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Issues and Challenges in the
Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures

Edited by
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and
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Contents

Preface

The seeds of this volume were planted when two long-time friends from university studies in Germany met in the pleasant environment of autumnal Maine: David Trobisch of Bangor Theological Seminary and Wolfgang Kraus of the University of the Saarland, Saarbrücken. Together they conceived and planned a conference to which they invited a small representative group of North American and German Septuagint scholars, mostly from among the translators associated with The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) and the Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D). The papers in this volume started as presentations at that September 2002 conference at Bangor Theological Seminary. That group owes its thanks to David Trobisch, Throckmorton-Hayes Professor of New Testament Language and Literature, and William Imes, the President of Bangor Theological Seminary, for financially supporting the conference and for their wonderful hospitality while we were in Bangor. Our thanks also goes to the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, which provided financial support for the German participants.

Editing this volume of papers has been a labor of love for the editors as we worked with our different teaching schedules, and across the Atlantic Ocean, to bring continuity of language and presentation to the volume. Getting the volume into print has not been due only to our labors, however. We would like to thank several people who have helped along the way. Mrs. Dorothee Schönau did much of the formatting, and the Kirchliche Hochschule in Wuppertal, Germany, generously made her time available to us for that work. Our assistants helped with a variety of tasks: Amanda Moss, Cindy Dockendorff, Sarah Donsbach, Heike Panter, Nicole Pusch, and Dr. Martin Vahrenhorst. The contributors have been very patient as we asked them to review their material more than once. We owe thanks to the series editor, Dr. Melvin Peters, for supporting this volume and to Leigh Andersen and Bob Buller at SBL for bringing it to press.

We believe that this volume will contribute to the discipline of Septuagint studies by introducing some new names and ideas to the discipline, and introducing two translation projects and the principles that guide them. We hope that it will stimulate even more discussion on the Septuagint.

Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden

Abbreviations

α´	Aquila
AASF	Annales Academiae scientiarum fennicae
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	*Anchor Bible Dictionary*. Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und ihrer Geschichte
Aeg	*Aegyptus*
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJBI	*Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Edited by H. Temporini and W. Haase. Berlin, 1972–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
APOT	*The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Edited by R. H. Charles. 2 vols. Oxford, 1913
AR	*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*
ArBib	The Aramaic Bible
ATA	Alttestamentliche Abhandlungen
BAGD	Bauer, W., W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 2d ed. Chicago, 1979
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BdA	La Bible d'Alexandrie
BDAG	Bauer, W., F. W. Danker, W. F. Arndt, and F. W. Gingrich. *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. 3d ed. Chicago, 1999
BDB	Brown, F., S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford, 1907
BDF	Blass, F., A. Debrunner, and R. W. Funk. *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*. Chicago, 1961
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BHS	*Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. Edited by K. Elliger and W. Rudolph. Stuttgart, 1983
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie

Bib	*Biblica*
BibS(F)	Biblische Studien (Freiburg, 1895–)
Bijdr	*Bijdragen: Tijdschrift voor filosofie en theologie*
BIOSCS	*Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar, Altes Testament. Edited by M. Noth and H. W. Wolff
BN	*Biblische Notizen*
BNTC	Black's New Testament Commentaries
BO	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BU	Biblische Untersuchungen
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
BZNW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CM	*Classica et Mediavalia*
ConBOT	Coniectanea biblica: Old Testament Series
CRINT	Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum
CurBS	*Currents in Research: Biblical Studies*
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EBib	Etudes bibliques
EeC	Etudes et Commentaires
EKKNT	Evangelisch-katholischer Kommentar zum Neuen Testament
ETL	*Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses*
EvQ	*Evangelical Quarterly*
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FIOTL	Formation and Interpretation of Old Testament Literature
FJB	*Frankfurter Judaistische Beiträge*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GKC	*Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar.* Edited by E. Kautzsch. Translated by A. E. Colwey. 2d. ed. Oxford, 1910
HALOT	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J. J. Stamm. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament.* Translated and edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 5 vols. Brill, 1994–2000
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
Herm	*Hermanthena*
HNT	Handbuch zum Neuen Testament
HRCS	Hatch, E. and H. A. Redpath. *Concordance to the Septuagint and Other Greek Versions of the old Testament.* 2 vols. Oxford, 1897. Suppl., 1906. Reprint, 3 vols. in 2, Grand Rapids, 1983. Edited by T. Muraoka, 2d. ed., Grand Rapids, 1998
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies

HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
IBHS	*An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*. B. K. Waltke and M. O'Connor. Winona Lake, Indiana, 1990
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
Int	*Interpretation: A Journal of Bible and Theology*
JAL	Jewish Apocryphal Literature Series
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JBTH	*Jahrbuch Biblische Theologie*
JETS	*Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*
JLCRS	Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion Series
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
JSNT	*Journal for the Study of the New Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KAR	*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*. Edited by E. Ebeling. Leipzig, 1919–1923
KEK	Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament (Meyer-Kommentar)
KlT	Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen
KStTh	Kohlhammer-Studienbücher Theologie
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LD	Lectio divina
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
LXX.D	Septuaginta Deutsch
MJSt	Münsteraner judaistische Studien
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens
NEchtB:AT	Neue Echter Bibel: Altes Testament
NETS	*A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under that Title* (New York: Oxford University Press, [Forthcoming])
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary
NJKA	Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und Deutsche Literatur
NovT	*Novum Testamentum*
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum Supplements
NTAbh	Neutestamentliche Abhandlungen
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis

OG	Old Greek
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
ÖTK	Ökumenischer Taschenbuch-Kommentar
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTP	*Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by James H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. Doubleday, 1983–1985
OTS	Old Testament Studies
OtSt	*Oudtestamentische Studiën*
PG	Patrologia graeca [= Patrologiae cursus completus: Series graeca]. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 217 vols. Paris, 1844–1864
PGM	K. Preisendanz, *Papyri Graecae magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri* (durchgesehen und herausgegeben von Albert Henrichs Albert Henrichs; 2 vols.; 2 ed.; Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Commentare; Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1973-1974)
POT	Princeton Oriental Texts
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
PTA	Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
θ´	Theodotion
QC	*Qumran Chronicle*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*. Edited by T. Kluser et al. Stuttgart, 1950–
RB	*Revue biblique*
RBL	*Review of Biblical Literature*
RE	*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RevScRel	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RGG	*Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Edited by K. Galling. 7 vols. 3d ed. Tübingen, 1957–1965
RTL	*Revue théologique de Louvain*
RTP	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
σ´	Symmachus
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1943–
SCBO	Scriptorum classicorum bibliotheca Oxoniensis
SchL	Schweich Lectures of the British Academy
SHAWPH	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse
SNT	Studien zum Neuen Testament
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SP	Sacra Pagina
SPhilo	*Studia Philonica*
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SUC	Schriften des Urchristentums

SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TBLNT	*Theologisches Begriffslexikon zum Neuen Testament*. Edited by L. Coenen and K. Hacker. 2 vols. Neukirchen, 1997–2000
TDNT	*Theological Dictionary of the New Testament.* Edited by G. Kittel and G. Friedrich. Translated by G. W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids, 1964–1976
Teubner	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et romanorum teubneriana
Text	*Textus*
TJ	*Trinity Journal*
TLG	*Thesaurus linguae graecae: TLG: CD ROM* Version E, 1999
TLNT	Ceslas Spicq and James D. Ernest, *Theological Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1 (Peabody: Hendrickson, 1994)
TLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TS	Texts and studies in ancient Judaism
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TynBul	*Tyndale Bulletin*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
VC	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VF	*Verkündigung und Forschung*
VR	*Vox reformata*
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplements
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	*Die Welt des Orients*
WTJ	*Westminster Theological Journal*
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZBK:NT	Züricher Bibelkommentare: NT
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*

Contemporary "Septuagint" Research:
Issues and Challenges in the Study of the
Greek Jewish Scriptures

Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden

Interest in the Greek Jewish Scriptures[1] has grown considerably in the past few decades as is demonstrated through the publication of important monographs, collections of essays, and lexicons, as well as introductions.[2] They show that there is a renewed scholarly interest in the Septuagint, which is bringing to this unique document the attention it deserves in the fields of theology, Jewish

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[1] Referred to as the Septuagint or abbreviated as LXX, although that term was originally used for the translation of the Pentateuch only. Recently "LXX/OG" has been used to represent the complex of translations and compositions collected under the title Septuagint. See Leonard Greenspoon, "The Use and Abuse of the Term LXX and Related Terminology in Recent Scholarship," *BIOSCS* 20 (1987): 21–29; and Robert A. Kraft, "The Codex and Canon Consciousness" in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders; Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002), 229–33.

[2] In recent years several introductions to the LXX (and translations of those introductions) have been published. They lay emphasis on different thematic aspects and they aim at different groups of readers: Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, eds., *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (2d ed.; Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1994); Staffan Olofsson, *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (ConBOT 30; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990); Mario Cimosa, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia greca (LXX): storia, lingua, testi* (Roma: Società Biblica Britannica et Forestiera, 1995); Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las Versiones Griegas de la Biblia* (2d ed., Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 64. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas, 1998); (in English: idem, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000); Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000); Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSt 9; Münster: LIT, 2001), and idem, *Register zur Einführung in die Septuaginta: Mit einem Kapitel zur Wirkungsgeschichte* (MJSt 13; Münster: LIT, 2003).

studies, classics, philosophy, history of religions, linguistics, and history of literature.

The two translation projects the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) and Septuaginta-deutsch (LXX.D) can be placed within the context of this renewed interest. Given the fact that contemporary readers' command of the ancient languages tends to be somewhat poor in comparison with that of previous generations, these translations aim at enabling them to gain access to the original texts more easily (but, not at replacing them) and at offering help for deeper understanding.

The essays collected in this volume have mostly been authored by contributors to one of the two projects mentioned above (NETS and LXX.D). They originate from, although are mostly fuller versions of, presentations made in September 2002, a joint conference consisting mostly of members of those two projects held at Bangor Theological Seminary (Bangor, Maine). This small group focused on the present state of LXX research and on issues related to the ongoing translation projects. The contributions published here, although they do not represent the 'state of debate' in all its breadth, present a significant and representative picture of the discipline. We have arranged the essays into four central aspects of contemporary LXX scholarship: prolegomena to LXX studies, problems arising out of individual works in the LXX, subjects that encompass a wider range of the LXX books, and work on the history of reception.

1. Prolegomena Concerning the LXX as Translation
and/or Interpretation

We begin with four essays that explore the question: what is the nature of the translation process evidenced by the translated materials in the LXX? The conceptual model that the scholar making use of the texts, or the translator trying to render it, brings to the task will predetermine some matters. Are we to consider the translations (which originated from the third century B.C.E. onwards) of originally Hebrew scriptures as individual literary works that were, from the beginning, intended to be independent of their respective Hebrew *Vorlage*? Or can these writings only be assessed adequately in constant comparison with their parent texts, because they try to lead readers back to the Hebrew original? Or, again, does the truth transcend these alternatives, or lay somewhere between them?

The issues become even more complex when the traditional body of LXX writings incorporates some items that, having originally been written in Greek, lack a Hebrew *Vorlage*, yet were read and cherished as religious literature in early Greek-speaking Judaism and Christianity. These questions are real "pro- legomena," i.e., questions that need to be answered if a translation project or research into specialized issues are to have solid foundations.

Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Albert Pietersma, Benjamin Wright, and Wolfgang Kraus focus on such basic issues. Cameron Boyd-Taylor introduces the debate concerning the prolegomena of a translation of the LXX in his essay entitled "In a Mirror, Dimly—Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times." He argues that, in order to assess the LXX adequately, it must be understood as "translational literature," which makes it fundamentally different from "compositional literature." Boyd-Taylor takes up this distinction, which was introduced by Gideon Toury, and applies it to the LXX. He concludes that "without doubt the foremost desideratum for Septuagint studies today is a theory of translation." Only when this is achieved does it become possible to discuss the more far-reaching question to what extent the LXX translations contain factual modifications and theological interpretation of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Two fundamental questions, then, need to be considered initially: "First, what would a theory of translation appropriate for the study of the Septuagint look like? Secondly, what would such a theory attempt to explain?" (p. 22).

Boyd-Taylor refers to the programmatic introduction of the NETS project ("To the Readers of NETS"), which he considers a watershed for future LXX research: "NETS is presupposing a Greek translation which aimed at bringing the reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to the reader. Consequently, the Greek's subservience to the Hebrew may be seen as indicative of its aim."[3] Boyd-Taylor agrees then that the LXX can be adequately described using what A. Pietersma calls the "interlinear paradigm." This leads to one more distinction: "The paradigm of Septuagint origins is an interlinear text within a Hebrew-Greek diglot, in contradistinction to the Septuagint as a free-standing, independent text now calls for a further distinction alluded to earlier, namely, that between its *Sitz im Leben* or constitutive character on the one hand and its reception history on the other."[4] Based upon such an understanding of the text, Boyd-Taylor then goes on to exemplify his position using three pieces of ancient translation literature (Job 29:12–13; Ps 15:9–10; and a copy of *Iliad* A 1–6 that has a school translation actually paralleled). He concludes that scholars need to take greater care when attempting to derive beliefs from the lexical choices made by translators, especially in the linguistically motivated translations.[5]

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[3] Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (ed. A. Pietersma; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix.

[4] Ibid., xii–xiii.

[5] In their papers in this volume, Rösel will argue that it is possible to derive beliefs from lexical choices, and White will argue that even seemingly linguistically motivated translations can be revealing of more than is apparent at first consideration.

Albert Pietersma ("Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits—the Psalter as a Case in Point") considers whether the LXX is a translation or an interpretation or both. After some deliberations on basic issues, he turns to the Psalms. He begins by clarifying the different and sometimes ambiguous uses made of the terms "Septuagint" and "Exegesis" in scholarly discussion. He insists on using the term "Septuagint" in the sense of "the original Septuagint as an exegesis of its Hebrew source text; hence, 'the Septuagint' as a subcategory of 'the Septuagint of the Jews'" (p. 34). Translating into other languages always implies interpretation, but not every "exegesis" must be considered an "interpretation"; hence he is more interested to determine "*what level* of interpretation takes place, and whether it is at all meaningful to dub any given level of interpretation 'exegesis'" (p. 35).

Referring to Gideon Toury and his studies on translation theory, Pietersma argues that "rules and procedures for identifying exegetical activity must be based on the textual-linguistic make-up of the translated text," i.e., "what needs to be done is to map the translation onto the original" (p. 37). In doing so, one finds that, with regard to the Psalter, we have to speak of a "word-based translation," as H. St. John Thackeray already discovered (p. 38). Pietersma then exemplifies his position, mostly over against the position of Martin Rösel,[6] by considering the psalm headings of the Septuagint Psalter, and reaches conclusions contrary to Rösel's. Pietersma stresses the distinction between product and reception, and in his opinion, the textual-linguistic make-up of the Greek text is of primary importance concerning the product.

Benjamin Wright III approaches the question of the nature of the LXX as a translation and/or an interpretation by evaluating the nature of the claims made in the *Letter of Aristeas* and Philo: "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo." Wright starts from the "interlinear model," which underlies the approach of NETS, according to which the LXX was a translation that was originally intended to be used always "in concert with the Hebrew" (p. 49). He then goes on to describe the original *Sitz im Leben* of the Septuagint and proceeds to determine the place of the *Letter of Aristeas* and of Philo's writings within the evolving history of the understanding of the Septuagint as holy Scripture. Wright argues that by no means ought the *Letter of Aristeas* to be used as a historical portrayal of the original *Sitz im Leben* and for the original intention of the translation. Contrary to what Sebastian Brock claimed, Wright holds that the LXX, "both as to its original function and as to its later role" was not "a freestanding text that took the place of the original." Rather he contends that the LXX originated in a genuinely "educational context" (p. 52, citing Pietersma's exposition of S. Brock's outline). Thus, the *Letter of Aristeas* is

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[6] Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuagintapsalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 125–48.

rendered irrelevant as a source for historical details about the origins of the LXX, but is valuable with regard to the significance of the LXX one hundred years after the LXX originated within Alexandrian Judaism. The *Letter of Aristeas* places the origins of the LXX within the context of pagan, Ptolemaic politics. Thus the *Letter of Aristeas* has to be understood as a means of legitimizing the LXX within this context. "One thing such a claim accomplishes is to distinguish the translation from its Hebrew parent text *from its very inception*" (p. 54). In the case of Philo, too, "the Septuagint began its existence as an independent replacement for the Hebrew, commissioned by Ptolemy Philadelphus" (p. 58). In Philo as well as in *Aristeas*, the remarks concerning the origin of the LXX do not aim at describing the historical facts but rather at pointing out the significance of the LXX at the time of the two authors. That there were perceived problems with the nature of the translation Greek in the LXX from a Greek point-of-view, is clear; the *Letter of Aristeas* seeks to dismiss opposition to what had become scripture in a Jewish Greek context.

Lest readers new to the field think that the interlinear model of the translation process dominates Septuagint studies, Wolfgang Kraus explores the methodologies of three current projects in his essay "Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint: Problems and Perspectives." He compares the concept of the German translation project, Septuaginta-deutsch, with NETS on the one hand and the French project La Bible d'Alexandrie on the other hand. The French and the Canadian-USA projects have chosen different paths in their work on the LXX: the French focusing more on how it might have been understood by readers; the NETS focusing more on how the translators understood the Hebrew original.

Kraus claims that each of the individual writings of the LXX has to be looked at separately. For the German translation project the comparison between the Greek and Hebrew texts must not be neglected because it allows translators to establish the textual-linguistic make-up of each translation, but Kraus gives reasons for assessing each book of the LXX individually as a translation and as an interpretation as well. In his opinion, two facts are complementary: The translators of the LXX, on the one hand, did not have in mind a work that should be independent of the Hebrew original. On the other hand, however, they at times consciously modified what the Hebrew parent text said. So, in consequence, the LXX is an autonomous expression of Hellenistic-Jewish faith. Kraus therefore considers it as too one sided to suggest that the LXX was always read "in concert with the Hebrew text" (B. Wright).[7] The achievement of the translators becomes obvious if we look at (1) the plot of the LXX Books, which sometimes differs from that of the source texts, (2) the intended enculturation in

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[7] On the origins of the LXX see Siegfried Kreuzer, "Entstehung und Publikation der Septuaginta im Horizont frühptolemäischer Bildungs- und Kulturpolitik," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, (ed. S. Kreuzer and J. P. Lesch; BWA(N)T 161; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003), 61–75.

the milieu or the social environment of Alexandria, e.g., the evasion of anthropomorphism, (3) the intended shift of theological conceptions, and (4) the intended modifications concerning theological topics, such as the relationship of Israel and the nation, and the temple concept in Ezek 40–48. Finally, resulting from these insights, the concrete program of the German project is sketched.

The questions raised by these four essays, and the answers offered, will be raised again throughout this volume. The contributions will at times reflect one or other of the three approaches outlined by Kraus, thus demonstrating the complexity of the issues involved and illustrating the liveliness of the debate about what the nature of the Septuagint translations.

2. Issues Concerning Individual LXX Books

The essays in this second group discuss problems of individual LXX books. The LXX was translated successively and by different translators. Thus there is at best a limited validity to the concept of "the LXX" in general.[8] Matters of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, translation techniques, and the freedom or otherwise of the translator must be discussed for each book individually. In this group of essays Robert Hiebert, Kristin De Troyer, Glenn Wooden, Wade White, Aaron Schart, and Patricia Ahearne-Kroll explore issues related to the translation and transmission of particular Hebrew and Aramaic works.

Robert Hiebert discusses "The Hermeneutics of Translation in the Septuagint of Genesis." Hiebert is "interested in exploring some of the interpretive dynamics that are at work in a randomly chosen but representative section of the LXX of Genesis, namely ch. 17." (p. 86) He gives an in-depth analysis of certain verses in Gen 17. NETS follows the NRSV translation where the Greek text seems to allow this. Hiebert compares the translation in the NRSV with the translation that is now being prepared for the Genesis volume of NETS. His concrete use of the "interlinearity model" leads him to conclude that the question of the "relationship between the Semitic (Hebrew/Aramaic) *Vorlage* and its Greek counterpart" must be asked and answered for each translation unit individually (p. 102).

Kristin De Troyer aims at "Reconstructing the Old Greek of Joshua." Basing her argument on the Schøyen MS 2648 (= Ra 816), she suggests that "The OG of Joshua witnesses to a pre-MT of the book of Joshua" (p. 106). This pre-MT differs significantly from the MT, which is demonstrated by analyzing Josh 10:14–18a, especially v. 15 within the context of Josh 10 (MT and OG). Her conclusion is that "the differences between the Hebrew and the Greek texts can be seen as differences between two stages in the book of Joshua. The OG of Joshua represents an older stage of the book of Joshua, older than the MT"

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[8] Cf. Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 30.

(p. 118). "The pre-MT book of Joshua became the MT book by insertion of and focus on Gilgal as the central camping ground of Joshua and his army" (p. 118).

Glenn Wooden explores "Interlinearity in 2 Esdras: A Test Case." He accepts the "interlinear model" as introduced by Albert Pietersma, using it as a heuristic category for describing the relationship between the Greek translation and its *Vorlage*. Wooden asks, with reference to 2 Esdras, whether it is possible to establish the adequacy of this model. Based on a thorough analysis of the translation characteristics of 2 Esdras (relationship to the *kaige*-Theodotion group, transliterations, word order, conjunctions, anacoluthon in lists within and outside 2 Esdras), his conclusion is that, "in the case of 2 Esdras, it seems that the translation model followed by the translator can be classified as interlinear. As such it would have been intended as a translation to help users gain access to the source texts, and not to have a reading experience through the translation alone" (p. 143). Given the fact that "the practice developed in an educational setting, not a liturgical or recreational one, 2 Esdras represents a low educational level" (p. 143). "As an achievement of literary merit, this translation of Ezra-Nehemiah fails. But, as an interlinear translation, it is successful, and for that reason, it also serves as a window to its *Vorlage*, so that where 2 Esdras is not in line with the MT, we may more confidently argue for a unit of variation in the MT tradition" (p. 144).

Wade White explores isomorphism in Job: "A Devil in the Making: Isomorphism and Exegesis in OG Job 1:8b." Isomorphism usually is understood as "a descriptive term that constitutes a specific type of quantitative representation, namely, a one to one relationship between items in the source and receptor texts" (p. 145). By examining Job 1:8b, White wishes "to demonstrate that the *quality* of formal equivalence between source and receptor texts must also be afforded some standing alongside the issue of *quantity*" (p. 146). The book of Job in the LXX is commonly considered to be a rather free translation. It is therefore surprising that, in reading Job, one finds "not a few examples of a certain quantitative affinity with its (presumed) Hebrew *Vorlage*" (p. 146). At first glance, Job 1:8b might seem to be an example in case. Closer examination, however, leads to different results. "Thus one is left with a translation that, while on the surface bears a certain formal equivalence with its parent text, actually introduces a significant shift in meaning when compared with its Hebrew counterpart. Furthermore that element which is commonly regarded as one of the fundamental underpinnings for the determination of literalism—namely, a close quantitative relationship between the texts—was discovered here to be potentially misleading in that its presence in OG Job 1:8b is not attributable to a so-called 'literal' style of translation" (p. 156).

Aaron Schart's contribution deals with "The Jewish and the Christian Greek Versions of Amos." In the first part Schart establishes a stemma of the different Hebrew and Greek versions in order to show how the LXX text, as used in the Christian tradition, originated. His thesis is that the Hebrew consonant text

used by the Greek translator represents an earlier stratum than the MT as it is known today. On the whole, then, the LXX translator tried to give a faithful, literal translation. In a second part, Schart looks for examples where the translator consciously altered the meaning of the *Vorlage*. At some points anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms have been avoided, but not consistently. "Apparently there was no systematic suppression of the concept of a bodily God in LXX Amos" (p. 165). The same cannot be said, however, concerning the concepts of prophecy that the translator of Amos expressed, of his concept of time, and maybe of his understanding of the messiah. In a third part, Schart investigates the reception of LXX Amos in the New Testament, particularly in Acts 7 and 15. He shows that the proof from Scripture given in those two New Testament chapters could only be successfully undertaken on the basis of the LXX, and would not have been possible on the basis of the Hebrew text.

Patricia Ahearne-Kroll's essay, "LXX/OG Zechariah 1–6 and the Portrayal of Joshua Centuries after the Restoration of the Temple," starts from the well-known differences between MT and LXX. "Some of these differences reveal common text-critical variations that result from the progress of transmission, while other distinctions seem to reflect the worldview of the translator(s). Given the conservative nature of transmission in antiquity, the altered meaning the LXX/OG Zechariah does not necessarily expose any purposeful manipulation of the text. Rather, these textual differences suggest the historical and theological assumptions shared by initial translators" (p. 179). Focusing on Zech 3, Patricia Ahearne-Kroll explores the roles of Zerubbabel, the high priest Joshua, and the temple cult in LXX Zech 1–6. Her conclusion is that, differing from the historical situation after exile, "by the time of the LXX/OG Zechariah translation this cult and the role of the high priest were well established" (p. 192). In contrast to the role of Zerubbabel, which is not different from that in the MT, Joshua's importance increases. "As for the LXX/OG, it enhances Zechariah's description of Joshua's responsibilities. It retains much of what the MT provides: Joshua is given the authority to judge (διακρίνω) and to administrate the temple courts and is conditionally granted access to the divine court (3:7). However, the LXX/OG explicitly associates Joshua with Aaron, and in so doing it refers to the reestablishment of Aaronid priesthood more clearly than the MT" (p. 191). "LXX/OG Zech 1–6 presents the reestablishment of the temple cult, with Zerubbabel as an important assistant and with Joshua as a co-leader in the political realm and as the cultic authority of the Jewish people. By expanding the understanding of Joshua, LXX/OG Zech 1–6 presents a belief that corresponds to a religious reality of Hellenistic Judaism" (p. 192).

3. Comprehensive Issues and Problems Concerning Several
LXX Books

Some issues that Septuagintalists encounter cannot be studied merely in one book, or over books with a similar translation style. The contributions in this section, from Heinz-Josef Fabry, Claudia Bergmann, Siegfried Kreuzer, and Martin Rösel, deal with comprehensive questions involving more than one book of the LXX and with problems that are relevant for several writings or groups of writings, such as messianism, idol worship, and theology of the LXX.

Heinz-Josef Fabry in his article on "Messianism in the Septuagint" starts with an evaluation of messianic texts in the MT, in the Targums, in texts from Qumran, in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,* and the *Psalms of Solomon*. In the LXX Fabry does not find any homogeneous messianism. Rather, he finds different tendencies that sometimes contradict each other: messianic passages in the Hebrew Bible are "dismantled" or reduced in the LXX (e.g., Isa 9:5; Mic 5:2). On the other hand, we find messianic interpretations of unmessianic texts of the Hebrew Bible (e.g., Num 24:7, Ezek 21:30–32). These different tendencies may result from the fact that the books of the LXX were translated at different times. "The messianisms of the Septuagint are obviously not closely related to their original socio-cultural and political conditions. Rather, the translators tried to free messianic belief from the original cultural, liturgical, etc., background and to transfer it into a new framework within Hellenistic culture" (p. 204). The frequently asserted thesis that the LXX increases and broadens messianic hopes already found in the Hebrew Bible is untenable in view of these results.

In her article, Claudia Bergmann investigates "Idol Worship in Bel and the Dragon and Other Literature from the Second Temple Period." It is obvious that "the prohibition of idol worship has a long tradition in the Hebrew Bible.… In the Second Temple period, when Judaism had to face some new challenges, the prohibition of idol worship was underscored by new literary tendencies that portrayed idol worship as ridiculous to the enlightened mind" (p. 207). Bergmann describes these tendencies as they appear in Bel and the Dragon and other Second Temple period texts such as the Epistle of Jeremiah, *Jub*. 12 and 20, Wis 13–15, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. She then shows "some peculiarities of Bel and the Dragon in the context of other Second Temple literature that deals with idol worship, and … [finally] compare[s] the different emphases in the OG and the Theodotion versions of Bel and the Dragon" (p. 207).

In his article "From 'Old Greek' to the Recensions," Siegfried Kreuzer asks "Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew Referent-Text of the Septuagint?" The LXX as a translation of Hebrew scriptures into Greek has developed in several stages with important changes. Since the discovery of the texts from Qumran and Naḥal Ḥever it is clear that recensional activities had

already begun by the first century B.C.E. Recensional activities are especially evident in the books of Kingdoms and Chronicles with the *kaige*-sections and the question of a proto-Lucianic recension.[9] Starting from the Septuagint and the Qumran texts of the books of Samuel, Kreuzer discusses (1) the relation of the LXX text to the different text types at Qumran, (2) the change of the Hebrew reference text from the "Old Greek" to the recensions, and (3) presents a solution to the question of when and how this change took place. His answer is "that the change was caused by the Hellenistic crisis of the old Jerusalemite priesthood in the time of Antiochus IV and especially by the success of the Maccabean revolt and the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty. These events and the establishment of a new temple hierarchy in Jerusalem led to the domination of the MT, and that led to the change in the Hebrew text type on which the Septuagint was based." "This change is reflected in the *Letter of Aristeas* with its defense of the OG Septuagint" (p. 237).

The question of whether there can be an overarching "Theology of the Septuagint" may be as old as LXX research itself. For German researchers in the twentieth century the question is a particularly loaded issue, given the anti-Semitic undercurrents of some of the early research. More broadly, it is currently a controversial topic of discussion among Septuagintalists. Martin Rösel's contribution, "Towards a theology of the Septuagint," is an attempt to take up an old question and to propose a solution that considers both the possibilities and parameters of a possible approach. First, Rösel asks "what 'Theology of the Septuagint' can mean at all." Secondly, he discusses "some texts and topics that show characteristic theological and anthropological distinctions between the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures." Finally, he briefly outlines "*how* … such a theology can be written." (p. 239)

Such a theology of the LXX must fulfill the following conditions: it may not level out the differences among the individual books; it is not only to repeat what one normally finds in an Old Testament Theology, being oriented thematically on theological topics: "… a Theology of the LXX should serve to give an impression of where, in which texts, how, and why the Greek Scriptures differ from the Hebrew, and on what topics it makes a difference whether the LXX or the Hebrew Bible were used" (p. 243). As examples, Rösel outlines theological and anthropological tendencies that he thinks would need to be addressed in a "Theology of the Septuagint," because in each case the LXX exhibits differences from the Old Testament that signal theological *tendenz*.

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[9] Cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega* (Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" de la Biblia Políglota Matritense 50, 53, 60; Madrid: Instituto de Filologia, CSIC, 1989–1996).

4. Reception History of the LXX in Early Judaism and Christianity

The reception of the Greek Scriptures in the New Testament and in the early church and Judaism is of interest in several ways. It gives us insight into the different forms of the text that were used during New Testament times, and it also helps us understand the history of interpretation of Jewish scriptures in new contexts, such as where interpretation was mainly determined by Christology. In this section Florian Wilk, Helmut Utzschneider, Stephen Ahearne-Kroll, Karen Jobes, Martin Karrer, Ralph Brucker, and Beate Ego look at different aspects of reception history.

The subject of Florian Wilk's contribution is "The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text." The discoveries in the Judean desert, among which is the scroll of the twelve minor prophets from Wadi Muraba'at, bear witness to the fact that recensions of Greek Bible had been made even before the first century B.C.E. Such recensions can be found in New Testament quotations from the Old Testament, particularly in Paul, some of whose quotations from Isaiah differ markedly from the LXX. There are various reasons for this: sometimes Paul intentionally changes the wording, adapting it to the new context; sometimes he follows other text forms than those of the LXX. Wilk excludes the possibility, however, that Paul, following the Hebrew Bible, should himself have corrected his quotations, by the evidence is not so unambiguous as to allow a definite conclusion. Some of Paul's quotations agree with the texts of Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion. Thus, the quotations in Paul are important witnesses to the textual history of the Greek Jewish scriptures.

The contribution by Helmut Utzschneider deals with the use of the Minor Prophets in the New Testament: "Flourishing Bones: The Minor Prophets in the New Testament." Compared, for example, to the book of Isaiah, the Minor Prophets play a modest role in Jewish literature. Differently from the understanding in Qumran or in the book of Ben Sira, the Minor Prophets are not treated as one single entity in the New Testament, where citations of the Minor Prophets can be grouped into longer and shorter ones. The wording of the shorter ones has been strongly assimilated and adapted to the new context. Looking at the textual basis of the citations in the New Testament, most of them come from the Old Greek, but there are several citations that go back to the Alexandrian tradition (the longer citations in Acts). In Matthew and John the so-called "Erfüllungszitate" seem to stem from a Hebraizing, proto-Theodotionic revision. The quotations are interwoven with their new contexts. They play a decisive role, not only verbatim but together with their Old Testament contexts.

In his article "Abandonment and Suffering," Stephen Ahearne-Kroll discusses the question of whether or not one can speak of an allusion to Ps 40 LXX in the Markan passion narrative (Mark 14:18 within the context Mark 14:17–21). First, he explains the methodology by which he determines an allusion. Next, "Mark 14:17–21 and Ps 40 [are] … considered in Greek, both

separately and in conversation with each other." Ahearne-Kroll's aim is, on the one hand to understand the dynamics of Ps 40, and on the other hand to gain "insight into the complexities of Mark 14:17–21 and of Mark's passion narrative in general." (p. 293)

In her contribution, "The Septuagint Textual Tradition in 1 Peter," Karen Jobes presents a descriptive analysis of the LXX textual tradition in 1 Peter—a letter which, considering its length, quotes and alludes to the LXX more frequently than any other book in the New Testament. Although textual criticism of the Old and New Testaments have been developed independently of each other, there are considerable affinities, especially where the transmission of Greek texts is concerned. Those who passed on the New Testament where identical with those who passed on the LXX. This is shown with reference, for example, to the codices Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and Alexandrinus, which are editions of the whole Bible in Greek. Jobes argues that much could be learned from analyzing the transmission of the Old Testament and New Testament in tandem.

Martin Karrer ("The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint") explores the quotations from the LXX in the epistle to the Hebrews, which relies upon quotations from Scripture to an exceptional degree: twenty-nine texts from different parts of Scripture are cited. The scriptural quotations in Hebrews are special in that the wish is to express the actual, contemporary words of God, Christ, or the Spirit, rather than being mere quotations from the distant past. All quotations in Hebrews are from the LXX. Based on Heb 1:6 (where Deut 32:43 / Od 2:43 is quoted) and Heb 2:17–3:6 (where Hebrews quotes from 1 Sam 2:35), Karrer explains the use of Scripture made in Hebrews. In so doing he also explores the textual traditions used by the author of the epistle.

In his article, "Observations on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms in ancient Judaism and early Christianity," Ralph Brucker deals with the reception and ongoing interpretation of LXX Psalms in ancient Judaism and in the early church. With regard to ancient Judaism he looks at 1 Maccabees, Philo of Alexandria, and Josephus. An excursus on Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* is included. Among New Testament references to Scripture, the Psalms play an exceptional role. The textual basis is invariably the LXX, not the Hebrew Bible. In the New Testament the focus is on the Gospels and on Paul. Finally, Brucker looks at the reception in the apostolic fathers, the apologists, and the Greek church fathers.

Beate Ego's contribution deals with "Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation: The Banishment of the Demon in Tobit." The book of Tobit is among those LXX Books of which there is no parent text in the Hebrew Bible. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, however, fragments in Aramaic and Hebrew have been found. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the book of Tobit was originally written in a Semitic language. The Greek book of Tobit is extant in two different versions, a longer and a shorter one. According to Ego, the long

version, represented in the Codex Sinaiticus, is the older one of the two. It is, however, not identical with the Greek original, but is itself the result of a revision. Concentrating on the exorcism motif in 3:17, 6:15 8–3, Ego shows that the versions of Sinaiticus and Alexandrinus/Vaticanus, as compared to MS 319, are adaptations that were "influenced by the cultural and religious setting of those who did the reworking of the different versions and manuscripts" (p. 378).

Although these four areas do not cover the whole breadth of present Septuagint research, significant areas of scholarship have been mentioned. The contributions collected in this volume give valuable insight into present research and they identify desiderata for future investigation. It is our hope that they stimulate more research into this fascinating collection of Greek scriptures that were held in common by early Judaism and early Christianity.

In a Mirror, Dimly—
Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times

Cameron Boyd-Taylor

The corpus of Jewish translational literature that comes down to us as the Septuagint is undoubtedly shot through with the concerns and interests of those who produced it. As such it promises to offer important evidence for the religious and intellectual life of Second Temple Judaism. Yet the fact that we are here dealing with translations and not compositional literature has far-reaching implications which need to be addressed before the nature and significance of this evidence can be properly assessed.

1. The Use of the Septuagint as a Historical Source

The temptation to construct a variety of Judaism underlying this or that text of the Septuagint is understandable.[1] What we seek is evidence for some specific

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[1] By Septuagint I mean that body of Jewish translational literature that eventually clustered around the OG Pentateuch, or Septuagint proper. This literature was approaching its later canonical shape as early as the time of Jesus ben Sirach (ca. 116 B.C.E.), who in his prologue refers to a Greek version of the Law as well as the Prophets and the other books. For the sake of the present study I exclude from the outset the non-translational literature that entered the Greek Bible over the course of its canonical formation. Of course, the Septuagint, as I have defined it, consists of many translations undertaken at different times, in various places, and to distinct ends. Hence, unless otherwise indicated such generalizations as are made should be understood by the reader to be restricted to the books of the Greek Pentateuch, which, although not a single translation unit, exhibits sufficient literary and textual unity to be treated as a coherent whole. In the words of Dominque Barthélemy, "Admettons d'abord que l'on est en droit de parler d'une oeuvre littéraire cohérente de traduction du Pentateuque, les doutes présentés par Kahle en ce domaine étant réfutés par les papyri juifs antérieurs à notre ère. On trouve en effet déjà présentes en ces papyri des particularités ou des erreurs de traduction qui caractérisent tous les témoins de notre 'Septante.'" ("Pourquoi La Torah a-t-Elle Été Traduite En Grec?," in *Études d'Histoire du Texte de L'Ancien Testament* [D. Barthélemy; OBO 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978], 322).

intellectual or religious development, which can then be pinned down historically. Such use of the Septuagint is frequently made by students of Christian origins, who wish to trace an intellectual trajectory from some social formation in Hellenistic Judaism through to the world underlying the New Testament. Of the varieties of Judaism so constructed, Proto-Pharisaism has proven to be one of the most compelling. The direct literary evidence for the origins of this sect, gleaned principally from Josephus, the Qumran writings, the New Testament, and the rabbinic corpus is on the whole late and methodologically problematic; the Septuagint however is relatively early and, it would seem, not so problematic and so presents itself as a promising witness.[2] The possibility of a Pharisaic origin for certain Septuagint texts has thus been mooted in some quarters. R. T. Beckwith considers the Greek Pentateuch to be one of the earliest Pharisaic writings we possess.[3] Joachim Schaper has described the Greek Psalter as "a document of proto-Pharisaic theology."[4]

There is nothing inherently implausible about such proposals. Yet if we are to read the Septuagint in this manner, that is, as a historical document, a document of its times, certain methodological issues need first be addressed. There is little external evidence of any real value and so we must rely on the internal evidence, that of the texts themselves. Of course this presupposes that we have established what sort of evidence the texts have to offer and how this evidence is to be assessed. As it happens this is not as straightforward a matter as some would have it. What tends to get overlooked is the awkward fact that we are dealing with translational literature; and yet axiomatic for the study of the Septuagint, I would submit, is a principled distinction between translational and non-translational discourse.[5] Quite simply a translated text never represents a

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[2] See A. Rofé, "The Onset of Sects in Postexilic Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito-Isaiah, Ben Sira, and Malachi," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism: Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee* (ed. J. Neusner et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 39.

[3] Roger T. Beckwith, "The Pre-History and Relationships of the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes: A Tentative Reconstruction," *RevQ* 11 (1982): 30.

[4] Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2.76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 20. See John H. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus: The Greek Text of Codex 248, Edited with a Textual Commentary and Prolegomena* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 306–7, who detects Pharisaic elements in the Greek Psalter. Arie van der Kooij, ("On the Place of Origin of the Old Greek of Psalms," *VT* 33 [1983]: 73) proposes a Pharisaic milieu for the text.

[5] Gideon Toury, "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary," in *Translation and Lexicography: Papers Read at the EURALEX Colloquium Held at Innsbruck 2–5 July 1987* (ed. M. Snell-Hornby and E. Pöhl; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1989), 45ff., notes that this distinction is grounded in an opposition of a semiotic nature.

straightforward instance of performance in the target language.[6] Translations deviate from the conventions governing well-formed texts and this fact has both linguistic and social cultural implications.[7] The practices of reading brought to bear on a translation, the expectations of its readership, the uses to which it is put, will vary systematically from those proper to non-translational texts.

It follows that assessing the evidential value of a translation is categorically different from assessing that of a non-translational text. In his widely acclaimed Jordan lectures Jonathan Z. Smith has documented how the failure to appreciate just this point has led to a certain arbitrariness in the study of Hellenistic Judaism.[8] The burden of Smith's argument is that the Septuagint is often treated as a direct channel of verbal concepts to primitive Christianity. Such a strategy, he urges, is duplicitous; it employs a spurious philology to bulwark a theological assumption.[9]

As an example of what Smith is talking about we might consider the widespread claim that for the Septuagint, as for the New Testament, the Greek word ἐλπίς has taken on a biblical meaning, that is to say, a meaning insulated from secular usage. According to this argument biblical ἐλπίς carries the sense of Hebrew בטח or "trust," as an expression of confidence in God's promise of salvation.[10] It has proven tempting to infer that the word ἐλπίς was closely associated with the object of Christian and Pharisaic eschatological hope, the future resurrection.[11] The quotation of Greek Ps 15:9 in Peter's Pentecost sermon

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[6] Ibid., 45ff.

[7] We might say that translational literature is marked as such for the recipient culture. In a translation one regularly encounters linguistic phenomena either absent from non-translational discourse or at least differently distributed within it. See Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Benjamins Translation Library 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995), 274–79.

[8] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (JLCRS 14; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 62–84. Smith sets himself the task of "rethinking the comparative enterprise" within the study of early Christianity; what emerges from his discussion is a highly persuasive critique of "the processes and goals" of religious studies (vii).

[9] Ibid., 81. On the one hand this strategy seeks to establish the purity of early Christian discourse with respect to pagan antiquity by locating it in a variety of pre-Christian Judaism. On the other hand, it seeks to distance Christian discourse from the Judaism so-constructed by showing how the former supersedes the latter. In this way the uniqueness of Christian discourse is safeguarded at the expense of responsible historiography.

[10] E.g., *TLNT* 1:485, which asserts that a "veritable semantic revolution is effected by the LXX, which gives *elpis* and *elpizo* a strictly religious meaning."

[11] In this regard Acts 24:15 is a key text. Paul declares, "I have a hope in God—a hope that they themselves also accept—that there will be a resurrection of both the righteous and the unrighteous (ἐλπίδα ἔχων εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἣν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσδέχονται, ἀνάστασιν μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων)." By "they" Paul is referring to the Pharisees, with whom he shares his "hope in God."

is often cited as an instance of this association.[12] The Greek reads ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι, "my flesh will tent in hope." Of the phrase ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι Ernst Haenchen observes, "This alone enabled the Christians to hear at this point an echo of the hope of resurrection."[13]

Now, it is generally and perhaps rightly assumed that this echo has a pre-Christian source in some variety of Judaism. Given that the New Testament's eschatological understanding of ἐλπίς appears at first blush to be premised on Septuagintal usage, the question arises as to whether the idea might have been introduced into the Greek Psalter by its translators. Some commentators believe there is a case to be made. Let us consider the merits of this claim.

Psalm 16:9–10 [15:9–10]

לכן שמח לבי ויגל כבודי	διὰ τοῦτο ηὐφράνθη ἡ καρδία μου καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο ἡ γλῶσσά μου
אף בשרי ישכן לבטח	ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι
כי לא תעזב נפשי לשאול	ὅτι οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις τὴν ψυχήν μου εἰς ᾅδην
לא תתן חסידך לראות שחת	οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν

Therefore my heart is glad, and my soul rejoices;	Therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced;
my body also rests <u>secure</u>.	moreover my flesh will tent <u>in hope</u>.
For you do not give me up to Sheol,	For you will not abandon my soul to Hades,
or let your faithful one see <u>the Pit</u>.	or let your devout one see <u>corruption</u>.

As C. K. Barrett observes, the theme of MT Ps 16 in its original use was likely protection from death.[14] The Hebrew poet depicts a person delivered from peril and permitted to continue living. But for Barrett the Greek translator is saying something quite different. Barrett suggests that in contradistinction to the Hebrew the Greek text "contemplates deliverance from the corruption of death

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[12] All translations of the Greek Psalter are drawn from Albert Pietersma, trans., *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). All translations of the MT are drawn from the NRSV.

[13] Ernst Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. B. Noble and G. Shinn; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971), 181.

[14] C. K. Barrett, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994), 1:147.

itself."[15] Now if this is so the text has important implications for Jewish intellectual history. The Greek Psalter would provide evidence for the doctrine of corporal resurrection as early as the second century B.C.E.[16]

Such a proposal has been advanced by Joachim Schaper, for whom Greek Ps 15:9–10 represents "one of the first, if not the first" instances of the promise of "personal, physical resurrection," and hence an indication of Proto-Pharisaic theology.[17] Schaper's claim rests on the translator's selection of certain lexical equivalents. These items are to be understood as "changes" to the text, that is, as the deliberate accommodation of old texts to new religious ideas. Schaper identifies two "really interesting" changes in Ps 15:9–10.[18] The first is the rendering of לבטח by ἐπ' ἐλπίδι. Here one might speak of a shift from "trusting security" in the Hebrew text to "trusting expectation" in the Greek, and with it a shift in temporal orientation from the present time to the end times. The second "change" identified by Schaper is the rendering of שחת by διαφθοράν. Where the Hebrew provides a stock figure for death, the Greek text seems, at first blush, to envision release from the consequences of death. Taken together these two "changes" point to the introduction of the doctrine of corporal resurrection into the Greek psalm.

Not everyone, however, is satisfied with this line of reasoning. Claude Cox, for one, has rightly asked whether Schaper has not imposed an eschatological reading upon the text.[19] Cox makes a valid point. It is extremely hazardous to draw firm conclusions from what is after all translational usage. Let us consider each rendering in turn. Consulting a concordance we find that when rendering members of the בטח word group the translator of the Greek Psalter regularly

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[15] Ibid., 147. Barrett cites the discussion by Pierre Benoit, *Exégèse et théologie* (Paris: Cerf, 1961), 1:7, with approval; "… nous y trouvons cette fois la doctrine de la résurrection clairement suggérée dans le mot διαφθορά, par lequel ils transposent, plus qu'ils ne traduisent, le mot hebreu *sahat*: Dieu ne permettra pass que son saint voie la corruption, c'est-à-dire que sa façon de lui épargner le quasi-anéantissement du schéol sera de le faire vivre éternellement, dans son corps même, auprès de lui. Il semble qu'il y a la, consigné dans la Septante, un véritable apport doctrinal, qui s'explique par le progrès survenu dans la Révélation depuis l'original hébreu."

[16] For a 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* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001).

[17] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 50.

[18] Ibid., 49.

[19] Claude E. Cox, "Schaper's Eschatology Meets Kraus's Theology of the Psalms," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 292.

supplies ἐλπίς and its cognates.[20] The extent to which this preferred rendering is indicative of a thematic interest in any given instance is difficult to determine. It could simply be a reflex of his method. We observe that at Pss 59:10 and 107:10 the translator evidently understood רחץ to mean "trust" rather than "washing."[21] But rendering this Hebrew word by ἐλπίς results in "Moab is the basin of my hope." That the translator intended to identify Moab as the object of God's eschatological hope is unlikely.[22] In the case of Ps 15:9 it would therefore seem arbitrary to assign any special significance to the presence of ἐλπίς without further warrant.

Turning to the second item we note that διαφθορά may carry the sense of physical deterioration or decay, and this is certainly how Luke understood it.[23] Yet the word can denote any sort of destruction and was very often used as a figure for the cessation of life. The Greek phrase ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν might well be glossed "to see death" and be intended by the translator as a parallelism for εἰς ἅδην, "being given up to Hades." In this way the Greek psalmist is simply confident he will not die, which is just what the Hebrew text would appear to be saying.

As for the selection of διαφθορα as a translation equivalent for שחת we note that the translator of the Greek Psalter consistently handles this Hebrew item in one of two ways. At 7:16 and 9:13 where the context requires a physical pit he renders it βόθρος. In all other instances he understands שחת to denote "destruction" of some sort and renders it by διαφθορά or a cognate form.[24] Whether διαφθορά is ever intended to specify the process of physical corruption is hard to say. At

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[20] The *qal* form of the verb בטח is rendered by ἐλπίζω at 4:6; 9:11; 12:6; 20:8; 21:5, 6; 25:1; 26:3; 27:7; 30:7, 15; 31:10; 32:21; 36:3, 5; 39:4; 40:10; 43:7; 51:10; 54:24; 55:4, 5, 12; 61:9, 11; 77:22; 83:13; 85:2; 90:2; 111:7; 113:17, 18, 19; 117:9; 118:42; and 142:8. It is rendered by ἐπελπίζω at 51:9, and by πείθω at 24:2; 48:7; 113:16; 117:8; 124:1; 134:18; and 145:3. The *hip῾il* participle is rendered by ἐλπίς at 21:10. The nominal form is rendered by ἐλπίς at 4:9 (ל בטח by ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι), 15:9 (ל בטח by ἐπ᾿ ἐλπίδι), 77:53 (ל בטח by ἐν ἐλπίδι).

[21] M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter," *ZAW* 32 (1912): 251, suggested long ago that this reading trades on the Aramaic meaning of the lexeme, i.e., "to hope."

[22] Unlikely, though not inconceivable. See the ingenious explanation offered by Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 43–45.

[23] We note that LXX Ps 15:10 is quoted by Paul at Acts 13:34–37 to support his affirmation that God raised Jesus from the dead. The word διαφθορά emerges as a leitmotif in this context, occurring no less than four times. Paul's argument trades on the connotations of physical corruption or dissolution. This of course is understandable, since his theme is deliverance from the consequences of death.

[24] שחת is rendered by διαφθορά at 9:16, 15:10, 29:10, 34:7, 54:24; by καταφθορά at 48:10; and by φθορά at 102:4. Haenchen, *Acts of the Apostles*, 182, makes the suggestion that here the equivalency rests on a derivation from the *pi῾el* of שחת, "to spoil."

15:10 the translator might simply be trading on the stock meaning of his preferred translation equivalent, as he is seen to do elsewhere.[25] What becomes clear is that determining the evidential significance of the translator's usage in a given context is notoriously difficult.

This issue has been touched upon more than once by James Barr.[26] The burden of Barr's argument is that Septuagintal parallels cannot merely be cited as straightforward evidence of verbal meaning. Rather, one must first "attempt to discover the method by which translators read Hebrew texts and decided on a rendering."[27] To return to our example, an assessment of the thematic significance of ἐλπίς within the Greek Psalter should involve more than a survey of the various contexts in which it occurs. What is required is a principled basis for assessing the translator's selection and deployment of ἐλπίς as a translational equivalent. Without such an assessment there is little that can be said about a text such as Ps 15:9–10.

We know that the words ἡ σάρξ μου κατασκηνώσει ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι, "my flesh shall dwell in hope," came to be understood in reference to corporal resurrection within early Christian circles. No doubt this use of the text owed much to the collocation of the key words σάρξ and ἐλπίς in the Greek psalm.[28] Whether it

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[25] Thus at 34:7 he offers διαφθορὰν παγίδος αὐτῶν for שחת רשתם. Whether or not we choose to gloss this curious expression "destructive snare" with NETS, we can hardly place much interpretative weight on διαφθορά in this instance. Rather, the translator has simply provided his preferred rendering.

[26] James Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Bib* 49 (1968): 379. See also, James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961).

[27] Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," 379, argues that fundamental to any such enquiry is the distinction between two sets of mental processes, "those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original."

[28] At Acts 2:31 Luke places the following interpretation of the psalm on the lips of Peter: προϊδὼν ἐλάλησεν περὶ τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ ὅτι οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾅδην οὔτε ἡ σὰρξ αὐτοῦ εἶδεν διαφθοράν, "foreseeing this, David spoke of the resurrection of the Messiah, saying, 'He was not abandoned to Hades, nor did his flesh experience corruption.'" Peter's interpretation clearly rests on the premise that the two negative assertions of the psalmist, namely that God will neither abandon his soul to Hades (ἐγκαταλείψει τὴν ψυχήν εἰς ᾅδην), nor let his devout one see destruction (οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν) together imply the physical resurrection of the Messiah (ἡ ἀνάστασις τοῦ χριστοῦ). We note that in Peter's interpretation, ὁ ὅσιος, "the devout one," of the Greek psalm text has given way to ἡ σάρξ, "the flesh." Here is where the emphasis falls—the object of David's hope (ἐλπίς) is that his corporal being, his flesh, will not be subject to corruption (διαφθορά), here understood as the material dissolution of the body. We might then speak of the motif of physical incorruptibility. The words οὔτε ἐγκατελείφθη εἰς ᾅδην, "he will not be abandoned to Hades," are thus understood by Peter in reference to the condition of the Messiah after death. It is not that he will be protected

carried the same significance for the translator as it did for Luke, and if so to what extent it represents a deliberate intervention on the part of the translator, remains open to question.[29] To paraphrase Jonathan Smith we cannot begin to determine the evidential significance of the text without a theory of translation.[30] But while scholars such as Smith and Barr have identified the need for such a theory, the matter has yet to be pursued in any detail and remains a *desideratum* for the field of Septuagint studies. Two fundamental questions must first be addressed. First, what would a theory of translation appropriate for the study of the Septuagint look like. Secondly, what would such a theory attempt to explain. In the next section I shall very briefly sketch out what I believe to be a fruitful way of proceeding on these issues.

2. Towards a Theoretical Framework for Septuagint Studies— The Interlinear Paradigm

Our task is to establish a principled basis for assessing Septuagintal texts as documents of their time, and this involves us in the theory of translation. My suggestion is that we start with what is undoubtedly a watershed document for the field of Septuagint studies, namely "To the Reader of NETS," authored by the editors of NETS and published together with its first fascicle, the Greek Psalter.[31] As I see it, this ambitious document lays the groundwork for a theory of translation adequate to the task of assessing the historical and hermeneutic significance of the text. What I am referring to of course is the so-called

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from death, rather, having entered into death, he will be delivered from it through physical resurrection.

[29] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 168, traces a continuous history of scriptural interpretation from the original Hebrew text of Ps 16, through its Greek translation and on to the book of Acts, where the psalm is invested "with a more and more refined and enriched array of meanings." What Schaper has in fact done is attribute Luke's interpretation of the psalm to its Greek translator. But the fact that Luke understood the text eschatologically has little to no bearing on the issue. As Schaper is well aware, the Hebrew text was itself patient of this reading, as we see in the midrash on Ps 16:9 which reads "even my flesh shall dwell in safety—that is after death. Rabbi Yitzhaq said: 'This shows that neither worm nor corruption has power over his flesh.'" Ernst Haenchen is therefore wrong to insist that it is the presence of the phrase ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι in the Greek text that alone makes the Christian reading possible. While Luke's interpretation may exploit certain idiosyncrasies of the Greek text, it does not require them.

[30] Smith, *Drudgery Divine*, 77.

[31] Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (ed. A. Pietersma; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), ii–xviii. See also Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "The New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 26–30.

interlinear paradigm of Septuagint studies.[32] I shall not endeavor to undertake a critical assessment of the model here, this would be premature. Rather, I shall limit myself to a few observations on what I take to be its fundamental premise, namely the priority of function. I shall then illustrate the relevance of this premise to the issues raised by our discussion of LXX Ps 15:9–10.

Even a cursory glance at "To the Reader of NETS" will testify to the priority of function in its approach to the Septuagint. The editors attribute the verbal make-up of the text to the fact that it "was made to serve a pedagogical purpose."[33] We read that,

> NETS is presupposing a Greek translation which aimed at bringing the reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to the reader. Consequently, the Greek's subservience to the Hebrew may be seen as indicative of its aim.[34]

To help conceptualize this subservience, the editors offer the reader what they call a "visual aid," namely the figure of interlinearity, that is, of a translation following its parent phrase by phrase.[35] The editors go on to say that such "interlinearity with and dependence on the Hebrew may be termed the *Sitz im Leben* of the Septuagint."[36] With the introduction of the term *Sitz im Leben* we see that for NETS the meaning and significance of the text is bound up with its inferred function within the community that produced it. So much is clearly stated later in the document: "The reason for the NETS approach is integral to the NETS aim: that of reflecting the Septuagint's constitutive character or *Sitz im Leben*."[37]

We note that used alongside *Sitz im Leben* is the expression "constitutive character." A close reading of the document indicates that by introducing this notion the editors seek to accomplish two things. First, they want to draw our

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[32] There is a steadily growing literature pertaining to the paradigm. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 71–105; and Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 337–64. See also Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000): 75–93; and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Lexicography: Alice's Reply to Humpty Dumpty," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001): 47–80.

[33] Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," ix.

[34] Ibid., ix.

[35] Ibid., ix.

[36] Ibid., x.

[37] Ibid., xv.

attention to the circumstances surrounding the original production of the text.[38] Secondly, they mean to prioritize what I would call the institutional dimension of the translation, namely, the role translation was intended to play within the community that produced it.[39] I would submit that the notion of constitutive character is central to the rationale of NETS and worthy of serious attention. It captures a fundamental insight, namely, that the work of a translator is circumscribed and structured by the shared expectations of the institution within which and for which he is translating.[40] The translation technique adopted will reflect the prospective function of the text within the life of that institution, that is, who is going to read it, under what circumstances and to what end.

This approach to the text has clear empirical consequences. By studying various translations for which both the institutional circumstances of their production and the translation technique adopted by the translator can be established independently of one another, we are able to trace correlations between these two variables. Such evidence can then be used as a basis for extrapolating from one variable to the other. In the case of the Septuagint we know precious little about its institutional context. Conversely we know a

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[38] Texts are used in different ways at different times. NETS wants to anchor our assessment and interpretation of the Septuagint in the historical circumstances of the translation. See Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xii–xiii; "The paradigm of Septuagint origins as an interlinear text within a Hebrew-Greek diglot, in contradistinction to the Septuagint as a free-standing, independent text now calls for a further distinction alluded to earlier, namely, that between its *Sitz im Leben* or constitutive character on the one hand and its reception history on the other."

[39] The editors are especially concerned to assert the role of institutional expectations in shaping the form or verbal makeup of the text. See ibid., xiii: "Constitutive character or *Sitz im Leben* is a figure for socio-linguistic realities. As such it includes not only what, judging from the language, used the text overtly means but also what at times resulted covertly from the model that informed the translator's work."

[40] In a seminal paper read to the European Society for Translation Congress in Prague, 1995, Theo Hermans emphasized the role of the translator, and hence the translation, in an existing network of social relations. For Hermans the work of translation is informed by shared expectations, both cognitive and regulative, which at once circumscribe and structure its domain as a field of behavior. This is not to deny the translator his due; in fact, it clarifies his role in the process. The translator is seen as one actively negotiating the expectations of his community by making choices, i.e., by selecting "one option from among the range of more or less practicable, more or less likely options available to them in the circumstances." ("Translation as Institution," in *Translation as Intercultural Communication: Selected Papers from the EST Congress, Prague 1995* [ed. M. Snell-Hornby, Z. Jettmarová, and K. Kaindl; Benjamins Translation Library 20; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997], 55) We might say that there is a nexus between, on the one hand, the expectations and norms that circumscribe the task of translation, and, on the other, the choices made by the translator as he selects one verbal form rather than another in his rendering of the source text.

reasonable amount about the underlying translation technique. From an analysis of the methods of the translator and the verbal makeup of his translation we should be able to discern at least partially the expectations the text was originally intended to meet.

Now while this argument is never fully articulated by the editors of NETS, something like it must be assumed. This is to say that underlying their claim that the typical Septuagint translation was intended to occupy a role subservient to and dependent upon the Hebrew is the premise that so much can be inferred from the linguistic evidence of the translation itself. If an empirical basis is to be provided for this inference it will come from the comparative analysis of different translations. To illustrate this point let us consider the following three translations from antiquity, two from Jewish translational literature and one from a non-Jewish source. Adopting a technique used by Gideon Toury we shall identify what he calls "coupled pairs." Each pairing is subject to the principle that a complete solution to a problem of translation is represented. A coupled pair thus represents the level of discourse at which the source text is represented in the target text, thus providing a basis for comparative analysis.[41]

Our goal in assessing the linguistic evidence is to identify the sort of institutional expectations under which the translator operated. To this end Gideon Toury has proposed a hierarchical typology.[42] The key notion in Toury's hierarchy is the degree to which the translator is expected to assimilate the source text to the norms of the recipient culture, or conversely, the degree to which there is an expectation that the production of the target text will be accommodated to the formal features of the parent. To the extent that the text is assimilated to the norms of the recipient culture, various strategies come into play, including the *suppression* of those features of the source text which cannot be assimilated, the *reshuffling* of desirable features according to target conventions, and the *addition* of features lacking in the parent.[43] In each case we can speak of speak of shifts away from the formal and conventional features of the source text.[44]

Let us then characterize our texts according to Toury's typology.

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[41] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 88–89.

[42] Ibid., 170–71.

[43] Ibid., 171. These strategies operate at each level, picking out, respectfully, linguistic features, textual features and literary features.

[44] On the basis of this typology Toury (Ibid., 171), identifies three fundamental types of literary translation. First, there is the linguistically motivated translation. This yields a product the linguistic make-up of which is more or less well-formed in terms of the target language, but which does not conform to a model of textual formation in the target culture. Second, there is the textually dominated translation. Here the product represents a well-formed text, but does not conform to any recognized literary model. Last, there is literary translation proper. This results in a product that is well-formed in terms of the literary expectations of the target culture.

Job 29:12–13

כי אמלט עני משוע	διέσωσα γὰρ πτωχὸν ἐκ χειρὸς δυνάστου
ויתום ולא עזר לו	καὶ ὀρφανῷ ᾧ οὐκ ἦν βοηθός ἐβοήθησα
ברכת אבד עלי תבא	
ולב אלמנה ארנן	στόμα δὲ χήρας με εὐλόγησεν

… because I delivered the poor who cried, and the orphan who had no helper. The blessing of the wretched came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.	For I delivered the poor from the hand of the powerful, and the orphan, who had no helper, I helped, and the widow's mouth blessed me.

Greek Job 29:12–13 exhibits many features of literary translation. Here the coupled pairs extend well beyond the clausal level. Strategies of assimilation to target expectations are well attested. Rather than render the relative participial clause משוע, "who cried," the translator brings forward a motif from 5:15, namely, the deliverance of the beggar χειρὸς δυνάστου, "from the hand of the master."[45] He then adds the verb βοηθέω to complement διασώζω, but also to mark off Job's concern for orphans as a distinct topic. The reference to the blessing of the wretched in the Hebrew is then dropped entirely so that this theme can be extended through the blessing of the widows. Such reshuffling pulls together the imagery into a tighter amalgam, no doubt giving rise to a translation more acceptable to the target culture. We would infer that the translator understood his task as one of providing a Greek version of Job that would stand on its own as a literary work independent of the Hebrew text.

Next, let us consider Septuagint Ps 15:9–10.

Ps 15:9–10

לכן	διὰ τοῦτο[46]
שמח	ηὐφράνθη[47]
לב י	ἡ καρδία μου
ו יגל	καὶ ἠγαλλιάσατο[48]
כבוד י	ἡ γλῶσσά μου[49]

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[45] The Hebrew underlying the phrasing is therefore מיד חזק. In the present context, the translator might well have read שוע as שׁוֹעַ, but even then he has added the idea of deliverance "from the hand." It is interesting to note that the Greek Psalter handles the Hebrew item in precisely the same way at 71:12.

[46] This equivalency occurs 5/5*x* in the Greek Psalter.

[47] Hebrew שמח is rendered by Greek εὐφραίνω 52/52*x*.

[48] Hebrew גיל is rendered ἀγαλλιάομαι 19/19*x*.

אַף   ἔτι δὲ καὶ[50]
בשר י   ἡ σάρξ μου
ישכן   κατασκηνώσει[51]
ל בטח   ἐπ' ἐλπίδι
כי   ὅτι
לא   οὐκ
תעזב   ἐγκαταλείψεις[52]
נפש י   τὴν ψυχήν μου
ל שאול   εἰς ᾅδην
לא   οὐδὲ
תתן   δώσεις
חסיד ך   τὸν ὅσιόν σου
ל ראות   ἰδεῖν
שחת   διαφθοράν

Here the translator is minimally guided by target culture models. The strategies of *suppression*, *reshuffling*, and *addition* are altogether absent. Rather, his use of the Greek language consistently accommodates to the formal features of the source text. We might speak of a quantitative fidelity to the parent. With few exceptions the coupled pairs consist of phrases or single words. Target lexemes have evidently been selected on the basis of their suitability as glosses of the corresponding source lexemes, with little regard for contextual meaning.[53] The translation is well described as highly atomistic.

In the case of Ps 15:9–10 we thus find a rather extreme form of what Toury would call a linguistically motivated translation. As it happens this is the very

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[49] The rendering of כבודי by ἡ γλῶσσά μου represents an apparent exception under the interlinear model. Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 49, follows Gunkel in pointing the Hebrew item כְּבֵדִי, "my liver," which he takes as a figure for joy. The Greek translator would then have provided as suitable figure for communal praise. Under the assumption of interlinearity, we would say that faced with a difficult or ambiguous lexeme in the parent, the translator provided a gloss appropriate to the local context.

[50] This pairing only occurs once in the Psalter. Typically, the translator renders אף by γάρ. Yet in the same psalm (15:7) he also supplies ἔτι δὲ καί, a locution he elsewhere supplies for Hebrew גם (twice). Particles obviously do not admit stereotyped equivalents, but must be glossed contextually.

[51] The pairing of κατασκηνόω with שכן arises perhaps from the sense of "settling" (also "resting," "nesting") common to both, as well as the fact that both have cognates denoting an "abode" or "place of rest." It is an excellent example of the translator's tendency to render words according to their etymology.

[52] This rendering of עזב by ἐγκαταλείπω occurs 20/22*x*.

[53] The rendering of כבודי by ἡ γλῶσσά μου might then be said to be the exception that proves the rule.

level at which the school translation works. I have provided a vulgar translation of a passage from the *Iliad* for comparison.[54]

Iliad A 1–6

Πηληϊάδεω	παιδὶ τοῦ Πηλέως
Ἀχιλῆος	τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως
οὐλομένην	ὀλεθρίαν
ἥ	ἥτις
μυρία	πολλὰ
Ἀχαιοῖς	τοῖς Ἕλλησι
ἄλκεα	κακὰ
ἔθηκεν	ἐποίησεν
πολλὰς δὲ	πλείστας δὲ
ἰφθίμους	ἰσχυρὰς
ψυχὰς	τὰς ψυχὰς
Ἡρώων	τῶν ἡμιθέων ἀνδρῶν
αὐτοὺς δὲ	τὰ δὲ σώματα αὐτῶν
ἑλώρια	ἑλκίσματα σπαράγματα
τεῦχε	ἐποίει
κύνεσι	τοῖς κυσὶ
οἰωνοῖσι δὲ πᾶσι	καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς σαρκοφάγοις ὠρνέοις λεγομένοις
Διὸς δὲ	ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς
ἐτελείετο	ἐτελειοῦτο
βουλή	ἡ γνώμη
ἐξ οὗ δὴ	ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὴ χρόνου
τὰ πρῶτα	τὴν ἀρχὴν
διαστήτην	διέστησαν

The above columns are drawn from a school papyrus, which provides a word by word, phrase by phrase glossary of a small section of the *Iliad* in vulgar Greek. Like the Greek psalm it is highly atomistic in its rendering of the source text. Such interlinear translations, well attested in antiquity, provided ancillary texts for the study of literature in the schools.[55] It is interesting to note that the procedure of these early glossaries were carried forward in the translation technique of the later complete translations of the *Iliad* undertaken in the

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[54] See Erich Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule: Sammlung griechischer Texte auf Papyrus, Holztafeln, Ostraka* (KlT 65; Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Weber, 1910), 12–13.

[55] For a comprehensive survey of religious and philosophical teaching and classroom practices in antiquity, see H. Gregory Snyder, *Teachers and Texts in the Ancient World: Philosophers, Jews, and Christians* (Religion in the First Christian Centuries; London: Routledge, 2000).

Byzantine period.[56] They too evidently served as a semantic bridge, bringing the reader to the real object of study, the poetry of Homer.

The comparison between the Greek Psalter and Homeric school translation does not need to be pressed too far to be methodologically useful. We do not have to conclude that the Greek Psalter was used exclusively in a school setting. Rather, all that needs to be established is that the text is sufficiently like a school translation that certain inferences regarding its constitutive character can be drawn.[57] NETS's characterization of the text as subservient to and dependent upon its Hebrew parent can be inferred from its family resemblance to known school translations. This in turn has consequences for our assessment of the translation as evidence for the beliefs of the community that produced it.

3. Some Implications of the Paradigm for Historical Exegesis

We are thus in a position to establish the sort of evidence Greek Ps 15:9–10 has to offer and how this evidence is to be assessed. Like a school translation it parcels out meaning in an atomistic manner, gloss by gloss, with little regard for context. The important lesson to draw here is that such a text seldom documents the thematic interests of the translator in a straightforward manner.[58] Rather, in so far as these interests are expressed at all, they will be reflected primarily at the level of lexical selection, the choice of verbal equivalents for Hebrew phrases. Hence, even though at 15:9 ἐλπίς occurs in a context where the theme is deliverance from death, its significance must be assessed in terms of its selection by the translator as a gloss for בטח. As I have indicated, it represents a default rendering.

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[56] According to V. Bartoletti, "Papiri Inediti Fiorentini," *Aeg* 19 (1939): 177–78, the Byzantine translations of Homer were also materially indebted to the earlier continuous interlinear texts.

[57] See Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun," 71–105 and *passim*; and Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 337–64 and *passim*. See also Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *OtSt* 17 (1972): 17.

[58] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 19, has stated that he seeks to understand the Greek Psalter "not just as a translation, but also as a document of the religious, intellectual and political life of Hellenistic Judaism." He is certainly not alone in this ambition. And yet, if the editors of NETS are right, to read the text as a document of its times is in effect to read it as a series of relatively isolated glosses on the Hebrew. See James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (MSU 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), 18: "Far from it being the case that every translation is also necessarily an interpretation, there could be points in some ancient translations of the Bible where one of the main motives was, if we may put it paradoxically, to avoid interpreting. The concern of the translator was not to take the exegetical decisions but to pass on to his readers, in Greek, Latin or whatever it might be, the semantic raw material upon which a decision might later be built."

This is not to say that the translator's translation of לבטח is uninteresting. The Greek phrase ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι functions as an adverbial at 15:9 and connotes "hope," "expectation," or "expectancy"; it might be glossed "in hope" or "hopefully."[59] Hebrew בטח always functions as an adverbial, with or without a preposition, and connotes "security" or "safety"; it can be glossed "securely" in most instances. So there would appear to be a fair degree of semantic distance between the source lexeme and its Greek rendering. In this regard it is worth noting that the translators of the Pentateuch never supply ἐλπίς for בטח, but consistently render it either by a form of ἀσφαλεία, connoting "safety" or "assurance," or else by the perfect active participle of πείθω, connoting "trust" or "confidence."[60] It is therefore significant that the translator of the Greek Psalter, who often draws upon the lexical equivalencies established in the Greek Pentateuch, should break so sharply with precedent. In light of this I would like to suggest quite tentatively that ἐλπίς functions as a sort of privileged gloss in the Psalter, a motif as it were. This is simply to say that when the translator is rendering words that describe the security and confidence of Israel's relationship with God, he deems "hope" best equipped to convey the religious attitude he perceives to be underlying the text.[61]

Now I should quickly add that, while I detect an interest in the theme of hope on the part of the translator and his community and perhaps even a religious piety characterized by expectancy, I do not believe we have a warrant for identifying this expectation with the resurrection of the dead. So too, even though the theme of hope does bespeak a certain worldview, we cannot in good conscience assign it to a specific intellectual milieu, such as Proto-Pharisaism. After all, the theme was sounded by a diverse chorus of voices in Second

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[59] It carries this meaning five times in the Septuagintal corpus, its use being restricted to the Psalms (4:9, 15:9), Proverbs (1:33), and the Twelve (Hos 2:20; Zeph 2:15); in each case as a rendering of either לבטח or בטח. The Greek Psalter renders בטח by ἐν ἐλπίδι once (77:53), where the syntax precludes ἐπί. Greek Ezekiel supplies ἐν ἐλπίδι at 28:26; 34:27; and 34:28; but in contexts where ἐπ᾽ ἐλπίδι might just as easily have been used.

[60] These equivalencies, once established, were then employed frequently by later translators. Thus, Greek Proverbs follows Pentateuchal precedent at 3:23, 29; and 10:9. In the one instance where it supplies ἐλπίς, the rendering appears to be contextual. So too, the translator of the Twelve follows precedent at 14:11. Where ἐλπίς is supplied, it may be contextually motivated (e.g., Hos 2:20) but this is not easily determined (cf. 2:8). In Greek Isaiah and Ezekiel, yet another equivalency is introduced, ἐπ᾽ εἰρήνη (Isa 14:30; Ezek 38:8, 11, 14; 39:6, 26). In the case of Ezekiel, this rendering appears to be used contextually, i.e., where cessation of conflict is described.

[61] This would partly explain why he also uses ἐλπίς to render both מבטח, "confidence," and מחסה, "refuge." Ἐλπίς renders מבטח 3/3x (39:4; 64:5; 70:5), and מחסה 7/7x (13:6; 60:3; 61:7; 72:28; 90:9; 93:22; 141:5).

Temple Judaism.[62] Thus, while the results of our analysis are of literary and exegetical interest, they do not bear directly on the question of sectarian origins.

On the whole, evidence for the historical provenance of a Septuagintal text is unlikely to come from the wholesale introduction of religious doctrines, such as corporal resurrection. Rather, such evidence as is forthcoming will tend to be more oblique. A school text will on occasion disambiguate or clarify the parent text in some manner. Here, perhaps, some light may be cast on the intellectual milieu of the translator. But whether such clues will point to the social or religious formations underlying the translator's work is hard to say. We have to proceed carefully, since, on the one hand, there were undoubtedly more sectarian formations in Second Temple Judaism than are attested in our sources, and on the other, it is difficult to identify issues on which such parties as we know of can be securely contrasted. Having said this, it is worth considering that there may well be specific halakic matters on which we might yet be able to identify Proto-Pharisaic tendencies within the Septuagintal corpus, but that is a subject for another day.

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[62] See *TLNT* 1:485–86.

