי. David summoned סָרִיסִים together with other officials to Jerusalem (1 Chr 28:1; the Septuagint uses δυνάστας). King Ahab summoned a סָרִיס (1 Kgs 22:9 = 2 Chr 18:8). The property of a woman whose child the prophet Elisha raised was returned by a סָרִיס and סָרִיסִים were commanded by Jehu to kill queen Jezebel (2 Kgs 8:6, 9:32).

The Assyrian king Sennacherib sent Assyrian officials against Hezekiah, including the רַב־סָרִיס (used together with רַב־שָׂקָה rendered Ραφίς in the Septuagint (2 Kgs 18:17). Isaiah warns Hezekiah that his sons will be made סָרִיסִים (Septuagint εὐνοῦχος) in Babylon (2 Kgs 20:18 = Is 39:7). Nathan-Melech was a סָרִיס of king Josiah (2 Kgs 23:11). סָרִיסִים were among the officials exiled to Babylon (2 Kgs 24:12, 15); one was a military commander (2 Kgs 25:19): פְּקִיד עַל־אַנְשֵׁי הַמְּלָחָמָה (= Jer 52:25).

The story of Esther, set against a Persian background, has a dozen occurrences (1:10, 12, 15; 2:3, 14-15, 21; 4:4-5; 6:2, 14; 7:9) of officials called סָרִיס, serving the king and queen Vashti and Esther and who are in charge of the royal harem, taking care of the women and concubines (2:3, 14-15 סָרִיסֵי הַמְּלָךְ שֹׁמְרֵי הַנְּשִׂים). In the Septuagint εὐνοῦχος is added to 2:23.

In the book of Daniel there are the seven verses mentioning the chief of the סָרִיסִים at the Babylonian court in charge of the nobles, including

Daniel: רב קריסיו (1:3) and שר הקריסים (1:7-11, 18), translated by ἀρχιεστυχός in the Septuagint in both cases.

The prophetic book Isaiah (56:3-4) has: “do not let the קריס say, I am just a dry tree. For thus says the Lord to the קריסים who keep my sabbaths, who choose the things that please me and hold fast my covenant, I will give, in my house and within my walls, a monument and a name better than sons and daughters; I will give them an everlasting name that shall not be cut off.”³ The Septuagint has εὐνοῦχος.

Jeremiah mostly has קריס in the context of the end of the state of Judah: they were deported with the king and the elite, and they are also mentioned with Zedekiah (29:2; 34:19; Septuagint 36:2 and 41:19; translated εὐνοῦχος and δυνάστας), as in 52:25 (εὐνοῦχος). Ebed-Melek, a Cushite קריס attached to the court, saved Jeremiah (38:7-13; his title קריס is left out in the Septuagint 45:7). During the fall of Jerusalem there are the officials of the Babylonian king, two called by the title רב-קריס (39:3, 13; translated by a PN Ναβουσααζις [= LXX 46:3] but vs. 13 is left out in the Septuagint). Jochanan ben-Kareach saved the prisoners taken by Ishmael, who murdered Gedaliah, including קריסים (41:16; Septuagint 48:16 εὐνοῦχος). At this point the discussion turns to a more detailed discussion of the significance of eunuchs in the ancient world.

3. *Eunuchs in the Ancient World*⁴

A “eunuch” is usually understood as someone one who has been castrated, that is undergone genital mutilation.⁵

The Greek literally means “bed-keeper” and refers to the guardian of the harem but, as will be shown, it is much more than only this. Other terms indicate the processes that were followed to make someone an eunuch: Greek σπάδων, Latin *spado*, English “spaded,” German “Verschnittener.” There were different excisional processes.

³ English translations basically follow NRSV.

⁴ Cf. the essays in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond* (ed. Shaun Tougher; London: Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002) with the review of Donald Lateiner, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2003.10.12. Online: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/bmcr/2003/2003-10-12.html>.

⁵ The *Oxford English Dictionary* has “1. a. A castrated person of the male sex; also, such a person employed as a harem attendant, or in Oriental courts and under the Roman emperors, charged with important affairs of state” and even adds “In the LXX. and the Vulgate the Gr. εὐνοῦχος, L. *eunuchus*, following the corresponding Heb. *saris*, sometimes designate palace officials who were not ‘eunuchs’, e.g. Potiphar (*Gen.* xxxix. 1, where A.V. has ‘officer’). Hence the Eng. word has occas. been similarly used in discussions of passages in which the meaning of the word is disputed.”

Deuteronomy 23:2 has “one whose testicles are crushed or whose penis is cut off.” Jesus (Matt 19:12) said “there are eunuchs who have been so from birth, and there are eunuchs who have been made eunuchs by others, and there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the sake of the kingdom of heaven.”

In the ancient world the term ‘eunuch’ occurs mostly in the context of kings and their courts, usually taken to be the guards of royal harems. But there are many examples that eunuchs were more than merely harem guards. Gibbon wrote in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, “if we examine the general history of Persia, India, and China, we shall find that the power of the eunuchs has uniformly marked the decline and fall of every dynasty.”⁶

Some were high officials and generals as in China. The Chinese Admiral Tchang Che was a eunuch and led seven maritime expeditions between 1405 and 1433, as far as the African coast. In China they were not foreigners and, as the title of Mary Anderson’s book indicates, they had “hidden power.”⁷ Many Byzantine generals and admirals were eunuchs. According to Josephus, eunuchs served Herod the Great but were also involved in government (Josephus *Antiquities* XVI:8:1).

For the Greeks the eunuch was typical of the Orient, usually linked with Oriental cults like that of Cybele, but gods like Eshmun castrated themselves. According to Herodotus, the Persians made eunuchs of Ionian boys (6.32).

Egyptologists⁸ are mostly sceptical about eunuchs as officials or the castration of officials in ancient Egypt.⁹ The term *saris* in Egyptian sources comes from the Persian period, according to Redford.¹⁰

⁶ *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (London: Murray, 1908), 2:387 n. 7.

⁷ Mary M. Anderson, *Hidden Power: The Power of Eunuchs of Imperial China* (Buffalo: Prometheus, 1990).

⁸ Cf. Gerald E. Kadish, “Eunuchs in Ancient Egypt?,” in *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson*. (SAOC 35; Chicago: University Press, 1969), 55-67; Kenneth A. Kitchen, *Ancient Egypt and the Old Testament* (Illinois: IVP, 1966), 165; idem., Review, *JEA* 47 (1961): 158-160; Donald B. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* (VTSup XX; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 51, 200-201 and *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 425; Andrew T. Sandison, “Eunuchen,” *LÄ* 2:46-47. Manfred Görg, “Die Amtstitel des Potiphar,” *BN* 53 (1990): 14-20 connects סָרִיס with Eg. *srsj* “protect.”

⁹ Although the pharaohs did cut off the phalli of their enemies. Merneptah claimed more than 6000 such Libyan trophies and heaps of these (as was the case with hands) are even depicted as with Ramses III; cf. Susanna C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: eine Bildanalyse* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2001), 303:1.9 and Manfred Gutgesell, “The Military,” in *Egypt: The*

3.1. *Persia*

According to the classical authors, there were quite a few eunuchs at the Persian court, and eunuchs could rise to become satraps. Briant has summarised the evidence in his opus on the Persian Achaemenid Empire.¹¹ But as he shows, one has to remain critical. “‘Oriental despotism’ and the sovereigns’ decadence have been attributed to the joint efforts of perverse women and perfidious eunuchs. Ancient Persia has not escaped this stereotype.”¹² Ctesias and Plutarch emphasise their perfidy, yet Xenophon depicts them as faithful ministers. Herodotus writes (8.105) that eunuchs are valued as being specially trustworthy in every way. For Briant the Persian “eunuchs” in Greek texts are nothing more than high officials; “eunuch” is just a court title which has nothing to do with *physical* characteristics. Perhaps there were two types of eunuchs: castrated men with subordinate duties and court aristocrats. Briant even mentions the possibility that οἰνοχόος “cupbearer” could be confused with εὐνοῦχος. So to conclude this section: not all Greek *eunuchs* at the Persian court were *castrati*.

The Persian vocabulary is not known, but sources from Achaemenid Egypt has a “*saris* of Persia,”¹³ so it seems that the Persian title comes from Assyria. Bagaos who, according to tradition, killed the Persian king Arses, is perhaps alluded to in a Babylonian text: “A *ša rēši* [will kill] this king.”¹⁴

The Hebrew סָרִיס is derived from the Akkadian-Assyrian *ša rēši* and the same word might have been used in Persia, which was then translated by the Greeks as εὐνοῦχος. Because of this, the Assyrian material needs more careful attention.

World of the Pharaohs (ed. Regina Schulz and Matthias Seidel; Cologne: Könnemann, 1998), 368.

¹⁰ Redford, *Joseph*, 210.

¹¹ Pierre Briant, *From Cyrus to Alexander: A History of the Persian Empire* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002), 268-277, 919-920. Cf. now the sources in Amelie Kuhrt, *The Persian Empire: A Corpus of Sources* (vol 2; London: Routledge, 2007), 588-591.

¹² Briant, *From Cyrus*, 268.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 276-277.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 277.

3.2. *Assyria*¹⁵

The Akkadian *ša rēši* (LÚ.SAG) “one of the head” or *ša rēši šarri* “he who is at the head of the king” also occurs in the plural form *šūt rēši*.¹⁶ Over the last hundred years there has been disagreement among Assyriologists on what exactly this means. The *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* has “etwa (Hoch)-Kommissare” and adds “kein Eunuchen!”¹⁷ The *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary* has “some instances eunuchs.”¹⁸ Oppenheim also did not adopt the ‘eunuch’ translation.¹⁹ The Israeli scholar Tadmor has argued strongly for the meaning ‘eunuch’ and shows that one text has *kāma šūt rēši la ālidi nilka lībal* “Like the *šūt rēši* who does not beget may your semen dry up,”²⁰ an indication that the *šūt rēši* could be an emasculated man. Weidner studied the conduct in the harem and he relates that the courtiers and *ša rēši* were often “checked”

¹⁵ Cf. Stephanie Dalley, Review of R. Mattila, *The King's Magnates*. Helsinki: State Archives of Assyria Project, 2000, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* LVII (2001): 197-206; Karlheinz Deller, “The Assyrian Eunuchs and their Predecessors,” in *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Kazuko Watanabe; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1999), 303-311; Paul Garelli, “Remarques sur l’administration de l’Empire assyrien,” *RA* 68 (1974): 128-140; Alan K. Grayson, “Eunuchs in Power: Their Role in the Assyrian Bureaucracy,” *Vom Alten Orient zum Alten Testament* (ed. Oswald Loretz and Manfred Dietrich; Kevelaer/Vluyn: Butzon & Bercker/Neukirchener, 1995), 85-98; David Hawkins, “Eunuchs Among the Hittites,” in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001 Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (eds. Simo Parpola and Richard M. Whiting; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 217-233; Leo Oppenheim, “A Note on *ša rēši*,” *JANES* 5 (1973): 325-334; Hayyim Tadmor, “Was the Biblical *sārīs* a Eunuch?” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots* (eds. Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin and Michael Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 317-325; idem., “The Role of the Chief Eunuch and the Place of Eunuchs in the Assyrian Empire,” in *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001 Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (eds. Simo Parpola and Richard M. Whiting; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002), 603-611.

¹⁶ Cf. *AHw* 2:974 and *CAD* 14:292-296.

¹⁷ *AHw* 2:974a (9).

¹⁸ *CAD* 14:296. The shorter dictionaries of Jeremy Black et al., (*Concise Dictionary of Akkadian*; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2000), 302 and Simo Parpola et al., *Assyrian-English-Assyrian Dictionary* (Helsinki: Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, Institute for Asian and African Studies, University of Helsinki, 2007), 94 have “eunuch” and eunuch respectively. Parpola and the Helsinki State Archives of Assyria (SAA) publications follow the *eunuch* interpretation, e.g. Simo Parpola and Kazuko Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (SAA 2; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1988), 32 and Raiji Mattila, *The King's Magnates* (SAA 11; Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2000). For an opposing view, see Dalley, Review.

¹⁹ “Note.”

²⁰ *CAD* 11/2:234a.

(*murruru*).²¹ According to the Middle Assyrian laws,²² if a husband caught a man with his wife, he could turn the man *ana ša rešen* (into a *ša rēši*) and they shall disfigure the whole of his face. The penalty for a man performing a “homosexual act” is to make him a *ša rēši*.²³ Von Soden is not convinced that this is a real eunuch.²⁴ Concerning the castration of the adulterer, Dalley observed that there was a belief that a mature male will die when castrated.²⁵

In Assyrian culture the *ša rēši* played an important role, as shown by Grayson.²⁶ He calculated that 10% of high officers were of this type, but some were not officers. The *rab* (head/chief) *ša rēši* was the Commander-in-Chief and led the armed forces on campaigns in the time of Shamshi-Adad V. During the days of the legendary Semiramis, Sammu-ramat, wife of the Assyrian king Shamsi-Adad IV and mother of Adadnirari III, there was the powerful Nergal-eresh.

The *ša rēši* was an important official, but were all of them castrated? In this regard Garelli wrote “Is it necessary to castrate half the Assyrian administration and nearly everyone at court.”²⁷ As was the case in Persia, not all such officials were necessarily castrated. There were other terms which might indicate castrated men or “real” eunuchs.²⁸

Assyrian court officials were differentiated as the *ša rēši* and the *ša ziqni* (“bearded”) as in an Assyrian oracle.²⁹ Here the bearded courtiers *ša zi qnāni*³⁰ are clearly differentiated from the *ša rēšāni*, as in Esarhaddon’s succession treaty.³¹ This brings us to the iconographical material usually introduced into the discussion when dealing with the *ša rēši* as “beardless” ones.

²¹ Ernst Weidner, “Hof- und Harems-Erlasse assyrischer Könige aus dem 2. Jahrtausend v.Chr.,” *Afo* 17 (1956): 257-293, esp. 264; *CAD* 10/1:440-441, 10/2:223 and Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (SBLWAW 6; Atlanta: SBL, 1997), 200 (8).

²² *ANET*, 181; *COS* 2.132:355; Roth, *Law Collections*, 158 (A 15) and 160 (A 20).

²³ Note that the Akkadian does not have “homosexual;” the sentence uses the verb *nāku* “illicit sexual intercourse/fornication” (cf. Roth, *Law Collections*, 192 n. 15 and *CAD* 11/1:197-198).

²⁴ *AHw* 2:974:A10: “Wortsinn?,” cf. Udo Rütterswörden, *Die Beamten der israelitischen Königszeit* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1985), 96.

²⁵ Review, 201.

²⁶ “Eunuchs,” 93 and Appendix A, although he (like Tadmor) leans towards the interpretation in the sense of castrated men.

²⁷ Quoted from Briant, *From Cyrus*, 276.