Exegesis in the Septuagint: Possibilities and Limits
(The Psalter as a Case in Point)

Albert Pietersma

As happens not infrequently when one is asked to submit a title for a paper, one aims rather high and wide, ensuring that whatever it is one wants to say on the general subject can fit within the title's parameters. The title of my present paper is no exception to that. I could, of course, have changed my submitted title but decided not to, since in the space that I have been allotted I do in fact want to speak more about generalities than specifics. That is to say, I am more interested in the explanatory *framework* within which one pursues exegesis in the Septuagint than in the minutiae of the exegesis itself. For it is my belief that such an explanatory framework is operative when one is so engaged, whether or not one explicitly acknowledges its presence, and that, furthermore, such an explanatory framework is in fact determinative for one's endeavor. Though this assertion may give the impression of purely deductive reasoning, let me hasten to give assurance that the explanatory framework of which I speak must in fact arise from within the text itself. That is to say, the textual-linguistic make-up of the text must supply us with the rules by which to identify its exegesis. From a somewhat different perspective, I would argue that differences among scholars on the issue in question are often directly traceable to a difference in perception as to the nature of the text. My recent reading of the rich volume edited by Erich Zenger (*Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und Theologische Aspekte*) only confirmed me in that view.[1]

1. Setting the Stage

It would seem only right and proper that before one begins a quest for exegesis, one asks the question as to the object of the endeavor. Thus exegesis in "the Septuagint" presupposes a coming to terms with what one has in mind by the term "the Septuagint." Again, reading Zenger's volume, perhaps because it

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[1] Erich Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001).

focuses on a single biblical book, brought this need in full view. Let me be clear: I am not contending that there is only one correct way of using the term "the Septuagint," but simply that different meanings left undifferentiated in a dialogue or conversation about exegesis in the body of literature generally called "the Septuagint" can lead to confusion, misunderstanding and unnecessary controversy. Allow me to illustrate. (1) When one speaks of "the Septuagint" one may mean the Hebrew biblical corpus in Greek form, undifferentiated. That is to say, no distinction is made between (a) its interpretational and its textual difference from our Hebrew Textus Receptus, the MT, and (b) no distinction is made between its original form and meaning and its subsequent reception history. One may want to use the term "Septuagint" in this undifferentiated manner when speaking of the reception history of the Bible as a whole, but scarcely, I should think, when seeking to address the question of hermeneutics specific to the Greek text. (2) When one refers to "the Septuagint" one may have in mind the Greek text minus those elements that rest on a Hebrew base different from MT. Here again, one might use the term in such a manner in a discussion of the reception history of the Bible as a whole. Yet, since in this case the aspects of the original Septuagint versus the Septuagint at some stage during its reception history are left undifferentiated, one would scarcely so use the term, I would submit, in a context of Septuagintal hermeneutics, the more since, prototypically, differences in text have nothing to contribute to exegesis. One might, however, so use the term if one were speaking of the history of interpretation of the Septuagint from, for instance, the third century B.C.E. to the third century C.E. (3) When one speaks of "the Septuagint" one may have in mind the original, pristine Greek text as it left the hands of the translator in contrast to the subsequent reception history of that text. In other words, what the translator made of his source text, in distinction from what others made of the translator's target text. If the distinctions I am making are not exactly to your liking, for purely illustrative purposes here a simpler contrast will do, evoked, for example, by the title of a recent book by Martin Hengel (with an Introduction by Robert Hanhart): *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture*;[2] thus the Septuagint of the Christians, in distinction from the Septuagint of the Jews. As I see it, distinctions of the kind I have suggested are of vital importance in the exegetical enterprise, since each carries with it its own set of procedures. In this paper I am interested only in the third named "Septuagint," namely, the original Septuagint as an *exegesis* of its Hebrew source text; hence "the Septuagint" as a sub-category of "the Septuagint of the Jews."

The second term that stands in need of some delineation before one attempts to uncover Septuagintal exegesis is the term "exegesis" itself. That the very act of translating is *interpretation* is an oft stated truth and, it seems to me,

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[2] Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (trans. R. Deines; OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002).

not subject to controversy. What may possibly be open to some dispute is my
contention that not all such interpretation can be called exegesis. Consequently,
the real question to be asked is not *whether* interpretation takes place in the
transfer from the source language to the target language, but *what level* of
interpretation takes place, and whether it is at all meaningful to dub any given
level of interpretation "exegesis." Even an elementary definition of "exegesis"
points up what I have in mind. According to *Webster's New Twentieth Century
Dictionary* (1956) exegesis is "the exposition, critical analysis, or interpretation
of a word, literary passage, etc., especially of the Bible." In similar vein, the
Canadian Oxford English Dictionary (1998) defines it more briefly as: "critical
explanation of a text, especially of Scripture." It is clear then, that exegesis has
at least three aspects: (1) deliberate-ness, (2) methodical-ness, and (3) target
oriented-ness. That is to say, when one exegetes one acts deliberately,
systematically, and purposefully. Unless all three aspects are present it makes
little sense, I would submit, even to begin to speak of exegesis or exposition.
Furthermore, since exegesis is by nature contextual, exegesis or exposition can
be said to commence only in context. But before I proceed, permit me to cast a
quick glance at current practice in Septuagintal exegesis.

2. A Bird's Eye View of Current Septuagintal Exegesis

Admittedly, painting with a big brush can be dangerous; yet it has certain merits
as well. As I see it, one can usefully construct a continuum for the field of
Septuagint hermeneutics with minimalism at the one extreme and maximalism at
the other:

minimalism $\longleftrightarrow$ maximalism

Let me illustrate what I have in mind. Joachim Schaper, in his book
Eschatology in the Greek Psalter, takes particular aim at the so-called Finnish
School of Septuagint studies, because of its presumed propensity for not seeing
the woods for the trees.[3] What Schaper objects to is what he sees as the
essentially mechanistic view of the Greek translator who, in Schaper's
perception, is not "in any way … influenced by his religious and cultural
environment," but instead acts as a "mere medium."[4] For my present purpose,
Schaper's caricature of the Finnish School illustrates well enough what I mean
by hermeneutical minimalism: the translator as a mere medium (a conduit) of
the source text. Such a translator, prototypically, does not add to nor subtract
from the text being transmitted, nor are alterations made to it. Schaper's own

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[3] Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2.76; Tübingen: Mohr
Siebeck, 1995). My review: *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, *BO* 54 (1997): 185–90.
[4] Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 21.

approach, on the other hand, I would characterize as hermeneutical maximalism, for in the introduction to his book he writes,

> We shall attempt to look at the Septuagint Psalms not merely from a philological point of view, but also from the perspective of the history of ideas. Tracing the development of early Jewish eschatology … and trying to assign to the Greek Psalter its proper place in this development will give us a fresh view of the importance and the formative power of Septuagint texts in early Judaism.[5]

Here the Greek translator is effectively elevated to the status of an author, whose work becomes a substitute or replacement for the source text. From that perspective the Greek Psalter becomes a free-standing entity with its own message, i.e., a message (more or less) deliberately, systematically, and purposefully revised from that of its Hebrew parent. Thus the continuum from minimalism to maximalism might now be graphically redrawn as follows:

translator as medium ⟵——————————⟶ translator as author

As I have argued elsewhere, there can be no doubt that the translated corpus of the Septuagint contains units that might be placed all along the baseline of the continuum.[6] I would further suggest that where one places any given translation unit on the continuum to a large extent determines the extent of the exegesis one uncovers in the text. In other words, the rules and procedures one employs to identify the exegetical dimension are rooted in the textual-linguistic make-up of the translation unit.

Be it noted, finally, that Schaper is evidently not speaking of exegetical *potential* inadvertently created by the Greek translator, but about *actual* exegesis consciously breathed into his text in the process of translating his source.

3. Rules and Their Basis

As my polar contrast between the translator as medium and the translator as author implies, the question at issue is fundamentally one of perceived relatedness, i.e., degree of relatedness of the target text to the source text. In other words, the translator as medium signifies a translation that is heavily dependent on its source. In architectural terms one might call it a lean-to, rather than a free-standing structure. In the film industry one might refer to it as subtitled text, rather than spoken text; in physiological terms one might refer to it as a creature that cannot stand on its own feet. The translator as author, on the

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[5] Ibid., 6.

[6] Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), xv.

other hand, signifies a translation that is quite the opposite, i.e., independent, free-standing, self-sufficient, self-supporting, and autonomous. If it is correct that rules and procedures for identifying exegetical activity must be based on the textual-linguistic make-up of the translated text, it is clearly of paramount importance that one establishes its place on the continuum, and that involves, I would submit, a full-fledged theory of translation, the lack of which Jonathan Smith pointedly identified in his book, *Drudgery Divine*.[7] Thus what needs to be done is to map the translation onto the original along the lines Gideon Toury has suggested in his volume, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*.[8] For Toury, any translation as a fact of its host culture has three interdependent aspects: function, product, and process. A function-oriented approach concerns itself with the position a translation occupies or is intended to occupy within the recipient culture. A product-oriented approach seeks to delineate a translation's textual-linguistic make-up, and a process oriented approach focuses on the process through which a translation is derived from its source text. To underscore the interdependence of these three aspects Toury uses the following graphic representation, which I have slightly amended:
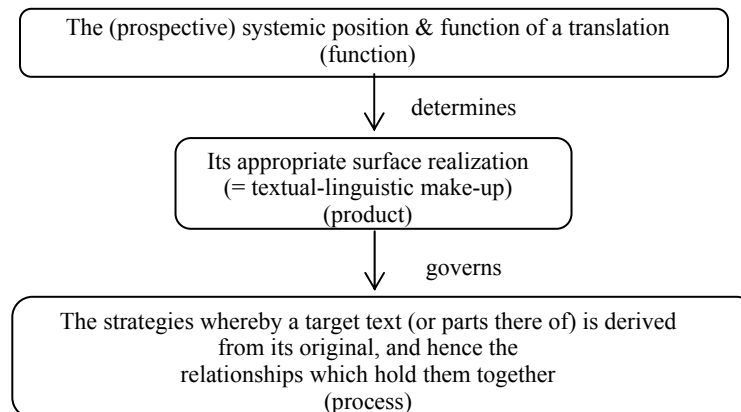

Figure 1. Toury's product-oriented approach[9]

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[7] Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion: Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism 14; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 77.

[8] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Benjamins Translation Library 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).

[9] Ibid., 13. The three aspects together might be labeled the constitutive character of the text. See Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: the Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 73; and Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the*

It would take us too far afield to do a mapping of the Greek Psalter onto the Hebrew. Thus I will here simply skip to some important results.

To the best of my knowledge the essentials of Thackeray's assessment of the Greek Psalter, namely, that it is a word-based translation, has never been gainsaid, though the phrasing of that conclusion has understandably varied. If that is indeed the consensus of scholarly opinion, I would like to suggest some implications of this scholarly consensus. Personally, I prefer the descriptive "word-based" (over, e.g., "literal" or "word-for-word"), because it at once brings into view the Greek Psalter's predominant characteristic, namely, its replacement of a Hebrew word (or morpheme) with a Greek counterpart; in other words its predominant isomorphism. Concomitant with this word-based-ness is what Toury would call negative transfer from the source text, i.e., deviations from normal, codified practices of the target system—in our case Hellenistic Greek—for example, patent Hebraisms that find no parallel in Greek usage. The Greek Psalter has plenty of those "translationese-isms." For exegesis, one of the most important implications would seem to be this: in a word-based translation, the primary unit of meaning is the word; hence any change in meaning from the source resides in the first instance in the word, though it may well, of course, extend beyond that. I am fully aware that this may sound like linguistic heresy, but it is based on the fact that the primary reason for a word's presence in such a translated text is to represent its Hebrew counterpart, rather than its appropriateness to the new context that is being created. The primary cognitive process is thus that Greek X is deemed a good match for Hebrew Y. In other words, prototypically, suitability in the Greek context is a secondary consideration, not a primary one (as it is in standard composition). As an illustration of this, just think of the many instances in LSJ in which non-Greek meanings are attributed to Greek words, simply because this fact was overlooked and words were reshaped in light of their Hebrew counterpart and the Greek context in which they were found.

Of course, as I have already intimated, there is more to say. Just because the Greek Psalter is predominantly a word-based, formal-correspondence type of translation, that scarcely precludes the existence of both genuine exegesis and perfectly good, normal, intelligible Greek. But if it is true that the Psalter is fundamentally word-based, it becomes immediately clear where the burden of proof must lie. That is to say, one needs to *begin* at the word-level and to proceed from there in centrifugal fashion. And it deserves to be emphasized that a good beginning, according to an apt Dutch proverb, is half the task. Furthermore, I would argue that a comprehensive explanatory framework based on the textual-linguistic make-up of the translation must be able to accommodate all its

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facets, intelligible discourse as well as unintelligible, idiomatic Greek as well as out-and-out translationese.

If then there is widespread scholarly agreement on the textual-linguistic make-up of the Greek Psalter and if the textual-linguistic make-up should form the basis for one's rules and procedures by which to identify its exegetical dimension, what might these look like? I have elsewhere tried to develop an exegetical approach for such a translated text.[10] Here I can only give it in outline form. If the translated text is word-based, one's starting point should clearly be at the word level or lower. Since exposition and exegesis are by their very nature a matter of contextualization, it will be obvious that at the word or morpheme level of interpretation little if any exegesis can occur. I want to emphasize that I am here interested in *exegesis* or *exposition* by the translator of his source text, not in simple *representation* of the source text.

I have delineated five levels of interpretation, using the superscriptions of the Psalter as my database:[11]

Level 0: "interpretation" by transcription. The number zero here is deliberate since items of language transfer which I place here are not interpretational in any meaningful sense of the term, since this category is comprised not of just any transcriptions from the source language but of transcriptions that had no prior linguistic status in the target language.

Level 1: interpretation at the word level. What happens here is that a lexeme of the source text (Hebrew) is replaced by a lexeme of the target text (Greek), though not necessarily integrated syntactically and therefore supplied with unmarked inflection (nominative).

Level 2: interpretation at the phrase level. As the minimum unit of information it is perhaps understandable that at this level the greatest potential for maximalist interpretation comes to the fore. This is so, no doubt, because a phrase out of context or in minimal context gives inherently ambiguous information.

Level 3: interpretation at the clause or sentence (and therefore at the propositional) level.

Level 4: interpretation at the paragraph or discourse level. At this level of interpretation significant exposition of the source text clearly takes place.

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[10] See n. 11.

[11] For more details see Albert Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter," in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception* (ed. P. W. Flint, P. D. Miller, and A. Brunell; VTSup 99; FIOTL 4 Leiden: Brill, 2005), 443–75. For a brief response to these issues, see Rösel's contribution to this volume, p. 250 n. 40.

4. A Couple of Illustrative Examples

As an illustration of what I have been speaking, I would like to discuss in conclusion two phrases that Martin Rösel discusses in his recent article "Die Psalmenüberschriften des Septuagintapsalters," namely, συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν and εἰς τὸ τέλος.[12] For Rösel, both phrases are made to stand in larger than phrasal context and, furthermore, carry eschatological import. Thus, as I see it, there are two issues involved here: (1) the semantic issue of the head term, i.e., σύνεσις and τέλος; and (2) the issue of contextual scope, i.e., the level of interpretation.

I begin with συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν. The observable facts of the case are as follows: (a) that both render Hebrew משכיל, commonly thought to be a kind of poem (BDB glosses it as a "contemplative poem"); (b) that the translator did not understand משכיל as a certain type of poem; (c) that the term was derived from the verb √שכל, "to understand"; (d) that in Psalms שכל is translated with συνίημι + cognates some twenty-two times; (e) that συνίημι + cognates is used to translate √בין, "understand," some twenty-seven times; (f) that in most super-scriptions (10*x*) משכיל is translated with a genitive (32[31], 52[51], 53[52], 54[53], 55[54], 74[73], 78[77], 88[87], 89[88], 142[141]); (g) that in three superscriptions it is rendered by εἰς σύνεσιν (42[41], 44[43], 45[44]).

To be sure this summary points up some interesting facts. For example, the translator vividly demonstrates a lack of familiarity with משכיל as a type of song in 47[46]:8 where זמרו משכיל, "play a *Maśkil,*" is translated as ψάλατε συνετῶς, "make music [on strings] with understanding." Similarly, it is interesting that in all cases he pushes σύνεσις from the word level to the phrase level, either by inflection or by preposing a preposition, though perhaps it deserves noting that verbal nouns in the superscriptions are regularly made to function at the phrasal level whether or not there is explicit warrant in the Hebrew, the only two exceptions being στηλογραφία in Ps 15 and αἴνεσις in Ps 144. Thus the reason for turning σύνεσις into a phrase may be chiefly linguistic. But whatever the precise reason, exposition at the phrasal level has occurred. Beyond that, if perchance the translator opted for εἰς σύνεσιν (as a purpose expression) because of the adjacent phrase τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορε, on the assumption that it was thought that the latter could do with a bit of understanding (cf. Num 16), we can even say that an expositional move extended to the propositional level. Rösel, however, wants to push it well beyond that point, since for him it re-labels the entire psalm whenever σύνεσις occurs in the superscription as a gloss for משכיל.[13] That seems highly questionable since its occurrence is predictable on the basis of the

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[12] Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuagintapsalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 125–48.
[13] Ibid., 136–37.

source text, albeit read erroneously. Similarly, on the few occasions that a member of the συνίημι group occurs within the psalm itself (31:8, 9; 52:3; 77:72), it is again predictable on the basis the translator's standard equations. That being the case, how can it be argued that the translator is engaged in deliberate interpretation, i.e., exposition? All that can be said is that, since Hebrew √שכל and Greek σύνεσις + cognates do not have an identical semantic range, inadvertent interpretation may be taking place in the translational process. Rösel, however, takes yet another step, since he writes:

> Das fragliche Nomen ist nun mitsamt dem zugehörigen Verbum συνίημι in der Jesaja-LXX wie in der Dan-LXX eindeutig im Sinne eines eschatologisch-apokalyptischen Verstehens der Wege Gottes konnotiert; man erinnere sich nur an die berühmte Übersetzung von Jes 7,9 mit "glaubt ihr nicht, so versteht ihr nicht".[14]

He then proceeds to certain passages in the Psalter where σύνεσις or a cognate thereof might carry the same sense e.g. 15[16]:7; 48[49]:13, 21;146[147]:5, and 110[111]:10. Thus Rösel's argument here is effectively that, since σύνεσις elsewhere in the LXX *can* have an eschatological-apocalyptic sense, it should be given that meaning whenever a given text can bear it. But that ignores two fundamental facts: that συνίημι + cognates, both without and within the LXX, rarely carries that meaning, and furthermore, that in three of the four passages he cites in the Psalter the Greek word is predictable. That leaves 15[16]:7 where συνετίζω, "to make to understand," translates Hebrew יעץ, "to give counsel." Since in this case συνετίζω is a non-default rendering for יעץ (=βουλεύομαι 4x; ἐπιστηρίζω 1x), it of course attracts exegetical interest; but it scarcely gives it an eschatological-apocalyptic meaning. That σύνεσις anywhere has such a meaning is *quod est demonstrandum*. Similarly, that what the translator does has more than an indirect and non-deliberate effect on the psalms in question is equally *quod est demonstrandum*.

All of the above is not to say that the phrase in question cannot possibly be read in the way that Rösel seeks to read it. That the church Fathers often read συνέσεως / εἰς σύνεσιν as having to do with eschatological revelation is certainly true. As a case in point, let me cite what Athanasius has to say regarding the superscription of Ps 44 (Εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων· τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορε εἰς σύνεσιν· ᾠδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ·):

> David dedicates the present ode to the Beloved, i.e., Christ who came at the end of days, and brought about "the alteration" (τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν), i.e., the change from idol-worship to true piety. He (David) also mentions the sons of Kore,

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[14] Ibid., 136.

alluding to the Apostles. Now it is necessary that we understand all these things. For that reason εἰς σύνεσιν stands in the title.[15]

What I would suggest, however, is that here we are no longer in the domain of the original Septuagint, but at a certain stage in its reception history. But more on this presently.

Rösel reserves perhaps the most lavish interpretation for εἰς τὸ τέλος, a phrase that occurs in the superscriptions of the Psalter more often than any other (ca. 55x), with the exception of τῷ Δαυιδ (ca. 73x). Again I begin with the observable facts: (a) That εἰς τὸ τέλος and למנצח form a closed Greek-Hebrew equation; (b) that the translator was unfamiliar with the meaning "leader" (NRSV) or "director" (BDB); (c) that the translation was arrived at through an equation of εἰς τέλος with לנצח. As in the case of σύνεσις, Rösel would have us believe that εἰς τὸ τέλος should be understood eschatologically. He briefly entertains others possibilities but then writes:

> Sinnvoller ist die Übersetzung mit "Ende", die man wohl auf die Endzeit beziehen muss; die entsprechenden Lieder zielen demnach auf die Endzeit. Diese Überlegung wird durch die auffällige Verwendung des Artikels unterstützt, die m. E. eindeutig auf ein bestimmtes Ende zielt.[16]

If such a claim could be substantiated it would mean that our Greek translator in the act of translating a single phrase has made some 55 psalms into psalms about the end time. But the argument that leads to such a conclusion seems fatally flawed. I begin with Hebrew נצח for which τέλος regularly serves as a gloss. According to the lexica, it would seem safe to say that the root has essentially three components of meaning: "(pre-)eminence, successfulness, perpetuity." It is thus little wonder that לנצח is commonly glossed in English as "forever," that is to say, "in perpetuity." Though τέλος can have a great many meanings and clearly has considerable semantic overlap with נצח, the component not covered very well, if at all, by τέλος is that of perpetuity, i.e., the temporal dimension. This becomes at once clear when one investigates how נצח is translated in the Septuagint. Outside of the Psalter, the root occurs some thirty-five times: five times one finds εἰς τέλος, "completely" (Hab 1:4; Job 4:20; 14:20; 20:7; 23:7), five times εἰς νῖκος, "victoriously" (2 Sam 2:26; Jer 3:5; Amos 1:11, 8:7; Lam 5:20) + τοῦ νικῆσαι, "to win victory" (Hab 3:19), and ἡ νίκη, "victory" (1 Chr 29:11).[17] Seemingly related to the concept of "victory" are ἰσχύω, "to be

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[15] τὴν προκειμένην ᾠδὴν ἀνατίθησι τῷ Ἀγαπητῷ ὁ Δαυϊδ, τουτέστι Χριστῷ, τῷ ἐπ᾽ ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμέρων ἐληλυθότι, καὶ τὴν ἀλλοίωσιν πεποιηκότι, τουτέστι τὴν μεταβολὴν τὴν ἐξ εἰδωλολατρείας εἰς θεοσέβειαν. Μέμνηται δὲ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Κορε, εἰς τοὺς ἀποστόλους ἀναπέμπων τὸ πρόσωπον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἀναγκαῖον συνιέναι ἡμᾶς· διὸ καὶ εἰς σύνεσιν ἐπιγέγραπται.

[16] Ibid., 138.

[17] Aquila and Quinta use εἰς νῖκος for לנצח.

powerful/prevail," in Isa 25:8, κατισχύω, "to prevail over," in Jer 15:18, and ἐνισχύω, "to prevail in," in 1 Chr 15:21. And again trading on the notion of pre-eminence are glosses like ἐργοδιώκτης, "taskmaster," in 1 Chr 23:4 and 2 Chr 2:17, as well as ἐπισκοπέω, "to oversee," in 2 Chr 34:12. Thus there is plenty that reflects the components of "(pre-)eminence" and "successfulness." Interestingly, however, when the component of "perpetuity" comes into play נצח is glossed by temporal phrases: εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Isa 28:28; Jer 27[50]:39), εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα χρόνον (Isa 13:20, 33:20), χρόνον πολύν (Isa 34:10), διὰ παντός (Isa 57:16), and ἔτι (Job 34:36). Thus one can conclude with reasonable assurance that outside of the Psalter τέλος does not seem to have a temporal dimension. Yet that is precisely what Rösel claims for the Psalter in his lead-up to "die Endzeit" (p. 138). To prove his point, he makes reference to three passages in the Psalms where εἰς τέλος appears as a parallel to εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (9:19; 76:8–9[?]; 102:9). The inference is, therefore, that "parallel" means "identical." That seems to me problematic. One can in fact argue that in Psalms too τέλος is *not* perceived to have a strictly temporal dimension, since in 49[48]:20 where the Hebrew has עד־נצח and where the meaning is patently temporal, the translator switches to ἕως αἰῶνος. Since this is a non-default rendering of נצח it can be taken to have some exegetical significance.

Rösel's proposal to read εἰς τὸ τέλος eschatologically again raises a serious problem. In non-philosophical Classical and Hellenistic literature τέλος as a nominal means nothing more often than "conclusion" (natural or logical) and as an adverbial it means nothing with greater frequency than "in conclusion" or "completely/finally," with no more of an eschatological overtone than the English glosses I have used. Polybius, for example, regularly uses εἰς τέλος. Similarly, within the Septuagint (some ninety-four occurrences according to HRCS, not counting the Psalter) τέλος rarely has an eschatological sense. In light of all that, with what justification can the claim be made that the phrase εἰς τὸ τέλος has an eschatological sense and is thus an exegetical contribution of the translator? Is it because of the article, which Rösel sees as supporting such a claim? But the article is there simply to maintain isomorphism with the source text.[18] Perhaps more importantly it allows the translator to reproduce a contrast in his source text: εἰς τέλος = לנצח and εἰς τὸ τέλος = למנצח, while at the same time maintaining the intra-lingual linkage.

That the Fathers of the church, who read the entire Septuagint as a *praeparatio euangelica*, would read εἰς τὸ τέλος and in fact τέλος generally from

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[18] For an instance of the same kind see ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων for על־ששנים in Pss 44[45], 59[60], 68[69], and 79[80], and the principle of isomorphism is generally observable in the translator's representation of Hebrew ל and the *nota accusativi* by the Greek article.

an eschatological perspective is of course true. So, for example, Asterius the Sophist in comment on Ps 9:1 exclaims:[19]

> τί τὸ τέλος; … ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ κηρύγματος, ὅ ἐστι τέλος τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν.

> What is τὸ τέλος? … The beginning of the proclamation of the Gospel, which is the τέλος of the Law and the Prophets (18:3–4).

Or one might cite to the same effect Didymus the Blind on Ps 43:[20]

> περὶ τοῦ τέλους πολλάκις ἐλέχθη, ὅτι τὸ ἔσχατον ὀρεκτόν ἐστιν, οὗ ἕνεκα τὰ ἄλλα πάντα γίνεται.

> τέλος was often referred to, because the end (τὸ ἔσχατον) is something longed for, for the sake of which all other things occur (307).

In similar vein, 1 Pet 4:7 writes that "the end of all things is near" (πάντων δὲ τὸ τέλος ἤγγικεν). Thus again it is patently obvious what happened in the reception history of the Greek Psalter. I seriously doubt, however, that the reception history of the Psalter and its constitutive character can simply be folded into one. In that case, one would fall into the trap James Barr warned against more than thirty years ago when he wrote,

> He [David Hill] does not make the obvious and necessary distinction between two sets of mental processes, those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original.…[21]

Gideon Toury makes a similar distinction in *Descriptive Translation Studies* when he writes,

> … this principle [namely, that function determines textual-linguistic make-up] does not lose any of its validity when the position occupied by a translation in the target culture, or its ensuing functions, happen to differ from the ones it was initially 'designed' to have; e.g., when the translation of a literary work, intended to serve as a literary text too and translated in a way which should have suited that purpose, is nevertheless rejected by the target literary system, or relegated to a position which it was not designed to occupy. In fact, one task of descriptive studies in translation may well be to confront the position which is actually assumed by a translation with the one it was intended to have.…[22]

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[19] Asterius Sophista Scr. Eccl., "Commentarii in Psalmos (Homiliae 31)," in *TLG*.

[20] Didymus Caecus Scr. Eccl., "Commentarii in Psalmos 40–44.4," in *TLG*.

[21] James Barr, "Common Sense and Biblical Language," *Bib* 49 (1968): 379.

[22] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 14.

5. Conclusion

I have sought to argue that though genuine exegesis and exposition can be found in the Greek Psalter, it needs to be identified and isolated on the basis of its textual-linguistic make-up. If its textual-linguistic make-up argues for a translation characterized more by formal correspondence than by dynamic equivalency, one's approach to hermeneutics in the Septuagint should accord with that. As I see it, that means at a minimum that exegesis needs to be demonstrated, not presupposed. From that perspective I would suggest that one work from the least intelligible phenomena to the more intelligible; that one proceed from the word level to higher levels of constituent structure; that one pay more attention to deviations from the translator's Hebrew-Greek defaults than to the defaults and standard equations or, to put it differently, that greater weight be given to what is unpredictable than to what is predictable; that mere representation of the source text does not constitute exegesis of the source.

To read the translated text in the light of its constitutive character is one thing, but to read it in the light of a culturally re-articulated function and position is quite another. I see no reason to believe that a re-articulated role in the recipient culture changes a translation's textual-linguistic make-up.

There can be no doubt that the (translated) Septuagint played a mediating role between the Hebrew Bible and Greek literature (including the New Testament corpus) indirectly based thereon. But to a much greater extent than is often allowed for, the nature of that mediation can best be described in terms of articulation and re-articulation. *Articulation* and *re-articulation*, however, are quite distinct and must not be confused.

Translation as Scripture:
The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo
Benjamin G. Wright III

1. The Interlinear Model of the Septuagint

At the beginning of the work on the New English Translation of the Septuagint, those involved in preparing the foundations for the project had to reckon with the problems of translating into English, not an original work in the Greek language, but a Greek *translation* of a Hebrew (and Aramaic) original. The Septuagint presented quite a few difficulties in this respect, not the least of which was the frequency of what one might call infelicitous translations that ranged from awkward Greek to nonsensical Greek in some cases. The principles of translation ultimately adopted by NETS require the translators to "seek to reflect the meaning of the Greek text in accordance with the ancient translator's perceived intent and as occasioned by the ancient translator's linguistic approach, even when this policy may result in an unidiomatic (though grammatical) English rendering."[1] Such an approach to translating a translation stems from the realization that the Septuagint, as a translation, has a particular relationship to its Hebrew original. The introduction to the first fascicle of NETS, Albert Pietersma's translation of Psalms, puts it this way:

> While it is obvious that the so-called Septuagint *in time* achieved its independence from its Semitic parent and that it *at some stage* shed its subservience to its source, it is equally true that it was at its inception a Greek *translation* of a Hebrew (or Aramaic) *original*. That is to say, the Greek had a dependent and subservient linguistic relationship to its Semitic parent. More particularly, for the vast majority of Septuagint books this linguistic relationship can best be conceptualized as a Greek inter-linear translation of a Hebrew original within a Hebrew-Greek diglot…. Looked at from a different perspective, NETS is presupposing a Greek translation which aimed at bringing the reader to the Hebrew original rather than bringing the Hebrew original to

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[1] Albert Pietersma, *Translation Manual for "A New English Translation of the Septuagint" (*NETS*)* (Ada: Uncial Books, 1996), 9.

    the reader. Consequently, the Greek's subservience to the Hebrew may be seen
    as part of its aim.[2]

The reasons for the preceding claims lie at the heart of what Pietersma would later develop more fully as the "interlinear paradigm of Septuagint Studies."[3] This approach to the Septuagint utilizes the work of Gideon Toury, who argues in his book *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* that "translations are facts of target cultures: on occasions facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable subsystems of their own, but of the target culture in any event." Since any translation is fundamentally rooted in its target culture, "the [prospective] position (or function) of a translation within a recipient culture (or a particular section thereof) should be regarded as a strong governing factor of the very make-up of the product, in terms of underlying models, linguistic representation, or both." In other words, the textual-linguistic make-up of a translation provides strong indications of its intended position in the target culture.[4]

Toury describes a three-fold series of relationships operative in any translation, which he labels position/function-process-product. The intended position or function of any translation in its target culture exerts a determining influence on its textual-linguistic make-up. Recognizing that every translation originates in a specific cultural milieu and meets particular needs in the recipient culture, Toury writes, "… translators may be said to operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, however they conceive of that interest."[5] Further, the "surface realization" of the translation, its textual-linguistic make-up, establishes the parameters for the individual translation strategies employed by the translator.[6] (See Figure 1 on p. 37, how Toury diagrams the relationships among the three characteristics.)

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[2] Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title: The Psalms* (A. Pietersma; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), ix.

[3] Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64.

[4] Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Benjamins Translation Library 4; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995). The quotes are from pp. 29 and 12, respectively.

[5] Ibid., 12.

[6] Ibid., 12.

When we approach one particular set of translations, the Septuagint,[7] Toury's analysis holds out tremendous promise for understanding several dilemmas that this Greek corpus presents to scholars. Pietersma applies Toury's insights to the Septuagint in a seminal paper entitled "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model to the Septuagint." There Pietersma has argued that the Septuagint's textual-linguistic nature (Toury's "process"), one in which many aspects of the Greek text are unintelligible without resort to the Hebrew original (and indeed he notes that the Greek often "cannot stand on its own feet"), indicates that the linguistic relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew was originally one of subservience and dependence. That is, the Greek translation was intended from the first to be used in concert with the Hebrew. This relationship Pietersma characterizes by the term "interlinear." Such a description does not mean, in Pietersma's words, "that every linguistic item in Greek can only be understood by reference to the parent text, or that the translation has an isomorphic relationship to its source, but that the Greek text *qua* text has a dimension of unintelligibility."[8] Pietersma contends, then, that only a relationship of dependence of the translation on its source text can account both for the Septuagint's intelligibility *and* for its unintelligibility at the same time. To use Toury's language from the diagram on p. 37, the textual-linguistic make-up/surface realization of the Greek that we find in the Septuagint suggests an intentionally close relationship, indeed a dependent one, of the Greek translation on its Hebrew original. The translators developed the particular translation strategies utilized in rendering the Hebrew into Greek in order to achieve the textual-linguistic make-up they deemed necessary. The intended "function" of the Septuagint in the cultural environment of the translators (the hotly debated question of the origins of the Septuagint) was the factor that determined the appropriate textual linguistic make-up or surface realization.

These three relationships constitute the basic information out of which we might reconstruct the social location of the Septuagint, what Toury calls "contextualization." He writes, "In an almost tautological way it could be said that, in the final analysis, a translation is a fact of whatever target sector it is found to be a fact of, i.e., that (sub)system which proves to be best equipped to account for it: function, product and underlying process."[9] Of all the various social locations that have been proposed for the Septuagint, Pietersma suggests that the most satisfactory place for a translation with its particular textual-linguistic make-up would be the school, where the subservient and dependent Greek translation would function for students as a kind of crib to the Hebrew.

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[7] I use the term "Septuagint" in this paper in the more restrictive sense of the term—the translation of the Pentateuch into Greek, probably in the early third-century B.C.E.

[8] Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 350.

[9] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 29.

NETS, then, relies on Pietersma's interlinear paradigm for essentially three reasons:

> First, this paradigm best explains the "translationese" aspect of Septuagintal Greek with its strict, and often rigid quantitative equivalence to the Hebrew. As Conybeare and Stock (and others) noted nearly a century ago, Septuagintal Greek is often "hardly Greek at all, but rather Hebrew in disguise," especially in its syntax. Secondly, the interlinear paradigm of Septuagint origins makes it legitimate for the NETS translator to draw on the Hebrew parent text as an arbiter of meaning, when appropriate. Differently put, the interlinear paradigm recognizes that unintelligibility of the Greek text *qua Greek text* is one of its inherent characteristics. Thirdly, and perhaps paradoxically, the interlinear paradigm safeguards the Greekness of the Septuagint by emphasizing that its linguistic strangeness, rather than reflecting a form of the living language at serious odds with its Hellenistic environment, was made to serve a pedagogical purpose.[10]

These comments only provide the general contours of Toury's theoretical analysis and Pietersma's development of the interlinear paradigm. While the interlinear paradigm undergirds the ongoing work of the NETS project, it also offers the potential for new insights into some other questions about the Septuagint and related issues that might not at first blush be so obvious. Here we turn to the *Letter of Aristeas* and to Philo of Alexandria.

2. The *Letter of Aristeas* and Septuagint Origins

At the heart of any discussion about the origins of the Septuagint lies the *Letter of Aristeas*. This early Jewish text represents the earliest account of the translation of the Septuagint.[11] It is not necessary to review the complicated history of scholarship on the *Letter of Aristeas* here; it suffices to say that scholars generally agree that the work (1) is pseudonymous, written by a Jew reflecting Jewish concerns, not by "Aristeas," a Greek member of Ptolemy's court, (2) is not a contemporary account, but one written a significant time after the actual translation was made,[12] and (3) reflects interests contemporary with

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[10] Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," ix.

[11] The Jewish writer Aristobulus (ca. 160 B.C.E.), mentioned by Eusebius in his *Praep. ev.* 13.12.2, apparently also knew the story of the translation of the Septuagint. Depending on what date one assigns to the *Letter of Aristeas*, Aristobulus might be earlier. Aristobulus's notice, however, is very attenuated and reflects nothing like the fuller "account" given by Aristeas.

[12] Dates assigned to the book range from the mid-third century B.C.E. down to the first century C.E. A date sometime in the second century B.C.E. seems most probable. For the various possibilities, see especially R. J. H. Shutt, "Letter of Aristeas," in *OTP*, 2:8–9; Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (JAL; New York: Harper &

the Jewish writer of the work, not those of the third century B.C.E. Scholars have suggested a number of motivations for the writing of *Letter of Aristeas*, among them a response to some contemporary crisis, a polemic targeting the emergence of rival translations to the Alexandrian Septuagint, the problems of Hellenism and Judaism. Whatever its original purpose, and despite the fact that only a small portion of the letter actually describes the translation process, the *Letter of Aristeas* is occupied throughout with the rendering of the Hebrew Torah into Greek. Indeed, this task frames the entire work, since it is said to be central to Aristeas's deputation to Eleazar the Jewish high priest (§§1–3).

Despite the general scholarly consensus that the *Letter of Aristeas* is not a contemporary account and that it does not accurately describe the actual events surrounding the translation of the Septuagint, scholars continue to use the letter as foundational evidence for reconstructing the origins of that translation. Some make minimal use of the letter together with other external evidence to derive a date for the production of the translation—usually the early part of the third century B.C.E. Others want to take more seriously the claim of the letter that the Greek translation of the Jewish Law had official Ptolemaic sanction. Most scholars, however, accept as true, whether implicitly or explicitly, Aristeas's assumption that the Septuagint was intended to be a free-standing and independent replacement for the Hebrew Pentateuch, and acceptance of Aristeas's claim often appears as one of the major building blocks of scholarly theories about the original purpose of the Septuagint.

Almost all scholars accept that the Septuagint was a Jewish translation undertaken in response to Jewish needs. They may disagree over what those needs were, but in each case, the requirements of the Jewish community for a translation of its scriptures almost always assumes that the community had to have a translation that would function independently of its Hebrew original. Several examples illustrate this point. The proposal that the Septuagint was made for liturgical purposes assumes that the Jews of Alexandria had lost the ability to use Hebrew, and so a Greek translation became necessary as a stand-in for the Hebrew scriptures during Jewish worship.[13] Any proposal that operates under the assumption that the Septuagint was made for official government purposes necessarily has to claim that the Septuagint was meant to substitute for the Hebrew. This is true, for instance, of the suggestion that the translation was

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Brothers, 1951), 9–17; André Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (SC 89; Paris: Cerf, 1962), 57–58; Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 47–49.

[13] This theory was championed by Henry St. J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship: A Study in Origins* (2d ed.; SchL; London: Humphrey Milford, 1923).

motivated by an official Egyptian policy of rendering oriental law codes into Greek.[14]

Several scholars have suggested the school as the place where the Septuagint may have originated. Sebastian Brock's work is especially note-worthy in this regard. His analysis of the Septuagint has convinced him that the textual-linguistic nature of the translation indicates that it tries to bring the reader to the original, not the original to the reader, and he points specifically to the school as a possible location for the Septuagint's origins. Yet even he, despite these conclusions, stops short of arguing for such an originating context.[15] Pietersma speculates that one contributing reason for Brock's reluc-tance to argue for an educational context might be that,

> … in spite of Brock's observation that literal texts aim to bring the reader to the text, and thus play a patently subservient role vis-à-vis the source text, he nevertheless believes that both as to its original function and as to its later role the Septuagint was a free-standing text that took the place of the original, precisely as the *Letter of Aristeas* maintains, and thus is in continuity with modern mainstream translations of the Bible.[16]

If, however, the *Letter of Aristeas* was indeed composed many years after the translation of the Septuagint, and if Pietersma's interlinear paradigm has any explanatory force when applied to the Septuagint, why should scholars give such credence to Aristeas's account as a legitimate explanation of the Septuagint's origins? In short, if we accept what the interlinear paradigm pushes us to conclude about the nature of the Septuagint *as a translation*—that the Greek text is subservient to and dependent on the Hebrew—then the picture offered by the *Letter of Aristeas* does not, indeed cannot, accurately reflect the origins of the Septuagint. In fact, Toury's work and Pietersma's use of it with respect to the textual-linguistic nature of the Septuagint provide a lens through which to look at the function of the legend of Septuagint origins offered in the *Letter of Aristeas*. Although Pietersma applies the interlinear paradigm to certain observations about the nature of the Septuagint as a translation, as he himself argues, it has important implications for attempts to answer questions about the Septuagint's origins. Toury's three-relationship model provides an analytical tool for understanding some basic characteristics of translations—perhaps most significantly in the present context, that the textual-linguistic character of the Septuagint must have a role to play in any discussions of the intended function

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[14] See Dominique Barthélemy, "Pourquoi la Torah a-t-elle été traduite en Grec?" in *On Language, Culture and Religion: In Honor of Eugene A. Nida* (ed. M. Black and W. A. Smalley; Approaches to Semiotics 56; The Hague: Mouton, 1974); Joseph Mélèze-Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 99–119.

[15] Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *OtSt* 17 (1972): 11–36.

[16] Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 346.

of the translation. Simply put, the textual-linguistic nature of the Septuagint makes it difficult to think that it was originally intended to function as an independent replacement for the Hebrew. Because the *Letter of Aristeas* is the earliest and most complete "account" of the Septuagint's origins, however, and because practically every scholarly reconstruction of the Septuagint's origins utilizes the *Letter of Aristeas*, not only do we need to ask if the letter's version of the events is relevant, we must also try to account for it if it is not.

Thus, if Pietersma is correct about the notion of interlinearity and his subsequent suggestions about the pedagogical origins of the Septuagint make sense, then the *Letter of Aristeas* has no evidentiary value for explaining the origins of the Septuagint. If the *Letter of Aristeas* does not provide the evidence scholars often claim it does, how then can we make sense of the letter and its contents? The answer to this question must satisfy objections like the one made by Paul Kahle, who thought that the *Letter of Aristeas* was not even concerned with the Septuagint, but with a revised version of the Septuagint that was being accorded authority over other versions. He argued that the Alexandrian translation could not be the subject of the *Letter of Aristeas* partly because "[n]obody makes propaganda for something a hundred years old. Propaganda is made for something contemporary. We can be sure that the translation had just been made when the letter of propaganda was written."[17] Even for Kahle, the version in the *Letter of Aristeas* and its perceived centrality for explaining Septuagint origins demanded explanation. In my estimation, however, we do not need to resort to Kahle's assessment of the *Letter of Aristeas*. It is possible to explain its story of the translation of the Septuagint even while, at the same time, rejecting its usefulness as an account of how the Septuagint actually came to be.

If the Septuagint's origins were in subservience to and dependence on its Hebrew source, then it becomes patently clear that the function of the Septuagint did shift over time from that original dependence to independence—it ultimately did function as a replacement for the Hebrew. Of course, the intended function/position of a translation can change over time without experiencing any modification of its textual-linguistic make-up. In such cases one then observes a surface realization that becomes out of sync with the later function/position of the translation. Toury notes, "… translations which retain their status as facts of the target culture may nevertheless change their position over time."[18] I would contend that this is precisely what happened with the Septuagint. It gradually lost its close relationship to the Hebrew from which it was translated, and its users began to regard it in the manner that Aristeas does, as an independent, free-standing replacement for the Hebrew. It retained its unintelligible features,

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[17] Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2d ed.; SchL; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1959), 211. Kahle's larger argument, that there was no "original" Septuagint, but various competing translations, has largely been rejected by scholars as unconvincing.

[18] Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 30.

but they were no longer moored to the Hebrew, which had given them at least a measure of intelligibility. In its beginnings the Septuagint was intended to serve as a point of entry to the Hebrew, a way of bringing the original to the reader as Brock says, but the Hebrew continued to remain the main focus of interest. The Hebrew original was the text regarded as authoritative, with the Greek translation being a means of accessing it. As readers encountered the Septuagint separated from its original moorings, its status must have become somewhat of a problem. The linguistic relationship between the two texts may have been severed, but a crucial issue must have been what relationship they continued to have, if any, as individual and separate repositories of divinely sanctioned Jewish law and practice. How authoritative was the Septuagint on its own?

We know the end of the process, of course. The Septuagint came to be regarded by many Jews as authoritative, divinely inspired scripture. But somewhere along the line someone had to offer a justification for regarding the Septuagint in this way. The *Letter of Aristeas* provides precisely that kind of justification. And here is where I believe Kahle, in the statement I quoted above, is wrong. If the Septuagint's origins were indeed characterized by subservience to and dependence on the Hebrew, then, however old it was when it began to be used as an independent and authoritative text, someone *did* have to make propaganda for it, and that is exactly what Aristeas does. Rather than an accurate reflection of the origins of the Septuagint, I think it more probable that the *Letter of Aristeas* presents us with a foundational myth of origins for the Septuagint's transformed position/function as an independent, scriptural authority.

Despite the long symposium section in the middle of the book, Aristeas's primary concern is the translation of the Jewish Law. One of the ways that Aristeas creates a myth of origins intended to legitimate the Septuagint's independence from the Hebrew and its authoritative status is to claim that it was never intended to relate to the Hebrew in the first place. One can read the claim that the undertaking was commissioned by the Ptolemaic king as a primary feature of the myth of the Septuagint's original independence. It is difficult to know if the legend of official Ptolemaic sanction is the author's own creation or if it represents use of a preexisting tradition that the author inherited. The Jewish philosopher Aristobulus, like Aristeas, connects the translation with the Ptolemaic court, and he makes the same error as Aristeas, connecting Demetrius of Phalerum with Ptolemy Philadelphus rather than Ptolemy I Soter.[19] It is not clear if Aristeas knew Aristobulus, if it was the other way around or if both drew on an independent tradition. Whatever the case, if the Septuagint actually arose out of the needs of the Jewish community as most scholars think, why does the earliest form of the legend attribute its genesis to Gentile rulers? One thing such

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[19] Scholars debate Aristobulus's dates, but Adela Yarbro Collins, "Aristobulus," in *OTP*, 2:832–33, places him in the middle of the second century B.C.E. roughly contemporary with the most probable time of the composition of the *Letter of Aristeas*.

a claim accomplishes is to distinguish the translation from its Hebrew parent text *from its very inception*. The initial motivation reported by the *Letter of Aristeas*, that a translation of the Hebrew sacred books must be included in the royal library, leaves no doubt for the reader that the Septuagint, as a translation, had always been intended to replace the Hebrew. The later scene in §§308–311 in which the Jewish community hears and accepts the translation reinforces that it replaces the Hebrew, even for the Jews of Alexandria.

As a translation that was meant to function independently of its source, the accuracy of the translation concerned the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, who takes pains to make the point that both the Hebrew manuscripts used for the translation as well as the translation itself were completely accurate. According to §30, the Hebrew books were missing from the king's library because "they have been transcribed somewhat carelessly and not as they should be."[20] When the translators travel to Alexandria, they arrive "with the fine skins on which the Law had been written in letters of gold in Jewish characters; the parchment had been excellently worked, and the joining together of the letters was imperceptible" (§176). The king inquires about the scrolls and then does obeisance to them "about seven times" (§177). The fine execution of the scrolls and the king's reaction to seeing them confirms their complete accuracy and sanctity. Here are copies, to rephrase §30, that "are transcribed completely accurately and as they should be." Aristeas also emphasizes that the translation made from these scrolls is just as accurate as the original. After the completion of the translation, Demetrius assembles the Jewish people and reads it aloud. The Jewish leaders affirm that the translation "has been made rightly and reverently, and in every respect accurately" (§310). This use of the language of accuracy for both the original and translation serves to place the Septuagint on a par with its Hebrew source. Aristeas wants us to know that each of the two texts possesses its own authority guaranteed by its accuracy.

In addition, the claims made about the translators themselves, that they were men of skill in the Law, who led exemplary lives and were of mature experience (§32), further vouchsafe the accuracy of the Septuagint as a perfectly reliable version of the Jewish Law. Each day before they begin translating, they wash their hands in the sea and pray to God. Aristeas explains that these practices show that these men had done no evil, "for all activity takes place through the

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[20] Kahle argued that this verse referred to earlier translations of the Law into Greek, but the interest of the passage is in the Hebrew text, and thus probably refers to Hebrew manuscripts. The key to this passage is the verb σεσήμανται, here translated "transcribed." Almost all commentators note the difficulty of the passage. The verb has been variously translated as "edited," "copied," "transmitted," or "written." See Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 166–67.

hands; thus they nobly and piously refer everything to righteousness and truth" (§306). Translation, conducted in writing, constitutes an activity of the hands, and here the *Letter of Aristeas* implies that the piety and rectitude of the translators extends to their product, the Greek translation of the Law. Unlike later versions of the legend, the *Letter of Aristeas* is decidedly unmiraculous.[21] In fact, the translators work in a very sensible manner. They reach agreement by comparing the versions that they produce. The result is one version agreed upon by all these pious men. Demetrius himself copies the final version of their work (§302). The only explicit hint that the deity might be guiding the process comes in §307 where Aristeas claims that the seventy-two translators finished their work in seventy-two days "just as if such a result was achieved by some deliberate design."

When speaking of the Septuagint, however, it is Aristeas who works with a deliberate design. The emphasis on accuracy contributes to a larger and more central claim, "to accord the Septuagint version of the Torah the same sanctity and authority long held by the Hebrew original—in a word to certify the 'divine' origin of the Septuagint."[22] Aristeas accomplishes this aim in part by framing the creation and acceptance of the Septuagint in the same language as the making and acceptance of the Hebrew Torah. Harry Orlinsky notes, for example, that the reading of the translation followed by the consent of the people in §§308–311 closely resembles Exod 24:3–7 where Moses reads the Law to the people who then consent to follow it. He maintains that the phrase "to read aloud to the people" followed by some expression of consent "describes the biblical procedure in designating a document as official and binding, in other words, as divinely inspired, as Sacred Scripture."[23] After the people's consent, the Jewish priests and elders command that no one should alter this version in any way, and they curse anyone who might try. Deut 4:1–2 employs the same tactic with respect to the Hebrew laws commanded by God.[24] Sections 312–317, which describe the abortive attempts by Theopompus and Theodectus to translate sections of the Jewish Law, reinforce Aristeas's assertion that only *this* translation was made from accurate copies of the Law by upright men who produced a completely accurate version and thus only *this* version deserves the approbation given to it by the Jewish elders and priests and the Jewish people as a whole. God's punishment of these two Gentile figures for their presumably

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[21] For the sources of the later versions of the legend, see Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 38–47; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1988), 45–50.

[22] Harry M. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," *HUCA* 46 (1975): 94.

[23] Ibid., 94.

[24] Ibid., 95.

arrogant actions demonstrates that only the version that Aristeas describes can be authoritative scripture.[25]

In the light of the close original relationship between the Septuagint and the Hebrew Torah, what Aristeas tells us about is not original function, but reception history. The Septuagint's textual-linguistic make-up points to its intended original function, one in which the Greek was dependent on rather than a replacement for the Hebrew. One might also conclude that such a relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew meant that the Greek translation was most likely not at first considered authoritative scripture, but instead it provided a means of gaining access to the Hebrew scriptures.[26] The *Letter of Aristeas* offers a justification, a myth of origins, for what the Septuagint had become by the author's time, and it had become two things that it probably was not in the beginning: independent and scriptural. The *Letter of Aristeas* testifies to a place in the process at which the Septuagint had acquired these two characteristics. It does not, unfortunately, provide evidence for the precise circumstances in which the Septuagint made the transition from dependence to independence and from access point to scripture. What seems clear is that somewhere between the early third century B.C.E. and the composition of the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Septuagint, warts and all, struck out on its own.

3. Philo of Alexandria and the Septuagint

By the first century, when Philo was writing in Alexandria, the Septuagint had long since acquired the status of an independent, scriptural authority. The actual origins of the translation were shrouded in the mists of time and tradition, even for one who wrote in the city of the Septuagint's genesis. But the myth that had its first complete articulation in the *Letter of Aristeas* was alive, well, and developing. In *Moses* 2.25–44 Philo reports on the translation of the Mosaic Law into Greek. He tells essentially the same story as the *Letter of Aristeas*, but with some interesting subtractions and additions. Scholars remain divided about whether Philo knew the *Letter of Aristeas* or whether he had inherited the same tradition. Much of what Philo lacks from the version in the *Letter of Aristeas* can be attributed to his own interests, and the answer to the question of Philo's possible dependence on the *Letter of Aristeas* is not what concerns me here. Several developments in the story, whether Philo created them or whether he obtained them through Alexandrian tradition, indicate that the myth that the *Letter of Aristeas* had offered was sufficient for Philo's purposes, and it served particular aims for him.

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[25] These examples make the point. For additional argumentation, see ibid., 98–103.

[26] See the section on the Septuagint in my "Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and Their Audiences," *JSJ* 34 (2003): 1–27; and Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 337–64.

For Philo, like the *Letter of Aristeas*, the Septuagint began its existence as an independent replacement for the Hebrew, commissioned by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Whereas Aristeas grounds the motivation for producing the translation in the need for inclusion of the Jewish sacred books in the king's library, in Philo the translation of the Mosaic Law was made so that it would be available for the benefit of all people, not just the Jews. Philo writes, "In ancient times the laws were written in the Chaldean tongue, and remained in that form (καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ διέμειναν ἐν ὁμοίῳ) for many years, without any change in language, so long as they had not yet revealed their beauty to the rest of humankind" (2.26).[27] The fame and knowledge of the Jewish laws spread among non-Jews, and Ptolemy, "having conceived an ardent affection for our laws," decided to have the Law translated into Greek. Yehoshua Amir has argued that Philo's use of the term *form* (ὅμοιος) rather than *language* when he refers to translation into Greek implies that, "… now that the Law of Moses can reveal its beauty to all humankind in the garment of the Greek language, the Hebrew is of no importance."[28] While I am not convinced that this statement can bear the evidentiary weight that Amir assigns it, he does hit on an important theme in Philo's legend of the Septuagint, its form, or I think more properly, its linguistic nature.

When Philo describes the work of the translators, we find several fascinating developments from what we saw in the *Letter of Aristeas*, all of which look to me like an *apologia* for the specific linguistic form of the Septuagint rather than a more general argument for the scriptural status of the translation, which Philo certainly assumed. While Philo's story lacks the public reading of the translation and its acceptance by the Jewish people (which as we saw served the purpose for the *Letter of Aristeas* of establishing the translation's status as scripture), his version retains the claim of the importance of not changing anything, but it is relocated and reconfigured. Philo describes the translators' task this way, "Reflecting how great an undertaking it was to make a full version of the laws given by the Voice of God, where they could not add or take away or transfer anything, but [they] must keep the original form and shape (ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἰδέαν καὶ τὸν τύπον αὐτῶν διαφυλάττοντας), they proceeded to look for the most open and unoccupied spot in the neighborhood outside the city" (2.34). Philo's major concern is not for the inviolability of the text of the completed translation as was the case for the *Letter of Aristeas*, but that the translation cannot alter in any way its Hebrew source, in either nature or shape. The two

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[27] Translations come from Philo, *Life of Moses* (Colson, LCL), vol. 6.

[28] Yehoshua Amir, "Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 443.

must be an exact match, and this is the crucial point of Philo's version of the story.

In order to meet this challenge, the translators discover the island of Pharos as the best available place; they stretch the Hebrew books up toward heaven and pray that God might keep them from failing (2.36). And sure enough, when they actually begin to work on the translation, "they became, as it were, possessed, and, under inspiration, wrote, not each several scribe something different, but the same word for word, as though dictated to each by an invisible prompter" (τὰ δ' αὐτὰ πάντες ὀνόματα καὶ ῥήματα, ὥσπερ ὑποβολέως ἑκάστοις ἀοράτως ἐνηχοῦντος; 2.37). Philo reports no translation by committee *à la* the *Letter of Aristeas*; God answered the translators' prayers by taking the matter out of their hands. In effect, God accomplished the translation using the translators as writing instruments.

Philo follows up this version of the events with another justification for the Septuagint's textual-linguistic character. He claims that, even though every language, but especially Greek, allows great flexibility in the possible ways to express things, such is not the case with the Septuagint. He insists that for the Septuagint by contrast,

> … the Greek words used corresponded literally with the Chaldean, exactly suited to the things they indicated. For, just as in geometry and logic, so it seems to me, the sense indicated does not admit of variety of expression which remains unchanged in its original form, so these writers, as it clearly appears, arrived at a wording which corresponded with the matter, and alone, or better than any other, would bring out clearly what was meant. The clearest proof of this is that, if Chaldeans have learned Greek or Greeks Chaldean, and read both versions, the Chaldean and the translation, they regard them with awe and reverence as sisters, or rather one and the same, both in matter and words, and speak of the authors not as translators but as prophets and priests of the mysteries, whose sincerity and singleness of thought has enabled them to go hand in hand with the purest of spirits, the spirit of Moses (2.38–41).

This long paragraph strikes me as somewhat Shakespearean—Philo protests a bit too much. But why does he feel compelled to defend the Septuagint in this way? Although I cannot really claim that much evidence could be marshaled to give a definitive answer, a couple of possibilities strike me as at least suggestive. First, Philo, given his own abilities and Greek education, must be cognizant of the problematic textual-linguistic nature of the Septuagint. Even though he probably could not make a comparison with the Hebrew on his own, his description of the translation process and its resultant form offer a justification for the actual state of affairs as he knows them. Perhaps he did even rely on those who knew both Greek and Hebrew for this information.[29] Philo himself,

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[29] The issue of Philo's knowledge of Hebrew has been widely debated. For a cogent argument against Philo's knowledge of Hebrew that invokes the same passages used in

however, engages an interlinear text divorced from its interlinear partner, and he may well be uncomfortable with what he has. He thus goes to great lengths to reinforce the claim that the *form* as well as the content is part of the divine sanction accorded this translation; indeed it is part of the Septuagint's inspired nature. For someone who was skilled at writing Greek and who explicitly recognizes the rhetorical possibilities of the language, the Greek of the Septuagint must have been something of an embarrassment for which he had to account. He does so by arguing that the translation does not add to, subtract from, or alter anything in its source, and that is the way God intended it.

Secondly, Philo appeals to those who know both languages (as he apparently did not)—they will testify that the two versions are not just related, but in fact are "one and the same, both in matter and words" (ὡς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔν τε τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασι). Such complete correlation with the original demonstrates for Philo that the translators were more than simply pious men who rendered one language, Hebrew, into another, Greek, but they were actually "prophets and priests of the mysteries" who possessed the same pure spirit that Moses had. Here Philo utilizes the language of prophecy and oracle, language he uses elsewhere for Moses and the Mosaic Law.[30] This claim establishes that the translation, in form and content, is just as inspired as the original, since God worked through the translators in the same way as God had through prophets and priests.

Several possible explanations can account for this emphasis in Philo's version of the legend of the Septuagint in *Moses*. The least likely, I think, is that Philo is responding to criticisms of the Septuagint that its close correspondence to its Hebrew source somehow detracts from its status as a scriptural text.[31] Philo turns the issue on its head and claims that precisely this close relationship of form and content makes the Septuagint what it is. The Septuagint's textual-linguistic character is not a drawback, but quite the opposite, a proof of its divine origins. The ability to establish such a claim would be especially crucial for someone like Philo, in the first instance because the Septuagint constituted his sacred scripture and in the second because Philo's own hermeneutical enterprise revolved so directly around the *exact* words used in those scriptures. Since Philo most likely did not know Hebrew, he could not on his own consult it and compare it to the Greek. He thus had to resort to the purported testimonials

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this section of my paper, see D. Gooding, "Philo's Knowledge of the Hebrew Underlying the Greek," in *Two Treatises of Philo of Alexandria: A Commentary on De Gigantibus and Quod Deus Sit Immutabilis* (ed. D. Winston and J. M. Dillon; BJS 25; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983). See also Samuel Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria: An Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), chapter 9.

[30] Amir, "Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo," 443.

[31] Samuel Sandmel speculates, however, that Philo's account was a response to unknown people who were critical of the Septuagint. See Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria*, 52.

of those who could. For Philo, the Jewish scriptures embodied in the Septuagint are the key to disclosing the activity and will of God in the world. In his allegorical interpretations he takes seriously each and every word and why it occurs where it does. Philo's hermeneutical approach to the Jewish scriptures only works if the Greek can be claimed to be inspired like the Hebrew and if it bears such a close resemblance to the Hebrew original.[32] He works hard in his report of the story to establish both of these claims.

Philo's primary goal, then, is not like that of the *Letter of Aristeas*, which offers a myth of origins that establishes the independence and sanctity of the Septuagint. Philo does not need to establish the translation's scriptural status; that is undoubtedly beyond question for him. In order for Philo to pursue his exegetical methods, he must go an additional step and argue that the form of the Septuagint constitutes an indispensable part of its claim to being scripture. I cannot say if this argument is part of some theological conflict to which Philo was responding, although I think it is possible. Philo's repeated insistence on the inspired nature of the textual-linguistic *form* of the Septuagint leads me to conclude that at the least he *has* to make the case in order to build a solid theological foundation for the kind of scriptural exegesis in which he is engaged.

4. Conclusion

The accounts of the translation of the Septuagint in both the *Letter of Aristeas* and Philo have traditionally occupied an important place in scholarly reconstructions of its origins. The interlinear paradigm, however, suggests that the versions of both the *Letter of Aristeas* and Philo have more to tell us about the fate of the Septuagint in times contemporary with those writers rather than with the translation's beginnings. What the interlinear paradigm requires is that to understand the nature of the Septuagint, its original function, and the social location of its origins, we are thrown back upon the translation itself with all the attendant difficulties that presents.

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[32] For similar conclusions, see Amir, "Authority and Interpretation of Scripture in the Writings of Philo," 440–44; Sandmel, *Philo of Alexandria*, 52; Ronald Williamson, *Jews in the Hellenistic World: Philo* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World, 200 BC to AD 200 1.2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 168–69.

Contemporary Translations of the Septuagint: Problems and Perspectives[*]

Wolfgang Kraus

There is "Septuagint" in the academic air! Unlike decades ago, more and more exegetes and historians are occupied with the Bible of Hellenistic Judaism and early Christianity, trying to determine the unique value of the Greek Bible and not merely to use it as a quarry of variants in the determination of the Hebrew text. One manifestation of this scholarly interest in the Septuagint are the numerous translation projects that have come into being in the last years all over the world. Besides projects in Greece, Italy, Spain, Israel, etc., the most important ones seem to be the French project La Bible d'Alexandrie, and the English project the New English Translation of the Septuagint. Since 1999 a German project has also been in process: the Septuaginta-deutsch.[1] In the following I would like to describe the scholarly position of the German project within the context of other translation projects and to give some hints of how we try to cope methodologically and practically with the tasks that lie before us.[2]

1. The Beginnings of the German Septuagint Project

The German Septuagint translation project has didactic origins. The beginnings go back to experiences I had when teaching students of theology at university. Besides the fact that only very few students were interested in seminars on Septuagint matters, three major factors can be differentiated that led to the inception of this project. First, there are the problems of language. Most of the students had real difficulties in translating the Greek of the Septuagint into German. Secondly, those coming from a Lutheran background sometimes were

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[*] In memoriam Jürgen Roloff (1930–2004).

[1] When I refer to "French," "English," and "German," I refer to the language of translation and not to the nationality of the collaborators.

[2] I am grateful to the participants of the conference on the Septuagint held at Bangor Theological Seminary, September 2002, for the stimulating discussions. I especially want to thank Albert Pietersma for the fruitful exchange we had leading up to that meeting.

not even aware that the so-called Apocrypha, which many thought to be of less value, were part of the Bible of ancient Christianity and are still part of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Bible.[3] Finally, in their Old Testament seminars the Septuagint was mainly consulted when text-critical problems arose, but it was not considered as a work with a value of its own. Students learned to appreciate the Old Testament as part of the Christian Bible, but for most of them "Old Testament" meant the Hebrew Bible and not the Septuagint.[4]

Of course there are not only didactic considerations for our translation. There are various matters for which our project could be helpful, not to speak of the scholarly value of Septuagint studies in itself. But the beginnings of our project go back to experiences in academic teaching (at university) and to the lack of awareness or even ignorance within our seminars, and we tried to keep this experience in mind when we made decisions concerning the specific aims of our work. So our first goal was and still is to improve the recognition of the Septuagint in academic settings.

2. Translating the Septuagint into Modern Languages

The most crucial problem when translating the Septuagint (LXX) into a modern language is the matter of how the LXX itself is dependent on, or better, related to, the Hebrew original—either the MT or a Proto-Masoretic form of the Hebrew text as for example in the fragments found in the Judean desert—and how this relation or dependency affects a translation project.[5]

Many differences between the Hebrew and Greek text are obvious even to a very superficial reader. As John Wevers has pointed out, the differences can have a variety of reasons:

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[3] On this particular problem see Nikolaus Walter, "'Bücher: So Nicht der Heiligen Schrift Gleich Gehalten …': Karlstadt, Luther—und die Folgen," in *Praeparatio evangelica Studien zur Umwelt, Exegese und Hermeneutik des Neuen Testaments* (ed. N. Walter, W. Kraus, and F. Wilk; WUNT 98; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 341–69.

[4] When I studied theology at university, the situation was not that different. Martin Karrer, my colleague from Wuppertal, had the very same kind of experiences, and as we have known each other for many years, we decided to embark on a joint venture in translating the Septuagint into German.

[5] Concerning the Greek fragments, cf. Emanuel Tov, "Greek Texts From the Judean Desert," *QC* (1999): 161–18; Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons, eds., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990); and Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Die griechischen Handschriften vom Toten Meer," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; BWA(N)T 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001): 131–53.

> (1) They "could theoretically be due to the translator's freedom in the translation process, i.e., the translator might simply be putting the general content of the source language into the target language, and therefore very little if anything could be inferred about the exact nature of the parent text." (2) "It must then be accepted as a truism that the texts of OG and LXX have textual significance, i.e., they can at times help one reach an earlier, and at times better, form of the Hebrew text than Masoretic Text." (3) And it is also clear, "that the terms of OG and LXX not only include different translations and translators, but also different conceptions of what the translation process consists of."[6]

So the first task of our work on the LXX is to do a linguistic analysis of the translated text in order to recognize what A. Pietersma calls "the textual-linguistic make-up"[7] and to see how the Greek text is related to the parent Hebrew text. Only this kind of textual-linguistic analysis enables us to see the dependencies and also the deviations between Hebrew and Greek text, and therefore it must not be neglected.

But beyond these possible reasons for differences between Hebrew text and LXX another question arises concerning the theological and cultural framework of the translators. And here the scholarly consensus is in question: Did the translators of the LXX try to render the Hebrew text into Greek as true to the original as possible, as Robert Hanhart, the famous LXX scholar from Göttingen, wrote?[8] Or is the LXX a form of independent Judeo-Hellenistic re-interpretation of the original text, as Hans Hübner, another scholar from Göttingen, claims.[9]

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[6] All three quotes are from John W. Wevers, "The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version," in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation* (ed. M. Saebo; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 1:91.

[7] Cf. his article in this volume p. 33–45.

[8] Robert Hanhart, "Septuaginta," in *Altes Testament* (ed. W. H. Schmidt, W. Thiel, and R. Hanhart; Grundkurs Theologie: Kohlhammer Urban-Taschenbücher 1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1989), 180f: "Die Initiative zur Übersetzung der Septuaginta liegt bei der jüdischen Gemeinde von Alexandria, insbesondere "in ihrem unaufgebbaren Verlangen, in einer Zeit fortschreitender Hellenisierung, des durch den Zwang der Verhältnisse gegebenen Verlustes der Sprache der Väter, durch die unverfälschte Bewahrung der Tradition Glaube, Bekenntnis und gottesdienstliche Handlung aufrecht zu erhalten. Der Beweis für diesen Ursprung der griechischen Thora liegt im Charakter des Übersetzungswerks, das jede hellenistische Neuinterpretation zu meiden sucht, sich gegenüber dem hebräischen Original treu verhält und so in der Tradition des hellenistischen Schrifttums als Fremdkörper erscheint." Cf. Nikolaus Walter, "Die Griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die Christliche 'Septuaginta' als Forschungs- und als Übersetzungsgegenstand," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, 82.

[9] Hans Hübner, "Vetus Testamentum und Vetus Testamentum in Novo Receptum: Die Frage nach dem Kanon des Alten Testaments aus Neutestamentlicher Sicht," *JBTH* 3 (1988): 147–62.

Nikolaus Walter, one of the co-editors of the German project, asks the question: Is the LXX in itself a witness of the hellenization of the Old Testament traditions or is the LXX only the preparation or the basis on which the hellenization of Judaism in the Diaspora came into being?[10] Albert Pietersma, the mentor of NETS, put it this way: Is the LXX a kind of translation that wants to replace the Hebrew text, or is it better understood as a kind of interlinear translation that wants to bring the reader to the Hebrew original?[11]

One may doubt whether these approaches are to be understood *exclusively*. I shall try to argue against that. In the scholarly debate one sometimes gets the impression that a certain exclusiveness occurs.[12] For me it is clear that the answer to this complex question cannot simply be yes or no. The answer may be found between the positions of Hanhart and Hübner. And it is also clear that the answer must take into account the diversity of the various books of the LXX and cannot be given for "the LXX" as a whole.[13]

On the topic of the LXX as translation, or interpretation, or both there are two facts we have to take into account which, in my view, are *complementary*: the one is that the LXX or at least most of the books is/are basically the translation of a Hebrew text; the second is that the living conditions of the translators and also theological ideas affected the result of the translation.[14] That

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[10] Cf. Walter, "Die griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die christliche 'Septuaginta,'" 82.

[11] Albert Pietersma, "Translating the Septuagint Psalms" (paper presented at the Septuagint conference at Penteli Monastery, Athens, 2001).

[12] Compare, e.g., R. Hanhart with H. Hübner.

[13] As I understand it, this is exactly what Albert Pietersma is trying to achieve with his plea for considering the "textual-linguistic make-up" of the Greek text and his "interlinear model". Cf. in this volume, p. 33–45. Arie van der Kooij states: "Für uns heute gilt es, die Frage der Theologie der LXX vorsichtiger, differenzierter, detaillierter und zuerst für jedes einzelne LXX-Buch herauszuarbeiten" (Arie van der Kooij, "Zur Theologie des Jesajabuches in der Septuaginta," in *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* [ed. H. Reventlow; Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 11; Gütersloh: Chr. Kaiser, 1997], 10).

[14] This opinion is clearly spelled out by Walter, "Die griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die christliche 'Septuaginta,'" 84: "Denn wenn auch … im Ernst nicht daran gezweifelt werden kann, dass es die primäre Absicht der Übersetzer war, den heiligen Text in einer sinngetreuen Weise griechisch wiederzugeben, so ist es doch undenkbar, dass dabei eben alle jene Lebensbedingungen, unter denen die Übersetzung vonstatten ging, keinerlei Einfluss auf das Ergebnis ausgeübt haben sollten." Arie van der Kooij argues "that the translators of the Greek Bible are to be seen as belonging to the circles of learned scribes in early Judaism, which implies that not only the living conditions but also particular ideas about the reading and interpretation of the Hebrew text may have affected the translation" (Arie van der Kooij letter to the author, 6 May 2003; cf. his *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* [VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 112–23).

is to say that in the translation process the translators created a new entity, and this new entity—although they may primarily not have intended it—formed the basis for a religious identity.[15] In other words, when translating the Hebrew text into Greek, the translators simply could not avoid creating the basis for what we might call a Judeo-Hellenistic identity.[16] The difficult question we are dealing with is how to sort out translation from interpretation, and there is probably not just one answer for the individual books of the LXX.[17]

3. Two Approaches to the Septuagint: La Bible d'Alexandrie and The New English Translation of the Septuagint

In the present discussion of this issue we should have a look at two current translation projects: the French La Bible d'Alexandrie and the English NETS. Helmut Utzschneider has published an article of fundamental significance for this question.[18] He took up a distinction made by Marguerite Harl in a programmatic article, written at the outset of BdA. She differentiates between two possible perspectives on how to translate the LXX into a modern language.[19]

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[15] This is basically agreed by Robert Hanhart, "Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta für die Definition des 'Hellenistischen Judentums,'" in *Congress Volume Jerusalem, 1986* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 71–72.

[16] Albert Pietersma emphasizes that a distinction must be made between the exegetical "potential" of the translated text and the exegetical "realization" of that potential. "That is to say between what can be attributed to the text from a historical-critical perspective and what is later made of that text" (Albert Pietersma letter to the author, 23 August 2002.). I fully agree with that. At this point I'm only speaking of the "potential" of the text itself. And I would like to show that already in the translation process new "potentials" came into being. On the other hand, I want to emphasize that I do not agree with Georg Bertram who stated that Hellenistic Judaism created a certain form of piety expressed in the LXX (*Septuagintafrömmigkeit*), a piety which even stood in a certain contradiction to Judaism. Cf. Georg Bertram, "Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit," *RGG* 5:1707–9; and idem, "Vom Wesen der Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit," *WO* (1954–1959): 274–84. But I am indeed convinced that the LXX is a document in its own right and a witness to ancient Jewish thought in the Diaspora.

[17] "Der Streit geht vor allem um die genaue Bestimmung von Übersetzen und Interpretieren, und es dürfte gewiss nicht pauschal für alle Einzelschriften der Septuaginta in der gleichen Weise entschieden werden können." (Walter, "Die griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die christliche 'Septuaginta,'" 85).

[18] Helmut Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text: Überlegungen zum Wissenschaftlichen Standort einer Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Deutsche," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel*, 11–50. Helmut Utzschneider is another co-editor of the German project, and responsible especially for the minor prophets.

[19] Marguerite Harl, "Traduire la Septante en Français: Pourquoi et Comment?," in *La Langue de Japhet: Quinze Études sur la Septante et le Grec des Chrétiens* (ed. M. Harl;

The one is what she calls *amont* (upstream), and the other she calls *aval* (downstream).

The upstream perspective is mainly interested (1) in the translator of the Hebrew text and how that person understood the extant Hebrew original, (2) in the reconstruction of the translation techniques, and (3) in the question of the text-critical use of the LXX. What conclusions are to be drawn from the translation process of the Hebrew source into the OG and what conclusions can be inferred concerning the Hebrew text itself?

In the downstream perspective, on the other hand, the interest is concentrated on the Greek Bible as a work that stands on its own—in M. Harl's words "un oeuvre autonome, détachée de son modèle," an autonomous work, detached from its parent text.[20] The interest therefore is not concentrated on the translator and what he might have thought, but on the readers and their understanding of the translated text.

In Helmut Utzschneider's opinion the upstream perspective is preferred by most scholars. He characterizes this perspective as diachronic and translator oriented whereas the downstream perspective is synchronic and reader oriented.[21] According to Utzschneider the NETS project is committed to the upstream perspective, whereas the downstream perspective is found in BdA.[22] I shall try to argue that for both projects this is only part of the truth.

Although the collaborators of BdA are aware of the problem, one has to admit that the primary concern of the first volumes of BdA is indeed not focused on the relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek text. The LXX is understood as literary work on its own: "un oeuvre littéraire au sens plein du term".[23] The Greek text has to be translated with the question in mind: How did the reader of that time—who did not know Hebrew—understand the text? This

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Paris: Cerf, 1992), 33–42. The article appeared for the first time in 1984. It was significant for the first volumes of BdA.

[20] Ibid., 36.

[21] Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text," 15. Cf. Albert Pietersma, *Translation Manual for "A New English Translation of the Septuagint" (*NETS*)* (Ada: Uncial Books, 1996), 32: "… the IOSCS has decided to translate the Septuagint, not in the first instance as its reading public would have read it, but rather as the ancient translators themselves presumably understood and intended it." Cf. also, Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), vii–xvii.

[22] Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text," 16–19.

[23] Harl, "Traduire la Septante en Français," 33, cf. M. Harl, "La Genese," in *La Bible d'Alexandrie*, Paris: Cerf 1986 (2d ed. 1994), 25. "Nous ne sommes pas des spécialistes du texte bibliques. Si nous maintenons un choix des notes sur les différences entre le grec et l'hébreu, c'est surtout pour situer les points d'ancrage d'exégèses, juives et, plus encore chrétiennes …."

is the main concern. According to the above mentioned article by M. Harl the Hebraisms of the LXX are to be translated primarily without consideration of the Hebrew text, but just as the readers might have understood them.[24]

The volumes of BdA that have appeared in the meantime are impressive. The disposition of the translation is primarily oriented toward the Greek text. There are thematic headings for the several sections of a chapter derived from the Greek line of thought. Much attention is paid to the reception history of the text especially in the ancient church and in the ancient Jewish tradition, but there are also remarks on the Hebrew text or the supposed *Vorlage* of the text. Thus the practice of translation does not exactly follow the theoretical concept of the early article by M. Harl. As far as I can see there has been a shift in the conception of BdA. The textual notes of the recent volumes of BdA are real treasure troves *both* for the reception history *and* for the comparison of the LXX and the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

If we look at the NETS project, the concept seems to be quite different compared to BdA. Following the General Instruction the LXX is to be considered as "a Greek interlinear translation of a Hebrew original."[25] The aim of the LXX translators was to bring the reader close to the Hebrew original rather than to bring the Hebrew original to the Greek speaking reader. According to NETS the relation of the Greek to the Hebrew text has to play a prominent role. In consequence the practical aim of the NETS project is to serve the study of the Hebrew original.[26] On the other hand, the "interlinear model" allows a great variety of reasons for differences between Hebrew and Greek text. A. Pietersma also concedes:

> If translating is indeed interpreting and not simply reproducing as semanticists insist it is, a Greek interpretation of a Hebrew original can be expected to reflect what the translator understood the Hebrew text to mean.… Clearly at this particular point we can properly speak of the independence of the Greek text vis-à-vis the Hebrew, albeit an independence of the Greek text that is circumscribed and relative.[27]

With these remarks the outlines of two major contemporary LXX projects are summarized. In my view both projects hold on to a substantially relevant aspect of the character of the Septuagint. Not exclusiveness in the methodological

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[24] Harl, "Traduire la Septante en Français," 37: "Par principe nous ne practiquerons pas ce recours à l'hébreu pour établir notre traduction."

[25] Pietersma and Wright, "General Introduction: To the Reader of NETS," ix.

[26] "… the users of such a translation should be able to utilize it to the greatest possible extent in a comparative study of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles." Pietersma, *Translation manual for "NETS,"* 29. This is also the reason why NETS uses the NRSV as a basis for the translation of the LXX.

[27] Ibid., 32.

approach but *complementarity* is the relation in which they have to be looked upon.

4. Translating the Septuagint "auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text"

Where does the German project take its position when dealing with the aforementioned problems? In brief I would say that the original translators of the LXX wanted to mediate between the tradition and the contemporary situation. This includes a relation to the *Vorlage* as well as the possibility of conscious modifications and attempts to bring things up-to-date.[28] That is to say our primary perspective is neither *amont* nor *aval* but is to translate "auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text"—the text in its present outlook.[29]

I will give four reasons why I think this approach is appropriate; four aspects that show, when taken together, that we find both: at time a very close relationship to the Hebrew and also a freedom to make deliberate modifications.

4.1 The "plot"

It depends on the thematic structure whether or not a text is to be looked upon as a literary unit of its own. Narrative analysts of texts speak of the "plot" of a story. As H. Utzschneider in his translation of LXX Micah has pointed out, the thematic structure of LXX Micah significantly differs from the Hebrew parent text.[30] He distinguishes three categories that enable us to speak of a specific plot in a literary text: (1) the sequence of scenes or speech units and the characters that happen to be present in these units; (2) signals at the sentence level of the text, such as the tenses, the sentence types, the limits of sentences, and the formulas that structure the text;[31] and (3) thematic words or groups of words that serve as 'leitmotivs' or groups that show an independent thematic structure by pointing backwards and forwards within the text.[32]

In his work on Micah, H. Utzschneider has shown in several text units that the LXX establishes independent plots, and this in short passages (e.g., Mic 1:6–

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[28] If *mediation* between tradition and situation was indeed a major concern in the making of the LXX, conscious modifications and actualizations could not be avoided.

[29] Here I have tried to adopt the formulation of Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text," 11–50. Of course in the progress of our analysis we have to ask questions belonging to the *amont* or to the *aval* perspectives.

[30] It is important to note that Utzschneider analyzed the whole text of Micah and not only a few portions.

[31] "Satzarten," "Satzgrenzen," "textgliedernde Formeln" (Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text," 34).

[32] "Die LXX [schafft] mithilfe von thematischen Leitworten und Leitwortgruppen Vor- und Rückverweise im Text und damit auch eigenständige thematische Strukturen" (Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text," 35).

8, or 7:1–6), in longer ones (Mic 1:6–2:5), and also over the whole book. He consequently urges those working with the text to look at LXX Micah, in this respect, as an independent literary work, and this *not although* but *rather because* LXX Micah is a translation of a Hebrew text. The comparison with the MT—although not necessarily the parent text of LXX Micah—enables us to recognize the literary independency of the plot in LXX Micah.

If we look, e.g., at Mic 1:6–8 and then Mic 1:10–15, the following points are to be seen:

(1) In the MT we have a change of the characters acting between vv. 7 and 8. In v. 7 the feminine singular suffix points to Samaria. In v. 8 there is a new speaker, the mourning prophet, acting in a symbolic action. In the LXX we do not have any change of person. Samaria is also spoken of in v. 8 where the city is mourning about her future fate. God speaks in vv. 6–9. Verse 10 and the following text (the poem of cities) is connected to that.

(2) In the MT eleven cities from the surrounding areas of Jerusalem are mentioned. Combined with a paronomastic use of the names of the cities the coming catastrophe is outlined. In the LXX we have only five cities. In vv. 10–12 the destruction of Akim and Senaan is proclaimed, false hope is destroyed, and elements of mourning are missing. In vv. 13–15 Lachisch is mentioned as the archbetrayer from the beginning. This is a reference to Josh 10:34f. in the LXX but not in the MT.

So, as Utzschneider concludes, in LXX Micah another proclamation of crisis, vv. 10–15, is added to the proclamation of the crisis in vv. 6–9.

4.2 Intended enculturation to the milieu or the social environment of the target language

Martin Rösel in his article in the Festschrift dedicated to Adrian Schenker dealt with the book of Numbers especially with interpretations in, and the attempts to update the area of, cultic technical terms and concepts.[33] Rösel emphasizes the double dependency of the translator (1) on the Hebrew parent text, and (2) on patterns of the translations of Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, that is, on the Alexandrian translation tradition. Several examples are given to show how translation and interpretation are interwoven: harmonizations, updates, and modifications of the content. One example for each of them follows:

(1) Harmonizations: to remove contradictions found in the Hebrew Pentateuch, the translator tries to harmonize differing details. Thus the list in Num 1 is

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[33] Martin Rösel, "Die Septuaginta und der Kult: Interpretationen und Aktualisierungen im Buch Numeri," in *La double transmission du texte biblique: Études d'histoire du texte offertes en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (OBO 179; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 2001), 25–40. Martin Rösel is another co-editor of the German project, responsible especially for the Pentateuch.

harmonized with the details in Gen 35:22–26 and in Gen 49 against the Hebrew text of Num 1.[34]

(2) Updates: these are found, for example, in the translation of אהל, "tent, with οἰκία, "house," and the translation of משפחה, "kinship, family, tribe," with δῆμος, "people, group of citizens," which does not mean family or kinship but ethnic group, just as the Jews in the Diaspora were looked upon.[35]

(3) Modifications: in Num 3:9–10 the function of the Levites is minimized compared to the Hebrew text. The same thing occurs in Num 18:8ff. On the other hand the role of Aaron is emphasized in the book of Numbers.[36]

Concerning foreign cults: the Hebrew מזבח for "altar" is translated with Greek θυσιαστήριον, and this word is only used for legitimate altars. All the other altars in the Pentateuch are called βωμοί. There is only one instance in the Pentateuch in Exod 34:13 where θυσιαστήριον is used for a heathen altar as a translation for מזבח, but it is an altar that has to be destroyed.

The LXX of Numbers avoids anthropomorphic expressions of the Hebrew text for God. For example LXX Num 12:8 speaks of the δόξα θεοῦ (glory of God), whereas the Hebrew text refers to the תמנה, "appearance" or "shape." In Num 23:19 the LXX translates לא איש אל, "God is not a man," with οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός, "God is not like man." In Num 11:1 and 18 people are speaking באזני יהוה, "in the ears of the Lord," but the LXX translates it with ἔναντι κυρίου, "before the Lord." In Num 11:1 the Hebrew speaks of אש יהוה, "the fire of the Lord," and the LXX translates it with πῦρ παρὰ κυρίου, "fire from the Lord."

These examples highlight the twofold relationship of the translator both to the Hebrew parent text and to the tradition of translation in the Alexandrian milieu. These both constitute the frame in which the translator worked. Thus this form of the reception of the biblical text created new traditions. The aim of the translator of Numbers was to formulate in a new language what the true Mosaic religion was as opposed to false religion.[37]

4.3 The intended shift of theological conceptions in biblical books

In his article about the interpretative character and significance of the LXX John Wevers draws the attention to the length of biblical books where there is a great difference between MT and LXX. Concerning the book of Esther the LXX version is more than two times longer than the MT. He regards these pluses as "haggadic amplifications of the story".[38] But this is only the outer appearance. Wevers says that these pluses "also change the book from a secular story to one in which

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[34] Ibid., 30 (in accordance with G. Dorival).
[35] Ibid., 31.
[36] Ibid., 33, with examples concerning the role of Aaron.
[37] Ibid., 39–40.
[38] Wevers, "Interpretative Character and Significance," 88.

God's direction of world affairs to the benefit of his people is emphasized; in fact only in section B God is not referred to. It is obvious that the extended Greek version made it easier to regard the book as a canonical text."[39] In the book of Job we find the opposite: the Greek Job is only five sixths the length of the Hebrew Job. For most scholars the shorter text of Job is not based on a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* but is something like an abridged text for the Greek reader.[40]

4.4 Intended modifications concerning theological topics

Here I will give two thematic aspects: (4.4.1) Israel and the nations, and (4.4.2) the temple in Ezek 40–48.

4.4.1 Israel and the nations

There is great diversity in the approach of the Old Testament to the issue of Israel and the nations. On the one hand, we have texts that favor a total separation of both entities: Israel and the nations (especially in parts of the Deuteronomistic literature). And on the other hand, there are texts in which the concept of the people of God is at least modified, if not suspended (especially in parts of the prophetic literature).[41] How do the LXX translators deal with that issue? Is there any influence from the situation in the Diaspora on the translation process? I will give a few examples of such influence from a wide range of texts.

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[39] Ibid., 88. The Greek text of the book of Jeremiah is much shorter than the MT, but in this case the Hebrew *Vorlage* was shorter, and the LXX Jeremiah reflects a stage in the history of the Hebrew text earlier than the text we now have in the *BHS*.

[40] Markus Witte, who is working on the book of Job in the German project, is convinced that the textual situation in Job is more complicated. On the one hand, there is some evidence that the translators of Job had a Proto-MT, which was shorter than the MT of Job. See also on this issue Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSt 9; Münster: LIT, 2001), 70–71. On the other hand, according to Witte there is evidence that the translators left out or paraphrased verses that were already corrupted in the Hebrew *Vorlage*, or they substituted them by formulae from earlier passages of Job (Markus Witte to the author, 9 January 2003.).

[41] On this problem see Horst D. Preuß, *Theologie des Alten Testaments* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1992), 2:305–27; Wolfgang Kraus, *Das Volk Gottes: Zur Grundlegung der Ekklesiologie bei Paulus* (WUNT 85; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 12–44, 45–110. For the early Jewish tradition see Louis H. Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World: Attitudes and Interactions from Alexander to Justinian* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

(a) Psalm 47:10

In the Hebrew text of Ps 47:10 we read

נדיבי עמים נאספו עם אלהי אברהם

> The leaders of the nations are gathered together as the people of the God of
> Abraham.

The LXX translator did not read עַם אלהי אברהם, "the people of the God of
Abraham," but עִם, μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ’Αβραάμ, "together with the God of Abraham."
Is it a correction or is merely a different vocalization? The translator might have
read עִם, "together with," instead of עַם, "people," but as Jörg Jeremias has
pointed out,[42] outside of this passage the Hebrew אסף is always constructed with
אל, על, or ל, and never with עִם. So it is possible that the translator intended to
avoid the notion that the nations are gathered as the people of the God of
Abraham. But this was indeed what the author of Ps 47 wanted to say, that the
leaders of the nations would leave their gods behind and come to the one true
God, the God of Abraham, and would be the people of that God.

(b) Isaiah 19:16–25

The second example comes from Isa 19.[43] In vv. 16–25 we have one of the most
extraordinary texts in the Hebrew Bible concerning the relationship of Israel to
the nations.
     In v. 21 the prophet speaks of the revelation of God to the Egyptians. Then
they will accept the Lord as their God. There will be a legitimate altar in Egypt
to offer to the Lord. But the strongest notion is to be found in v. 25. The concept

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[42] Jörg Jeremias, *Das Königtum Gottes in den Psalmen Israels: Begegnung mit dem
kanaanäischen Mythos in den Jahwe-König-Psalmen* (FRLANT 141; Göttingen: Vanden-
hoeck & Ruprecht, 1987).

[43] The text is well known and has often been debated. On LXX Isaiah see Joseph Ziegler,
Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias (ATA 12,3; Münster:
Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934); Isaac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint
Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (trans. E. van Loo; Mededelingen en
verhandelingen 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948); Arie van der Kooij, "Zur Theologie des Jesaja-
buches in der Septuaginta," 9–25; and David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home:
Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66* (JSOTSup 318; The Hebrew Bible and Its
Versions 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 215–17. Since the works of Ziegler
and Seeligmann it has been agreed that the character of LXX Isaiah is that of a rather free
translation. According to Ziegler, Seeligmann, and others, it has to be supposed that the
translators of LXX Isaiah had a *Vorlage* very close to the MT. Cf. also on this topic, Arie
van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte
des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1981), 23–32.
Robert Hanhart also discussed the text in his article, "Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta,"
74–76, but the conclusions he draws are different.

of the people of God is modified so that that the prophet speaks of Egypt and Assyria as עמי מצרים ומעשה ידי אשור, "my people Egypt and the work of my hands Assyria." According to v. 24 there will be a threefold coalition between Assyria, Egypt, and Israel "on that day."

The LXX translates the altar in v. 19 with θυσιαστήριον, so it is a legitimate altar also for the LXX translator.[44] In the LXX it is also prophesied that the Egyptians will turn to the Lord. In v. 25, however, there is a great difference between the Hebrew and the Greek texts where the translator did not read עמי מצרים ומעשה ידו אשור, "my people Egypt and the work of my hands Assyria," but read εὐλογημένος ὁ λαός μου ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἀσσυρίοις, "blessed be my people in Egypt and in Assyria." This may be due to v. 18 where there could be a reference to the Jews in the Diaspora. Regardless of the connection to v. 18, in v. 25 we have an intended reduction of the prophetic announcement. The translator of Isaiah does not think of the Egyptians or Assyrians as of the people of God, but he restricts the expression to those belonging to the people of God in Egypt or in Assyria, and that means he had the Jews of the Diaspora in mind.[45]

(c) Isaiah 66:18–24

We find a similar example in Isa 66. According to v. 19 (MT) the nations will be missionaries for the God of Israel. According to v. 20 they will bring home the brethren of Israel who are spread out in the Diaspora. In v. 21 the Hebrew text is not quite clear. From what group of people should the priests and the Levites be taken: from the returning Israelites or from the nations? To me it seems likely that the prophet thought of the nations, not only because the grammatical subjects in vv. 19 and 20 are the heathen missionaries each time, but because

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[44] This may be due to the fact that, according to van der Kooij, LXX Isaiah originates from Leontopolis, where there was in the time 160 B.C.E. to 73/4 C.E. a second Jewish temple. On this problem see van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches*, 60–63.

[45] Cf. on this point, Hanhart, "Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta," 74–75. In Hanhart's opinion this kind of actualization—which means reduction or modification of the prophetic line of thought—was the only way to preserve the prophetic hope in a Ptolemaic context (p. 75). On vv. 24–25 in the LXX version see Seeligmann, *Septuagint Version of Isaiah*, 117. In the Targum we find: "In that time Israel will be a third with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, a blessing in the midst of the earth, whom the LORD of hosts has blessed, saying: 'Blessed are my people whom I brought forth from Egypt; because they sinned before me I exiled them to Assyria, and now that they repent they are called my people and my heritage.'" Bruce Chilton, *The Isaiah Targum: Introduction, Translation, Apparatus and Notes* (ArBib 11; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987), 39; cf. John Frederick Stenning, *The Targum of Isaiah* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1949). L. Wilson, "In That Day," *Int* 22 (1967): 83, points to the fact that, concerning vv. 23–25, 1QIsa is in full accordance with the MT.

v. 21 starts with a וְגַם מֵהֶם אֶקַּח, "and also from them I will take," which is strongly emphasized.

If we look at the LXX, there is an alteration in v. 20. The translator changes the idea that the representatives of the nations would bring the sons of Israel as an offering in pure vessels—in analogy to the offerings which the Israelites fulfill. In the LXX the bring them μετὰ ψαλμῶν (with psalms).[46] Concerning the group from which priests and Levites are taken, the LXX is rather clear in my opinion: v. 21a refers to v. 20b, but the Hebrew וְגַם is only translated by καί, so the emphasis has gone. The subject in v. 20b is the υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ; that means that the priests and Levites would be taken from the returning Israelites.

(d) Isaiah 56:3–8

The last example comes from Isa 56. In vv. 3–8 the Hebrew text says that there will be the possibility for foreigners (בְּנֵי־הַנֵּכָר) and for eunuchs (הַסָּרִיסִים) to become members of the people of God. They will get an everlasting name (יָד וָשֵׁם) in the congregation of the Lord through the Lord himself. The question of whether or not a person can be a full member of the congregation of the Lord will not depend on genealogy any more but on the commitment to the Lord's commands. Foreigners and eunuchs may take part in the temple service. The text stands in direct contradiction to the statements in Deut 23 and obviously contradicts Ezra 9–10 and Neh 9–10 and 13. The differentiation between Israel and the non-Israelites will be suspended. This is nothing but an abrogation of the statement in Deut 23:2–9.[47] It has to be emphasized that the Hebrew text does not speak of proselytes (גֵּרִים) but of בְּנֵי־הַנֵּכָר, i.e., foreigners.[48]

Let's look at the LXX. In vv. 3 and 6 the LXX Isaiah speaks of ὁ ἀλλογενὴς ὁ προσκείμενος πρὸς κύριον / οἱ ἀλλογενεῖς οἱ προσκειμένοι κυρίῳ. The expression οἱ προσκειμένοι κυρίῳ is also used to denote proselytes (cf. *Jos. Asen.* 15:7; 16:14, *v. Jos. Asen.* 22:13). It is highly probable that the LXX understands the

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[46] Cf. Baer, *When We All Go Home*, 247–76, esp. 247–48.

[47] In 2 Chronicles 5:6 we read: καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων καὶ πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγὴ Ἰσραηλ καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐπισυνηγμένοι αὐτῶν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς κιβωτοῦ θύοντες μόσχους καὶ πρόβατα. This text stands in a certain contradiction to Deut 23:2–9. Who are the φοβούμενοι? Could they be "Godfearers"? According to Louis H. Feldman, "The Omnipresence of the God-Fearers," *BAR* 12 (1986): 59, 63, "Godfearer" as a technical term occurs from the third century C.E. on. This seems to me a very late date. For discussion see Folker Siegert, "Gottesfürchtige und Sympathisanten," *JSJ* 4 (1973): 162–63.

[48] For discussion see Herbert Donner, "Jesaja 56:1–7: Ein Abrogationsfall innerhalb des Kanons. Implikationen und Konsequenzen," in *Congress Volume: Salamanca, 1983* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 81–95, esp. 88, 92, and 94. In Mal 2:13–16; Isa 23:17–18; Ezek 20:25 we do not have the same problem as in Isa 56 (Donner, "Jesaja 56:1–7," 92ff.). See also Kraus, *Das Volk Gottes*, 19–22.

foreigners as proselytes,[49] which would be less extraordinary than in the Hebrew text.[50]

Concerning the other terms used in Deut 23:2 and Isa 56:3, the LXX follows to the Hebrew text. In Isa 56:3 the LXX reads ὁ εὐνοῦχος for הסריס; and in LXX Deut 23 we have θλαδίας καὶ ἀποκεκομμένος for פצוע־דכא וכרות שפכה.

4.4.2 The temple in Ezekiel 40–48

Michael Konkel, one of our translators of the book of Ezekiel, delivered a paper on the use of architectural terms in Ezek 40–48.[51] He observed that concerning several important facilities of the temple in Ezek 40–48 the LXX differs from the MT. I shall give some examples:

> (1) The LXX has three different terms for "wall" (τοῖχος, περίβολος, προτείχισμα), whereas the MT only uses חומה.
>
> (2) The gateways in Ezek 40:14f. and 19 have, differently to the Hebrew text, an αἴθριον, a term typical for the architecture of houses in Egypt. The term αἴθριον is not an adoption from the Latin *atrium* but comes from the Greek adjective αἴθριος, which means "light, clear" with reference to the sky. Most instances where αἴθριον occurs belong to the Roman-Byzantine period. Only once it occurs in an earlier text, namely in one of the Zenon papyri.
>
> (3) An αἴθριον is usually surrounded by a peristyle. And consequently, in LXX Ezekiel περίστυλον occurs, whereas in the MT only plasters (רצפה) but no peristyle are mentioned.
>
> (4) In Ezek 40:18 a στοά is part of the temple, which is not spoken of in the MT.

Michael Konkel did not want to decide finally whether or not the whole concept of the temple in LXX Ezekiel differs from that in the MT. Such a decision deserves more investigation. But concerning the architectural terms and also the concept of courts, gateways, rooms for priests around the αἴθριον, and the παστοφόρια, influence from Hellenistic architecture seems to have had an effect.

Maybe we can go one step further than M. Konkel does when the following is taken into consideration. One term Konkel did not deal with in his paper is

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[49] Cf. Christoph Burchard, trans., *Joseph und Aseneth* (JSHRZ 2.4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1983), 676 n. f.

[50] The נכר or נכרי means the ἀλλογενής/ἀλλότριος or the ἀλλόφυλος/ἀλλότριος. In most instances the LXX translates נכרי with ἀλλότριος (35*x*) or ξένος (5*x*), whereas נכר with ἀλλότριος (24*x*) or ἀλλογενής (9*x*).

[51] Michael Konkel, "Zur Architekturterminologie in Ezekiel 40–48LXX," paper delivered at the annual meeting of the German translation project, Fulda 2002.

ἱλαστήριον. For ἱλαστήριον we have twenty-eight occurrences in the Bible. The most debated one is surely 4 Macc 4:21, but this one is not relevant for us now.[52]

In the Pentateuch twenty-one of the overall twenty-eight instances occur. Here ἱλαστήριον always stands for כפרת, "mercy seat." In Amos 9:11 the Hebrew כפתור is translated in several MSS (namely B and W, and the recensions L and C) with ἱλαστήριον. Maybe it is a misreading. But more probable it is a term to denote not the כפרת itself, but the place where atonement is performed (MSS A and Q read θυσιαστήριον instead of ἱλαστήριον).[53]

The remaining instances are found in Ezek 43 at vv. 14 (3*x*), 17, and 20.[54] Here, ἱλαστήριον is the translation of עזרה, which means the base or corpus of the altar. This altar stands in the geometrical center of the whole temple area.[55] In the other biblical occurrences of עזרה the LXX translators use αὐλή, ἱερόν, and περιβολή. However, Ezek 43:14 differentiates between τὸ ἱλαστήριον τὸ μικρόν and τὸ ἱλαστήριον τὸ μέγα. The altar is built like a ziqqurat,[56] and the ἱλαστήριον is the place where the sacrificial blood is applied. In my opinion, the translation of עזרה by ἱλαστήριον has conceptual significance. Already in the Hebrew text of Ezekiel the concept of the temple differs from the one in the book of Exodus.[57] The great altar forms the center of the whole area. LXX Ezekiel goes one step further: in times when the original ἱλαστήριον, the כפרת, is no longer at hand, the altar in the center of the temple becomes the new ἱλαστήριον, the place where atonement is performed.

These examples may suffice to show that translation and interpretation cannot be separated, but are rather mingled in the LXX. And these examples bring me to the conclusion that the LXX is in the first instance a translation, but it is more. The translators wanted to mediate between the tradition and the contemporary situation. This includes modifications and updates.

I am therefore convinced that our approach in the German project to the translation work has to take the text as it is in its present outlook. We do not want to negate other possible perspectives such as taking the LXX as a means to achieve earlier variants for the MT, or as to be primarily interested in the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the LXX.

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[52] On the lexicographical problem of ἱλαστήριον, see Wolfgang Kraus, *Der Tod Jesu als Heiligtumsweihe: Eine Untersuchung zum Umfeld der Sühnevorstellung in Römer 3:25–26a* (WMANT 66; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), 21–41.

[53] If ἱλαστήριον is the original reading, then the center of the cult is the focus.

[54] See Michael Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen: Studien zur zweiten Tempelvision Ezechiels (Ez 40–48)* (BBB 129; Berlin: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 2001), 82–93.

[55] Konkel, *Architektonik des Heiligen*, 366. See the drawing in Hans Peter Rüger, "Tempel," *BHH* 3:1943 f.

[56] See the drawings in Konkel, *Architekonik des Heiligen*, 369–70.

[57] Ibid., 369.

Consequently we do not favor the opinion that the LXX is basically an *oeuvre littéraire, détachée de sons modèle.*[58] Every reader in the first centuries of its existence realized that the LXX was a translation. The relation to the Hebrew text has always been recognized. So we do not find that the perspective *aval* (downstream) alone is sufficient. Nor do we favor the opinion that the LXX wanted to be a guardian of the undistorted tradition in a time of ongoing hellenization, because the texts I have mentioned point in another direction.[59] So also the perspective *amont* (upstream) is one-sided.

5. The Aims of Our German Project

Despite the importance of the LXX for theology, ancient history, Judaic studies, cultural history, etc., the LXX does not have the recognition it ought to have. What we want to help to achieve is a change in this lack of recognition. We are confident that the translation of the Septuagint will attract a wide range of interests and not only from theologians.

– Besides helping students of theology, the translation of the LXX can also provide help for students of ancient history, philosophy, history of religion, and philology.

– For a long time the LXX has not been appreciated by many students who study Greek, because the Greek of the LXX is said to be of inferior quality compared to the Greek of Plato and other classics. A translation could be a good starting point to consider the LXX seriously.

– The translation of the LXX will also be helpful for ecumenical talks. It will be helpful for the members of the western churches, because they will be able to read the Bible of the Orthodox Churches. Moreover the translation of the LXX can also be of use for those members of Orthodox Churches in Germany who are not able to read their own Bible anymore and therefore need a translation.

– The LXX translation will also be helpful in the Christian-Jewish dialogue, because the LXX is, just like the Hebrew text, a common basis for Jews and Christians. It has to be emphasized that the LXX is in its origins a Jewish work and not a Christian one.

So how can we achieve these aims? This brings me to my final section:

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[58] This was the tenor of the programmatic article by Marguerite Harl, "La Septante et la Pluralité Textuelle des Écritures: Le Témoignage des Pères Grecs," in *Naissance de la méthode critique* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 231–43.

[59] It was Robert Hanhart who wrote that the LXX predominantly tries to be true to the Hebrew original and avoids Hellenistic reinterpretations (Hanhart, "Septuaginta," 180–81.).

6. Details Concerning the Outlook of the German Translation Project

Let me touch on some questions concerning the focus of our project in order to show how we try to stay within our theoretical framework. We are a group of about eighty-five people. Besides two editors-in-chief we have nine co-editors, who are responsible for particular parts of the LXX, such as Pentateuch, Dodecapropheton, Psalms, poetical books, etc. We have both Protestant and Catholic members. We are some seventy translators (male and female) and usually two translators are in charge of each book of the LXX. In most cases one of the translators comes from an Old Testament and one from a New Testament background. Larger books such as Isaiah and Ezekiel are divided into portions. Each grouping of translators (Pentateuch, Dodecapropheton, etc.) has a consulting "Fachberater" (expert advisor) for special Greek matters. And we have more of those experts for special aspects such as problems of ancient history, Judaic studies, German language studies, etc. For issues concerning the Orthodox tradition we have two counseling experts for Christian Orthodox Theology.

6.1 General outlines

We have planned two volumes: one with the translation, and one with annotations, both of about the same size. Besides the translation itself the translation volume will contain several kinds of remarks or footnotes:

> – There will be textual annotations where LXX and MT differ. This will be done only by italicizing the portion of the translation where the differences occur. If the MT has a portion of text which the LXX omits, we will have a plus sign (+) in the translation. More information in detail will be provided in the accompanying volume.

> – There will be footnotes with remarks on relevant text critical variants, but the stress is on "relevant."

> – There will also be footnotes with remarks on alternative possibilities of translation.

The footnotes of the translation volume will be limited to about 10% of each page. There will be a brief introduction to every Biblical book.

Chapter and verse differences between Hebrew and Greek will be mentioned. The counting of psalms, chapters, and verses will be that of the LXX, the other will stand in brackets. In books where there is no extant Hebrew text, but the Latin text of the Vulgate differs in counting, we will give the Vulgate's counting in brackets.

The supposed readers of our translation are the students previously mentioned, interested people from other disciplines, people who are interested in Jewish or Christian history, and lay people. The translation volume can be used

without any knowledge of Greek or Hebrew. We will not use Hebrew or Greek characters in the translation volume.

The translation will be literal, but we want to achieve an intelligible and reliable translation. We discussed whether we should use an extant German translation, e.g., the *Elberfelder Bibel*, which is very close to the Hebrew text, as a so called translation guide (*Leitübersetzung*) for our translation, but this was rejected. The main reason for the rejection of a translation guide is the peculiarity of the LXX. By using a translation guide the peculiarities of the LXX would be neglected.

In consequence I must concede that the question of a internally concordant translation is still a problem. We established lists with the intention of translating certain terms consistently, but we found out that it will not be possible to render terms consistently throughout the whole LXX. A similar problem is the transliteration of proper names and toponymy: as a general guide we have decided to transcribe the Greek form of names and places. In a certain number of well-known names and places, we will give the well-known form. That means we will read "Egypt" (Ägypten) and not "Aigyptos." The same applies for Antioch, Damascus, Gilgal, etc. We also have established a small list of well-known proper names such as Abram/Abraham, David, Elijah, Elisha, etc.

6.2 The "Begleitband" (Accompanying Volume)

The second volume will be, as we call it, a *Begleitband* (accompanying volume). It will contain an introduction to the books of the LXX, scholarly explanations for special translation issues, remarks on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the texts, etc. Every footnote in the translation volume will be explained in the companion volume in a more detailed way. Its supposed readers will mainly be students and scholars. We also hope that it will encourage the scholarly discussion of the LXX.

6.3 The textual basis of our project

The textual basis for our translation will be the Göttingen LXX edition, as much as has appeared, and the text of Rahlfs where the Göttingen LXX does not yet exist. We had a lengthy discussion on that topic. Finally we decided to use the Göttingen LXX edition—being aware of the text critical problems of any critical LXX edition. We also decided that all the differences between the Göttingen and Rahlfs editions will be mentioned in the footnotes and will be translated so that the commonly used text of Rahlfs will be translated as well, either in the main text or in the footnotes.[60]

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[60] This is partly due to the fact that the Göttingen text is not available to everybody, and that the Rahlfs text is used by most readers of the LXX.

It is up to each translator whether to use other old translations such as the Syriac, Old Latin, Vulgate, etc., for comparison. We do not want to engage in a broad text critical discussion. Establishing a critical edition for all LXX books will be left to the Göttingen project. Usually we take the Göttingen text as far as it has been published. Corrections of the Göttingen text are possible but have to be mentioned. Thus, for example, in cases where the Göttingen edition makes emendations to, or corrections of, the LXX text based on the Hebrew manuscripts, they will be mentioned, or when, e.g., John Wevers has a different reading in his notes on the LXX text of Leviticus than in his Göttingen Leviticus. The discoveries in the Judean Desert will be taken into account, especially in our accompanying volume or—but limited to very few and important cases—in the footnotes.

6.4 Which books will be translated

The books that will be translated will be those that the Rahlfs edition contains. So we are also going to translate the *Psalms of Solomon* and the *Odes*—being aware that the *Psalms of Solomon* do not belong to all the major manuscripts and that the *Odes* are a collection originating from a Christian context. Books for which we have two textual traditions, such as Judges (Vaticanus and Alexandrinus), Daniel (LXX and Theodotion), and Tobit (LXX 1 and LXX 2 after Göttingen), will have both translations. For several portions of the book of Kingdoms we will also have two translations: one of the Rahlfs text, and one of the so called Antiochene or Lucianic text.

6.5 The LXX as the Old Testament of the Orthodox Churches

As mentioned above one of our aims in translating the LXX is to provide material for ecumenical relationships between the different Christian churches, and so we have taken special consideration of the Orthodox liturgical tradition. We have decided to pay attention to this, and it seems likely that we will have, at the relevant passages, a second segment of footnotes in which the Orthodox liturgical tradition will be addressed. This is especially important for Genesis, the Psalms, and the book of Isaiah.

6.6 Group meetings and general meeting

To bring people together to work on their translations and to improve the knowledge of LXX Greek and LXX matters, we have group meetings several times a year and one general meeting once a year. The group meetings help the members of a group, e.g., the Pentateuch, to discuss special problems that arise from Pentateuchal issues, etc. The general meeting once a year has a more comprehensive goal. We try to advance the scholarly discussion about LXX problems and to improve the scholarly competence of the translators.

The outcome of the annual meetings is two volumes that contains studies in LXX which appeared in 2001 and 2003 in the BWANT series from the Kohlhammer printing house.

To coordinate our work we have a LXX coordinating office at the institute of Protestant Theology in Koblenz. The staff there, financed by the protestant church of the Rhineland, coordinates the different work projects. We could not undertake such a project without financial support. Our main sponsors, besides the Protestant church of the Rhineland, are the German Bible Society and the Protestant church in Bavaria.[61]

7. Conclusion

We hope that our work will be a contribution to the recognition of the LXX as a basic text for both Christianity and Judaism and to open the doors to other disciplines for their involvement in LXX issues. We take the LXX as a literary work that began as a translation of a Hebrew text, but also has an interpretative character and significance, and has developed into something which has had great effects in history. It became the starting point of a further *Wirkungs-geschichte*. It is a work that is dependent on a Hebrew original (Vorlage) but nevertheless stands on its own.

To cite and somehow expand John Wevers's position in his essay on the interpretative character and significance of the Greek Pentateuch I should say that the LXX is a "humanistic document of interest by and for itself, i.e., without reference to its parent text. It is not just a source for interesting emendations but gives us an insight into the faith and attitudes of Alexandrian Jewry…."[62]

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[61] Until the translation is published, for further information about our aims, our challenges, and the progress of our work, please visit our homepage: http://www.septuaginta-deutsch.de.

[62] Wevers, "Interpretative Character and Significance," 95.

The Hermeneutics of Translation
in the Septuagint of Genesis
Robert J. V. Hiebert

1. Introduction

When one begins to read the Old Greek version of the Jewish Scriptures, one is introduced to an interesting and often perplexing literary anthology. I say anthology, because this version in its most inclusive sense represents the output of numerous literati, both translators of the Hebrew/Aramaic canon and authors of works composed in Greek. Although the well-known second century B.C.E. document that purports to tell the story of the translation of the Pentateuch, *Aristeas to Philocrates* (or the *Letter of Aristeas* [hereafter, *Aristeas*]), portrays this undertaking as a project that involved seventy(-two) translators, the author of this legendary tale maintains that the translators collaborated to produce the consensus that we call the Septuagint (LXX).[1] The text itself, however, exhibits more heterogeneity in terms of translation technique than the account in *Aristeas* would appear to allow. When one expands the frame of reference to include the whole of the Old Greek canon, the literary diversity between books is often dramatically greater than it is among the constituent components of the Pentateuch. It is this kind of diversity of approach to translation, particularly as it is manifested within individual books that would presumably have been the product of various single translators, that occasions the reader's perplexity. Why there should be such marked swings from idiomatic to painfully literal renderings, sometimes within the same verse, has long been debated by scholars. This question, in turn, gives rise to further interesting ones concerning the sort of reader that the creators of the Old Greek version had in mind as they did their work, the kinds of linguistic, cultural, and theological factors that conditioned the translational/compositional choices made by translators/authors, and the way(s) in which this version might have been used by the community of readers/auditors for which it was produced.

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[1] Moses Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (JAL; New York: Ktav, 1973).

In the present paper I am, of course, able to probe only a limited number of aspects of the preceding questions. The context of my investigation is the book of Genesis, the book I am translating for the forthcoming New English Translation of the Septuagint, published by Oxford University Press. Specifically, I am interested in exploring some of the interpretative dynamics that are at work in a randomly chosen but representative section of the LXX of Genesis, namely ch. 17. I will start at the beginning of the chapter and discuss a few of the problems and issues associated with translating this ancient translation in the order that they present themselves in the text. The scope of this investigation will be limited for the most part to the first two verses and to a particular phrase that occurs towards the end of the chapter in vv. 23 and 26.[2]

Before I go any further, I should say a few words about the nature of NETS in order to provide a context for the excerpts from it that appear throughout the paper. While it is acknowledged by the Translation Committee that the LXX eventually came to be read and interpreted without reference to its Hebrew or Aramaic parent, the mandate issued to NETS translators is that they strive to reflect in their renderings the initial phase in the life of this version, when the translators of the LXX and some of its earliest readers would have had continual recourse to the Semitic original, whether literally or from memory. Focusing on the LXX as a translated corpus has, of course, significant implications. Perhaps the most fundamental of these is that NETS translations must be based on the careful analysis of Semitic-Greek equivalences, both lexical and syntactical. Furthermore, it is incumbent upon translators to reproduce not just the content of the LXX, but also its style of translation, ranging as it does at any given point from hyper-literal to idiomatic or free. Thus their approach to translation will generally incline toward formal correspondence rather than dynamic equivalence. An additional feature of NETS is that it is designed to facilitate synoptic comparison with a widely used, contemporary English translation of those Scriptures that were originally composed in Hebrew or Aramaic, the NRSV. Thus wherever the Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek are in substantial agreement, the NRSV reading is retained if it serves as an appropriate equivalent to the Greek; wherever they diverge significantly or the NRSV reading is for some other reason not adequate, it is adjusted.[3]

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[2] The Bible versions used throughout this paper are the following: *BHS*; NRSV; John W. Wevers, *Genesis* (Septuaginta 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) = LXX Genesis; NETS.

[3] Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright III, "To the Reader of NETS," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (A. Pietersma; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), vii–xviii.

2. Analysis

Genesis 17:1

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<td>

ויהי אברם בן־תשעים שנה ותשע
שנים וירא יהוה אל־אברם
ויאמר אליו אני־אל שדי
התהלך לפ והיה
תמים

When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the LORD appeared to Abram, and said to him, "I am God Almighty; walk before me, and be blameless"

</td>
<td>

Ἐγένετο δὲ Ἀβρὰμ ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα, καὶ ὤφθη κύριος τῷ Ἀβρὰμ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ θεός σου· εὐαρέστει ἐναντίον ἐμοῦ καὶ γίνου ἄμεμπτος

Now Abram came to be ninety-nine years of age, and the Lord appeared to Abram and said to him, "I am your God; be well pleasing before me and become blameless"

</td>
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17:1 ו ... ויהי

The opening words of Gen 17 provide evidence of important hermeneutical choices made by this LXX translator, choices that are characteristic of the approach to translation throughout the book. First, the decision to render ויהי … ו, a formula that specifies the circumstances associated with an action or state described in the subsequent clause, as ἐγένετο δὲ … καὶ reflects an evident concern to reproduce the Hebrew quantitatively. Henry St. John Thackeray in his discussion of this translation equivalence points out that the ויהי formula usually includes a second *waw* that introduces the adjoining clause (as in 17:1); that for most of the formula's occurrences LXX translators do in fact render it quantitatively; and that in Genesis, two constructions with ἐγένετο are employed in a total of 59 such renderings: (1) ἐγένετο followed by a finite verb, and (2) ἐγένετο followed by καί plus a finite verb.[4] He also notes the dearth of evidence

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[4] Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 50–52:

1) ἐγένετο followed by a finite verb: 4:3; 6:1–2; 8:6, 13†; 11:2; 12:11; 14:1–2†; 15:17 (with ἐγίνετο instead of ἐγένετο); 19:29; 22:1; 24:22, 52; 25:11; 29:13; 30:25; 34:25; 35:16, 17, 18, 22; 37:23; 38:1, 24, 28; 39:11; 40:1†; 41:1, 13 (with ἐγενήθη instead of ἐγένετο); 44:24. Of the preceding 29 contexts, the ones marked with a † do not exhibit the resumptive conjunction in either the Hebrew or the Greek texts.

2) ἐγένετο followed by καί plus a finite verb: 4:8; 7:10; 12:14–15; 17:1; 19:17, 34; 20:13; 21:22; 22:20; 24:15, 30; 26:32†; 27:1, 30 (in this case there are two ויהי = καὶ ἐγένετο constructions that precede a single one with ו = καί followed in due course by a verb [בא = ἦλθεν]); 29:10†, 23†, 25; 31:10; 38:27; 39:5, 7, 13–14, 19; 40:20; 41:8; 42:35; 43:2, 21; 48:1. Of the preceding 30 cases (including the two counted in 27:30), those marked with a † exhibit a sequence that includes ἐγένετο followed by καί plus a participle and thereafter by a finite verb that is not preceded by καί. Note that Thackeray's tally for what he calls the ἐγένετο ἦλθε construction (i.e., without καί between ἐγένετο and the

for both these Greek constructions in non-biblical κοινή or Hellenistic Greek of the period.[5] Apart from the preceding renderings of the ויהי formula, two contexts in Genesis feature ἦν, the third singular imperfect active indicative form of εἰμί, instead of the γί[γ]νομαι root.[6] Only five times in Genesis is a circumstantial clause that is introduced by ויהי translated without the employment of a form of either γί[γ]νομαι or εἰμί.[7] In one other instance (26:8) the LXX translator's counterpart to the Hebrew (dependent) circumstantial clause does include ἐγένετο, but it becomes an independent clause in the Greek:

Genesis 26:8

ויהי כי ארכו־לו שם הימים	ἐγένετο δὲ πολυχρόνιος ἐκεῖ·
וישקף אבימלך מלך	παρακύψας δὲ ᾿Αβιμέλεχ ὁ βασιλεὺς
פלשתים בעד החלון וירא	Γεράρων διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἶδεν
When Isaac had been there a long time, King Abimelech of the Philistines looked out of a window and saw….	And he stayed on there quite some time. Now Abimelech the king of Gerara, when he peered through the window, saw….

In view of the fact that the LXX translator of Genesis usually renders this Hebrew formula in quantitative fashion, it is appropriate that this be reflected in NETS with a word-based sequence like the one that is exhibited in 17:1.

17:1 ו

A component of the ויהי formula is, of course, the ו conjunction in a paratactic construction. The following description of this conjunction's usage comes from the BDB lexicon:

וְ is used very freely and widely in Heb., but also with much delicacy, to express relations and shades of meaning which Western languages would usu. indicate by distinct particles. But in Heb. particles such as בַּעֲבוּר, אוּלָם, אָכֵן, אַךְ, אָז, אוֹ, לְמַעַן, לָכֵן, etc., were reserved for cases in which special emph. or distinctness was desired: their frequent use was felt instinctively to be inconsistent with the lightness and grace of movement which the Hebrew ear loved; and thus in AV,

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finite verb) is 34, and for the ἐγένετο καὶ ἦλθε construction (i.e., with καί) it is 25; he provides no biblical references (p. 51).

[5] Thackeray, *Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*, 50–51. On κοινή / Hellenistic Greek as the basis of LXX Greek, see ibid., 16–31; Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag am 4. Juni 1987* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and R. Sollamo; AASF B.237; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 28–39.

[6] ויהי … ו = καὶ ἦν … καί (5:32); ἦν δὲ … καί (26:34).

[7] ויהי … ו = περὶ δέ (15:12); ὡς δὲ … καί (38:29); ὡς δέ … καί (39:18); ἡνίκα δὲ … καί (39:10); ויהי כשמעו … ויעזב … וינס = ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν … καταλιπὼν … ἔφυγεν (39:15).

> RV, words like *or*, *then*, *but*, *notwithstanding*, *howbeit*, *so*, *thus*, *therefore*, *that*, constantly appear, where the Heb. has simply וְ.[8]

Richard C. Steiner sounds an appropriate cautionary note with regard to the excessively polysemous analysis of the וְ conjunction exhibited by some grammarians and lexicographers: "Each language must be viewed in [*sic*] its own terms. Hebrew has the right to ignore distinctions that are obligatory in English or to express them differently."[9] Nonetheless, whether one understands the conjunction to convey a broad range of relations and semantic nuances or just a few, its ubiquity in the Hebrew Bible and the prevalence of parataxis in that literary corpus are evident to any reader. The LXX translators had at their disposal a broad selection of conjunctions and a variety of syntactical strategies to deal with Hebrew grammatical constructions involving וְ.[10] What they chose to do the great majority of the time, however, was to follow the Hebrew in reproducing its parataxis, most often by means of καί.[11] That the default rendering in the LXX for the וְ conjunction is καί, can readily be illustrated in Gen 17 where the וְ = καί equivalence is found in fifty-three of the sixty-seven cases in which the Hebrew conjunction occurs.[12] Of the remaining fourteen occurrences of the וְ conjunction, there are ten cases of the וְ = δέ equivalence, one of וְ = ἀλλά, and three in which there is no Greek counterpart.[13] While parataxis is common enough in non-biblical (including pre-LXX) Greek, in the LXX it is so frequent that Frederick C. Conybeare and St. George Stock are provoked to remark, somewhat hyperbolically, "Roughly speaking, it is true to say that in the Greek of the LXX there is no syntax, only parataxis. The whole is one great scheme of clauses connected by καί."[14] In point of fact, however,

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[8] BDB, וְ, וּ, וָ; cf. GKC §154.

[9] Richard C. Steiner, "Does the Biblical Hebrew Conjunction -ו Have Many Meanings, One Meaning, or No Meaning at All?," *JBL* 119 (2000): 257. Steiner's answer to the question posed in the title of his article is that the וְ conjunction "is sometimes meaningful and sometimes meaningless. All of the meaningful instances can be viewed as having one and the same meaning … [that] of the logical connective '&'… There is no need to have recourse to any of the other meanings that have been attributed to it" (p. 267).

[10] See H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (ed. G. M. Messing; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), §§2159–82, 2769–3003.

[11] Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 111; Anneli Aejmelaeus, *Parataxis in the Septuagint: A Study of the Renderings of the Hebrew Coordinate Clauses in the Greek Pentateuch* (AASF 31; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1982).

[12] Vv. 1^{3x}, 2^{3x}, 3^{2x}, 4, 5, 6^{3x}, 7^{4x}, 8^{3x}, 9^{2x}, 10^{2x}, 11^{3x}, 12^{2x}, 13^{2x}, 14, 15, 16^{3x} (for the first of these the Hebrew counterpart is וּנָם), 17^{4x}, 19^{2x}, 20^{3x}, 22, 23^{4x}, 26, 27^{2x}.

[13] וְ = δέ: vv. 1, 9, 16, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25. וְ = ἀλλά: v. 5. וְ with no equivalent: vv. 1, 14, 24.

[14] F. C. Conybeare and St. George Wm. J. Stock, *A Grammar of Septuagint Greek with Selections from the Septuagint, According to the Text of Swete* (Boston: Ginn, 1905;

conjunctions other than καί are sometimes employed, as the preceding analysis makes clear, and from time to time (though not in ch. 17) there is even hypotaxis by means of circumstantial participles where the Hebrew text exhibits parataxis.[15] For example:

> Genesis 18:22
>
> | ויפנו משם האנשים וילכו | καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες ἐκεῖθεν οἱ ἄνδρες ἦλθον |
> |---|---|
> | So the men turned from there, and went | And after the men had turned away from there they went |

Since NETS is supposed to reflect the translation technique exhibited in the LXX, the English version will, like the Greek one, generally be characterized by parataxis and an abundance of conjunctions, or more precisely, the repeated use of the same one. For Genesis (as for other books) this has entailed the establishment of defaults that serve to regulate the translation process, including the following guidelines that govern the rendering of Greek counterparts to the ו conjunction:[16]

1. When the ו conjunction is matched by "and" in the NRSV and καί in the LXX, NETS also typically has "and."
2. When the NRSV, undoubtedly for the sake of English style, ignores the presence of the Hebrew conjunction which the LXX nevertheless faithfully renders as καί, NETS reflects the LXX—usually with "and" as the English counterpart.
3. When the equivalent for the ו conjunction is καί but the NRSV shows something other than "and," particularly when it is an inferential or adversative conjunction, NETS normally has "and."
4. When the counterpart to the ו conjunction is not καί and the NRSV reading is not already the best option for the Greek, the attempt is made in NETS to represent the Greek's distinctiveness from the Hebrew.

What follows is a statistical breakdown of English renderings for Greek counterparts to the ו conjunction in Gen 17:

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repr., Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980), §40. On non-biblical Greek, see Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2169.

[15] Conybeare and Stock point out that "[t]he small use made of participles in the LXX, as compared with classical Greek, is a natural result of the paratactical construction which reigns throughout" (*Grammar of Septuagint Greek*, §79). Thackeray remarks, "The use of the conjunctive participle is yielding to the coordination of sentences with καί, largely under Heb. influence" (Ibid., 24).

[16] See Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxvi, for a comparable set of guidelines.

1. When ו = καί, NETS has "and" fifty-two times.
2. When ו = δέ, NETS has "and" five times, "now" four times, and "but" twice.
3. The only time that ו = ἀλλά, "but," is used in NETS (and the NRSV).
4. In the three cases when there is no Greek equivalent for ו, there is likewise none in NETS (or, as it turns out, in the NRSV).[17]

In the light of the preceding, the NRSV's hypotactic rendering in Gen 17:1 of the Hebrew paratactic construction (ויהי ... וירא), which is reproduced in Greek (ἐγένετο δέ ... καὶ ὤφθη), has had to be modified. So the NRSV's "When Abram was ninety-nine years old, the LORD appeared" has become "Now Abram came to be ninety-nine years of age, and the Lord appeared" in NETS. Furthermore, because the Greek counterpart for the first of the Hebrew conjunctions is not the default καί but δέ, and in order to signify movement to the next stage of the narrative, I have opted for the adverbial "now."

17:1 בן / בת: Age Formula

Whereas the translational phenomena in Gen 17:1 discussed thus far have illustrated the LXX translator's proclivity to reproduce his *Vorlage* quantitatively, the next one in the verse, the typical Hebrew age formula involving בן / בת, shows that, for whatever reason, he did not always adhere rigidly to the Hebrew. Of the seventeen contexts in Genesis in which someone's age is given in years, the statistical breakdown of LXX counterparts works out as follows:

1. ἐτῶν + number: eleven times[18]
2. number + ἐτῶν: four times[19]
3. compound adjective (i.e., ἑκατονταετής): once[20]
4. υἱός + number + ἐτῶν: once[21]

For options 1 and 2, to signal to the reader of NETS that the LXX rendering of the Hebrew constitutes idiomatic Greek rather than translationese, I have modified the NRSV's "x years old" to read "x years of age." In Gen 17 there are two examples of option 1 (in vv. 1 and 25) and two of option 2 (vv. 17 [2°] and 24). The NRSV's reading in v. 17 (1°), "a man who is a hundred years old," is likewise altered in NETS to read "a hundred-year-old" (option 3) so as to reflect

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[17] In two of these contexts, the Hebrew has the circumlocution specifying someone's age (בן־תשעים שנה ותשע שנים [v. 1], בן־תשעים ותשע שנה [v. 24]), and once it has a resumptive ו plus perfect verbal form preceded by a nominative pendant construction (וערל זכר אשר לא־ימול את־בשר ערלתו ונכרתה הנפש ההוא [sic] [v. 14]); cf. GKC §143b, *IBHS* §32.2.1e, and John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 235.

[18] 6:1(5:32 MT); 7:6; 12:4; 17:1, 25; 21:5; 25:20, 26; 26:34; 41:46; 50:26.

[19] 16:16; 17:17 (2°: this is the only case in Genesis that involves בת), 24; 37:2.

[20] 17:17 (1°).

[21] 11:10.

the differences in Hebrew and Greek idiom. With regard to option 4 in 11:10, however, because the LXX's translation is an inexplicably stilted reproduction of the Hebrew age formula, I have translated the Greek accordingly for NETS, i.e., "a son of one hundred years," versus "one hundred years old" in the NRSV.

There are two additional cases of the Hebrew age formula with בן in Genesis in which someone's age is given in days. Both have to do with the prescribed age for an infant boy to be circumcised and involve the construction בן־שׁמנת ימים. In 17:12 the LXX has παιδίον ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν, which I translate for NETS as "a youngster of eight days" (the NRSV reads "when he is eight days old"), while in 21:4 the LXX rendering is τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἡμέρᾳ, for which the equivalent in NETS is "on the eighth day" (the NRSV reads "when he was eight days old").

One further observation should be made with respect to the way the LXX translator of Genesis deals with age designations when compound numbers above twenty are involved. In three instances the Hebrew author divides the compound number by separating the multiple of ten, with which the collective form שׁנה is associated, from the relevant numerical component ranging from one to nine, with which the plural form שׁנים is associated, and links those two constructions, the sequence of which can be reversed, by means of the ו conjunction. In Greek the numerical constructions are considerably simplified, inasmuch as there is no repetition of the word for years (ἐτῶν) and the components of the compound number are not linked by means of καί:

12:4	בן־חמש שׁנים ושׁבעים שׁנה	"seventy-five years old"
	ἐτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε	"seventy-five years of age"
16:16	בן־שׁמנים שׁנה ושׁשׁ שׁנים	"eighty-six years old"
	ὀγδοήκοντα ἓξ ἐτῶν	"eighty-six years of age"
17:1	בן־תשׁעים שׁנה ותשׁע שׁנים	"ninety-nine years old"
	ἐτῶν ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα	"ninety-nine years of age"

Interestingly, later in ch. 17 in both the MT and the LXX the respective constructions for the number ninety-nine are different from the above constructions. In the MT the author employs the word for years only once in the form of the collective שׁנה, and in the LXX the sequence of ἐτῶν plus the number is reversed:

17:24	בן־תשׁעים ותשׁע שׁנה	"ninety-nine years old"
	ἐνενήκοντα ἐννέα ἐτῶν	"ninety-nine years of age"

Subsequently, in 50:26 the MT construction also features only a single occurrence of the word for years, though in this case it is the plural form שׁנים:

50:26	בן־מאה ועשׂר שׁנים	"one hundred ten years old"
	ἐτῶν ἑκατὸν δέκα	"one hundred ten years of age"

שנה 17:1

At this juncture it would be appropriate to mention that ἔτος is not the only equivalent for שנה, whether in the book of Genesis as a whole or in ch. 17. To be sure, this equivalence obtains in 110 of the 157 occurrences of the Hebrew noun in the first book of the Pentateuch (four of these are in ch. 17, as mentioned earlier).[22] In another forty-two cases there is no Greek counterpart (one of these is in ch. 17, as noted above).[23] The LXX translator of Genesis has also rendered שנה as ἐνιαυτός in five contexts, one of which is 17:21.[24] Lexicographical investigation reveals that the semantic ranges of the ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός are not entirely co-extensive, however: whereas ἔτος denotes "year" exclusively, ἐνιαυτός embraces a broader range of denotations including "any long period of time, cycle, period … a year."[25] Yet these two lexemes are synonyms with regard to at least a certain component of meaning that they share, so potentially either of them can serve as an equivalent for שנה. It is, of course, desirable for the NETS translator to reproduce the kind of lexical differentiation illustrated by the LXX translator's handling of שנה wherever that is feasible and appropriate. Those conditions do not, however, seem to be met in ch. 17 because English does not have two readily interchangeable words for "year" the way Greek does. Thus while the use of "year" as the equivalent for both ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός in the same chapter conveys a sense of leveling that is not present in the LXX, replicating the differentiation that the Greek translator has produced is not possible without resorting to the kind of pedantry (e.g., "annual cycle") that does not do stylistic justice to the Greek. In this instance, as well as in similar situations in chs. 26 and 47,[26] the former option is preferable to the latter.

אל שדי 17:1

The interpretative character of the LXX translation of Genesis is further demonstrated by what the translator does throughout the book with the divine title that appears in 17:1, אל שדי "God Almighty" (NRSV). In this passage and in 35:11, both contexts in which the deity is the speaker, the Greek counterpart is ὁ

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[22] 5:3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32; 6:3; 7:6, 11; 8:13; 9:28, 29; 11:10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32; 12:4; 14:4[2x], 5; 15:13; 16:3, 16; 17:1, 17, 24, 25; 21:5; 23:1; 25:7[2x], 17[2x], 20, 26; 26:34; 29:18, 20, 27, 30; 31:38, 41[3x]; 35:28; 37:2; 41:26[2x], 27[2x], 29, 30; 41:34, 35, 36, 46, 47, 48, 50, 53, 54; 45:6, 11; 47:8, 9[4x], 18[2x], 28[2x]; 50:22, 26.

[23] 5:5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31; 7:11; 9:28, 29; 11:13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 25, 32; 12:4; 16:16; 17:1; 23:1[3x]; 25:7[2x], 17[2x]; 35:28; 47:28.

[24] 1:14; 17:21; 26:12; 47:17, 28.

[25] LSJ, s.v. ἔτος, ἐνιαυτός.

[26] ἔτος 26:34; 47:8, 9[4x], 18[2x], 28[2x]; ἐνιαυτός 26:12; 47:17, 28.

θεός σου, "your God" (NETS). In 28:3, 43:14, and 48:3, all places in which a human speaks, it is ὁ θεός μου, "my God" (NETS). An alternative rendering that employs the articulated first person possessive pronoun in the nominative case instead of the enclitic form in the genitive case is found in 49:25 for שׁדי without אל, i.e., ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐμός, "my God" (NETS). As John Wevers points out, the translator of LXX Genesis always interprets references to God that involve שׁדי in terms of the deity as "the personal God of an individual."[27] In Exod 6:3, one of the two contexts in which אל שׁדי is found outside of Genesis, the Greek counterpart also features the combination of the generic denotation for deity with a possessive pronoun (θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν, "being their God").[28] In the other context outside of Genesis the second component of the title is transliterated (θεοῦ Σαδδαι, "God Saddai" [Ezek 10:5]). When שׁדי occurs on its own elsewhere in the LXX, various renderings are attested, including:

θεός, "God" (e.g., Num 24:4 [NETS])
ὁ ἐπουράνιος, "the Heavenly One" (Ps 67[68]:15 [NETS])
ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "the God of heaven" (Ps 90[91]:1 [NETS])
παντοκράτωρ, "the Almighty" (e.g., Job 5:17 [NETS])
κύριος, "the Lord" (e.g., Job 6:4 [NETS]))
κύριος παντοκράτωρ, "the Lord Almighty" (Job 15:25 [NETS])
ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας, "the maker of all things" (Job 8:3 [NETS])
ὁ ἱκανός, "the Sufficient One" (e.g., Ruth 1:20 [NETS])

This diversity indicates that translators then, as now, were uncertain about the etymology of שׁדי, and thus when not transliterating it, they produced contextual renderings of one sort or another.[29]

17:1 הלך hitpaᶜel

Another clear example of interpretative translation is the הלך *hitpaᶜel* = εὐαρεστέω equivalence in Gen 17:1. The same equation occurs in five other contexts in Genesis.[30] For the two remaining instances of הלך *hitpaᶜel*, the Greek counterparts are verbs that connote perambulation like the Hebrew does: διοδεύω, "pass through" [NETS], "walk through" [NRSV] (13:17); and περιπατέω, "walk about" [NETS], "walk" [NRSV] (3:8). On the other hand, εὐαρεστέω, "be well pleasing," does not have that connotation, though it does constitute an

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[27] Ibid., 228; see also Marguerite Harl, *La Genèse* (2d ed.; La Bible d'Alexandrie 1; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 52.
[28] John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 73.
[29] *HALOT*, "שַׁדַּי."
[30] 5:22, 24; 6:9; 24:40; 48:15.

appropriate interpretation of the Hebrew idiom of walking before/with (התהלך
את / לפני) the deity as a metaphor for upright living.[31]

היה 17:1

I have already discussed γί[γ]νομαι in relation to the ויהי formula that appears at
the beginning of Gen 17:1. Later in the verse where the counterpart to היה is
again γί[γ]νομαι, the Hebrew and Greek constructions are not the same as
before, and consequently both the NRSV and NETS handle the situation
differently. Furthermore, this Hebrew verb is rendered by one form or another of
εἰμί in each of the remaining eight contexts in ch. 17 in which it appears.[32] This
kind of semantic differentiation by the LXX translator is all the more evident
when one examines the 316 occurrences of היה throughout Genesis. Such an
examination reveals a judicious choice of Greek counterparts, typically
involving a selection of ones that make sense in the various contexts in which
they are found. The two most frequently-used equivalents are, as would be
expected, γί[γ]νομαι (151*x*) and εἰμί (147*x*).[33] Other verbs employed are δοκέω,
"seem" (19:14), συμβαίνω, "happen" (41:13), and συγγί[γ]νομαι, "have relations
with" (39:10, τοῦ συγγενέσθαι for עם להיות). Besides these there are temporal
constructions with היה followed by a bound infinitive / infinitive construct or a
participle for which the corresponding LXX translations show no verbal
counterpart to היה. It will be noticed that the temporality of the following
clauses is reinforced in the MT by the inseparable preposition כ in all but one

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[31] See Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 71; Harl, *Genèse*, 122–23.

[32] Vv. 4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16[2x].

[33] γί[γ]νομαι: 1:3[2x], 5[2x], 6, 8[2x], 9, 11, 13[2x], 14, 15, 19[2x], 23[2x], 24, 30, 31[2x]; 2:5, 7; 3:22; 4:2,
3, 8; 5:4, 5, 8, 11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 27, 31; 6:1; 7:6, 10[2x], 12, 17; 8:6, 13; 9:27, 29; 10:10,
19, 30; 11:2, 3, 32; 12:10, 11, 14, 16; 13:7; 14:1; 15:1, 17[2x]; 17:1[2x]; 18:11, 12, 18; 19:17,
26, 29, 34; 20:12, 13; 21:20, 22; 22:1, 20; 23:1; 24:15, 22, 30, 52, 60, 67; 25:3, 11;
26:1[2x], 8, 14, 28, 32; 27:1, 30[2x]; 29:10, 13, 23, 25; 30:25, 41, 42, 43; 31:10, 40; 32:6, 11;
34:15, 25; 35:5, 16, 17, 18, 22, 28; 36:11, 22; 37:23; 38:1, 7, 9, 24, 27, 28; 39:2, 5[2x], 7,
11, 13, 19; 40:1, 20; 41:1, 8, 13, 53, 54; 42:35, 36; 43:2, 21; 44:24; 46:12; 47:9, 20, 28;
48:1; 49:15, 17; 50:9.

    εἰμί: 1:2, 6, 14, 15, 29; 2:18, 24, 25; 3:1, 5; 4:2, 8, 12, 14[2x], 17, 20, 21; 5:32(6:1); 6:3,
4, 9, 19, 21; 9:2, 3, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 25, 26; 10:8, 9; 11:1, 3, 30; 12:2, 12; 13:3, 5, 6,
8; 15:5, 13; 16:12; 17:4, 5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 16[2x]; 18:18, 25; 21:20, 30; 24:14, 41, 43, 51;
25:20, 27; 26:3, 28, 34, 35; 27:12, 23, 33, 39, 40; 28:3, 14, 20, 21, 22; 29:20; 30:29, 30,
32, 34; 31:3, 5, 8[2x], 42, 44; 32:9; 33:9; 34:5, 16, 22, 25; 35:3, 10, 11, 22; 36:7, 12, 13, 14;
37:2, 20, 27; 38:5, 9, 21, 22; 39:2[2x], 6, 21; 40:4, 13; 41:27, 36[2x], 40, 48, 54, 56; 42:5, 11,
31; 44:9, 10[2x], 17, 31; 45:10; 46:32, 34; 47:19, 24[2x], 25, 26; 48:5, 6, 19[2x], 21; 49:26.

context (15:12), and in the LXX by a preposition, an adverb, or a conjunction of one sort or another:[34]

39:15	ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκοῦσαι αὐτὸν	"And as soon as he heard"
	ויהי כשמעו	"And when he heard"
39:10	ἡνίκα δὲ ἐλάλει	"And when she would speak"
	ויהי כדברה	"And although she spoke"
15:12	περὶ δὲ ἡλίου δυσμὰς	"Then about sunset"
	ויהי השמש לבוא	"As the sun was going down"
38:29	ὡς δὲ ἐπισυνήγαγεν τὴν χεῖρα	"But when he retracted his hand"
	ויהי כמשיב ידו	"But just then he drew back his hand"
39:18	ὡς δὲ ἤκουσεν ὅτι ὕψωσα τὴν φωνήν μου	"But when he heard that I raised my voice"
	ויהי כהרימי קולי	"But as soon as I raised my voice"

Again, in the interests of reproducing the semantic differentiation manifested in the Greek text, I have tried, where it seems appropriate, to distinguish the LXX translator's use of γί[γ]νομαι and εἰμί as equivalents of היה. This is possible because γί[γ]νομαι frequently denotes "come to be" or "become" and the like, whereas εἰμί is usually rendered "be" or "exist."[35] So in NETS 17:1 the two occurrences of γί[γ]νομαι are rendered "come to be" and "become," respectively, and εἰμί is translated "be" in 17:4, 5, 7, 8, 13, 16 (2°) and "exist" in 17:11. The first instance of היה in v. 16 involves the construction והיתה ל "and she shall give rise to" (NRSV), which the LXX renders καὶ ἔσται εἰς and which in NETS I translate as "and she shall become." With regard to the choice of γί[γ]νομαι as the counterpart to היה at the end of v. 1, one wonders if the LXX translator intends to signal to the reader that Abram/Abraam only *becomes* blameless (תמים = ἄμεμπτος) through the action of sealing the covenant between the deity and himself in circumcision, the description of which constitutes the conclusion to this chapter.

Genesis 17:2

ואתנה בריתי	καὶ θήσομαι τὴν διαθήκην μου
ביני ובינך	ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον σοῦ
וארבה אותך במאד מאד	καὶ πληθυνῶ σε σφόδρα
And I will make my covenant between me and you, and will make you exceedingly numerous.	and I will set my covenant between me and between you and will make you very numerous.

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[34] In ten additional cases, there is no Greek counterpart to היה: 1:7; 2:10; 3:20; 8:5; 29:17; 34:10; 38:23 (a Hebrew periphrastic construction [נהיה לבוז] is rendered by means of a single finite verb in Greek [καταγελασθῶμεν]); 39:20, 22; 46:33.

[35] LSJ, "γίγνομαι," "εἰμί."

נתן 17:2

In Gen 17:2 we encounter the frequently-occurring verb נתן whose Greek counterpart in this passage is τίθημι. Given the semantic range of this Hebrew verb, it is perhaps not surprising that the LXX of Genesis exhibits a significant degree of semantic differentiation in translating it. Apart from three contexts in which there is no Greek counterpart, thirteen Greek verbs are employed by the Genesis translator to render the other 145 occurrences of the *qal* stem, though, as might be expected, δίδωμι (3*x* in ch. 17) and cognates (ἀποδίδωμι, ἐπιδίδωμι, προσδίδωμι) constitute the great majority of them (123*x* or nearly 85%).[36] Of the remaining equivalents, τίθημι (3*x* in ch. 17) and cognates (παρατίθημι, περιτίθημι) are the most well attested with thirteen occurrences.[37] The six other Greek equivalents (ἀφίημι, ἐμβάλλω, ἵστημι, καθίστημι, ποιέω, προεκφέρω) are used once or twice each.[38] With regard to the נתן = τίθημι equivalence in 17:2, the context has to do with the establishment of the covenant between the deity and Abram, and while these Hebrew and Greek verbs can both denote "make," I reserve that denotation in covenant contexts in NETS Genesis for διατίθημι (specifically, the medio-passive form διατίθεμαι) in combination with διαθήκη.[39] For τίθημι in v. 2 the only place in Genesis where this verb has διαθήκη as the direct object, the rendering "set" seems more appropriate.[40] On the other hand, in vv. 5 and 6, where נתן is rendered by τίθημι, although not in conjunction with ברית = διαθήκη, I have retained the NRSV's choice of "make" for NETS. Likewise, both members of the נתן = δίδωμι equivalence in vv. 8 and 16 are best understood as meaning "give," which is what the NRSV and NETS in fact have. In

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[36] δίδωμι (119*x*): 1:29; 3:6, 12²ˣ; 4:12; 9:3, 12; 12:7; 13:15, 17; 14:20, 21; 15:2, 3, 7, 18; 16:3, 5; 17:8, 16, 20; 18:7; 20:14, 16; 21:14, 27; 23:4, 9²ˣ, 11²ˣ; 24:7, 32, 35, 36, 41, 53²ˣ; 25:5, 6, 34; 26:3, 4; 27:17, 28; 28:4²ˣ, 13, 20, 22; 29:19²ˣ, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29; 30:4, 6, 9, 14, 18²ˣ, 28, 31²ˣ, 35; 31:7, 9; 32:17; 34:8, 9, 11, 12²ˣ, 14, 16, 21; 35:4, 12³ˣ; 38:9, 16, 17, 18²ˣ, 26; 39:4, 8, 21, 22; 40:11, 13, 21; 41:45; 42:25, 27, 37; 43:14, 23, 24; 45:18, 21²ˣ, 22²ˣ; 46:18, 25; 47:11, 16, 17, 19, 22, 24; 48:4, 9, 22; 49:20; ἀποδίδωμι (2*x*): 30:26; 42:34; ἐπιδίδωμι (1*x*): 49:21; προσδίδωμι (1*x*): 29:33; no Greek counterpart (3*x*): 23:11, 13; 43:24.

[37] τίθημι (11*x*): 1:17; 9:13; 15:10; 17:2, 5, 6; 40:3; 41:10, 48²ˣ; 42:30; παρατίθημι (1*x*): 18:8; περιτίθημι (1*x*): 41:42.

[38] ἀφίημι (2*x*): 20:6; 45:2; ἐμβάλλω (1*x*): 39:20; ἵστημι (1*x*): 30:40; καθίστημι (2*x*): 41:41, 43; ποιέω (2*x*): 27:37; 48:4; προεκφέρω (1*x*): 38:28.

[39] Gen 9:17; 15:18; 21:27, 32; 26:28; 31:44. In the first context, the corresponding Hebrew verb is the *hipʿil* of קום, but in the remaining cases, the Hebrew equivalent is the *qal* of כרת. On these Hebrew and Greek verbs, see *HALOT* and LSJ, respectively.

[40] In 17:7, 19, and 21, where covenant making is expressed in terms of the *hipʿil* of קום plus ברית in Hebrew, and the causal sense of ἵστημι in combination with διαθήκη in Greek, the NRSV's "establish" as the counterpart to the Hebrew verb will do very nicely as a translation of the Greek verb in NETS (see BDB and LSJ).

v. 20, however, where ונתתיו לגוי גדול, "and I will make him a great nation"
(NRSV), is rendered καὶ δώσω αὐτὸν εἰς ἔθνος μέγα, נתן can readily be translated
"make," as it is in the NRSV, but neither the model reader nor the average third
century B.C.E. Greek speaker would have understood δίδωμι that way apart from
knowledge of the Hebrew *Vorlage*.[41] A more likely option is "appoint," the
denotation I have chosen for NETS: "and I will appoint him as a great nation."

ברית 17:2

The ברית = διαθήκη equivalence in 17:2 is a closed equation that occurs twenty-
six times in Genesis.[42] Only once (14:13), when ברית is used in the expression
בעלי ברית, "allies" (NRSV), does the LXX employ a different term for that bound
construction, i.e., συνωμόται, "confederates" (NETS). The choice of διαθήκη, the
usual term in Hellenistic and earlier Greek for last will and testament, as the
equivalent for ברית, which generally speaking denotes a compact or covenant, is
indicative of a semantic development with regard to how διαθήκη came to be
used, not only throughout the LXX but no doubt also in the living language of
Greek-speaking Jews even prior to the translation of Genesis.[43] The term
typically used in non-LXX Greek to signify a compact, treaty, or covenant is
συνθήκη, apparently regarded by the translator to be inappropriate for a covenant
instituted by the deity since the prefix συν- would imply an arrangement in
which partners collaborate to set up an agreement. Wevers remarks:

> But the ברית is something that God sets up; only he determines both the
> responsibilities and the benefits of the divine-human relationship. For this [LXX]
> Gen chose the δια- compound which meant "testament, will," thus a word in
> which only the testator determines the terms, and the relationship flows
> basically in one direction. The word is of course not fully adequate in its
> original Greek sense since the death of the testator is not presupposed and the
> ברית relation can make demands on the recipient. The word as used in the LXX
> must then be understood solely in terms of its Hebrew equivalent.[44]

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[41] See *HALOT* and LSJ.

[42] 6:18; 9:9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17; 15:18; 17:2, 4, 7^{2x}, 9, 10, 11, 13^{2x}, 14, 19^{2x}, 21; 21:27,
32; 26:28; 31:44.

[43] *HALOT*, "בְּרִית"; LSJ, "διαθήκη"; BDAG, "διαθήκη"; John A. L. Lee, *A Lexical Study
of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch* (SBLSCS 14; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983),
30; Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," xiv; Pietersma, *New English
Translation of the Septuagint: Psalms*, xxii; idem, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old
Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in
*Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association
Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch 17–
21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 353.

[44] Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis*, 86; cf. BDAG, "διαθήκη," 2.

This kind of transference of a component of meaning from the Hebrew term to
its Greek counterpart makes the latter a calque. Since the semantic range of
διαθήκη has been expanded to embrace this denotation from the Hebrew, it is, of
course, perfectly appropriate to let the NRSV's rendering of "covenant" for ברית
stand as the counterpart to διαθήκη.

17:2 בין ... בין

Hebrew influence of another sort is evident in how the LXX translator deals with
the repetition of the preposition בין in conjunction with the second element of
paralleled items in 17:2, i.e., ביני ובינך. Although the prepositional phrase ἀνὰ
μέσον antedates the LXX, its repetition reflects Hebrew, not Greek, idiom.[45] In the
book of Genesis as a whole, where בין is repeated, the LXX follows suit in
twenty-four instances but does not do so on fifteen occasions.[46] This sort of
alternation between Hebraistic and good Greek constructions is rather typical of
the LXX of Genesis (and many other books), and raises the question once again
as to what motivated the translator(s) to adopt such a strategy of translation. It is
a question to which we shall return presently.

17:23, 26 בעצם היום הזה

The last translation phenomenon that I shall discuss in this paper occurs in the
narrative near the end of ch. 17 where the circumcision of Abraham/Abraam and
the male members of his household is described, an event which, as I intimated
earlier (page 96), may be alluded to in v. 1. In vv. 23 and 26 the Hebrew text
emphasizes the fact that this took place בעצם היום הזה, "that very day" (NRSV),
i.e., the day on which Yahweh issued the circumcision command. This phrase is
found elsewhere in Genesis only at 7:13 in connection with the description of
Noah/Noe and his family entering the ark. The Greek rendering in both locations
in ch. 17, ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης, "at the opportune time of that day"
(NETS), is not a fully equivalent translation. The fact that in 7:13 the Greek
rendering is simply ἐν τῇ ἡμέρα ταύτῃ, "on this day" (NETS), leads one to suspect
that something distinctive is being communicated in the passage concerning
circumcision. Wevers characterizes the translation in 17:23, 26 as "a noble

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[45] On ἀνὰ μέσον see LSJ, "μέσος," III.1.a.