²⁸ Erich Ebeling, “Eunuch,” *RIA* 2:485-486.

²⁹ Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East (Writings from the Ancient World Series 12; Atlanta: SBL, 2003)*, 127 (#92:4).

³⁰ *CAD* 21:126-127.

³¹ Parpola and Watanabe, *Treaties*, 32 (line 78).

Reade studied the Neo-Assyrian court as depicted in art and devoted attention to beardless figures, sometimes described as “eunuchs.”³² Others like Oppenheim thought they are merely boys or clean-shaven adults³³ and the terminology only differentiates between bearded adults and boys. As observed by Grayson,³⁴ they look like mature adults. In many cases they are high officials, armed with swords and not merely servant boys.

Descriptions of a few images will “illustrate” this aspect. Some beardless officials are scribes, some are military leaders, some are attendants. On the Black Obelisk the *bearded* king Shalmaneser III (ca. 850 B.C.E.) is shown with *beardless* attendants.³⁵ Aššurbanipal slays a lion and behind him is a beardless servant, but armed.³⁶ Scribes recording the booty are beardless – in one case the one with a beard is writing on a tablet and the beardless one on a piece of papyrus or leather; their supervisor is also beardless and carries a sword.³⁷ Another example has the same two writing materials, but two *beardless* scribes.³⁸ A relief of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.E.) depicts a bearded and a beardless official, both armed with swords.³⁹ On the famous relief on which Shalmaneser III and the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-shumi shake hands they are followed by beardless but armed attendants (Fig. 1)⁴⁰ – an indication that the matter was the same in Babylonia. According to Dalley, these may be the heirs.⁴¹ Seals of Neo-Assyrian officials collected by Watanabe show beardless officials with the title *ša rēši*.⁴² They are often depicted with

³² Julian Reade, “The Neo-Assyrian Court and Army: Evidence from the Sculptures,” *Iraq* 34 (1972): 87-112, esp. 91, 95, 99-100 and Pls. XXXVa and XXXVIa. The beardless scribe on the orthostat relief of king Barrakib of Sam’al (*ANEP* 460 = VAM Berlin 2817) is also described as “eunuch” by Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte d es A ltertums* (II/2; Darmstadt: WB, 1981), 427.

³³ Oppenheim, “Notes,” 333.

³⁴ Grayson, “Eunuchs,” 93.

³⁵ *ANEP* 351 and 355 (Nimrud = BM ANE 118885).

³⁶ Dominique Collon, *Ancient Near Eastern Art* (London: British Museum, 1995), Fig. 123 (Nineveh = BM ANE 124875).

³⁷ *ANEP* 235; Othmar Keel, *Die Welt der al torientalischen Bildsymbolik* (Zürich: Benziger, 1980), Abb. 330 (from Til Barsip, now destroyed).

³⁸ *ANEP* 367 (from Nimrud Tiglath-Pileser III 744-727 B.C.E. = BM ANE 118882).

³⁹ Kazuko Watanabe, “Seals of Neo-Assyrian Officials,” in *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (ed. K. Watanabe; Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1996), Fig. 5.

⁴⁰ *ANEP* 821; Othmar Keel, *Bildsymbolik* (Zürich: Benziger, 1980), Abb. 123 (Nimrud = Baghdad 65574).

⁴¹ Review, 205.

⁴² Watanabe, “Seals,” 317-321.

the goddess Ištar (Fig. 2).⁴³ In one case a beardless figure with the title *ša rēši* is shown *together* with a bearded figure (Fig. 3).⁴⁴

Castration stops the production of testosterone, which leads to the cessation of beard growth. In Semitic thought a beard was a symbol of dignity, maturity and especially masculinity.⁴⁵ So in conclusion: the chances are high that the beardless officials in Assyrian art are indeed depictions of castrated men, but it is necessary to bear in mind that Assyrian art was intended as propaganda and is stereotyped. This idea might live on in Persian art. A beardless servant from the palace of Darius I from Persepolis (Fig. 4) is sometimes describe as a “eunuch,” but whether this is physiologically the case is not clear.⁴⁶

4. Conclusions

The Septuagint made Potiphar (Gen 39:1) a εὐνοῦχος as is the case with pharaoh’s officials, but there is nothing specific enough in the text to suggest that they were castrated. As shown earlier, there is no clear evidence from ancient Egypt on castrated officials. The fact that Potiphar had a wife is not a problem – eunuchs could marry, as is known from Persia and China. It might also be that the story of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar in Gen 39:2-19 is from a different literary stratum than 37:36 and 39:1.⁴⁷

⁴³ Kazuko Watanabe, “Nabû-Ušalla, Statthalter Sargons II. In Tam(a)Nuna,” *BaghM* 23 (1992): 357-359 and “Seals,” 327 (2.2.1), Fig. 20; cf. Izak Cornelius, “Aspects of the Iconography of the Warrior Goddess Ištar” (forthcoming).

⁴⁴ Ursula Seidl, “Babylonische und assyrische Kultbilder in den Massenmedien des 1. Jahrtausends v.Chr.,” in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st millennium B.C.E.). Proceedings of a n International Symposium Held in Fribourg on November 25-29, 1997* (OBO 175; ed. Christoph Uehlinger; Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), Fig. 10; Kazuko Watanabe, “Neuassyrische Siegellegenden,” *Orient* 29 (1993): 116 (6.6), and “Seals,” 326 (2.1.1) (Ashmolean 1922.61). The seated goddess is Gula with her dog (cf. Dominique Collon, “Neo-Assyrian Gula in the British Museum,” in *Beschreiben und Deuten in der Archäologie des Alten Orients: Festschrift für Ruth Mayer-Opificius* (ed. N. Cholidis; Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 1994), 43-47.

⁴⁵ *NIDB* I:411.

⁴⁶ Ctesias (quoted by Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, II, 588:14) tells of the eunuch Artoxares, who asked his wife to fashion him a beard and moustache so he would look like a man. For the illustration cf. http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/pa_iran_paa_i_per_pd/index.php/3F1_72dpi.png?action=big&size=original and in Yamauchi, *Persia*, 263 and now Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, II, Fig. 12.3. Briant, *From Cyrus*, 274 is sceptical about this interpretation.

⁴⁷ Rüttersworden, *Beamten*, 97.

Whether the officials called סְרִיס in the time of the kings of Israel and Judah were “real” eunuchs is difficult to say. In texts like 1 Sam 8:15 the סְרִיס might have been added at a later stage.⁴⁸ The סְרִיסִים who killed Jezebel could be attendants to the queen or harem officials and allowed to enter the harem of the queen, so possibly they were castrated. This could also be the case with the סְרִיסִים taking care of the women of the harem in Esther. The warning that the sons will be made סְרִיסִים in Babylon (2 Kgs 20:18 = Isa 39:7) is a *threat* and a punishment and has no positive connotations – so it could refer to eunuchs.⁴⁹

In Isa. 56:3-4 the סְרִיסִים as a “dry tree” עֵץ יָבֵשׁ shows that we are dealing with “real” eunuchs as castrated men. But this verse in Trito-Isaiah might rather reflect the *later* meaning.⁵⁰ In Isa 56:4 what is said in Deuteronomy 23 is turned around. There no one whose testicles are crushed or whose penis is cut off shall be admitted to the assembly of the LORD (it even applied to sacrificial animals in Lev 22:24)! This might refer to cultic self-mutilation,⁵¹ but note that here the term סְרִיס is not used, nor is it translated by εὐνοῦχος, but the Vulgate added *eunuchus*.⁵²

The term סְרִיס translated in Greek by εὐνοῦχος could be understood as a general court title; it is not only a physical description as we learnt from the Persian and Assyrian material. Some of the texts do indeed refer to *castrati*, as is very clear from Isaiah 56, but others are too ambiguous as is the case with the officials in descriptions of the kings of Israel and Judah and the time of the Exile. It is important to look at every context on its own.⁵³ The term is fairly clear in Isa 56 (where it does refer to a eunuch), but this does not necessarily apply to the other contexts and might only reflect the later meaning.⁵⁴

The Hebrew סְרִיס was translated as εὐνοῦχος in the Septuagint, because at that time the meaning in this sense of the word had become common.⁵⁵ But סְרִיס is more than only an attendant and not every context denotes a castrated official, as the Persian material shows. There

⁴⁸ Ibid., 100.

⁴⁹ Kedar-Kopfstein, “סְרִיס,” *TDOT* 10:348.

⁵⁰ Rüttersworden, *Beamten*, 98.

⁵¹ But this does not mean that “This separated Israel from the fertility cults of its neighbours which found their climax not merely in the *hieros gam os* and sacred prostitution, but also in self-castration to the glory of the deity” (Heinrich Baltensweiler, “Eunuch,” *NIDNTT* 1:560); cf. also contra Johannes Schneider, “εὐνοῦχος,” *TWNT* 2:764, who argues that in Israel itself there were no real eunuchs as part of a “natural-healthy patriarchal cultic order” (sic!).

⁵² As noted by Kedar-Kopfstein, “סְרִיס,” *TDOT* 10:350.

⁵³ Kedar-Kopfstein, “סְרִיס,” *TDOT* 10:348.

⁵⁴ Rüttersworden, *Beamten*, 98.

⁵⁵ As also argued by Jan Joosten at the Stellenbosch Conference.

might even be the possibility that οἰνοχόος “cupbearer” could have been confused with εὐνοῦχος. What is interesting is that in many cases these officials are foreigners.

Figures:



Fig. 1. Relief from Nimrud (Shalmaneser III ca. 858-824 B.C.E.)⁵⁶



Fig. 2. Seal of Nabu-ušalla (Sargon II ca. 721-705 B.C.E.)⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Keel, *Bildsymbolik*, Abb. 123.

⁵⁷ Tallay Ornan, *The Triumph of the Symbol. Pictorial Representation of Deities in Mesopotamia and the Biblical Image Ban*. (OBO 213; Fribourg: University Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), Fig. 124.

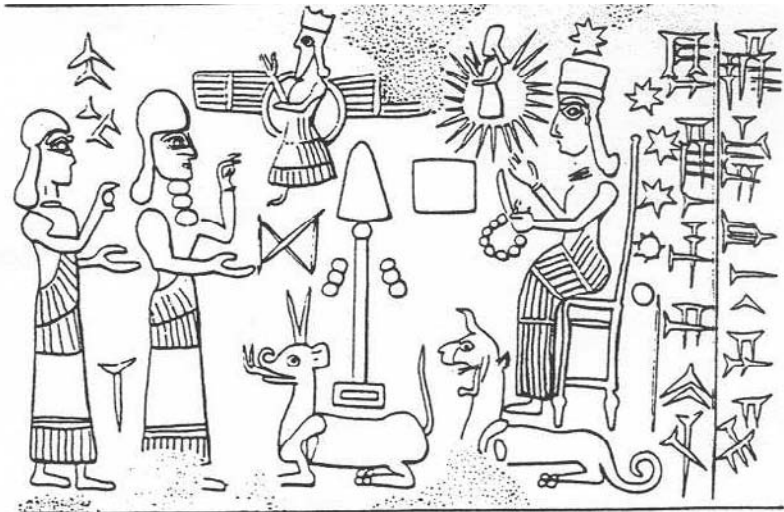


Fig. 3. Seal of Nabû-šarru-ušur (ca. 786 B.C.E.)⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Seidl, "Kultbilder," Fig. 10.



Fig. 4. Persian attendant – Persepolis palace of Darius I (ca. 521-486 B.C.E.)⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Kuhrt, *Persian Empire*, II, Fig. 12.3 (adapted).

READING *JUDITH* AS THERAPEUTIC NARRATIVE

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1. *Introduction*

David Epston and Michael White pioneered narrative therapy as an analytical approach. In their book, *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*, they explain how the narrative therapeutic process works.¹ As a first step, a story is told (the narrative) by a person about a prevailing taxing situation. The person intuitively creates a dominant and a challenging narrative. A facilitator, by analysing this narrative at the point where the two sub-narratives collide, deduces a real-life problem behind the story. The facilitator then externalises the problem and assists the person to construct a new narrative aided by successful “unique outcomes” in the person’s past. Epston and White do not focus so much on the person as an abstract concept but upon the bodies of these persons and how their bodies are viewed (ideology) within a community and what problems might emerge from this viewpoint.² The Book of *Judith* in the Septuagint (Apocrypha) seems to provide fertile ground for exploration as all of these elements – body, community and ideology – are present in highly overt/explicit ways. However, until now no such analysis was done.

1.2. *The Problem*

At first glance, the *Judith* narrative seems to be just another story with a sad beginning and a good ending. The saying “and they all lived happily ever after” seems to apply to this Book. However, one does not have to read long before one realizes that there is more to *Judith* than meets the eye. For instance, a number of questions arise:

- Why are the male leaders so passive?
- Why is a woman the protagonist of the story?
- How did Judith and her maid manage simply to walk into the camp of the Assyrians?
- Why does the Judith’s maid feature so often and why was she

¹ D. Epston and M. White, *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends* (London, New York: Norton, 1990).

² *Ibid.*, 20.

emancipated?

- Why is murder by Judith acceptable and not questioned?
- What is the role of Achior the Ammonite?

These are some of the peculiarities of this narrative that call for interpretation.

Many approaches have been used to determine the meaning of *Judith*. Helen Efthimiades-Keith distinguishes at least six categories informed by five main methodological orientations: historical criticism, literary analysis, advocacy, rhetorical criticism, comparative/intertextual analysis and iconographic studies.³ She further states that currently there is a lively interest in studying *Judith* from a feminist point of view. She points out that her own Jungian psychoanalytic approach is quite unique.

In terms of Efthimiades-Keith's categorization, this article represents a literary analytical orientation and adopts a diachronic approach. It reconstructs the historical setting by using certain pre-set criteria. In contrast to the above approaches, it works explicitly with two colliding narratives. It shows how the author of *Judith* might have used certain events from the past to create a new narrative. The uniqueness of this article is in its approach: it combines certain results of text analyses that were used separately previously. These are results such as identified ideological background which, according to George Nickelsburg,⁴ is the patriarchal worldview; the subversive role of the female body,⁵ and the movement between the two identified colliding narratives. Although it may sound like it, the narrative therapeutic approach does not adopt an exclusively psychological perspective. Psychological approaches, especially if they work with psychoanalysis/psychodynamics, seem to be speculative and to defy rules of logic.⁶ The narrative therapeutic approach, however, as used in at least two publications,⁷ rather seeks to work on a literary level with pre-set narrative criteria against the

³ H. Efthimiades-Keith, *The Enemy is Within* (Boston, Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2004), 123.

⁴ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 99.

⁵ Amy-Jill Levine, "Sacrifice and Salvation," in *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (ed. A. Brenner; London, New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 215-216, notes how skillfully Judith uses her body as the Assyrians are overwhelmed by her beauty.