[46] LXX repeats ἀνὰ μέσον in the following contexts: 1:4, 7, 14, 18; 3:15[3x]; 9:12, 15, 16, 17;
10:12; 13:3, 7, 8[2x]; 16:14; 17:2, 7[2x], 10; 20:1; 26:28; 30:36. In twelve of the fifteen places
in which the LXX does not repeat ἀνὰ μέσον, the relevant Hebrew and Greek phrases occur
in verses with the same numbering in their respective versions (9:12, 13, 15; 13:8; 16:5;
17:10, 11; 23:15; 31:44, 48, 49; 32:17). In two other instances the corresponding Hebrew
and Greek texts are in different verses (31:50 [v. 44 in the LXX], 51 [v. 48 in the LXX]),
while in the remaining case a Greek counterpart to the Hebrew reading is completely
lacking (26:28).

attempt to render a difficult phrase," but there may be more to it than that.[47] In the first place, the Greek version of this phrase sounds very similar to what a number of Targums have: *Targum Neofiti* 1: בזמן יומא (ה)דין (also in 7:13); and *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* and *Targum Onqelos*: ב(י)כרן יומא הדין (also in 7:13).[48]

Like καιρός, זמן is a word for time, and although in his dictionary Marcus Jastrow assigns כרן by itself the denotations "roundness, fullness, essence" and renders כרן יומא, "the very day," some scholars allow that כרן may be a signifier of time inasmuch as it could be a Greek loan word in Aramaic dress, i.e., χρόνος.[49] All of this raises a question regarding the significance of these allusions to a time of day for the circumcisions described in Gen 17. On this matter a series of rabbinic regulations about when the procedure is to be performed—admittedly codified long after the LXX translation of Genesis was produced—provide some indication of the kinds of concerns that might lie behind the readings in the LXX and the Targums of Gen 17:23 and 26:

> A child can be circumcised on the eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, or twelfth day, but never earlier and never later. How is this? The rule is that it shall be done on the eighth day; but if the child was born at twilight the child is circumcised on the ninth day; and if at twilight on the eve of Sabbath, the child is circumcised on the tenth day; if a Festival-day falls after the Sabbath the child is circumcised on the eleventh day; and if the two Festival-days of the New Year

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[47] Ibid., 241.

[48] On *Tg. Neof.* 1, see Bernard Grossfeld, *Targum Neofiti 1: An Exegetical Commentary to Genesis* (New York: Sepher-Hermon, 2000), 8, 14: note that at 17:26 the text has דין; Martin McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (ArBib 1A; Collegeville: Liturgical, 1992), 75–76 and n. 12, 102 and n. 11. Michael Maher reports that the Palestinian Targums "normally use the formula *bzmn ywm' (h)dyn*" (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis* [ArBib 1B; Collegeville: Liturgical, 1992], 41 and n. 15).

On *Tg. Ps.-J.* and *Tg. Onq.*, see Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch: Text and Concordance* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1984), 8, 18: note that at 17:23 *Tg. Ps.-J.* has ביכרן; Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (Leiden: Brill, 1959–1973), 1:11, 23, 24; Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, 41 and n. 15.

[49] Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (New York: Choreb, 1926; repr., New York: Judaica, 1971): זְמָן, "appointed time, term, time … festive season," and כְּרָן; LSJ: καιρός, "exact or critical time, season, opportunity." On כרן as a loan word from Greek, see Alejandro Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense ms. de la Biblioteca Vaticana* (Textos y estudios del Seminario Filológico Cardenal Cisneros 7–11, 20; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1968–1979), 5:50*–51*. McNamara says of הדין כרן יומא, "'at the hour/essence of this day,' unless *krn* is a Greek loan word (*chronos*)" (*Targum Neofiti 1*, 76 n. 12).

fall after the Sabbath the child is circumcised on the twelfth day. If a child is sick it is not circumcised until it becomes well.[50]

A *mashuk*, and a proselyte whose conversion took place while he was already circumcised, and a child, the proper time of whose circumcision [זמנו] had passed, and all other circumcised persons, this means to include one who has two foreskins, may be circumcised in the daytime only. R. Eleazar b. Simeon, however, said: At the proper time [בזמנו] children may be circumcised in the daytime only; and if not at the proper time [שלא בזמנו] they may be circumcised both by day and by night.[51]

How is it possible, however, that a person's male children should be in existence during the eating and not during the preparation? Obviously only when birth occurred in the interval between the preparation and the eating. Thus it may be inferred that uncircumcision in the pre-circumcision period constitutes a legal status of uncircumcision. Said Rabbah: Do you understand this? The All Merciful said, *Let all his males be circumcised, and then let him come near and keep it*; but such a child is not fit to be circumcised! But what are we dealing with here? With a child who recovered from a fever. Then let him be granted [a period of convalescence of] full seven days, for Samuel said that a child who recovered from a fever must be allowed a period of convalescence of full seven days!—Where he was already granted the seven days' period. He should, then, have been circumcised in the morning! [מצפרא]—We require a full period of seven days.[52]

Why were they not circumcised in the wilderness?—If you wish I might say: Because of the fatigue of the journey; and if you prefer I might say: Because the North wind did not blow upon them…. What was the reason?—If you wish I might say: Because they were under divine displeasure. And if you prefer I might say: In order that the clouds of glory might not be scattered.

R. Papa said: Hence, no circumcision may be performed on a cloudy day or on a day when the South wind blows….[53]

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[50] *m. Šabb.* 19:5, Herbert Danby, *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933; repr., 1977), 117.

[51] *b. Yebam.* 8:72a–b, Isidore Epstein, trans., *The Babylonian Talmud: Seder Nashim* (Quincentenary ed.; London: Soncino, 1978), 1:489. A *mashuk* is "*one who has his prepuce drawn forward* in order to disguise the sign of the covenant" (Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim*, מָשׁוּךְ). The proper time for circumcision of a male child is, of course, the eighth day after his birth (see Epstein, *Seder Nashim*, 1:489 nn. 4 and 5).

[52] *b. Yebam.* 8:71a–b, Epstein, *Seder Nashim*, 1:481–82. The references to eating, preparation, and keeping have to do with the Passover.

[53] *b. Yebam.* 8:71b–72a, Epstein, *Seder Nashim*, 1:485. The north wind "in that part of the world brings fine, mild and wholesome weather" while the south wind "brings unwholesome weather" (Epstein, *Seder Nashim*, 1:485 nn. 11 and 14). N. M. Sarna (*Genesis* [The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989], 387) summarizes regulations pertaining to the timing of circumcision: "The proper time

Thus it could be that halakic considerations are reflected in the Greek and Targumic renderings of בעצם היום הזה. Space considerations preclude further discussion of that possibility here, but I plan to revisit this case and to deal with other ones like it in a forthcoming commentary on the LXX of Genesis.

3. Conclusion

In this paper I have dealt with hermeneutical issues pertinent both to the Greek translation of Genesis and to its subsequent rendering into English. The alternation by the Greek translator between *verbum e verbo* and *sensus de sensu* modes of translation gave rise to a document that is quite uneven in terms of its literary style. As I have noted above, LXX scholars have long struggled to account for this anomaly. In recent years, discussion among those involved in the NETS project has focused on the so-called interlinear model of LXX origins. This model accommodates both the "unintelligibility" and the "intelligibility" of the translated books in its acknowledgment of the shifting dynamics of the relationship between the Semitic (Hebrew/Aramaic) *Vorlage* and its Greek counterpart, a relationship that exhibits within each translation unit and throughout the corpus varying degrees of dependence by the latter upon the former. In the present investigation of Gen 17 I have discussed a case (representative of others in the LXX) in which Jewish halakah may also have exerted its influence on the work of the Greek translator. The interlinear model has been advanced as a metaphor to conceptualize the linguistic relationship between the Semitic and Greek texts rather than as a hypothesis that the LXX translators actually produced a diglot. The existence of both bi-columnar and interlinear school texts from the Greco-Roman period—some consisting of bilingual versions of literary selections and others of unilingual parallels of esoteric works and colloquial renditions of them—indicates that the model's characterization of the LXX's linguistic dependence upon the Semitic original is not without precedent. These school texts also seem to provide analogical support for the idea put forward by some scholars that the LXX is more likely to have been produced, at the outset, for educational purposes than, as others have argued, for liturgical ones. In other words, it may well have been the intention of

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for fulfilling the mitzvah is as soon as possible after sunrise on the eighth day after birth, even if it is a Sabbath or holy day. If, however, the child is born in the twilight period, rabbinic authority must be sought as to the correct time for performing circumcision. If circumcision has been postponed for medical reasons, it may not subsequently be carried out on a Sabbath or holy day. Once postponed, it is also not performed on a Thursday because this might lead unnecessarily to profanation of the Sabbath, which would be the third day of circumcision, when the pain is thought to be most intense and some special treatment might be called for."

LXX translators to provide a crib for Jewish speakers of Greek to facilitate their study of the Hebrew/Aramaic Scriptures.[54]

The debate concerning LXX origins is sure to continue. Both internal and external evidence of various kinds—textual, linguistic, literary, cultural, theological—is relevant in the search for answers to questions about the creation of this literary corpus. Such evidence likewise informs the hermeneutical tasks of reading, interpreting, and retranslating the LXX's constituent parts.

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[54] Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 337–64; Pietersma and Wright, "To the Reader of NETS," ix–x; Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *OtSt* 17 (1972): 11–36; Sebastian P. Brock, "To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Interpretation," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 301–38; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 71–105; Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000): 76–93; idem, "Translating a Translation: The Septuagint of Genesis and the NETS Project," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001): 263–84.

Reconstructing the OG of Joshua

Kristin De Troyer

1. Introduction

1.1 Schøyen MS 2648 (= Ra 816)

In December 1998 Mr. Martin Schøyen from Oslo, Norway, bought two important Greek papyri, MS 2648 (Joshua) and MS 2649 (Leviticus). The scribe is the same for both. Each was part of a codex, probably of two different codices, and they probably come from the Oxyrhynchus area in Egypt. The first part of this author's edition of the papyri is devoted to MS 2648, whose number is 816 in Rahlfs's list.[1]

Manuscript 2648 has six leaves, written recto and verso, hence twelve pages. It contains part of the Greek book of Joshua, namely 9:27 to 11:3. After calculating the length of the text I have concluded that the codex started with the book of Joshua. Most probably it was a Joshua codex.[2] The entire codex might have been about seventy-two pages.

In the edition Rosario Pintaudi and Guglielmo Cavallo date the papyrus between the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries C.E., more precisely, ca. 210–215 C.E. This date has been confirmed by Detlef Fraenkel and Udo Quast from the *Septuaginta-Unternehmen* in Göttingen. For a detailed technical description of the codex the reader is referred to the published edition.[3]

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[1] Kristin De Troyer, "The Schøyen Papyrus of Joshua," in *Papyri Graecae Schøyen*, Part I (ed. R. Pintaudi; Papyrologica Florentina 35, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection 5; Firenze: Gonnelli, 2005), 79–145, pl. xvi–xxvii.

[2] This is important, because we do not have evidence of codices that start with or only contain Joshua. In most codices, Joshua is part of a Hexateuch or Octateuch. With thanks to Detlef Fraenkel.

[3] See n. 1.

1.2 Differences between the MT and the OG

1.2.1 General

In my evaluation of the papyrus I first established that the text of the papyrus was independent of the work of Origen.[4] Then I established its relationship to the OG of Joshua. I used the following categories: additions, omissions, and variants of the papyrus vis-à-vis the OG as represented by Codex Vaticanus. Variants were subdivided in the following categories: grammatical variants, syntactical variants, variants in meaning, lexical variants, phonetic changes, and compositional variants. In all the categories I distinguished between variants agreeing and those disagreeing with the MT. This task was rather difficult, for the papyrus sometimes was also different from Codex Vaticanus, leading me to identify some recensional elements in Codex Vaticanus. Moreover, the papyrus has already proven to be useful in the reconstruction of the OG of Joshua as undertaken by Udo Quast at the *Septuaginta Unternehmen* in Göttingen.

In this contribution I do not want to go into the specific differences between MS 2648 and the OG, but rather I intend to focus on the major differences between the OG of Joshua and the Hebrew (MT).

1.2.2 Striking Differences: 10:15, 23, and 43

The striking differences between the OG of Joshua and the MT are the absence of vv. 15 and 43 in the OG text, as well as the slightly shorter text of v. 23 of the OG.

1.3 Thesis

The OG of Joshua witnesses to a pre-MT of the book of Joshua. The pre-MT differs from the MT by:

– its lesser stress on the execution forms of the commands, given, for example, by Joshua, as is evident in the OG Josh 10:23; and

– not having Gilgal as Joshua's headquarters, as evident in OG Josh 10:15 and 43.

1.4 Focus on Gilgal in Joshua 10:15

I will focus on Josh 10:15. The MT and OG texts of 10:14–18a are as follows:[5]

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[4] The evaluation is in part 4 of the edition.

[5] The Hebrew text is taken from it. For the Greek text see Alan E. Brooke and Norman McLean, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the*

Joshua 10:14–18a

<div dir="rtl">

ולא היה כיום ההוא

לפניו ואחריו

לשמע יהוה בקול איש

כי יהוה נלחם לישראל

וישב יהושע וכל־ישראל עמו

אל־המחנה הגלגלה

וינסו חמשת המלכים האלה

ויחבאו במערה

במקדה

ויגד ליהושע לאמר

נמצאו חמשת המלכים נחבאים

במערה במקדה

ויאמר יהושע ...

</div>

καὶ οὐκ ἐγένετο ἡμέρα τοιαύτη
οὐδὲ τὸ πρότερον οὐδὲ τὸ ἔσχατον
ὥστε ἐπακοῦσαι θεὸν ἀνθρώπου·
ὅτι Κύριος συνεπολέμησεν τῷ
Ἰσραήλ.
Καὶ ἔφυγον οἱ πέντε Βασιλεῖς
οὗτοι,
καὶ κατεκρύβησαν εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον
τὸ ἐν Μακηδά.
καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Ἰησοῦ λέγοντες
Εὕρηνται οἱ πέντε βασιλεῖς
κεκρυμμένοι
ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ τῷ ἐν Μακηδά.
καὶ εἶπεν Ἰησοῦς ...

There has never been a day like it before or since, when the Lord heeded a human voice; for the Lord fought for Israel. Then Joshua returned and all Israel with him, to the camp at Gilgal. Meanwhile, these five kings fled and hid themselves in the cave at Makkedah. And it was told Joshua, "The five kings have been found, hidden in the cave at Makkedah." Joshua said,….

And there was not such a day either before or after, so that God should hearken to a man, because the Lord fought on the side of Israel. And these five kings fled, and hid themselves in a cave that is in Makeda. And it was told Joshua, saying, The five kings have been found hid in the cave that is in Makeda. And Joshua said, … (Brenton[6])

In the critical edition I have attached the following note to v. 15:[7]

Καὶ ἐπέστρψεν ἰησοῦς καὶ πᾶς ιηλ μετ᾽αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν παρεμβολην εἰς γάλγαλα om in B A F^b V OldLat Sah^b Sah^t; exstat in B^mg F^bmg G W 18 19 30 38 54 56 58 68 75 82 85^mg 108 120 121^mg 122 126 129 246 343^mg 344^mg 346^mg 370 376 426 458 488 489 628 630 646 669 707 730 ArmEth^fSyh (sub ÷; in *O* sub *).

Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint, Pt. 4. *Joshua, Judges and Ruth* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917).

[6] Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament: With an English Translation, and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (2 vols.; London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1844–1851; repr., Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978).

[7] Although this note was made for the critical edition of the papyrus, it is useful for the reconstruction of the OG as well.

2. A comparative, literary-critical analysis of MT and OG Joshua 10[8]

2.1 Structure of the MT Joshua 10

In ch. 10 Joshua is dealing with the coalition of five kings, headed by King Adonizedek of Jerusalem. Looking at the destruction of Jericho and Ai and probably shocked at the voluntary submission of Gibeon, King Adonizedek has become a bit worried about his territory and asks for his colleagues to come and attack Gibeon. Gibeon, though, sends for help and asks Joshua to come and defeat his former allies. Joshua grabs the opportunity to fight and leaves Gilgal to attack the five kings. After defeating the coalition he returns to Gilgal. Later he deals with the five king and then sets out to smite their cities. One after the other the cities are destroyed: Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, Hebron, and Debir. At the end of the chapter the author offers a summary about Joshua defeating the area. The chapter concludes with a note that Joshua and his troops return to Gilgal. Schematically:

I. First story: The fight against Gibeon
vv. 1–4: Introduction to the initiative of King Adonizedek
v. 5:   Report on fight against Gibeon
v. 6:   Report on call for help from Gibeon
v. 7:   Report on Joshua's response
v. 8:   Report on God's promise
vv. 9–13:   Report on the intervention of the fabulous team of Joshua and God, with notes regarding some miraculous events
v. 14:   Conclusion of the first story of Josh 10: Statement about what happened
v. 15:   Comment on location: The people return to the camp at Gilgal

II. Second story: Dealing with the five kings
v. 16:   Report on new action: The five kings had fled to Makedah and they hid in the cave
v. 17:   Report to Joshua
v. 18:   Immediate reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
vv. 19–21: Additional instruction by Joshua: He directs his people to yet another action—additional story.
v. 22:   Report on second, later reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
v. 23:   Report on response of the guards
v. 24a: Report on action of Joshua
v. 24b: Report on response of the people
vv. 25–27: Report on final actions of Joshua with the five kings
v. 28:   Report on how Joshua destroyed Makedah

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[8] The following section is part of the second chapter of my book entitled: Kristin De Troyer, *Rewriting the Sacred Text: What the OG Texts Tell Us about the Literary Growth of the Bible* (Text-Critical Studies 4; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

III. Third story: Dealing with the destruction of the five cities
    vv. 29–30: Report on fight against Libnah
    vv. 31–32: Report on fight against Lachish
    v. 33:   Report on additional fight against an ally, king Horam of Gezer
    vv. 34–35: Report on fight against Eglon
    vv. 36–37: Report on fight against Hebron
    vv. 38–39: Report on fight against Debir

IV. Conclusion
    vv. 40–42: Summary of how Joshua smote the area beyond the five
                kingdoms and took all its kings
    v. 43:   Comment on location: Joshua and his troops return to Gilgal.

2.2 A closer look at Joshua's whereabouts

In ch. 10 Gibeon sends for help. His men have to go to Gilgal in order to locate Joshua who is in Gilgal (v. 6). Joshua goes up from Gilgal to help the Gibeonites (v. 7). It takes the troops an entire night to go from Gilgal to the battlefield (v. 9). After the battle Joshua and all the Israelites with him return to Gilgal.[9] In 10:43 again it is said that Joshua returned, and all the Israelites with him, to the camp at Gilgal. In between these events Joshua is in Makedah butchering the kings (Josh 10:16–28) and in the entire country destroying their cities, and dealing with other kings and other cities (10:29–42). This is a survey of Joshua's whereabouts in ch. 10; the centrality of Gilgal surfaces immediately:

Gilgal	battlefield	Makedah	rest of land
10:6			
10:7			
(10:9)	10:10–14		
10:15			
		10:21–28	
			10:29–42
10:43			

In v. 21 Joshua "returns" to Makedah. This is a rather surprising remark, for one would expect the troops to go after the five fleeing kings and thus, turn to Makedah. There is, however, no need to "return" to Makedah. To the contrary Joshua and his gang return to Gilgal after the battle. How then can Joshua return to Makedah if he had never been there before? So when in the narrative does Joshua move his camp from Gilgal (v. 15) to Makedah (v. 21)?

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[9] It seems that the entire camp leaves Gilgal and later returns to Gilgal, because the author writes that "all Israel" went with him.

There is yet another problem that needs to be solved before locating the switch in Joshua's whereabouts. In v. 16 the narrator reports that the five kings flee to Makedah. The reader knows that they are gone. But Joshua, the supreme leader, needs to know too. Hence in v. 17 Joshua is informed about the fleeing of the kings. The verse literally states that it was reported to Joshua. By the end of v. 17 both the reader and the leading character in the story seem to know the same fact. Verse 17, however, is not constructed in an obvious manner: it opens with a *hopᶜal* "it was told to Joshua;" then the verse continues with "saying" followed by a direct quote in the third plural "they have found." Hence, v. 17 not only reports on the fleeing of the five kings, it also informs that they were found. Verse 17 offers the necessary facts for the continuation of the story. If it were not for v. 17, how would Joshua have found out, and how would the story have been continued? Verse 17 is truly a perfect verse! It gives information to both the main character of the plot and the reader of the narrative. Joshua finds out about the finding of the kings. The reader now knows that indeed Joshua knows that the kings are found. One could now presume that the report about the fleeing kings was made to Joshua when he was in his camp at Gilgal. And Joshua reacts in an appropriate way: in v. 18 he orders that large stones be rolled against the mouth of the cave and that men be set by it to guard it. Joshua then orders his soldiers to pursue their enemies till the bitter end (vv. 19–20). In v. 20 the narrator writes: "All the people returned safe to Joshua in the camp at Makedah." Without notice, as if in a dream, the entire camp has moved to Makedah. There is no mention of the camp's move nor of the duration of the process. This time it only takes a blink of the eye to move from Gilgal to Makedah. There is no overnight transfer. It just happens. The author uses almost the same sentence as in v. 15, which reads: "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp, to Gilgal."[10] Verse 21 reads: "And all the people returned to the camp, to Joshua, (to) Makedah, in safety."[11] The addition of the words "in safety" even creates the illusion that the people have come 'home,' namely that they have returned to their point of departure. The camp, however, is no longer in Gilgal but in Makedah. The story can now continue with the events that happen in Makedah.

Looking at the overall structure of ch. 10, the moving from one camp to another seems to be logical: they pursue their enemies and go first to Libnah, then to Lachish, to Eglon, to Hebron, and finally to Debir. The Hebrew story of ch. 10, however, does end as it began; indeed, v. 43 is precisely the same as

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[10] In the book of Joshua the word Gilgal is used three times with a *he-locale* to indicate the direction towards, for instance, a city or land: Josh 10:6, 15, 43.

[11] The verse seems to be constructed on analogy with v. 15. The location, Makedah, however, is not constructed with a *he-locale*, neither is it related to "camp" or "Joshua."

v. 15: "And Joshua returned, and all Israel with him, to the camp, to Gilgal." Gilgal does seem to be the headquarters for Joshua's troops.

In the book of Joshua Gilgal is mentioned right after the Israelites have come out of the water of the Jordan River (4:19). This is not a surprise, for God had instructed the Israelites to go and cross there, and to utter a blessing on Mount Gerizim from Gilgal and a curse on Mount Ebal. These mountains are precisely opposite Gilgal, beside the oak of Moreh (Deut 11:28–29). They camp in Gilgal (Josh 4:19), set up stones in Gilgal (4:20), and celebrate Passover in Gilgal (5:10). An etiology for the name Gilgal is given in connection with the stones that the twelve priests, representing the twelve tribes, must pick up from the Jordan and set as a monument in remembrance of their leaving Egypt. God explains that the "rolling stones" represent the rolling away of the disgrace of Egypt (5:9). In the Hebrew word 'Gilgal' one indeed hears the rolling stones. Joshua is still in Gilgal in 9:6 as well as in 14:6. A king from Gilgal is mentioned in 12:23. Gilgal is also referred to in descriptions of local geography: 15:7. In the book of Judges Gilgal remains an important place (Judg 2:1; 3:19). Samuel frequently visits Gilgal and Saul turns it into his headquarter as well (1 Sam 7:16; 10:8; 11:14; 13:4, 7, 8, 12, 15; 15:12, 21, 33; 19:16, 41). Even the prophets Elijah and Elisha are connected with Gilgal (2 Kgs 2:1; 4:38). From then onwards it is downhill with the real-estate value of Gilgal, for by the time the minor prophets speak about it, it is only in a context of evil, iniquity, and transgressions (Hos 4:15; 9:15; 12:12; Amos 4:4; 5:5; Mic 6:5). Gilgal is no longer the pivotal place; Jerusalem has taken over.

For a long time, then, Gilgal was the place to be. It was the place out of which the next stage in Israelite history would start. The pivotal role played by Gilgal does, indeed, explain why the author mentioned the troop's return to Gilgal—both in v. 15 and in v. 43—but why then did the author never mention that the camp also moved to Makedah? Why was this little inconvenient detail forgotten?

2.3 Structure of the OG Joshua 10

Except for the already mentioned differences, the structure of the OG of Josh 10 is very similar to the one of the MT:

I. First story: The fight against Gibeon
    vv. 1–4:   Introduction to the initiative of King Adonizedek
    v. 5:   Report on fight against Gibeon
    v. 6:   Report on call for help from Gibeon
    v. 7:   Report on Joshua's response
    v. 8:   Report on God's promise
    vv. 9–13:   Report on the intervention of the fabulous team Joshua-God, topped with notes regarding some miraculous moments
    vv. 14:   Conclusion of the first story of Josh 10: Statement about what happened

II. Second story: Dealing with the five kings
- v. 16:   Report on new action: The five kings have fled to Makedah and they hide in the cave
- v. 17:   Report to Joshua
- v. 18:   Immediate reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
- vv. 19–21: Additional instruction of Joshua: He directs his people to yet another action—additional story.
- v. 22:   Report on second, later reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
- v. 23:   Report on response of the guards
- v. 24a: Report on action of Joshua
- v. 24b: Report response of the people
- vv. 25–27: Report on final actions of Joshua with the five kings
- v. 28:   Report on how Joshua destroys Makedah

III. Third story: Dealing with the destruction of the five cities
- vv. 29–30: Report on fight against Libnah
- vv. 31–32: Report on fight against Lachish
- v. 33:   Report on additional fight against an ally, king Horam of Gezer
- vv. 34–35: Report on fight against Eglon
- vv. 36–37: Report on fight against Hebron
- vv. 38–39: Report on fight against Debir

IV. Conclusion
- vv. 40–42: Summary on how Joshua smote the area beyond the five kingdoms and took all its kings.

2.4 Again a closer look at Joshua's itinerary

It is clear that in the Greek text too, Gilgal plays a role. The name Gilgal has been transliterated into Galgala. Joshua is located at Galgala when the Gibeonites come to ask for his help (10:6). He sets out in 10:7 to move to the battlefield. It still takes him a long night to walk (10:9) to the battlefield. After the battle, however, he does not return to Galgala. Neither does he go 'home' in 10:43. Joshua simply walks from one site to the next one. Nowhere in the narrative does he turn back. The survey of Joshua's whereabouts in the Greek text looks as follows:

Galgala	battlefield	Makedah	rest of land
10:6			
10:7			
(10:9)			
–			
		10:21–28	
			10:29–42
–			

Joshua, thus, must have continued from the battlefield to Makeda, for it is said that his troops return to him in Makedah. Indeed, in v. 21 it is said that people return to Joshua at Makedah. In Makedah Joshua deals with the kings (10:21–27) and finally fights the city (10:28). Then, he moves to take on the cities of the five kings and the rest of the area. As in the Hebrew text it is not reported when precisely Joshua moved his camp to Makedah. What Joshua does between the battle at the battlefield and his actions against the king is not mentioned. He does not, however, return to Gilgal/Galgala between his fight and his dealing with the kings. At least after his battle Joshua is closer to Makedah than in the Hebrew story.

The "omission" of Gilgal/Galgala makes the story, however, a bit less complicated. Indeed, v. 21 in the Greek text appears less strange than in the Hebrew. Verse 21 just marks the new camp. It is in Makedah. It is the next stop on Joshua's itinerary. At first sight v. 21 of both the Hebrew and the Greek text give the same information:

וישבו כל־העם אל־המחנה אל־יהושע מקדה בשלום
MT: And all the people returned safely to the camp, to Joshua, to Makedah.
Καὶ ἀπεστράφη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Ἰησοῦν εἰς Μακηδα ὑγιεῖς.
LXX: And all the people returned safely to Joshua in Makedah.

Only in the Greek text, however, is this information appropriate: after all that happened Joshua and his compatriots are located in Makedah. In the Hebrew text the reader or audience expects the army to go back to Gilgal, not to Makedah.

The Greek text even runs more smoothly than the Hebrew text. In the Hebrew text there is much information given at the end of the verse: "the people return to the camp, to Joshua, (to) Makedah, in safety." The Greek text, to the contrary, just states that the people return safely to Joshua in Makedah.

I could conclude this analysis by stating that the Greek text has avoided the difficulty created by omitting v. 15. Indeed, by omitting v. 15 the translator interpreted the text and made Joshua move to Makedah somewhere before v. 21, so that Joshua was able "to return" to Makedah in v. 21. The Greek text, however, has also omitted the reference to Gilgal at the end of the chapter. Indeed, there is no v. 43 in the Greek text.[12] Removing v. 43, however, does not make the story better, but just a bit different. In the Greek story Joshua takes on the rest of the land. There is no return to Gilgal. The Greek story, however,

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[12] The Cambridge text critical apparatus reads as follows: καὶ ἀνέστρεψεν ιης καὶ πᾶς ιηλ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν εἰς γάλγαλα G b c x z(mg) Arm Eth^c Syh. The editor adds that the sentence is marked with an * in both G and the SyroHexapla. It is clear that this Greek line stems from the Hebrew text. In "das Kollationsheft" from Udo Quast in Göttingen the following witnesses are listed as having v. 43: G 19 85^{mg} 108 376 426 (G sub *).

could also have ended with Joshua's return to Gilgal. So, why did the translator omitted v. 43?

3. Who is responsible for the final touches to the OG Joshua? When did this happen and why?

3.1 Solution one: The translator of the OG is responsible for the omission of verses 15 and 43

The solution for the omission of these two verses from ch. 10 could lie in the free attitude of the translator. Maybe the translator of the book of Joshua felt free to change the story, adapt verses, from time to time omit verses, and even add verses. He or she 'omitted' some verses in ch. 20. Finally, the translator 'added' some verses in 21:42 and 24:30. Was the translator, however, a very free translator? A detailed study of the translation technique of the entire book of Joshua normally provides the answer to the question. That is, however, a book in itself. Seppo Sipilä, for instance, wrote a book on one aspect of the translation technique of the book of Joshua.[13] He points to the precarious balance the translator of Joshua kept in his translation. On the one hand he/she did have the freedom to change some elements, but on the other hand kept close to the Hebrew text.[14] The translator, thus, does not omit something because he/she did not like it, or because he/she wanted to change the story. The translator does follow closely the Hebrew text but alters systematically some syntactical constructions in order to create a good Greek text.

My analysis of the commands and their executions points to a similar conclusion.[15] The translator does stay close to the Hebrew text. Comparing the verses in which Gilgal was mentioned in the Hebrew text with their counterparts in the Greek book of Joshua, I note that the translator kept every single reference to Gilgal, with the exception of vv. 15 and 43. The translator also omitted the reference to Gilgal in 5:10.[16] Looking at all the "Gilgal"-verses, I noted that the translator seems to change the name of the place. Up till ch. 10 the translator renders the Hebrew word "Gilgal" as "Galgala." In the list of captured kings,

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[13] Seppo Sipilä, *Between Literalness and Freedom: Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Joshua and Judges Regarding the Clause Connections Introduced by* ו *and* כי (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 75; Helsinki; Göttingen: Finnish Exegetical Society; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: 1999).

[14] "He/she" is my way of referring to the translator of Joshua, not Sipilä's.

[15] See Kristin De Troyer, "Did Joshua Have a Crystal Ball? The OG and the MT of Joshua 10:15, 17 and 23," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[16] This may be the case, because it was just mentioned in 5:9.

12:23, the translator opts for "Galilaias," maybe because "Gilgal" is here mentioned together with king "Goim" or "king of the Goim" of Gilgal—a further unknown king. From ch. 14 onwards the Hebrew place name is rendered with Galgal not Galgala. Maybe the translator did not know of one place "Galgala"? Maybe the place "Galgala" was not all that important? Who can tell?[17] What is obvious is that the translator does translate the reference to Gilgal in almost all passages except 10:15 and 10:43. The question, thus, remains: Why is there no v. 15 (and no v. 43) in the Greek text?

3.2 Solution two: The Vorlage of the OG of Joshua did not have verses 15 and 43

The answer to the problem about why v. 15 (and 43) is absent from the Greek text might be very simple. It might be that the Vorlage did not have v. 15 (nor v. 43).

External support for the absence of v. 15 in the Hebrew text that was in front of the translator comes from the Schøyen Joshua papyrus, MS 2648, which does not have v. 15. Moreover, there is a strong list of evidence quoted in the beginning of this chapter that supports the absence of v. 15 in the oldest layer of the Greek translation of the book of Joshua. Verse 43, also, is absent from this old manuscript. Again, a list of witnesses buttress my opinion that v. 43 was absent from the OG of Joshua.[18] All this points to a Hebrew text in which vv. 15 and 43 were not present. Similarly, there is external support for a text without v. 17. Manuscripts 53 125 246 392 799 do not have v. 17. Moreover, the Schøyen Joshua papyrus also does not have v. 17. In my opinion the Hebrew text underlying the OG text did not have vv. 15, 17, and 43. Manuscript 2648, the Schøyen Joshua papyrus, is a valuable tool to reconstruct an OG text without v. 15, 17, and 43.

3.3 The pre-MT of Joshua 10

After this long analysis I have now concluded for the existence of a Hebrew text underlying the OG text, which did not have vv. 15 and 43. This text is called the pre-MT. Now, the following issue needs to be addressed. When and who inserted vv. 15 and 43 into the old story of Joshua? Who is responsible for the final touches to the pre-MT Joshua? Who turned the pre-MT of Joshua, and especially the elements I focus on in this chapter, into the MT?

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[17] The translator of the books of 1 and 2 Samuel on the other hand renders Gilgal again with Galgala.

[18] See my note on the use of "additions" and "omissions" attached to the structure of the Hebrew text.

In order to answer this question, I studied the structure of the Hebrew text once more. I noted that the reference to Gilgal has been inserted into two crucial sections: right after the first fight and right after the last fight of the first round. I indicate the insertions with ">>>":

3.3.1 The structure of Joshua 10, marking Gilgal

I. First story: The fight against Gibeon
    vv. 1–4:   Introduction to the initiative of King Adonizedek
    v. 5:   Report on fight against Gibeon
    v. 6:   Report on call for help from Gibeon
    v. 7:   Report on Joshua's response
    v. 8:   Report on God's promise
    vv. 9–13:   Report on the intervention of the fabulous team Joshua-God, topped with notes regarding some miraculous moments
    vv. 10:14:   Conclusion of the first story of Josh 10: Statement about what happened
    >>> v. 15:   Comment on location: The people return to the camp at Gilgal

II. Second story: Dealing with the five kings
    v. 16:   Report on new action: The five kings have fled to Makedah and they hide in the cave
    v. 17:   Report to Joshua
    v. 18:   Immediate reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
    vv. 19–21:   Additional instruction of Joshua: He directs his people to yet another action—additional story.
    v. 22:   Report on second, later reaction of Joshua regarding the kings
    v. 23:   Report on response of the guards
    v. 24a: Report on action of Joshua
    v. 24b: Report response of the people
    vv. 25–27:   Report on final actions of Joshua with the five kings
    v. 28:   Report on how Joshua destroys Makedah

III. Third story: Dealing with the destruction of the five cities
    vv. 29–30:   Report on fight against Libnah
    vv. 31–32:   Report on fight against Lachish
    v. 33:   Report on additional fight against an ally, king Horam of Gezer
    vv. 34–35:   Report on fight against Eglon
    vv. 36–37:   Report on fight against Hebron
    vv. 38–39:   Report on fight against Debir

IV. Conclusion
    vv. 40–42:   Summary on how Joshua smote the area beyond the five kingdoms and took all its kings
    >>> v. 43:   Comment on location: Joshua and his troops return to Gilgal.

By inserting vv. 15 and 43 the author turned "Gilgal" into Joshua's headquarters.

3.3.2 The structure of the Joshua, marking Gilgal

In addition to making Gilgal Joshua's headquarters the author has turned "Gilgal" into a structural marker. Gilgal now marks the beginning or endings of larger sections. It marks the entrance of Israel to the land in ch. 4; it marks the beginning and end of the first round of battle; it also points to the end of the second round—albeit it in the strange list of conquered kings—and, finally, to the beginning of the second stage of the taking and dividing the land. This movement is evident too when observing the larger structure of the book of Joshua.

I. Introduction
    1:1–9: Report on the installation of Joshua, the new leader
    1:10–15: Report on Joshua's first commands
    1:16–18: Report on acceptance of Joshua's leadership

II. Israel crosses the Jordan and marks the event
    2:1–24: Story about the spies and Rahab
    3:1–4:24: Report on Israel's preparation for, actual crossing of, and ritually
            marking of their crossing of the Jordan
    4:19–20: Camping and celebrating in Gilgal
    5:1–8: Report on circumcision
    5:9: Comment on location, Gilgal
    5:10–12: Report on Passover celebration
    5:13–15: Report on Joshua's brief encounter with God

III. Examples on how to live in the land
    6:1–27: The Jericho story
    7:1–8:29: Report on the first and second attempt on taking Ai
    8:30–35: Report on the building of an altar

IV. Conquering the land
    9:1–10:43: Report on the first round of battling against the kings of the land
    9:6: Joshua is still in Gilgal
    10:15, 43: Joshua's headquarter
    11:1–12:24: Report on the second round of battling against the kings of the
           land
    12:23: Gilgal is mentioned in the list of the kings that Joshua smote

V. Conquering the land, phase two
    13:1–22:34: Report on how the Israelites took possession and divided the
           land
    14:6: Joshua is reported to still be in Gilgal

VI. Conclusions
    23:1–16: First concluding chapter of the book of Joshua
    24:1–33: Second concluding chapter
    Judges 2:1: An angel comes up from Gilgal to Bochim

In short Gilgal plays a prominent role in the entering to the land in 4:19–20 and 5:9 by marking the opening and closing of phase one in the conquering of the land at 9:6; 10:15, 43, and opening and closing of phase two in the conquering of the land at 14:6 and Judg 2:1.

4. Conclusion

Looking at the two main witnesses of the book of Joshua, the Hebrew and the Greek, studying the text critical data, comparing the narratives and evaluating the structure of the books, I have found that the differences between the Hebrew and Greek texts can be seen as differences between two different stages in the book of Joshua. The OG of Joshua represents an older stage of the book of Joshua, older than the MT. As this older text was later transformed into the current MT, I label the *Vorlage* of the Greek book of Joshua a pre-MT book of Joshua. The pre-MT book of Joshua became the MT book by the insertion of, and focus on, Gilgal as the central camping ground of Joshua and his army. In the pre-MT of Joshua, Gilgal is not yet the place to be. This absence of interest in Gilgal explains the absence of vv. 15 and 43 in ch. 10. Moreover, it explains the absence of v. 17. As soon as Gilgal became the new epicenter, vv. 15, 17 and 43 were inserted to adapt the pre-MT story to its new context. By doing so the MT of the book of Joshua came into being.

Based upon this analysis I have concluded that the OG of Joshua represents the pre-MT stage of the book of Joshua.

Interlinearity in 2 Esdras: A Test Case

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Second Esdras is one of the few Greek translations that made it into the official lists of books together with a similar version of the material, i.e., 1 Esdras. Often confused with 4 Esdras in the Latin canon, which has the name 2 Ezra in the Deuterocanonical materials, the Greek book is the translation of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. Although 1 Esdras covers the last two chapters of Chronicles, all of Ezra and the Ezra material in Nehemiah, along with an additional story three chapters in length, 2 Esdras has only material parallel to what we have in the MT. Throughout Ezra and Nehemiah there are numerous lists of people and items. Although most are translated into Greek in a way consistent with how we understand the Hebrew and Aramaic, in several of these series the translator begins the list with the grammatical case that one would expect, but then abandons it for the remainder of the list or uses the nominative where it does not seem to fit: they are found in 8:9, 12; 9:1; 10:18; 13:24–25, 26, 31; 14:13; and 21:4–5, 7, 11–12, 15, 22, (30–3 and 36?); 22:35–36; and 23:13. Most of the occurrences in the MT have one preposition governing the whole series of nouns. In the Greek there is a corresponding case or preposition to match the MT's preposition, and the first item is in the case appropriate to the preposition. However, the subsequent items continue in the nominative or the accusative case, thus dissociating them from the preposition. Most of these apparent anacolutha leave the translator with two choices: either to translate the list according to the Greek grammar, or to resort to the Hebrew or Aramaic grammar of the source material. The former results in very awkward translations, often with subjects and no verb, thus necessitating the use of an ellipsis. It could also result in a mere detached list of words. The second translation choice of resorting to the source text violates the grammar of the Greek language by using Semitic grammar as if a Greek reader would have done so.

One issue discussed by translators of the Septuagint concerns the role accorded to the source text, i.e., the Hebrew-Aramaic. NETS, for which this author is translator of 1 and 2 Esdras, maintains a basic distinction between, on the one hand the so-called constitutive character of the translated text, which takes cognizance of its vertical dimension, namely, its dependence on its source,

and on the other hand the reception history of the translated text, which was forced to restrict itself to the text's horizontal dimension, the grammar and syntax of the Greek. The focus of NETS is more on the former, therefore on both its horizontal and vertical dimensions.[1] As the overview by Wolfgang Kraus in this volume illustrates, there is debate about the value of this approach.[2]

Albert Pietersma, with his student Cameron Boyd-Taylor, has developed the Interlinear Model of translations as a heuristic model for understanding such translation techniques as we find in Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures.[3] This model is conceptual and does not posit that there were lines of Hebrew/Aramaic text interlaced with, or running parallel to, the matching Greek translation. Instead, the model proposes that a translator was unevenly balancing two dimensions of a translation—its relationship to the source text, and its relationship to the receptor language—the former being the dominant relationship. Pietersma writes:

> I would further argue that "interlinear" is meant to convey that the text in question is two-dimensional, that is to say, it has a vertical as well as a horizontal dimension. On the horizontal plane morphemes are knit together into syntactic units to convey information, on the vertical plane the parent text forms the *de facto* context for units of meaning, and as a result of excessive one-for-one dependence on the source text the receptor text may be rendered disjointed or worse. That is to say, in an interlinear text one can expect that the vertical dimension interferes with the horizontal to such an extent that the text lacks semantic coherence.[4]

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[1] On NETS and interlinearity, see the following by A. Pietersma: "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 177–87; "A New English Translation of the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 217–28; *Translation Manual for "A New English Translation of the Septuagint" (*NETS*)* (Ada: Uncial Books, 1996); and note especially the introduction to idem, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), vii–xxvii, which is the first fascicle of NETS to appear.

[2] See the article by Wolfgang Kraus in this volume for overviews of NETS, Bible d'Alexandrie, and LXX.D, pp. 63–83.

[3] See, Albert Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64. See also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: the Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 71–105.

[4] Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," 351.

The horizontal relationship is represented by the use of appropriate Greek grammar, syntax, and word order, to convey to the readers the relationship of the words, so that they might understand how the words function together. Inherent in the model is the understanding that the more formal the translation renders its *Vorlage*, the more the reader must have some recourse to the characteristics of the original language and possibly to the original text itself, in order to make sense of the translation. Pietersma has proposed that the social location for such translations was educational rather than liturgical or recreational. He bases this on actual interlinear texts discovered in Egypt, whose intended use seems to have been to help speakers of Hellenistic Greek understand the works of the much revered Homer.[5] Second Esdras is a translation that fits this model well, and thus is one that serves as a good test of the usefulness of the model.

In this paper, we will consider four examples from the lists exhibiting anacoluthon. We hope to demonstrate that the translation of these passages benefits from the use of the Interlinear Model. Before we look at the four examples, however, some general characteristics of 2 Esdras will be set forth.

1. Translation Characteristics of 2 Esdras

As a translation 2 Esdras has not fared well in scholarly assessments.[6] Howorth wrote of it: "As it occurs in the Greek Bibles it is a very literal and servile translation of the Hebrew, or Masoretic, text. It follows it in eccentricities of

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[5] See the contribution by Cameron Boyd-Taylor in this volume, pp. 15–31, for an example.

[6] There have been only a few studies devoted specifically to this book over the years, such as: August Klostermann, "Esra und Nehemia," *RE*, 500–23; Henry H. Howorth, "Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible: IV. The LXX Text of the Book of Nehemiah," *PSBA* 24 (1902): 332–40; idem, "Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible: IV. The LXX Text of the Book of Nehemiah (Continued)," *PSBA* 25 (1903): 15–22, 90–98; G. Jahn, *Die Bücher Esra (A und B) und Nehemja, text-kritisch und historisch-kritisch untersucht mit Erklärung der einschlägigen Prophetenstellen und einem Anhang über hebräische Eigennamen* (Leiden: Brill, 1909); R. M. Gwynn, "Notes on the Authorship of Some Books of the Greek Old Testament," *Herm* 20 (1930): 52–61; Arthur Allgeier, "Beobachtungen am Septuagintatext der Bücher Esdras und Nehemias," *Bib* 22 (1941): 227–51; Timothy Janz, "The Second Book of Ezra and the ʽΚαίγε Group,'" in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge, 1995* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 154–70. Now there is the long awaited Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 2. Esrabuches* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 253; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003) which was learned of too late for inclusion in this article.

diction and otherwise …"[7] When writing of its counterpart, 1 Esdras, Cook characterized it as "… un-Greek, literal and mechanical …"[8] In one of the few studies devoted only to this translation, Allgeier concluded that the translator had limited language abilities and took less care than he should have: he followed the *Vorlage* very closely, translated it incorrectly, or not at all, rather opting merely to transcribe words from the *Vorlage* and often did that incorrectly, too.[9] Pfeiffer concluded: "The 'LXX' discloses servile conformity to the Hebrew and Aramaic original, at the cost of clarity, and thus fails to attain even the pretense of Greek idiomatic expression, not to speak of distinction in diction."[10]

Since those studies, Hanhart has produced his critical edition of 2 Esdras in the Göttingen *Septuaginta*, and new translation projects are underway in France, North America, and Germany.[11] This necessitates a fresh presentation of the characteristics and problems associated with this work. In the following we will focus on the predominant characteristic with which a translator must cope, the careful mimicking of the *Vorlage* through a strictly formal equivalence in translation style. First, we will briefly consider the book's relationship to the main characteristics of the *kaige*-Theodotion group of translations as proposed by Barthélemy, which tend to formal equivalency. As well, we will note the use of transliterations in 2 Esdras, another characteristic associated with the Theodotion translations in the past. Finally, we will examine both word order and the translation of conjunctions.

1.1 Relationship to the Kaige-*Theodotion Group*

One of the frequent comparisons for 2 Esdras has been with the *kaige*-Theodotion group of translations. At the ninth Congress of the IOSCS in 1995 Timothy Janz presented a paper in which he concluded that 2 Esdras was peripherally connected to, or dependent on, the *kaige*-Theodotion group of works. He arranged the various *kaige* characteristics that Barthélemy and others proposed into four groups and analyzed the translation using them:[12]

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[7] Henry H. Howorth, "Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible: I. The Apocryphal Book Esdras A and the LXX," *PSBA* 23 (1901): 151.

[8] S. A. Cook, "I Esdras," *APOT* 1:3.

[9] Allgeier, "Beobachtungen am Septuagintatext der Bücher Esdras und Nehemias," 232, 235.

[10] Robert H. Pfeiffer, *A History of New Testament Times with an Introduction to the Apocrypha* (New York: Harper, 1949), 248.

[11] Robert Hanhart, *Esdrae Liber II* (Septuaginta VIII, 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993).

[12] He notes that Greenspoon had enumerated ninety-six in 1983, to which more had been added (p. 155). R. Timothy McLay, "*KAIGE* and Septuagint Research," *Text* 19 (1998):

1. The best indicators are those that "are both semantically inadequate renderings of their Hebrew 'equivalents' and stylistically unsatisfactory in Greek." These he limits to the translation of גם by καίγε and אנכי by ἐγώ εἰμι.

2. Next are those that are either semantically or stylistically peculiar, but not both, among which he includes the translation of איש by ἀνήρ, אל by ἰσχυρός, שוב by ἐπιστρέφω,[13] and several others;

3. The third group consists of "systematic distinctions between pairs of words, which are not semantically or stylistically problematic in themselves but which are remarkable because of their consistency…" (p. 155). He refers only to the translation of שופר by κερατίνη, and חצצרה by σάλπιγξ.

4. Finally, "those characteristics which are merely typical, but which present no semantic or stylistic problems." (p. 156)

Using these criteria, Janz concluded that the *kaige* characteristics:

> … are clearly not recensional developments, but part of the original translation of the book. While it is true that some of these may simply represent coincidental resemblances in lexical choices, this does not appear to be a satisfactory explanation for those characteristics which present remarkable semantic or stylistic peculiarities.[14]

He proposed that the translator either produced 2 Esdras at the same time, or subsequent to the work of the *kaige*-Theodotion group.

In *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*, the work upon which Janz depends, Barthélemy had initially included 2 Esdras in his examination of translations considered for inclusion in the *kaige*-Theodotion group. Although Barthélemy considered eight main characteristics and a number of other minor ones—the ones that Janz put into four groups—later, after reflecting on his work and the interaction of others with it, he narrowed the number to just four: the translation of וגם/גם by καίγε; the translation of אנכי before a verb in the first person by ἐγώ εἰμι; the use of ἀνήρ for all occurrences of איש; and the translation of אין by οὐκ ἔστι without taking into account the agreement of tenses.[15]

Whereas Janz did not use the later publication of Barthélemy, we need to revisit the question of how 2 Esdras compares to these criteria.

127–39, questioned the validity of the characteristics by reviewing the inconsistency of occurrence as revealed by a comparison of 6 monographs.

[13] Cf. Walter Ray Bodine, *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments* (HSM 23; Chico: Scholars Press, 1980), 54–56.

[14] Janz, "The Second Book of Ezra and the 'Καίγε Group,'" 167.

[15] Dominique Barthélemy, "Prise de Position sur les Autres Communications du Colloque de Los Angeles," in *Études d'Histoire du Texte de l'Ancien Testament* (D. Barthélemy; OBO 21; Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 267–69.

1. Translation of וגם/גם by καίγε: Of the eighteen occurrences of these in the MT, only 1:1 is rendered by καίγε. In fact, it was after this characteristic was found to be so poorly represented in 2 Esdras that Barthélemy dropped 2 Esdras from his examination.

2. Translation of אנכי before a verb in the first person by ἐγώ εἰμι: This does not occur in 2 Esdras; אנכי occurs only once in Neh 1:6, but it is before a participle.

3. Use of ἀνήρ for all occurrences of איש: The Hebrew lexeme occurs fifty-eight times in Ezra-Nehemiah. It is translated forty-nine times by ἀνήρ, four times by υἱός, three times by ἄνθρωπος, once by ἕκαστος, and once it occurs where there is a minus.

4. Translation of אין by οὐκ ἔστι without taking into account the agreement of tenses: The Hebrew occurs fifteen times in MT. In 2 Esdras it is contextualized each time except at 12:12 where it should be imperfect.
   a. οὐκ ἦν/οὐκ ἦσαν: 3:13; 12:14; 14:23 [17]; 17:4
   b. τοῦ μὴ εἶναι: 9:14
   c. οὐκ ἔστιν/εἰσιν: 9:15; 10:13; 12:2, 12, 20; 15:5; 23:24
   d. μὴ: 18:10
   e. −: 14:23 [17]

The results are, then, 1/18, 0/1, 49/58, and 1/13, which are hardly what one could call convincing evidence for inclusion of this book in the *kaige-*Theodotion group.

Second Esdras does bear some resemblances to the *kaige-*Theodotion group, and so with Janz we can say that it is may be peripherally connected. However, it almost totally lacks the signature feature of that group, i.e., the translation of וגם/גם by καίγε, when there was ample opportunity so to render it, and both איש and אין are translated with more sensitivity to context than in the core works. Hanhart's edition has not, therefore, altered the evidence that led to Barthélemy's decision to exclude 2 Esdras from *kaige-*Theodotion, and a peripheral relationship is even questionable. Nonetheless, as a help to those who have never made use of 2 Esdras, the association with that group of translations may prove helpful, because the translator approached the task with a similar methodology.

1.2 Transliterations[16]

One frequently occurring characteristic that is illustrative of formal equivalence is the transliterating of words rather than translation. There are about thirty-five transliterations used sixty-seven times in 2 Esdras that are not proper nouns in MT. Large numbers of them have been considered one of the characteristics of Theodotion's translation, and so played a key role in the assignment of this book to that group of documents, although that criterion has been significantly criticized and modified in recent times.[17] As we consider the transliterations in 2 Esdras, we need to bear in mind Tov's caution that books such as 1 Chronicles and 2 Esdras with large numbers of proper nouns and terms will naturally have more transliterations, and so it is not reasonable to compare books with low concentrations to them.[18]

In 1979, Tov wrote an article in *Biblica* on loan-words, homophony, and transliterations in the Septuagint, in which he proposed categorizing transliterations that are found in the Greek versions into three groups:[19]

1.   Proper nouns, whether personal names, or geographic and ethnic names.[20]

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[16] On transliterations in the Greek versions, see Einar Brønno, "Some Nominal Types in the Septuagint: Contributions to Pre-Masoretic Hebrew Grammar," *CM* 3 (1940): 180–213; Emanuel Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament: A Further Characteristic of the *Kaige*-Th. Revision?," *Text* 8 (1973): 78–92; Emanuel Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration in the Septuagint," *Bib* 60 (1979): 216–36; Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, "The Interpretative Element in Transliteration," *Text* 8 (1973): 55–77.

[17] Charles C. Torrey, "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah," in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper* (ed. R. F. Harper, F. Brown, and G. F. Moore; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1908), 64–71; which is the same as idem, *Ezra Studies* (LBS; New York: KTAV, 1970), 70–77. Cf. Janz, "The Second Book of Ezra and the 'Καίγε Group,'" 164 n. 36. For an incisive critique of Torrey's use of transliterations to link 2 Esdras with Theodotion see Bernhard Walde, *Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta: Ihr gegenseitiges Verhältnis untersucht*, 18.4 (BibS(F); Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1913), 37–41; and Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 79.

[18] Ibid., 82 n. 20.

[19] Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 227. He condensed the four categories that he had used in idem, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 82, to three. He subsumed the fourth category (transliterations of common nouns as proper nouns, because contexts such as where proper nouns are numerous [lists, etc.] may have misled the translator) under the first (idem, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 229–30).

[20] See also Kedar-Kopfstein, "Interpretative Element in Transliteration," 55–77.

2. Technical terms, most being religious and architectural terms, or measures and weights.
3. Words probably unknown to the translator, which tend to be *hapax legomena* or at least are rare, or are misspelled.[21]

In a *Textus* article Kedar-Kopfstein had earlier argued that some translators purposely transliterated so as to hide something, to which he gave the title 'negative interpretation.'[22] An example from 2 Esdras might be Ἀβδησελμά for "the servants of Solomon."[23] In the later biblical and intertestamental period having the "servants of Solomon" serve as lowly members of the Temple personnel might have seemed insulting to his memory. Thus, such a phrase might have been purposely cloaked by inserting different vowels and rendering it as a proper noun. Alternatively, it could have been rendered as it was pronounced, but this still hides what the phrase means in the original language. Given Kedar-Kopfstein's work, we need to modify Tov's first category, and break it into three subsections:

a. proper nouns, or geographic and ethnic names;
b. transliterations of common nouns as proper nouns; and
c. negative interpretations.

The following list is an updating of the one provided by Torrey in 1908, but is limited to 2 Esdras.[24] Following him, this list does not include proper nouns from the MT, of which there are over 500 in 2 Esdras. Nor is this intended as a list of Theodotion's transliterations, for that begs the question; it merely presents a list of those occurring in Hanhart's edition of 2 Esdras. The number assigned by Torrey is given if it exists, and the modified categories from above are assigned to each.

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[21] The reverse should also occur, i.e., that a context led translators to mistake proper nouns as common nouns. This does happen in 2 Esdras, e.g., at 4:7, where בשלם, *Bishlam*, was read as בשלום and translated as ἐν εἰρήνῃ (cf. Allgeier, "Beobachtungen am Septuaginta-text der Bücher Esdras und Nehemias," 230). Kedar-Kopfstein also contends that some proper nouns were understood as epithets and translated rather than transliterated.

[22] Ibid., 55–77.

[23] See table below. Note that it is translated at 21:3!

[24] See above, n. 17.

Table 1. Transliterations in 2 Esdras

				Torrey	Categ.
1.	Ἀβδησελμά	עבדי שלמה	2:55, 58	2	1c/2
2.	ἀβιρά[25]	הבירה	11:1	4	3
3.	ἀδωρηέμ	אדיריהם	13:5	7	3
4.	Ἀθερσαθά	התרשתא	2:63; 17:65, 70	8	1b
5.	Ἀϊν[26]	העין	12:14; 22:37	11	1c
6.	Ἀχχεχάρ	הככר	13:22	18	1b
7.	Βααλτάμ	בעל טעם	4:8, 9, 17	20	1b
8.	βάτων[27]	בתין	7:22[2x]	21	2
9.	βακχουρίοι	בכורים	23:31	22	2?
10.	Βηθαγγαβαρίμ	בית הגברים	13:16	26	1c/2
11.	Βηθανναθινίμ	בית הנתינים	13:31	26	1c/2
12.	Βηθαζαριά	בית היעזריה	13:24	26	1c/2
13.	Βηθελισούβ	בית אלישיב	13:20, 21[2x]	26	1c/2
14.	Βιρά	ההבירה	17:2	24	2/3
15.	γάζα[28]	גנזיא	5:17; 6:1; 7:20, 21	28	2/3
16.	Γαρβαρηνός	הגזבר	1:8	31	2/3
17.	γωληλά	גיא הלילה	12:13	35	3
18.	Εἰσιανά	הישנה	22:39	–	3
19.	Θαννουρίμ	תנורים	13:11	41	3
20.	Θεννωρίμ	תנורים	22:38	41	3
21.	θωδαθά	תודות	22:27	43	2
22.	Ἰασανά	הישנה	13:6	–	3
23.	Μαναά[29]	מנחה	23:5, 9	48	2
24.	Μασφάρ	מספר	17:7	–	3?
25.	Μαφεκάδ	מפקד	13:31	–	3?
26.	Μεά	מאה	22:39	–	3?
27.	μεθωεσίμ[30]	מתיחשים	2:62	51	3
28.	ναθιναῖοι	נתינים	2:43; 21:3	–	2
29.	ναθινίμ[31]	נתינים	2:58, 70; 7:7, 24; 8:17, 20; 13:26;	–	2

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[25] Peter Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (ed. D. W. Gooding; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 305; Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 88. Note that, different to #14, this was not recognized as Article + Noun.

[26] Both Rahlfs and Hanhart resort to conjecture here. The MSS read: του αινειν. Cf. Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 235–36.

[27] Ibid., 232.

[28] This word has been found in papyri. See LSJ.

[29] This is found throughout the Greek versions. Tov suggests that it is based on the Aramaic pronunciation (Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 231), but the ה termination is transliterated as α and ח is usually transliterated with a vowel.

[30] Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 88.

			17:46, 60, 73; 20:28		
30.	Ὀφλά	עפל	13:26	55	1c
31.	πάσχα[32]	פסח	6:19, 20, 21	–[33]	2
32.	Ῥωκεΐμ[34]	רקחים	13:8	–	2/3
33.	σαχώλ	שכל	8:18	57	2
34.	φεά[35] (βία)	פחה	15:14, 15, 18	65	2/3
35.	χαφουρή[36]	כפרי	8:27	45	2/3
36.	χεφουρή	כפורי	1:10	45	2/3
37.	χοθωνώθ	כתנת	17:70 [69], 72 [71]	69	2
38.	Ὠφάλ	עפל	13:27	55	1c

As the initial capital letters indicate, many of the words can be understood as proper nouns in the Greek, although not all are used in that way. Also, they are mostly Hebrew-based, not Aramaic-based, transliterations; notice the Hebrew masculine plural endings reflected in ##10, 11, 19, 20, 27, 29, and 32. However, ##21, 30, and 36 are arguably reflect Aramaic pronunciation. Numbers 28 and 29 are arranged in a sandwich pattern, with the Graecized forms on the outside and the uninflected transliterations between. There is inconsistency in the renderings of 2 & 14, 18 & 22, 19 & 20, 28 & 29, 30 & 38, 35 & 36. The pair 30 & 38 are interesting, because they occur in the same passage.

Rather than being examples of the translator's inadequacy with the Hebrew and Aramaic, such transliterations might be terms that held relevance to the users of the text and did not need translation.[37] We might see this in the

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[31] Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 232.

[32] It is based on the Aramaic pronunciation (cf. ibid., 231).

[33] Torrey discusses this term in "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah," 61 = *Ezra Studies*, 67–68. He leaves it out of the list of transliterations, because he assumed that 2 Esdras is the translation by Theodotion, and Theodotion used φασεκ/φασεχ (18x in Chronicles). He makes the unfounded claim that the present text replaced the original translation at an early stage.

[34] Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 89.

[35] This is a conjecture. As Walde notes (*Die Esdrasbücher der Septuaginta*, 41 n. 2) Neh 5:14a also has פחה, but it is rendered by ἄρχων. It would seem, therefore, that something other than mere transliteration of the term has occurred. Walde's proposal that פחה was mistaken for כה and thus translated by βία, is feasible (cf. Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 235–36). That translation, however, occurs only one other time, at Isa 63:1, which was missed in HRCS, 276).

[36] Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words," 88; Tov, "Loan-Words, Homophony and Transliteration," 235.

[37] Torrey, for example, calls them "unnecessary barbarisms." "The Apparatus for the Textual Criticism of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah," 63 = *Ezra Studies*, 69. Tov, however,

transliteration of נתינים by ναθινίμ and ναθιναῖοι. The Nathinim continued to be of interest for some time beyond the writing of Ezra and Nehemiah, as a list from Qumran and the references in later Jewish literature demonstrate.[38] Thus, what could be taken as the mere transliteration of a term that an author did not know, could also be the term by which the Greek speaking translator and community actually knew them. Thus there was less need to find Greek equivalents. Some seem be to due to a confusion of vowel letters, however: ##3, 17, and 27.

1.3 Word Order

In order to examine other characteristics of 2 Esdras, this writer compiled a representative sample of the book consisting of sixty-five verses.[39] They were arranged in parallel columns with each row having one Hebrew word on the left and the matching Greek word(s) on the right, and blank cells where necessary at plusses and minuses. This tabular arrangement of the text resulted in 933 rows like the following sample from 2:2:

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recognizes their legitimacy with his category for technical religious and architectural terms, and measures and weights.

[38] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of 'Netinim' and Proselytes in 4Q Florilegium," *RevQ* 8 (1972): 87–96; Magen Broshi and Ada Yardeni, "4Q List of Netinim," in *Qumran Cave 4: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. Magen Broshi et al.; in consultation with J. C. VanderKam; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 81–84; Magen Broshi and Ada Yardeni, "On Netinim and False Prophets," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (ed. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 29–37; Baruch A. Levine, "Later Sources on the Netînîm," in *Orient and Occident* (AOAT 22; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1973), 101–7; idem, "The Netînîm," *JBL* 82 (1963): 207–12; idem, "Notes on the Hebrew Ostracon From Arad," *IEJ* 19 (1969): 49–51; Émile Puech, "The Tel El-Ful Jar Inscription and the *Netinim*," *BASOR* 261 (1986): 69–72; Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, "Unrecognized Dedication," *IEJ* 13 (1963): 69–73.

[39] Beginning from 1:3, every tenth verse of Greek material was selected from Hanhart's text: 1:3; 2:2, 12, 22, 32, 42, 52; 3:2, 12; 4:9, 19; 5:5, 15; 6:8, 18; 7:6, 16, 26; 8:8, 18; 9:2, 12; 10:7, 17, 27, 37; 11:3; 12:2, 12; 13:2, 12, 22, 32; 14:10, 20; 15:7; 16:8, 18; 17:9, 19, 29, 39, 49, 59, 69; 18:6, 16; 19:8, 18, 28, 38; 20:10, 20, 30; 21:1, 11, 24; 22:7, 17, 27, 37, 47; 23:10, 20, 30. Given the method of selection, the statistics drawn from the sample will only tell us about the general nature of the rendering of the *Vorlage* into Greek, but not anything about the overall state of the text that the translator of 2 Esdras used to produce 2 Esdras. This sample does not take into account the major minuses in the latter part of 2 Esdras, which seem to be due to a pre-MT version of the book, the poor state of the MS of the *Vorlage*, or to the carelessness of the translator, but not to any *tendenz*. The larger minuses are found at 14:6 (Neh 3:37–38); 21:12–13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20–21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28–35 (11:12); 22:2–6, 9, 25, 29.

Table 2. Ezra 2:2 and 2 Esdras 2:2 in columns

Row number	Verse	Hebrew and word number		Greek with Hebrew word number	
23.	02.02	אשר	01	01	οἳ
24.	02.02	באו	02	02	ἦλθον
25.	02.02	עם	03	03	μετὰ
26.	02.02	זרבבל	04	04	Ζοροβαβέλ·
27.	02.02	ישוע	05	05	Ἰησοῦς,
28.	02.02	נחמיה	06	06	Νεεμίας,
29.	02.02	שריה	07	07	Σαραίας,
30.	02.02	רעליה	08	08	Ῥεελίας,
31.	02.02	מרדכי	09	09	Μαρδοχαῖος,
32.	02.02	בלשן	10	10	βαλασάν,
33.	02.02	מספר	11	11	Μασφάρ,
34.	02.02	בגוי	12	12	Βαγουαί,
35.	02.02	רחום	13	13	Ῥεούμ,
36.	02.02	בענה	14	14	Βαανά.
37.	02.02	מספר	15	16	ἀνδρῶν
38.	02.02	אנשי	16	15	ἀριθμὸς
39.	02.02	עם	17	17	λαοῦ
40.	02.02	ישראל	18	18	Ἰσραήλ·

Among the 933 rows, only thirty-two had Hebrew/Aramaic words with no matching Greek text, and only twenty had Greek words with no Hebrew/Aramaic parallel.

One striking observation about these sixty-five verses is that in them the translator did not vary word order from that of the MT. There is only one variance, at 2:2 (see lines 37 and 38 of the table above), where just two words are reversed: מספר אנשי עם ישראל for ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς λαοῦ Ἰσραήλ. Given such close adherence of the Greek to the order of MT, it is very clear that the *Vorlage* of 2 Esdras is from the same tradition of the Hebrew Bible.

Among the 933 rows there were only eleven in which two Hebrew/Aramaic words are represented by one Greek word. They are worthy of comment.

Table 3. Double Hebrew/Aramaic words as one Greek word

2:32	שלש מאות	τριακόσιοι
4:9	בעל טעם	βααλτάμ
16:18	בעלי שבועה	ἔνορκοι
17:9	שלש מאות	τριακόσιοι
17:29	קרית יערים	Καριαθιρίμ
17:29	שבע מאות	ἑπτακόσιοι
17:39	תשע מאות	ἐννεακόσιοι
17:69	ארבע מאות	τετρακόσιοι
17:69	ששת אלפים	ἑξακισχίλιοι

17:69   שבע מאות ἑπτακόσιοι
19:38   ועל החתום καὶ ἐπισφραγίζουσιν

Seven of these are cardinal numbers in which two Hebrew words are represented by one Greek word (2:23; 17:9, 29, 39, 69³ˣ); two are what the translator rendered as compound proper nouns (4:9; 17:29); and two are Hebrew phrases that are represented by compound Greek words (16:18; 19:38). In his article on the phenomenon of one Greek word representing two Semitic words, Tov discusses 16:18 and 19:38.[40] He does not discuss the phenomenon of the compound numbers, however. As we have already noted, 2 Esdras renders a translation that adheres slavishly close to the Hebrew/Aramaic. Thus, in the above examples the compound cardinals could have been rendered with two words following the *Vorlage*, but they were not. This is illustrative of the minimal level of freedom or creativity that the translator brought to the task of translation.

1.4 Conjunctions

Another indicator of the literalness of the translation is the rendering of the conjunctions. In 2 Esdras it is clear that the translator's style is to render *waw* by καί. This is illustrative of the lack of freedom that the translator brought to the translation task. The 1982 study by Aejmelaeus illustrates the variety of ways in which the conjunctive *waw* can be rendered into Greek. In those places where it is rendered, about 75% in the Pentateuch were translated by καί. In the sixty-five verses of 2 Esdras, however, one finds 166 *waw*s and 154 καίs. Of those that are unmatched, ten are *waw*s found between the last two elements of numbers (e.g., in 2:42 מאה שלשים ותשעה is translated as ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα ἐννέα), five are probably due to dittography or haplography, because a preceding word ends with a *waw* (e.g., עמו יהי אלהיו τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ; καὶ ἔσται ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ), three are in larger minuses, one is added when a participle is turned into a conjunction and verb, and one is accounted for by the simplification of a Hebrew idiom into an adverb.[41] By accounting for twenty-one of the unmatched conjunctions, we are left with only eleven unexplained occurrences of conjunctions without a parallel in the MT or Greek, which is not many.

According to Aejemaeus's study, we also should expect to find the Hebrew conjunctive *waw* rendered by δέ. However, that conjunction occurs only four times in all of 2 Esdras, and only at 7:9 does it render a *waw*, the other three

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[40] Emanuel Tov, "Compound Words in the LXX Representing Two or More Hebrew Words," *Bib* 58 (1977): 77, 197, 210.

[41] Respectively: 2:12, 22, 32, 42; 17:9, 19, 29, 39, 69²ˣ; 1:3; 3:12; 14:20; 22:27, 37; 9:2; 15:17; 22:47; 18:6; 19:28.

being introduced where there is no Hebrew/Aramaic conjunction.[42] In fact, only one *waw* is accounted for by a conjunction other than καί, i.e., ἐάν τε at 7:26, and that is a questionable text.

Ezra 7:26 and 2 Esd 7:26

... אספרנא דינה להוא מתעבד מנה הן למות הן לשרשו הן־לענש נכסין ולאסורין	... ἑτοίμως τὸ κρίμα ἔσται γινόμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἐάν τε εἰς θάνατον ἐάν τε εἰς παιδείαν ἐάν τε εἰς ζημίαν τοῦ βίου ἐάν τε εἰς δεσμά.
… let judgment be strictly executed on them, whether for death or for banishment or for confiscation of their goods or for imprisonment.	… readily the judgment will be one that issues from it, whether for death or whether for discipline or whether for loss of livelihood or whether for bonds.

The conjunction τε occurs only four times in 2 Esdras, and all are in this one verse, where Aramaic הן occurs three times in a series, each time followed by a noun with a ל. Each combination is rendered by ἐάν τε εἰς + Noun. In the Aramaic the last member of the series is joined merely by a *waw*, but it is rendered in the Greek as if the *Vorlage* were הן ל׳. This may be either a harmonization with the previous conjunctions in the series, or a *he* may have dropped out in the MT and the *nun* then became a *waw*. There is evidence of further corruption here, because of the translation of the plural נכסין, "treasure, riches," by the singular τοῦ βίου.[43]

In summary, 2 Esdras is a "very literal and servile translation of the … MT" (Howorth). Although bearing some similarities to the *kaige*-Theodotion translations, it lacks the basic characteristics. The "literal and servile" nature of the translation is illustrated by the use of numerous transliterations, an almost invariable adherence to the Hebrew-Aramaic word order, and a similarly close rendering of the conjunctive *waw* by καί to the exclusion of other common Greek conjunctions such as δέ. The translation is not without some freedom, but it is very limited.

From this preliminary examination, it should be clear that 2 Esdras is on the formal equivalence end of the translation spectrum. It is this characteristic that makes the work a good example of Pietersma's Interlinear Model. Indeed, generally in 2 Esdras the vertical relationship is dominant, and an even clearer

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[42] 2:64; 5:12; 7:9; 19:18.

[43] The translator may have derived this rare word from the root נכס *to slaughter*, and, when put with ענש *penalty, fine,* thought the phrase must mean *whether for the forfeiture of life*.

demonstration of such interlinearity is to be found in the lists that will occupy our attention from this point.[44]

2. Problematic Lists in 2 Esdras

One issue on which translators of the LXX differ is when, if ever, recourse is to be made to the source-language text to determine meaning in the target-language text.[45] The Interlinear Model makes recourse to the source an integral part of translating a document that is itself a translation. Given the suitability of 2 Esdras as a candidate for use of the model, we will proceed with examples of problematic Greek grammar from that book. The lists with apparent anacolutha that were noted in the introduction to this article are clear examples of where features of the language of the source text interfere with the translation. From the several referred to in the introduction to this article, we will examine only three: 9:1; 13:24–25; and 21:4–7. The first two consist of a preposition followed by two or more items, and the last is a genealogy.

2.1 Ezra 9:1 and 2 Esd 9:1

לֹא־נִבְדְּלוּ הָעָם ... מֵעַמֵּי הָאֲרָצוֹת ...	Οὐκ ἐχωρίσθη ὁ λαὸς … ἀπὸ λαῶν τῶν γαιῶν …,
לַכְּנַעֲנִי הַחִתִּי הַפְּרִזִּי הַיְבוּסִי	τῷ Χανανί, ὁ Ἐθθί, ὁ Φερεζί, ὁ Ἰεβουσί,
הָעַמֹּנִי הַמֹּאָבִי הַמִּצְרִי וְהָאֱמֹרִי ...	ὁ Ἀμμωνί, ὁ Μωάβ, ὁ Μωσρὶ καὶ ὁ Ἀμορί, [ὅτι ἐλάβοσαν ἀπὸ θυγατέρων αὐτῶν ἑαυτοῖς ….]
"The people … have not separated themselves from the peoples of the land … from the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Perizzites, the Jebusites, the Ammonites, the Moabites, the Egyptians, and the Amorites.	"The people … were not separated from the peoples of the lands … in reference to the Chanani—the Heththi, the Pherezi, the Iebousi, the Ammoni, the Moab, the Mosri, and the Amori— [because they have taken from their daughters for themselves …."]

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[44] Well after this paper was written and presented in portions at conferences, in email correspondence, Pietersma makes the following comments after reviewing this author's preliminary translation of 2 Esdras: "In fact 2 Esdras is perhaps the best example I have seen yet of a translator working at the phrase/clause level at the expense of/in defiance of discourse." (Albert Pietersma, email to author, February 11, 2005); and "… my general thought is that I have not yet seen a clearer example of interlinearity." (Albert Pietersma, email to author, February 17, 2005).

[45] See the discussion of this issue by Wolfgang Kraus in his contribution to this volume, pp. 63–83.

This passage presents the reader/translator with a significant difficulty: shortly after referring to "the peoples of the lands," we find a list of non-Greek proper nouns, the first of which is Χανανί, a dative, and the remainder of which are nominatives, as the articles make clear. The first would probably be recognizable to readers of the Septuagint as a transliterated form of "Canaan-," given the various forms in which that word and its cognates appear in the Septuagint proper (the Greek Pentateuch).[46] As a dative, it would appear to be a specification that clarifies who the peoples of the land are: "the Canaanites." What follows, without a conjunction, would appear to a Greek reader to be a mere list of proper nouns without a predicate to make sense of them, and they are followed by what can only be an explanation of the problem related in v. 1,: "The people of Israel were not separated … from the peoples of the land … because they have taken from their daughters for themselves …."

How, then, are we to understand 2 Esd 9:1, so as to translate it into a modern language? How did the ancient translator understand it? Based on what confronts us in the text, the material should be translated into English as: "… with reference to the Chanani. The Heththi, the Pherezi, the Iebusi, the Ammoni, the Moab, the Mosri, and the Amori … [without a predicate for the sentence]. Because they …." This is awkward, and incomplete. It suggests that there might be material missing in the *Vorlage*, but there is no evidence of this in the manuscript witnesses. The series of nominatives seems to have been misplaced from somewhere else, but they match items in the Hebrew! As one reads on in the book, similar lists of peoples are encountered, and they are properly translated. For example, at 19:8 we find a similar list: τὴν γῆν τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Ἀμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων, "the land of the Chananites and Chettites and Amorrites and Pherezites and Iebousites and Gergesites," Not only do we find gentilics all in the same, proper case, but they are all Graecized, rather than being merely transliterated.