⁶ See H. Efthimiades-Keith, *The Enemy is Within*, 78-79.

⁷ P. J. Jordaan, "An Interdisciplinary Approach: Reading Ruth as Therapeutic Narrative," *Theologia Viatorum* 30/1 (2006): 1-24; P. J. Jordaan, "Reading Susanna as Therapeutic Narrative," *Journal for Semitics* 17/1 (2008): 114-128.

speculative psychoanalytical and psychodynamic criteria. Furthermore, it must be said that a narrative therapeutic reading does not exist in a vacuum. The research of previous scholarly studies will be incorporated in establishing the possible background of *Judith*. Taking this background into consideration, a narrative therapeutic analysis will be done by applying certain criteria to the text. Lastly, the results of this analysis will be demonstrated.

2. *Methodological Framework*

None of the commentaries that were consulted viewed Judith in terms of a master narrative and a challenging narrative. These concepts and their place within the narrative therapeutic framework as used by Epston and White will now be discussed. Other relevant terms as used within the framework of narrative therapy will also be briefly discussed.

2.1. *Some Relevant Terms in Narrative Therapy*

- **STORY** – A story is told to make sense of a person’s life. This means experiences and events are organised in such a way that they make sense of the world around the person.⁸ There are various stories told in *Judith*. Judith, Holfernes, Achior and Judith’s maid all have different stories to tell.
- **RESISTANCE** – The story sometimes seems to become incoherent as resistance is encountered. This resistance usually erupts as another story (another master narrative) is forced upon a person’s life, and a problem-saturated story is formed in this way. This problem-saturated story needs to be rewritten in a way that would again restore sense to a person’s life.⁹ Resistance in *Judith* emerged when the men were not willing to take action and Achior was excommunicated from the Assyrian camp for lauding the God of Israel.
- **DOMINANT NARRATIVE** – The dominant narrative presents the widely accepted story of a community or a person’s life. It has power as it is accepted as “truth” and “objective reality.” This narrative is usually handed down from generation to generation and is largely unquestioned.¹⁰ Dominant narratives are immersed in ideology. They can, however, usually be summed up in simple one-liners such as “God is on the side of the underdog” or “The white race is superior.”

⁸ D. Epston and M. White, *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*, 10.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 20-22.

This dominant narrative needs to be addressed by another narrative, i.e. the alternative narrative.

- **ALTERNATIVE NARRATIVE** – The moment the dominant narrative is challenged, an alternative narrative arises. The latter questions the power and knowledge of the dominant narrative.¹¹ This narrative is created to restore sense to a character's life.
- **BODY** – The human body usually constitutes the site at which discrimination takes place. The body of a slave or a woman might be regarded as inferior and “docile.” Such a body should become a conscript to, as well as submissive to, the views of the dominant narrative. On the other hand, the body of a male might be regarded as superior. The view of the body is just a matter of what the “dominant narrative” dictates.¹² Objective reality would here be the prevalent view on women's bodies and could not be argued with. This means that if you can understand how a community views a body, you also understand much about how the body functions within a community.
- **THERAPY** – This is the reestablishment of personal agency from the oppression of external problems and the dominant stories of larger systems.¹³ Therapy takes place when the dominant narrative is effectively challenged by an alternative narrative. If the dominant narrative is not challenged and dealt with, there can be no therapy.
- **PROBLEM** – Narrative therapy does not see a person as a problem, but a problem as a problem.¹⁴ This meant that Judith *per se* is not a problem, but Judith plus a discriminating social system is a problem. Achior the Ammonite is not a problem, but Achior plus a discriminating social system is a problem. Problems would therefore mainly be located within larger entities. For example, Castro is a good person, but Castro plus communism was a deadly combination. John is a good person; however, John plus alcohol is not good. If you remove the problem, the individual would again function normally.
- **EXTERNALIZING OF THE PROBLEM** – In order to address a problem it should first be externalized, which means it needs to be placed outside a person. This is called externalization of the problem. As soon as the problem is externalized, it can be addressed.¹⁵
- **UNIQUE OUTCOME** – A unique outcome of a story is generated by looking at ways that similar problems were handled in the past. These

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 27-28.

¹² *Ibid.*, 20.

¹³ G. Corey, *Theory and Practice of Counselling and Psychotherapy* (Belmont: Thompson Brooks/Cole, 2005), 396.

¹⁴ D. Epston and M. White, *Narrative Means to Therapeutic Ends*, 40.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

outcomes of the past provide the impetus and approach to handle problems in the present and future.¹⁶

- A STORIED THERAPY – We thus have a storied therapy. This began with a story that had gone wrong because of a certain dominant narrative. Another “challenging” narrative emerged. A problem was identified and externalized. These problems are usually related to the bodies of certain people being inferior and others being superior. A new story was then compiled based upon unique outcomes in the past.

A narrative therapeutic reading of ancient texts tends to bring out interesting dynamics within the text. This should especially be the case in narrative biblical texts (or even extra-biblical texts) as there is almost always a story to be told of a “dominant narrative” that needs to be corrected by a “challenging narrative.” “Body,” as used in narrative therapy, reflects the ideological setting of the text. This, together with the way in which problems are defined, as being outside a person, brings out the distance between a person and a problem, and hence makes the problem easier to deal with. Unique outcomes tell us how similar problems were dealt with in the past and point out the way they should be dealt with in the present. The blending of all these elements together adds up to a narrative therapeutic reading of a text.

Judith will now be examined accordingly. This is how it will be done:

1. The reconstruction of the story behind names – i.e. what readers probably knew about the characters;
2. Analysis of these stories in terms of dominant and challenging narratives;
3. The externalizing of a certain problem;
4. The formulation of unique outcomes;
5. The description of a storied therapy;
6. The formulation of a conclusion.

3. *The Stories of the Characters in Judith*¹⁷

As already stated, the characters in *Judith* will be described and their stories outlined. The importance of characters telling their own stories in narrative

¹⁶ Ibid., 55-62.

¹⁷ The term “person” as in 1 will not be used here but rather “character” as it is more suiting within a narrative.

therapy must be stressed. However, we must accept the problematic situation regarding ancient Greek narratives. The narrator, as is the case with any narrative, is often the voice to speak for women and presumably other characters too. So, what we have is not the character's words, but the 'narrator' speaking through those characters. This means that we have to construct the stories and characters from what the narrator gives us.

3.1. *The Beautiful Widow Judith*

Judith is the first name that attracts our attention. A mainly positive picture is painted of her. However, Efthimiades-Keith rightly points out that Judith has a highly ambiguous, ironic character, whose nature has often been hotly debated throughout the history of *Judith* studies.¹⁸ Judith, a widow, was a beautiful and God-fearing woman. Cary Moore is of the opinion that these two characteristics are the same that were attributed to other Jewish heroines from the Septuagintal literature dating from approximately the same general period, namely Susanna, Sarah, daughter of Raquel, and Esther.¹⁹ Judith only appears in chapter 8 of the book, but remains prominent until chapter 16. Her appearance serves as a turning point in the narrative.²⁰ In chapter 8 she immediately summons the leaders for discussions on the besieged Bethulia. There is a sharp contrast between Judith's and their approach to the situation: Judith has authority - the leaders display weakness; she has knowledge of God and the historical traditions of Israel - the leaders are ignorant; Judith has faith, she observes the law and prays - they have an interest in and enjoy parties; Judith is willing to defend the case of God, even if it costs her her life - they show laxness and want to surrender; she has competence and is willing to act in this situation - they are incompetent and unwilling to do anything.

Judith then took action, but not before first praying. This prayer, however, is more like a war cry. Women are prominent in this prayer. In Judith 9:2 there is a direct reference to the rape of Dinah and the vengeance of her brothers (Simeon and Levi) in Genesis 34. Rape is wrong and has to be revenged. To champion his cause, God always chooses someone who is ready. Gender is irrelevant, for victory belongs to God. Judith further wails in 9:4 that daughters were being carried off and again refers to gender as she urges God in 9:4: ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμὸς καὶ εἰσάκουσον ἐμοῦ τῆς χήρας. "O God, my God, hear this widow

¹⁸ H. Efthimiades-Keith, *The Enemy is Within*, 27.

¹⁹ C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 95.

²⁰ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 98.

too”.

Judith accordingly proceeds to the Assyrian camp. This is the heart of the story, dramatic, like a Greek novel.²¹ Judith’s entrance into the Assyrian camp is perceived as a big event as she does what no man could do. She simply walks into the camp of the enemy. Her beautiful “body” fascinates all men. It seems the Assyrian soldiers completely lost their minds when they saw her.²² They assumed, ironically, that it is dangerous for a nation to have women like this (Judith 10:19). Her beauty would make other men kill for her, thereby endangering themselves.

Holofernes is the idiotic man who walks right into this trap. He is immediately entrapped by the beauty of Judith. In 11:6, Judith becomes his military strategic advisor, and he is brilliantly deceived by her. She says in 11 6:

...τελείως πράγμα ποιήσει μετὰ σοῦ ὁ θεός καὶ οὐκ ἀποπεσεῖται ὁ κύριός μου τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων αὐτοῦ
 “My God will do his business perfectly with you. And my Lord will not fail in his business.”

Holofernes wrongly thought that “my Lord” referred to him; instead, it referred to Judith’s lord, who is God. As Holofernes is deceived, he thinks he already has the victory. A characteristic of Judith’s discourse with Holofernes is this double-talk.²³ Judith then sets up a further meeting with Holofernes. She prepares carefully for it doing her hair, using perfume and employing other feminine attractions that Isaiah had denounced (Isaiah 3:16-26), and she sets off with her favourite handmaid for the kill.²⁴ She allows him to overindulge and then kills the Assyrian general by cutting off his head. In actual fact Judith is nothing other than a cool, calculating murderer. The story of Judith is reminiscent of all the Jewish heroines like Miriam (Exodus 15: 20-21), Deborah and Jael. The killing of Holofernes also parallels the slaying of Goliath by David. It is clear that the author placed Judith in the same lineage as the male heroes of Israel’s history.

Judith was an extraordinary woman. After her husband’s death, she managed their business independently. She was wealthy and had male as well as female servants (Judith 8:7). Judith, on her own, was in charge of

²¹ A-J. Levine, “Sacrifice and Salvation,” in *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (ed. A Brenner; London, New York: T&T Clark International, 2004), 216 says that Judith here rivals Helen of Troy in beauty.

²² G. W. E. Nickelsburg *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 98.

²³ I. H. Jones, *The Apocrypha* (Petersborough: Epworth Press, 2003), 58.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

a complete household and business. Judith's manager was also a woman (Judith 8:10). Judith freed her slave before her death (Judith 16:23) and shared her wealth with her own family and her husband's family (Judith 16:24). The admiration Judith enjoyed after her victory surpassed that of most biblical heroes. She was hailed as one of the glories of the nation (Judith 15:9):

σὺ ὕψωμα Ἱερουσαλημ
 σὺ γαυρίαμα μέγα τοῦ Ἰσραηλ
 σὺ καύχημα μέγα τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν.
 "You are the glory of Jerusalem!
 You are the great pride of Israel!
 You are the highest honour of our race."

To summarise: Judith, a woman, challenged a dominant narrative in various ways. She challenged the men by taking action in times of war. She challenged the social order by emancipating her slave. There are scholars like A-J. Levine who claim that Judith was domesticated again and disappeared into oblivion after her siege.²⁵ However, other scholars like Tal Ilan are more positive about Judith, saying that her story was propaganda in favour of women in leadership positions.²⁶

3.2. *Nebuchadnezzar*

The book of *Judith* begins with Nebuchadnezzar (Judith 1:1). He is nothing but a megalomaniac despot, who wants to dominate the whole known world. He wants to be treated as a deity, demands complete obedience from everybody and expresses his wrath against those who disobey him (Judith 1:12, 2:12). He has no fear of any god or any human being and only cares for the advancement of his kingdom. Nebuchadnezzar believed that he had limitless power. He gives out this power to his general, Holofernes, who will accomplish his desire for dominance.

3.3. *Holofernes the Assyrian General*

Holofernes is Nebuchadnezzar's chief general and second-in-command. In Judith 2:4 Holofernes is commissioned by his master, Nebuchadnezzar, to destroy the western nations. He then goes on a rampage throughout the ancient Near East, dealing mercilessly even with those who submit to him. He destroys their gods and sacred groves

²⁵ A-J. Levine, "Sacrifice and Salvation," 222-223.

²⁶ T. Ilan, *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (Peabody: Hendrikson Publishers, 2001), 150.

(Judith 3:8), declaring that Nebuchadnezzar alone is god.

He receives information that the Judeans are preparing for war and becomes extremely angry (Judith 5:1-12). When Holofernes enquires about this insolent nation, he hears from Achior, an Ammonite, that the Judeans cannot be defeated when they are not in the wrong (Judith 5:20-22).

Everything goes well for Holofernes until he meets Judith. He is supposed to be a military genius and his army an imperial force, but they are totally blinded by the beautiful body of a woman. Furthermore, as already stated above, Holofernes is the epitome of misunderstanding. In matters of strategic importance he constantly misinterprets Judith. Holofernes is a powerful man. He has life and death in his hands. In the language of narrative therapy he has a powerful body. His ignorance, lack of insight and his obsession with Judith eventually lead not just to his own downfall, but also to that of his whole army. He is beheaded by a Jewish woman who has nothing but a plan and a beautiful body.

3.4. *Achior the Ammonite*

The appearance of Achior the Ammonite, who is actually a spokesman for the Israelites, is interesting. The Ammonites and Moabites and their descendants are the people cursed by God and not allowed to be with God's people even to the 10th generation (Deuteronomy 23:3). Ironically enough, this Ammonite quotes the ideas of the Deuteronomic history and Judges: 'When Israel is obedient, God raises up a judge to rescue Israel; when Israel is disobedient, Israel falls under the yoke of foreigners.'²⁷ He also challenges the worship of Nebuchadnezzar. Little wonder that Achior is almost hacked to pieces (Judith 5:22). Eventually he is excommunicated by the Assyrians, whereupon he is welcomed by the Israelites. Achior is also the chosen one to identify the head of Holofernes after his decapitation (Judith 14:5-6).

The story of Achior, the Ammonite, comes full circle when he is circumcised and accepted into the house of Israel (Judith 14:10). A similar incident was recorded when Ruth, a Moabite woman, also from a cursed nation, was taken up into the house of Israel after confessing her faith (Ruth 1-4).

3.5. *The Maid Servant of Judith*

The ever-present maid servant of Judith is the passive onlooker on Judith's actions in almost every scene. She goes with Judith to the camp

²⁷ See 3.3.; Judith 5:20-22

of Holofernes and again leaves the camp with her so that she would “not eat unclean food.” In a way she is an accomplice to the murder of Holofernes as she takes his head and puts it into the food bag. Then both of them set off for prayer with the valuable contents in their bag. Again, it must be mentioned here that this servant could only have done this because she was female. No male servant would be allowed, or even to walk so freely, near the Assyrian camp. Significantly this maid servant was freed before her death (Judith 16:23).

3.6. *The Other Characters*

There are a few other characters in *Judith* who play roles in the narrative. Efthimiades-Keith provides an extensive discussion of the roles of different characters.²⁸ They are not insignificant, but do not play such a big role for the purpose of this paper. These are people such as Ozias, the magistrate of the town Bethulia. He is typical of the men of Bethulia and adopts a “wait and see attitude” without doing much. Then there are also others such as Bagoas the eunuch in the Assyrian camp.

4. *The Dominant and Alternative Narratives*

As stated in section 2, a dominant narrative, also known as the problem-saturated story, will now be constructed. This story usually represents ideology and the treatment of docile bodies. A challenging or alternative narrative will also be constructed. It represents how the dominant narrative was challenged and eventually triumphed over.

4.1. *The Dominant Narrative*

The elders, leaders of Bethulia, had an ideology that demanded the exclusion of women, other nations such as the Ammonites and even slaves. Their bodies were seen as inferior and unable to do anything of value. The society was thus pervaded by inequality and prejudices against certain people. This ideological stance proved to be ineffective in taxing times, like war, as men could not always provide answers and give direction to the nation. The author of *Judith* acknowledges the inability of men to take action in these difficult times. They simply lacked faith and courage and the ability to provide notable leadership.

²⁸ H. Efthimiades-Keith, *The Enemy is Within*, 160-200.

4.2. *The Alternative Narrative*

The alternative narrative emerges when Judith appears as leader. A few qualities possessed by Judith prove to be invaluable to address the situation. She had faith and courage, and not forgetting a useful body to change the situation. With her body as weapon, she does what no man can do. She and her maid simply walk into the camp of the Assyrians. She eventually kills Holofernes with the help of her maid and they walk out again with his head in a food bag. Judith is then accepted in the same way as the male heroes of Israel. Achior, the Ammonite, is also welcomed into the house of Israel and consequently circumcised. Judith, although once again domesticated, is depicted as an independent woman. She runs her own business, makes her own decisions and even frees her maid servant. The alternative narrative foreshadows the beginning of a more equal, inclusive society.

5. *Externalizing the Problem*

The system discriminated against women, foreigners and slaves. They were left to the mercy of men. Women, foreigners and slaves did not really have a voice when it came to important matters. They were marginalized. The externalization of the problem might be expressed as “the curse of discrimination against women, foreigners and slaves” or “the regulating of inferior bodies in an oppressive way.” Both have almost the same meaning but with a different emphasis. The first one, however, “the curse of discrimination against women, foreigners and slaves,” seems to be more inclusive.

6. *Unique Outcomes*

The problem, “the curse of discrimination against women, foreigners and slaves” had to be dealt with in a creative way. Jewish literature had a wealth of predecessors that could be used. Judith is the one who actually subverted the ordinances of Isaiah 3:16-26, thereby taking on the role of seductress. Furthermore, the Deborah and Jael story is also alluded to, where it is seen as acceptable for women to involve themselves in war and even to kill, as Jael did for the sake of the nation. The story of Ruth the Moabite might have been the used as an allusion to show that foreigners, (Ammonites and Moabites) who confessed their faith, could be included in the house of Israel. This clearly pointed out that men were not always the leaders in the past. Women were leaders and might again take up leadership in the future.

7. *A Storied Therapy*

The problem-saturated story is one of discrimination against women, foreigners and slaves. These people did not have much of a voice within the community. They were seen as inferior with docile bodies. This is the dominant narrative that needed to be challenged. Judith took the initiative in the moment of Israel's need. She was instrumental in winning a victory over the Assyrians. Achior, an Ammonite, was taken up into the house of Israel. Judith freed her slave. The storied therapy lies in the fact that the chains of a discriminatory system were beginning to be shaken off and new narratives were created.

8. *Conclusion*

The narrative therapeutic reading of *Judith* poses exciting possibilities. Colliding narratives, the dominant and alternative, were pointed out. It was shown, on the one hand, how there was discrimination against women and other people in an oppressive society and, on the other hand, how this was challenged and turned around. Unique outcomes from the past were identified. Problems that had emerged were externalized. It was clearly shown that sometimes a problem is only a problem because it is created within a society. An individual, even if it was a woman, foreigner and slave may rise above it. In the end we can say that therapy has taken place. There was movement from a problem-saturated story to a solution-saturated story. No other commentary on *Judith* worked quite in the same way. The blending of the elements noted in section 2 and their application is quite unique.

PERFORMING *SUSANNA*: SPEECH ACTS AND OTHER PERFORMATIVE ELEMENTS IN *SUSANNA*¹

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1. Introduction

Susanna has been a popular text for interpretation through the centuries, just like any other text that connects with the hearts and desires of human beings.² Ingo Kottsieper accurately states the following about *Susanna*:

Die Susannaerzählung hat ihre Hörer und Leser immer wieder gefesselt. Sie enthält alles, was auch die Spannung des modernen Menschen weckt: Eine schöne Frau wird von zwei widerlichen Alten sexuell belästigt, die schamlos ihre Position als Richter ausnutzen...³

This quote seems very exciting; however, the question may arise whether this interpretation of the vibrant narrative might have suppressed its original vivacity. Has the text been hemmed in and separated from the significant elements that generated meaning? In recent years there has been progress in unravelling the meaning of texts by taking into account elements such as the place of the author, figurative speech contemporaneous with the text, context and, even closer to the present, the position of the reader.⁴ All of these perspectives on a text certainly have their advantages and disadvantages. But *Susanna* has never been explored from the perspective of *speech acts*.

The idea that speech is itself a form of action was originally introduced by John Langshaw Austin in the 1950s. Austin is the author of the book *How to Do Things with Words* and widely associated with the concept of *speech acts*.⁵ He acknowledges the dynamic character of

¹ I would like to acknowledge the contribution of Prof. Pierre Jordaan towards this paper.

² *Susanna* the Theodotion text will be used as it is a more elaborate version on the story of Susanna and has a greater focus on the characters.

³ I. Kottsieper, *Zusätze zu Daniel*, in O. H. Steck, R. G. Kratz, I. Kottsieper eds., *Das Buch Baruch Der Brief des Jeremia Zu Ester und Daniel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 286.

⁴ M. Oeming, *Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 144.

⁵ J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things With Words*, (New York: Harvard University Press, 1962).

language and its ability to produce actions or performances. He calls these aspects of language *illocutionary acts*. It is important at this stage to note the difference between the terms *illocutionary act* (the parts of speech that constitute acts in their utterance) and *perlocutionary effect* (the effect induced by the illocutionary act). The meaning of these terms will be elucidated as the article proceeds.

Many approaches have already been used in trying to unfold *Susanna's* relevance:

- A historical-critical approach;⁶
- a grammatical-historical analysis;⁷
- thematic expositions such as ‘suffering’ (Harrington)⁸ and ‘humour’ (Gruen);⁹
- and more recently, a feminist perspective.¹⁰

However valuable these approaches might be, they do not illuminate the performative/dynamic aspects of texts and their ability to communicate. Furthermore, they do not provide for investigation of the presumed response of the audience. Elements of the *speech act theory* will be applied to the text of *Susanna* as a possible way to remedy these unattended areas. This will address previously neglected strands of communication between author and audience.

2. Methodology

In the 1950s J. L. Austin introduced the basis for an interesting and perhaps unsuspected method in approaching texts. In the book *How to Do Things with Words*¹¹ he synthesised relevant elements from his work and laid down what would become the foundation for the modern theory on *speech acts*. It was in this book that the concept of illocutionary acts was explained. In *How to do Things with Words* Austin bravely states that it has been “too long the assumption of philosophers that the

⁶ I. Kottsieper, *Zusätze zu Daniel*, 286-319.

⁷ B. D. Kay, *Susanna*, in R. H. Charles ed., *Apocrypha and Pseudopigrapha of the Old Testament*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), 557-690.

⁸ D. J. Harrington, *Invitation to Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999).

⁹ E. S. Gruen, *Diaspora Jews Amidst Greeks and Romans* (Massachusetts/London: University of California Press, 2002), 170-174.

¹⁰ A. Levine, *Hemmed in on Every Side: Jews and Women in the Book of Susanna*, in A. Brenner ed., *A Feminist Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna*, (London/New York: T & T Clark International, 2004), 303-324.

¹¹ Today this book is the primary source on Austin's philosophical work on *speech acts*; it is a redaction of the William James Lectures he delivered at Harvard in 1955.

business of a ‘statement’ can only be to describe or to state.”¹² He identifies certain parts of speech that can rarely be attributed to known grammatical categories and may be called ‘illocutionary acts’ or ‘performatives.’ According to his preliminary informal description, the idea of an “illocutionary act” can be captured through the notion that “by saying something, we *do* something,” as is the case with the utterance: “*Robber!*” This utterance is clearly not used only to describe, but also suggests the act of a hand pointing in fear. This consequently induces a reaction in the supposed onlookers. They can run, they can scream or they can even pause. It does not describe the act of a person and yet the action is set in motion. The utterance of this word evokes an action. Acknowledging this sentence as a *speech act* allows the reader to creatively sketch the ‘actor,’ set the ‘scene,’ and suppose a reaction. Through identifying *speech acts*, the reader is forced to note not just the emotions of the characters but also that of the audience.

Another speech act scholar, Paul Grice, in his article entitled “Meaning,” gives the following analysis of the notion of ‘non-natural meaning’: To say a speaker *S* meant something by *X*, is to say *S* intended the utterance of *X* to produce some effect in a hearer *H* by means of the recognition of this intention.¹³ To simplify: If a speaker *S* constructs an utterance *X*, one might note that *S* has possibly induced an action in the hearer *H* through *X*. Consequently, *S* intended *X* to produce some effect on a hearer *H*. This happens by means of recognition of this intention. Thus the communication is completed and significant when the cycle is completed in the audience:

S — X —> H (Thus: Speaker, Utterance, Action)

This figure depicts speech that actually induces action. This is called a *speech act*. However, there is another entity that has to be dealt with, that is the audience, especially the reaction of the audience. This so-called reader-responsive level of interpretation is an essential component of a study on speech acts. Evidently, the text of *Susanna*, whether it was meant to be read or to be performed, has to be interpreted within the two dimensions (X and H) that are utterance and recognition, author and audience, cause and effect. This transforms an interpretation that neglects the audience to one that also devotes attentive observation to the audience’s active response.

There might be yet another layer of meaning that accompanies the theory on speech acts. For example: the relation S, X and H describes the

¹² J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 1.

¹³ H. P. Grice, “Meaning,” *The Philosophical Review*, 66 (1957): 382.

communication between speaker and hearer, and within a text the speakers and hearers are usually actors. However, in the theory on speech acts one must also consider the possibility that there is a deeper communication between author and audience. This implies that there are aspects within a text that embody illocutionary acts directed at the reader/audience. Explaining this, one might consider the following formulation:

A —Y—► R (Thus: Author, Text, Action)

The author *A* uses his utterance *Y* within the text to produce a perlocutionary effect upon the reader/audience *R*. Thus the main difference is the reality in which the communication is achieved. For *S*, *X* and *H*, the reality is the world of the text, and for *A*, *Y* and *R* the reality is the world in which the text is received. Accordingly, *Susanna* will be examined as follows:

1. Firstly, *Susanna* will be conceptualised in terms of possible reception;
2. Then the text will be divided into thematic scenes;
3. *Speech acts*, both implicit and explicit, will be identified;
4. Lastly, the link between the performance of the text and the performance of the reader will be examined (reader-response).

Thus, the method which will be applied to *Susanna* is a fusion of speech act theory and reader-response theory. The relevant steps will now be clarified.

3. Methodological Components

Explaining the four steps of the method might aid in understanding their relevance.

3.1. Reception

Susanna must have been a popular piece – popular in the sense that it addressed certain ‘hot topics’ of Jews in exile.¹⁴ The story had to find a point of concurrence in the hearts of the readers to set their emotions free. It is important to acknowledge this when aiming to reconstruct a possible reception scenario and the consequent reactions of

¹⁴ E. S. Gruen, *Heritage of Hellenism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 173-176.

contemporaneous readers of *Susanna*. Thus, popularity and reception are intertwined facets in identifying the performative possibilities of the text.

3.2. *Scenes*

Dividing *Susanna* into scenes is important in order to make sense of *Susanna* in terms of a play. Through the demarcation of a specific scene, it becomes clearer what the significance of the setting, the involved actors and the central activities are.

3.3. *Identifying Speech Acts*

After these demarcations of what a speech act is, one question might still remain. How does one, practically, externalise a *speech act*? In answering this question, it is probably best to consider the core nature of a *speech act*. The word "Attack!" is probably a paradigmatic instance of a performative. It reveals the essence of Austin's finding that by saying something we do something. However, when studying Austin's work, one soon finds that he clearly does not regard an illocutionary act exclusively as a mere command. It may also be a cleverly constructed and non-natural part of speech that has a perlocutionary effect. This effect is caused through the hearer's understanding of the illocutionary aim of that utterance. Furthermore, it is not necessarily true that one can identify speech acts on their grammatical merits.¹⁵ In *How to Do Things with Words*, Austin first tested the "*first person singular present indicative active*" as a possible criterion for performative utterance. This is, however, not the case with the utterance: "*Dear. Aren't you in the mood for tea as well?*" Here the perlocutionary effect is much more complex and associative. In reaction, it is probably best to identify performatives on the basis of function rather than form. The trick is to do something with words.

3.4. *The Response of the Audience*

The text and its effect on the receiver form a whole. Therefore, the probable response of the reader needs to be examined. It has already been explained that not only the speech of the actor *X* has a perlocutionary effect, but also the speech of the author through the text *Y*. Thus the reaction of the reader would be a result of *speech acts* present in the text. In reconstructing the audience, it constructs the main framework in which the text is embedded.

¹⁵ M. Hancher, "Performative Utterance the Word of God and the Death of the Author," *Semeia* 41 (1988): 27-40.

4. *Reception*

When one deals with a text such as *Susanna*, which addresses some troubling aspects of its contemporary context, the possibility may be considered that the impetus behind this narrative came from its surrounding milieu. For different kinds of texts different kinds of activities count as the fundamental key to their interpretation. It is the very base of surrounding that drives the text.

Today, for example, we can easily identify the important formative activities behind world cinema: political agendas; Western-Muslim conflict; trading weapons for diamonds; and of course the timeless guarantee of a best-seller: sex and sexuality.

When interpreting *Susanna*, certain fundamental activities can also be identified:

- drama in the lives of the rich and famous;
- the abuse of the legal system; and
- the adulterous mingling between bored Jews (sex and sexuality).