By looking at the source text, we see the problem: Ezra 9:1 has been rendered in an isomorphic or morpheme-for-morpheme method, as is the translator's habit, but in this case it is at a visual level, not at a grammatical level of equivalence. The first item in the list has a ל, specifying who the peoples of the land are, because the general reference had already been made to them: "… from the peoples of the lands (מעמי הארצות) …, from (ל) the Canaanites, …." The preposition ל is usually rendered by the dative case in 2 Esdras, which is what we have here with the first word in the list, τῷ Χανανί. The rest of the list lacks the preposition in Hebrew, it being assumed from the first word in the series. The Greek translator thus represents the Hebrew in the remainder of the list, but without the dative case, because there is nothing on the Hebrew words

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[46] See, for example, the following variations: Χανάαν, Gen 9:18; Χαναναῖος, Gen 10:18; Χανανῖτις, Gen 46:10; Χανανίς, Num 21:1.

to indicate case. Thus the relationship of the first word to the previous material is not continued in the rest of the series, which also dissociates the succeeding transliterated gentilics from Χανανί.[47] Unlike the list in 19:8, in which the horizontal relationship of the translation is more dominant, the list in 9:1 is dominated by its vertical relationship to the mere appearance of the items in the source. So, given 19:8, it is clear that the translator knew how to render such a list, and for some reason chose not to do so at 9:1.

By using the Interlinear Model, we recognize that the vertical relationship of the Greek to the source is such that the source dominates, allowing features of the source's language to intrude into the translation, rendering it ambiguous. But, did they intrude to such an extent that the translator consciously or unconsciously expected the reader of the Greek to make use of the source grammar? Is it somewhat akin to the mere transliteration of terms and phrases that would be clear to a specific group of hearers/readers, because they were in current use as such, and not in translation (Tov's second category, see above, p. 126). Here, by recourse to the Hebrew text or to the Hebrew language generally, the Jewish reader/hearer of Greek might know that the list is to continue in the Greek, even though it is seemingly grammatically disconnected from the preposition. This could tempt the modern translator to render the series on the basis of the Hebrew: "… the Chanani, the Heththi, the Pherezi, the Iebusi, the Ammoni, the Moab, the Mosri, and the Amori." This does not reflect the Greek system as the series of words is presented, however.

Another solution arises from our knowledge of the translator's economy in translating, and use of mere visual clues rather than the sense of the original text. As we have seen, in the translator's mind there seems to have been little allowance for a move away from an isomorphic approach. Given the lack of a preposition after the first noun, the translator rendered the list with a default nominative case, and since there is nothing in the Hebrew to allow for the inclusion of anything else, there was no copula verb or relative pronoun supplied to make the construction clear. From the source we understand that there is a relationship between the name with the dative article and those with the nominative article, and so in the Greek another way to read this series is to understand that the nominatives are signaling that the series is a predicate clarification of who the Chanani were; in a freer rendering of the Greek, we could translate the list, "in reference to the Chanani—this group is the Heththi, the Pherezi, the Iebousi, the Ammoni, the Moab, the Mosri, and the Amori—

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[47] It is possible that the transliterations originally were not meant to have articles, but that the Hebrew article was merely transliterated as an omicron (with a rough breathing): Ὀεθθι, Ὀφερεζι, Ὀιεβουσί, Ὀαμμωνί, Ὀμωάβ, Ὀμωσρὶ καὶ Ὀαμορί. This does not happen elsewhere, however.

…." Given what we see in the source text, and what we have in the Greek, this seems to be the best way to understand this problematic passage.

2.2 Neh 3:24–25 and 2 Esd 13:24–26

... מבית עזריה עד־המקצוע ועד־ הפנה: פלל בן־אוזי <u>מנגד</u> <u>המקצוע והמגדל היוצא מבית</u> <u>המלך העליון אשר לחצר</u> <u>המטרה</u> ... <u>ונתינים היו ישבים</u> ... <u>והמגדל היוצא</u>	... ἀπὸ Βηθαζαριὰ ἕως τῆς γωνίας καὶ ἕως τῆς καμπῆς Φαλὰλ υἱοῦ Εὐζαὶ ἐξ ἐναντίας τῆς γωνίας, καὶ ὁ πύργος ὁ ἐξέχων ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ ἀνώτερος ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς τῆς φυλακῆς ... καὶ οἱ ναθινὶμ ἦσαν οἰκοῦντες ... καὶ ὁ πύργος ὁ ἐξέχων
[After him Binnui son of Henadad repaired another section,] from the house of Azariah to the Angle and to the corner. Palal son of Uzai repaired <u>opposite the Angle and the tower projecting from the upper house of the king at the court of the guard</u>. [After him Pedaiah son of Parosh] (26) and <u>the temple servants living</u> [on Ophel made repairs up to a point opposite the Water Gate on the east] <u>and the projecting tower</u>.	[After him Bani son of Henadad controlled a second section,] from Bethazaria to the corner, and as far as the bend of Phalal son of Euzai <u>from opposite the corner —and it is the upper tower that projects from the house of the king at the court of the guard</u>[—and after him Padaia son of Phoros.] (26) <u>And the nathinim were dwelling</u> [in Ophal…;] <u>and the tower is the one projecting</u>.

Like the previous passage, 2 Esd 13:24–26 presents a problem due to the seemingly misplaced nominatives in the midst of an otherwise understandable passage. The material is part of a long section naming who was working on the wall of Jerusalem and where they were working. Each person and location is introduced variously by μετ᾽ αὐτόν ἐκράτησαν, "And after him X took control," or καὶ ἐκράτησαν ἐπὶ χεῖρα, "And at his hand X took control." In this Greek passage, Bani son of Henadad was in charge of a section of wall that seems to have been a corner block: from Bethazaria to a corner and from there to a bend in the wall belonging to Phalal, which was opposite to the same corner as just mentioned or another. Then the Greek continues grammatically with a new sentence that begins with καὶ ὁ πύργος, "and the tower" with no verb; then the description continues with "after him Padaia son of Phoros," followed with yet another new sentence in Greek about the nathinim, and then another nominative phrase without a verb, or as part of a compound subject with the nathinim (i.e., "The nathinim and the tower that projects were dwelling in Ophal…")! Then in

v. 27 the series is resumed normally with μετ᾽ αὐτόν ἐκράτησαν. The function of the nominatives is unclear—they seem misplaced.

When we look at the MT Neh 3:24–26, the differences with the Greek are plain, and the way the Greek is rendered becomes understandable, given the translator's methodology. In the MT, Binnui worked on the city wall at a place referenced by two coordinates: from the house of Azariah, who was referred to in the previous description (v. 23), to (עד) a place called המקצוע, "the Angle," and then to (עד) a corner. Verse 25 lacks a verb in the Hebrew, yet it may be understood as a new section of wall, especially since a few sections are subsequently described without use of the verb חזק. Implying the verb from v. 24, Palal repaired a section of wall described by two coordinates: from "the Angle" to a particular tower (המגדל) associated with a royal building. This pair is preceded by the preposition מנגד. After Palal, Pedaiah was in charge of the next section of wall. Whether the NRSV is correct to translate the reference to the temple servants as a compound subject with Pedaiah, or whether it is a parenthetical statement is unclear; regardless, the description of where the temple servants were includes two coordinates: the Water Gate and the projecting tower.[48]

The translator understood the passage differently and, due to the strict isomorphic translation style, has left us with the difficult text. (1) The reference back to Azariah's house (מבית עזריה) was understood as a place name, Βηθαζαριά, which forms the first reference point on what seems to have been understood as a corner block: from Bethazaria to a corner and from there to a bend in the wall belonging to Phalal, which was opposite to the same or another corner. (2) Where the preposition was assumed in the Hebrew at vv. 25b, 26a, and 26c, none is provided in the Greek, and the words are put in the nominative case: v. 25b begins a new sentence with καὶ ὁ πύργος, "and the tower"; 26a begins another new sentence with καὶ οἱ ναθινίμ, "and the nathinim"; and 26c forms a new sentence with καὶ ὁ πύργος ὁ ἐξέχων, "and the tower is the one that projects." Finally, (3) when no verb is supplied in the Hebrew, none is supplied in the Greek: the nominatives in 25b and 26c have no verbs. Thus, in 2 Esdras the points of reference become the sections of wall under the direction of three people: "After him Bani son of Henadad …, and after him, Padaia son of Phoros …, and after him the Thekoim." In the midst of these there are three parenthetical comments: one telling us that a royal projecting tower was located at Phalal's corner; another telling us that the nathinim lived in Ophal at a certain section of wall; and a third reminding us that the tower was the one that projected.

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[48] The latter choice seems more likely given that it stands separate with a conjunction and its own verb: ונתינים היו ישבים, "Now, the temple servants were living…," but that presents problems for the final phrase "and the projecting tower!"

According to the Greek grammar and Hanhart's punctuation in the Göttingen edition, v. 25b should be translated using an ellipsis to indicate that the sentence is incomplete: "from Bethazaria to the corner, and as far as the bend of Phalal son of Euzai from opposite the corner; And the upper tower that projects from the house of the king at the court of the guard…. And after him Phadaia son of Phoros [took charge]." That may suggest to the English reader that a portion of the *Vorlage* was missing, but none seems to be. Alternatively, I have decided to render the text after "from opposite the corner" as parenthetical comment or interjection: "It is the upper tower that projects from the house of the king at the court of the guard." This tower is part of yet another parenthetical statement or interjection, after the one about the nathinim in v. 26a, "the tower is the one that projects," and it is taken up again in the description of the next portion of wall in v. 27: "After him the Thekoim took control of a second section from opposite the great projecting tower and as far as the wall of Ophla."[49]

The solution to this translation problem is to be found by understanding that the vertical relationship has overpowered the horizontal. Having access to the source allows us to understand the rationale behind the Greek, and the Greek grammar (the horizontal relationship) sets the limits on what can be done with those facts. Making sense of the nominative phrases as parenthetical comments or interjections seems to be the best solution to a faithful rendering of the Greek in light of the source text.

2.3 Neh 11:4–7 and 2 Esd 21:4–7[50]

… מבני יהודה עתיה בן־עזיה בֶן־ זכריה בן־אמריה בן־שפטיה בן־ מהללאל מבני־פרץ: ומעשיה בן־ברוך בן־כל־חזה בן־חזיה בן־עדיה בן־יויריב בן־זכריה בן השלני:	… ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰουδα· Ἀθαιὰ υἱὸς Ὀζιὰ υἱὸς Ζαχαριὰ υἱὸς Ἀμαριὰ υἱὸς Σαφατιὰ υἱὸς Μαλελεὴλ καὶ ἀπὸ υἱῶν Φάρες. καὶ Μαασιὰ υἱὸς Βαρούχ υἱὸς Χαλαζὰ υἱὸς Ὀζιὰ υἱὸς Ἀδαιὰ υἱὸς Ἰωιαρὶβ υἱὸς Ζαχαρίου υἱὸς τοῦ Σηλωνί.
	… …

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[49] Verse 27, "the great projecting tower and as far as the wall of Ophla" seems to refer to the two locations that are part of the parenthetical comments in vv. 25 and 26: the projecting tower and the location along the wall known as Ophla. That, however, requires that the translator knew that the two different transliterations of עפל, Ὠφάλ and Ὀφλά (see above, p. 128, ##30 & 38), were to the same location, and that does not seem to be the case. Regardless that, the "projecting tower" is part of both comments.

[50] I am grateful to Albert Pietersma for an email conversation about how to render this passage for NETS. That conversation helped to formulate ways to deal with all such passages in 2 Esdras.

ואלה בני בנימן סלא בן־משלם בן־
יועד בן־פדיה בן־קוליה בן־מעשיה
בן־איתיאל בן־ישעיה:

καὶ οὗτοι υἱοὶ Βενιαμίν· Σηλὼ υἱὸς
Μεσουλαμ υἱὸς Ἰωὰδ υἱὸς Φαδαιὰ
υἱὸς Κωλειὰ υἱὸς Μαασίου υἱὸς
Αἰθιὴλ υἱὸς Ἰεσσιά·

Of the Judahites: Athaiah son of
Uzziah son of Zechariah son of
Amariah son of Shephatiah son of
Mahalalel, of the descendants of Perez;
and Maaseiah son of Baruch son of
Col-hozeh son of Hazaiah son of
Adaiah son of Joiarib son of Zechariah
son of the Shilonite. …
And these are the Benjaminites: Sallu
son of Meshullam son of Joed son of
Pedaiah son of Kolaiah son of
Maaseiah son of Ithiel son of Jeshaiah.

Of Iouda's sons: Athaia son of Ozia,
—he being son of Zacharia, —he
being son of Amaria, —he being son
of Saphatia, —he being son of
Maleleel, and some sons of Phares.
And Maasias son of Barouch, —he
being son of Chalaza, —he being son
of Ozia, —he being son of Adaia, —
he being son of Ioiarib, —he being
son of Zacharias, —he being son of
the Seloni. …
And these are sons of Beniamin:
Selo son of Mesoulam, —he being
son of Ioad, —he being son of
Phadaia, —he being son of Koleia,
—he being son of Maasias, —he
being son of Aithiel, —he being son
of Iessia.

This final example consists of lists that are part of a series of genealogies.
Unlike other genealogies in 2 Esdras, this is composed of a series of nouns in the
nominative case, each with a proper noun in the genitive case (indeclinable
except for two and one article: Ζαχαρίου, Μαασίου, and τοῦ). Following the
grammar of the Greek—the horizontal level—the last verse, for example, should
be translated as if there were seven sons with only Selo being named:

And these are the descendants of Beniamin: Selo son of Mesulam.
The son of Ioad.
The son of Phadaia.
The son of Koleia.
The son of Maasias.
The son of Aithiel.
The son of Iessia.

Or the string could be understood as a series of predicate nominatives, as if Selo
had seven fathers: "Selo was: the son of Mesulam, the son of Ioad, the son of
Phadaia, the son of Koleia, the son of Maasias, the son of Aithiel, the son of
Iessia." There are few contextual clues in the Greek for how to understand the
function of the list; no verb precedes or follows.

Elsewhere in 2 Esdras genealogies are rendered meaningfully. In 7:1–5, for example, we find ἀνέβη Ἔσδρας υἱὸς Σαραίου υἱοῦ Ἀζαρίου υἱοῦ Ἑλκιὰ, etc., and at 13:4 Μεσουλὰμ υἱὸς Βαραχίου υἱοῦ Μασεζεβήλ. In these, the first genitives, Σαραίου and Βαραχίου, are followed by nouns in apposition that agree in case with the proper noun, and the genitive case then continues for the remainder of the series. The list in 21:4–7, however, requires knowledge of the Hebrew text or language in order to understand that it is a series of relations that would normally be rendered by the genitive in Greek. Again, only through recourse to the Hebrew does it seem that the Greek can be rendered appropriately, although awkwardly. For NETS such series will be rendered as "Selo son of Mesoulam, —he being son of Ioad, —he being son of Phadaia, etc." thus indicating the relationship between Selo and each of the others, and also the problematic nature of the Greek. It will still seem that he has several fathers, but knowledgeable readers would know that this is a genealogy, although a strangely presented one!

Having considered these three examples, it seems clear that, due to a pedantic translation technique the translator of 2 Esdras, on occasion, inconsistently completed a list with a different grammatical case. He seems to have decided on a whim what he was going to do on any occasion, but almost always with a visually explicable morpheme-for-morpheme rendering. This approach presents modern translators with the difficulty of communicating difficult Greek into another language. However, if the purpose of this translation was to bring the reader to the Hebrew/Aramaic text, or even to serve as a translation aid, then these ungrammatical lists may be the more understandable, even if still grammatically jarring. By accessing the Hebrew/Aramaic source-text, the translator is provided with a means to understanding the problem and to resolving it, so that the original sense is conveyed, although through uneven English. Why such lists were rendered problematically in only a few cases, and why in a few cases with only one of a mere pair of terms, remains unclear. Let us just say that, although in 2 Esdras consistency was valued at the morpheme level, in this case it was not always helpful for a Greek reader. As will now become clear, however, this practice was not only a phenomenon of translation Greek.

3. Examples of Problematic Lists Outside 2 Esdras

This peculiar feature is not limited to 2 Esdras. We also find such seeming anacoluthon in at least three other books in the Septuagint:

— Amos 2:6–7: ἕνεκεν ὑποδημάτων, τὰ πατοῦντα
— Ezek 23:7: ἔδωκεν τὴν πορνείαν αὐτῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς· ἐπίλεκτοι υἱοὶ Ἀσσυρίων πάντες

- Ezek 23:12: ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἐπέθετο, ἡγουμένους καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐνδεδυκότας εὐπάρυφα, <u>ἱππεῖς</u> ἱππαζομένους ἐφ᾽ ἵππων· <u>νεανίσκοι ἐπίλεκτοι πάντες</u>.
- Zeph 1:12: ἐκδικήσω ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ φυλάγματα αὐτῶν, <u>οἱ λέγοντες</u> ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν.

However, the phenomenon was not limited to translations. As far back as 1904 Moulton had noted the phenomenon of "breach of concord" in papyri, especially those written by the less educated, where it "especially takes the form of putting a nom. in apposition to a different case preceding it." About the practice in general he wrote: "The tendency in the uneducated to use the nom. as a convenient indeclinable is seen in various documents, and underlies the false concord just discussed."[51] We will list only four of his examples:

- BGU 1002 (first century B.C.E.): Ἀντιφίλου Ἕλλην … <u>ἱππαρχης</u>
  ἔτους κς Παῦνι κβ <u>βασιλεὺς πρεσβύτερος</u> Πτολεμαίου
- BGU 910 (first century C.E.): τοῦ ἀνδρός μου <u>Ὀννῶφρις</u>
- Letr. 149 (second century C.E.): ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ … <u>ὁ διάτοχος</u> (= διάδ) τοῦ προφήτου

Another location for this phenomenon is the New Testament where there are similar anacolutha in Revelation and at least one in Mark:

- Mark 12:38–40: Βλέπετε ἀπὸ τῶν γραμματέων τῶν θελόντων … <u>οἱ κατεσθίοντες</u> τὰς οἰκίας τῶν χηρῶν καὶ προφάσει μακρὰ <u>προσευχόμενοι</u>
- Rev 1:4: <u>ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος</u>.[52]
- Rev 1:5: καὶ ἀπὸ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, <u>ὁ μάρτυς, ὁ πιστός, ὁ πρωτότοκος</u> τῶν νεκρῶν καὶ <u>ὁ ἄρχων</u> τῶν βασιλέων τῆς γῆς.
- Rev 2:13: ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἀντιπᾶς <u>ὁ μάρτυς</u> μου <u>ὁ πιστός</u> μου
- Rev 2:20: ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ, <u>ἡ λέγουσα</u> ἑαυτὴν προφῆτιν
- Rev 3:12: καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θεοῦ μου, τῆς καινῆς Ἰερουσαλὴμ <u>ἡ καταβαίνουσα</u> ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
- Rev 7:4: τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐσφραγισμένων, ἑκατὸν τεσσεράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες, <u>ἐσφραγισμένοι</u> ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς
- Rev 8:9: τὸ τρίτον τῶν κτισμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ <u>τὰ ἔχοντα ψυχὰς</u>
- Rev 9:14: λέγοντα τῷ ἕκτῳ ἀγγέλῳ, <u>ὁ ἔχων</u> τὴν σάλπιγγα
- Rev 11:18: δοῦναι τὸν μισθόν τοῖς δούλοις σου … <u>τοὺς μικροὺς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους</u>
- Rev 14:12: Ὧδε ἡ ὑπομονὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἐστίν, <u>οἱ τηροῦντες</u> τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ
- Rev 14:14: ἐπὶ τὴν νεφέλην καθήμενον ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, <u>ἔχων</u> ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ
- Rev 20:2: ἐκράτησεν τὸν δράκοντα, <u>ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος</u>
- Rev 21:11: ἔχουσαν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ, <u>ὁ φωστὴρ</u> αὐτῆς ὅμοιος λίθῳ τιμιωτά

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[51] James H. Moulton, "Grammatical Notes from the Papyri (Continued)," *Classical Review* 18 (1904): 151.

[52] This example, however, does not have the first item in the proper case.

About those in Revelation, Moulton wrote: "His [the writer of Revelation] grammatical sense is satisfied when the governing word has affected the case of one object."[53] Following Dionysius of Alexandria in his commentary on Revelation, Swete refers to these as 'solecisms,' which "consist largely of various forms of *anacoluthon*, shewing a singular indifference to the laws of concord."[54] Charles goes farther, however, and explains the phenomenon as a Hebraism: "Since the Hebrew noun in the indirect cases is not inflected, the Seer acts at times as if the Greek were similarly uninflected, and simply places, as in the present instance [viz. 1:5], the nominative in apposition to the genitive …"[55] In other words, in order to understand this phenomenon in the Greek of Revelation, it is helpful to have a knowledge of Hebrew grammar or of Greek usage that parallels Hebrew grammar, which is exactly the point that has been argued above, although as the papyri show, it was not unheard in other contexts.[56]

In summary, then, the lists with mixed grammatical cases in 2 Esdras are overly-close renderings of the Hebrew-Aramaic text, much like what Charles described we find in the Revelation. Given the occurrence of this phenomenon in non-translation written Greek (the papyri and Revelation), there may well have been a tendency in some marginal groups or among the less educated to fall into such grammatically incorrect constructions. It should be acknowledged that the examples from the papyri and New Testament are in some instances more like attraction of the relative pronoun found through Greek literature, and that in others it would seem that intervening materials may have caused the writer/dictator to lose the grammatical sense of the sentence (anacolouthon). Some instances, however, are of the same kind as those in 2 Esdras. Regardless the cause of the disjointed Greek, in each instance a reader/translator must abandon the confines of strict normal Greek grammar, and make recourse to his/her own sense of what the writer 'must have meant,' not necessarily what was written. For the Septuagint, that sense can be informed by the source text.

In 2 Esdras, either the Hebrew-Aramaic has intruded through error, or we see here the use of an accepted translation technique in the users' community, or we have signs of the translator's low level of literacy. Whatever the case, the

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[53] Ibid., 151.

[54] Henry B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (3d ed.; London: Macmillan, 1909), cxxiii.

[55] R. H. Charles, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1920), 1:13. Cf. above, Moulton's "the nom. as a convenient indeclinable".

[56] Archibald Thomas Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research* (4th ed.; Nashville: Broadman, 1934), 413–16 discusses the phenomenon in Revelation and its relation to the papyri. See also BDF §136.

context upon which the eventual Greek readers and modern translators are forced to draw, in order to determine what the translator meant, is not just the surrounding material and the grammar and syntax, but also the source text from which the translator worked. Here we can easily see—at least for 2 Esdras— what the translator was trying to render. This one feature, when set into the context of other features of formal equivalency in 2 Esdras, is not really out of step with them, and together they all are evidence of the intrusion of the source text and language into a Greek translation, where they are out of place. This is in part, what the Interlinear Model is attempting to address, but more broadly.

4. Conclusion

In the case of 2 Esdras, it seems that the translation model followed by the translator can be classified as interlinear. As such, it would have been intended as a translation to help users gain access to the source texts, and not to have a reading experience through the translation alone. The intended audience would be attempting to understand the Hebrew-Aramaic through the agency of the Greek. Evidence for this is found in the adherence to MT word order, the careful stereotyping of lexical choices such as the conjunctions, the use of transliterations, and the problematic use of the nominative case to complete lists.

The context for such a translation would seem to be one in which the Hebrew and Aramaic source material was considered to be more important than the translation. This would account for the use of uninflected proper nouns, transliterations of technical terms, and the significant intrusion into Greek of some aspects of the grammar of the source language.

Whether the Interlinear Model throws light on all translations remains to be seen. First Esdras, for example, will not be helped as much by the model, because it is not an isomorphic translation. As a model for understanding 2 Esdras, however, it works well. If Pietersma is correct that the practice developed in an educational setting, not a liturgical or recreational one, then 2 Esdras represents a low educational level.[57] To be sure, it is more than elementary, but it is too pedantic, too tied to the *Vorlage* to come from a high level of education. This might have something to do with the Hebrew-Aramaic books themselves. Possibly Ezra-Nehemiah was a safe testing ground for an intermediate attempt at translating before advancing to the revered Law of Moses, because incorrectly translating a book of history would not have the same stigma as it would for the Torah!

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[57] Cf. Moulton's references to the "tendency of the uneducated," and compare the inconsistency in the translation of something so common as the genealogies, and the inconsistency in rendering of the same items with different transliterations, or by a translation.

Although it may not have begun as a liturgical or recreational text, in time 2 Esdras also served as the more orthodox rendering of the MT than 1 Esdras. Unlike those translations that were intended to convey a sense of the Jewish culture to a Hellenistic audience, it had a readership knowledgeable of the original. As an achievement of literary merit, this translation of Ezra-Nehemiah fails. But, as an interlinear translation, it is successful, and for that reason, it also serves as a window to its *Vorlage*, so that where 2 Esdras is not in line with the MT, we may more confidently argue for a unit of variation in the MT tradition. Given what we know about the translation, it is necessary, according to the NETS guidelines, to render it into English in a stilted manner that reflects the technique that produced it. Rather than producing nonsense, however, where the translator abandoned normal Greek grammar and syntax, the modern translator may legitimately resort to the parent text to resolve unclarity and even possibly translate creatively, and contrary to normal Greek grammar. Obviously, this requires great care, and the individual cases will be disputed by scholars, but as problematic lists seem to prove, some cases are justifiable.

A Devil in the Making:
Isomorphism and Exegesis in OG Job 1:8b
Wade Albert White

1. Introduction

When one works extensively with translation literature, such as those books that comprise the major part of the Septuagint, there is always the danger of reversing the principle whereby one assumes that a text is *normal* Greek until proven otherwise.[1] This reversal is somewhat understandable when one is so often exposed to Greek that is readily demonstrable as being *abnormal*. Still, the basic tenet remains, and the supposition that the Greek of a given text is in any way abnormal is always *quod est demonstrandum* on the part of the scholar. Making such distinctions can be particularly difficult when one is dealing with a high degree of formal equivalence between the source and receptor texts, as is so common in many, if not most, of the books of the Septuagint. Formal equivalence, especially in the form of quantitativeness—or better yet *isomorphism*, a descriptive term that constitutes a specific type of quantitative representation, namely, a one to one relationship between items in the source and receptor texts—has long been heralded as one of the hallmarks for determining

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[1] This is one of the fundamental principles on which the NETS is based. See further Albert Pietersma, "Translating the Septuagint Psalms" (paper presented at the Septuagint conference at Penteli Monastery, Athens, 2001), which can be accessed by following the appropriate link at: http://www.lxxathens2001.org/Papers/; idem, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint," in *Bible and Computer—The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference: Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique 'From Alpha to Byte,' University of Stellenbosch 17–21 July, 2000* (ed. J. Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64. This tenet is further drawn upon in Principle 3 of the Prospectus for the IOSCS commentary series as outlined in idem, "A Prospectus for a Commentary on the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 44. The prospectus is also available on the IOSCS website: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/commentary/prospectus.html.

the relative literalness or freeness of a translation.[2] Yet I would argue that the presence of such formal relationships cannot in and of themselves be allowed to determine the character of a translation—as is still done today in many cases—nor so the mere abundance of them. The central purpose of this paper then, by means of a detailed examination and exegesis of the text of OG Job 1:8b, is to demonstrate that the *quality* of formal equivalence between source and receptor texts must also be afforded some standing alongside the issue of *quantity*.

2. Exegesis of OG Job 1:8b[3]

The Old Greek book of Job has long been pointed to as the *prima facie* example of a so-called 'free' style of translation in the Septuagint.[4] It is a book that, as a translation, is marked by addition, omission, summary, variable restructuring, and even a discernable measure of authorial participation. And yet one might be surprised in reading through the text of OG Job to find not a few examples of a

[2] To the best of my knowledge *isomorphism* is a relatively new term for translation studies as a whole, as well as to Septuagint studies in particular. Its origins lie in mathematics, and it has also been employed in both cognitive psychology and, more recently, linguistics. The *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* offers the following definition: "Strictly, a term in mathematics for an exact correspondence between both the elements of two sets and the relations defined by operations on these elements. Used in linguistics from the late 1940's for a general principle by which the structuring of one level parallels or is made to parallel that of another. E.g., the relation of morpheme to allomorph was modeled on that of phoneme to allophone; a binary division of the syllable, into onset and rhyme, parallels that of the sentence into subject and predicate; semantic features, e.g., in componential analysis, parallel distinctive features in phonology" (P. H. Matthews, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics* [Oxford Paperback Reference; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997]). The article further notes that the term was introduced—and presumably it means introduced *to linguistics*—in this sense by J. Kurylowicz, commenting on the work of Hjelmslev. My own introduction to the use of this term in Septuagint studies was in an article by Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998): 75 n. 8.

[3] For purposes of this paper OG Job will be considered as the critical text found in Joseph Ziegler, *Job* (Septuaginta 11.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982) and the MT as that found in *BHS*.

[4] E.g., Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 18. See also those sources cited by Tov as further evidence of this: Donald H. Gard, *The Exegetical Method of the Greek Translator of the Book of Job* (SBLMS 8; Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature, 1952); John G. H. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint* (3 vols.; Lund: Gleerup, 1946); Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the Septuagint of the Book of Job," *HUCA* 29 (1958): 229–71.

certain quantitative affinity with its (presumed) Hebrew *Vorlage* which, while generally speaking comes as no surprise to the reader of the wider Septuagint, is perhaps not what one expects to encounter in a translation labeled as 'free.' As an example, in OG Job 1:8b there is a high level of quantitative agreement between the Greek and Hebrew texts (that is, the Hebrew as based on MT). To make this relationship clear the texts are presented in parallel columns:

<div align="center">

Table 4. A comparison of MT and OG Job 1:8b

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1.	השמת	προσέσχες
2.	לבך	τῇ διανοίᾳ σου
3.	על	κατὰ
4.	עבדי	τοῦ παιδός μου
5.	איוב	Ἰώβ

The Hebrew may simply be rendered, "Have you considered my servant Job?" (RSV). The use of שים, "to place, put," with לב, "heart," for the idea of *turning one's attention* to a thing is well documented in the Hebrew scriptures, being used variably with the prepositions -ל, "to, for," (e.g., Deut 32:46; 1 Sam 9:20; Ezek 40:4; 44:5), אל, "to, toward," (e.g., Exod 9:21; 1 Sam 25:25; 2 Sam 18:3; Job 2:3; 34:14), and על, "on, upon, over," (e.g., Hag 1:5, 7; Job 1:8), and even on occasion without any complement whatsoever (e.g., Judg 19:30; Isa 41:22; Ezek 44:5; Hag 2:15, 18).[5] Here in 1:8b the complement is על, and it is admittedly the least frequently used component for this idiom in the biblical corpus when compared with its counterparts -ל and אל.[6] The final two elements, עבדי, "my servant," and איוב, "Job," respectively, warrant little comment other than to note that they are together characteristic of the Prologue and Epilogue portions of the book.[7] Thus the Hebrew for this portion of Job 1:8 is, for its part, quite straightforward.

As one turns to OG what is most prominent (as I have already mentioned) is the close quantitative relationship it maintains with the Hebrew. In a strict accounting of the two texts in parallel the only erroneous elements are the two occurrences of the definite article in the Greek and the so-called ה-interrogative in the Hebrew. Regarding the first two items, while both instances of the Greek article are explained in principle by the presence of Hebrew construct phrases that culminate in a pronominal suffix (לבך, "*your* heart," and עבדי, "*my* servant"), and are therefore definite by default, in a strict accounting of the individual elements the receptor text has two that have no overt counterparts in

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[5] See further §2b under the entry for שים in BDB, 962–64, and §13 in *HALOT*, 1324.

[6] There is a minor dispute with some manuscripts reading אל, but this will be addressed below.

[7] Édouard Paul Dhorme, *A Commentary on the Book of Job* (trans. H. Knight; London: Nelson, 1967; translation of *Le livre de Job*. Paris: Gabalda & Cie, 1926), 6.

the source text. Yet the article is ever that elusive element that even the most rigorous of scholarly inquiry has yet to pin down, and by comparison with similar studies there is good reason for leaving it aside—or perhaps no good reason for including it.[8] The third item, the הֲ-interrogative, is regularly left unrepresented in the Septuagint as a whole, no less in OG Job. Therefore its absence comes as no surprise, and in any case it is hardly a means of evaluating the ebb and flow of a particular style of translation if it is universally ignored. Thus we have two texts whose quantitative relationship might best be described as *nearly* isomorphic, if not completely.

When one looks beyond the mere counting of words, however, what immediately stands out is the apparent presence of a well-known Greek idiom in the form of προσέχω (τὸν νοῦν) plus a complement, with the complement quite often taking the form of a word in the dative case (e.g., as here with τῇ διανοίᾳ σου), though the idiom in general is by no means restricted to this alone.[9] I have placed the τὸν νοῦν component in brackets since, although it is an integral part of the idiom, it is not always explicitly rendered, as is clearly the case here in text in question.[10] This idiom was used throughout Classical and Post-Classical Greek for the concept of *turning one's mind* or *turning one's attention* to a thing, such as in the following passage from Plato's *Crito*: "Come then, what used we to say about this? If a man is an athlete and makes that his business, does he pay attention to every man's praise and blame and opinion [παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ψόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχει] or to those of one man only

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[8] I note especially in this regard Benjamin Wright's essay "The Quantitative Representation of Elements: Evaluating 'Literalism' in the LXX," in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986* (ed. C. E. Cox; SBLSCS; Atlanta: 1987), 311–35, wherein he omits the article from consideration altogether, stating that it "is not considered a quantitatively longer text" (p. 319). I also question whether instances of the construct phrase might not sufficiently be accounted for by segmentation (pp. 316–18).

[9] Adverbials of place are also frequent, often taking the form of a prepositional phrase.

[10] Other possible variations are also in evidence, such as προσέχω τὴν διανοίαν plus a complement (e.g., Plutarch, *Def. orac.* 413.D.10; Philo, *Hypothetica* 197.25; Galenus, *In Hippocratis librum de fractures commentarii iii,* 18b.560.5; Dionysius Halicarnassensis, *Ant. rom.* 4.30.6, 19.5.1; Josephus, *Ant.* 8.34.4; Aelian, *Var. hist.* 14.43.8; Gregory of Nyssa, *In sextum Psalmum* 5.187.11; Constantius VII Porphyroge, *De legationibus* 13.7; Joannes Zonaras, *Epitome historiarum,* 2.100.25), and perhaps even ἐγκατατίθεμαι τὸν νοῦν plus a complement (e.g., Olympiodorus Diaconus, *Commentarii in Job* 324.14). I would be remiss not to make some mention of the *TLG* database, which was of tremendous assistance in searching the relevant Greek literature, and without which I should most certainly still be perusing the library stacks and pouring over the ancient texts for pertinent data.

who is a physician or a trainer?"[11] (Plato *Crito* 7.1–5 [Fowler, LCL]). In this passage τὸν νοῦν is explicitly rendered, and the words in the dative (ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ψόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ) serve together as the complement, or that to which the attention is being paid.

In light of this a closer look at the text of OG Job 1:8b reveals a potential problem. Based on the generic form of the idiom as presented above, the complement here would seem to be τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, it being the component in the dative case. The Greek word διανοίᾳ, however, is a well-known synonym of νοῦς. Thus one is presented with the seemingly awkward and redundant idea of turning one's mind to one's own διανοίᾳ. In conjunction with the close quantitative relationship between the Hebrew and Greek texts, one's initial conclusion might well be, and not without cause, that we are here dealing with yet another example of the 'translationese' Greek that is so prevalent in the books of the Septuagint, and that the translator used a word-based approach and simply plugged in stock equivalents and left it at that.[12]

Still, lest I be judged hasty in my assessment, perhaps there is a way in which this passage can be read in keeping with normal, idiomatic Greek usage, i.e., perhaps it is not so awkward as it at first glance appears. It is noteworthy in that spirit that several attempts have in fact been made to interpret the text in accordance with good Greek idiom. In his 1851 translation of the Septuagint, Sir Lancelot Brenton translated OG Job 1:8b, "Hast thou diligently considered my servant Job?"[13] Brenton treated τῇ διανοίᾳ σου instrumentally and rendered it adverbially (hence "diligently"). By doing so he makes the prepositional phrase κατὰ τοῦ παιδός μου Ἰώβ stand as the complement for the idiom (though arguably he ignores the preposition itself altogether since he basically translates here as he does in a parallel text in 2:3b where κατὰ is not present).[14] The main problem, however, is that while κατὰ plus a word in the accusative case might possibly have tolerated such an interpretation, κατὰ plus a word in the genitive, as is the case here, must surely demand the understanding of 'against,'[15] and consequently it becomes difficult to construe it as the complement and still retain a sense of the passage which is in keeping with good, idiomatic Greek, i.e., a translation to

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[11] The full text reads: Φέρε δή, πῶς αὖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐλέγετο; γυμναζόμενος ἀνὴρ καὶ τοῦτο πράττων πότερον παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐπαίνῳ καὶ ψόγῳ καὶ δόξῃ τὸν νοῦν προσέχει, ἢ ἑνὸς μόνου ἐκείνου, ὃς ἂν τυγχάνῃ ἰατρὸς ἢ παιδοτρίβης ὤν; (John Burnet, *Platonis opera* [5 vols.; SCBO; Oxford: Clarendon, 1900; repr., 1967]).

[12] The basis for making such a claim can be justified on external grounds since OG Job is a known translation, i.e., the source text (based on MT) is extant.

[13] Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851; repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 2001), 665.

[14] Brenton, *Septuagint with Apocrypha*, 666.

[15] H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (ed. G. M. Messing; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), 379–80 (§1690).

the effect of "Hast thou diligently considered *against* my servant Job?" can hardly be deemed good Greek idiom (or even good English idiom for that matter). Even were one to play with the English gloss and render the line, "Have you diligently set your mind against my servant Job," there would still be difficulties since I find no warrant in Greek literature in any place that the idiom occurs with the dative where that dative is then passed over in favor of yet another complement. Ultimately such a rendering, although it may well give a grammatical accounting of the text, ignores the known parameters of the idiom. Thus while I do not arbitrarily take issue with rendering τῇ διανοίᾳ σου instrumentally, since it is by all means possible to do so, treating it as such in 1:8b would not appear to give full account of the text and still allow it to be read as normal Greek.

Homer Heater offers another approach, translating the passage simply, "Have you set your mind against my servant Job?"[16] This would on the surface appear to give better account of the Greek, and at any rate he has correctly assessed the force of the κατὰ plus the genitive phrase with the sense of 'against.' Yet there are still problems. Heater claims, "Προσέσχες τῇ διανοίᾳ in 1:8b is good classical idiom (though often with τὸν νοῦν)."[17] Although it is possible to understand Heater as claiming that the full idiom is προσέσχες τῇ διανοίᾳ with τὸν νοῦν being an optional component (similar in concept to the explanation of the idiom in general in the preceding discussion), it soon becomes clear that he actually means to equate προσέχω τῇ διανοίᾳ and προσέχω τὸν νοῦν as being virtually one and the same idiom, or two sides of the same coin. He attempts to bolster this argument further by appealing to the only two passages outside of Job where שׂים is translated by προσέχω (Exod 9:21a and Deut 32:46a).

Table 5. MT and LXX Exodus 9:21a and Deuteronomy 32:46a

	Exod 9:21a			Deut 32:46a	
1.	ואשר	ὃς δὲ	1.	ויאמר	καὶ εἶπεν
2.	לא	μὴ	2.	אלהם	πρὸς αὐτούς
3.	שם	προσέσχεν	3.	שימו	προσέχετε
4.	לבו	τῇ διανοίᾳ	4.	לבבכם	τῇ καρδίᾳ
5.	אל	εἰς	5.	לכל	ἐπὶ πάντας
6.	דבר	τὸ ῥῆμα	6.	הדברים	τοὺς λόγους τούτους
7.	יהוה	κυρίου			

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[16] Homer Heater, *A Septuagint Translation Technique in the Book of Job* (CBQMS 11; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 27.

[17] Ibid., 27.

Heater translates the LXX Exodus passage, "And whoever did not regard the word of the Lord;" and the LXX Deuteronomy passage, "And he said to them, 'Set your heart on all these words.'" He further suggests that "the paraphrase in Exod 9:21a is much like Job 1:8b," and later that "the translator of Job may have had these passages in mind when he rendered 1:8b and 2:3b into Greek."[18]

First of all, there is no basis for asserting that προσέχω τῇ διανοίᾳ in and of itself means *turn one's attention* to a thing (keeping in mind, of course, that according to Heater's analysis it is supposedly *replacing* τὸν νοῦν and not reading it implicitly). Such a construction occurs nowhere in non-translation literature with this sense, and thus without proper evidence προσέχω τῇ διανοίᾳ should not be regarded as a viable alternative for προσέχω τὸν νοῦν. Secondly, and in close conjunction with the first objection, προσέχω does not take a direct object in the dative case, leaving Heater's translation of τῇ διανοίᾳ and τῇ καρδίᾳ as direct objects without plausible foundation. The τὸν νοῦν component of the idiom, whether implicit or explicit, is properly the direct object, and any word in the dative case must therefore fill either the complement role, perhaps as an indirect object, or function in some other manner, as would seem to be the case in the LXX Exodus and LXX Deuteronomy passages. Finally, as did Brenton in 1:8b, Heater essentially ignores the preposition εἰς in the Exodus passage which, as it turns out, is a rather significant oversight. Thus neither of Brenton's or Heater's readings bear out as an attempt to account for the text as normal, idiomatic Greek.

Without further recourse to the wider Septuagint one is forced back to the book of OG Job itself. Of significant interest are the particular lexical choices made in 1:8b as well as the manner in which the translator dealt with other similar passages. The word προσέχω is used only twice in OG Job as an equivalent for שים, in 1:8b and then again in 2:3b. It otherwise translates no less than five different Hebrew lexemes for each of the five other occurrences of the word altogether, four of these being renderings unique to the Septuagint as a whole.[19] The term διανοίᾳ occurs only three times in OG Job, always for לבב/לב (a common equation throughout the books of the Pentateuch, but these terms are otherwise for the most part associated with καρδία in OG Job).[20] The use of κατά for על is extremely rare in OG Job, being used only one other time (12:14), both times with the genitive and both with a sense of 'against.' Given the rarity and mixed variety of these renderings one might legitimately ask on what basis the

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[18] Ibid., 27.

[19] Listed are the seven references along with the Hebrew lexemes with which προσέχω appears to correspond, at least in a strictly formal accounting of these passages in parallel with one another: 1:8 and 2:3 (שים); 7:17 (שית); 10:3 (יפע); 13:6 (קשב); 27:6 (חזק); and 29:21 (יחל).

[20] OG Job 1:5, 8; 9:4. It is used without an apparent Hebrew parallel in 36:28.

translator made such choices. Can one, with Heater, point to the Pentateuchal passages and claim a degree of unmitigated influence? After all, as was previously mentioned, there are only four places in the whole of the Septuagint where שׁים is translated by προσέχω, two in the Exodus and Deuteronomy passages discussed earlier and two in OG Job. While I would be tempted to believe that the sheer variety of the equivalents argues against this, I am well aware of the current cautions against the use of statistics in the evaluation of lexical choices.[21] At any rate, I believe the most instructive comparison in answer to the question is found in two other passages in OG Job (2:3b and 7:17) which have significant bearing on the proper interpretation of the 1:8b passage.

Table 6. Comparison of Job 7:17 and 2:3

	Job 7:17			Job 2:3b	
1.	מה	τί	1.	השמת	προσέσχες
2.	—	γάρ	2.	—	οὖν
3.	—	ἐστιν	3.	לבך	–
4.	אנוש	ἄνθρωπος	4.	אל	–
5.	כי	ὅτι	5.	עבדי	τῷ θεράποντί μου
6.	תגדלנו	ἐμεγάλυνας αὐτὸν	6.	איוב	Ἰώβ
7.	וכי	ἢ ὅτι			
8.	תשית	προσέχεις			
9.		[..]			
10.	אליו	εἰς αὐτὸν			
11.	לבך	[τὸν νοῦν]			

Two items in particular jump out from these texts. In 2:3b, which is actually closer in resemblance to the Exodus passage in that it uses the preposition אל, neither that preposition nor לבך are rendered in the Greek. If one were arguing the case for Pentateuchal influence, surely this is the first place one would have expected to find it. Further to this, 2:3b constitutes the parallel text to 1:8b in that it is the repetition of the slanderer's audience with God concerning Job, and the question asked is nearly identical (with the exception of the preposition used in the Hebrew). Surely this is to some extent instructive in that, on the surface there appears to be no good reason to have rendered the text one way in 1:8b and another in 2:3b. The second item is the rendering of לבך by τὸν νοῦν in 7:17.

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[21] E.g., Anneli Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 531–52; R. Timothy McLay, "Lexical Inconsistency: Towards a Methodology for the Analysis of the Vocabulary in the Septuagint," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 81–98.

This is the only place in Job where νοῦς is used for לב and quite clearly reflects the translator's knowledge of the fuller idiom (which, interestingly enough, is not fully rendered in either of 1:8b or 2:3b).

Having said all of this I am not sure that we are that much further ahead, since one is still left with a text that bears a close quantitative relationship with its source and that still appears to contain an awkward turn of phrase. For the ultimate solution to the question of whether or not OG Job 1:8b can be understood as normal Greek one must turn once again to non-translation literature, where the following passage in Epictetus proves quite instructive:

> At Rome the women have in their hands Plato's *Republic*, because he insists on community of women. For they pay attention only to the words, and not to the meaning of the man [τοῖς γὰρ ῥήμασι προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν, οὐ τῇ διανοίᾳ τἀνδρός]; the fact is, he does not bid people marry and live together, one man with one woman, and then go on to advocate the community of women, but he first abolishes that kind of marriage altogether, and introduces another kind in its place.[22] (Epictetus, 2:461 [Oldfather, LCL])

Clearly present are both the elements προσέχω τὸν νοῦν and τῇ διανοίᾳ with τῇ διανοίᾳ in parallel with τοῖς ῥήμασι serving in the complement position within the idiom as is being hypothesized for OG Job 1:8b. There are also examples in non-translation literature of this same construction where τὸν νοῦν is not explicitly rendered.[23] Applying this information to the text at hand, it confirms that τῇ διανοίᾳ σου can indeed be read as the complement and still be regarded as normal, idiomatic Greek, and hence the translation offered in NETS in the forthcoming volume to Job, "Did you give thought to *your disposition against*

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[22] Epictetus, *Dissertationum Epictetarum sive ab Arriano sive ab aliis digestarum fragmenta*, 15.4. The full Greek text reads as follows: Ἐν Ῥώμῃ αἱ γυναῖκες μετὰ χεῖρας ἔξουσι τὴν Πλάτωνος Πολιτείαν, ὅτι κοινάς ἀξιοῖ εἶναι τὰς γυναῖκας. τοῖς γὰρ ῥήμασι προσέχουσι τὸν νοῦν, οὐ τῇ διανοίᾳ τἀνδρός, ὅτι οὐ γαμεῖν κελεύων καὶ Συνοικεῖν ἕνα μιᾷ εἶτα κοινὰς εἶναι βούλεται τὰς γυναῖκας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξαιρῶν τὸν τοιουτον γάμον καὶ ἄλλο τι εἶδος γάμου εἰσφέρων (Henricus Schenkl and Johann Schweighaeuser, eds., *Epicteti Dissertationes ab Arriano digestae: Ad fidem codicis bodleiani* [Editio minor ed.; Teubner; Leipzig: Teubner, 1916]).

[23] For example, the following selection from Sextus Empiricus (*Pyr.* 2.57.2–5) uses the idiom without τὸν νοῦν: "Now those who claim that we should attend to the intellect only [τῇ διανοίᾳ μόνῃ προσέχειν] in our judgment of things will, in the first place, be unable to show that the existence of intellect is apprehensible" (Sextus Empiricus 2.57.2–5 [Bury, LCL], 187–89). The full Greek text reads: οἱ τοίνυν ἀξιοῦντες τῇ διανοίᾳ μόνῃ προσέχειν ἐν τῇ κρίσει τῶν πραγμάτων πρῶτον μὲν ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ἔξουσιν δεικνύναι ὅτι καταληπτόν ἐστι τὸ εἶναι διάνοιαν (Jürgen Mau, ed., *Sexti Empirici Opera* [3 vols.; Teubner; Leipzig: Teubner, 1912]).

[italics mine] my servant Job?"[24] Thus in OG Job 1:8b the Diabolos—or the Devil, as it were—is no longer the disinterested observer one encounters in the Hebrew, merely traversing the earth and taking note of the people therein, nor is he someone who merely slanders and misrepresents people in God's presence, but he is instead transformed into someone who has a prior disposition against the devout and for no other reason than that they are God's own. In OG then the slanderer is well on his way to becoming the opponent of both God and humanity that we see so clearly in later thinking, perhaps most notably in the books of the New Testament as well as in the documents from Qumran.

3. Ancient Commentators

Having thoroughly investigated the text itself, one might also profitably turn to some of the earliest of commentaries on the Greek since it is frequently of great interest to scholars of the biblical text in all its ancient forms to see how and in what manner they were interpreted by subsequent readers. This should not in any way be construed as attempt to *prove* or *validate* the analysis of the present study, since the arguments presented herein must stand or fall on their own merits, but when exegeting the biblical text it is my firm belief that the observations of our most ancient of commentators are not to be ignored. When examining the interpretations offered by these early writers, however, it is imperative to keep in mind the distinction between the constitutive meaning of the text—that is, the meaning of the text at its point of inception, which one might also call the primary interpretation—and the meaning which subsequent readers may well have attached to it. This is, in fact, one of the very basic tenants of good Septuagintal hermeneutics.[25] That is not to say that primary and later interpretations never coincide, since quite often they do, but it does stress that they are distinct from one another no matter their correlation. While one

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[24] My thanks to Claude Cox for his permission to quote here from the forthcoming NETS volume for OG Job prior to its publication. This translation for OG Job 1:8b was arrived at in a seminar on lead by Albert Pietersma and Claude Cox which I attended during the 2001–2002 academic year. The research from that seminar formed the basis for the present paper.

[25] On this point see, e.g., Robert J. V. Hiebert, "Translation Technique in the Septuagint of Genesis and Its Implications for the NETS Version," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000): 78–79. My statement above is rather stronger than Hiebert's, though I suspect that when he says "*not infrequently* a distinction is to be made between intended and apprehended meaning," (italics mine) he is drawing upon the fact that sometimes a correlation *is* evident. In contrast my intent here is to stress that *despite* such a correspondence between the meaning of the text in its constitutive character and later interpretations, methodologically speaking the distinction is *always* to be maintained.

may identify within a translation the *potential* for various nuances and interpretations, that is not the same as claiming that they were actually all part of the meaning of the text at the time when it was translated, and it is entirely possible—and in many cases clearly evident—that no ancient commentators interpreted a text in a manner which reflects what would now be understood as its constitutive character.

As it happens, however, there is in fact at least one commentator who read the text in manner that is in keeping with the analysis above. Olympiodorus the Deacon in his *Commentarii in Job* says the following regarding OG Job 1:8b:

> And the Lord said to him, "Were you aware of your DIANOIA against my servant Job?"—the distorted DIANOIA, the one given to evil practices, of which you are most certainly aware in order that you might alter the straight course of people. This is what is asserted here—either by way of a question or a declaration—and it is in keeping with customary usage, instead of saying merely, "I know you are aware of him." For you envy him because of the distinction which belongs to him.[26]

Olympiodorus quite clearly focuses his attention on the matter of the διανοία which I have suggested is of such importance here for a proper understanding of the text. He not only expounds on the character and quality of the slanderer's διανοία, but remarks that his apparent hostility towards Job originates from the fact that the slanderer is also himself diminished when compared to such a righteous individual. Thus once again while the citation of Olympiodorus's interpretation of OG is not offered in any way as proof for the correctness my earlier exegesis, since I believe that even in the absence of such corroboration the conclusions reached here would still stand, it is nevertheless something of a boon to the present study that one of the commentators of old did in fact read the text in this manner.

4. Conclusions

The primary focus here has been on a text which, at first glance, appeared to exhibit unidiomatic, or "translationese" Greek. In addition, the presence of a high degree of formal equivalence in the form of a nearly isomorphic relationship between the source and receptor texts seemed to add support to this

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[26] Olympiodorus, *Commentarii in Job* 17.19–24. The translation is my own. The full Greek text is as follows: καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος· προσέσχες τῇ διανοίᾳ σου κατὰ τοῦ θεράποντός μου Ἰώβ; τῇ διεστραμμένῃ διανοίᾳ, τῇ κακοτέχνῳ, ᾗ ἀεὶ προσέχεις εἰς τὸ παρατρέψαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν εὐθύτητα. ἢ οὖν ἐρωτηματικῶς λέγεται ἢ ἀποφαντικῶς καὶ μετὰ ἤθους, ἀντὶ τοῦ· οἶδα ὅτι προσέσχες, διαφθονῇ γὰρ αὐτῷ διὰ τὰς προσούσας αὐτῷ ἀρετάς. (Olympiodorus, *Kommentar zu Hiob* [trans. and ed. U. Hagedorn and D. Hagedorn; PTS 24; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984]).

assessment. Upon further examination, however, it was determined that, not only is the language of OG Job 1:8b normal, flowing, idiomatic Greek, but the isomorphism is not in fact in this case indicative of any slavish adherence to the Hebrew text on the part of the translator (as is, generally speaking, so often the case in such circumstances). Thus one is left with a translation that, while on the surface bears a certain formal equivalence with its parent text, actually introduces a significant shift in meaning when compared with its Hebrew counterpart. Furthermore, that element which is commonly regarded as one of the fundamental underpinnings for the determination of literalism—namely, a close quantitative relationship between the texts—was discovered here to be potentially misleading in that its presence in OG Job 1:8b is not attributable to a so-called 'literal' style of translation.

The Jewish and the Christian Greek Versions of Amos[*]

Aaron Schart

In order to deal with the Greek translation of Amos adequately, one has to differentiate among three important versions: the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint represents one type of text among several others that existed and probably were held as authoritative by Jewish groups in Palestine but presumably also in different regions of the Roman Empire.[1] Secondly, there is the Septuagint version—a Jewish translation from the Hebrew into Greek.[2] This version is only preserved in small fragments but can be reconstructed reasonably well from the third version. It was accepted as canonical by the authors of the early Christian writings and presumably by Jewish groups in the Diaspora.[3]

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[*] I would like to thank Stephen Chapman for improving my English.

[1] Heinz-Josef Fabry gives a convenient overview of theories that try to explain the variety of text types found in the Judean Desert: "Der Text und seine Geschichte," in *Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (4th ed.; KStTh 1; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2002), 36–65. Since Amos is not cited by Jesus or his immediate followers, one cannot know which text type they might have used.

[2] The term "Septuagint" is used in a Christian sense to designate the whole collection of canonical Greek books, whereas in Jewish understanding the term referred to the Greek version of the Torah alone. It is even questionable whether a Jewish collection that comprised the books of the Rahlfs edition ever existed; see Martin Hengel, "Die Septuaginta als 'Christliche Schriftensammlung', ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons," in *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 182–284, especially 183 (= *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* [trans. R. Deines; OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002]).

[3] This is at least true for the core canon, which comprised Torah, prophets, and psalms. More specific is Hengel, "Die Septuaginta als 'christliche Schriftensammlung,'" 265: "Eine Auszählung der wörtlichen, mit einer Einleitungsformel versehenen Zitate nach dem alttestamentlichen Stellenverzeichnis in der 27. Auflage des Nestle ergibt folgendes Bild: Psalmen 55; Jesaja 45; Dtn 41 (davon jedoch 14mal Dekalog und Liebesgebot); Ex 23 (10mal Dekalog); Kleine Propheten 21; Gen 16; Lev 14 (7mal 19,18); Jer 9; Prov 4; Ez, Dan, Num, 2 Sam je 2 Zitate; Hiob, Jos, 1 Kön je 1 Zitat. D. h. ca. 60% aller direkten alttestamentlichen Zitate stammen aus drei Büchern: Psalmen, Jesaja, Deuteronomium."

Thirdly, we have the Greek Old Testament version that was part of the Christian Bible.[4] This version is attested in well preserved codices and was considered canonical in the Christian church at least from the third century on. Every version stands in strict continuity with its precursor but has its own profile. The comparison of the versions helps to detect and appreciate the specific intentions of every one of the three.

1. The Jewish Greek Version of Amos

When one compares the Greek text of the Ziegler edition with the *BHS* edition of the MT, one gets the impression that a single person translated Amos in a very literal manner.[5] It is a truism that the meaning of a text, no matter how literal the translation may be, cannot be translated into a different language without any change in meaning. Not a single pair of lexemes has exactly the same meaning—the one in Hebrew and the other in Greek. However, it is necessary to differentiate between unavoidable differences in meaning and real variants. There are approximately 300 real variants in meaning between *BHS* and Ziegler's version of the Septuagint.[6] They can be classified into four categories: First, there are variants that go back to different consonants in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and the MT.[7] As is well known the Hebrew *Vorlage*

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[4] It is especially David Trobisch who has brought this aspect to attention with new insights; David Trobisch, *Die Endredaktion des Neuen Testaments: Eine Untersuchung zur Entstehung der christlichen Bibel* (NTOA 31; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag: 1996).

[5] The hypothesis of a single translator of the complete Book of the Twelve, carefully elaborated by Joseph Ziegler, *Die Einheit der LXX zum Zwölfprophetenbuch* (Braunsberg: 1934), has been questioned by George D. Howard, "Some Notes on the Septuagint of Amos," *VT* 20 (1970): 108–12; and C. Robert Harrison Jr, "The Unity of the Minor Prophets in the LXX: A Reexamination of the Question," *BIOSCS* 21 (1988): 55–72. However, both T. Muraoka in "Is the Septuagint Amos 8:12–9:10 a Separate Unit?," *VT* 20 (1970): 496–500; and "In Defense of the Unity of the Septuagint Minor Prophets," *AJBI* 15 (1989): 25–36; and Barry A. Jones, *The Formation of the Book of the Twelve: A Study in Text and Canon* (SBLDS 149; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 88–90, have refuted those theories.

[6] Between Russell E. Fuller, "4QXII[a–g]," in *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets* (ed. E. C. Ulrich; DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997); and Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr., 2 vols. in 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979) there are only fourteen minor differences.

[7] The order of the writings in the Book of the Twelve Prophets and the position of this Book within the collection of the prophetic writings is different in the MT and the LXX traditions. The MT order is very probably the older one and was already used in the LXX *Vorlage*. The Greek translators reorganized the writings according to the historical setting

lacked vocalization, most of the *matres lectionis*, and the final form of some letters.[8] To be sure the recoverable *Vorlage* common to the MT and LXX seems to be a well preserved text; nevertheless this earlier text is not the original text but also includes some scribal errors and intentional modifications.
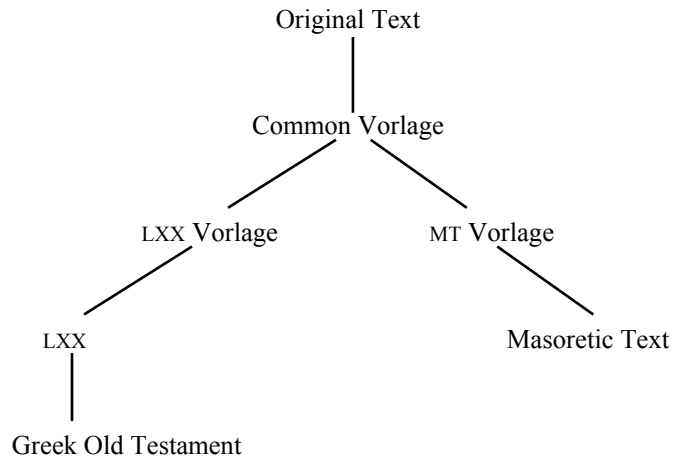
Figure 2. Stemma of versions

Secondly, there are variants that were caused by a different vocalization of the same consonants. Thirdly, there are variants that stem from a deficient knowledge of the Hebrew language. Finally, there are intentional modifications of the text because the translator did not accept the original sense and introduced a new one.

1.1 The consonants of the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint

Of the variants involving consonantal modifications a significant number are due to scribal errors in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX. In most cases *resh* and *dalet* or *waw* and *yod* are interchanged. I will note only one striking example at Amos 1:1 where the Septuagint contains the transcription of a Hebrew word, ναккαριμ. The Hebrew word could not be translated because the interchange of

implied in superscriptions: They placed Amos and Micah immediately after Hosea because those prophecies overlap in time and addressees (cf. Hos 1:1; Amos 1:1; and Mic 1:1) and left the sequence of the rest of the writings untouched. Thereby they ignored the careful thematic structure that was implemented by the last Hebrew redactors of the book of the Twelve. See A. Schart, "Zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Zwölfprophetenbuchs," *VF* 43 (1998) 13–33, esp. 19.

[8] Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 105–50.

resh and *dalet* in the Hebrew *Vorlage* obscured the original נקדים. Having no clue what נקרים should mean, the translator decided to transcribe it and left the reader to make sense of it, maybe even as a proper name.[9]

A problem at Amos 4:3b offers a more complex example:

| MT
והשלכתנה ההרמונה
And you (wives) will throw
(her?) the *harmonah* | Greek OT
και απορριφησεσθε εις το ορος
το Ρεμμαν
and you will be cast forth on the
mountain Remman |
| MT *Vorlage*
והשלכתנ ה ה ה רמנה
And you will throw "H., h., h."
towards Rimmon | LXX *Vorlage*
והשלכתנ הר רמנה
and you will be cast forth on the
mountain of Rimmon |

Common *Vorlage*
והשלכתנ הר חרמנה
And you will be cast forth
towards Mount Hermon

Original Text
???

Figure 3. Stemma of Amos 4:3b

The MT of 4:3b is obviously unintelligible, whereas the LXX has at least an understandable although not very fitting text. It may be possible to reconstruct the MT *Vorlage*, the LXX *Vorlage*, and even the common *Vorlage* from which the MT and the Septuagint branched off. However, whether this is the original text is at least doubtful.[10]

In Amos, leaving aside scribal errors, there remain about twenty variants that involve an intentional modification of the consonantal base of the text. For

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[9] For more detail see "Transliterations" in Wooden's essay in this volume, pp. 125–29.
[10] "The original text seems to be beyond recovery." William R. Harper, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Amos and Hosea* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1904), 85.

these it is notoriously difficult and often impossible to decide whether a variant originated in the transmission of the Hebrew *Vorlage*, in the process of translating, or in the transmission of the Greek manuscripts.

1.1.1 The name and titles of God

There is one major difference that seems to reflect a conscious redesign of Amos as a whole, and that is the shape and the distribution of the string that contains the name and one or more titles of God (e.g., Amos 3:13 אדני יהוה אלהי הצבאות). In this case it is important to differentiate among the different levels of the transmission history of the text.

   To begin with the obvious level it is clear that the Christian scribes who copied the manuscripts of the Greek Old Testament neither wrote nor read the name of God, i.e., יהוה. Instead ΚΥΡΙΟΣ was used. However, from early on the Christian scribes used the *nomina sacra* writing style: the word was contracted and a line was drawn above the letters ($\overline{\text{ΚΣ}}$). This Christian invention certainly reflects the Jewish handling of the Tetragram but brings in new elements. The extant Jewish manuscripts of the Septuagint demonstrate that the name of God, יהוה, was not replaced by a Greek equivalent in writing.[11] In most cases the scribes did not even transliterate the Hebrew characters into the Greek alphabet whether in Aramaic square or paleo-Hebrew script. Nonetheless, there is at least one manuscript that uses ΙΑΩ as a Greek transcription of יהוה.[12] Although this suggests that יהוה was actually pronounced when the text was read, it is very probable that in most circles and regions κύριος was used as an equivalent for יהוה in reading.[13] This would also explain why the Christians used κύριος as a proper name for God. The Greek tradition certainly reflects a common usage

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[11] See Nikolaus Walter, "Die griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die christliche 'Septuaginta' als Forschungs- und als Übersetzungsgegenstand," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel* (ed. H.-J. Fabry and U. Offerhaus; BWA(N)T 153; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2001), 71–96, especially 86. Albert Pietersma, "Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint," in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. A. Pietersma and C. E. Cox; Mississauga: Benben, 1984), 85–101 admits frankly that the manuscript evidence in this respect is unambiguous. Nevertheless, he argues that the manuscripts all reflect a latter development, whereas the original LXX has translated יהוה with κύριος.

[12] According to Pietersma, this is manuscript 4QLXX Lev(b) (Rahlfs 802) (ibid., 91).

[13] The evidence is abundant as Pietersma has shown (ibid., 85–101). This usage explains sufficiently the cases that Pietersma has collected in order to demonstrate that the original LXX actually had ΚΥΡΙΟΣ *written*. Although Pietersma makes the distinction, he does not differentiate clear enough between written text and spoken word. There is no question that the Tetragram within the Greek text fulfilled the same function as κύριος and so in either case κύριος was said.

already in the Hebrew tradition. In most circles and regions an equivalent for יהוה was used when the text was read. Most prominently it was the title אדני, but other options such as אלהים "God" or שְׁמָא "the name (in Aramaic)" may have also been possible. On the basis of the manuscript evidence it is obvious that the Jewish translator of the Septuagint had no problem with representing the chain אדני יהוה, at least in writing: אדני was translated with κύριος, whereas יהוה was represented by Hebrew letters.[14] In contrast, in the Christian tradition a difficulty emerged: when a Jewish manuscript was copied by a Christian scribe, the Hebrew יהוה was also substituted by κύριος. The phrase אדני יהוה therefore would yield a double κύριος. Since both instances of κύριος referred to God, both had to be written as *nomina sacra*. As a result the difference between the proper name יהוה and the title אדני was lost in the Greek Old Testament. In order to avoid this, the chain אדני יהוה was eventually translated by the phrase κύριος ὁ θεός. However, this phrase could also represent יהוה אלהים.

When one compares the Greek manuscripts of Amos with the MT, it is obvious that the Greek equivalent of the יהוה plus title chains is difficult to ascertain. Not only are there the above mentioned differences between Jewish and Christian manuscripts, but there are also differences among the Christian manuscripts. In addition, the two reconstructions of the original text of the Septuagint, one by Rahlfs and the other by Ziegler, differ in this case. Since the LXX of Amos translates routinely in such a way that every Hebrew lexeme has its own Greek equivalent, it is very probable that the LXX *Vorlage* in many cases did not contain the title אדני where it is attested in the MT.[15] It was missing in the Hebrew *Vorlage* at Amos 1:8; 3:13; 4:2; 5:16; 6:8; 7:1, 4[2x], 6; 8:1, 3, and 11.[16] In five cases κύριος ὁ θεός serves as an equivalent to אדני יהוה: Amos 3:7, 8, 11; 4:5; and 8:9, whereas in Amos 7:2 and 5 a double κύριος is found.[17] The second way to represent אדני יהוה may have been chosen in order to highlight Amos 7:2 and 5, which are the only places where Amos directly addresses God. Alternatively one may reckon with a second layer in the transmission of the Greek Old Testament: the Greek Jewish manuscript that served as the *Vorlage* for the first Christian copyist contained the phrase "יהוה κύριος" only at Amos 7:2 and 5 where the Christian copyist substituted יהוה with κύριος, which

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[14] Κύριος as equivalent for אדני is attested in Amos 9:1, unless an original יהוה was replaced.

[15] Martin Rösel, *Adonaj, warum Gott "Herr" genannt wird* (FAT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 60, assumes that אדני could be translated by both κύριος and κύριος ὁ θεός. This would be strikingly inconsistent with the translation technique of the Septuagint.

[16] In most cases there are additional source critical arguments for the hypothesis that אדני was inserted secondarily.

[17] According to Rahlfs there are two more instances: Amos 5:3 and 9:5. There seems to be much variety throughout the different manuscripts.

yielded a double κύριος. Later a second Christian scribe used κύριος ὁ θεός as equivalent to אדני יהוה. This may or may not have been done as a revision towards a second, post-Jewish war, Hebrew *Vorlage* that contained more instances of אדני יהוה than the original Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX Amos.[18]

In most cases the MT has a plus against the Septuagint. However, there are some instances where the LXX has a plus: Amos 5:8; 9:6 and 15, each of which has ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ.[19] The first two cases probably presuppose a different *Vorlage* than the MT.[20] In Amos 9:15 there is also the possibility of a deliberate change during translation. The Septuagint may have transposed the formula to the end of the writing from Amos 6:14, where it closed the second part of Amos. The translator may have felt that the praise of יהוה as παντοκράτωρ was a fitting end point.

To sum up, there is one large-scale difference between the LXX version of Amos and the MT that implies a modification of the consonantal text: the יהוה-plus-titles chain. In many instances the best explanation is that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint did not contain a title where the MT has one. In addition one has to reckon with modifications during the transmission of the Greek text especially in the Christian tradition.

1.2 The vocalization of the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint

Since vocalization was not encoded in the ancient Hebrew writing system, the translator had to rely on oral tradition or personal reading competence. By far the most variants against the Hebrew *Vorlage* emerged at this point in the translation process. Judged on the basis of our modern knowledge of Hebrew and our historical-critical understanding of the sense of the text, the MT is closer to the original text in 98% of the cases. This does not need to be demonstrated. Much more interesting are those cases in which the LXX helps us to correct the

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[18] That the Greek manuscripts were revised towards the MT tradition is obvious in many cases. Later revisions can sometimes be identified by a translation technique different from the original translation. In Amos 6:14, for example, the Christian codices contain the closing formula λέγει κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, which has its equivalent in the MT. That this is an addition is clear given the use of τῶν δυνάμεων as the translation of Hebrew הצבאות, which throughout the Book of the Twelve is otherwise consistently rendered with παντοκράτωρ.

[19] In Ziegler's text Amos 4:3; 9:5 and 12 also each add ὁ θεός. In 9:5 there is a scribal error in the transmission of the MT: אלהים must be the original variant, because the phrase יהוה הצבאות is not attested elsewhere. Cf. Amos 3:13.

[20] The LXX *Vorlage* may represent the original text or a harmonization with the other hymnic passages in 4:13 and 5:27. However, overall the redactional tendency is to add to the titles of God. On this basis, it is even doubtful whether the אדני in 7:2 and 5 belonged to the original text.

Masoretic vocalization. A few examples will suffice to illustrate this problem in Amos.

At 9:4 the Masoretes vocalized the Hebrew consonants עיני as עֵינִי "my eye" and thereby suggested the somewhat curious picture of God using only one eye to look at the accused persons. The Masoretes also differentiated between the plural in 9:3 and the singular in 9:4. The Septuagint however translated both cases with the plural τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου, "my eyes." This very likely represents the original vocalization.

In Amos 6:3 the Masoretes did not understand Amos to be criticizing the Sabbath celebrated by some of his rich contemporaries as a "Sabbath of violence." Instead they vocalized שבת as an infinitive construct from ישב, שֶׁבֶת, which expects the reader to understand the phrase as "a sitting of violence." The Septuagint vocalized the consonants as שַׁבַּת and translated it as σαββάτων. This is probably the intended vocalization.

In summary, as one would expect on the basis of the writing system the vocalization that the LXX of Amos presupposes was in many more cases fragmentary and faulty than the consonantal text of the *Vorlage*. There are fewer than ten cases where the vocalization of the Septuagint preserves the original text against the MT. In all other cases the original vocalization has been changed in the Septuagint. It is notoriously difficult to decide whether a vocalization variant represents a deliberate change of sense or was merely a different understanding. As long as there are no clear indicators that suggest otherwise one must presume that a different vocalization occurred unintentionally.

1.3 Intentional changes in meaning

Some variants between the MT and the Septuagint are rooted in a different understanding of the theological concepts in Amos. Only in these cases we can speak of a deliberate modification of sense by the translators and so try to detect their specific intentions. The basic difficulty is that the translator could not express the thoughts freely but instead was forced to do so within the limits of a literal translation process.

1.3.1 Anthropomorphism and anthropopathism

It is a well-known fact that the Septuagint in many cases avoids anthropomorphic language even in poetic texts; however, the picture in Amos is not consistent. This is seen in the statements that speak of God as having a body:

In 1:8 and in 9:2 "my hand" is translated literally as χείρ μου.

In 9:3 and 4 LXX does not suppress the "eyes" of God, which play a significant role in the MT. The same is true for 9:8.

In 1:2 the "voice, breath" of God is depicted as a hot storm wind. LXX translates accordingly.

In 6:8 the MT and very probably also the LXX *Vorlage* stated that יהוה has sworn by his נפש, "soul." LXX translates with the functional equivalent καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, "by himself," thereby avoiding the implication that God has a soul.

In the MT of 7:7 Amos tells his readers that he had seen אדני standing on a wall, whereas LXX has ἀνήρ, "a man." Although it is very probable that אדני was not in the LXX *Vorlage*, it is the most plausible understanding that the participle נצב refers to God and therefore Amos had seen יהוה. In contrast LXX probably imagines an unspecified angelic figure, thus avoiding the concept of a corporeal god.

In 9:1 the prophet proclaims "I have seen the Lord," and this time the Lord is standing on an altar. The statement is even bolder than in 7:7 because אדני is unambiguously the object of the verb ראה. Nevertheless LXX does not hesitate to translate accordingly: εἶδον יהוה, "I have seen the LORD."

Apparently there was no systematic suppression of the concept of a physical God in LXX Amos.

Likewise, actions of God that imply some sort of bodily activity were not suppressed consistently. Most of them are translated accurately: e.g., 3:15, "I will crush and smite"; 4:13, "tread on the heights"; 5:17, "I will pass through the midst"; 7:15, "יהוה took me"; 9:1, "I will kill with the sword"; 9:11, "I will raise up the booth"; and 9:15, "I will plant." However, there are also cases where the translator seems to avoid anthropomorphic concepts. In 7:1 the MT seems to imply that God is to be identified with the one who forms a swarm of locusts. The LXX, whatever its *Vorlage* may have been, leaves open the question of how the locusts came into being and simply states that they came from the east.[21] One may compare 8:9 where the MT has a first person announcement of God: "I will make the sun go down at noon, and darken the earth in broad daylight." In contrast the LXX has the sun and the light as subjects: "The sun shall go down at noon, and the light shall be darkened on the earth by day." It may be that in these cases the LXX translator intentionally avoided the concept that God gets directly involved in physical activities.

When considering the cases of anthropopathic statements about God, the same inconsistent picture emerges. In the MT of 5:21 it is proclaimed that God "will not smell the assemblies" of the accused. Even English translations choose a functional equivalent for this idiomatic expression, and thus for example the NRSV translates, "I take no delight in your solemn assemblies." In contrast LXX translates very literally with ὀσφραίνομαι, "I smell, I scent." In the same verse the statement of God "I hate" is not eliminated in the Greek lexeme μισέω.

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[21] In 7:1 there is a significant difference between the LXX and the MT.

Likewise in Amos 6:8 the LXX follows its *Vorlage* literally by using the word βδελύσσομαι, "I abhor." In Amos 7:8 and 8:2 the phrase לֹא־אוֹסִיף עוֹד, "I will not continue," implies that God's patience has a definite limit; it is almost as if God could tolerate a certain amount of sin but no more. This anthropopathic connotation is preserved in the literal translation οὐκέτι μὴ προσθῶ τοῦ παρελθεῖν αὐτόν, "I will not continue to pass by him any more."[22]

There are, however, two cases where the Septuagint modified the Hebrew: in the case of the first two visions the MT states clearly that the mind of God changed on behalf of the intervention of the prophet (נחם Amos 7:3, 6). Septuagint instead transformed the sentence into a petition of the prophet: μετανόησον יהוה! , "Repent, O LORD!" In this variant the prophet, obviously in a mood of great distress, applies a concept that is very probably not supported by the narrator. One is at least allowed, if not encouraged, to speculate that God does not need a change of mind, because God had never intended to destroy Israel, but instead God's aim was to give a warning through Amos. A second example is the famous "perhaps" at 5:17. Although the MT leaves it open to God's freewill whether to have mercy in case the addressees start to hate evil and love the good, the Septuagint is firmer: the "perhaps" does not show up in the translation. The Septuagint probably favors a strict symmetry between the moral quality of human action and God's response so that the human person can be sure that good actions will be rewarded.