The author of *Susanna* acknowledges the daily “unsupervised” circumstances of Jews in exile. The temple of Jerusalem disappeared before the face of Israel, and the daily sacrifices and litigation at the city’s gates faded away. This created a new environment that could easily be exploited.¹⁶

It is true of *Susanna* that it was the “very base of surrounding” that drove the text. In these times there was no equality before the law. Pierre Jordaan states that it is even more disturbing that “people did not question the verdicts of judges on any grounds.”¹⁷

Thus the author has created a story that spoke to the heart of human beings. The author has written a narrative; therefore one would suppose he/she expected it to be read. It was the flaws of contemporary Jewish society that left the innocent vulnerable to cunning predators, and *Susanna* was popularly addressing these flaws. The story must have found an eager ear in almost every Diasporic Jew.

5. *Scene 1: Titled Σφόδρα (Very) Impermissible (v. 1-14)*

This scene sets the mood. It elevates the reader to the position of σφόδρα: καλή σφόδρα, πλούσιος σφόδρα and even ἐπιθυμίαν

¹⁶ E. S. Gruen, *Heritage of Hellenism*, 146.

¹⁷ P. J. Jordaan, “Reading *Susanna* as Therapeutic Narrative,” *JSem*17/1 (2008): 124.

σφόδρα. It is an introduction to a world of plenty, riches, fame and beauty. Thus an alternative world is created that is fairly unattainable or impermissible. This might lead one to wonder whether this impermissibility would not have the same effect on the reader as on the two judges. The fact that Susanna is so pure and so beautiful indeed causes ἐπιθυμίαν σφόδρα, as it is an age-old truth that we long for what we cannot have. These first verses set up the circumstances that lead to impermissible but irresistible thoughts. They set the medium through which a perlocutionary effect may be induced in the reader.

In this scene the main characters are introduced. The audience meets Joakim, a man of πλούσιος σφόδρα. Then there is Susanna, whose beauty is immediately defined in the minds of the hearer. And finally the one element necessary to enable the plot, namely the two wicked unjust judges, is introduced. This scene is set in and around the mansion and garden of Joakim. Interesting enough, the word παράδεισος is chosen instead of the traditional κήπος. παράδεισος is the word used in LXX Genesis 2:8 and further on. It is again the paradise that is being defiled by an outside source. The audience is reminded of Eve, who gives in to temptation.

5.1. *Speech Acts In Scene 1*

For the purpose of discussing speech acts present in *Susanna*, it is probably best to recall the terminology. Firstly, there is the world of the text which is represented by the relation:

$$S \text{ — } X \text{ — } \rightarrow H$$

Secondly, there is the world in which the text is received. This world is represented by the relation:

$$A \text{ — } Y \text{ — } \rightarrow R$$

Thus X refers to world of the text, and Y refers to the world in which the text is referenced.

In v.13 one finds a subjunctive with a specified perlocutionary effect and that functions within the world of the text:

$X_1 \rightarrow$ Πορευθῶμεν δὴ εἰς οἶκον, ὅτι ἀρίστου ὥρα ἐστίν· [Let us surely go home, for it is mealtime]

S (the first elder to make the suggestion) uses X_1 to produce an effect H_1 .

H_1 would be the perlocutionary effect of the alternate elder walking convincingly in the direction of his home, lest he is caught out. These judges may be parasites but they are not all stupid. They are doing something with words. One uses his words to force the other to go home so that he might turn back unnoticed, but since they are equally evil, the effect H_1 does not last very long. They both turn back only to be caught in the act. The reaction of the audience would now be one of amazement and disgust: "Such hypocrites!" They say one thing and do another. The judges are exposed and the author is revealing that their thoughts would now be turned into to actions.

However, it is amazing to find that this effect (H_1) on the one elder would parallel an effect of certain utterances in Scene 1 (induced by the author in the readers). To explain this statement, we remember that the utterance X_1 reads as follows: Πορευθῶμεν δὴ εἰς οἶκον, ὅτι ἀρίστου ὄρα ἐστίν. We also remember that X_1 was an illocutionary act that induced a hypocritical effect in one of the elders. Through X_1 , the one elder forced the other to go home in order for him to turn back unnoticed. Now in the same sense the author is inducing a conflicting effect R_1 in the reader. Through carefully laying down speech acts in *Scene 1*, the reader is possibly forced to react hypocritically as well. These speech acts are:

Y_1 - καλή σφόδρα [very beautiful]

Y_2 - εἰσεπορεύετο Σουσαννα καὶ περιεπάτει ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς [Susanna went in and strolled in her husband's garden]

and

Y_3 - περὶ ὧν ἐλάλησεν ὁ δεσπότης ὅτι Ἐξῆλθεν ἀνομία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐκ πρεσβυτέρων κριτῶν [of whom the Lord said that iniquity came from Babylon from elderly judges]

The male reader is confronted with an elaborate description of Susanna and possibly with his own lust. Then these feelings are placed in conflict with the opinion of the Lord. Low moral desires are placed in opposition with the ultimate moral ideal: God. Y_1 and Y_2 are opposed to Y_3 . Thus the author is placing an illocutionary construct to have a conflicting effect R_1 , whether hypocritical or not, on the reader. The elders went home although wanting to turn back, and the reader judges the elders, although admiring Susanna's beauty himself. Thus the author is directing the audience into forming an educated opinion. Through illocutionary craft, the audience is affected to desire but warned to abstain, a brilliant

conflict that ensures the audience's undivided attention.

6. *Scene 2: ἐπιθυμία Gives Birth (v.15-27)*

This is where the thoughts become deeds. Ἐπιθυμία is dangerous. If only the elders would pray the prayer of Sirach:¹⁸ ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπόστρεψον ἀπ' ἐμοῦ [remove desire from me]. However, they do not. The day has arrived where their dreams become reality. Yet again we find a vivid description. One might start to wonder just what effect the author had in mind to induce in the audience. Once more the hearer might be battling a feeling of lust as his mind is filled with imagery of Susanna. Why the detail? Information on Susanna's need to bathe would have been sufficient. The author throws in a bonus; Susanna needs her oils and ointments, and above this graphic description, she sends her maids away. What would the perlocutionary effect have been of such an utterance. It offers the possibility of the young Susanna's being drenched in oil? In this παραδείσος, the reader, along with the hidden elders (v.16: πρεσβύτεροι κεκρυμμένοι), is confronted with an oily body, and she is all alone. Again the effect of the utterance: Ἐνέγκατε δὴ μοι ἔλαιον καὶ σμῆγμα' [Bring me oil and ointment!] is conflicted and interrupted with Susanna's reaction; she mentions the Lord (ἐνώπιον κυρίου)! What would a scene like this look like? We find a naked young woman confessing her faith in front of two elderly judges. It seems a moral dilemma. The fantasy comes to a dead halt for both reader and elders. The (male) reader's lust is made evident before the face of God.

One needs to ask how this story fits into the Jewish community; was it propaganda or mere entertainment?

6.1. *Speech Acts In Scene 2*

Here the war of words begins. Would Susanna give in to the intimidating utterances or would she actually fight back? We see the words of the judges that are formed and aligned to persuade. They conclude with a direct imperative:¹⁹

¹⁸ The phrase is quoted from Ben Sira's prayer (23:5) to ask God for deliverance from the dangerous ἐπιθυμία.

¹⁹ One wonders if this is because of their lack of rhetorical craft, or perhaps just the urgency of their lust. What the case may be, they do not bother to persuade on any level other than that of a direct imperative. This may be in accordance with the insight in the text of 4 Maccabees 3:2: οἷον ἐπιθυμίαν τις οὐ δύναται ἐκκόψαι ἡμῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλωθῆναι τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ δύναται ὁ λογισμὸς παρασχέσθαι [no one of us can cut off that kind of desire, but reason can provide a way for us not to be enslaved by desire].

X_2 – Καὶ εἶπον Ἰδοὺ αἱ θύραι τοῦ παραδείσου κέκλεινται, καὶ οὐδεὶς θεωρεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ σου ἐσμεν· [Look, the garden doors are shut, no one sees us, and we are in love with you]→διὸ συγκατάθου ἡμῖν καὶ γενοῦ μεθ’ ἡμῶν· [therefore lie with us and be with us!]

They argue that the garden doors are shut and no one is watching; besides they are in love with her. Perhaps they have lost their reason. What could have happened between their last intelligible speech act and this mere command? One is forced to believe that desire has indeed clouded their reason. Either way, there is movement.

One would expect this direct act of speech to effect an obedient response, but Susanna is also capable of doing things with words. She calls on the ultimate authority with the utterance: ἢ ἁμαρτεῖν ἐνώπιον κυρίου. (... rather than to sin before the face of the Lord). The unveiled illocutionary act would be something like: “Sorry, I cannot.” She is clearly not Eve. She has learnt to speak. Susanna produces a successful perlocutionary effect and seeing that they do not possess the ability to do things with words, they rather use their authority to drag Susanna to court.

Thus we find the utterance X_2 (συγκατάθου ἡμῖν καὶ γενοῦ μεθ’ ἡμῶν) producing an undesired perlocutionary effect H_2 (Susanna’s response). However, Susanna’s response is actually another speech act. Hence, the statement that we find here is a hard blow in the war of words. Perhaps one could deduce the fact that a speech act will always have one of three responses: (1) the hearer did not perceive the intention of the utterance and proceeds unchanged; (2) the hearer recognises the intention of the speaker’s utterance and responds accordingly; (3) or the hearer recognises the intention but opposes the perlocutionary purpose.²⁰ In this case Susanna’s reaction is the latter. She opposes the elders with another speech act. Here Susanna is a moral example to other female characters in the Septuagint. Eve is persuaded even before speaking, Bathsheba does not say a thing, and Judith and Esther use their bodies rather than reason to accomplish their political goals.²¹ This is not the case with Susanna, however, as she is one tough woman.

²⁰ I suspect this response will always be another speech act, whether it is to induce an effect in that party which first uttered their intention, or a speech act that implies help from other parties.

²¹ P. J. Jordaan, “Text, Ideology and Body in the Additions to Esther,” *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 88/17 (2006): 149-150.

7. Scene 3: A Seemingly Swift Trial (V. 28-41)

The reader finds himself seated in front of Joakim's house. This time it is not the usual occasion. The crowd does not gather to serve justice, but to serve the two judges. They easily forgot the instructions of Moses.²² The argumentation is poor, but the crowd is blind. The usual practice would be to provide just rulings; today's objective is injustice and execution. The judges moved on to Plan B. They were obsessed with gaining Susanna's consent, but now their obsession has been reduced to the bare need to take her life.

7.1 Speech Acts in Scene 3

At this point something interesting happens. The author uses the utterance:

X_3/Y_4 - Αποστείλατε ἐπὶ Σουσανναν θυγατέρα Χελκιου ἢ ἐστὶν γυνὴ Ἰωακίμ· [Send for Susanna, the daughter of Hilkiah, who is the wife of Joakim!]

What would simply produce a natural perlocutionary effect on the actors (H_3): οἱ δὲ ἀπέστειλαν [and they sent for her] would produce a more subconscious effect upon the reader (R_4). The observing characters simply obeyed what was, in the reality of the text, a common command; they sent for Susanna. The text is, however, completed in the reader; they are actually affected by the deeper illocutionary act of Y_4 . The reader is moved to a place of utmost sympathy and trust in Susanna. In the same sense that the author used utterances in the previous scenes to produce a conflict between lust and judgement, the appeal to Hilkiah and Joakim in scene 3 is used to present the innocence of Susanna. In terms of verses 2 and 3, Hilkiah represents the pious manner in which Susanna has been raised and taught in the Law of Moses. Susanna feared the Lord and had a righteous father. Secondly, in terms of verse 4, Joakim reminds us that

²² Deut 1:16-17: καὶ ἐνετείλαμην τοῖς κριταῖς ὑμῶν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ λέγων Διακούετε ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν καὶ κρίνατε δικαίως ἀνὰ μέσον ἀνδρῶς καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον προσηλύτου αὐτοῦ. οὐκ ἐπιγνώση πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει κατὰ τὸν μικρὸν καὶ κατὰ τὸν μέγαν κρινεῖς οὐ μὴ ὑποστείλη πρόσωπον ἀνθρώπου ὅτι ἡ κρίσις τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐὰν σκληρὸν ἢ ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀνοίσετε αὐτὸ ἐπ' ἐμέ καὶ ἀκούσομαι αὐτό

[And I charged your judges at that time, saying, Hear cases between your brethren, and judge rightly between a man and *his* brother, and the stranger that is with him. You shall not be partial in judgment; you shall hear the small and the great alike; you shall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is God's; and the case that is too hard for you, you shall bring to me, and I will hear it.'].]

Susanna was indeed married to a highly honoured man, one who was the very portrait of justice. Thus, by evoking the faces of Hilkiiah and Joakim as witnesses in the mind of the reader, the author is nurturing a positive attitude towards Susanna.

Interestingly enough, the audience would now be the only ones with a positive attitude towards Susanna. There is not one character in the whole of the cast that is pro-Susanna. Hilkiiah and Joakim are blissfully absent. They say nothing. The judges lay down their groundless sentence and the crowd simply submits because they are judges. This is logical, seeing that no one knows the truth except the audience. What is not logical is how hope will be introduced into these dire circumstances. The audience cries: “Where will hope come from?” We may call this facet *anticipatio lib eratori* (the anticipation of a liberator). The story of Susanna is constructed to evoke an expectation, one that introduces a divine and quite synthetic liberator. What will happen now? It is the anticipation of an external or original element that will bring deliverance, a personified *deus ex machina*. God is actually working mechanically in this young man. He does not have a choice. Daniel is the liberator and needs to have transcendent authority. This is why the author is portraying Daniel as a vehicle for God’s divine justice. Jordaan distinguishes some important traits of Daniel: he is a judge/sage and has the ability to fool death at the last moment, and thus he fits the description of a rather metaphysical and synthetic hero.²³ The *anticipatio lib eratori* is thus generated in texts where hope cannot be found in any circumstance or character already depicted. Thus, at the peak of tension, this liberator is brought to life and becomes a vital part of the text as a whole. This is exactly why the next scene is somewhat irregular and artificial.

8. Scene 4: (v. 42-64)

Daniel enters from nowhere. The crowd had already started to walk away, but here is a young man whom Austin would have been proud of, as he utters a textbook speech act:

X₄ - Καθαρός ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος ταύτης [I am innocent of the blood of this woman].

The entire crowd stopped in their tracks, turned to him and said: “*What did you say?*” The utterance could have had one of two implications:

²³ P. J. Jordaan, “Reading Susanna as Therapeutic Narrative,” 122-123.