In summary, apparently the Septuagint did not eliminate either the image of a bodily God (eyes, hand, voice), with the possible exception of the soul; or the application of sensations, which presume a corporal existence (passive, seeing God; active, God smells); or actions that imply a direct physical contact with an inanimate object (God erects a tent, kills with the sword); or the concept of overwhelming feelings (hate, abhor). The only theological point seems to be the possible change of mind by God without being a foreseeable response to human actions (to change the mind "perhaps").

1.3.2 The concept of prophecy

Many of the deliberate changes introduced in the LXX Amos are related to the concept of prophecy. In the superscription (1:1) the Hebrew has דִּבְרֵי עָמוֹס אֲשֶׁר־הָיָה "the words of Amos who was …" The LXX translates λόγοι Αμως οἳ ἐγένοντο, "words of Amos that happened …" Although in the Hebrew text the setting of Amos the prophet is explained thus emphasizing the importance of the person, in the Greek text the "words" are the subject of the relative clause. That places the focus on the godly origin of the words and not on the human transmitter.

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[22] The allusion to the exodus is also maintained (Exod 12:23; 34:6).

A further hint of how the LXX perceived the role of the prophet is found in 7:14. In the Hebrew text לֹא־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי, "I am no prophet," Amos denies that he is a prophet. He sees himself as a layman who must prophesy because the persons who routinely declare the will of God do not do their duty. He has been called by יהוה because the professionals were not inclined to hear the message. The LXX translates the passage with οὐκ ἤμην προφήτης, "I was no prophet," thereby implying that Amos had become a true prophet through his call.[23] The title "prophet" is thus no longer a sociological term denoting a certain type of religious expert but is a theological term reserved only for the canonical prophet, one who is truly called by God.

Related to the theme of prophecy is the blurring of the distinction between the two parts of Amos 3–6 in the Greek. In the Hebrew *Vorlage* Amos commences the first part, chs. 3–4, declaring that he transmits the Word of God (3:1 "Hear this word that יהוה has spoken concerning you"), whereas the second part opens with the statement that the prophet now speaks on his own authority (5:1 "Hear this word that I take up over you"). The Septuagint inserts κύριος in 5:1, which yields "Hear this word of the Lord that I take up over you." This brings both opening verses in line with each other. Obviously for the Septuagint it is important that the prophet received all of his oracles directly from God and had no mandate to utter oracles of his own. The prophet is seen solely as a channel used by God and not as a person who is authorized by God to formulate his own message, or even parts of it, to the addressees.

1.3.3 Future as eschaton

In the Hebrew *Vorlage* the predictions of Amos mostly concern the near future of northern Israel, and mainly its political downfall through an unidentified, overwhelming hostile military force. Only in the last paragraphs does Amos envision a future beyond this downfall, which can in the very last verses be described as eschatological insofar as it presupposes a fundamental change of nature (9:13–15). In the Septuagint there are some hints that more oracles are perceived as eschatological, if not the prophetic message as a whole.

In Amos 7:1 the narrative flow of the Hebrew *Vorlage* is interrupted by a rather unmotivated note: in the midst of a highly dramatic vision about a swarm of locusts that will devastate the land, the narrator hastens to explain that, "by the way, it was the later growth after the king's mowings."

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[23] Aaron W. Park, *The Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity* (Studies in Biblical Literature 37; New York: Peter Lang, 2001) 160.

Amos 7:1

MT // LXX	וְהִנֵּה־לֶקֶשׁ אַחַר גִּזֵּי הַמֶּלֶךְ	καὶ ἰδοὺ βροῦχος εἷς Γωγ ὁ βασιλεύς
	it was the latter growth after the king's mowings	and behold, one caterpillar, Gog the king.
Vorlage of LXX		וְהִנֵּה יֶלֶק[24] אַחַר גַּן הַמֶּלֶךְ

Already the LXX *Vorlage* had imported a new meaning: the swarm of locusts was understood as a symbol for "Gog and all his multitude" (LXX Ezek 39:11), i.e., the last eschatological enemy who would be defeated before God restored the land of Israel together with its capital city (Ezek 38–39 are before 40–48).[25]
In Amos 8:8 and 9:5 the Greek συντέλεια was chosen as the equivalent for Hebrew כלה. The Septuagint variant presupposes a different vocalization than the MT. Since, according to LXX Dan 9:26, συντέλεια is a *terminus technicus* denoting the end of history, this meaning may be inferred in these cases too.[26] It is also used in Amos 1:14 where it translates the Hebrew phrase יום סופ[ה]. However in this case the pronoun αὐτῆς, matching the supposed Hebrew feminine suffix "her," may exclude an eschatological understanding.[27]

In Amos 8:7 the Hebrew לנצח is translated with εἰς νεῖκος, "until victory." The same phrase is found in the LXX at Amos 1:11; Zeph 3:5; Jer 3:5; Lam 5:20; and Job 36:7, and it may have the connotation of "until the final battle of history is won by God."[28] At least this was the meaning that the phrase had in the tradition that Paul quoted in 1 Cor 15:55.[29]

1.3.4 The messiah

A further hint that the Septuagint perceived Amos as someone speaking of the end time is that the translator found the "messiah" in Amos 4:13. However, the change in meaning may go back to a misreading of the Hebrew. Instead of מה־

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[24] The lexeme βροῦχος is used as a translation for ילק in Ps 104:34; Joel 1:4; and Nah 3:16.
[25] Cf. ibid., 157.
[26] Cf. Joachim Schaper, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Interpretation, Aktualisierung und liturgische Verwendung der biblischen Psalmen im hellenistischen Judentum," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum: Norbert Lohfink zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. E. Zenger and N. Lohfink; HBS 18; Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1998), 49, 165–83.
[27] The Hebrew סופה is, of course, the word for "storm, gale" (*HALOT*), not סוֹף, "end."
[28] Johan Lust et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 2:314, "until final victory."
[29] Cf. the note by Robert Hanhart, "Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta für die Definition des 'Hellenistischen Judentums,'" in *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. R. Hanhart and R. G. Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 203, and in general 194–213.

שֵׂחוֹ, "what his thoughts are," the Greek translator read מְשִׁחוֹ "his Messiah." It is implied that God had planned from the beginning to proclaim the Messiah not only to Israel but to all humanity.

In summary, the Septuagint translator strove hard to give a faithful translation of the Hebrew *Vorlage* and in only a few cases deliberately created new meanings.

2. The Christian Greek Old Testament Version of Amos

The early Christian authors used the LXX as a source for their understanding of the significance of Jesus for Israel and the nations.[30] This is quite natural because their view of the Holy Scriptures was the basis on which they accepted Jesus as Messiah in the first place. When in a second step Christian redactors added a collection of New Testament writings to their Jewish Septuagint, they created a new book, the Christian Bible. This book was clearly divided into two parts called the Old and the New Testaments. Nevertheless, the redactors made it very clear that both parts deal with the one and only true God. The God of Israel and the Father of Jesus were conceived as being identical. Probably in order to underline this identity, the Christian scribes invented the *nomina sacra* writing style.[31] The oldest set of *nomina* attested in the manuscripts comprise κύριος, θεός, Ἰησοῦς, and χριστός. These four *nomina sacra* express the belief that Jesus of Nazareth was the expected Messiah whom the God of Israel, YHWH, had sent. In a very few cases the Christian copyists even modified the Greek Jewish *Vorlage*.

How Amos was understood by the Christian readers can be demonstrated by its use in Acts, the only writing in the New Testament that quotes Amos.[32] On

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[30] Hans Hübner, "Vetus Testamentum und Vetus Testamentum in Novo Receptum: Die Frage nach dem Kanon des Alten Testaments aus Neutestamentlicher sicht," *JBTH* 3 (1988): 147–62: "Weitesthin berufen sich die neutestamentlichen Autoren auf die Septuaginta. Vornehmlich gilt dies für Paulus. Dieser Sachverhalt ist deshalb von theologischer Brisanz, weil an entscheidenden Stellen, etwa der paulinischen theologischen Argumentation, der dort geführte Schriftbeweis mit Hilfe des hebräischen Textes gar nicht möglich wäre." (p. 148)

[31] See Larry Hurtado, "The Earliest Evidence of an Emerging Christian Material and Visual Culture: The Codex, the 'Nomina Sacra' and the Staurogram," in *Text and Artifact in the Religions of Mediterranean Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Richardson* (ed. S. G. Wilson, M. R. Desjardins, and P. Richardson; Studies in Christianity and Judaism 9; Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000), 271–88; and Colin H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (SchL 1977; London: Oxford University Press, 1979), 26–48.

[32] To be sure, Amos is not mentioned explicitly. The quotation is introduced as being from "the prophets," which is probably a reference to the Book of the Twelve Prophets.

two occasions quotations from Amos play an important role: in the speech of Stephen in Acts 7, which culminates in a quotation from Amos 5:25–27; and in Acts 15, which quotes Amos 9:11–12. It is very probable that the author of Acts found both passages in one of his sources, presumably a formerly Hebrew, Jewish *testimonia* collection that was translated and adapted by Christians.[33]

In the narrative flow of Acts the speech of James at the Jerusalem council (Acts 15) is of eminent importance. The author of Acts wanted to demonstrate that all of the apostles finally agreed on the status of the Gentiles in the Christian community. Several speeches lead towards the final statement of James. They all contain arguments from the Scriptures and from the present experience of God's deeds, so that in the end James could summarize everything with a concluding statement. This was accepted by all participants of this council, acknowledged as revealed by the Holy Spirit (Acts 15:28), and promoted to all congregations.[34] Although James claims to give an accurate quotation from Scripture, a comparison of the Greek Old Testament text of Amos 9:11–12 with the quotation in Acts shows important differences:

Table 7. Amos 9:11–12 and Acts 15:16–18

(a)	Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναστρέψω
(b)	ἀναστήσω	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω
	τὴν σκηνὴν $\overline{\Delta A \Delta}$ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν	τὴν σκηνὴν $\overline{\Delta A \Delta}$ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν
	καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω	
	τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς	
	καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς	καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς
	ἀναστήσω	ἀνοικοδομήσω

Cf. Claude E. Hayward, "A Study in Acts 15:16–18," *EvQ* 8 (1936): 162–66. He writes, "He is giving us the gist of O.T. prophecy on the subject, using language closely resembling that of Amos" (p. 163). Cf. Sabine Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolken-sohn: Eine auslegungsgeschichtliche Studie zu Amos 9:11 in der jüdischen und christ-lichen Exegese* (AGJU 24; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 105.

[33] This hypothesis can explain why both quotations from Amos show up in the *Damascus Document* in the same sequence and in an analogous eschatological framework. The collection was, however, modified significantly by Christians. Martin Stowasser, "Am 5:25–27; 9:11–12 in der Qumranüberlieferung und in der Apostelgeschichte: Text- und traditionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu 4Q174 (Florilegium) III 12/CD VII 16/Apg 7:42b–43; 15:16–18," *ZNW* 92 (2001): 47–63, especially 63.

[34] Philip Mauro, "Building Again the Tabernacle of David," *EvQ* 9 (1937): 398–413: "It is an impressive fact that the brief prophecy of Amos, quoted above, was cited by the apostle James, and was, moreover, accepted unhesitatingly and unanimously by the apostles and elders assembled at Jerusalem, as being decisive of that truly momentous and hotly disputed question, for the settlement of which they had been expressly and specially convened" (p. 398).

καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν   καὶ ἀνορθώσω αὐτήν
καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος

(c) ὅπως ἐκζητήσωσιν   ὅπως ἂν ἐκζητήσωσιν
οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων   οἱ κατάλοιποι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὸν $\overline{KN}$ [Alexandrinus]   τὸν $\overline{KN}$

(d) καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη   καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη
ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου   ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου
ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς   ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς
λέγει $\overline{K\Sigma}$ λέγει $\overline{K\Sigma}$
ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα   ποιῶν ταῦτα

(e)   γνωστὰ ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος

It is clear that Acts 15:16–18 presupposes a Greek version of the Amos text. In v. 17 this is obviously the LXX, which deliberately or not had mistranslated its Hebrew *Vorlage*.[35] The case is different, however, for v. 16 in which the text in Acts differs significantly from the LXX version. In addition, the variants are of different character.[36] This can be explained with the assumption that the Acts text combines different translations: Amos 9:11 was taken from an independent, non-LXX Greek translation, whereas Amos 9:12 was added from the LXX either from a pre-Acts source or by the author of Acts.[37] Since the use of Amos 9:11, without v. 12, as a proof text for the coming of the messianic kingdom is also attested in the *Damascus Document* (VII, 15–16), the verse probably was part of a Hebrew *testimonia* collection in the first place that was translated into Greek and used by Christians. The differences between the Greek Amos and the Acts versions are:

The beginning (a) and the end (e) of the quotation in Acts do not stem from Amos. The beginning highlights God's initiative: Ἀναστρέψω picks up the concept that God will turn towards Israel (cf., Amos 9:14; Zech 1:16; and probably Hos 3:5 and Jer 12:5); the use of ἀναστρέψω instead of ἐπιστρέψω can

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[35] For a convenient list of the differences see Arie van der Kooij, "'De Tent van David': Amos 9:11–12 in de Griekse Bijbel," in *Door het oog van de Profeten: Exegetische studies aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. C. van Leeuwen* (ed. B. Becking, J. van Dorp, and A. van der Kooij; Utrechtse theologische reeks 8; Utrecht: Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht, 1989), 49–56; and Park, *Book of Amos as Composed and Read in Antiquity*, 173–77.

[36] Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 97: "Wir hatten oben schon darauf hingewiesen, daß wegen der Ähnlichkeit von V. 17 mit der LXX Version von Am 9,12 eigentlich alle Exegeten annehmen, daß nur V. 17 vom Einfluß des griechischen ATs geprägt sei. Dadurch kommt es zu einem unbefriedigenden Auseinanderklaffen von V. 16 und V. 17, da V. 16 sich keinesfalls aus der LXX ableiten läßt."

[37] According to ibid., part A, Amos 9:12 played no role in other Jewish interpretations either.

be explained as an opposition to καταστρέψω in Acts 7:42.[38] For the closing phrase it was often presumed that Isa 45:21 served as model. This may be true for the idea but not for the exact wording.[39]

The first part of Acts (part b) is shorter than the Amos text.

In part c, τὸν κύριον is inserted as the object of "seeking." In contrast in Amos the object would be the "booth of David." The author of the variant in Acts may have inferred the object by means of verses like Hos 3:5 and Joel 3:5. In a Christian Bible where the reader could easily compare the quotation of James with the original text of Amos, the differences between the passages create a tension that some ancient scribes tried to soften. Codex Alexandrinus, for example, inserts τὸν κύριον in the Amos text for this reason.[40] Whether the text was actually inserted or not, Christian readers very probably understood the Amos text in this way.

In the context of Acts 15 it is difficult to determine how the highly metaphorical, if not allegorical, Amos text was understood as a scriptural proof. It becomes very clear from the context that James could only use Amos's prediction as an argument if he maintained that the predicted future had become reality in his own time.[41] The opening temporal clause, μετὰ ταῦτα, "after this," replaces the formula "on that day" possibly for that reason.[42] Peter's missionary success and

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[38] Ibid., 82.

[39] Ibid., 88: "Direkter, wörtlicher Einfluß von Jes 45,21, wie ihn Schlatter, Dupont, Stählin, Haenchen, Williams, Conzelmann, Roloff, Schneider, Schille, Mussner und Pesch vermuten, scheint mir dagegen nicht vorzuliegen, da die Übereinstimmungen zu gering sind."

[40] It is a well-known phenomenon that the Old Testament source text of New Testament quotations is corrected towards the New Testament text; see, e.g., ibid., 163: "Für den alexandrinischen Text, zu dem ja die meisten der genannten Zeugen gehören, ist außerdem häufig Einfluß des NT anzunehmen (vgl. Apg.)." Cf. also Amos 5:26 where the text is influenced by Acts 7:43.

[41] Hayward, "Study in Acts 15:16–18," 164: "James quoted Amos ix. 11, 12 as having fulfilment in his day."

[42] The author of Acts uses the opening phrase of Hos 3:5 and Joel 3:1 (LXX 2:28), μετὰ ταῦτα, as an introduction for his quotation of Amos 9:11, whereas in Acts 2:17 the phrase καὶ ἔσται ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις, which stems from Isa 2:2 (compare Mic 4:1), is used as an introduction for the quotation of Joel 3:1 (LXX 2:28). In Acts 2:17 the text at the beginning of the quoted Joel passage was not relevant to the context in Acts and therefore the author of Acts chose an opening formula that could serve as an absolute beginning, thereby alluding to Isa 2:2–4 where it is stated that in the end time the nations will come to Jerusalem. In contrast, at Acts 15:16 the context of the quoted passage is important to understand the full analogy between prediction and fulfillment. Walter C. Kaiser Jr., "The Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles (Amos 9:9–15 and Acts 15:13–18): A Test Passage for Theological Systems," *JETS* 20 (1977): 97–111: "*Meta tauta*, 'after

his vision in Acts 11:1–18 were perceived as God's initiative to build a nation from the Gentiles for his name.[43] This is connected with the pouring out of the Spirit that started at Pentecost.[44] From this viewpoint the process of "calling God's name over the nations" (Amos 9:12) must be equated with the Christian mission.[45] Although James uses the quotation from Amos mainly to demonstrate that it was God's will from early times to include the Gentiles in his renewed people, he apparently assumed that *all* aspects of Amos's prophecy were realized in the present. If this were not so, his argument would be severely weakened.[46] Especially relevant are: the "end of my people Israel" (Amos 8:2), which coincides with the elimination of the temple (Amos 9:1); the destruction of the "kingdom of the sinners" (Amos 9:8 LXX); the establishing of a rest of Israel, which is called the "house of Jacob" (Amos 9:8); the dispersion of the survivors throughout the nations (Amos 9:9); and finally, the rebuilding of the booth of David (Amos 9:11). It would be only logical for the author of Acts to understand the Roman destruction of Israel and the Jerusalem temple as the realization of the prophecy of Amos.[47]

In order to understand the conclusions that James drew for the status of the Gentile Christians, it is imperative to reconstruct how James must have perceived LXX Amos.[48] Let us attempt to read Amos through his eyes.[49] There is a clear contrast between the "kingdom of sinners" and the "house of Jacob." The first would be totally destroyed, whereas the "house of Jacob" would endure (Amos 9:8). This leads one to assume a similar opposition between the "booth of

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these things,' probably has reference to the Amos context which James consciously included in his citation; both the Hebrew and the LXX had clearly read 'in that day'—i.e., in the messianic times—yet James purposely departed from both! Why?" (p. 105).

[43] Mauro, "Building again the Tabernacle of David," 400–401; Kaiser, "Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles," 103.

[44] On this occasion Joel featured prominently. Cf. ibid., 104.

[45] Maybe the phrase is aimed specifically at the act of baptism.

[46] Mauro, "Building again the Tabernacle of David," 402–3, has rightly emphasized this point. Likewise Kaiser, "Davidic Promise and the Inclusion of the Gentiles," 106, stresses the context in Amos.

[47] Mauro, "Building again the Tabernacle of David," 402–3.

[48] "James" is here strictly a reference to the narrative character, and not to a historical person. It is highly unlikely that a leader of the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem would have based his argument on a LXX variant that is not found in the Hebrew text. In addition, this enterprise does not want to reconstruct the original meaning of the LXX; cf. van der Kooij, "De tent van David," 49–56, who discusses as possibilities: Jerusalem, Israel as a people, and the Davidic kingdom. However, he ignores the immediate context in determining the sense of the phrase.

[49] LXX Isa 16:5, where the phrase "booth of David" is attested once more, seems to play no role for James.

David" and the sanctuary mentioned in Amos 9:1.[50] The "booth of David" would
have a comparable function to the "house of Jacob" as the sanctuary from Amos
9:1 had for the "kingdom of sinners." The "booth of David" would not be a
complete new building but would be erected from the ruins of a destroyed
building. One gets the impression that the ruins are those that were left over
from the destruction of the sanctuary. This destruction was specifically aimed at
the ἱλαστήριον (Amos 9:1), which is the necessary center for the proprietary
cultic acts. The chosen phrase, "booth of David," implies that the new building
would not be a temple like the old one in Jerusalem, which was in any case
erected by Solomon and not by David. Likewise it is not mentioned that cultic
constructions would be rebuilt; instead a new quality of communication with
God is envisioned.[51]

From the point of view of the author of Acts the basic constellation of the
prophecy in Amos matched the contemporary situation of Israel. Jesus had
announced that the temple in Jerusalem would be destroyed (Acts 6:14).[52]
According to Stephen it was obvious that false gods were worshipped at the
temple (Acts 7:40–43). In addition he states in 7:46 that David prayed for a
σκήνωμα, "booth," for the "house of Jacob," but Solomon had built a house
instead. A man made house could never be a residence for God.[53] The booth that
David prayed for is probably to be equated with the "booth of David" in Acts
15:11.

As the author of Acts has shown through Stephen's speech, the temple in
Jerusalem was never acknowledged by God as a residence, because God *per
definitionem* cannot reside in a handmade house (Acts 7:48). The temple of
Solomon was erected by human hands, but the new booth of David would be
rebuilt by God alone.

What then did the author of Acts have in mind when having James claim
that the "booth of David" was being rebuilt in the time of the Christian mission?
In my view one has to assume that three connotations coincide. First, one has to
think of a new place of communication between God and Israel that replaces the
destroyed Jerusalem temple. Secondly, this new "temple" is equated with the

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[50] The "booth of David" cannot be identified with the "house of Jacob" because the
"house of Jacob" will not be destroyed. It was to last from the time of Amos on. In
contrast, the booth of David was to be a new entity out of the ruins of a destroyed one.

[51] Mauro, "Building again the Tabernacle of David," 403–4, has rightly observed this,
although his reference to 2 Sam 6:17 seems far-fetched.

[52] Although this quotation stems from false witnesses, the speech of Stephen explains in
what way the message of Jesus was conceived truly; cf. Klaus Berger, *Theologie-
geschichte des Urchristentums: Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (2d ed.; Tübingen:
Francke, 1995), 163.

[53] Ibid., 161–62, traces this argument back to Hellenistic circles in the Jerusalem Christian
community.

eschatological community of God's people.[54] In Qumran (*Damascus Document* and *Florilegium*) the contexts in which the phrase "booth of David" occurs are even more cryptic than in Acts. It seems that "the booth of David" refers to the (Qumran) community understood as an eschatological temple, but it does not refer to a messianic figure.[55] Thirdly, this new community belongs to the eschatological David who is Jesus Christ. The last point is clearly marked in the manuscripts because Δαυιδ is written as a *nomen sacrum* and thereby signals that "David" refers to Jesus Christ.[56] According to this interpretation James specifically equated the rebuilding of the booth of David with the resurrection of Christ.[57] This event was the eschatological point in history when the vision of Amos began to come true.

Reading Amos from the standpoint of the author of Acts, the establishment of a Christian community inaugurated by Jesus Christ's resurrection was the new center for two different communities: on the one hand the "house of Jacob" comprising the remnant of Israel, and on the other hand the remnant of the Gentiles, which was gathered through the Christian mission. In the context of Acts 15 it is presupposed and undisputed under the Jerusalem leaders that the Gentiles could and would belong to God's elect people. The point in James's interpretation of Amos 9:12, however, is that the Gentiles got this status solely by seeking τὸν κύριον, "the Lord," which was seen as a response to the "name of God being called over them," that is that they have heard the proclamation of the gospel through the Christian mission. From a Christian point of view κύριος can refer to both God and Jesus Christ (e.g., Rom 10:9). The confession "Jesus is Lord" as well as the calling of the Lord's name over a person may have been especially relevant in the baptism ceremony (cf. Jas 2:7).[58] In any case, Acts 15 claims that the act of "seeking the Lord" is the only prerequisite for a non-Israelite to be counted as someone who belongs to the "rest of humankind" (v. 17), that will be saved together with the "house of Jacob" Although it is not

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[54] Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 90–91, has elaborated this insight; see also Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums*, 27. This thesis is especially supported by the fact that in *Florilegium* 1:1–13 the Qumranites expect a מקדש אדם (1:6), which might possibly mean a "temple out of humans." Cf. 1 Cor 3:16; 6:19; and 2 Cor 6:16.

[55] See the careful discussion of possible meanings by Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 1–38.

[56] Hayward, "Study in Acts 15:16–18," 166: "So to build again the tabernacle of David means to restore the Davidic line to dignity and power in the person of the Messiah." In Luke 1:27 (cf. Rom 1:3) Jesus is indeed viewed as a son of David in a physical sense.

[57] As Nägele, *Laubhütte Davids und Wolkensohn*, 108–17, points out, this is the usual understanding in Patristic exegesis.

[58] Jostein Ådna, "James' Position at the Summit Meeting of the Apostles and the Elders in Jerusalem (Acts 15)," in *The Mission of the Early Church to Jews and Gentiles* (J. Ådna and H. Kvalbein; WUNT 127; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 125–61, especially 148.

stated explicitly, the flow of the argument implies that the Gentiles do not have to be included in the "house of Jacob" but have their own dignity.[59] They do not become Jews but have the status of guests. On the basis of this inference the final decree becomes understandable: the Gentile Christians gain the status of "resident aliens" within Israel, and the Jewish Christians have to observe the law in full.[60]

Another passage where the Christian copyists imported a new meaning into Amos is at 4:13. When it became acceptable to include πνεῦμα, "spirit," and ἄνθρωπος, "human being," in the list of *nomina sacra*, Amos 4:13 became the one verse in the Christian Bible where κύριος, χρίστος, πνεῦμα, and ἄνθρωπος were found in this way. The mystery of the Trinity together with the orientation of God and the Messiah towards the whole of humankind could be found in this verse. In the Christian debate over the status of the nature of the Holy Spirit, whether an equal to God or created, the understanding of the verse was disputed.[61]

To sum up, the translator of LXX Amos tried to render the Hebrew *Vorlage* in a very accurate way. Every Hebrew lexeme was given a Greek equivalent. The word order was carefully preserved. There are very few deliberate changes of the meaning of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The literalness of the translation produced a kind of "'Bible Greek' understandable only to people who had some acquaintance with the meaning of the original."[62] Nevertheless, the translation was done on the basis of a new understanding of Amos as a canonical prophet whose message was relevant for the translator's own time. It is imperative to differentiate in this respect among three texts: the Hebrew *Vorlage*, which was identical with neither the MT nor the original Hebrew text; the first Jewish translator; and the Christian copyists.

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[59] Cf. Jacob Jervell, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (17th ed.; KEK 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 394: "'Ein Volk aus den Völkern' ist hier nicht die Kirche aus Juden und Heiden. Israel ist und bleibt das Volk Gottes.… Es gibt aber ein(e) Volk(smenge) aus den Heidenvölkern, das jetzt nicht mehr zu den Völkern, sondern mit Israel zusammen-gehört. Zum Gottesvolk gehören von nun an auch Nicht-Juden, ohne dass sie durch Beschneidung und Gesetz zu Israeliten werden. Die Kirche besteht aus dem erneuerten Israel und 'einem Volk aus den Völkern.'"

[60] Ådna, "James' Position at the Summit Meeting," 159–60.

[61] Cf. Ernst Dassmann, "Umfang, Kriterien und Methoden frühchristlicher Propheten-exegese," *JBTH* 14 (1999): 117–43, especially 130–31. He presents the interpretation of the "Pneumatomachen" who claimed on the basis of Amos 4:13 that the Pneuma was created by God and could therefore not be of equal status to God.

[62] Klaus Koch, "Some Considerations on the Translation of Kapporet in the Septuagint," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. D. P. Wright, D. N. Freedman, and A. Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 66.

In Amos 9:11–12 the Septuagint introduced a variant, presumably on the basis of its Hebrew *Vorlage*, that would serve, at least in the view of the author of Acts, as a scriptural proof for Paul's understanding of the mission to the Gentiles: since the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ it was possible for every single person who confessed Jesus as the κύριος to become a member of God's new people whether as part of the rest of Israel or as part of the rest of humankind. No cultic center or ceremonial laws were needed any longer. During the first century, especially outside of Palestine, Jewish and Christian communities depended on the very same version of the Greek Jewish scriptures. Although the Christian communities later produced their distinct copies as part of the Christian Bible and the Jewish communities abandoned the Septuagint version altogether, the common Greek heritage should be remembered.[63]

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[63] Ibid., 65: "The transfer of the ideas of the Hebrew Bible into the terms of Greek thinking was a very important event in the history of religion and a necessary precondition for the later spread of Christianity around the Mediterranean."

LXX/OG Zechariah 1–6 and the Portrayal of Joshua Centuries after the Restoration of the Temple

Patricia Ahearne-Kroll

1. Introduction

There are notable differences between the versions of Zech 1–6 in the standard Hebrew and Greek texts.[1] Some of these differences reveal common text-critical variations that result from the progress of transmission, while other distinctions seem to reflect the worldview of the translator(s). Given the conservative nature of transmission in antiquity, the altered meaning in the LXX/OG Zechariah does not necessarily expose any purposeful manipulation of the text. Rather, these textual differences suggest the historical and theological assumptions shared by initial translators. Many scholars have noted some of the discrepancies between the Hebrew and Greek witnesses of Zechariah, and a summary of their discussions will not be provided here.[2] However, one pericope, 3:4–7, fails to receive much attention, and this paper will present how the Greek witnesses of this pericope can add to our understanding of the translators' worldview. In association with other key passages in the LXX/OG Zech 1–6, ch. 3 advances the significance of Joshua and the temple cult and highlights for the high priesthood the role for it that most likely existed during the time of the LXX/OG Zechariah translation.

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[1] This paper will use the term "standard text" to refer to (1) the Masoretic Text according to *BHS*, or (2) the Greek text (LXX/OG) proposed by Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* (2d ed.; Septuaginta 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967).

[2] For example, Dominique Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 3, *Ezechiel, Daniel et les 12 prophetes* (OBO 50; Fribourg: Editions Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992); Mario Cimosa, "Observations on the Greek Translation of the Book of Zechariah," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 91–108; and Albert Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie: Un Programme de Restauration pour la Communaute Juive apres l'Exil* (EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1969).

2. Joshua in 3:4–7

Zech 3:1–7 presents the commissioning of the high priest Joshua. The prophet Zechariah is shown a scene where Joshua stands in the divine court before the messenger of the Lord and the accuser (השטן). Before Zechariah hears the accuser's prosecution of Joshua, God admonishes the accuser and describes Joshua as a "brand plucked from the fire." At that moment Zechariah notices that Joshua's clothes are filthy (3:1–3), and he overhears the messenger of the Lord command other members of the divine court to remove Joshua's garments. Then the messenger declares the following in 3:4:

Zechariah 3:4

ראה העברתי מעליך עונך	Ἰδοὺ ἀφῄρηκα τὰς ἀνομίας σου, καὶ
והלבש אתך מַחֲלָצוֹת	ἐνδύσατε αὐτὸν ποδήρη.
See, I have removed your iniquity from you and I will clothe you with a robe.	See, I have removed your lawlessness, and clothe him with a robe

Following the lead of D. Winton Thomas, Carol and Eric Meyers, and James VanderKam conclude that מחלצות is best understood as "pure vestments" because the Arabic and Akkadian roots of this word relate to purification.[3] The verse conveys this understanding of the robe as well, since Joshua would only be vested with a clean garment after the removal of his unbearably defiled garments (according to the Hebrew description צואים) and after the cleansing of his iniquities.[4] The only other place that מחלצות appears in the Hebrew Bible is in Isa 3:22 where it is listed as a garment of wealth. Since this term does not depict priestly clothing elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, it appears that in Zech 3:4 מחלצות refers to the condition of the new robe Joshua wears in contrast to his previous attire (from impurity to purity).[5]

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[3] James C. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest and the Interpretation of Zechariah 3," *CBQ* 53 (1991): 556. Carol L. Meyers and Eric M. Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25B; Garden City: Doubleday, 1987), 190. David W. Thomas, "A Note on מחלצות in Zechariah 3:4," *JTS* 33 (1931–1932): 279–80.

[4] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 187–88. David L. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8: A Commentary* (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1984), 193–94.

[5] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 190, and cited by VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 556. Petersen disagrees: "The immediate contrast envisioned in the Zechariah text is, then, not between clean and unclean in the technical priestly sense, but between dirty, ordinary clothing and rich, ornate robes." *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 196. However, given the association between the מחלצות and the lifting of iniquities, it is clear that this robe represents the product of cleansing.

According to Ziegler there are no variations of the Greek translation for מחלצות.[6] Whereas the Naḥal Ḥever fragments reveal an attempt to reconcile the Greek and Hebrew texts possibly by using the general term for clothing μετεκδύματα, the Greek manuscripts associate Joshua's robe with that of the first high priest.[7] In the Septuagint Pentateuch ποδήρης always refers to the robe of the ephod that only Aaron wears (Exod 25:7; 28:4; 28:31; 29:5; 35:9). Although the robe of the ephod is called ὑποδύτης in Aaron's ordination rite (Lev 8:7), both ὑποδύτης and ποδήρης are used elsewhere to refer to the robe of the ephod (ὑποδύτης in Exod 28:33; 36:29 and also ὑποδύτην ποδήρη in Exod 28:31); these terms seem interchangeable in the Pentateuch. Therefore, the Greek text's use of ποδήρης in Zech 3:4 extends the implications of Joshua's clean attire.

The next verse of Joshua's commissioning builds upon this Aaronid reference. The standard texts and a tradition that transpose the order of events read as follows:

Table 8. Zechariah 3:5

MT	... וְיָשִׂימוּ הַצָּנִיף הַטָּהוֹר עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיַּלְבִּשֻׁהוּ בְּגָדִים וּמַלְאַךְ יְהוָה עֹמֵד	... and they placed the clean turban upon his head and they clothed him with garments while the messenger of the Lord stood by.
OG	καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κίδαριν καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιέβαλον αὐτὸν ἱμάτια, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου εἰστήκει.	And they placed a clean turban upon his head and they clothed him with garments and the messenger of the Lord stood by.
Transposed translation[8]	καὶ περιέβαλον αὐτὸν ἱμάτια καὶ ἐπέθηκαν κίδαριν καθαρὰν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου εἰστήκει.	And they clothed him with garments and they placed a clean turban upon his head and the messenger of the Lord stood by.

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[6] Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 296.

[7] The fragment, with the reconstructed portion in brackets, reads: μετε[κδυμα]τα. Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons, eds., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 72–73.

[8] The textual witnesses for this translation are the Washington papyrus, manuscripts from Ziegler's Alexandria group (including codices Alexandrinus and Marchalianus [A´-Q´-49´-198-449´-534]), manuscripts from Ziegler's primary Lucianic group (*L´*), and the Bohairic Coptic and Arabic versions. Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 296. The Naḥal Ḥever fragments correspond to the order in the Hebrew text. Tov, Kraft, and Parsons, *Greek Minor Prophets Scroll*, 72–73.

This verse presents two items worthy of discussion: (1) the type of turban presented, and (2) the order in which Joshua is vested. First, in Exodus and Leviticus both the Pentateuch and the MT distinguish between the headpieces worn by Aaron and his sons. These two standard texts usually employ μίτρα and מצנפת respectively for Aaron's turban, and κιδάρεις and מגבעות respectively for the sons' headpieces.[9] Although Lev 16:4 clearly refers to Aaron's turban (and the MT uses the expected word מצנפת), the Septuagint Pentateuch refers to it as κίδαρις.[10] It is noteworthy that some manuscripts and recensions have κίδαρις for Aaron's turban.[11] It appears that many translators considered κίδαρις and μίτρα to be synonymous terms, like ποδήρης and ὑποδύτης. The term κίδαρις as well as μίτρα, then, may likely signify Aaron's turban. Thus for example, in Sirach the explicit reference to Aaron's מצנפת is κίδαρις in the Greek text (45:12).

In Zech 3:5 the MT's employment of צניף instead of מצנפת diverts attention from the connection between Joshua with Aaron. Used as a royal image in Isa 62:3, צניף in Zech 3:5 possibly indicates Joshua's enhanced authority in the postexilic period and foreshadows his crowning ceremony.[12] The Greek text, however, retreats from the association with royalty. According to Rahlfs's edition of the Septuagint, κίδαρις most often refers to a priestly headpiece.[13] Given the correlation between Joshua's and Aaron's garb suggested by the use of ποδήρης, the identification of Joshua's turban as κίδαρις brings the connection between Joshua and Aaron even closer.

As for the way Joshua is vested, the Greek manuscripts that transpose the MT reflect more precisely the narrative of Aaron's ordination. As commanded by God, Moses brings Aaron and his sons before the entrance of the tent of meeting (Exod 29:4; Lev 8:6), and Joshua likewise stands before the presence of God (in his divine court; Zech 3:1). Next, Moses washes Aaron and his sons with water

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[9] Turban: Exod 28:37; 29:6; 36:35 [MT 39:28]; Lev 8:9. Headpieces: Exod 28:40; 29:9; 36:35 [MT 39:28]; Lev 8:13.

[10] Exod 28:4 and 28:39 also present κίδαρις for מצנפת, and the latter reference clearly implies Aaron's turban.

[11] Codex Ambrosianus (Exod 29:6, the second reference to the turban) and notations of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus recensions (α´, θ´: Exod 28:37; α´, θ´, σ´: Lev 8:9). John W. Wevers, *Exodus* (Septuaginta 2.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991), 323, 327. John W. Wevers, *Leviticus* (Septuaginta 2.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986), 101.

[12] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 191–92. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 557. Petersen argues that מחלצות and צניף suggest royal and stately overtones, such as portrayed in Isa 3:18–25 (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 197–98).

[13] In 1 Esd 3:6 κίδαρις denotes a headpiece for privileged friends of the king, and in Ezek 21:31 (MT 21:26) it signifies royalty. The other twelve times this word occurs always refer to a priestly headdress.

(Exod 29:4; Lev 8:6), and the messenger of the Lord cleanses Joshua by removing his iniquities (Zech 3:4). Moses then clothes Aaron with his garments, which includes the robe of the ephod (Exod 29:5; Lev 8:7), and Joshua also is clothed with the robe of the ephod and with other garments (Zech 3:4–5).[14] Finally, Moses places the turban upon Aaron's head (Exod 29:6; Lev 8:9), and the members of the divine court place the turban upon Joshua's head (Zech 3:5). These Greek manuscripts appear to link Joshua's commissioning with Aaron's ordination. As the ordination of Aaron initiated the cult of Israel (that is, as the Pentateuch portrays it) the similar installation of Joshua initiated the cult life during the Second Temple period. The absence of Joshua's anointing (versus the anointing of Aaron, Exod 29:7; Lev 8:12) does not discredit his role; if he practices his authority appropriately, God will grant him access to the divine court (Zech 3:7).[15]

In Zech 3:1–7 the MT portrays the divine appointment of Joshua and presents his distinguished apparel with terms reminiscent of Aaron's garb but not explicitly connected to it.[16] On the other hand, many Greek manuscripts unhesitatingly associate Joshua with Aaron and all the Greek witnesses suggest the connection between these high priests by applying the words ποδήρης and κίδαρις in this pericope. For Greek translators it appears that Joshua's installation signified the reestablishment of the Aaronid priesthood.

3. Zechariah 1–6 and the Depiction of Joshua

In determining the depiction of Joshua in LXX/OG Zech 1–6 there are three other pericopes that help distinguish the portrayal of Joshua in the MT from the portrayal of Joshua in the LXX/OG. The first two passages present a figure who is called צמח, "branch," and who is separate from the high priest (3:8; 6:12–13),

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[14] In Exodus and Leviticus Aaron is clothed with the robe of the ephod and *one* other garment (χιτών). Since it is unclear how many robes Joshua receives (perhaps the robe of the ephod is included with the garments [ἱμάτια] the divine court supplies), the correlation with Aaron is not exact. However, ἱμάτια probably was chosen to preserve the plural of the Hebrew form בגדים in Zech 3:4. Given the use of ποδήρης for מחלצות, the translators still appear to have associated Joshua with Aaron.

[15] And as Petersen points out, the vision begins with the assumption that Joshua has already been ordained the high priest: "Then he showed me Joshua, the high priest…" 3:1. (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 199.)

[16] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 220–22. VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 557–58. Petersen argues that the overtones of the Aaronid priesthood in Zech 3:1–5 are not indicated by the details of the purification ceremony (in comparison with Aaron's ordination or with the Day of Atonement ritual) but are primarily implied by the emphasis of Joshua's turban, which Petersen argues is a clear reference to the Aaronid turban (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 199–201).

and the final passage presents a metaphor of the united leadership that Joshua and Zerubbabel share.

    After the commissioning of Joshua, God informs Joshua and his associates that "I am bringing my servant, the Branch [MT: צמח; LXX/OG: ἀνατολή]" (3:8). Mention is made of the "Branch" again in 6:12–13, which read as follows in the Hebrew and Greek standard texts:

Zechariah 6:12–13

ואמרת אליו לאמר כה אמר
יהוה צבאות לאמר הנה־איש צֶמַח
שמו ומתחתיו יצמַח ובנה את־היכל
יהוה והוא יבנה את־היכל יהוה
והוא־ישא הוד וישב ומשל על־כסאו
והיה כהן על־כסאו ועצת שלום
תהיה בין שניהם

καὶ ἐρεῖς πρὸς αὐτόν Τάδε λέγει
κύριος παντοκράτωρ Ἰδοὺ ἀνήρ,
Ἀνατολὴ ὄνομα αὐτῷ, καὶ
ὑποκάτωθεν αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, καὶ
οἰκοδομήσει τὸν οἶκον κυρίου· καὶ
αὐτός λήμψεται ἀρετὴν καὶ
καθιεῖται καὶ κατάρξει ἐπὶ τοῦ
θρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ
δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, καὶ βουλὴ εἰρηνικὴ
ἔσται ἀνὰ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων.

And say to him, "Thus says the Lord of hosts, 'Behold a man whose name is Branch, and from beneath him he will branch up and he will build the temple of the Lord. And he will build the temple of the Lord, and he will bear royal majesty, and he will sit and rule upon his throne. There will be a priest upon his throne, and a peaceful counsel will be between them.

And you shall say to him, "Thus says the Lord Almighty, 'See a man whose name is Branch, and from beneath him he will branch up and he will build the house of the Lord. And he will receive virtue and he will sit and rule upon his throne. And the priest will be at his right hand, and a peaceful counsel will be between them.'"

The term צמח recalls the hope in the restored Davidic rule that is expressed in Jer 23:5 and 33:15.[17] The most likely candidate suggested by this title is Zerubbabel, who was the acting governor of Judah and a descendent of David.[18] Combining this reference with the royal imagery of Zech 6:13 (e.g., "and

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[17] Peter R. Bedford, *Temple Restoration in Early Achaemenid Judah* (JSJSup 65; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 232. John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 24–31. Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 202–3. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 210–11, 276.

[18] Bedford, *Temple Restoration*, 232. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 210–11, 276. Meyers and Meyers argue that as a servant of the Persian empire Zerubbabel was an unlikely candidate, and the identification of the "Branch" is purposefully left ambiguous by the prophet (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 203–4). However, since the temple

he will rule upon his throne"),[19] the prophet Zechariah aroused the "monarchical period ideology" of pre-exilic Judah.[20] Zechariah pronounced a vision of a rebuilt temple, the return of YHWH to Jerusalem, the divine protection of the city and its sanctuary, and the divine appointment of a high priest and a king who would oversee God's rule over the entire world.[21] Whether or not Zechariah intended to instill hope in the imminent downfall of Achaemenid rule, his vision portrays an autonomous Davidic kingdom in the future. Peter Ross Bedford argues that Zechariah primarily applied this royal imagery to Zerubbabel in order to legitimate Zerubbabel's initiation of the temple restoration. Although Zechariah's description of Zerubbabel employed Davidic imagery, the prophet did not intend to arouse rebellion or political change, but rather he used this rhetoric to motivate the Judeans' support for rebuilding the temple.[22] Even though Zechariah's statements may have been designed cautiously so to prevent any military uprising, the completion of his vision nonetheless implies a radical break from the Persian ruled context of Zechariah's time.[23] It is difficult to argue that the messianic and royal overtones of Zechariah's message *never* stirred nationalistic longings.[24]

In Zech 3:8 and 6:12 of the LXX/OG the noun צמח, "branch," is translated as ἀνατολή, "branch." When compared to other Greek recensions and manuscripts, this translation appears to be solely a literal choice. Basil of Neopatrae notes an Aquila recension that revises ἀνατολή in 3:8 with ἀναφυή, "shoot." In addition to Basil, Cyril of Alexandria, Jerome, and a Lucianic witness (MS 86) each cite an Aquila recension that uses ἀναφυή in 6:12 and a

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restoration is a central theme of Zechariah's message and the Branch is presented as its initiator (6:12), the Branch most likely referred to Zerubbabel.

[19] Regardless of whether the original text of 6:11 had Zerubbabel crowned, it is clear that the "Branch" is predicted to reign.

[20] This term is taken from Bedford, *Temple Restoration*.

[21] Rainer Albertz, *A History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (trans. J. S. Bowden; English ed.; OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1994), 2:453. Bedford, *Temple Restoration*, 183–299.

[22] Ibid., 259–60, 292–94. Meyers and Meyers offer a similar opinion about Zechariah's intentions (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 203–4).

[23] Bedford points out that Zechariah portrays the scenario where a king will be appointed *after* the construction of the temple. 2 Samuel–1 Kings display the opposite order of events; the temple is built after the Davidic throne is established. Zechariah's reversed sequence places more significance on the return of YHWH to the city and to the temple than on the establishment of an earthly king (*Temple Restoration*, 253–64).

[24] Bedford acknowledges that a result of the sequence Zechariah pronounces is the appointment of an "indigenous" king (ibid., e.g., pp. 231, 237, 262, 298–99). Bedford's study focuses more on Zechariah's likely intentions instead of how his prophecies were understood.

Symmachus recension that uses βλάστημα, "sprout."[25] In the Septuagint the primary texts in which צמח and its related verbal form refer to the restoration of a Davidic line are translated with ἀνατολή and its related verbal form.[26] Most of the references made to the general restoration of Israel which use the root צמח all use a form of ἀνατέλλω, "to make to rise up."[27] Although in the LXX/OG ἀνατολή most frequently indicates either the rising of the sun (or light) or the eastern direction, it also refers to the sprouting of plants or to analogies related to plant growth.[28] At times it seems that ancient translators incorporated their knowledge of Semitic cognates in order to understand a word in the Hebrew text.[29] Johan Lust offers such an explanation for the particular choice of ἀνατολή in Jer 23:5. In Syriac the root צמח can mean either "spring forth" or "shine forth, shining."[30] It is possible that ἀνατολή was applied in the initial translation of the standard Hebrew text specifically because it carried the perceived dual meaning of the root צמח.[31] Although early church fathers interpreted ἀνατολή as a reference to Christ, it is not evident in the text itself that the translators understood צמח to indicate a messianic figure.[32]

In Zech 6:12–13 it is reported that the "Branch" will rule upon a throne after he builds the temple, and a peaceful counsel will exist between him and a priest, presumably the high priest. Many have debated whether the Masoretic or Greek texts reflect the original depiction of the priest.[33] The Vulgate, Syriac, and Targum versions agree with the MT ("a priest upon his throne")[34] and most Greek

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[25] Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 297.

[26] Jer 23:5–6; Ezek 17:3–10, 29:21; Ps 132:17. There is no corresponding verse of Jer 33:15 in the LXX/OG.

[27] Isa 45:8, 58:8, 61:11.

[28] Rising sun or east: e.g., Gen 2:8, 10:30, 12:8, 13:11, 14, 25:6, 28:14, 29:1; Num 2:3, 3:38; 10:5; 21:11; 23:7; Deut 3:17, 27; 4:41, 47, 49; Judg 5:31; 6:3, 33; 7:12, 8:10; Pss 49:1 (MT 509:1); 112:3 (MT 113:3). Sprouting and plant growth: Pss 84:12 "Truth has risen from the earth" (MT 85:12) "Truth will sprout up (צמח) from (the) earth"; 91:8 (MT 92:8, ציץ, "blossom"); Ezek 16:7; Isa 42:9, 43:19, 44:4 (MT, צמח for the previous four passages); Isa 66:14 (MT, פרח, "sprout").

[29] Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 324.

[30] Johan Lust, "Messianism and the Greek Version of Jeremiah," in *7th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (ed. C. E. Cox; SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 99.

[31] Ibid., 99.

[32] Lust mentions Justin and Tertullian as two examples of those who applied the word to Christ (ibid., 98–99).

[33] For a summary of the positions see B. A. Mastin, "A Note on Zechariah 6:13," *VT* 26 (1976), 113–16.

[34] Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 3:964–65. Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie*, 286–87.

witnesses read what is listed above ("the priest at his right hand"). Some Catena manuscripts and one Alexandrian manuscript (233) omit the definite article (agreeing with the MT), yet no Greek versions offer an equivalent for the Hebrew reading "upon a throne."[35] Dominique Barthélemy proposes that the symmetrical value of both the "Branch" and a priest sitting on their individual thrones was essential to Zechariah's pronouncements regarding the two leaders; both the "Branch" and the priest will administer authority over Judah.[36] Albert Petitjean also argues that the MT preserves the original version. Although כסא usually refers to a royal throne, five times in the Hebrew Bible it denotes a chair that is not a king's: 1 Sam 1:9; 4:13, 18; 2 Kgs 4:10; and Prov 9:14. Most notably for our discussion, the Samuel passages use כסא to refer to the seat of Eli, the priest of Shiloh. For כסא in all these passages the Septuagint employs δίφρος, "seat, couch, stool," instead of the usual θρόνος, "throne." Petitjean concludes that these choices were results of free translations. The Greek translators most likely disagreed with the connection of Elisha, a priest, or "Dame Folly" upon a θρόνος, and in like manner, Petitjean argues, the translators of Zech 6:13 were compelled to deviate from the original text.[37]

Whether or not the MT reveals the original verse, all the Greek versions clearly mark a difference between the rule of the "Branch" and the role of the priest. The consistency displayed in the Greek versions may preserve the original verse, but it also may simply reflect a common understanding that Greek translators shared about priests. In agreement with the MT the LXX/OG Zechariah elevates the responsibilities of the high priest and it even retains the crowning of Joshua in 6:11. In contrast with the MT the high priest and the "Branch" do not share the same administrative duties in the LXX/OG. One will rule upon a throne and the other will judge over temple matters (6:13a versus 3:7).

In ch. 4 Zechariah is shown a gold lamp stand and two olive trees that stand on either side of it (4:1–3, 11). The interpreting messenger explains the significance of the olive trees in the following way (4:14):

Zechariah 4:14

ויאמר אלה שני בני־היצהר
העמדים על־אדון כל־הארץ

καὶ εἶπεν Οὗτοι οἱ δύο υἱοὶ τῆς πιότητος παρεστήκασι τῷ κυρίῳ πάσης τῆς γῆς.

He replied, "These are the two sons of oil who stand by the Lord of all the earth."

He replied, "These two sons of prosperity stand by the Lord of all the earth."

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[35] Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 302. Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie*, 290.

[36] Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, 3:965.

[37] Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie*, 289–92.

Jerome notes the following translations for יצהר in the early recensions: στιλπνότητος (αʹ; "of brightness"), ἐλαίου (σʹ; "of oil"), and λαμπρότητος (θʹ; "of splendor"). The Aquila and Theodotion recensions appear to derive their translation from the root צהר, meaning "noon";[38] only the Symmachus recension reflects the literal translation. According to Ziegler only the Akhmimic Coptic version and the Arabic versions deviate from πιότης, "oil, fat," and most likely found καλλιελαίου, "of cultivated oil," in their Greek *Vorlagen*.[39] Whereas the Greek manuscripts reflect a careful study of the Pentateuch regarding its translation of Zech 3:4–5, the conclusion to ch. 4 exhibits a free translation of יצהר. The Hebrew Bible presents two distinct terms for "oil": for the raw product of the harvest יצהר tends to be used, and שמן pertains to the refined product of oil used for a variety of purposes, which include the anointing of a king or priest.[40] In the LXX/OG, however, all references are simply translated as ἔλαιον. Thus the expected translation of Zech 4:14 would be the Symmachus recension mentioned by Jerome. It is possible that many Greek manuscripts reflect the metaphorical understanding of יצהר. In all but one example in the MT (Joel 2:24), יצהר is collocated with תירוש and דגן, and this triad designates agricultural prosperity.[41] In this sense the appearance of πιότης in Zech 4:14 may refer to this general connotation of יצהר. In the Septuagint πιότης most often refers to an abundance of food,[42] and in Zech 4:14 the term best reflects the future success of God's appointed leaders, Zerubbabel and Joshua.

In this way "sons of prosperity" conveys an understanding similar to the reading proposed by Carol and Eric Meyers, and David Petersen.[43] Zerubbabel and Joshua are not described as "anointed ones" but are instead promoted by divine approval to assist in God's restoration of the temple and establishment of security in the land. However, it is difficult to prove that בני־היצהר was not

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[38] *HALOT* s.v. צהרים.

[39] Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 299.

[40] יצהר: Num 18:12; Deut 7:13; 11:14; 12:17; 14:23; 18:4; 28:51; 2 Kgs 18:32; Jer 31:12; Hos 2:10; 2:24; Joel 1:10; 2:19; 2:24; Hag 1:11; Neh 5:11; 10:40; 13:5, 12; 2 Chr 31:5; 32:38. שמן: Some examples of anointing are: 1 Sam 10:1; 16:1, 13; 1 Kgs 1:39; Ps 89:21; Exod 29:7; Lev 8:12.

[41] On the collocation of terms see Petitjean, *Les Oracles du Proto-Zacharie*, 289–92. Petersen also notes this association with prosperity (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 230–31).

[42] Gen 27:28, 39; Judg 9:9; BJudg 9:9; Pss 35:9 [MT 36:9], 62:6 [63:6], 64:12 [65:12]; Job 36:16. The MT uses the noun שמן in the Genesis passages and דשן in all the other passages. Also used in 1 Kgs 13:3, 5 (MT, דשן) and Ezek 25:4 (MT, חלב). Even though Judg 9:9 and BJudg 9:9 in particular refer to the fatness of oil, the use of πιότης in the other passages does not necessarily refer to oil.

[43] Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 258–59. Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 229–34.

interpreted as a reference to divine anointing of some sort.[44] As Petersen observes, the gold lamp stand represents the presence of the Lord, and so Zechariah's vision clearly depicts the "sons of oil" at an elevated position with access to the deity.[45] Petersen also argues that the term "sons" in this vision is reminiscent to the intimate relationship between deities and kings (e.g., 2 Sam 7:14), and as a result this vision raises the significance of Joshua's leadership to the same level as Zerubbabel's.[46] Given the clear hope for Davidic restoration suggested by the term צמח (3:8 and 6:12), it is very likely that בני־היצהר supplemented this messianic overtone. Just as Joshua's investiture with מחלצות, "pure vestments," and a צניף, "turban," may have called to mind Aaron's ordination (even though the official terms were not utilized),[47] "the sons of יצהר" may have conjured up memories of the Davidic and Aaronid institutions of old (as if it were, "sons of שמן").[48] "Sons of πιότης," however, weakens the connection to these keystone traditions and instead ascribes a new role for the descendants of a royal and priestly past. More on this will be discussed below.

4. Messianism in the Septuagint

There is an ongoing discussion about whether or not messianic beliefs are noticeable in the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, and about how to detect a messianic interpretation that Greek translators added to the original meaning of the Hebrew text.[49] In particular Lust advises:

> When trying to defend the thesis of the 'messianizing' character of the LXX, one should avoid arbitrary selections of proof texts. One should not overlook the many passages in the Greek version where a 'messianizing' translation might have been expected but where it is not given. Indeed, many Hebrew texts receiving a messianic interpretation in the Targumim are translated literally by the LXX without any added messianic exegesis. Neither should one overlook those texts in which the messianic connotation has been weakened or given a different nuance by the LXX.[50]

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[44] Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 44 n. 60.

[45] Petersen, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 233–34.

[46] Ibid., 233.

[47] VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 556–57.

[48] This example of an indirect reference to the monarchical past also supports the argument that Zechariah was cautious in his rhetoric.

[49] William Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ* (London: SCM, 1998), 36–63. Johan Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," in *Congress Volume: Salamanca, 1983* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 174–91. Lust lists a number of scholars who have been engaged in this discussion, see especially n. 2.

[50] Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 175.

With these concerns in mind the following details about Second Temple messianism will be applied to our discussion about Zech 1–6: (1) "A messiah is an eschatological figure who sometimes, but not necessarily always, is designated as a משיח [or χριστός in this setting] in the ancient sources;" (2) the adjective "eschatological" refers to a radical break between the present reality and the future brought about by the messiah. In particular the messiah is the one who facilitates the necessary changes that cause the future to come to pass; and (3) more than one messianic paradigm can be identified in postexilic literature, two prominent ones being royal and priestly.[51] So in the case of Zech 1–6 the following question must be addressed: Although the MT presents Zerubbabel in messianic terms, does the LXX/OG maintain or augment this notion?[52]

As discussed above ἀνατολή, "branch," seems to be a literal translation of צמח, "branch," and not a theological expansion. Certainly the LXX/OG does not retreat from Zechariah's hope for Davidic restoration; for example the ἀνατολή will rule upon his throne (6:13). However, the LXX/OG does not refer to the ἀνατολή as an anointed leader, which is an image that would not be ignored by a promoter of royal discussion much less of royal messianism. As a son of prosperity Zerubbabel stands for the assurance of stability in the land, yet the hope for a Davidic king is weakened. The LXX/OG text suggests that the hope of a royal messiah was not a pressing issue for initial translators. On the other hand, the role of high priest appears to have been developed in the LXX/OG Zechariah.

According to the MT God conditionally grants Joshua the authority to "judge" (דין) over the temple and to oversee the temple courts, which entailed revenue collection along with offering sacrifices (3:7); he was charged to supervise the management of all temple matters.[53] Adding the responsibility "to judge" promoted the role of the high priest. Although previous literature called for Levitical priests to execute judgment (e.g., Deut 17:9–11; 21:5), other literature allocated this task to royal leaders (e.g., 2 Sam 15:1–4; 1 Kgs 3:16–28).[54] In the restoration period after the exile the high priest "[served] as the highest authority in the entire temple complex," acting independently from any monarch.[55] The reestablishment of this religious leader also signified the

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[51] Points (1) and (3) are taken from Collins, *The Scepter and the Star*, 12.

[52] On the MT see, ibid., 30. Horbury, *Jewish Messianism and the Cult of Christ*, 44. As mentioned above at the very least, the prophet Zechariah employed the term צמח precisely because of its association with a restored Davidic kingdom, which in and of itself would be a radical break from Achaemenid rule.

[53] VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 559; Meyers and Meyers, *Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 195.

[54] VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 559.

[55] Ibid., 559. Petersen makes a similar point (*Haggai and Zechariah 1–8*, 205–6).

"resumption of communication" with God.[56] Whether or not the seven pairs of eyes and the engraved stone in Zech 3:9 refer to Aaron's breast-piece, God grants Joshua access to the divine court and in so doing implies an intimate connection between the high priest and the will of God.[57] Although the investment and installation of Joshua may have introduced the hope of Davidic restoration (in the promise of the coming "Branch," 3:8), it more importantly ushered in the central role of the temple cult in the postexilic period.

Given the messianic models that I presented at the beginning of this section, I need to address whether Joshua is presented in the MT as a messianic priest. Although בני־היצהר could suggest divine anointing, the restoration of the temple cult that Zechariah describes was not a radical break from his contemporary reality. The Persian empire granted the reinstatement of Joshua's activities, and because of this it is less likely that Joshua was considered to be a messianic figure.

As for the LXX/OG, it enhances Zechariah's description of Joshua's responsibilities. It retains much of what the MT provides; Joshua is given the authority to judge (διακρίνω) and to administrate the temple courts and is conditionally granted access to the divine court (3:7). However, the LXX/OG explicitly associates Joshua with Aaron, and in so doing it refers to the reestablishment of Aaronid priesthood more clearly than the MT. Joshua ushers in the restoration of the Aaronid priesthood by being vested with the robe of the ephod and adorned with the high priest's turban (3:4–5). Even some primary Greek manuscripts, contrary to the MT, preserve a sequence of events in Joshua's installation ceremony that correlates with the presentation of Aaron's ordination. Joshua's expanded role to judge as well as to minister in the temple extends the authority of the Aaronid priesthood in general. This developed understanding resembles the praise of Aaron in the Greek Sirach. Both Aaron and Joshua are vested with a ποδήρης (Sir 45:8 and Zech 3:4 respectively) and both wear a κίδαρις, "turban" (Sir 45:12 and Zech 3:5). God bestows upon Aaron the authority to judge and to teach (45:17) as well as to administer the court sacrifices (45:16). Finally, all the descendants of Aaron are crowned with God's glory (45:26), and even Aaron's turban is described as a gold crown (στέφανος χρυσοῦς). This latter reference is to the gold diadem upon Aaron's turban that is referred to in Lev 8:9 as a "holy crown."[58] Joshua is also crowned (Zech 6:11) and perhaps the Greek translators understood this to be the golden diadem upon his turban.

By the time of the LXX/OG Zechariah translation high priests executed authority over the Jewish people in cultic matters and also influenced the

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[56] VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 569.

[57] Ibid., 562–69.

[58] The MT reads נזר הקדש.

political and economic landscape according to their relations with regional civil control.[59] Whether Joshua's "crown" was understood to signify secular governance or cultic leadership, both responsibilities were exercised by the high priests of this period. The association of Joshua with Aaron may simply reflect a common perception of Hellenistic Judaism, i.e., in the restoration of the temple God assigned a greater role than previously to the high priest.

The goal of the "sons of prosperity" is to reestablish the temple cult. The primary role of the ἀνατολή is to build the temple (4:6–10a). He may rule upon a throne, but Zechariah remains silent about the details of Zerubbabel's role after this building project, and the LXX/OG does not expand upon the messianic overtones implied by צמח in the MT. On the other hand, Joshua's responsibilities are explicitly defined and his status is clearly presented in his installation ceremony. Joshua is the new Aaron and his access to God will again symbolize the people's relationship with God. For the initial translators of LXX/OG Zechariah, the 'prosperity' that Zechariah foretells may have been the restored cult that characterized their religion.

5. Conclusion

In Zechariah's historical context Joshua's changing of vestments "[symbolized] the restoration of a proper relationship between the Lord and his people after the defiling experience of the exile and loss of the temple."[60] His installation paved a way for the cult to resume. By the time of the LXX/OG Zechariah translation this cult and the role of the high priest were well established. Although the prophet Zechariah may have revived hopes for the return of Davidic rule, LXX/OG Zech 1–6 does not expose any development of this expectation. All references to the Hebrew "Branch" are treated quite literally in this translation. Zerubbabel is a guide to Judah's prosperity, but he is not an anointed leader. Joshua, however, is depicted as the father of postexilic Judaism. God installs him much like Moses ordained Aaron, and God grants the high priesthood a greater role in Judah's affairs. LXX/OG Zech 1–6 presents the reestablishment of the temple cult, with Zerubbabel as an important assistant and with Joshua as a co-leader in the political realm and as the cultic authority of the Jewish people. By expanding the understanding of Joshua, LXX/OG Zech 1–6 presents a belief that corresponds to a religious reality of Hellenistic Judaism.

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[59] Jon L. Berquist, *Judaism in Persia's Shadow: A Social and Historical Approach* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 147–59; Lester L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 2:607–16.

[60] VanderKam, "Joshua the High Priest," 569–70.

Messianism in the Septuagint

Heinz-Josef Fabry

The significant rise of eschatological and messianic belief in the second century C.E. is probably connected with an increasing discrepancy between the experience of reality and the message of the Holy Scriptures. In the course of this process new hermeneutical approaches to the Bible were developed; the translation is one of them. Eschatology and messianism, so far as they are examined in Palestinian Judaism, have a history of origin and rise, and a latent presence in the Judaism of the late Old Testament times. Their actuation from time to time was a result of socio-cultural and political trespasses and catastrophes, which affected the people from outside. The expectation of the Messiah was always a product of its time and the conception of the Messiah was in contrast to the circumstances of the time. Beside the pressures of the Seleucids and the Romans, it was above all the pressure of the Hellenistic culture on the Israelite-Jewish traditional thought and behavior that led to fear-filled situations and apocalyptic developments.

Of course Hellenism was one of the main causes that generated expectations of a messiah among Palestinian Jewish groups. The Messiah was expected to end the disastrous state of the old age and to initiate a new age. Therefore one should expect that a translation of the Bible in the context of Hellenistic culture would avoid such a messianic expectation, because Hellenism as an essential natural enemy was abolished in the Hellenistic Jewish community.

But undoubtedly messianism exists in the Septuagint. How can its existence be explained? What is its purpose? Not only is the existence of messianism remarkable, that there is a significant increase of messianic interpretations is striking. This is the starting-point of J. Schaper's hypothesis (see below).

The investigation of messianic expectations in the Septuagint is in many respects interesting and important. For Jews the question is, if and how the *in nuce* messianisms of the Tanak were received and developed among particular Jewish groups in the turbulent times of the two last centuries B.C.E., especially in the Hellenistic-Jewish community in Alexandria. This question is important for understanding Judaism, because of the inner-Jewish quarrels among messianic

movements on the one side and also the sorrowful and quarrelsome encounter with the early Christian church on the other side.

For Christians the question is, if and how the *in nuce* messianisms of the Tanak are still alive in the Christian Old Testament, which was used by the early church, and if and how such developments can be detected. The Christian Old Testament is based primarily on the Septuagint. The original Christian interpretation of Jesus of Nazareth as Christ/Messiah found its primary references to the Scripture in the deviations of Alexandrian Judaism.

For Jewish and Christian scholars it is likewise interesting to compare the messianic statements of Alexandrian Judaism with those of Palestinian Judaism, found in the writings of Qumran and in the intertestamental literature. The view of Babylonian Judaism is unfortunately not included.

It is a common opinion that the messianic expectations in Palestine were influenced by the Seleucids and Hasmoneans. They must have developed in different ways under the influence of Hellenistic culture in Alexandria. This view is principally correct, so far it is unquestionable that messianic expectations were formulated usually in contrast to the respective socio-cultural and political conditions.

There are doubtless important differences in messianic expectations between Tanak and Old Testament. But they are obviously not described succinctly nor ordered systematically and the translators in Alexandria were not alone responsible for those differences. Some scholars are very careful with assigning responsibility for the differences and attribute only a few messianic opinions to the Septuagint, whereas others are doing this freely. The differences appear in many cases with different motivations and therefore they demand a careful analysis. Most differences are doubtless intended. There are also differences that go back to unconscious errors in reading during the transmission of the scriptures. At subsequent times the errors could be elaborated to messianic impulses. early Christianity was one of the important settings where this happened.

1. The Evidence of the Old Testament

First of all, the statements and declarations in the Hebrew Tanak connected with an evolving messianism can be found almost exactly or similarly translated in the Greek Old Testament. That means that all statements concerning the liturgical-sacral anointing, which were in later times projected as the starting-point of messianic expectations, were translated and are now present in the

Septuagint. But we are not sure whether the Septuagint understood these texts in the same way or not.[1]

Most, but not all, passages with terminology of anointing were understood from a messianic perspective, whereas other passages (e.g., Isa 9; 11; Mic 5:2; Zech 9:9, etc.) without mention of the anointed or the act of anointing played an important role in later expectations of the Messiah. Also the image of the Lord of the age of salvation as shepherd (Jer 23:5; 33:14–18; Ezek 34), as suffering servant (Isa 53), or as inspired prophet (Isa 52:7, 13; 61:1) must be mentioned in this context. How did the Septuagint understand these passages?

Before we analyze these passages we will make a *tour d'horizon* through the Targumic texts, Dead Sea Scroll literature, the *Testament of the 12 Patriarchs*, and the *Psalms of Solomon*.

2. The Reception of Messianism in the Targums

On the one hand we have the evidence of the Old Testament, on the other hand we can find messianic interpretations in the Targums, which give us insight into the history of reception ("*Rezeptionsgeschichte*"). Two tendencies are to be distinguished. I would like to call it "Messianization" and "Demessianization." Prominent examples for Messianizations are:

– The saying of Judah in Gen 49:10 is interpreted messianically in the Targum and also in Qumran (4Q252).
– The Targum to Balaam's oracle in Num 24:17 uses the title "Messiah."
– In *Targum Isaiah* the Suffering Servant of Isa 52:13 is interpreted messianically as "my servant" and denoted decidedly as "Messiah." Although this tradition could go back to pre-Christian times, the *Targum Isaiah* is itself dated at the end of the first century C.E.

3. The Reception of the Old Testament Messianisms at Qumran

The pre-Essene expectation of the Messiah was stimulated by the "Candle-Vision" in Zech 4. It concentrated on a priestly Messiah (4Q375; 4Q376) who could be elucidated with motifs from the Servant Song in Isa 53 (4Q541 [4QApocLevi[b]]).

The Essene, pre-Qumran expectation of the Messiah began with the Aramaic "Son of God text" (4Q246 [4QapocrDan ar]), which interprets the people of God as the coming Messiah. This text relies heavily on Dan 7 and proclaims a corporate and democratized Messiah figure.

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[1] A very good compilation can be found in Siegfried Kreuzer, "Χριστός," *TBLNT* 2:1090–95, especially 1091–92.

The early Qumran expectation of the Messiah turned back to an expectation of an individual Messiah. Influenced by the "Candle-Vision" in Zech 4, a twofold expectation of the "anointed ones [plural] of Aaron and Israel" arose (1QS V; 1QSa II, 11–22), which was later simplified again to an expectation of the "anointed one [singular] of Aaron and Israel" (CD VII, 18–21).

For a while after the time of its foundation, the community of Qumran expected a threefold Messiah (1QS IX, 11): a Davidic king, an Aaronic priest, and a prophet like Moses (Deut 18:14–18). This was in contrast to the threefold ministry of John Hyrcanus about 120 B.C.E.

In the last part of the second century B.C.E., after the foundation of Qumran, a strong Zadokite influence can be seen in the community, which is perhaps responsible for the new significance given to the tradition of Melchizedek as a priestly and heavenly messiah. The apocalyptically colored midrash 11Q13 (11QMelch) takes up the traditions of Gen 14 and Ps 110:4 and interprets Melchizedek as a priestly figure of salvation who would lead the heavenly host against Belial. His appearance is reminiscent of the "Messiah" in Isa 61:1–3.

At the beginning of the first century B.C.E. the community found the Davidic Messiah in the announcement of the "star and scepter" in Balaam's oracle in Num 24:17 (see CD VII, 8–21).

The Qumran end of the age ("Endzeit") is dated to about 70 B.C.E. The remonstrations against the Roman oppression, against the fraternal strife during the time of Alexander Jannaeus, and against the female misgovernment of the unhappy queen Salome Alexandra included the call for a strong man. The expectation of a Davidic Messiah was developing (4Q174 [4QMidrEschat]; 4Q252 [4QpGen^a]) and took its motivation from a messianic interpretation of the blessing of Judah in Gen 49:10 and from the prophecy of Nathan in 2 Sam 7. In 4Q161 [4QpJes^a] the prophetic announcement of Isa 11:1–5 is interpreted messianically.

When the time of Qumran was coming to an end in the second half of the first century B.C.E., the expectation of an eschatological prophet surprisingly increased, since this expectation had been in the background from the third century (4Q558) onwards. At this time when an apocalyptic intervention seem imminent ("Naherwartung") this expectation was emphasized through the use of Num 24:17; Deut 18:15, 18, and Deut 33:8–11 in 4Q174/175 [4QMidrEschat]; CD II, 12; 1QM VII, 11; 4Q270 [4QD^e]; 4Q377.

4. The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the *Psalms of Solomon*

The Jewish groups in intertestamental times preferred a Davidic Messiah (*T. Jud.* 24), but among some Jewish groups of that time a priestly Messiah was more important (*T. Levi* 18). Sometimes the expectation of a triple Messiah

arose: one of the house of David, one of the tribe of Aaron, and one as a forerunning prophet (*T. Reu.* 6:7, 10; 1 Macc 14:41). The *T. Jud.* 24:1 passage is used to show that the strange translation of "scepter" in Num 24:17 with ἄνθρωπος is a messianic title.[2] Although the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* probably originates from the second century B.C.E., their textual transmission does not remain free from Christian revisions, which have to be considered when we compare the messianic development.

The famous proclamation of the Messiah is presented in *Pss. Sol.* 17–18 where in a text from about 50–40 B.C.E. a royal Messiah of the house of David (critics of Hasmoneans and Romans!) was expected. He would liberate Israel from its enemies, lead it back from the Golah, and assign to it the central place among the peoples. He would gather the holy people and restore social justice. The author took up traditions from the earlier times of Israel (e.g., wandering in the desert, distribution of land) for this sketch of the Messiah, but most of all he interpreted the promise of Nathan (2 Sam 7) as a messianic announcement.

5. The Septuagint

There is no homogenous image of the Messiah to be found in the Septuagint.[3] It is noteworthy, on the one hand, that we can observe a suppression of messianic expectations in the Hellenistic Diaspora, whereas in Palestine messianism was strongly articulated. The favorite proof texts employed in the development of the portrayal of the Messiah in the Old Testament were in part suppressed in the Septuagint. On the other hand, there is a clear expansion of messianic images in other parts of the Septuagint. There are many indications of an additional messianization of many statements in the Bible by the Septuagint translators. The list of these hints is noteworthy and instructive because it was only the New Testament writers who took essential elements of their messianic ideas from there.[4] So it is clear that the New Testament—in order to interpret Jesus as the Messiah—refers to hints that came from the Hellenistic Jews of Alexandria.

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[2] Cf. Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2.76; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 118.

[3] Johan Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," in *Congress Volume: Salamanca, 1983* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 174–91; cf. idem, "Septuagint and Messianism, with a Special Emphasis on the Pentateuch," in *Theologische Probleme der Septuaginta und der hellenistischen Hermeneutik* (ed. H. Graf Reventlow; Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie 11; Gütersloh: Kaiser, 1997), 26–45.

[4] Sometimes a reversed direction of influence is assumed, such that messianic material in the Hebrew text was later neutralized by the Jewish scribes because of quarrels with the early church, whereas the Septuagint retained the messianic plusses.

5.1 Statistics

The substantive χριστός appears forty-one times in the Septuagint. Thereby it corresponds thirty-five times to *mašiaḥ* in the MT.[5] It corresponds two times to *mišhaḥ* in the MT (Lev 21:10, 12). Once it replaces *mišaḥ* (2 Chr 22:7). Finally it appears in 2 Macc 1:10 and 3:30.

Corresponding to the almost exclusive syntactical connection of *mašiaḥ* in genitive clauses or with suffixes, χριστός is not used in an absolute way in the Septuagint.[6]

The phrase Χριστὸς κυρίου in 2 Sam 2:5 is the designation of Saul and is a plus in relation to the MT. In Ezek 16:4, Codex Alexandrinus adds τοῦ χριστοῦ μου after "you were not bathed in water (*of my anointed*)," because he misread the MT's למשי, which is probably secondary and untranslatable, as למשיחי.[7] For the messianic misreading in Amos 4:13 see below.

Once at Dan 9:[25]26) *mašiaḥ* is translated with χρίσμα, once in Lev 4:3 with κεχρισμένος, referring to the anointed high priest, and once in 2 Sam 21:1 *mašiâḥ* (in Hebrew rather *mašuâḥ*) is translated as a verb with ἐνχρίσθη referring to the anointing of shields.

The verb χρίειν corresponds normally to the Hebrew verb משח "anoint." The Septuagint may have used it for translating other verbs as well:
–   In 2 Chr 36:1 χρίειν is a plus and explicable as a double translation of MT's המליך "(*to anoint* and) make king." The translator possibly wanted to differentiate the ceremony of consecration.
–   In 2 Sam 15:11 the Septuagint has βασιλεύειν, "make king," but Symmachus uses χρίειν to translate המליך.
–   In Ps 2:6 Symmachus translated the verb נסך, "install a king," but the Septuagint reads καθίστημι.