- either it implied that the blood of Susanna is on their hands;
- or he could be the young man the elders have spoken of in verse 37: “*then a young man, who had been hidden, came in and laid with her*”

In any case the effect was to get their attention. Daniel was aroused, but not sexually as the old men were. He was a νεανίσκος whose holy spirit had been aroused by God. He was indeed the *liberator* the audience has subconsciously anticipated. Just as Susanna’s faith seems inevitable, Daniel makes his appearance. Susanna’s unmoveable word meets the unparalleled intelligence of Daniel. Where is Joakim? He is nowhere to be found. He does not even have one word to produce even the smallest perlocutionary effect, but Daniel protects this helpless woman with his utterances. He tells it like it is: Πεπαλαιωμένε ἡμερῶν κακῶν and again he says to the other elder: Σπέρμα Χανααν. What Daniel is actually saying is that this sin is not a day old, but injustice has been thriving since the time of Canaan.

However, he is ending it today. Perhaps Daniel is even uprooting the sin of the παράδεισος in the old days. In that sense he is opposing the approach of Satan in the παράδεισος. These elders are just like the snake who came with utterances to persuade the woman.

Now Daniel separates the two elders and asks them the crucial question: Ὑπὸ τί δένδρον εἶδες αὐτοὺς ὀμιλοῦντας ἀλλήλοις [Under what tree did you catch them being intimate with each other?]. Of course we know that their answers were different. Thus, Daniel had convicted them of bearing false witness out of their own mouths. The crowd rises against the judges and, acting in accordance with the Law of Moses, they put them to death. Daniel here again, as in *Bel and the Dragon*, has the role of judge and executioner.

Justice has returned. What would have been a trial based on a one-way discourse has ended as a ruling based on the Law of Moses. The judges did not even mention his name, but through Daniel Moses is reincorporated into this Jewish community. The law is restored, with Daniel personifying justice. In the end it is the word of the just that has the desired effects. The audience is relieved of both their concern for Susanna’s life and also of their sexual tension. Now Daniel’s status has been prepared and he was ready to be incorporated into the coming literature of liberators, as the text mentions: καὶ Δανιηλ ἐγένετο μέγας ἐνώπιον τοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ἐπέκεινα [And Daniel he came great before the people/community from that day and

further]. As Jordaan points out, Daniel will indeed live forever²⁴, surfacing whenever there is a need for a divine hero or *anticipatio liberatori*.

9. Conclusion

Susanna is indeed a story of doing things with words. We find the lustful judges actually being impotent. Their words are empty and do not have the ability to have an effect. On the contrary, Susanna and Daniel function together as a steady structure that uses the truth to affect not only the outcome of the trial, but also the future of justice. Using the speech act theory has certainly aided in identifying the embedded effect upon characters within the text, but also the deeper perlocutionary effect upon the audience. The method has helped to illuminate the position of the audience as well intensifying the function of the characters. Lastly the possibility was identified that the text induces an *anticipatio liberatori*, a term hopefully having potential relevance in future approaches to texts.

²⁴ P. J. Jordaan, "Reading Susanna as Therapeutic Narrative," 124.

READING NARRATIVES IN THE SEPTUAGINT: A DISCOURSE ON METHOD¹

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A. INTRODUCTION

The interpretation of texts depends greatly upon their literary genres. Narratives are the predominant genre in the Septuagint. More than a third of the Hebrew Bible, even without the Apocrypha, consists of narratives.² Despite its abundance however, this literary genre is often interpreted without taking its distinctiveness into account.

Narrative interpretation is still dependent either on grammatical-historical³ or on historical-critical analysis.⁴ It is the contention of this article that, with regard to narrative analysis, these two approaches are limited, unless they are coupled with rhetorical analysis. Principles “for dealing with the literary form of the text as part and parcel of the

¹ This article is a version of a paper read at the annual conference of the Association for the Study of the Septuagint in South Africa, held at the University of Stellenbosch in 2008 (August 14 to 15). It is a part of the author’s Ph.D. thesis at North-West University, Potchefstroom campus, under the supervision of Prof P. J. Jordaan.

² Bar-Efrat, *Narrative art in the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 9; W. C. Kaiser and M. Silva, *An Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics: The Search for Meaning* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994), 54.

³ The grammatical-historical approach was the preferred method of the reformers because “they were concerned to recover the original sense, which they felt had been buried under centuries of spiritual interpretation” K. J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text? The Bible, the Reader, and the Morality of Literary Knowledge* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1998), 118. Jordaan argues that the reformers’ use of this method ultimately produced a dogmatic interpretation of Scriptures. The reformers were primarily interested in the defence of the soul of the church. The literary form, genre and structure of texts were wittingly or unwittingly neglected or ignored because these were not their main concern in studying Scriptures. See P. J. Jordaan, “A Brief History of Exegesis: Calvin, Luther and further to Cognitive Linguistics, Some Recommendation for the Writing of New Testament Greek Texts Books,” *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 89 (2007): 214-223.

⁴ Oeming praises the historical-critical method as “one of the prime achievements of academic theology.” Nonetheless, he questions its “dissection of texts.” See M. Oeming, *Contemporary Biblical Hermeneutics: An Introduction* (trans., Joachim F. Vette; England/USA: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 41. This practice renders the uncovering of meaning in narratives more problematic. See Rivard, “Pour une relecture d’Ex 19 et 20: Analyse Sémiotique d’Ex 19, 1-8,” *Science et Esprit* XXXIII/3 (1981): 335-356, especially 335.

meaning of the text”⁵ are not the main focus of the abovementioned approaches.

An adequate theory for reading narratives is expected to take into account the complexities of this genre. Greimassian narrative semiotics was purposely formulated to address this challenge. Due to the fact that despite its efficiency, Greimas theory is feared for its alleged complexities, this article commends Everaert-Desmedt simplified version of Greimas’s theory for the interpretation of LXX narratives.⁶ The approach centres on the data of the text and pays careful attention to the macrostructures of narratives. It is assumed that a narrative only makes sense when read as a whole. Greimas’s approach to narratives is by now accepted by scholars as part of the canon of narratology. The article will not, therefore, scrutinise Greimas and thus Everaert-Desmedt critically. The main concern is to show the efficiency of Everaert-Desmedt’s approach for investigating LXX narratives in general and the story of Susanna in particular.⁷

B. POINT OF DEPARTURE

Greimas’s theory consists of three levels of analysis: deep structures, surface structures and structures of manifestations. The approach is based on the assumption that:

... in order to achieve the construction of cultural objects (literary, mythical, pictorial, etc.), the human mind begins with simple elements and follows a complex trajectory, encountering on its way both constraints to which it must submit and choices it is able to make.

Our aim is to give a rough idea of this trajectory. We can consider that it moves from immanence to manifestation in three principal stages: (1) *Deep s tructures* define the fundamental mode of existence of an individual or society, and subsequently the conditions of existence of semiotic objects. As far as we know, the elementary constituents of deep structures have a definable logical status. (2) *Surface s tructures*

⁵ T. G. Long, *Narrative Structure as Applied to Biblical Preaching: A Method for Using Narrative Grammar of A. J. Greimas in Development of Sermons on Biblical Narratives* (Ph.D. diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1980), 50.

⁶ N. Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit* (Bruxelles: De Boeck, 2007).

⁷ The story of Susanna has survived in two important different versions: the Theodotion and the LXX version. Despite their significant differences however, the two versions present the same plot with the same characters. For the purpose of this article the Theodotion version of Susanna is used. It has a more elaborate narrative focusing more on Susanna than the LXX does (G. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* [Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005], 24).

constitute a semiotic grammar system that arranges the contents susceptible of manifestation into discursive forms. The end products of this system are independent of the expression that manifests them, insofar as they can theoretically appear in any substance and, in the case of linguistic objects, in any language. (3) *The structures of manifestations* produce and organize the signifiers. Although they can include quasi-universals, they remain specific to any given language (or more precisely they define the specific characteristic of languages) or to any given material. They are studied by the surface stylistics of lexemes, shapes, colors....⁸

This statement constitutes the backbone of Greimassian narrative semiotics. It is the leading philosophy underlying Greimas's approach and that of his followers. The theory that stemmed from this logic is highly praised and commended by many scholars for its efficiency and is, as said before, accepted as part of the canon of narratology.⁹ The acceptance of the theory, however, contrasts sharply with its reception among scholars. There is no doubt that the approach is not yet fully and widely used. The main hindrance to using Greimas's model is its assumed complexities.¹⁰

The attempt of this article is to present a simplified version of Greimas's theory as developed by Everaert-Desmedt. The aim is not to approach Everaert-Desmedt critically, but rather to show the efficiency of her approach. Everaert-Desmedt's method is simple and practical, and illustrated with various examples. It consists of the same three steps as those of Greimas. However, while Greimas called these three phases of analysis deep structures, surface structures and structures of manifestations, Everaert-Desmedt calls them, correspondingly, the figurative, narrative and thematic levels. The examination of these three levels is first preceded by structuring narratives and segmenting them.

⁸ A. J. Greimas, *On Meaning* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987), 48.

⁹ J. M. Taylor and E. J. van Every, *The Emergent Organization: Communication as its Site on Surface* (London: Routledge, 1999), 52.

¹⁰ Moisés Silva argues that "Greimas and other structuralist writers as well as their commentators are often unclear in their theoretical expression. Scholes finds that Greimas is 'frequently crabbed and cryptic.' The result is that Biblical scholars are at odds concerning the correct application of his theory to particular texts ... they conclude about Greimas's theory that 'Nevertheless, its high level of complexity, its almost esoteric terminology ... have and likely will prevent the vast majority of biblical scholars from actively participating in the endeavour'". See M. Silva ed., *Foundations of Contemporary Interpretation* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1996), 117.

C. STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVES AND SEGMENTATION

1. *The Structure of Narratives*

Narratives are different from other forms of literature. They present “information as a connected sequence of events: each event logically follows on from the previous one; each event causes the next one.”¹¹

Everaert-Desmedt describes a narrative as a representation of an event.¹² It is constructed on the basis of change or transformation. Transformation, which is the important occurrence in a narrative, can take place suddenly or progressively. It always implies a change in states, from the first state S1 (initial state: the beginning) to the second state S2 (final state: the end). With the story of Susanna in mind, the two states in a narrative can be inscribed on a semantic axis as follows:¹³

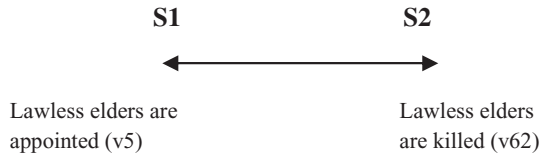


Figure 1 The structure of *Susanna* based on the data of the text (5, 62)

This representation is based on the fact that the story of Susanna takes as its leading theme “Εξήλθεν ἀνομία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος.”¹⁴ Dealing with wickedness, which threatens to corrupt the Jewish community, seems to be the main concern of the story. In this respect, it is imperative that the analysis of narratives must:

- reconstruct the initial state, the problem to be addressed. In general, the initial state has at least a common and a different dimension in relation to the final state;
- take into account the logic of eventuality. The narrator chooses intentionally whether to end with a success or a failure.¹⁵ This can be illustrated as follows:

¹¹ N. Lacey, *Narrative and Genre. Key Concepts in Media Studies* (New York: Palgrave, 2000), 13-14.

¹² Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 15.

¹³ In *Susanna*, it is the community that is transformed, freed from lawlessness.

¹⁴ Harrington, *Invitation to the Apocrypha* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 114.

¹⁵ C. Bremond, *Logique du récit* (Paris: Seuil, 1973), 131.

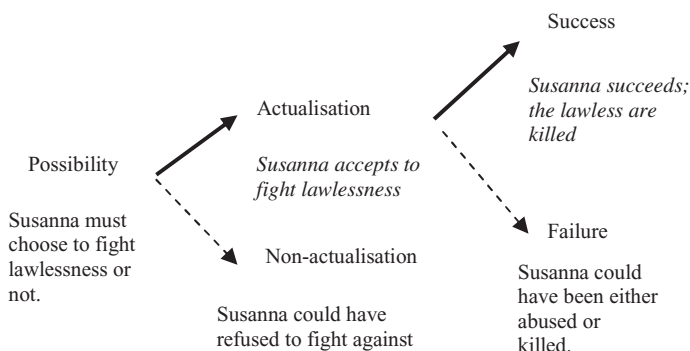


Figure 2 Possible endings in the story of Susanna

The adoption of a particular ending, success or failure, is an important clue in the interpretation of a narrative. In *Susanna* there is an actualisation which ends as a success in favour of the Law of Moses. This is depicted by the italic in Figure 2. The community is saved from a moral and religious disaster (62), constituted by the two *παράνομοι* (32).

The latter part of Figure 2 illustrates what could have happened. Susanna could have refused to confront evil. She could also have accepted the programme of the narrative without achieving that programme successfully. She could either have ended up yielding to the threats and demands of the elders or being killed. Then, however, lawlessness would have triumphed.

2. *The Story of Susanna*

The Theodotion version of Susanna's narrative is a moving story of a beautiful and pious Jewish woman. Two elders conspire to have sexual intercourse with her, but she firmly resists. She is falsely accused of adultery and subsequently charged and condemned to death. The narrative takes a surprising turn when Daniel's spirit is resurrected. Daniel then contests the trial and is allowed to re-examine the case. Finally, Susanna is acquitted and the two lawless elders executed.

3. *Segmentation*

In many cases, narratives include more than one sequence. In order to deal with them adequately it is necessary to segment them. The

segmentation of narratives can be achieved by observing spatial, temporal, actorial, grammatical or logical disjunctions, to name the least.¹⁶ *Susanna* is comprised of four main sequences.

The first sequence introduces Susanna and the elders (2-14). Their contradictory religious and moral identities are affirmed. The second sequence highlights the confrontation between Susanna and the elders in the garden (15-27). Susanna is tested but resists. The third sequence focuses on the judgement and condemnation of Susanna (28-44). The elders are deemed trustworthy. The last sequence centres on the judgement of the elders (45-63). They are condemned but Susanna is vindicated.

In all four sequences Susanna's identity is central. It is successively affirmed (2-3), tested (22-23), contested (42-43) and eventually confirmed (62-63). The story starts with a prologue about Joakim, Susanna's husband, and ends with an epilogue about Daniel, her helper (64). The structuring and segmentation of a narrative facilitate its analysis.

D. THE ANALYSIS

Everaert-Desmedt's analytical approach as adapted to this study will consist of exploring narratives firstly by revealing their inner oppositions, their recurring motifs and their mode of emplotment (figurative level). Secondly, the approach will reveal the roles of actants (the actantial model) and the performance of the main protagonists (canonical schema) (narrative level). Finally, it will reveal the opposition of values and their itinerary on the semiotic square (thematic level).

Dealt with correctly and rigorously, such an analysis brings to the fore previously neglected dimensions of narratives. No other method of close reading has such an extended set of tools and just cannot achieve the same conclusion.