In the latter two cases Symmachus understood the procedure of the enthronement as a ceremony of consecration.

5.2 Some remarks on the research history

Since the foundational investigation of messianism done by Joseph Coppens, scholars have been conscious that messianic imaginations were not interrupted

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[5] Lev 4:5, 16; 6:22 [15]; 1 Sam 2:10, 35; 12:3, 5; 16:6; 24:7[2x], 11; 26:9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam 1:14, 16; 19:21; 22:51; 23:1; 1 Chr 16:22; 2 Chr 6:42; Pss 2:2; 17:51; 19:7; 27:8; 83:10; 88:39, 52; 104:15; 131:10, 17; Isa 45:1; Lam 4:20; Hab 3:13. Sir 46:19 corresponds to this meaning as well.

[6] The following exceptions are quoted: 2 Sam 23:3; Song 1:7; Sir 46:19; 47:11; Deut 9:26; 2 Macc 3:30.

[7] Walther Zimmerli, *Ezechiel* (BKAT 13; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 1:334, explains it as a Christianizing interpretation.

with the closing of the Hebrew Bible, only to begin anew in the New Testament.[8] Coppens observed in the Septuagint a real permanence, but also many hints of a different messianic conception. With regard to Isa 7:14, 9:1–5, and Ps 90:3, he concluded that the Septuagint developed the messianism of the MT. In his research he found many more proofs that supported his opinion, and now they are an integral part of the research of the messianism in the Septuagint.

When Coppens died in the eighties of the last century, research on Septuagint messianism continued in Leuven, and is now an incontestable domain of the Leuven scholar Johan Lust. He has dealt with our question in numerous articles.[9] He has been able to extend the list of possible proofs, but he has also pointed to several contrary phenomena: passages in the Septuagint where messianic materials in the MT were weakened or neutralized. A systematic investigation of this theme is still lacking.

When preparing La Bible d'Alexandrie, Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Oliver Munnich expressed their opinion about the messianism in the Septuagint:[10] They observe (with Jean Starcky) a waning of messianism in Hellenistic Judaism, whereas at the same time messianism in Palestine was quickly increasing. This simple equation does not at all fit the reality of the

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[8] Joseph Coppens, *Le Messianisme Royale: Ses Origines, Son Développement, Son Accomplissement* (LD 54; Paris: Cerf, 1968). A list of the passages is included in Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1988), 219–22.

[9] Johan Lust, "Daniel 7:13 and the Septuagint," *ETL* 54 (1978): 62–69. Cf. idem, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 174–91; idem, "Le Messianisme et la Septante d'Ezechiel," *Tsafon* 2/3 (1990): 3–14; idem, "Messianism and the Greek Version of Jeremiah," in *7th Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989* (ed. SBLSCS 31; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991), 87–122; idem, "The Diverse Text Forms of Jeremiah and History Writing with Jeremiah 33 as a Test Case," *JNSL* 20 (1994): 31–48; idem, "The Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles: The ἄνθρωπος in Num 24:7 and 17: Messianism and Lexicography," in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 233–57; "Micah 5:1–3 in Qumran and in the New Testament, and Messianism in the Septuagint," in *The Scriptures in the Gospels* (BETL 131; Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1997), 65–88; idem, "'And I Shall Hang Him on a Lofty Mountain': Ezekiel 17:22–24 and Messianism in the Septuagint," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 231–50; idem, "Messianism in the Septuagint: Isaiah 8:23b–9:6 (9:1–7)," in *Interpretation of the Bible* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1998), 147–63; idem, "Messianism in Ezekiel in Hebrew and in Greek: Ezekiel 21:15 (10) and 18 (13)," in *Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. M. Paul et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[10] Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante*, 219–22.

situation, because the manuscripts from Qumran, and the Targums, which may give evidence of Palestine messianism, are to be dated significantly later than the formation of the Septuagint.

A systematic analysis of the relevant passages does not exist. The placing of the development of messianic expectations into the history of theology (*Theologiegeschichte*) among Jewish or Hellenistic-Jewish groups is missing as well. Johan Lust draws attention to the fact that this lack must surprise, because the messianic plusses of the Septuagint were articulated already in the discussions between the early church and Judaism of that time.[11] We can imagine the intensity of this discussion when we look at Justin's dialogue with Trypho. A first attempt at a comprehensive theory has been made by Joachim Schaper.[12] Starting with Aage Bentzen's hypothesis of a remythization in Hellenistic Jewish literature, Schaper discovers in the Septuagint Psalter traces of mythological elements in the pictures of the Messiah (e.g., the metaphor of the beloved, of the unicorn [Pss 29{28}:6]; the messiah as leader of the heavenly host [Ps 68{67}:13–14], of angels [Ps 78{77}:25], and of demons [Ps 91{90}:6]).[13]

He argues that the increasing emphasis on the transcendence of God caused by the expansion of the influence of Hellenistic philosophy required the conception of several mediators. The extension of the beliefs about angels and demons began: messianism developed in a way not known before, so that in the second century several images of the Messiah existed, some of them far removed from their origins.[14] Schaper's hypothesis is based only on the evidence of the Psalms, but he was highly influenced by the targumic and talmudic evidence. This is the reason that some of his interpretations are misleading.

In his paper on the "theo-logy" of the Septuagint Martin Rösel tried to integrate the expectance of the Messiah into the theology of the Septuagint.[15] Just on the question of the Messiah—Rösel describes it with the Judah pericope (Gen 49) and the oracle of Balaam (Num 24:7, 17)—the Septuagint has a different theological consciousness, a divergent theology when compared to the

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[11] Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 175 n. 5.

[12] Joachim Schaper, "Die Renaissance der Mythologie im Hellenistischen Judentum und der Septuaginta-Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 171–83.

[13] For "beloved" as a metaphor for the Messiah who will rebuild the temple, cf. *b. Menaḥ* 53a/b.

[14] Ibid., 180: "So entwickelte sich der Messianismus in einer vorher nicht gekannten Weise, so dass im zweiten Jahrhundert eine Anzahl unterschiedlicher Messias-Vorstellungen existierte, von denen manche sich von ihren Ursprüngen weit entfernt hatten."

[15] Martin Rösel, "Theo-logie der Griechischen Bibel: zur Wiedergabe der Gottesaussagen im LXX-Pentateuch," *VT* 48 (1998): 49–62, especially p. 61.

Hebrew text. Rösel asked, very correctly in my opinion, if the increase in messianic imaginations in the Septuagint should not be considered in the light of the pattern of portraying God as increasingly transcendent.

5.3 Tendencies in the Septuagint

5.3.1 Messianic passages in the Hebrew Bible are "dismantled" in the Septuagint

Only one example will be given here: the well-known passage Isa 9:5–6 translates "A child is born to us, a son is given."[16] This passage in the MT text is enriched by a full list of messianic titles. But the Septuagint does not translate these titles: "His name is messenger of the great council, and I will bring peace to the governors, and to him, wellness." If we accept Johan Lust's assessment, the translators may have understood these titles as names for God and transformed them into activities of God. The messianic child is now a simple messenger. Jerome attributed it to a Jewish malice, which made the text useless for a messianic interpretation.

5.3.2 Messianic passages in the Hebrew Bible are reduced in the Septuagint

In Mic 5:2 it is announced that the king of the future has his roots in Bethlehem-Ephrathah.[17] His origin was in primeval times, he was pre-existent, he functioned as shepherd of the Lord, and brought peace. We read in vv. 2–3:

> But you, O Bethlehem of Ephrathah, who are one of the little clans of Judah, from you shall come forth for me one who is to rule in Israel, whose origin is from of old, from ancient days. Therefore he shall give them up until the time when she who is in labor has brought forth; then the rest of his kindred shall return to the people of Israel. (NRSV)

In the Septuagint we read with Utzschneider:

> … daß JHWH sie preisgeben wird, bis die Gebärende einen Sohn geboren hat. Sie wird gebären und dann wird der Rest ihrer (scil. der preisgegebenen) Brüder zurückkehren zu den Söhnen Israels. Und er wird dastehen und schauen und weiden seine Herde in der Kraft des HERRN und in der Herrlichkeit des Namens des HERRN, ihres Gottes, werden sie wohnen.[18]

The messianic idea and the idea of preexistence are still there. But now we hear of a pregnant women and of the rest of *her* brethren. The connection between

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[16] Cf. Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 176.

[17] Cf. Ibid., 176 n. 10; cf. idem, "Micah 5,1–3 in Qumran and in the New Testament," 82–87.

[18] Translation according to Helmut Utzschneider, LXX.D.

the son who is born and the rest of *his* brethren is now disconnected.[19] So the Septuagint deconstructed the *in nuce* messianism in Mic 5:1–3. What is the reason? Given that several Septuagint MSS read κύριος instead of κυρίου (thus God is the redeemer and not a messianic figure), we can argue that this is a sign of Jewish copyists rejecting messianic interpretations of this important text which was very early understood as an announcement of Jesus Christ (Matt 2). We may argue that the MT text was already fixed, but in the Jewish text tradition there were still arguments about whether to abolish the hint of the Messiah.

5.3.3 Messianic Interpretations

In Num 24:7 the MT text and Septuagint are very different.[20] The Balaam speech in the MT text reflects the situation in the early period of the Israelite kingdom, but the Septuagint replaces Agag, the king of the Amalekites, with the eschatological figure Gog (see Ezek 38–39).[21]

Another passage is Num 24:17:[22] "I see him, but not now; I behold him, but not near—a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush the borderlands of Moab, and the territory of all the Shethites." Behind this MT text an exilic or postexilic Redactor articulates his view of a restoration of the Davidic kingdom. The text of the Septuagint is very instructive: "Ich werde (es) ihm zeigen, aber nicht jetzt, ich preise glücklich, aber es ist nicht nahe. Ein Stern wird aufgehen aus Jakob und *ein Mensch* wird aufstehen aus Israel; er wird die Anführer Moabs zerschmettern und alle Söhne Seths als Beute nehmen."[23] The interpretation of the "Scepter of Israel" as ἄνθρωπος, "human being," may be a new messianic title (see 4Q175; 1QM XI, 6–7; CD VII, 18–19; *T. Jud.* 24:1 and Heb 8:2).[24]

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[19] See more details in Lust's publication!

[20] Cf. Lust, "Septuagint and messianism," 42–43; idem, "Greek Version of Balaam's Third and Fourth Oracles," 233–57.

[21] It is notable, that even the Samaritan Pentateuch reads "Gog."

[22] Cf. Lust, "Septuagint and Messianism," 43–44; cf. idem, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 178.

[23] Concerning the Septuagint edition, cf. Gilles Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 4; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 135–42; 413–56; and Martin Rösel, "Die Interpretation von Genesis 49 in der Septuaginta," *BN* 79 (1995): 54–70.

[24] Cf. Johannes Zimmermann, *Messianische Texte aus Qumran: Königliche, priesterliche und prophetische Messiasvorstellungen in den Schriftfunden von Qumran* (WUNT 104; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 96–98 (with further proof of messianic interpretation of this passage in Judaism); John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 63–64; and Martin Rösel, "Wie einer vom Propheten zum Verführer wurde: Tradition und Rezeption der Bileamgestalt," *Bib* 80 (1999): 506–24, especially 519–20.

The first edition of Ezek 21:30–32 was not messianic; it announced the judgment of Jerusalem.[25] The Septuagint text reads: "… until he comes, who is entitled to them [i.e., diadem and crown] and to whom I will give them." This announcement may be directed against a personal union of priestly and royal ministries in Hasmonean times.

The late (ca. 150 B.C.E.) Septuagint translation of the Psalms reflects the messianism of the time of the Hasmoneans. Septuagint Ps 16[15]:9–10 reflects on the resurrection of the dead in the messianic time; Ps 29[28]:6 interprets the calf as a unicorn, a messianic symbol; Ps 56[55]:9 reflects eschatological salvation; Ps 87[86]:5 uses the metaphor of Zion as mother of the Messiah (cf. 1QH III, 9–10); and Ps 110[109]:3 combines protology and eschatology and is received as a messianic announcement by the New Testament.

6. Summary

6.1 About translating and translators

According to Schaper we have to highlight that the hermeneutics of ancient translators do not necessarily harmonize with our ideas today. The translators normally appreciated the text as canonical and translated it as closely as possible, nevertheless they handled their objects rather freely when they transferred the traditional textual contents into the new cultural surroundings.

The translation is—in spite of its proximity to the subject—an editorial process that develops ("fortschreiben") the original text and extends it into new areas. Bigger complexes of ideas may stimulate this tendency, but in most cases it is unsure readings that had to be smoothed out. Even as repaired misreadings they are testimonies to messianic beliefs. They are evidence of particular concepts of the Messiah held by the translators.

At present we can assume that the biblical books in the Septuagint were translated at different times. Therefore we must not be surprised to find different approaches to divergent expectations of the Messiah. Indeed we cannot talk about *one* "expectation of the Messiah," on the contrary we have to assume a pluriformity of "messianic tendencies" different from book to book and from translator to translator.

Finally we have to assume that translations were produced in different milieus. There are textual proximities to the Qumran messianism, but the differences are quite interesting.

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[25] Cf. Lust, "Messianism and Septuagint (Ezek 21:30–32)," 180–91.

6.2 The expectation of the Messiah

The Septuagint, as a product of Hellenistic culture, produced a special messianism. What was the real reason? Was Hellenism the essential natural enemy against Jewish messianism? First of all, the Septuagint expurgated most of the messianic expectations in MT text, but it also generated new expectations in other places. This may have its basis in the active exchange between the translators and the intertestamental scriptures, especially the literature of the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *1 Enoch.*

I have demonstrated that the Septuagint handles the *in nuce* messianisms of the Hebrew Tanak in distinct ways by taking up, strengthening, neutralizing, or even abolishing them. A systematic order is not to be seen. It seems that distinct messianisms (priestly, royal, prophetic) were largely neutralized.[26] Concrete historical connections, perhaps to the individual Hasmoneans, to John Hyrcanus, or to Aristobulus I, cannot be confirmed for sure.[27]

The messianisms of the Septuagint are obviously not closely related to their original socio-cultural and political conditions. Rather, the translators tried to free messianic belief from the original cultural, liturgical, etc., background and to transfer it into a new framework within Hellenistic culture.

The messianisms of the Septuagint do not articulate discontent with the political system in the Egyptian-Jewish communities. They are to be seen as the result of a creative interaction between the traditional Jewish faith and Hellenistic philosophy.

The messianisms of the Septuagint are to be seen as a vehicle of traditional Jewish and Hellenistic themes:

–   The articulated traditions do not originate exclusively in the Tanakh; they also have their origins in extra-biblical, literary traditions, mainly in the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* and *1 Enoch.*
–   The traditional anthropology of the Old Testament with its anthropological dichotomy of body and soul is overlaid with the belief in the immortality of the soul.[28]
–   The (deuteronomistic) doctrine of the "Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang" is developed to the hope in individual (Job) or collective resurrection (Ps 66[65]).[29]

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[26] The opinion of Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter*, 150, that Pss 59[58]:9 and 108[107]:9 reflect a distinct, kingly expectation of the messiah focused on Judas Maccabeus, seems problematic.

[27] Just the last two are, in the view of Schaper, such ideal sovereigns that the whole messianic hope is adjusted on the basis of these sovereigns (ibid., 151).

[28] On which cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (HTS 26; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972).

– The cosmology of the Old Testament is enriched by the belief in a transcendent area.
– The growing tendency to portray God as increasingly transcendent was the main reason for developing new mediums between the human world and God's world: angels, demons, and Messiah.

Given the elimination of the messianic connotations from Mic 5:1–3, we can in no way maintain the hypothesis often advanced, that the Septuagint strengthened and enlarged the messianic material in the Tanak and thus provided a foundation for the New Testament.

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[29] On individual resurrection in Job, cf. Donald H. Gard, "The Concept of the Future Life according to the Greek Translator of the Book of Job," *JBL* 73 (1954): 137–43.

Idol Worship in Bel and the Dragon and Other Jewish Literature from the Second Temple Period

Claudia Bergmann

The prohibition of idol worship has a long tradition in the Hebrew Bible.[1] Writers stress that worshipping idols is of no avail, because they are mere lifeless and powerless images fashioned by human hands from mundane materials. In fact, images of any god are forbidden, which brings the Hebrew Bible into striking contrast with practices in the ancient Near East.[2] In the Second Temple period, when Judaism had to face some new challenges, the prohibition of idol worship was underscored by new literary tendencies that portrayed idol worship as ridiculous to the enlightened mind. In this article, I will describe these tendencies as they appear in Bel and the Dragon and other Second Temple period texts such as the Epistle of Jeremiah, *Jub.* 12 and 20, Wis 13–15, and the *Apocalypse of Abraham*. I will then show some peculiarities of Bel and the Dragon in the context of other Second Temple literature that deals with idol worship, and will compare the different emphases in the OG and the Theodotion versions of Bel and the Dragon. This examination will not consider Maccabean writings, including Daniel, in which idol worship is considered a Gentile abomination that needs to be rejected because of one's adherence to the Jewish law and covenant. In that material, there is no discussion of the origin of idols, their inanimate state, nor their alleged powers.

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[1] See Exod 20:4–5, 23; 34:17; Lev 19:4; 26:1; Deut 4:15–19, 25; 5:8. The origins and the development of the prohibition of idol worship in the Hebrew Bible are debated, cf. Christoph Dohmen, *Das Bilderverbot: Seine Entstehung und seine Entwicklung im Alten Testament* (BBB 62; Königstein: Peter Hanstein, 1985); Gerhard von Rad, *Weisheit in Israel* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1970), 229–39; and Wolfgang Roth, "For Life, He Appeals to Death (Wis 13:18)," *CBQ* 37 (1975): 21–47.

[2] Deut 4:12–18 attempts an etiological explanation for this prohibition: Since YHWH did not appear on Sinai in a form but only in a voice, neither images of YHWH nor any other gods were to be made. The Hebrew Bible itself tells us that this law was not always followed (Gen 31; Exod 32–34; Judg 8; and 17–18), and archaeology provides us with several depictions of gods, and even of YHWH from Kuntillet 'Ajrut.

1. Idols in the Hebrew Bible (MT)

1.1 Manufactured by Humans

While God did not have a beginning and has always existed, the Hebrew Bible states that idols were created at a specific point in time by human hands and from mundane materials. Often, idols are simply called "handmade," while some texts specify the skilled person who created the idols as an artisan or a goldsmith.[3] The idols themselves are made of natural materials such as wood, stone, iron, bronze, silver, gold, unspecified metals, or a combination of these materials.[4]

1.2 Inanimate

While the Hebrew Bible proclaims that God is alive, idols display no signs that indicate that they are living. They do not have the senses of seeing, hearing, smelling, or touching.[5] They cannot move or walk, but must be carried and set

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[3] Handmade: מעשה ידי־אדם / ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων. Deut 4:28; 2 Kgs 19:18; 2 Chr 32:19; Pss 115:4 [113:12 LXX]; 135:15 [134:15 LXX]; Isa 2:8; 37:19. See also Exod 32:4; Amos 5:26. According to von Rad (*Weisheit in Israel*, 230), the thought that idols made by human hands cannot be gods is a secondary argument made from the standpoint of logical reasoning that represents a development from the more original prohibition of idols based on God's will as proclaimed in the law. Artisan: חרש / τέκτων/τεχνίτης. Deut 27:15; Isa 40:19, 20; 41:7; 44:12, 13; Jer 10:3, 9; Hos 8:4, 6; 13:2. Goldsmith: צרף / χρυσοχόος. Isa 40:19; 41:7; 46:6; Jer 10:9, 14; 51:17.

[4] Wood: עץ or אע / ξύλον. Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 29:17; 2 Kgs 19:18; Isa 37:19; 45:20; Jer 2:27; 10:3; Ezek 20:32; Hos 4:12; Dan 5:4, 23; Hab 2:19. Also see 1 Kgs 15:13. Roth ("For life, he appeals to death," 28) assumes that there was a development in Israel's use of materials for building idols. While they were first made of wood or stone, Babylonian influences later introduced the precious metals silver and gold to the workplace of the idol maker. Stone: אבן / λίθος, λίθινος. Deut 4:28; 28:36, 64; 29:17; 2 Kgs 19:18; Isa 37:19; Jer 2:27; Ezek 20:32; Dan 5:4, 23; Hab 2:19. Iron: פרזל / σιδήρους. Dan 5:4, 23. Bronze: נחשת / χαλκοῦς. Dan 5:4, 23. Silver: כסף / ἀργύριον. Exod 20:23; Deut 29:17; Isa 2:20; Jer 10:4, 9; Hos 8:4; Dan 5:4, 23; Pss115:4; 135:15. Also see Hab 2:19 ("silver plated"); Isa 40:19 ("silver chains"); Hos 13:2. Gold: זהב / χρυσίον. Exod 20:23; 32:4; Deut 29:17; Isa 2:20; 40:19; Jer 10:4, 9; 51:17; Hos 8:4; Dan 3:1; 5:4, 23; Pss115:4; 135:15; also Hab 2:19 ("gold plated"). Unspecified metals: פסל (hewn) / γλυπτός (carved). Judg 17:3, 4; 18:14, 17, 18. Also see מסכה / χωνευτός (molten, cast) in Exod 34:17; Lev 19:4; Deut 27:15; Hos 13:2; Hab 2:18; Dan 11:8. Both in Nah 1:14.

[5] Seeing: ולא יראו / καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται, Deut 4:28; Pss115:5; 135:16; and similarly Dan 5:23. Hearing: ולא ישמעו / καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται, Deut 4:28; Ps 115:6; and similarly 1 Kgs 18:27; Dan 5:23. Smelling: ולא יריחון / καὶ οὐκ ὀσφρανθήσονται, Deut 4:28; Ps 115:6. Feeling: ולא ימישון / καὶ οὐ ψηλαφήσουσιν, Ps 115:7.

into place.[6] Just like any lifeless statue, idols need to be secured in their places by the artisan, so that they do not topple.[7] They cannot use their mouths for speaking, eating, or breathing.[8]

As far as the quality of being alive is concerned, the God of the Hebrew Bible is "living" and the idols are not. In like manner, the faith of those who believe in the living God is contrasted with the faith of those who put their trust in lifeless images.

1.3 Powerless

When the Hebrew Bible describes the futility of idol worship, it often compares the handmade, lifeless, powerless idol with the one true God. It is striking that most of the passages denouncing idols are either framed with a confession-like statement about God, or are interspersed with such statements. An example of this technique is found in Isa 40, where vv. 12–17 and then again 21–23 describe the overwhelming powers of the God of Israel and frame a description of idols in vv. 18–20. By using this technique of framing the idol texts within a larger context of a praise of God, it is shown in content as well as in form that the God of the Hebrew Bible rules from beginning to end and has power over all idols. The idol-worship texts are bracketed with descriptions of God's creative powers, unrivaled and eternal reign, and especially God's acting in history on Israel's behalf through the Exodus, the giving of the law and covenant, the granting of the land to the people of Israel, and God's general blessings for the people as well as God's ability to reverse the fortune of Israel at will.[9]

While God is almighty in creation and interactions with people and in history, idols are said to be powerless. According to Isa 45:20, they cannot save the people who pray to them, and according to Isa 46:2, they do not answer the cries of the ones in trouble. Jer 2 mocks the cries of the ones who believe in idols instead of the one God and are left alone in their despair, Hab 2:28 calls idols "teachers of lies," Jer 10:11 states that they "did not make the heaven and

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[6] Walk: ולא יהלכו / καὶ οὐ περιπατήσουσιν, Ps 115:7. Carried: נשוא ינשוא כי לא יצעדו / αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιβήσονται, Jer 10:5; similarly Isa 46:1, 7.

[7] 1 Sam 5:1–5; Isa 21:9; 40:20; 41:7; Jer 10:4.

[8] Speaking: ולא ידברו / καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν, Pss 115:5; 135:16; Jer 10:5; לא־יהגו בגרונם / οὐ φωνήσουσιν ἐν τῷ λάρυγγι αὐτῶν, Ps 115:7; and similarly Hab 2:18. Eating: ולא יאכלון / μὴ φάγωσιν, Deut 4:28. Breathing: וכל־רוח אין בקרבו / καὶ πᾶν πνεῦμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτῷ, Hab 2:19; and similarly Ps 135:17; Jer 10:14; 51:17.

[9] Creative powers: Isa 40:12ff.; 40:21ff.; 46:3; Jer 10:12ff.; Hab 2:14; Ps 135:7. God's reign: Isa 44:6; 45:22; Jer 10:6, 10; Ps 135:13. The Exodus: Exod 32:11; Deut 4:20; Ps 135:8. Giving of law and covenant: Deut 4:23. Granting of land: Exod 32:13; Deut 4:21; Ps 135:12. General blessings: Deut 28:63; Ps 115:14ff. Reversal of fortune: Deut 28:63, 68ff.; Jer 10:10; Pss 115:3; 135:6.

the earth," and Jer 10:5 affirms that idols do not need to be feared "for they cannot do evil, neither is it in them to do good."

1.4 Perishable

While God is everlasting, idols perish. Not only are they said to be lifeless and unable to help or save the one who prays to them, Biblical texts go a step further when they imply that idols are so devoid of power that idols cannot even save themselves. Isa 44:9–20, for example, suggests that the wooden idol can burn in the fire just like the log of firewood that came from the same tree.[10] 2 Kgs 19:18 and its parallel Isa 37:19 report the destruction of idols by fire during a war. Exod 32:20 says that Moses burned the Golden Calf with fire, ground it into powder, mixed it with water, and gave it to the people to drink.

It is important to note that the destruction of idols in the Hebrew Bible (1) is a by-product of the presence of God's ark; (2) is predicted to be performed by God on "that day" or in the future in general; or (3) is done by humans acting on behalf of God and under God's strict command.[11] The destruction of idols in the Hebrew Bible is thus still based on God's prohibition of idolatry. God himself and people acting on God's behalf are the agents of destruction who realize this prohibition in the present time or in the future. Nowhere in the Hebrew Bible do human agents act based on their own understanding that idols are made by hand, and that they are lifeless, powerless, and cannot compare to God, and thus have no right to exist. Only in the literature of Second Temple Judaism will there emerge this type of self-initiative as the reason for the destruction of idols.

2. Idols in Texts from the Second Temple Period

2.1 Rationalizations

In Second Temple literature, idols are still described as being made by humans and from mundane materials such as clay, wood, stone, bronze, copper or iron, unspecified metals, silver, or gold.[12] The fabricated idols are still considered to

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[10] Also cf. 1 Kgs 15:13.

[11] God's ark: 1 Sam 5:1–5. In the future: Isa 2:18; 44:9, 11; Ezek 30:13; Mic 1:7; 5:13–14. By humans for/under God: Exod 32:20; Judg 6:25–26; 2 Kgs 19:8/Isa 37:19; 1 Chr 14:12.

[12] By humans: Idols can be made in general (η') ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων (Wis 13:10; Ep Jer 1:50, 51), or specifically by a τέκτων / ἀρχιτέκτων (Sir 38:27) or a χρυσοχόος (Ep Jer 1:45); see also *Jub.* 12:5; 20:8; Wis 13:10; 14:8, 13; 15:16; Bel 1:5 (Th); *Apoc. Ab.* 3:3; *Apoc. Ab.* 6:12. Clay: Wis 15:7ff.; Bel 1:7 (OG+Th). Wood: *Jub.* 20:8; 22:18; Wis 13:11–19; 14:1, 21; Ep Jer 1:39; *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2; 5:4; cf. also *Let. Aris.* 135, and Horace, *Sat.* 1.8.1–3 as cited in Roth, "For life, he appeals to death," "Once I was a fig-

be lifeless and mute.[13] They still cannot move or walk and have to be carried.[14] Idols are still said not to have any senses such as sight or hearing, smell, or touch. The long lists of their inabilities in the style of Ps 115 no longer appear in most texts from that period, however.[15] Only Ep Jer 8 and 19–27 features a long list of characteristics of a living being that the idols do not possess.

In texts of the Second Temple period, idols are still seen as having no powers at all.[16] *Jub.* 12:3 mentions that they are "misleading of the heart" and that "no help [comes] from them."[17] Again, Ep Jer 14ff., 34 ff., and 53 ff. goes into greater detail describing the idols' lack of power.

While Isa 44:19–20 simply attributed the making of idols to "lack of knowledge or discernment" and a "deluded mind," Second Temple texts attempt to go deeper into the human psyche, in order to find rational reasons for the production and the appeal of idols.[18] All Second Temple texts agree that idolatry was not practiced from the beginning, but evolved in human history. The reasons why human beings create idols are: (1) the influence of the "cruel spirits"; (2) grief for a dead person who is now remembered in a divinized statue; (3) adoration of a ruler who is removed from one's own location and must be worshipped in an image; (4) yearning for profit; and maybe also (5) Israel's wish to have gods "as other nations have." [19]

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wood stem, a worthless log, when the carpenter, doubtful whether to make a stool or a Priamus, chose that I be a god." Stone: *Jub.* 22:18; Wis 13:10; 14:21; *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2; *Let. Aris.* 135; *Sib. Or.* 3:31. Bronze: Wis 15:9; Bel 1:7 (OG+Th); cf. also Herodotus *Hist.* 2.172 that tells the story of the metal bowl of Amasis that was first used to relieve oneself and later melted and turned into an idol. Copper or iron: *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2. Unspecified metals: *Jub.* 21:5; 11:4; cf. also *L.A.B.* 2:9. Silver: *Jub.* 20:8; Wis 13:10; 15:9; Ep Jer 1:39, 57; *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2. Gold: Wis 13:10; 15:9; Ep Jer 1:39, 57; *Apoc. Ab.* 1:2.

[13] *Jub.* 12:3, 5; 20:8; Wis 13:10, 18; 14:29; Ep Jer 1:35.

[14] Wis 13:18; *Jub.* 12:5; *Apoc. Ab.* 1:3, 6; 2:2; 3:5–6.

[15] Hearing: Wis 15:15. Smelling: Sir 30:19. Feeling: Wis 15:15.

[16] Wis 13:17–19; 14:1; *Let. Aris.* 135.

[17] Also cf. *Jub.* 36:5 where Isaac's farewell speech to his sons contains a brief warning about idols who are "full of error."

[18] Roth ("For life, he appeals to death," 40–41) attributes this tendency to the shift from idol worship as an external threat experienced by the exiled community to an internal threat in postexilic times.

[19] Cruel spirits: *Jub.* 11:4. Divinized statue: Wis 14:14–20. This philosophical explanation for idolatry has a parallel in the fourth century work of Firmicus Maternus *De errore profanarum religionum* cited in J. Geffcken, "Der Bilderstreit des heidnischen Altertums," *AR* 19 (1919): 292–93. In this text, Dionysus's father makes an image of his dead son and institutes a cult. Also cf. the Egyptian practice of making small statues of the deceased as part of the mortuary cult. Ruler worshipped: Wis 14:14ff; cf. *Let. Aris.* 135. Yearning for profit: *Apoc. Ab.* 2:1. To be as other nations: *L.A.B.* 12:2.

In conclusion, it can be said that although idols' inanimate nature and powerlessness are described in similar ways in the Hebrew Bible and in Second Temple texts, the latter differ in that they attempt to explain why people make idols in the first place. This rationalization of the origin of idols is an important step toward a new tendency in Second Temple literature: the intentional destruction of idols is now motivated by increased human understanding, and is not merely rooted in divine prohibition. What human beings have created because of grief, because of adoration for a ruler or another important person, or because of ignorance or yearning for profit, they can easily destroy again.

2.2 Zoolatry

Second Temple literature also discusses a new concern that reflects a practice mostly known from Egypt—zoolatry, the worship of live animals. When the king of Bel and the Dragon says to Daniel "You cannot say that this one [the snake] is made of bronze; see, he lives and eats and drinks; so worship him,"[20] he expresses the difficulty that critics of zoolatry must have faced. The old arguments, that idols are made by human hands and do not display the characteristics of a living creature, do not hold in this case. Animals that are worshipped are obviously alive and display signs of life by eating and drinking the food provided for them. In the course of the story of Bel and the Dragon, however, Daniel is able to use exactly these actions that are necessary for a living being, in order to kill the creature.

Several texts from the Second Temple period address the issue of zoolatry. At *Let. Aris.* 138 it is simply called it foolishness by "Egyptians and those like them, who have put their confidence in beasts and most of the serpents and monsters, worship them, and sacrifice to them both while alive and dead." Wis 15:14–19 describes the "enemies and oppressors of your people" as the ones who "worship the most hateful beasts" who are more "brutish" than the lifeless handmade idols and aesthetically unpleasing. Naturally, they too "have escaped both the approval of God and his blessing." Neither of these texts dealing with zoolatry denies that the animals in question are alive. Suspiciously, they are silent about the alleged powers of the animals, and only one, Bel and the Dragon, clearly proves that the worshipped animal cannot save itself and can be killed.[21]

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[20] Bel 24 (OG): καὶ εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Δανιὴλ Μὴ καὶ τοῦτον ἐρεῖς ὅτι χαλκοῦς ἐστιν; ἰδοὺ ζῇ καὶ ἐσθίει καὶ πίνει· προσκύνησον αὐτῷ. Theodotion leaves out the argument of living/ eating/drinking.

[21] Also cf. Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 201–4, where the Jewish bowman Mosolamus kills a bird and thus proves that it cannot tell even its own future.

2.3 Comparisons with the Living God

As outlined above, Hebrew Bible texts that describe idol worship frame that material with descriptions of God. Texts from the Second Temple period, however, are more hesitant to directly compare idols with God. A first observation is that idol verses here rarely use the framing technique described above.[22] Secondly, none of the Second Temple period texts mentions God's acting in history on Israel's behalf, the giving of the law, or the making of the covenant. Thirdly, while several texts still use creed-like statements, calling God the Creator, fewer texts allude to the details of creation.[23] If details are mentioned, they refer to limited specifics such as bringing rain or commanding nature.[24] God remains one who can bless progeny and land, who is kind and true to those who believe in him, and who rules over the living.[25] But the Hebrew Bible's bold and detailed depiction of God as the one exercising dominion over every aspect of creation and history is weakened.

The reason for this shift is that segments of Judaism of the Second Temple period attempted to appeal to Hellenism, which shared its dislike for idolatry, superstitious practices, and zoolatry. Hellenistic Judaism also wanted to appeal to Greek philosophers, including such thinkers as Antisthenes and Strabo, who tended towards monotheism.[26] Generally speaking, Hellenistic Judaism wanted to present itself as enlightened and wanted to put forth the common sense, positive aspects of the Hebrew God such as goodness and friendliness towards God's creatures. It avoided emphasizing aspects of the religion that separated the Jews from Hellenistic culture, topics such as law and covenant, the Exodus event, and the granting of the land to Israel.

2.4 Destroying Idols

Previously, it was noted that Hebrew Bible texts report or predict the destruction of idols by God, as well as the destruction of idols by human beings acting for God or under God's command. None of these texts depicts a process of human reasoning, apart from divine prohibition, as the prime motivator for the

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[22] An exception is *Sib. Or.* 3:11–35.

[23] An exception to this observation is *Jubilees* where everything, including the angels in 2:2, is created by God. Also *Apoc. Ab.* 7:10 ff.

[24] *Jub.* 12:3; 20:9; Ep Jer: 1:60–63; cf. also the allusions to the flood in Wis 14:3–8.

[25] *Jub.* 20:8–9; Wis 15:1–3; Bel 5 (Th); cf. also *Let. Aris.* 132.

[26] According to Cicero, *Nat. d.* 1.32, Antisthenes claimed that there were several gods, but only one by nature. Strabo 16.2.35: "[Moses] taught that the Egyptians were mistaken in representing the Divine Being by the images of beasts …; and that the Greeks were also wrong in modeling gods in human form; for, according to him, God is this one thing that encompasses us all."

destruction of idols. Texts of the Second Temple period, however, highlight this rational and conscious destruction of idols by humans and make it a focus of their descriptions.

In Second Temple literature, idols perish either because of the wear-and-tear of the elements, or because of their own inability to save themselves.[27] In a few texts, they are still said to be destroyed by God, or God's agent, or they suddenly disappear at the end, just as they appeared at the beginning.[28] The most impressive and elaborate texts, however, feature an enlightened human being as the main agent of destruction. Such a person realizes that idols are pointless, powerless, lifeless, and accomplish nothing.[29] In *Jub.* 12:12–14, for example, Abraham intentionally burns the house of the idols and the idols themselves.[30] His action is the culmination of his previous realization that idols are powerless. It is planned and done in the middle of the night to avoid disturbance. In *Apoc. Ab.* 5, Abraham intentionally puts the wooden god Barisat next to a fire, mocks him, and allows him to burn with the firewood. In *Apoc. Ab.* 2:9, Abraham intentionally throws idols into water and watches them sink. His aggressive actions are also the result of the realization that idols are not gods. Through these two stories, *Apoc. Ab.* gave readers two common-sense ways to "test" whether idols are alive. In a similar way in Bel and the Dragon, Daniel proves that Bel is not a god and is not alive by conducting a detective-like investigation, after which he destroys the idol with the approval of the king. By feeding the snake a lethal food, he also proves that the animal that was adored by the Babylonians was not divine and powerful.[31]

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[27] *Apoc. Ab.* 3:5–6; 4:5; 6:13, 17; Ep Jer 1:11, 20, 48; Wis 14:8.

[28] Destroyed by God: Wis 14:11; *Jub.* 48:5. God's agent: In *Jub.* 31:2, Jacob takes great care to burn, crush, and destroy the idols of Laban, and hides the remains of them under a tree. 1 Macc 5:68 might also fall under this category. Disappear: Wis 14:13–14.

[29] Here, I disagree with John J. Collins, "'The King Has Become a Jew': The Perspective on the Gentile World in Bel and the Snake," in *Diaspora Jews and Judaism: Essays in Honor of, and in Dialogue with, A. Thomas Kraabel* (ed. A. T. Kraabel, J. A. Overman, and R. S. MacLennan; South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 335–45, who states that Daniel's aggressive destruction of the idol and of the snake in Bel and the Dragon is a singular occurrence. The destruction can also be done by a careless person such as in *Apoc. Ab.* 1:9; 2:4; 3:7.

[30] The topic of Abraham rejecting idolatry is taken up again in *L.A.B.* 6–7 where Abraham refuses to take part in the construction of the Tower of Babel and thus renounces idolatry. Subsequently, he is thrown into a fiery furnace from which he is able to escape alive. In *L.A.B.*, this rejection of idolatry is the cause for God's blessing on Abraham and his family.

[31] Another parallel between the *Apocalypse of Abraham* and Bel and the Dragon is that in both texts the heroes are reported to laugh about the idol and the people who believe in them.

The description of the destruction of idols is often coupled with the destruction of the people who made and/or adored them. When Abraham burns the idols in *Jub.* 12:12–14, the idol worshipper Haran burns with them, dying at an untimely age. Similarly, *L.A.B.* 39 predicts that a fire of vengeance will consume the idolaters. In *Jub.* 22:22, Isaac promises that idol worshippers will go to Sheol like the sons of Sodom, and that their memory on earth will be erased. In Ep Jer 1:48, the idols and the priests who serve them are said to be in the same kind of danger and have to hide together even though sometimes the priests flee and let their idols burn to the ground. In *Apoc. Ab.* 8:4, God warns Abraham to leave the house of his father Terah so that he "too may not be slain in the sins of your father's house."

In conclusion, it can be said that the intentional destruction of idols by rational humans becomes the focus in Second Temple texts. After reading them, one is expected to understand why idols were created, that they were made from mundane materials, and that these humble origins render them powerless so that they can be destroyed by the elements, by carelessness, and especially by human beings who have already realized that they were nothing. In these texts, the Hellenistic ideals of understanding and rational thinking are emphasized. No longer is the divine prohibition of idolatry or God's acting in Israel's history the primary reasons why human beings—Jewish or Gentile—should abstain from idol worship.

2.5 The Hebrew Bible Texts Revisited: The LXX Version

While most scholars today disagree with the version of the origins of the Septuagint that we find in the *Letter of Aristeas*, there is still debate about whether the LXX was intended to be a mere translation of the original MT version, or an intentional reinterpretation of the received tradition that brought it into conformity with contemporary Judeo-Hellenistic culture. When one compares MT and LXX versions of the idol passages considered in section 1 of this article, one notices that some changes appear to be intentional, because they are in line with some of the changing views on idol worship in the Second Temple period.

The LXX versions of Exod 20:23 and Jer 10:6–8, and 10 are examples of texts that differ from the MT in such ways that they avoid direct comparisons of idols with the God of Israel. This tendency can also be observed in texts from the Second Temple period.

Exodus 20:23

לא תעשון אתי אלהי כסף ואלהי   You shall not make gods of silver
זהב לא תעשו לכם: *alongside me,* nor shall you make for
                                     yourselves gods of gold.

οὐ ποιήσετε ἑαυτοῖς θεοὺς   You shall not make for yourselves
ἀργυροῦς καὶ θεοὺς χρυσοῦς οὐ   gods of silver, and gods of gold you
ποιήσετε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς   shall not make for yourselves.[32]

LXX Exod 20:23 leaves out "alongside me" which is clearly expressed in the
Hebrew אתי.

Jeremiah 10:5–11

5 כחמר מקשה המה ולא ידברו נשוא   5 αἰρόμενα ἀρθήσονται ὅτι οὐκ
ינשוא כי לא יצעדו אל־תיראו מהם   ἐπιβήσονται μὴ φοβηθῆτε αὐτά
כי־לא ירעו וגם־היטיב אין אותם: ὅτι οὐ μὴ κακοποιήσωσιν καὶ
                                     ἀγαθὸν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς

6 מאין כמוך יהוה נדול אתה וגדול   6
שמך בנבורה: 7 מי לא יראך מלך   7
הגוים כי לך יאתה כי בכל־חכמי
הגוים ובכל־מלכותם מאין כמוך:

8 ובאחת יבערו ויכסל מוסר   8
הבלים עץ הוא:

9 כסף מרקע מתרשיש יובא וזהב   9 ἀργύριον τορευτόν ἐστιν οὐ
מאופז מעשה חרש וידי צורף תכלת   πορεύσονται ἀργύριον
וארגמן לבושם מעשה חכמים כלם: προσβλητὸν ἀπὸ Θαρσις ἥξει
ולא־יכלו גוים זעמו: ויהוה אלהים   χρυσίον Μωφαζ καὶ χεὶρ
אמת הוא־אלהים חיים ומלך עולם   χρυσοχόων ἔργα τεχνιτῶν πάντα
                                     ὑάκινθον καὶ πορφύραν
                                     ἐνδύσουσιν αὐτά

10 מקצפו תרעש הארץ   10

11 כדנה תאמרון להום אלהיא   11 οὕτως ἐρεῖτε αὐτοῖς θεοί οἳ
די־שמיא וארקא לא עבדו יאבדו   τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ
מארעא ומן־תחות שמיא אלה: ἐποίησαν ἀπολέσθωσαν ἀπὸ τῆς
                                     γῆς καὶ ὑποκάτωθεν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
                                     τούτου

5 Their idols are like scarecrows in a   5 they will set them up that they
cucumber field, and they cannot speak;   may not move; it is wrought
they have to be carried, for they cannot   silver, they will not walk, it is
walk. Do not be afraid of them, for they   forged silver They must
cannot do evil, nor is it in them to do   certainly be borne, for they

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good.

cannot ride of themselves. Fear
them not; for they cannot do any
evil, and there is no good in
them.

6 *There is none like you, O LORD; you
are great, and your name is great in
might.* [7] *Who would not fear you, O
King of the nations? For that is your
due; among all the wise ones of the
nations and in all their kingdoms there
is no one like you.* [8] *They are both stupid
and foolish; the instruction given by
idols is no better than wood!*

6

7

8

9 Beaten silver is brought from
Tarshish, and gold from Uphaz. They
are the work of the artisan and of the
hands of the goldsmith; their clothing is
blue and purple; they are all the product
of skilled workers.

9 brought from Tharsis, gold
will come from Mophaz, and the
work of goldsmiths: They are all
the works of craftsmen, they will
clothe themselves with blue and
scarlet.

10 *But the LORD is the true God; he is
the living God and the everlasting King.
At his wrath the earth quakes, and the
nations cannot endure his indignation.*

10

11 Thus shall you say to them: The gods
who did not make the heavens and the
earth shall perish from the earth and
from under the heavens.

11 Thus shall ye say to them, Let
the gods which have not made
heaven and earth perish from off
the earth, and from under this
sky.

LXX Jer 10 simply omits the MT verses that framed the idol text.

Two LXX verses, Isa 46:1 and Hos 13:2, alter the version received in the MT in order to add that idols are destroyed, a prominent feature in texts of the Second Temple period.

Hosea 13:2

ועתה יוספו לחטא ויעשו
להם מסכה מכספם כתבונם
עצבים מעשה חרשים כלה
להם הם אמרים זבחי אדם
עגלים ישקון:

καὶ προσέθετο τοῦ ἁμαρτάνειν ἔτι
καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς χώνευμα ἐκ
τοῦ ἀργυρίου αὐτῶν κατ᾽ εἰκόνα
εἰδώλων ἔργα τεκτόνων
συντετελεσμένα αὐτοῖς αὐτοὶ
λέγουσιν θύσατε ἀνθρώπους μόσχοι
γὰρ ἐκλελοίπασιν

And now they keep on sinning and
make a cast image for themselves,
idols of silver made according to

And now they have sinned
increasingly, and have made for
themselves a molten image of their

their understanding, all of them the work of artisans. "Sacrifice to these," they say. *People are kissing calves*!

silver, according to the fashion of idols, the work of artificers accomplished for them: They say, Sacrifice *men, for the calves have come to an end.*

LXX Hos 13:2 changes a clear MT *Vorlage* in order to describe the destruction of the idols, albeit without naming the agent of destruction directly.

Isaiah 46:1

כָּרַע בֵּל קֹרֵס נְבוֹ הָיוּ עֲצַבֵּיהֶם
לַחַיָּה וְלַבְּהֵמָה נְשֻׂאֹתֵיכֶם עֲמוּסוֹת
מַשָּׂא לַעֲיֵפָה:

ἔπεσε Βηλ συνετρίβη Δαγων ἐγένετο
τὰ γλυπτὰ αὐτῶν εἰς θηρία καὶ κτήνη
αἴρετε αὐτὰ καταδεδεμένα ὡς φορτίον
κοπιῶντι

Bel bows down, Nebo stoops, their idols are on beasts and cattle; these things you carry are loaded as burdens on weary animals.

Bel has fallen, Dagon is broken *to pieces*, their graven images are gone to the wild beasts and the cattle: You take them packed up as a burden to the weary … man;

LXX Isa 46:1 alters both parts of a *parallelismus membrorum* to add the notion that Bel and Nebo do not bow (in reverence) or crouch, but instead fall and shatter into pieces. Also, the idea that the idols are carried by beasts and cattle does not seem to have been understood in the sense the MT understands it. Rather, ἐγένετο τὰ γλυπτὰ αὐτῶν εἰς θηρία appears to refer to the destiny of the destroyed idols that fall prey to the wild beasts.

In conclusion, it can be said that the LXX versions of the idol verses discussed in the first section of this article most often follow the MT *Vorlage* very closely. If there are major changes, they are made in accordance with the tendencies already noted in Second Temple literature.

3. Bel and the Dragon[33]

Bel and the Dragon, an addition to the Greek translation of Daniel, is a prime example for the above mentioned tendencies in Second Temple texts. While still using a traditional theme from the Hebrew Bible, Bel and the Dragon elaborates on it in previously unexplored ways. In its two versions of Theodotion and OG, the story represents two slightly different approaches to the topic of idolatry, one more and one less cautious.

3.1 Idolatry and Zoolatry

Nothing is known about the creation and the origin of the idol and the snake in Bel and the Dragon. There is no reason given for why they exist unless one wants to take into consideration the note that the priests and their families gain profit from Bel's and probably also the animal's existence. The idol consists of clay with a bronze outer layer, although only Theodotion's version mentions explicitly that it was made by human hands. It is portrayed as being fed and cared for by the Babylonians in typical ancient Near Eastern fashion; and it is its inability to eat that will be used by Daniel to prove that it is nothing more than a created image. While the animal that the Babylonians worship is truly alive, Daniel will still defeat it, this time by using the animal's ability to eat. The text of Bel and the Dragon does not mention that the Babylonians ascribe any powers to the idol or the animal. The only "proof" that Bel was alive and of value is that he could eat and drink. All in all, only a little attention is given to the points of argument that are of utmost importance in Hebrew Bible idol texts: whether the idol was made, and whether it was really alive and had any powers.

While the Babylonians in the story treat the idol and the snake as if they were gods, Bel and the Dragon does not spend any time at all comparing them to the one true God. When Daniel is asked why he does not worship them, he

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[33] The text of Bel and the Dragon is most likely based on a Hebrew or Aramaic original that no longer exists (the medieval Aramaic manuscript of the *Chronicle of Jerahmeel* might contain a descendent of the Hebrew *Vorlage*). In addition to that, no Jewish writer quotes from Bel and the Dragon, neither was any of it found at Qumran. The Greek text of Bel and the Dragon exists in two versions: The OG, or LXX, and according to Theodotion. The text of the Septuagint version is only preserved in 𝔓967, the Syrian translation of the Hexapla by Origin (Syh), and the Codex Chisianus from the eleventh century (MS 88). In early Christian times, the Theodotion translation became more prevalent and is the one that is quoted by the early church fathers who considered Bel and the Dragon to be canonical. Bel and the Dragon consists of at least two independent stories, the one of the destruction of the idol Bel, the one of the killing of the animal, and possibly a third about Daniel in the lion's den. The tales are often dated to the second century B.C.E., but an exact date cannot be determined.

simply answers that he worships no one but "the God who created heaven and earth," the "God of the gods," and that he worships no one but "the living God who has created heaven and earth and has dominion over everything living." [34] Thus, it is highlighted that God is living (Th), is the creator (OG+Th), and has dominion over everything (OG). Meanwhile, neither version of Bel and the Dragon mentions God's acting in history on Israel's behalf, God's laws or covenant, or God's judgment, as is typical for a text of the Second Temple period.

The destruction of the idol and of the snake by Daniel takes the most space in the story. It is an intentional destruction performed in order to prove that neither the idol nor the animal are gods. The experiments conducted by Daniel are so easy that even the simplest of minds can understand them. In the case of Bel, Daniel devises a plan to prove that the food provided for the idol is not eaten by him but by the priests and their families. Precautions are taken to ensure the correct execution of the experiment: the doors are locked and sealed with the rings of the king and respectable priests, and the floor of the temple is secretly covered with ash in order to preserve footsteps of intruders. The next morning, the betrayal is revealed when the footsteps of the priests and their families are found. Because of the simplicity of the experiment and the foolproof precautions, there can be no doubt to the reader that it was not Bel but the priests who had been eating the provisions. In the case of the animal, Daniel again acts intentionally. He claims that he can kill the animal without weapons and does so with a mixture of pitch, fat, and hair. In either case, divine command or support are not necessary. As in most Diaspora literature of the Second Temple period, the authority of the Gentile king is not questioned, and actually, Daniel appears to be on friendly terms with the king. Daniel wants to prove, however, that there is no reason to worship Bel or the animal because they are powerless and, in the case of Bel, lifeless.[35]

3.2 The Focus on Food and Mouth

In biblical literature and beyond, idols have mouths but cannot speak or eat. This simple observation is re-used and expanded in Bel and the Dragon where eating and not eating determines life or death in four instances:

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[34] OG+Th 5 θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν; OG 7 τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν; and Th 5 τὸν θεὸν τὸν κτίσαντα τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔχοντα πάσης σαρκὸς κυριείαν.

[35] Cf. Collins, "The King has become a Jew," 336: "Again, he disposes of the snake by feeding it a strange concoction which causes it to burst. No divine intervention is necessary in these cases. The commonsense, rational approach of these stories is typical of Jewish polemic against idols, which often takes the form of *reductio ad absurdum*."

1. When Bel's ability to eat (OG 7) or to eat and drink (Th 6, 7) are used to test whether the idol is living, it is demonstrated that Bel does neither, and thus is inanimate. Subsequently, the idol is handed over to Daniel and destroyed.
2. The priests and their families use the food provided for Bel for their own nourishment, but after this is discovered, in OG they are handed over to Daniel (22) and in Theodotion they are killed by the king (22). Their eating leads to their demise.
3. In the case of zoolatry, it was shown that the simple equation of eating=living=divine no longer holds. Worshipped animals eat and are alive, but they are not gods. Therefore, Daniel's treatment of the animal is the culmination of the story, and the only such tale that we have from the Second Temple period. In a twist of humor, it is the animal's very ability to eat that leads to its death.
4. There is another instance in Bel and the Dragon where the motif of eating is used. When Daniel is thrown into the lion's den, the seven lions do not devour him (OG 31–32) even though they are not fed anything else (Th 32). Instead, Daniel is saved from starvation after six days when Habakkuk miraculously brings him food.

3.3 Theodotion versus Old Greek[36]

Of the two versions, Theodotion uses more of the traditional Jewish material that was found in the Hebrew Bible's descriptions of idolatry and zoolatry. OG, however, appears more removed from the traditional arguments.

While OG does not give any hint as to the origin of the idol, Th 5 reiterates the old idea that it is not alive. Theodotion's Daniel asserts that the idol is not a "living god," and has "never eaten or drunk anything" (Th 6, 7). In this version, Daniel also disputes that the snake is a "living God" (Th 24). In OG, "living" and "drinking" are not mentioned (OG 6–9), although they are found in the description of the snake (OG 24). Neither version has a refutation of the special powers of the idol or the animal.

When one compares the two versions for comparisons with God, more differences become evident. Theodotion 5 has a longer, creed-like statement made by Daniel, which includes the ideas that God is living, has created heaven and earth, and rules over everything. OG 5 limits this statement to God's creative powers, but later adds that the Lord is the God of gods (7). The most striking difference is that in Theodotion God is clearly Daniel's God (Th 4, 25, 41), whose greatness is acknowledged by the king after the idol and the animal

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[36] This last section will contrast and compare Theodotion's and OG's view on idol worship, but a thorough application of the findings, for the purpose of dating these texts, will have to be reserved for a future paper.

have been proven to be false. Theodotion thus clearly expresses the idea that the Gentile king will admire (and maybe convert to) the Jewish God of Daniel, if it is only proven that his own gods are worthless. The God of the OG version is simply called "the Lord" (OG 4). At the end of the story, the king praises God's greatness, but he does not address God in the second person and as "Lord" so that the possibility of a conversion of the king is suppressed (OG 41). Both versions, however, preserve the accusation by the Babylonians that the king has become a Jew.

The actual destruction of the idol and the snake again receives different emphases. Theodotion 22 has the more violent version and clearly indicates who killed whom: the king kills the priests, and is accused of toppling Bel and killing the snake (Th 28). In OG, the priests are "handed over" to Daniel, but it is not reported that they are killed (OG 21).[37] Bel is destroyed, but the text is not clear about who does the destroying (OG 21). Here, the king is accused only of toppling Bel and killing the snake (OG 28).

From these observations, it can be concluded that OG preserves a wisdom-like version of the story that must be attributed to a more reserved strand of Second Temple Judaism, one that was perhaps more interested in conforming to Hellenistic standards and ideals than the author of Theodotion.[38] OG is farther removed from the traditional material of stories that narrate the destruction of idols: it does not focus on the differences between the Jewish and Gentile gods, it does not mention the fate of Bel's priests, and credits no one with the destruction of Bel. The Theodotion version, however, is a bolder version of the story, and can probably be attributed to a more aggressive and perhaps nationalistic strand of Judaism. It preserves more traditionally Jewish material, has more attributes for the Jewish God, comes closer to an actual conversion of the king to Daniel's God, and features a more aggressive attitude of both the king who kills the priests, and of Daniel who destroys the animal and Bel, as well as his temple.

Both versions of Bel and the Dragon appear to accept Gentile sovereignty, but attempt—more or less aggressively—to convince their surrounding culture

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[37] The killing of the priests is reported neither in the actual story line nor in the accusation of the king by his underlings.

[38] The observations made in this article concerning Bel and the Dragon's treatment of idolatry and zoology in light of Hebrew idol texts and the changes during the Second Temple period disagree with Otto Plöger who claims: "Insgesamt ist es [OG] darum zu tun, an Daniel paradigmatisch zu zeigen, wie man furchtlos und überlegen der Macht fremder Götter und ihrer Anhänger gegenübertreten kann, während Th von der Voraussetzung auszugehen scheint, dass die Fremden die Lebendigkeit ihrer Götter nicht beweisen können und deshalb mitsamt ihren Göttern auch nicht zu fürchten sind." ("Zusätze zu Daniel," in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen* [JSHRZ 1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973], 63–87; quote from 82).

that Jewish religious practices are just as common sense as Hellenistic ones. It is characteristic for this attitude that the story culminates in the king becoming a monotheist, yet the texts never entirely prove or acquit him of the accusation that he became a Jew.

From "Old Greek" to the Recensions:
Who and What Caused the Change of the Hebrew
Reference Text of the Septuagint?

Siegfried Kreuzer

One of the best known features of the Septuagint, and at the same time one of its most complex problems, is that the original Septuagint, the so-called "Old Greek," underwent several recensions, especially the famous so-called *kaige* recension, but also other earlier and later recensions.[1] A close analysis of the recensions shows that a major source for the differences was not different translation techniques but recourse to a different Hebrew text type. This change of the authoritative text type of the holy scriptures in early Judaism, with its far reaching consequences, is an amazing occurrence worthy of some discussion.

1. The Problem

Until about 1947–1950, i.e., until the discoveries at Qumran and in the Judean desert, we knew about the text of the Septuagint and about three other early Greek translations: there were the translations of Aquila, of Symmachus, and of Theodotion, all from the early to the late second century C.E. The old explanation for this seemingly clear-cut division between the old Septuagint from the third and second century B.C.E. and the newer translations from the second century C.E. was that Jews had given up the OG Septuagint, because Christians used it as the basis for their missionary activities and for their

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[1] See, e.g., Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 74–99; Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 143–48; Mario Cimosa, *Guida allo studio della Bibbia greca* (LXX): *Storia, Lingua, Testi* (Roma: Società Biblica Britannica et Forestiera, 1995); Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSt 9; Münster: LIT, 2001), 84–91; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 109–87; Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), 167–82, 273–87.

discussions.[2] We even know about these early discussions and about some of the arguments exchanged. Already in that time there was the argument and mutual objection that the other side had changed the Hebrew text,[3] or to put it in modern terms, that the differences between the Greek translations and Hebrew Bible were not merely the result of different translation techniques but also different underlying Hebrew texts.

This old and simple picture had one problem, namely, that some readings of the Theodotionic translation are present in the New Testament,[4] i.e., more than a century before the historical Theodotion and his translation. This observation gave rise to the idea of a so-called proto-Theodotionic translation or revision that must have existed before the New Testament, i.e., by the beginning of the first century C.E. Such a revision could not have originated as an alternative to the Septuagint because of Christian use of it. Although this might be the case for translations of the second century, this proto-Theodotionic revision must have had inner Jewish causes. This observation leads to the question: What caused this revision?

Also from the Septuagint itself there is the problem of the Hebrew reference text, i.e., the so-called Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. It is well known that at least some books of the Septuagint are based on a text different from the standard MT. The best known example for this phenomenon is the book of Jeremiah, which in the Septuagint is about one eighth shorter than the MT of this book. Closer comparison of the two texts shows that the Septuagint did not shorten the text as it was translated but rather gives a quite exact translation of the Hebrew, although at the same time there are missing words and even

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[2] Ernst Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung in die Biblia Hebraica* (4th ed.; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1973), 55. Melvin K. H. Peters, "Septuagint," *ABD* 5:1093–104, still comes close to this view as he talks quite reluctantly about the earlier revisions: "If Tov is correct, revision of the translation began almost as soon as they were copied for the first time but we can only speculate about the nature of such revisions" and then goes on to say: "We know for sure that by the second century C.E., Jewish scholars, reacting to the widespread co-opting and polemical use of the LXX by Christians, began to produce editions intended to correct mistranslation, expunge Christian additions and to conform to the Hebrew text that had by then become normative in Palestine" (p. 1097).

[3] Cf. Martin Hengel, "Die Septuaginta als 'Christliche Schriftensammlung', ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons," in *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (ed. M. Hengel and A. M. Schwemer; WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 182–284; 192–3: "Die Berufung auf die siebzig und der Vorwurf der Schriftverfälschung" (esp. to Justin, *Dial.*, 71–73).

[4] And in other early Christian writings such as *Barnabas, 1–2 Clement and Hermas*. The phenomenon was already discussed by Frederik Kenyon and Paul Kahle, cf. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments*, 57.

sentences. So the Septuagint evidently had a shorter Hebrew text as *Vorlage*. In all probability this shorter text would have been older than the longer MT.[5] Besides Jeremiah there are other books or parts of books with different lengths or order of the text, e.g., Joshua, Ezekiel, 1 Samuel 16–18, that give evidence of reworking. In most cases the Septuagint seems to reflect an older stage of the text, while the MT shows the younger text-form.[6]

There are also specific texts or passages that lead to similar observations: in Exod 12:40 we are told that the Israelites had stayed in Egypt for 430 years. In the Septuagint we read the same number of years, but it is interpreted differently. To the words about the time in Egypt the Septuagint adds "and also in Canaan." In other words the MT reckons 430 years as the time from Joseph to Moses, but the Septuagint counts the years from Abraham to Moses. Evidently the Septuagint has a different understanding of the chronology. One would assume that the Septuagint translator made this change, but interestingly the Samaritan Pentateuch supports the Septuagint. We must conclude that the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch go back to a common tradition.[7] This chronological tradition is not only to be found in Septuagint and in the Samaritan Pentateuch, but it has also left its traces in early Jewish and rabbinic literature and in the New Testament.[8] As is well known there are many other cases where the text of the Septuagint agrees with the Samaritan text against the MT, and there are cases where the Septuagint has a separate tradition but a tradition that is based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*.

The facts mentioned so far have been well known for a long time and led to the theory of three major text types. The first is the text that later became the MT and therefore was called proto-Masoretic or pre-Masoretic. The second text type is the proto-Samaritan text, i.e., the text type later evidenced by the Samaritan Pentateuch. The third text type was the parent text of the Septuagint, which is not known directly but can be assumed and in many instances even reconstructed without difficulty. Going on from these three text types, there was the question about their background or their provenance. The Samaritan text evidently belonged to Samaria, the MT evidently belonged to Jerusalem, and the

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[5] See esp. Pierre-Maurice Bogaert, "Le Livre de Jérémie en Perspective: Les Deux Rédactions Antiques Selon les Travaux en Cours," *RB* 101 (1994), 363–406; and Emanuel Tov, "The Literary History of the Book of Jeremiah in the Light of Its Textual History," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (ed. J. H. Tigay; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 211–37.

[6] See the discussion in Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 313–49.

[7] Cf. Siegfried Kreuzer, "Zur Priorität von Exodus 12:40 MT: Die Chronologische Interpretation des Ägyptenaufenthalts in der judäischen, samaritanischen und alexandrinischen Exegese," *ZAW* 103 (1991), 252–58.

[8] Esp. in Gal 3:13 and Acts 7:2.

Vorlage of the Septuagint evidently belonged to Alexandria, or at least it had come to Alexandria and there it became the reference text for the translation.

Through the discoveries at Qumran and in the Judean desert this basic picture has partly been confirmed, partly changed, and has even been revolutionized. There are about 200 biblical texts from Qumran (and the Judean desert). The importance of these texts was underestimated for a long time, as is confirmed by the fact that the biblical texts were among the last ones to be edited.

On the one hand the biblical texts from Qumran have confirmed the good quality and reliability of the MT. This has enabled us to go back behind the oldest known manuscript about one whole millennium and has showed that there was a truly faithful Hebrew tradition. On the other hand there are also texts in Qumran that are quite close to the Samaritan tradition and so confirmed this branch of the Hebrew text. At the same time the fact of having proto-Samaritan texts in the Judean desert means that the Samaritan textual tradition—at least apart from some specific Samaritan differences—was not just a development in Samaria, but there existed the same kind of texts in Judea as well.

At least for Septuagint matters two further facts are even more important. One is that in Qumran we have Hebrew texts that evidently are very close to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. For instance, there is MS Jer[b] (4Q71), which is very close to the Septuagint of Jeremiah and confirms the older theories about the Hebrew parent text. Beyond this they even give evidence for the accurateness of the OG Septuagint text, with respect to the work of the translators.

At the same time the discovery of these proto-Septuagint texts means that the textual tradition of the Septuagint is not just a tradition from Alexandria, but that the basic Hebrew tradition of the Septuagint is found in Judea as well. This observation further means that the theories about the local affiliation of the three text types have to be modified or probably abandoned altogether. We will return to this question later.

The other important fact is the discovery of actual Septuagint texts in Qumran and in the Judean desert. This fact was most surprising. It showed that Greek translations of the holy scriptures were not only in use in the Diaspora but also in Judea.

The Greek biblical texts from Qumran not only confirm that the Septuagint textual tradition existed earlier than previously thought, they also show the inner Jewish tradition of the Septuagint with some peculiarities that were not known from the later, mostly Christian, manuscripts, such as the use of Hebrew letters for the Tetragram in the Greek texts instead of κύριος.[9]

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[9] For a description of these features of the early Septuagint manuscripts see Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 136–37, 143–44, and 220.

Even more important was the discovery of the scroll of the twelve minor prophets from Naḥal Ḥever. Beyond the evidence for the use of the Septuagint in Judea, this scroll showed that its text was based on the Septuagint but had undergone a revision, the famous *kaige* revision done by the *kaige*-group as Dominique Barthélemy named it.[10] This *kaige* revision, or *kaige* recension, has its peculiarities in translation technique, especially the rendering of גם by καίγε and of אנכי by ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am."[11]

There is no need to expand on this here. What is more important for our case is the fact that this so-called *kaige*-revision not only shows some peculiarities in translation technique, but it represents a revision of the OG Septuagint text towards the MT. By this fact the Naḥal Ḥever scroll gives evidence both of the dominance of the MT during the first century C.E. and at the same time of an inner-Jewish revision of the Septuagint. This revision documents a reorientation away from the Hebrew *Vorlage* towards the MT. In other words, we can observe an inner-Jewish change of the Hebrew reference text.

Through this discovery the old picture has changed. We no longer think of the old Jewish Septuagint from the third and second century B.C.E. on the one hand, and new Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible in second century C.E. that developed because the Jews were abandoning the Septuagint, which was being used by the Christians. Instead we have the OG translation, begun and largely done in Alexandria, and accompanied by ongoing history of revisions. Those revisions not only used new translation techniques current at that time, but—even more important—those revisions had a new reference text, namely the then dominant MT. As a matter of fact, although those revisions used new and different linguistic principles and translation techniques, what gave rise to the revisions was the prominent role of the MT.

As can be seen at many points, the Septuagint was always intended to be a faithful rendering of the Hebrew holy scriptures in the Hellenistic world, and it was always measured against its parent text. Therefore the change to a different parent text by necessity led to a revision of the Septuagint. The very existence of the *kaige*-recension and the other revisions and translations are evidence that

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[10] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963). It has become common to speak about the *kaige* recension or *kaige* revision, Barthélemy originally used the term group ("groupe *kaige*").

[11] Cf. ibid., 1–88; and idem, "Prise de Position sur les Autres Communications du Colloque de Los Angeles," in *Études d'Histoire du Texte de l'Ancien Testament* (ed. D. Barthélemy; OBO 21; Fribourg: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 267–69. See the essay by Glenn Wooden, pp. 122–24, in this volume for more discussion and a list of the characteristics.

there had been a change in the authoritative text of the Hebrew Bible. It was a change from the proto-Septuagint Hebrew text to the proto-MT.

So the question is, how could there be a change in the authoritative holy text of the Hebrew Bible, and who and what caused that change with its significant consequences for the Septuagint?

2. Text types, Text-Groups, and Group-Texts

To answer this question we have to consider briefly the different Hebrew text-types existing in early Jewish times. As I already mentioned, the Hebrew biblical texts from Qumran confirm on the one hand the old picture of three different Hebrew text types, and on the other hand this old picture was modified as there are more texts types and more differences.

Emanuel Tov has developed the idea of five different categories of biblical texts from Qumran, or more generally from early Jewish times.[12]

− The first category or group were texts written in the Qumran scribal practice. It is characterized by the use of *matres lectionis*, contextual adaptations, actualization, etc.; in short characteristics that were previously considered typical characteristics of vulgar texts.
− The second group are the so-called proto-, or pre-MTs, which were the precursors to the later Masoretic tradition. It is significant for our purposes that Tov also calls these texts proto-rabbinic texts, because evidently the predecessors of the rabbis used these texts.
− The third group are the proto-Samaritan texts, which were close to the later Samaritan text tradition.
− The fourth group are pre-Septuagint texts, which represent, or are close to, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint.
− Finally there is a fifth group of what Tov calls independent texts. These show some of the characteristics of the other groups but at the same time are also different from the afore mentioned text groups, or they are texts with further, specific or single characteristics.

We do not need to discuss Tov's classification and its groups in detail. But there is one thing that I would like to mention: in my opinion Tov mixes two different

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[12] Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 160–63, updated in "Die Biblischen Handschriften aus der Wüste Juda: Eine neue Synthese," in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der hebräischen Bibel* (ed. by U. Dahmen, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2000), 1–34. See also the discussion in Siegfried Kreuzer, "Text, Textgeschichte und Textkritik des Alten Testaments: Zum Stand der Forschung an der Wende des Jahrhunderts." *TLZ* 127 (2002): 132–35.

categories. One comprises formal aspects, the other concerns contents. What Tov calls Qumranic scribal practice (the first group) represents a formal and qualitative category, and some characteristics of the fifth group are also rather formal. On the other hand the proto-Masoretic, the proto-Samaritan, and the pre-Septuagint texts are categorized by content, i.e., by their relation to what we later know as the Masoretic, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint traditions. Tov's fifth group confirms this observation, because the texts of this group are mostly defined by their convergence with, or divergence from, the proto-Masoretic, proto-Samaritan, or proto-Septuagint group.

Basically there is a formal category with texts varying from those written very carefully to 'not so carefully' and those with modernizations. Then there is the other category, which is largely defined by content, i.e., by relationship to the three large traditions later known as the Masoretic, (pre-)Septuagint, and Samaritan traditions. In the midst of the textual plurality that was revealed through the manuscripts from Qumran, the later textual traditions can already be recognized in Qumran and in early Judaism.

3. Towards a Solution

Let us return to the question of who used these texts. We have already mentioned the local texts theory that relates the MT to Jerusalem, the Samaritan text to Samaria, and the pre-Septuagint texts to Alexandria.[13] The Qumran texts showed that this distribution may hold true in a broad sense but that in earlier times the different text forms were used side-by-side in Judea. There were pre-Samaritan, pre-Masoretic, and pre-Septuagint texts in use at Qumran and most probably all over Judea.

But at the same time there was not just one large mixture. There are chronological differences and differences in regard to the groups that used the texts. If we look, for example, at Jeremiah (cf. above), we can assume that the shorter Hebrew form is older than the longer MT. Jeremiah was reworked and

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[13] After earlier discussions of these question by J. Olshausen, P. de Lagarde, and J. Wellhausen (cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 153–58), a special form of the local-text theory was put forward by William F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955), 27–33. Albright was followed by Frank M. Cross, "The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966), 81–95, who related the (pre-) Septuagint text to Egypt, the Samaritan tradition to Palestine and the Masoretic tradition to Babylon (brought to Palestine by Hillel [!]). The basic idea is upheld in Frank M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 205–18 (cf. the discussion in Siegfried Kreuzer, review of Frank M. Cross, *From Epic to Canon: History and Literature in Ancient Israel, OLZ* 95 (2000): 428–36).

expanded. Evidently the older form was known and used at Qumran, but it was also brought to Egypt where it was used as the Hebrew *Vorlage* for the Septuagint.[14] Evidently the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Jeremiah represented an old Hebrew text of good quality. We do not know when this text was brought to Egypt and when it came into use in Alexandria, but we can assume that it probably came from Jerusalem, and most likely from the temple. The close relations between the Egyptian Jewish Diaspora and Jerusalem, especially the temple, is already evident in the Elephantine texts, and it is later echoed in the *Letter of Aristeas*.

Things are a little bit different with the MT. The proto-MT texts also represent good, old manuscripts. Normally these manuscripts have fewer characteristics of the so-called vulgar texts, and so, for instance, they use fewer *matres lectionis*, and they conserve older forms or the *lectio difficilior*. There are many examples for this, such as in the numbers in the genealogies of Gen 5, in the interpretation of the 430 years of the stay in Egypt, or in the book of 1 Samuel with its insertion of the song of Hanna.[15]

At the same time the MT texts had also been reworked. Although the numbers in the genealogies and the interpretation of Exod 12:40 reflect an older phase of the text, the overall chronological system of the MT was changed. This was noted by several authors in earlier scholarship, e.g., Alfred Jepsen and Marshall D. Johnson, and in more recent time by Jeremy Hughes, Klaus Koch, and Martin Rösel, who have argued that the original chronology of the Pentateuch and the historical books led up to the dedication of the Solomonic temple.[16] This aim in turn is confirmed by the fact that the Samaritan chronology

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[14] Bogaert, "Le livre de Jérémie en perspective," assumes that the book of Jeremiah (in its older form) had gained canonical status (as a book, but not yet in textual details) in the third century B.C.E., and that the (proto-) Masoretic expansion was also done in the same century.

[15] On the interpretation of the 430 years, cf. Kreuzer, "Zur Priorität von Exodus 12:40 MT," As for the insertion of the song of Hanna, it can be shown that the inconsistencies caused by the introduction of the song (1 Sam 2:1–10) are preserved in the MT, whereas 4QSam[a] (4Q51) and LXX smooth out the text.

[16] Jeremy Hughes, *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (JSOTSup 66; Sheffield: JSOT, 1990); Klaus Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte: Die Zehn-Wochen-Apokalypse (1 Hen 93:1–10; 91:11–17) und das Ringen um die alttestamentlichen Chronologien im späten Israelitentum," *ZAW* (1983): 423–24; repr. in *Vor der Wende der Zeiten: Beiträge zur apokalyptischen Literatur* (Gesammelte Aufsätze 3; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1996), 68–69; and Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta* (BZAW 223; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 129–44. The temple was built in the year 2800 A.M. (*anno mundi*), cf. Alfred Jepsen, "Zur Chronologie des Priesterkodex," *ZAW* 47 (1929): 253. Hughes, *Secrets of the Times*, and Koch, Klaus, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," agree

also led up to the construction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Garazim. Evidently the Samaritans recognized the original aim and therefore felt the need to adapt it towards their central sanctuary.[17]

The chronological system of the Septuagint is more complex, because it stretches the years in the genealogies of Genesis but shortens other periods. Most probably the Septuagint chronology is intended to be compatible with contemporary Egyptian ideas about chronology, and also has as its focus the rededication of the Jerusalem Temple after the exile.[18] Interestingly the MT also has a new chronological system, which had as its goal the rededication of the Jerusalem temple after the Syrian-Hellenistic crisis in the year 164 B.C.E.

The goal of all three traditions was to legitimate the establishment of a central sanctuary. For the Jerusalem tradition there was no difference between the first and the second temple. As 1 and 2 Chronicles shows the temple was the one that Solomon (and David) had built. However, in the second century B.C.E. a significant change occurred. The old Zadokite priesthood had given in to Hellenization, and its members had given up the faith of their fathers. They had even accepted that in Jerusalem it was not YHWH who was worshipped, but Zeus, or at the very least, that he was identified with Zeus. This failure of the priests in Jerusalem had led to the uprising of the Maccabees and to the installation of a new priesthood in Jerusalem. It was the Maccabees, and with them the priests and the nobility from outside Jerusalem, who had saved the old faith and who had brought it back to Jerusalem.