1. *The Figurative Level*

This level deals with figures. The word 'figure' in this context is a technical term. The main figures in a narrative consist of actors, space, and time. The figurative level will be investigated by:

- gathering figures and observing their relations: thus figurative oppositions;

¹⁶ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 25-26.

- observing their courses: configurations or motifs; and¹⁷
- paying attention to the emplotment of texts.¹⁸

1.1. *Figurative Oppositions: Paradigmatic Perspective*

The oppositions between figures are important in the generation of meaning.¹⁹ Particular attention is given to actors, places and time. The process of establishing figures (actors, place and time) in a narrative is termed actorialisation, spatialisation and temporalisation.²⁰

The main figures in the story of Susanna are actors (Joakim, Susanna, Susanna’s parents, the two elders, God, Daniel, Joakim’s household servants and the Jewish people), places (Babylon, Joakim’s house, Joakim’s garden, heaven) and particular moments of time [at noon (μέσον ἡμέρας), every day or as usual (καθ’ ἡμέραν, ποτε καθὼς ἐχθές καὶ τρίτης ἡμέρας), opportune time (καιρὸν, ἡμέραν εὐθετον), the next day (ἐπαύριον)].

Figurative oppositions in the narrative can be condensed into two groups: Susanna and Daniel on one side, and the two elders on the other side. Striking contrasts arise between these two groups in terms of gender, age, morals and religion. Some of these contrasts appear in the following table.

Table displaying some contrasts between Susanna and the elders

Susanna	The elders
ὄνομα Σουσαννα θυγάτηρ Χελκίου 2	They do not have names or genealogy
φοβουμένη τὸν κύριον 2	παράνομοι 32
κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωσῆ 3	ἀνομία ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος 5
ἀνέβλεψεν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν 3	τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν 9
πεποιθυῖα ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ 35	Μη μνημονεύειν κριμάτων δικαίων 9
θυγάτηρ Ἰουδα 48, 57	Σπέρμα Χανααν 56

¹⁷ Ibid., 30.

¹⁸ Everaert-Desmedt figurative analysis consists only of the figurative oppositions and configurations or motifs. Plots of narratives receive no attention. For this study, however, attention is devoted to emplotment because most biblical narratives display similar plots.

¹⁹ A. Hénault, *Les enjeux de la Sémiotique I* (Paris : Presses universitaire de France, 1979), 47.

²⁰ A. Hénault, *Narratologie Sémiotique générale. Les enjeux de la Sémiotique II*. (Paris: Presses universitaire de France, 1983), 131-34.

Θυγάτηρ Ιουδα and Σπέρμα Χανααν are the culmination of contrasts between the two groups. These expressions reveal fundamental values in the story. They are related to the different identities of individuals. People in the narrative are classified according to their commitment to the Law of Moses, regardless of their gender or age. Although all people are called οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ, only Susanna qualifies as θυγάτηρ Ιουδα. She is portrayed as the standard of Jewishness in a corrupted and corrupting community. She is the central character of the story.

1.2. *Configurations or Motifs: Syntagmatic Perspective*

The course of figures creates configurations or motifs. A motif is a theme, “a subject ... repeated and developed in a work of literature.”²¹ Motif, culture and intertextuality are closely related.²²

The story of Susanna is a compilation of various motifs: the wise and the foolish; shame and honour; God’s vindication of the innocent.

1.3. *Emplotment*

Emplotment is the way events are ordered in a narrative. It is “the soul of the narrative,” its “horizon of meaning.”²³ It is important because most narratives are written according to the structure of one of the stories familiar to people.²⁴ Plots of narratives serve as vehicles for propagating ideologies.²⁵

²¹ S. Wehmeier and M. Ashby, *Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 763.

²² “The motif is a motif in a text because it refers to another text, this last referring it again to another somewhere else: its mode of existence is not of a discursive realised unity, but of a virtuality inscribed in a kind of transtextual ‘memory’” Greimas quoted by Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 33 (Translation: D. M. Kanonge).

²³ D. Breslauer, *The Seductiveness of Jewish Myth: Challenge or Response* (New York: Albany State University of New York Press, 1997), 158.

²⁴ H. White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1978), 87.

²⁵ According to Chandler, when one of the four tropes (metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony) prevails in a narrative, it determines the genre of the narrative, its worldview and its ideology as follows:

Trope	Genre (mode of emplotment)	Worldview (mode of argument)	Ideology (mode of ideological implication)
Metaphor	Romance	formism	Anarchism
Metonymy	Comedy	Organicism	Conservatism
Synecdoche	Tragedy	Mechanism	Radicalism
Irony	Satire	Contextualism	Liberalism

See D. Chandler, *Semiotics: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2002), 138.

Two features are very important here for the interpretation of the plot in Susanna's story: its similarity with the incident of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and the persistent irony. For the purpose of this article, only its similarity with the story of Joseph will be taken into account.

The story of Susanna echoes various texts in Israel's traditions and history. It is linked with stories of Eve in the Garden of Eden (Gen 3), Bathsheba bathing (1 Sam 11), Ruben and Bilah (Gen 35:22), the books of Esther, Judith and Song of Songs (2:1).²⁶ However, the plot of the story of Susanna seems to be built on the incident of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Nickelsburg argues that "The story of Susanna appears to have been influenced by the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, with the male and female roles reversed."²⁷ The two stories share many traits, either in terms of similarities or reversals.

There are many striking resemblances between the two stories:

a. Susanna is described as "τρουφερά σφόδρα καὶ καλὴ τῷ εἶδει" (31). That is exactly what is said about Joseph: "καλὸς τῷ εἶδει καὶ ὠραῖος τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα (Gen 39:6).

b. They both rejected propositions for religious reasons (Gen 39:9; Susanna 23).

c. Both Potiphar and Joakim, their masters, are outstanding personalities in their communities. Potiphar is said to prosper because of Joseph's presence (Gen 39:2-6). Joakim is also a wealthy and well respected personality.²⁸

d. Susanna and Joseph are both falsely accused. In reaction to the accusations, they do not respond because they rely on God (Gen 39:20; Susanna 35). This is assumed by Josephus about Joseph when he declares:

Now Joseph, commending all his affairs to God, did not betake himself either to make his defence or to give an account of the exact circumstances of the fact, but silently underwent the bonds and the

²⁶ A. Levine, "'Hemmed in on every side': Jews and Women in the book of Susanna," in *A Feminine Companion to Esther, Judith and Susanna* (ed. A. Brunner; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2004), 303-323, especially 314-317.

²⁷ Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature*, 53; See also Nickelsburg, "Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life," in *Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity* (expanded ed.; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2006), 74-77.

²⁸ Because of the striking similarities between the stories one could argue that Joakim's wealth is the result of his marriage with Susanna. And Susanna's freedom of movement in the narrative implies that her husband committed everything into her hands.

distress he was in, firmly believing that God ... knew the cause of his affliction and the truth of the fact ...²⁹

e. Their accusers are associated with the verb “to cry” [καὶ ἐβόησα φωνῇ μεγάλῃ (Gen 39:15, 18); ἐβόησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δύο πρεσβῦται Susanna (24)] and they first report to the household servants (Gen 39:14; Susanna 26-27).

f. They both are condemned but rescued by the providential intervention of God (Gen 41; Susanna 45-62).

g. In the story of Susanna and the elders, as in that of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife, evil people are anonymous.

Besides these similarities, the differences between the stories consist of reversals:

a. In Genesis a woman harasses a man, while in *Susanna* two men harass a woman.

b. In *Susanna* the incident took place outside (public place, men’s domain); in Genesis it happened inside a house (private place, women’s sphere of influence).

c. Joseph dealt with a foreign woman, not taught according to the Law of Moses; Susanna confronted two Jewish elders, who were supposed to teach the Law of Moses.³⁰

These striking similarities and differences between the story of Susanna and the incident of Joseph and Potiphar’s wife seem to be intentional.

Joseph’s encounter with Potiphar’s wife is considered as the decisive event of his life. Joseph’s rejection of the advances made by Potiphar’s wife made him the epitome of righteousness and thus of success in Egypt.³¹ The reworking of the legendary exploit of Joseph, with men and women’s roles reversed, is significant. The author seems to suggest that Susanna, a woman, surpasses Joseph, the emblematic archetype of righteousness.

In conclusion, the figurative level investigates figurative oppositions, configurations and emplotment. Striking oppositions between Susanna and the elders, the main protagonists (Θυγάτηρ Ιουδα and Σπέρμα Χανααν), configurations (for example, the motif of the wise and the foolish) and the emplotment of the narrative according to the story of

²⁹ F. Josephus, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1996); Josephus, *Ant.* 2.60.

³⁰ P. J. Jordaan, “Reading Susanna as Therapeutic Narrative,” *Journal for Semitics* 17 (2008): 114-128, especially 122.

³¹ M. Niehoff, *The Figure of Joseph in Post-Biblical Jewish Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 148.

Joseph, with male and female roles reversed, constitute useful signposts toward the construction of the semiotic square and thus the uncovering of meaning. This step however is incomplete without the following, the narrative analysis.

2. *The Narrative Level*

The narrative level examines the narrative grammar, the organisation of a text as discourse. The tools for analysis are the actantial model and the narrative syntax.

2.1. *The Actantial Model*

The actantial model reveals the different functions and activities performed by actants in a narrative.³² An actant can be conceived as that which produces or undergoes an action.³³ There are six constant actants: the subject, the object, the addresser, the addressee, the helper and the opponent. The relations between actants (actantial model) can be represented as follows (with *Susanna* in mind):

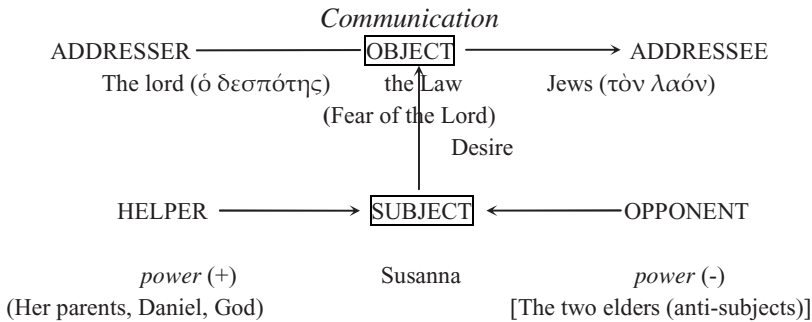


Figure 3 The actantial model illustrated by the story of Susanna.

2.1.1. *The Axis of Desire: Relation between the Subject and the Object*

The subject and the object are the two primordial actants.³⁴ The subject is present in the narrative from the very beginning to the end. He/she is responsible for achieving the programme of the narrative. In Susanna’s story, Susanna is the subject. She is empowered to reinstate the Law of

³² H. Neemann, *Piercing Magic Veil: Toward a Theory of the Conte* (Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1999), 126.

³³ A. J. Greimas and J Courtés, *Sémiotique, Dictionnaire raisonné* (Paris: Hachette, 1979), 3.

³⁴ A. Hénault, *Narratologie Sémiotique*, 46.

Moses, the object. The relation between the subject and the object is called a narrative utterance. It can be either an utterance of state³⁵ or an utterance of doing.³⁶

Many subjects may appear in a narrative. Anti-subjects are subjects with opposed objects. They appear in narratives in three different ways:³⁷

a. Two (or many) subjects (S_A and S_B) compete to obtain the same object ($O_A = O_B$).³⁸ The success of S_A in his quest is the failure of S_B in his quest and vice versa (e.g. marriage of Esther with the king).

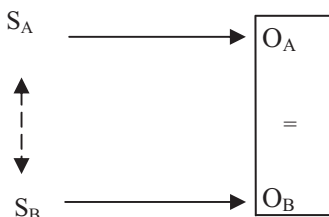


Figure 4 Subjects and anti-subjects schema 1

b. Two subjects (S_A and S_B) take each other as objects (e.g. David and Goliath).

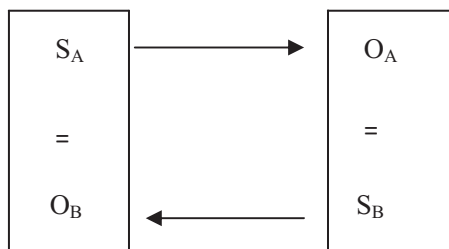


Figure 5 Subject and anti-subject schema 2

³⁵ The two utterances of state are the conjunctive utterance (stating that the subject is in conjunction with the object: SAO) and the disjunctive utterance (stating that the subject is not in conjunction with the object: SVO).

³⁶ The attempt of the subject to be in conjunction with the object or the transition from a state to another.

³⁷ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 42-43.

c. A subject (S_A) takes as object (O_A), another subject (S_B) who (which) pursues another object (O_B). In pursuing O_B , the subject S_B refuses to be the object of S_A , and thus opposes S_A 's quest.

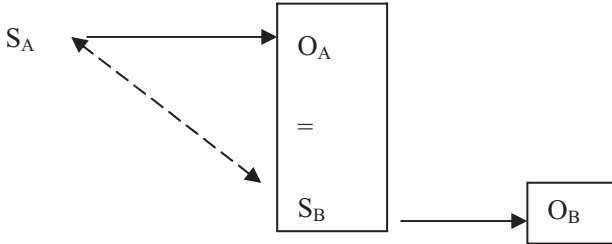


Figure 6 Subject and anti-subjects schema 3

Figure 3 illustrates the structure of *Susanna*. The elders aim at having illegal intercourse with beautiful women (19, 56, 57), while Susanna strives to please God (2, 3, 23).

2.1.2. *The Axis of Communication: The Addresser and the Addressee*

The addresser imparts the object to the addressee. The addresser or “the sender is the person (or feature, or event) responsible for initiating the quest; the receiver is the actant for whose benefit the quest is undertaken.”³⁹

The addresser:

a. is a subject manipulator. He/she makes the subject act, by transmitting modalities to him/her, i.e. knowledge about the object, or a duty to provoke the wanting;

b. represents values brought into play in a narrative. He/she is an adjudicator.

2.1.3. *The Axis of Power: Helper and Opponent*

The last couple acts on the subject either to help him/her reach his/her goal or distract him/her from it. Daniel and the elders are respectively helper and opponent to Susanna.⁴⁰ An anti-subject, according to

³⁹ F. V. Tochon, *Tropics of Teachings: Productivity, Warfare and Priesthood* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 52.

⁴⁰ The structure of *Susanna* parallels Genesis 37-39, Esther, Daniel and many other biblical stories. In each case a divine helper is sent to rescue the suffering righteous person. See G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “Resurrection, Immortality, Eternal Life,” 76-77.

Everaert-Desmedt, is always an opponent, but not every opponent will be an anti-subject.⁴¹

2.2. *The Narrative Syntax*

The narrative syntax is a syntagmatic mechanism because it describes actions of actants in narratives. It consists of narrative programmes and the canonical narrative schema.

2.2.1. *The Narrative Programme*

A narrative programme (NP) is the action of the subject to transform his/her state or the state of another subject. In a narrative the main narrative programme can be achieved by the medium of many narrative programmes called narrative programmes of usage.⁴² Two opposed programmes run in *Susanna*: one from Babylon, promoting lawlessness, and the other resisting lawlessness, enforcing the Law of Moses.⁴³

2.2.2. *The Canonical Narrative Schema*

The canonical narrative schema describes the course of the subject in a narrative in four steps: contract, acquisition of competence, performance and sanction.

a. *The Contract*

The addresser exerts, on the addressee, a persuasive doing about the object. This process is called contract. There are three kinds of contracts in narratives: injunctive, permissive or by seduction.⁴⁴ In case the addressee accepts the contract, he/she acquires the modality of wanting-to-do and becomes a virtual subject. Susanna's custom of walking in the garden reveals her wanting-to-confront the elders. The fact that the confrontation takes place in the garden (παράδεισος) is not arbitrary. Besides, the construction of Susanna's body, associating piety and beauty (καλή σφόδρα καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν κύριον, 2), in the narrative is potentially a deadly trap. It shows that beauty serves to reveal lawlessness (τὸ κάλλος ἐξηπάτησέν σε, καὶ ἡ ἐπιθυμία διέστρεψεν τὴν καρδίαν σου, 56), the true identity of the individual. Piety, on the other hand, serves to resist lawlessness (ἀλλ' οὐ θυγάτηρ Ἰουδα ὑπέμεινεν τὴν ἀνομίαν ὑμῶν, 57) and, consequently, to eradicate it from society.

⁴¹ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 52.

⁴² Ibid., 52.

⁴³ The first consists of sexual abuse by elders. The second consists of using women to put an end to that practice.

⁴⁴ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 61-62.

b. *The Acquisition of Competence: The Qualifying Test*

Competence is the possession of qualifications that enable the doing of the subject. These qualifications are called modalities. According to Taylor, “a modal expression is one that communicates attitude.”⁴⁵ When a subject acquires modalities, he/she becomes an actualised subject. The decisive or qualifying test can be replaced by a transfer of information.⁴⁶ Susanna’s competence is produced by the knowledge of the Law of Moses.⁴⁷ At this stage she is already an actualised subject, well equipped for the action.

c. *The Performance or Decisive Test*

By the performance the subject acquires the object of his/her quest and has therefore the status of a realised subject. In *Susanna* the performance is achieved progressively. She first resists ἀνομία in the garden, assuming that the fear of the Lord is worth dying for. Secondly, she escapes death by the intervention of God through Daniel.

d. *The Sanction*

The subject reports his/her achievement to the addresser (adjudicator), after accomplishing his/her performance. He/she is proclaimed as a glorified subject, if his/her achievement has conformed to the axiology of the universe of the narrative. In *Susanna* the sanction is expressed in 63. The statement that οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα suggests that Susanna accomplished her programme exactly as prescribed by the addresser. She merits being praised.⁴⁸ She is a glorified subject.

2.2.3 *The Encounter of Subjects and the Transfer of the Object*

Subjects and anti-subjects first follow independent courses. At a given moment however, they have to meet. Their encounters lead to the transfer of objects and bring to an end some narrative programmes. In *Susanna* the programme of the two elders ends with their execution. Susanna’s programme has prevailed.

⁴⁵ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 50.

⁴⁶ F. Bastide, “Narrativité et argumentation,” in *Exigences de la Sémiotique. Recueil d’hommages à A Igirdas Julien Greimas* (eds. H. Parret and H. Ruprecht; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1985), 674-682, especially 674.

⁴⁷ Here competence is manifested by the fact that she is described as φοβουμένη τὸν κύριον. This state qualifies her as being able to confront lawlessness successfully.

⁴⁸ C. Moore argues that οὐχ εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῇ ἄσχημον πρᾶγμα implies that “Susanna was not just found innocent of an act of adultery: her conduct was found to be above reproach, i.e. she has in no way encouraged the lecherous men or been responsible for their advances toward her.” See C. A. Moore, *Daniel, Esther and Jeremiah: The Additions* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 113.

The transfer of objects can be done by gift, trial or exchange.⁴⁹ The object of value in *Susanna* is the Law of Moses. It defines what it means to be Jewish. There is a struggle to maintain Jewish identity against opting for alterity.

It may happen that the object desired by subject S_A is another subject S_B . In this case the encounter of the two subjects will have, as a consequence, the interruption of the NP of one of the subjects and his/her integration into the NP of the winning subject. In *Susanna* the elders' programme ends in failure.

In brief, the narrative level consists of revealing the functions of actants and observing their courses in the unfolding of a narrative. The actantial model and the narrative grammar of a text must be taken into account conjointly in the analysis. The function of these is to reveal the signifying organisation of a text. In *Susanna* it is revealed that Susanna is the subject of the narrative, responsible for the main programme. The elders are the opponents, introducing an opposed programme. Daniel is Susanna's helper.⁵⁰ The main actants, Susanna and the elders, will assume the thematic roles in the last step, the thematic level.

3. *The Thematic Level*

This level "is the abstract or conceptual syntax where the fundamental values which generate a text are articulated".⁵¹ These values are uncovered by the semiotic square within two perspectives: the paradigmatic (their sorting: good versus bad) and the syntagmatic (their circulation across the text). They are revealed by devoting attention to the two preceding steps.

3.1. *The Paradigmatic Perspective: The Opposition of Values*

The semiotic square is based on a binary opposition: a semantic *a*xis connecting two opposed (contrary) values S_1 and S_2 . If S_1 is white, S_2 will be black, the contrary. The two values can stand in opposition on the semantic axis (**S**). A second axis of contradictory values to these first values can be also constructed (\tilde{S}). The two axes can be represented as follows:

⁴⁹ The transfer by gift is done on the initiative of the subject having the object. The transfer by trial is done by force or by ruse. The transfer by exchange implies the presence of two subjects and two objects.

⁵⁰ See Nickelsburg, "Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life," 74-77.

⁵¹ Martin and Ringham, *Dictionary of Semiotics* (London/New York: Cassel, 2002), 12.



Figure 7 The two semantic axes

The semiotic square is built using these two axes of values as follows:

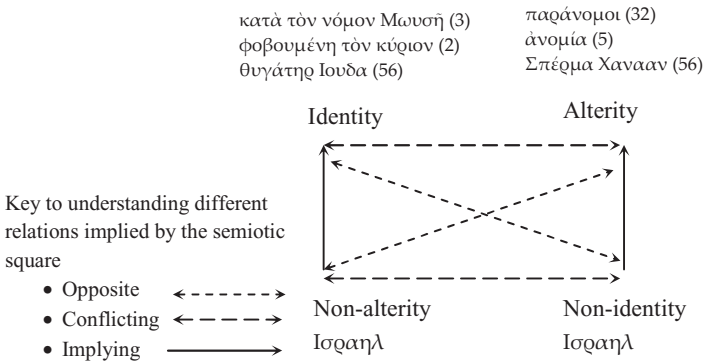


Figure 8 The paradigmatic perspective of the semiotic square illustrated by *Susanna*

The first step in using the semiotic square is to look for opposed values. These were already revealed by the figurative oppositions. The expressions κατὰ τὸν νόμον Μωυσῆ (3), φοβουμένη τὸν κύριον (2), θυγάτηρ Ἰουδα (56) describe what it means to be Jewish. The expressions suggest that Jewishness is a total commitment to the Law of Moses. It is not dependent on gender, age or any other social status. Men, women and youths who were educated according to the Law of Moses and lived accordingly, as Susanna does, are true Jews.

The opposed expressions are παράνομοι (32), ἀνομία (5) and Σπέρμα Χανααν (56). They portray an option for alterity, Canaaniteness.

The word Ἰσραηλ stands for a common denominator for all members of the community (48, 57). It suggests that one becomes associated with Ἰσραηλ by birth. The whole community (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ), women having intercourse (θυγατρᾶσιν Ἰσραηλ) with the lawless elders and Susanna (θυγατέρα Ἰσραηλ) are all people of Israel. However, not every member of the community qualifies to be associated with Ἰουδα.

To be associated with $\text{Iou}\delta\alpha$ is a unique privilege for those committed to the Law, like Susanna.

3.2. A Syntagmatic Perspective: The Thematic Itinerary

The course of values on the semiotic square is different from their paradigmatic location.⁵² According to Everaert-Desmedt, nearly all narratives:⁵³

- lay down a value;
- deny, doubt or question it;
- can proceed to the contrary value, stop there, or
- deny the contrary value, and
- return to the first value to reinforce or modify it.

The configuration of the semiotic square becomes:

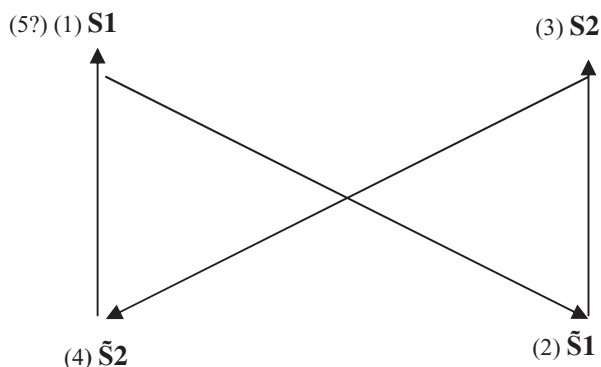


Figure 9 Itinerary of values in a narrative

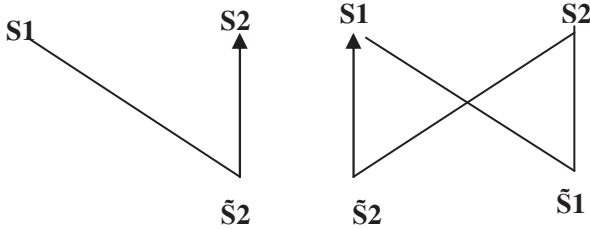
This schema represents the thematic itinerary, the distribution of values in the unfolding of a narrative. It can have two different configurations:

- a. A text asserts a value, then questions it and confirms the opposite. In this case there is a plea for the reinstatement of the

⁵² R. Courtney, *Drama and Intelligence: A Cognitive Theory* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1999), 76.

⁵³ Everaert-Desmedt, *Sémiotique du récit*, 75.

opposed value and the rejection of the current value (Figure 10).



Figures 10 (left) and 11 (right) Two possible circulations of values in narratives

b. A text asserts a value, and then rejects it to assert the opposite. It rejects the opposed value as well as reasserting the first value. In this case there is a plea for the reinforcement of that value in the society (Figure 11).

In *Susanna* the thematic itinerary has the following configuration:

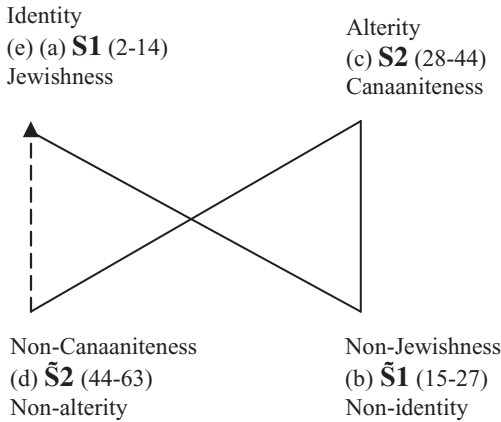


Figure 12 The circulation of values

This semiotic square illustrates the circulation of values in the story of Susanna.

a. The story starts by affirming the identity of Susanna, shaped by her observance of the Law of Moses (2, 3). Her Jewishness is asserted (2-14). The threat to her Jewishness is presupposed in the narrative by the presence of two lawless elders (5, 14). Susanna is defined by her relation to her parents (2-3) and her husband (3). She seems to be a domesticated woman at this stage.

b. A transformation occurs when Susanna moves out toward the garden to confront and defeat lawlessness, represented by the two elders (15-27). The Law, as a standard for the community, is challenged by the advances made to Susanna by the two elders (Non-Jewishness). Going out and resisting the elders shows Susanna to be a daring woman.

c. Susanna is condemned as a corrupted woman (28-44), her Jewishness is denied (37-39). Her prayer in this section reveals her knowledge and trust in God. This is exactly what is missing in the elders. She is a spiritually leading figure.

d. Susanna is acquitted, but the two elders are killed (45-63). This implies that the Law of Moses is reinstated as the norm for the community. The community is saved from corruption. Verse 63 is the climax of the development of Susanna as a character. The order of words in the expression *περὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν Σουσαννας μετὰ Ἰωακίμ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς* is quite unusual. *Σουσαννας μετὰ Ἰωακίμ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς* sounds as if Susanna is being prioritised above her husband. The normal order in a patriarchal context would have been the contrary, *Ἰωακίμ μετὰ Σουσαννα γυνὴ αὐτοῦ*. The construction reinforces the emancipative ideology of the narrative.

The thematic level is the deep and abstract level of a text. It is concerned with the fundamental values which account for the generation of a text. These values are studied paradigmatically and syntagmatically by means of the semiotic square. The concern that has generated the text of Susanna is possibly the question: who is a Jew? What criteria contribute towards defining Jewish identity?

The data of the text provide an answer to the question by insisting that neither gender nor age are criteria for defining Jewishness. Being Jewish depends exclusively on commitment to the Law of Moses. By rejecting gender as criterion for defining Jewishness and by praising a woman as a true Jew, challenging the assumptions of the leading class of men, the story of Susanna makes a strong case for gender equality.

E. SUMMARY

The central concern of this article was to underline the efficiency of Nicole Everaert-Desmedt's theory for reading narratives. This goal was achieved by applying her theory to the reading of Susanna. Generally, narratives are still being studied from grammatical-historical and historical-critical perspectives, irrespective of their literary genre. Greimassian semiotics, on the contrary, could be indicated well for such studies. The original version of Greimas, however, because of its alleged difficulties, is not easy to handle effectively by all researchers. Its simplified version devised by Everaert-Desmedt is nearly accessible to all researchers. For this reason, it opens an exciting new way for reading texts. The approach proves particularly successful in exploring narratives. The three levels of analysis help reveal oppositions in the text, the roles of actants and the fundamental values that generate texts. The advantage of this way of reading narratives is to attend to problems that have never been addressed. In this way it can lead to new conclusions, as it has been shown with the story of Susanna. It was revealed that its main concern was identity. The question that had to be answered is: "Who is the real Jew?" To give an answer to this question, opposing values were put to the test. Only the Jew who practises the Law of Moses is real Jew. To be more precise, anyone – man, woman or even a youth – who lives by the Law of Moses, as Susanna does, is a real Jew. This conclusion, as a result of a rigorous analysis of Susanna by Everaert-Desmedt's approach, goes beyond close reading.

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