It is my thesis that this new political and religious elite also brought their own Scriptures with them to Jerusalem. I remind the reader of how Emanuel

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about the importance of this date. Hughes goes on in assuming 480 years from the first temple to the second temple (in analogy to 1 Kgdms 6:1), and a last epoch with 720 years (in analogy to the time between Abraham and Exodus). "Die so rekonstruierte Chronologie würde demnach von der Vorstellung einer Weltalterdauer von 4000 Jahren ausgehen," Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung*, 135–36. It seems doubtful to me that the priestly writers would have thought that far into the future. In its important texts, P is concerned with the tabernacle (i.e., the temple), not with eschatology. But the kind of reckoning envisaged by Hughes could be a later development, and so could have become the starting point for the Masoretic chronology.

[17] "Die Chronologie des Samaritanus hat offensichtlich das Jahr 2800 als Datum für die Gründung des Heiligtums auf dem Garizim im Blick …" (ibid., 135).

[18] Cf. ibid., 136–44, esp. 144: "Nach dieser Rekonstruktion hat der Genesis-Übersetzer das erste Jahr des zweiten Tempels auf das Jahr 5000 anno mundi fixiert, durch die runde Zahl wird damit der Beginn der Existenz des Tempels als Beginn einer neuen Epoche gesehen, vergleichbar dem Jahr 4000 für die Wiedereinweihung durch die Makkabäer, die der MT-Chronologie zugrunde liegt. Es läßt sich vermuten, daß eine solche Datierung des Tempels auf einen Epochenbeginn eine so hohe Bedeutung hatte, daß dies den Eingriff in die heiligen Schriften rechtfertigen konnte …."

Tov also labeled the pre-MT tradition as the proto-rabbinic tradition. This pre-Masoretic or proto-rabbinic text of the Maccabean era was not entirely new. On the contrary it was basically a good, old tradition, although there were some differences and there were manuscripts with additions and expansions, as in the case of the book of Jeremiah.

As we discussed above, the chronological system of this proto-MT was changed to focus on the rededication of the Jerusalem temple. The new goal of the chronological system indicates the time of this change, which must have happened some time after 164 B.C.E. Most probably this change was not made immediately but some decades later, when the Maccabean movement was well established in Jerusalem and had developed into the Hasmoneans dynasty, probably towards the last quarter of the second century B.C.E.[19] In the words of K. Koch, "… it was the Hasmonean priesthood that introduced into the chronology of the Torah what was for them a fundamental date, when they gained control of the temple. Could it not have been the Hasmonean rulers themselves who used the holy scriptures to legitimate their regime as the beginning of a messianic era?"[20]

As I said before, the textual tradition of the pre-Masoretic text is certainly older in many cases, but the important point is the adaptation of the chronological system—and its relation to the Maccabean revolt.[21] Throughout the time of the Maccabean revolt and the Hasmonean period the proto-rabbinic

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[19] In 142 B.C.E., Simon became "elected high priest and ruler of the Jews," and especially John Hyrcanus (134–104 B.C.E.) proved to be a powerful—and quite aggressive—king of the Jews. Jonathan A. Goldstein, "The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty," in *The Cambridge History of Judaism: The Hellenistic period* (ed. W. D. Davies and L. Finkelstein; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 2:292–351.

[20] "… die hasmonäische Priesterschaft hat die für sie grundlegende Bedeutung der Neugewinnung des Tempels in das Zahlensystem der Tora eingetragen. Vielleicht sind es sogar die hasmonäischen Fürsten selbst, die ihr Regiment als Anbruch einer messianischen Zeit für Israel dadurch aus der Heiligen Schrift legitimierten?" Koch, "Sabbatstruktur der Geschichte," 68.

[21] Probably there are other adaptations, too. An interesting example is Amos 9:12: God will raise up again and rebuild the fallen booth of David, "in order that they might possess the remnant of Edom and (of) all the nations who are called by my name, says the Lord who does this." Here, LXX reads τῶν ἀνθρώπων, (of the human beings) presupposing אדם, "human being," instead of MT אדום, "Edom." That 'remnant,' in postexilic times, refers to Edom is surprising. In a parallelism to nations, אדא, "τῶν ἀνθρώπων," seems to fit better. The reading אדום with a ו as *mater lectionis*, would have risen in the light of the Hasmonean conquest of Edom in the year 128 B.C.E.

text tradition gained in importance and by the end of that time had become the dominant textual tradition.[22]

The spreading of, and the importance of, the MT textual tradition in itself also confirms our view. It is certainly true that after 70 C.E. the MT was left as the only relevant—probably also the only handed down (i.e., still copied) tradition of the Hebrew Bible. This dominance not only came about because the proto-pharisaic group was the only organized group that survived the destruction of the second temple[23] but also because of the dominance of the proto-MT at least one century earlier. This can be seen by its increasing proportion among the Qumran biblical texts, and especially by the very existence of the *kaige*-revision at the turn of the era at the latest but more probably in the course of the first century B.C.E.[24]

The importance and dominance of the MT requires an authority behind this development. The most probable locus for this is the Jerusalem temple with its priesthood and its repository of texts. Only this central authority had the weight to effect the spread and the dominance of the—at least in some features—new text type.

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[22] In research on early Judaism, there is much awareness of the importance of the religio-political crisis and the rise of the Maccabees and Hasmoneans for the development of the Jewish "sects" (cf. Albert I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup; New York: Brill, 1997), and Gabriele Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways Between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998]), and for the reconstruction of their development and their beliefs the different "sectarian" writings are used. But there is not yet much awareness of the different traditions of the biblical text, and the different textual traditions are treated as a unity over against the "sectarian writing." See for example, Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 68, where the author refers to "the texts of Zadokite Judaism …: proto-Masoretic, proto-Samaritan, proto-Septuagintal, and others."

[23] Cf. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 195: "It is not that 𝔐 triumphed over other texts, but rather, that those who fostered it probably constituted the only organized group which survived the destruction of the Second Temple."

[24] "And it cannot be forgotten that the latest paleographic analysis of the scroll of the Twelve Prophet from Naḥal Ḥever dates to the 1st century BCE" (Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint in Context*, 152, referring to Leonard J. Greenspoon, "Recensions, Revisions, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Traditions," *Text* 15 [1990]: 153–67). Cf. also Olivier Munnich, "Contribution à l'étude de la première révision de la Septante," *ANRW* 20.1:190–220, and Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 143: "early date, the middle of the first century BCE."

4. The Witness of the *Letter of Aristeas*

The thesis of the Maccabean / Hasmonean background of the MT type and its authority can be supported by an analysis of the *Letter of Aristeas* with its story about the translation of the Septuagint. As is well known and accepted, this letter is not an original document written by an eye witness but was written in the second century B.C.E. Its magnificent story not only shows the importance of, and reverence for, the Septuagint, it also defends it against changes. The main arguments in favor of the (original) Septuagint are its very special origin and its acceptance. The origin of the Septuagint is told to lie in Hebrew manuscripts brought from Jerusalem to Alexandria and in the translators' committee that was also sent from Jerusalem by the high priest. The acceptance of the Septuagint is shown by the Ptolemaic king, a king who listens to the wisdom of the men from Jerusalem, and by the acceptance of the Septuagint in the Jewish community of Alexandria.

Historically the Septuagint most probably was translated by the Jewish community in Alexandria and on the base of Hebrew texts available in this community.[25] If the *Letter of Aristeas* defends the Septuagint by referring to Jerusalem, to its high priest, and to manuscripts from the Jerusalem temple, most probably that is the very place from which the challenge to alter it was coming.

These considerations fit well with the probable date of the *Letter of Aristeas*. While the outer limits for dating it are the beginning and the end of the second century B.C.E., there is wide spread consensus that it belongs to the second half of the second century. There are even some indications that the letter was written around 120 B.C.E. These conclusions are reached by several authors and with arguments independent of what I want to use here.[26] A date around 120

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[25] The problem of the initiative by the Ptolemaic king needs to be treated separately. The tradition about an official initiative has a broad basis and it runs contrary to (later) Jewish interests. So it may not be neglected, although it must be maintained, that the primary need for a translation as well as the ability to produce it lay within the Jewish community of Alexandria. Cf. the discussion in Jellicoe, *Septuagint and Modern Study*, 29–73; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (2d ed.; Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 66–79; Siegfried Kreuzer, "Text, Textgeschichte und Textkritik des Alten Testaments: Zum Stand der Forschung an der Wende des Jahrhunderts." *TLZ* 127 (2002): 142–44. For a new solution see Siegfried Kreuzer, "Entstehung und Publikation der Septuaginta im Horizont frühptolemäischer Bildungs- und Kulturpolitik." in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta: Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der griechischen Bibel* (ed. S. Kreuzer, and J. P. Lesch; BWA(N)T 161; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2003): 2:61–75.

[26] Esp. Norbert Meisner, "Aristeasbrief," in *Unterweisungen in erzählender Form* (ed. W. G. Kümmel; 2d ed.; JSHRZ *2*; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1977). Elias J. Bickerman, "Zur

B.C.E. for the *Letter of Aristeas* with its defense of the Septuagint fits my thesis quite well: about forty years after the victory of the Maccabees, i.e., after the reconsecration of the temple of Jerusalem, the MT must have reached a considerable distribution and importance. The use of the MT certainly highlighted the differences not only with other Hebrew texts but also the differences against the Septuagint. One could even assume that these differences were not so much recognized in individual words or expressions but could be seen most easily in the different numbers of the chronological system. In any case the *Letter of Aristeas* shows an awareness of differences in the biblical texts and a discussion about these differences. The probable date of the *Letter of Aristeas* fits well with, and confirms the fact that, the MT gained its importance in the Hasmonean period in the course of the second half of the second century B.C.E.

5. Conclusions

If we return to the question of our title (Who and what caused the change of the Hebrew reference text of the Septuagint?), we have to answer that the change was caused by the Hellenistic crisis of the old Jerusalemite priesthood in the time of Antiochus IV and especially by the success of the Maccabean revolt and the establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty. These events and the establishment of a new temple hierarchy in Jerusalem led to the domination of the MT, and that led to the change in the Hebrew text type on which the Septuagint was based.

This change is reflected in the *Letter of Aristeas* with its defense of the OG Septuagint. Yet this defense, at least in the long run and especially in Palestine itself, could not avert the change of the reference text and the subsequent revisions of the OG towards the MT.

Datierung des Pseudo-Aristeas," *ZNW* 29 (1930): 280–296; repr. in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (AGJU 9; Leiden: Brill, 1976), 109–36, suggested 145/127 B.C.E.; Oswyn Murray, "Aristeasbrief," in *RAC*, Supplement 1 (ed. T. Klauser and E. Dassmann; Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 2001), 574 suggests "gegen Ende des 2. Jh. v.Chr." (towards the end of the second century B.C.E.).

Towards a "Theology of the Septuagint" [1]

Martin Rösel

This paper is intended to ask just one very basic question: Can a book be written on the theology of the Septuagint? The answer will be as simple as the question: Yes, it can be written. But since I am fully aware of the scholarly debates concerning this and related questions, I will try to clarify things in the following way: first, I will ask what "Theology of the Septuagint" can mean; secondly, I will discuss some texts and topics that show characteristic theological and anthropological distinctions between the Hebrew and the Greek Scriptures; and finally, I will briefly outline *how* in my view such a work can be written. It should be added that the topics can only be sketched very roughly to give a preliminary, overall impression.

1. What Does "Theology of the Septuagint" Mean?

Beginning with the work of Zacharias Frankel in 1841 and culminating in Deissmann's *Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus* there have been several attempts to determine the content and range of specific ideas in the Septuagint. [2] Some of the observations of these early scholars are still very valuable because of their vast knowledge of both Greek authors and Jewish traditions. Especially in Germany this kind of research has been burdened by the work of Georg Bertram, who was very close to the national-socialist party and to the theology of the "German Christians/*Deutsche Christen*." He tried to demonstrate that there was a characteristic Septuagint-piety ("*Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit*" in German). [3] This theology of the Septuagint should be seen,

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[1] Throughout this article, "Theology of the Septuagint" will refer to a book devoted to theology in the Septuagint.

[2] Zacharias Frankel, *Vorstudien zu der Septuaginta* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1841); and idem, *Über den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermene*utik (Leipzig: Vogel, 1851); Gustav A. Deissmann, *Die Hellenisierung des semitischen Monotheismus* (NJahrb; Leipzig: B. Teubner, 1903), 162–77.

[3] Cf. *inter alia* Georg Bertram, "Septuaginta-Frömmigkeit," *RGG* 5:1707–9; idem, "Praeparatio evangelica in der Septuaginta," *VT* 7 (1957): 225–49; and idem, "Zur begrifflichen Prägung des Schöpferglaubens im Griechischen Alten Testament," in *Wort,*

according to him, as *praeparatio euangelica*, by which he meant that the foundation of the New Testament is to be found not in the Jewish-Semitic Hebrew Bible but in the more enlightened Greek Bible. One should add that the famous Paul de Lagarde held similar views.[4]

It should be stated that the work of Bertram is still very influential, because he contributed thirty-seven articles to Kittel's *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, which has also been translated into English.[5] In these articles he tried to show how the meaning of keywords used in the New Testament was shaped by the LXX. Unfortunately scholars who are not familiar with LXX matters still use these articles under the impression that through them they gain access to the Septuagint and its theology.

There are serious methodological problems with these earlier attempts to determine a theology of the Septuagint. The most significant is that usually the Septuagint was viewed as a unity without considering that the individual books have been translated by different people at different times not only in Alexandria but also elsewhere.[6] So a first conclusion can be drawn: a "Theology of the Septuagint" cannot be based on the leveling of differences among the individual books or the specific profiles of the translators for the sake of a common edifice of ideas.

In recent years there has been a growing interest in clarifying the theological positions of individual translations of the Jewish Greek Scriptures by going beyond the level of text criticism or text history. Many important details can be found, for example, in the "Notes" of John Wevers on the books of the Pentateuch, in Arie van der Kooij's significant contributions to the understanding

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Lied und Gottesspruch: Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler (ed. J. Schreiner; FB 1; Würzburg: Echter, 1972), 21–30. Cf. also the remarks by Nikolaus Walter in "Die griechische Übersetzung der 'Schriften' Israels und die christliche 'Septuaginta' als Forschungs- und als Übersetzungsgegenstand," in *Im Brennpunkt: Die Septuaginta; Studien zur Entstehung und Bedeutung der Griechischen Bibel* (BWA(N)T 153, Stuttgart: Kohlammer, 2001): 83–84.

[4] Cf. Robert Hanhart, "Paul Anton de Lagarde und seine Kritik an der Theologie," in *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. R. Hanhart and R. G. Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 248–80.

[5] Cf. e.g., *TDNT*: παιδεύω κ.τ.λ., 5:596–625; στενός κ.τ.λ., 7:604–8; στερεός 7:609–14; and ὕβρις κ.τ.λ., 8:295–307.

[6] Here the pioneering book by Isac L. Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (trans. E. van Loo; Mededelingen en verhandelingen 9; Leiden: Brill, 1948) should be mentioned. Cf. also idem, "Problems and Perspectives in Modern Septuagint Research," *Text* 15 (1990): 162–232. Very helpful summaries and charts concerning the date and localization of the individual books of the LXX can by found in: Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (2d ed.; Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 92–111.

of the Greek Isaiah, and in Johann Cook's work on the Greek Proverbs.[7] Currently the translation generating the most debate is that of the book of Psalms, which in recent years has seen the publication of three volumes of collected essays, Joachim Schaper's published dissertation and the reactions to it, and most recently the fine study of Holger Gzella, again on eschatology and anthropology in Psalms.[8] A much greater number of scholars could be named, but the studies mentioned suffice for the following statement: The search for theological concepts is now at the level of the individual book. This is good news after the long time of concentration on text-critical questions, nevertheless it is regrettable, because only occasionally are there comparisons of the exegetical or hermeneutical concepts of the individual books.[9] The need for a synthesis seems not to be very high, although it could strengthen the results for one book if one could find similar ideas in others. So I come to my next conclusion: a treatise on the theology of the Septuagint should be more than a collection of unrelated studies on some or all of the books, it needs unifying

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[7] John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (SBLSCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990); idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993); idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SBLSCS 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998); and idem, *Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* (SBLSCS 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997). Arie van der Kooij, *Die alten Textzeugen des Jesajabuches: Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Alten Testaments* (OBO 35; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag Freiburg, 1981); and idem, *The Oracle of Tyre: The Septuagint of Isaiah XXIII as Version and Vision* (VTSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 1998). Johann Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs: Jewish and/or Hellenistic Proverbs?; Concerning the Hellenistic Colouring of LXX Proverbs* (VTSup 69; Leiden: Brill, 1997); and idem, "The ideology of Septuagint Proverbs," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 463–79.

[8] Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (MSU 24; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000); Erich Zenger, ed., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (Herders biblische Studien 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001); Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry, eds., *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001). Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (WUNT 2. Reihe 76; Tübingen: Mohr, 1995). See the following, more negative reviews: Albert Pietersma, *BO* 54 (1997): 185–90; Melvin K. H. Peters, *JBL* 116 (1997): 350–52; idem, *RBL*, n.p. [cited 16 January 2003]. Online: http://www.bookreviews.org.; Eberhard Bons, *RevScRel* 71 (1997): 257–58. But see also the positive statements by Folker Siegert, *TLZ* 122 (1997): 39–41; and Pieter van der Horst, *JSJ* 28 (1997): 123–24. Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters* (BBB 134; Berlin: Philo, 2002).

[9] A first attempt can be found in Martin Rösel, "Theo-logie der griechischen Bibel: Zur Wiedergabe der Gottesaussagen im LXX-Pentateuch," *VT* 48 (1998): 49–62.

elements such as theological topics. One reason for this requirement is that even the earliest readers understood "the Scripture" (ἡ γραφή) as a unity not as a mere collection of separate books.

Thirdly, something obvious should be stated: a "Theology of the Septuagint" should not simply repeat what is usually dealt with in a "Theology of the Hebrew Bible." The characteristic feature of such a project would be a comparative approach. It would highlight the differences between the versions or the theological developments from one to the other.[10] Thus a "Theology of the Septuagint" would be a substantial enhancement of our understanding of the theology of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible. This has some important implications:

a) A "Theology of the Septuagint" could serve to close the gap between the Christian Old Testament and New Testament, and the gap between the Jewish Scriptures and writers such as Demetrius, Aristeas, Josephus, and Philo. One could object that such a gap does not exist because we have so many writings from the last three centuries B.C.E., which are now enhanced by the scrolls found at Qumran. But generally speaking, these writings are not Bible or Holy Writings, because they held a lower level of authority. For early Jewish and Christian authors the books of the LXX were their Scripture, therefore scholars have to determine the theology of that Scripture.[11]

b) A "Theology of the Septuagint" would, therefore, form an important part of the history of religion (German: *Religionsgeschichte*) of the Hebrew Bible and of a Biblical Theology as well. In the LXX one can see certain theological developments that later shape the understanding of the whole Bible. It may suffice to mention the growing David tradition in Psalms, the "Solomonization" of Proverbs, or the extended νόμος theology in both of the aforementioned books.[12] The LXX is an indispensable part of the history of reception of the Hebrew Bible, therefore it should be discussed when dealing with the theology

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[10] Cf. Jan Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante?: Réflexions méthodologiques sur l'interprétation de la version grecque," *RTP* 132 (2000): 31–46, who speaks of an "approche compareé" (p. 33).

[11] Mogens Müller, *The First Bible of the Church: A Plea for the Septuagint* (JSOTSup 206; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1996). Cf. also Martin Hengel, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of Its Canon* (trans. R. Deines; OTS; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2002), which is simply a translation of Hengel's contribution to Martin Hengel and Anna Maria Schwemer, eds., *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (WUNT 72; Tübingen: Mohr, 1994). I use the singular 'Scripture' here to emphasize the meaning of a Holy Writing or canon. I am fully aware of the problems of this use, but I have the impression that the plural makes things even more complicated.

[12] Cf. Martin Kleer, *'Der liebliche Sänger der Psalmen Israels': Untersuchungen zu David als Dichter und Beter der Psalmen* (BBB 108; Bodenheim: Philo, 1996); David-Marc D'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 17; Paris: Cerf, 2000), 34, and 78–85.

of those Scriptures. If—to mention but one example—Brevard Childs is writing a "Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testament" and hardly ever makes mention of the LXX, it is obvious that his results are at the very least incomplete; one could also say that neglecting the LXX is a somewhat unhistorical approach.[13] But on the other side it should also be stated that LXX scholarship itself is part of the problem, because only recently have we begun to offer "invitations to the Septuagint" in order to ease the access for other scholars.[14]

This leads to the next question: Who needs such a "Theology of the Septuagint", or what purpose should it serve? The answer to this question is very simple: All scholars who are interested in the meaning of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament in Hellenistic times need such a book and will use it, as they are using Hengel's *Judentum und Hellenismus*, or Schürer-Vermes, or Bousset-Gressmann.[15] As I said earlier, a "Theology of the Septuagint" should serve to give an impression of where, in which texts, how, and why the Greek Scriptures differ from the Hebrew, and on what topics it makes a difference whether the LXX or the Hebrew Bible were used. Well known examples are the actualization of prophecies in the LXX of Isaiah and the question of resurrection in Job.

I am fully aware of the problems associated with these premises, because scholars are still in the process of detecting those changes, of assigning them to either the *Vorlage*, the translator, or later transmitters, or to readers. Nevertheless, I think that at least some outlines of a "Theology of the Septuagint" can be drawn, and therefore I turn to the next section.

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[13] Brevard S. Childs, *Biblical Theology of the Old and New Testaments: Theological Reflection on the Christian Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993). Note the subtitle "Theological Reflections on the Christian Bible," which makes Child's approach even more problematic, because until the time of the Reformation the Christian Bible was almost never the Hebrew Bible. But see, for example, James Barr, *The Concept of Biblical Theology: An Old Testament Perspective* (London: SCM, 1999), 576: "The Septuagint has paramount importance for our purpose, since, at least in many places, it was the form of the ancient Jewish scriptures that lay before the early Christians."

[14] See Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000). The harsh critique of this book by Barr is too concentrated on text-critical issues and seems not to be justified in my view. James Barr, *RBL*, n.p. [cited 16 January 2003]. Online: http://www.bookreviews.org.

[15] Martin Hengel, *Judentum und Hellenismus: Studien zu ihrer Begegnung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung Palästinas bis zur Mitte des 2. Jh. v. Chr* (2d ed.; WUNT 10; Tübingen: Mohr, 1973); Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.–A.D. 135)* (revised and edited by G. Vermes et al.; 3 vols.; English ed.; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1986); and Wilhelm Bousset and Hugo Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (forward by E. Lohse; 4th ed.; HNT 21; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1966).

2. Theological and Anthropological Differences between the Hebrew and the Jewish Greek Scriptures

First, it is important to note that the translators of the Hebrew-Aramaic texts were fully aware that they were translating Scriptures in the sense of authoritative religious writings. This led to significant consequences, namely harmonizations of the text, the avoidance of contradictions, and explanations of one text by another.[16] Numerous examples can be given for these observations; it may suffice to refer to the additions and harmonizations in the account of the creation in Gen 1, or the flood story in Gen 6–8, or to the theological solution of the Cain and Abel problem in Gen 4.[17]

Moreover, even the translation technique used by the translators can express a characteristic view of Scripture, as Jan Joosten has rightly pointed out. It is a commonplace in LXX scholarship that the translation of the Pentateuch is less literal than most of the subsequent books, although even these five translations differ to some extent among themselves. The later translations that follow their *Vorlage* more closely are the result of a more highly developed theology of Scripture or theology of the word of God. To state it another way, the translators' opinions that the texts they were producing were comprehensible—even if the Greek they were writing was hardly understandable—reveals a specific dynamic theology of Scripture that distinguishes these translators or revisers from translators, authors, or re-writers like the translator of Job into Greek, or from Demetrius, Aristobulus, or later writers like Josephus and Philo.[18]

Although further comparative examinations are needed, I would roughly distinguish two major groups of translators and their hermeneutics: those who relied on their belief that the word of God was effective even if readers could not understand it; and those who believed that the human intellect has a dignity of its own, so that corrections might be in order, if they served to improve the persuasiveness of the Scriptures. The first position led the textual history of the Septuagint to the different stages of revisions and retranslations—and the Hebrew Text to its pre-Masoretic standardization—the second can be seen in attempts at rewriting the Scriptures, cf., *inter alia*, the book of *Jubilees*, the reworked Pentateuch from Qumran, or the *Genesis Apocryphon*.[19]

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[16] On harmonizations, see Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante?," 44–46.

[17] Cf. Martin Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung: Studien zur Genesis-Septuaginta* (BZAW 223; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1994), 100–114; and Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 212.

[18] This argument is based on Joosten, "Une théologie de la Septante?," 42–44.

[19] Cf. Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 109–54, for an excellent treatment of the problem of the revisions. Very comprehensive overviews of the Qumran materials can be found in James C. VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*

Another important aspect of an implicit theology is the use of κύριος, "Lord," for the Tetragram.[20] Scholars generally agree on the point that this equivalent was used beginning with the earliest known Greek translations. By using κύριος in an absolute way—without a depending genitive—the translations were stating that the God of Israel is the Lord of everything, not one θεός among many θεοί, but ὁ θεός, "God."[21] Moreover, there are certain instances where distinctions are made between the real God and the foreign Gods. Num 25:2, where אלהים, "God," was translated by εἴδωλον, "idol," serves as an example, because it clearly refers to the gods of the Moabites; in Gen 31:19–35 Rachel's תרפים, "household gods," are again labeled as εἴδωλα. Thus the Septuagint shows that monotheism had developed, and by means of the Greek language the translators were able to avoid the ambiguity of the form אלהים by distinguishing singular and plural forms or by using different equivalents.

Interestingly enough, one can also see that there is a tendency towards a more systematic understanding of what κύριος means, because as early as in Genesis we can see that κύριος is used for the friendly, merciful portrayals of God, while θεός is used for the powerful actions. This can be seen in Gen 13:10 where יהוה destroyed Sodom, while the Greek version states that ὁ θεός did it. In Gen 38:7 it was ὁ θεός who killed Er, the firstborn of Judah, and in Gen 6:6–7 it was ὁ θεός who decided to bring the flood; but the Hebrew text has the Tetragram in all these instances.[22] Thus we can conclude that a tradition later on attested by Philo and even later by the Rabbis is already shaping in the third century belief that the use of κύριος and θεός has a theological significance of its own.[23]

Moreover, we can see that the theological consciousness about the names and designations of God developed over time. In the earlier translations, such as

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(Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 34–70, and in the articles in J. C. VanderKam and L. H. Schiffman, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[20] "Implicit theology" means the theology of the community that formed the belief of the translator and that person's own overall theological framework as well.

[21] Robert Hanhart, "Die Bedeutung der Septuaginta für die Definition des 'hellenistischen Judentums,'" in *Studien zur Septuaginta und zum hellenistischen Judentum* (ed. R. Hanhart and R. G. Kratz; FAT 24; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 75; and cf. Martin Rösel, *Adonaj, warum Gott "Herr" genannt wird* (FAT 29; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000), 5–7.

[22] Similar phenomena can be seen in Exod 3:18; 10:11; 16:7–9. Cf. Martin Rösel, "Die Übersetzung der Gottesbezeichnungen in der Genesis-Septuaginta," in *Ernten, was man sät* (ed. D. R. Daniels, U. Gleßmer, and Martin Rösel; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1991), 376.

[23] On the different positions of Philo and the Rabbis, cf. N. A. Dahl and A. F. Segal, "Philo and the Rabbis on the Name of God," *JSJ* 9 (1978): 1–28.

in Genesis, the name שדי was translated by ὁ θεός σου/μου, "your/my God" (17:1; 28:3);[24] in Exod 6:3 its translation with θεὸς ὢν αὐτῶν, "being their God," was derived from the famous ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν, "I am the one who is," in Exod 3:14. But in later books the pentateuchal pattern was not followed. Instead we can find translations such as παντοκράτωρ, "Almighty" (Job 5:17; 33:4); ἐπουράνιος, "heavenly" (Ps 68:15); θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, "God of the heaven" (Ps 91:1); or ὁ ἱκανός, "Mighty one" (Ruth 1:20–21; Job 21:15).[25] All these equivalents serve to emphasize the power of the God of Israel, who was no longer called by a name that could make this God comparable to pagan gods; שדי became the universal ruler.

The same is true for the translation of יהוה צבאות by the "Lord of hosts." Again, one can see different attempts to deal with this designation: in 1 Kingdoms and Isaiah the transcription σαβαώθ is predominant; in 2 and 3 Kingdoms as well as Psalms we find κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, "Lord of the powers"[26]; In 2 Kingdoms, in the Greek 1 and 2 Chronicles, and in the Dodekapropheton one can also find παντοκράτωρ, "Almighty."[27] I would fully subscribe to the results of Cécile Dogniez, who has stated that we can see an evolution of the conception of God from a more mythic imagery to the universalistic idea of a Παντοκράτωρ or Κοσμοκράτωρ.

From a methodological perspective it should be stated that these results come from a twofold comparative approach to the task of Septuagint theology: the comparison between the Hebrew and the Greek text on the one hand, and the comparison of the individual translations on the other. Thus one can easily see that it does not suffice to confine the work to individual books of the Greek Scriptures.

This view is supported by the evidence of the increasing importance of the "name-of-God theology" in the Septuagint. There are several instances where we can see a specific reverencing of the divine name: according to Exod 34:14 the Lord is a jealous God and "Jealous" is his name. In the Greek version "Jealous" is not the name of the Lord, but the unspeakable name is in itself

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[24] Rösel, "Die Übersetzung der Gottesbezeichnungen in der Genesis-Septuaginta," 373.

[25] Cf. Georg Bertram, "Zur Prägung der biblischen Gottesvorstellung in der griechischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments: Die Wiedergabe von *schadad* und *schaddaj* im Griechischen," *WO* 2 (1954–1959): 502–13 on the LXX; W. Reiß, "Zur Deutung von אל שדי in der rabbinischen Literatur," *FJB* 3 (1975): 65–75 on the rabbinic literature.

[26] For σαβαώθ, cf. 1 Kgdms 1:3, 11; Isa 1:9, 24. For κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων, cf. 2 Kgdms 5:10; 6:2; 3 Kgdms 2:5; 18:15; Pss 24:10; 46:8.

[27] 2 Kgdms 5:10; 7:27; 1 Chr 11:9; 17:7; Hos 12:6; Amos 3:13; Nah 2:14. On the translation of יהוה צבאות cf. Cécile Dogniez, "Le Dieu des armées dans le Dodeka-propheton: Quelques remarques sur une initiative de traduction," in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 45; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997), 19–36.

jealous. This is confirmed by the famous text Lev 24:16, because here in the Hebrew Bible "One who blasphemes the name of the LORD shall be put to death," in the LXX even the "one who is *naming* the Holy name should die the death."

The distance between God and the world was increasing, and this can also be seen in the so-called anti-anthropomorphisms of the Greek Scriptures. Since Charles Fritsch's theory from 1943 this problem has often been discussed, and there are a number of studies contradicting and supporting Fritsch.[28] The truth is somewhere in the middle, as often is the case. One cannot say that the translators have generally avoided every notion that could be understood as anthropomorphism. As an example: in Numbers the expression על־פי יהוה, "by the mouth of God," was avoided, and instead διὰ φωνῆς κυρίου, "by the voice/sound of God," was used as a translation (cf. 3:16, 39). That this is clearly the result of a theological consideration can be seen in cases where על־פי אהרן, "by the mouth of Aaron," (or the like) had to be translated, because there κατὰ στόμα Ααρων was used (4:27). The translator did not avoid the idea of a voice of God only that God had a mouth. Distinctions like these can be seen often, such as at Exod 19:3 where Moses was not going up to God (ומשה עלה אל־האלהים) but rather to the mountain of God (καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τοῦ θεοῦ).[29]

The translators of the Psalms sometimes dealt in a very intelligent way with the problem, such as at 17(16):15 where in the Hebrew version the praying person would be able to see God's face (אני בצדק אחזה פניך) while in the LXX that person would be seen (= judged) by God (ἐγὼ ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ σου; note also the interesting translation of תמונה with δόξα at the end of the verse). Although a type of anthropomorphism is still present, the meaning of the verse has been changed considerably. On the other side there are clear avoidances of metaphorical ideas, such as God being a rock (צור; cf. Ps 18:3, 47).[30] While it is not clear why some designations were avoided and others not, there is definitely a kind of theology of the translators; they had an idea of what could be said about God and what not. This could even include the more

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[28] Charles T. Fritsch, *The Anti-Anthropomorphisms of the Greek Pentateuch* (POT 10; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1943); Anthony T. Hanson, "The treatment in the LXX of the theme of seeing God," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 557–68; Staffan Olofsson, *God is My Rock: A Study of Translation Technique and Theological Exegesis in the Septuagint* (ConBOT 31; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 1990), 17–39; Arthur Soffer, "The treatment of anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms in the Septuagint of Psalms," *HUCA* 28 (1957): 85–107. Cf. the latest collection of arguments concerning this problem in Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSt 9; Münster: LIT, 2001), 247–50.

[29] Cf. also Exod 33:11; Num 12:8.

[30] Olofsson, *God is My Rock*, 35–45.

expanded angelology and demonology that is found in the LXX, as Adrian Schenker has pointed out for the LXX of Psalms; something that was already found in Exod 4:24 where it was not the Lord who wanted to kill Moses but an ἄγγελος κυρίου.[31]

The partial avoidance of anthropomorphisms has consequences for the anthropology of the LXX, because the distance between God and humans is emphasized. This can also be seen in Num 23:19 where the impression is avoided that God and humans can be compared. Instead of לא איש אל, "God is not a human being," in the Greek Scriptures one reads οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεός, "God is not *as* a human being."

To sum up these observations about references to God: it is obvious that the Greek Bible read as a whole, and in its parts, display an image of God different from its Hebrew counterpart. To exaggerate the depiction: the God of the Septuagint is the θεὸς τῆς οἰκουμένης, "the God of the inhabited earth" (cf. Ps 23[22]:1), while the God of the Hebrew Bible is the אלהי ישראל, "God of Israel." It is obvious that the translators have strengthened a tendency that was present in the Hebrew Bible from the days of Deutero-Isaiah, but that now affects the majority of the texts, as is the case with the Greek Scriptures.[32]

I will now only touch on other topics that have one thing in common, that they are found in more than one book of the Septuagint. One extremely important focus is the vocabulary of cult and worship; here one can refer to the work of Suzann Daniel.[33] The striking observation is that the translators used neologisms to separate the true cult of Israel from pagan cults. This culminates in the distinction of the newly created θυσιαστήριον, "offering place," from the common βωμός, "altar." Using this specific vocabulary the translators were able to express their own interpretation of details of the biblical texts. For a striking example one could look at Num 23:1 where Balaam is building a (pagan) βωμός, although מזבח is usually translated by θυσιαστήριον in the LXX of Numbers. The same can be seen in Josh 22:10ff., where the tribes Reuben, Gad, and Half-Manasseh are also building a (pagan) βωμός. The same distinction is made in the first book of Maccabees (1:47; 5:58) and in prophetic books as well (Hos 10:8;

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[31] Adrian Schenker, "Götter und Engel im Septuaginta-Psalter: Text- und religions-geschichtliche Ergebnisse aus drei textkritischen Untersuchungen," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 185–95.

[32] Matthias Albani, *Der eine Gott und die himmlischen Heerscharen: Zur Begründung des Monotheismus bei Deuterojesaja im Horizont der Astralisierung des Gottes-verständnisses im Alten Orient* (ABG 1; Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2000).

[33] Suzann Daniel, *Recherches sur le Vocabulaire du Culte dans la Septante* (EeC 61; Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1966).

Amos 7:9).[34] Moreover, the positive designation for the altar, θυσιαστήριον, is related to ἱλαστήριον, "atonement place," which translates כפרת , "mercy seat" (Exod 25:17, cf. esp. Ezek 43:20; Amos 9:1), so that even from a linguistic point-of-view the cult is a unit. Again we have to note that already the use or non-use of standard equivalents can imply a theological point of view.

One could also comment on the problem of messianism as a common feature of several books of the LXX beginning from Gen 49.[35] Special mention should be made to the well-known translation ἐξελεύσεται ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριεύσει ἐθνῶν πολλῶν, "A man will come from his seed and he will rule over many nations," in Num 24:7 for יזל־מים מדליו וזרעו במים רבים, "Water shall flow from his buckets, and his seed shall have abundant water" (cf. also the use of ἄνθρωπος for שבט in Num 24:17), but it may suffice to refer to the fine paper of Heinz-Josef Fabry in this volume (pp. 193– 205).

Another important topic is the strengthening of eschatology even in books like the Psalms or the Greek Job with its clear references to resurrection and a future life of the just.[36] Furthermore, mention should be made of the Greek Proverbs, because it shows a clear tendency to bring νόμος and wisdom into line (cf. Prov 9:10) and to promote an educational ideal that is based on σύνεσις, "intelligence," and παιδεία, "instruction."[37] Again, this specific theology is not restricted to only one book, because we have very prominent texts in the Psalms revealing very similar ideas, cf. the famous δράξασθε παιδείας in Ps 2:12 for the difficult Hebrew נשקו־בר, "kiss his feet/the son."[38] Another important argument for a more eschatological understanding in Psalms can be derived from the εἰς τὸ

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[34] But, βωμός is used in the usual Greek sense in 2 Macc 2:19; 13:8.

[35] Martin Rösel, "Die Interpretation von Genesis 49 in der Septuaginta," *BN* 79 (1995): 54–70.

[36] For the Psalms, see the detailed analysis of Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit*, especially sections 3.3 and 3.4. See also Stefan Seiler, "Theologische Konzepte in der Septuaginta: Das theologische Profil von 1 Chr 16:8ff. LXX im Vergleich mit Ps 104, 95; 105 LXX," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter*, 197–217; Holger Gzella, "Das Kalb und das Einhorn, Endzeittheophanie und Messianismus in der Septuaginta-Fassung von Ps 29(28)," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter*, 257–90; and Joachim Schaper, "Die Renaissance der Mythologie im hellenistischen Judentum und der Septuaginta-Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter*, 171–83. As for the Greek Job see the different positions of Donald H. Gard, "The concept of the future life according to the Greek translator of the Book of Job," *JBL* 73 (1954): 137–43; and Natalio Fernández Marcos, "The Septuagint reading of the Book of Job," in *The Book of Job* (ed. W. A. M. Beuken; BETL 114; Louvain: Peeters, 1994), 251–66.

[37] See e.g., Prov 10:17; 16:17, where παιδεία is used even without a Hebrew equivalent. For an overall estimation see Cook, *The Septuagint of Proverbs*, 328–31 (as a summary of his exegesis), and also d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes*, 84–87.

[38] Cf. Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word, 1983), 64, for the text-critical problem of Ps 2:12.

τέλος / εἰς συνέσεως superscriptions of several psalms [30(31):1; 52(51):1], as I have argued elsewhere.[39] Even if attempts to prove this interpretation wrong were to succeed, the fact that these superscriptions have been understood eschatologically by early readers remains.[40] Moreover, the same concept of eschatological understanding seems to lie behind the well-known translation ἐὰν μὴ πιστεύσητε οὐδὲ μὴ συνῆτε for the Hebrew אם לא תאמינו כי לא תאמנו in Isa 7:9.[41] It is also important to note that the idea of David being a prophet was very prominent at that time. It may suffice to call attention to the famous passage in the "Compositions of David" in 11Q5 XXVII.1ff.: "All these (psalms) he spoke through (the spirit of) prophecy which was given to him from the Most High."[42] Thus the more eschatological translation of the LXX fits perfectly into the hermeneutical framework of that time, and I cannot see why this understanding cannot be attributed to the translator as well.

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[39] Martin Rösel, "Die Psalmüberschriften des Septuagintapsalters," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter: Sprachliche und theologische Aspekte* (ed. E. Zenger; HBS 32; Freiburg: Herder, 2001), 125–48.

[40] Albert Pietersma (in this volume pp. 33–45, esp. pp. 40–44) has tried to demonstrate that there was no theological intention behind the εἰς τὸ τέλος / εἰς συνέσεως superscriptions in the Greek Psalter. Because of the nature of this paper it is not possible to respond in detail, but a brief response may be in order. It is obvious that Prof. Pietersma's approach and differ at the very point that Pietersma calls a "linguistic heresy," because he is focussing on the single word as the bearer of the meaning, while I would always include the immediate context of the word in question to determine its meaning. As for his argument concerning the εἰς τὸ τέλος superscriptions, his observation that in non-philosophical Classical and Hellenistic literature τέλος has no eschatological meaning proves almost nothing, because the LXX of Psalms should be seen within the range of Jewish Hellenism of that time; with Pietersma's argument one could also say that keywords like κύριος, νόμος, or χριστός do not have theological meanings, because such meanings are not attested in that same body of literature. Moreover, Pietersma leaves open the question of what the τέλος is to which the translator is alluding—the characteristic use of the article in these superscriptions is in my view pointing to a certain τέλος. Obviously the translator must have had something specific in mind, otherwise he would not have added εἰς τὸ τέλος to the superscription of Ps 30(29), which is a psalm that is connected with the ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τῷ Δαυιδ, "the dedication of the temple," which in my opinion obviously points to the events of the Maccabean revolt. To be fair, Pietersma confirms that readers could gain the impression that these superscriptions have an eschatological meaning; the point of difference is whether this is a phenomenon of translation or of reception.

[41] For a detailed analysis of the whole chapter of Isa 7, see Martin Rösel, "Die Jungfrauengeburt des endzeitlichen Immanuel: Jesaja 7 in der Übersetzung der Septuaginta," *JBTH* 6 (1991): 135–51.

[42] Translation from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1997–1998), 1179.

One could also refer to the different anthropologies of several books, beginning with Gen 1:26 and the translation ποιήσωμεν ἄνθρωπον κατ᾽ εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν καὶ καθ᾽ ὁμοίωσιν, which involves a considerable change in the idea of humans being the image of God.[43] Moreover, it is very obvious that the Greek text of Gen 1 and 2 can best be understood as reflecting the platonic account of creation in the dialogue "Timaios," ideas like these may also lie behind the contrast of πνεῦμα and σάρξ in Gen 6:3.[44]

The examples I have presented in this section can be seen as evidence that the translators had their own theological and hermeneutical ideas, which affected their translations. Many more examples have been noted elsewhere, and in my view it is worthwhile to collect them and to arrange them in a systematic way to give an impression of where there are differences between Septuagint theology and Hebrew Bible theology. Even if we cannot be sure in every instance whether the translator, the *Vorlage* used, or a later redactor is responsible for these theological characteristics, it has to be stated that they are in the Greek text and therefore belong to the history of reception of the Septuagint.

3. How Can a "Theology of the Septuagint" Be Written?

Finally, I would like to briefly sketch some elements of such a "Theology of the Septuagint." As stated earlier, such a work should be more than a collection of excerpts of separate studies on some or all of the books of the Greek Scriptures. But an important basic part of such a study has to be an overview of the individual books, so that readers can get an impression of the different approaches to the task of translation stemming from different times and milieus. This part could also serve as a kind of *Religionsgeschichte* of the LXX connecting the individual books with what is known about the theological and hermeneutical developments of the specific time and place, when and where the translation took place.

As a second step I would determine several themes and topics that can be traced through the canon, such as "designations and imagery of God," "God and foreign Gods," "Israel and the nations," "humanity and its fate," "νόμος and ethics." Here I would not only present the "highlights," as I did in the second section of this paper, but I would also show where the Hebrew text was translated without obvious changes. This serves to meet the criterion of the

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[43] Cf. Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung*, 48–50; Walter Groß, "Gen 1:26, 27; 9:6—Statue oder Ebenbild Gottes? Aufgabe und Würde des Menschen nach dem hebräischen und dem griechischen Wortlaut," *JBTH* 15 (2000): 11–38.

[44] Rösel, *Übersetzung als Vollendung der Auslegung*, 147–50; for the comparison with the Platonic *Tim*. §§ 72–87.

twofold comparative approach mentioned earlier. Moreover, it is a significant fact of Septuagint theology, because even if it is basically the same concept as in the Hebrew Bible, it sounds different in Greek and it can cause different reactions when read by those who are not familiar with the Hebrew tradition. This would also be the place to deal with semantic and linguistic definitions of several keywords such as ψυχή, νόμος, δικαιοσύνη and ἀδικία, σύνεσις, and their cognates.

Thirdly, I would also try to comment on the implicit theology of later revisions.[45] For example, if we have New Testament quotations from *kaige*-Theodotion (e.g., from Daniel) it would be necessary to determine whether or not there are specific differences between the OG and later revisions. Discerning those differences could also give us clues to where readers may have had the impression that the older translation was not a valid reproduction of the biblical text—which eventually led to further revisions.

Needless to say, in the end there should be a summary, which could open the view to the history of reception of the LXX by asking how later readers such as Jewish or Christian writers did perceive the profile or theology of the Greek Scriptures. Thus the perspectives of "amont/upstream," meaning a focus on the ideas of the translators, and "aval/downstream," meaning a focus on readers of the translations and the reception history of the translations, would finally come together.[46]

I am fully aware that these considerations are very preliminary and that a project like this cannot be accomplished quickly—perhaps not even by a single scholar. But I am confident that in the near future our knowledge about the LXX will be dramatically expanded because of the three important projects in North America, in France, and in Germany. Maybe after their completion then the time will be ripe for a "Theology of the Septuagint."

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[45] Cf. e.g., in this volume the papers of Claudia Bergmann, pp. 207–23, Beate Ego, pp. 371–78, and Siegfried Kreuzer, pp. 225–37, on the theological relevance of revisions.

[46] For a discussion of these perspectives see Helmut Utzschneider, "Auf Augenhöhe mit dem Text: Überlegungen zum wissenschaftlichen Standort einer Übersetzung der Septuaginta ins Deutsche," in *Im Brennpunkt*, 14–27, and his contribution to this collection, pp. 273–92. See also, the contribution by Wolfgang Kraus, pp. 63–83. After having submitted this paper to the editors, the following articles dealing with the question of a theology of the Septuagint came to my attention: Evangelia G. Dafni, "Theologie der Sprache der Septuaginta," *TZ* 58 (2002): 315–28; Mario Cimosa, "É possibile scrivere una 'teologia' della Bibbia Greca (LXX)?," in *Initium Sapientiae: Scritti in onore di Franco Festorazzi nel suo 70. compleanno* (ed. R. Fabris; Supplementi alla Rivista biblica 36; Bologna: EDB, 2000), 51–64. Although there are some minor differences concerning assumptions and results, which cannot be discussed here, it is interesting to realize that the topic is obviously *en vogue*.

The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text

Florian Wilk

1. Methodological Questions

The title of this article proposes the hypothesis that the letters of Paul are witnesses to the developmental history of the Septuagint text and accordingly, should be regarded as witnesses for the wording of that text in Paul's time. This can by no means be taken for granted, because recently even the basic assumption that Paul relied on a Greek version when quoting from or alluding to the Scriptures has again been called into question.[1] Admittedly, there are some problems to be solved if we intend to utilize Paul's scriptural citations and allusions as witnesses to the biblical text he used. First of all, therefore, I will discuss those methodological questions that are evoked by the title of my article.

    1.1 The most fundamental question is: On what textual material should we base investigations into text types represented by the scrolls that Paul used? Is it necessary to restrict such inquiries to his quotations from Scripture?[2] Or are we justified in evaluating his scriptural allusions as well? A decision is not easily made. On the one hand, a comprehensive account of his use of the Scriptures can by no means be given without considering his numerous allusions; after all,

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[1] That Paul relied upon a Greek version was established by Emil F. Kautzsch, *De Veteris Testamenti locis a Paulo Apostolo allegatis* (Leipzig: Metzger & Wittig, 1869). Timothy Lim has recently challenged this assumption, Timothy H. Lim, *Holy Scripture in the Qumran Commentaries and Pauline Letters* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

[2] Since we do not know to what extent Paul's addressees were able to discern his references to Scripture, the term "quotation" should only denote a scriptural citation that is marked with a quotation formula; cf. Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 9.

"the language of Scripture" turns up in almost every sentence he wrote.[3] On the other hand, it is only with explicit citations that we are on firm ground; elsewhere we cannot be sure that it was Paul's intention to present a Scripture excerpt to his readers. For the present purpose I think it appropriate to focus exclusively on quotations. If we want to show that the letters of Paul bear witness to the Septuagint text, this must first be demonstrated from his scriptural citations. It is only such a proof that will put us in a position to decide whether allusions may or should be examined, too.

2. Next we have to explore the issue of unambiguity. Is there clear evidence that Paul derived his scriptural quotations from a septuagintal text? In fact, such evidence can be found in several cases. Let me give just two examples:

a) Romans 9:29

Isa 1:9[4]	Rom 9:29 = Isa 1:9[5]
לולי יהוה צבאות	(καὶ) εἰ μὴ κύριος σαβαωθ
הותיר לנו שריד כמעט	ἐγκατέλιπεν ἡμῖν σπέρμα,
כסדם היינו	ὡς Σοδομα ἂν ἐγενήθημεν
לעמרה דמינו:	καὶ ὡς Γομορρα ἂν ὡμοιώθημεν.
If the LORD of hosts had not left us a few survivors, we would have been like Sodom, and become like Gomorrah.	If the Lord of hosts had not left seed to us, we would have fared like Sodom and been made like Gomorrah. (NRSV modified)

This citation of Isa 1:9 corresponds to the wording of the Septuagint but deviates from the Hebrew text at two points: instead of שריד, "survivor," which is mostly rendered by cognates of the verbs λείπω, "to leave," σῴζω, "to save," or φεύγω, "to flee," it has σπέρμα, "seed," thereby taking up the exceptional equivalence established in Deut 3:3.[6] Moreover it lacks a counterpart to the next expression, כמעט.[7]

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[3] The phrase "language of Scripture" comes from, Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[4] Quoted from *BHS*.

[5] Quoted from Eberhard Nestle et al., NA[27]; and Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (3d ed.; Septuaginta 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983).

[6] The omission of the initial καί is a standard feature of Paul's scriptural citations; cf. e.g., Rom 9:27; 10:11; 11:26; 15:12.

[7] This can either be interpreted as an apposition to שריד meaning "few," or as an introductory phrase to v. 9b meaning "almost."

b) Galatians 4:27

Isa 54:1   Gal 4:27 = Isa 54:1

רני עקרה לא ילדה   εὐφράνθητι, στεῖρα ἡ οὐ τίκτουσα,
פצחי רנה וצהלי   ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον
לא־חלה   ἡ οὐκ ὠδίνουσα·
כי־רבים בני־שוממה   ὅτι πολλὰ τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐρήμου
מבני בעולה   μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἐχούσης τὸν ἄνδρα
אמר יהוה: (εἶπεν γὰρ κύριος).

Sing, O barren one who did not bear;   Rejoice, you childless one, you who
burst into song and shout, you who   bear no children, burst into song and
have not been in labor! For the   shout, you who endure no birth
children of the desolate woman will   pangs; for the children of the
be more than the children of her that   desolate woman are more numerous
is married, says the LORD.   than those of the one who is married.
                                        (NRSV modified)

Here Paul has quoted Isa 54:1. Again his quotation follows the Septuagint while differing from the Hebrew text: equivalents both to the verb וצהלי, "and exult," and to the second בני, "children," are missing, and the noun בעולה, "wife," has not been translated but rather has been paraphrased by ἡ ἔχουσα τὸν ἄνδρα.[8]

Citations like these are obviously taken from the Septuagint. It is very probable, therefore, that the Greek text constitutes the source of all those quotations that are in agreement with its wording, even if they show no variation from the Hebrew.

3. The majority of Paul's scriptural citations, however, deviate from the wording of the Septuagint in one way or another. So, if we still wish to prove their usability as witnesses to the Septuagint text, we need to rule out the possibility that Paul consulted other Greek versions or did his own translations from the Hebrew. In actual fact, this is only feasible by means of analyzing each quotation separately. There is one phenomenon, though, that makes the possibility just mentioned rather implausible. Several times Paul combined or assembled two citations with one following the Septuagint and the other one showing a different reading. A good example can be found in Rom 10:15–16:

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[8] Paul consistently omitted opening and concluding formulae to his scriptural quotations; cf. e.g., Rom 9:33 (Isa 28:16); 11:27a (Isa 59:21). As for וצהלי, cf. the addition of καὶ τέρπου, "and cheer," in some LXX manuscripts and in the Theodotion version (86; Eusebius), as cited in the apparatus of the critical edition (Ziegler, *Isaias*). This addition indicates that ῥῆξον καὶ βόησον must be regarded as a translation of פצחי רנה.

Table 9. Romans 10:15–16 and its sources

Isa 52:7; 53:1	Rom 10:15–16	Isa 52:7; 53:1
	15 πῶς δὲ κηρύξωσιν ἐὰν μὴ ἀποσταλῶσιν; καθὼς γέγραπται·	(6 … πάρειμι)
מה־נאוו על־ההרים	ὡς ὡραῖοι	7 ὡς ὥρα ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων,
רגלי	οἱ πόδες	ὡς πόδες
מבשר	τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων	εὐαγγελιζομένου ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης,
משמיע שלום מבשר		ὡς εὐαγγελιζόμενος
טוב	[τὰ] ἀγαθά.	ἀγαθά …
…	16 ’Αλλ’ οὐ πάντες ὑπήκουσαν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. Ἠσαΐας γὰρ λέγει·	
מי האמין לשמעתנו	κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;	1 κύριε, τίς ἐπίστευσεν τῇ ἀκοῇ ἡμῶν;
52:7 How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of the messenger who announces peace, who brings good news, …	15 And how are they to proclaim him unless they are sent? As it is written, "How beautiful are the feet of those who bring good news!"	like season upon the mountains, like the feet of one bring glad tidings of good things
53:1 Who has believed what we have heard?	16 But not all have obeyed the good news; for Isaiah says, "Lord, who has believed what we have heard" (NRSV modified)[9]	Lord, who has believed our report?

The quotation in v. 16 was evidently taken from the Septuagint given that the opening vocative κύριε has no basis in the Hebrew text. The one in v. 15 diverges from it, however, particularly with regard to the sentence construction, which resembles the Hebrew text. It is almost unimaginable, however, that in the course of writing just two verses, Paul would have used two different versions of a single passage from Scripture. Now, if Paul had rejected the septuagintal rendering of Isa 52:7 in order to cite the verse more in agreement with the Hebrew, he would also have had to omit the surplus vocative κύριε in his quotation from Isa 53:1. Therefore, the most probable hypothesis is that both citations were derived from a septuagintal text that was available to Paul.

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[9] With Paul, ἀκοή means a message that is heard, cf. Gal 3:2, 5; 1 Thess 2:13. In Rom 10:16, therefore, ἡμῶν must be interpreted as an obj. gen., so that Isaiah is presented by Paul as speaking on behalf of Israel (cf. Rom 9:29).

As for Isa 52:7, this hypothesis is substantiated by two facts. First, the individual words in Paul's quotation are mostly the same as in the Septuagint; thus, it seems to have its origin in a revised septuagintal text rather than in a different version. Secondly, some witnesses to the Lucianic recension even present this verse in a form that comes close to the Hebrew parent and at the same time is similar to the wording of Rom 10:15.[10]

Table 10. Romans 10:15 and sources

Isa 52:7	Rom 10:15	Isa 52:7 (Lucianic MSS)
מה־נאוו על־ההרים	ὡς ὡραῖοι	ὡς ὡραῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρέων
רגלי	οἱ πόδες	(οἱ) πόδες
מבשר	τῶν εὐαγγελιζομένων	εὐαγγελιζομένου
משמיע שלום מבשר		ἀκοὴν εἰρήνης εὐαγγελιζομένου
טוב …	[τὰ] ἀγαθά.	ἀγαθά …

4. Nonetheless, as in many other cases significant differences remain. In order to determine their origin we have to clarify the principles of Paul's citation technique. The first question to be settled in this respect is, did he usually reproduce verbatim the text from which he quoted, or did he take the liberty of modifying it. Since that text is accessible to us only through his citations, a well-founded answer seems almost impossible. One peculiar feature of his method of quoting, however, brings us closer to such an answer. Now and then Paul has woven together two distinct quotes from Scripture so as to present them in only one citation. His procedure can be illustrated from Rom 11:26–27:

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[10] According to Ziegler, *Isaias*, these witnesses are the Lucianic manuscripts 22ᶜ, 62, 90–130–311, 456, as well as 86ᶜ, 403, 613, and the commentary by Theodoret.

Table 11. Romans 11:26–27 and sources

Isa 59:20–21	Rom 11:26–27	Isa 27:9
	… γέγραπται γάρ·	
καὶ ἥξει	ἥξει	
ἕνεκεν Σιων ὁ ῥυόμενος	ἐκ Σιων ὁ ῥυόμενος,	διὰ τοῦτο
καὶ ἀποστρέψει	ἀποστρέψει	ἀφαιρεθήσεται
ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ιακωβ,	ἀσεβείας ἀπὸ Ιακωβ,	ἡ ἀνομία Ιακωβ,
καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς	καὶ αὕτη αὐτοῖς	καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν
ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη,	ἡ παρ' ἐμοῦ διαθήκη,	ἡ εὐλογία αὐτου,
εἶπεν κύριος·	ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι	ὅταν ἀφέλωμαι
	τὰς ἁμαρτίας αὐτῶν.	αὐτοῦ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν,
τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐμόν … καὶ		ὅταν θῶσιν πάντας τοὺς
τὰ ῥήματα, ἃ ἔδωκα …,		λίθους τῶν βωμῶν
οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπη ἐκ τοῦ		κατακεκομμένους ὡς
στόματός σου …		κονίαν λεπτήν· …
	… as it is written, "Out	
	of Zion will come the	
and the one who	Deliverer; he will	
delivers will come for	banish ungodliness from	Because of this the
Sion's sake, and he will	Jacob; and this is my	transgression of Iakob
turn ungodliness away	covenant with them, that	will be removed. And
from Iakob and this is	I will have taken away	this is his blessing,
the covenant to them	then their sins." (NRSV	when I remove his sin,
from me, said the Lord	modified)	when they make all the
		stones of the altars
my spirit ... and my		broken pieces like fine
words that I have put ...,		dust....
shall not fail out of your		
mouth....		

In Isa 59, v. 21 defines God's covenant as the promise that the spirit and words of God would stay with Israel forever. In Paul's quotation, this definition has been replaced by a sentence taken from Isa 27:9 that defines Israel's eschatological blessing as the forgiveness of its sin. The effect is that the quotation as a whole focuses on God's bestowing a merciful covenant upon the people of Israel.[11] In this way it exactly matches the preceding prophecy of Rom 11:26 that "all Israel will be saved." In all probability therefore the conflation of the

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[11] Cf. J. Ross Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News: Isaiah and Paul 'In Concert' in the Letter to the Romans* (NovTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 294: "… by replacing the last half of Isa 59:21, Paul keeps the focus on the *fact* of Israel's redemption rather than pausing to consider its *effects*."

Isaianic oracles originated with Paul.[12] From this we can safely conclude that he had no inhibitions about altering the wording of his quotations.

   5. Given the thematic and structural similarity between those two passages from Isaiah, however, it is conceivable that the substitution of clauses goes back simply to a slip of memory. Thus, we have to ask a further question about Paul's citation technique: can we be sure about his intentional adaptation of scriptural quotations to his own arguments? Or should we rather presume a Pauline practice of rendering passages from Scripture freely? The latter presumption, though, seems to be without foundation in the letters of Paul. First, there is no doubt that he was capable of reproducing a given text word for word even if it was quite long; the citations in Rom 9:29 and in Gal 4:27 already mentioned suffice as evidence. Secondly, virtually every change to the wording of his quotations can be explained by his respective purposes in quoting from Scripture. This is clear, for instance, in Rom 10:11:

   Table 12. Romans 10:11–13 and sources

Rom 10:11–13	Isa 28:16
λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή·	... ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων λίθον
πᾶς	...,
ὁ πιστεύων	καὶ ὁ πιστεύων
ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται.	ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ.
οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολὴ Ἰουδαίου τε	
καὶ Ἕλληνος, ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς κύριος	
πάντων, πλουτῶν εἰς πάντας τοὺς	
ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτόν·	
πᾶς γὰρ ὃς ἂν ἐπικαλέσηται τὸ ὄνομα	
κυρίου σωθήσεται.	
	... I will lay for the foundations of
The scripture says,	Sion a ... stone
'No one	...,
who believes	and the one who believes in him will
in him will be put to shame.'	not be put to shame.

By inserting πᾶς, "everyone," at the beginning of the citation and by altering the mood of the concluding verb, Paul suited his quotation to the prophecy that is taken verbatim from Joel 2:32 (MT 3:5) in v. 13: "For, 'every one who calls upon the name of the Lord will be saved.'" He also underlined the universal scope of salvation in Christ asserted in v. 12: "For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek; the same Lord is Lord of all and bestows his riches upon all who call upon him."

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[12] *Contra* Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*, 169–70, who attributes it to a pre-Pauline Jewish tradition.

Another more complicated example is the quotation in Rom 14:11:

Table 13. Romans 14:9–11 and sources

Rom 14:9–11	Isa 45:23
εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ Χριστὸς ἀπέθανεν καὶ ἔζησεν, ἵνα καὶ νεκρῶν καὶ ζώντων κυριεύσῃ. Σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου; ... πάντες γὰρ παραστησόμεθα τῷ βήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, [11] γέγραπται γάρ·	κατ' ἐμαυτοῦ ὀμνύω Ἦ μὴν ἐξελεύσεται ἐκ τοῦ στόματός μου δικαιοσύνη, οἱ λόγοι μου οὐκ ἀποστραφήσονται

ζῶ ἐγώ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι	ὅτι
ἐμοὶ	ἐμοὶ
κάμψει	κάμψει
πᾶν γόνυ καὶ	πᾶν γόνυ καὶ
πᾶσα γλῶσσα	ἐξομολογήσεται
ἐξομολογήσεται	πᾶσα γλῶσσα
τῷ θεῷ.	τῷ θεῷ.

for it is written, 'As I live, says the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall give praise to God.'	because to me every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess to God

Paul has not only reversed the position of words in the second half of the sentence but also replaced the elongated introduction to God's oath in Isa 45 by a shorter and more common formula.[13] Both modifications intend to align the quotation with Paul's train of thought. By changing the word order, on the one hand, he gave the parallelism a chiastic structure emphasizing the twice repeated πᾶς, and thereby linked the citation to his own comment at the end of v. 10: "For we shall all stand before the judgment seat of God." On the other hand, the formula chosen created a double connection with v. 9: "For to this end Christ died and lived again, that he might be Lord both of the dead and of the living." There the verbs ζάω and κυριεύω are used with Χριστός as subject. Therefore, the risen Christ becomes the speaker of the Isaianic oracle quoted in v. 11.[14]

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[13] This formula appears in Num 14:28 and several times within prophetic books of the LXX. Since it is connected with divergent actions of God, it carries no definite intention in itself. It is therefore not possible to determine a single reference in Scripture as Paul's source (*contra* Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* [BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986], 184–85, who traces the formula back to Isa 49:18).

[14] Cf. Ulrich Wilckens, *Der Brief an die Römer: Röm 12–16* (EKKNT 6.3; Zürich: Benziger, 1982), 85.

Similar observations can be made on Paul's other quotations. Accordingly, deviations from the septuagintal text should be attributed to him only if they match his intention in quoting from the Scriptures.

6. A final question needs to be answered. My reasoning up until now has been based on the assumption that Paul took his citations from whole Septuagint texts. In this matter it makes no difference whether he used written texts or recalled the material from memory. If he resorted to a Jewish or early Christian anthology of excerpted Scripture passages, however, his quotations would only attest a secondhand text and could then not be utilized as witnesses to the Septuagint text. The use of such an anthology on Paul's part, however, seems unlikely for the following reason: the context around nearly every citation includes phrases and statements that are reminiscent of the contexts to which the passages originally belong. The catena of quotations in Rom 15:9–12 is a good illustration of this:[15]

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[15] In the following table for reasons of space, I have left out the quotations themselves from the Romans passage and have only marked them (printed in bold) in the columns showing their respective contexts in the Scriptures.

Table 14. Romans 15:7–14 and sources

Ps 17:47–51	Deut 32:43	Rom 15:7–14	Ps 116	Isa 11:9–12:2
47 ... ὑψωθήτω <u>ὁ θεὸς τῆς σωτηρίας μου</u>, 48 ὁ θεὸς ὁ ...ὑποτάξας λαοὺς ὑπ' ἐμέ, 49 ὁ ῥύστης μου ... **50 διὰ τοῦτο ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι ἐν ἔθνεσιν,** κύριε, **καὶ τῷ ὀνόματί σου ψαλῶ,** 51 μεγαλύνων <u>τὰς σωτηρίας τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ</u> καὶ *ποιῶν <u>ἔλεος</u>* <u>*τῷ χρισ<u>τῷ</u> αὐ<u>τοῦ</u>*</u> τῷ Δαυιδ καὶ τῷ σπέρματι αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος.	εὐφράνθητε, οὐρανοί, ἅμα αὐτῷ, καὶ προσκυνη-σάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες υἱοὶ θεοῦ· εὐφράνθητε, **ἔθνη, μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ,** καὶ ἐνισχυ-σάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ· ὅτι τὸ αἷμα τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκδικᾶται, ... καὶ ἐκκαθαριεῖ κύριος τὴν γῆν τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ.	7 διὸ προσλαμβάνεσθε ἀλλήλους, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς προσελάβετο ὑμᾶς εἰς δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 8 λέγω γὰρ Χριστὸν διάκονον γεγενῆσθαι περιτομῆς ὑπὲρ *<u>ἀληθείας</u> θεοῦ,* εἰς τὸ βεβαιῶσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν πατέρων, 9 τὰ δὲ *ἔθνη* ὑπὲρ *<u>ἐλέους</u>* *δοξάσαι* τὸν θεόν, <u>καθὼς</u> <u>γέγραπται· ...</u> 13 ὁ δὲ θεὸς τῆς ἐλπίδος πληρῶσαι ὑμᾶς πάσης χαρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ... 14 πέπεισμαι ... ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ μεστοί ἐστε *ἀγαθωσύνης*, πεπληρωμένοι πάσης [τῆς] *γνώσεως*, ...	Ἀλληλουια. **αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, ἐπαινεσάτωσαν αὐτόν, πάντες οἱ λαοί,** 2 ὅτι ἐκραταιώθη <u>τὸ ἔλεος αὐ<u>του</u></u> ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ *<u>ἡ ἀλήθεια</u>* <u>*τοῦ κυρίου*</u> μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.	9 καὶ *οὐ μὴ* <u>*κακοποιήσωσιν*</u> ... ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ... μου, ὅτι *<u>ἐνεπλήσθη ἡ</u>* *σύμπασα <u>τοῦ</u>* *<u>γνῶναι</u> τὸν* *κύριον ὡς ὕδωρ πολύ* *κατακαλύψαι θαλάσσας.* 10 καὶ **ἔσται** ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνη **ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ Ιεσσαι καὶ ὁ ἀνιστάμενος ἄρχειν ἐθνῶν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔθνη ἐλπιοῦσιν,** καὶ *ἔσται ἡ ἀνάπαυσις αὐτοῦ <u>τιμή</u>.* 11 ... 12 καὶ ἀρεῖ σημεῖον εἰς <u>τὰ</u> <u>ἔθνη</u> καὶ συνάξει τοὺς ἀπολομένους <u>Ισραηλ</u> ... 13 ... Εφραιμ οὐ ζηλώσει Ιουδαν καὶ Ιουδας οὐ θλίψει Εφραιμ. 14–16 ... 1 ... *ἠλέησάς με.* 2 ... *διότι ἡ δόξα μου ...* *κύριος ...*

There are numerous connections among those four passages from which the quotes in Romans were taken, but these connections could also be explained by recourse to the theory of a pre-Pauline collection of quotations. In addition to the

links among the citations, however, the preceding and following verses in Rom 15 show verbal links to the scriptural passages in question. Most important is the congruence between vv. 8–9 and Ps 116(117):2 ("For his mercy on us has gained strength, and the faithfulness of the Lord endures for ever") through the combination of ἀλήθεια and ἔλεος.[16] The latter word is mentioned in Ps 17(18):51 ("who increases the saving acts of his king and shows mercy through his anointed, David, and his offspring for ever"), too, and there it is defined as God's mercy that is put into effect by God's Messiah.[17] Furthermore, Paul's appeal to the Gentiles to praise God in v. 9a points back to Isa 12:1–2 ("… you had mercy on me. 2 … for my glory … is the Lord") and perhaps also to the last clause in Isa 11:10 ("and his rest will be glory").[18] Paul's statement in v. 14 ("I am satisfied … that you yourselves are full of goodness, filled with all knowledge …"), again, seems to pick up the prophecy of Isa 11:9 ("They will do no evil … on my holy mountain; for the whole [world] will be full of the knowledge of the Lord as much water [that is made] to cover the seas."). Many thematic links can easily be noted as well. Paul's call for mutual acceptance in v. 7 ("Welcome one another, therefore, as Christ has welcomed you, for the glory of God."), for instance, recalls the prediction of peace between Ephraim and Judah in Isa 11:13; the link between human's and Christ's conduct in that same verse resembles the connection between human and heavenly joy in Deut 32:43; etc. From such a bulk of evidence we can confidently infer that Paul was well acquainted with the original contexts of his quotations, and this strongly suggests that their source lies in complete Septuagint books.

2. Citations in Letters of Paul

We have now cleared the ground for analyzing the citations that Paul uses from the Scriptures as witnesses to the Septuagint text. By means of ascertaining the function of a given quotation in its Pauline context it is possible to identify those variations that underline its relevance for his argument and should consequently

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[16] Cf. Allan M. Harmon, "Paul's Use of the Psalms" (Th.D. diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1968), 121. As is indicated by Rom 15:8b, Paul took ἀλήθεια to mean God's faithfulness to Israel.

[17] With the phrase ποιεῖν ἔλεος, at least in Paul's view, τῷ χριστῷ should be read as an instrumental dative (cf. as an analogy Rom 11:30b: νῦν δὲ ἠλεήθητε τῇ τούτων ἀπειθείᾳ) meaning Christ as David's offspring.

[18] According to Eusebius and Procopius, both Aquila and Symmachus translated כבוד in Isa 11:10 as δόξα. In fact, this is the regular equivalent of the Hebrew word in the Septuagint version of Isaiah. It may well be, therefore, that Paul referred to a septuagintal text of Isa 11 that had been corrected after the Hebrew (see §2, below). The verbal link with Rom 15:9 would then be apparent.

be attributed to his editorial work. In this way we can reconstruct the text of the manuscripts that he used with a good level of confidence. The wording obtained may then serve as a witness for a particular form of the Septuagint text in Paul's time. However, when we compile individual findings and try to determine the text types represented by Paul's quotations, we need to proceed with caution. First, of course, this can only be done separately for each and every book he used. Moreover, we must also reckon on Paul using different scrolls at various times and in various places.

It goes without saying that it would be beyond the scope of this article to deal with every Pauline quotation. Therefore, I shall briefly present the results of research that has been done on those from the book of Isaiah.[19]

1. In twenty-one quotations Paul integrated twenty Isaianic quotes into his letters; fifteen appear in Romans, three in 1 Corinthians, one in 2 Corinthians, and one in Galatians. In three places the Pauline citation shows a text that deviates considerably from the Septuagint tradition: in Rom 9:33 (Isa 8:14: "a stone that will make men stumble and a rock that will make them fall"), as well as in 1 Cor 14:21 (Isa 28:11–12) and 15:54 (Isa 25:8). Each time, the Greek version seems to have been reworked in order to align it with the Hebrew text. Each time, again, this version concurs more or less with one of the translations done by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.[20] In regard to Isa 8:14 there is also agreement with its quotation in 1 Pet 2:8.[21] Almost the same applies to the quotation from Isa 52:7 in Rom 10:15 already mentioned, with the exception that even a few Septuagint manuscripts are close to what Paul seems to have had at hand. In these four cases, then, his letters apparently bear witness to a septuagintal text that has been extensively revised towards the Hebrew.[22]

I hasten to add that the Hebrew *Vorlage* must not simply be identified with the MT. First, the revision might have presupposed a different vocalization. This

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[19] Cf. David R. Denny, "The Significance of Isaiah in the Writings of Paul." (ThD diss., New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, 1985); Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*; Douglas A. Oss, "Paul's Use of Isaiah and Its Place in His Theology with Special Reference to Romans 9–11." (PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1992); Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture*; Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*; Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*; Shiu-Lun Shum, *Paul's Use of Isaiah in Romans: A Comparative Study of Paul's Letter to the Romans and the Sibylline and Qumran Sectarian Texts* (WUNT 156; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002).

[20] 1 Cor 15:54 concurs exactly with Theodotion's version of Isa 25:8 (according to the Codex Marchalianus [Q]). Rom 9:33 concurs roughly with Symmachus's version of Isa 8:14 (according to Eusebius). As to 1 Cor 14:21, Origen comments on his quotation in *Philocalia* 9.2: Εὗρον γὰρ τὰ ἰσοδυναμοῦντα τῇ λέξει ταύτῃ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀκύλου ἑρμενείᾳ κείμενα (cf. Ziegler, *Isaias*).

[21] Cf. Jobes's discussion of this quote, pp. 323–24.

[22] Cf. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 20–30, 41–42.

is obviously the case with Paul's quotation in 1 Cor 15:54 from Isa 25:8 in which the verb בלע had been read as a *puꜤal* form, as also happened in the Theodotion and Peshitta versions.[23]

Table 15. 1 Corinthians 15:54 and sources

Isa 25:8(7)		Theodotion [Q]	1 Cor 15:54	Isa 25:8
			…τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος·	
בלע		κατεπόθη	κατεπόθη	κατέπιεν
המות		ὁ θάνατος	ὁ θάνατος	ὁ θάνατος
לנצח		εἰς νῖκος …	εἰς νῖκος.	ἰσχύσας …
he will swallow up death forever			… then shall come to pass the saying that is written: 'Death is swallowed up in victory.'	Death, having prevailed, swallowed them up....

Secondly, a revision could even have been carried out on the basis of a text with different consonants. This is probably the best way to account for Paul's citation from Isa 28:11–12 in 1 Cor 14:21.

Table 16. 1 Corinthians 14:21 and sources

Isa 28:11–12		1 Cor 14:21	Isa 28:11–12
		ἐν τῷ νόμῳ γέγραπται ὅτι	
כי			
בלעני שפה		ἐν ἑτερογλώσσοις	διὰ Φαυλισμὸν χειλέων
ובלשון אחרת		καὶ Ἐν χείλεσιν ἑτέρων	διὰ Γλώσσης ἑτέρας,
ידבר אל־העם הזה:		λαλήσω τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ	ὅτι λαλήσουσιν τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ
אשר אמר אליהם			λέγοντες αὐτῷ
זאת המנוחה הניחו			Τοῦτο τὸ Ἀνάπαυμα τῷ πεινῶντι
לעיף וזאת המרגעה			καὶ Τοῦτο τὸ Σύντριμμα,
ולא אבוא		καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως	καὶ Οὐκ ἠθέλησαν
שמוע:		εἰσακούσονταί μου, λέγει κύριος.	ἀκούειν.

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[23] Cf. *BHS*.

Truly, with stammering lip and with alien tongue he will speak to this people, to whom he has said, "This is rest; give rest to the weary; and this is repose"; yet they would not hear.	In the law it is written, 'By men of strange tongues and by the lips of foreigners will I speak to this people, and even then they will not listen to me, says the Lord.'	... because of contempt from lips, through a different tongue; Because they will speak to this people, saying to them, "This is the rest for the hungry, and this is the destruction"; yet they would not hear.

As one can see, the version of Isa 28:11 given in 1 Cor 14:21 sticks much closer to the Hebrew than that of the Septuagint.[24] The inference, however, that Paul quoted from a revised edition of the Septuagint seems to be flawed by his rendering of Isa 28:12b; in fact, the Septuagint translation of this sentence could scarcely have been more accurate. If we delete the final letter from the word אבוא in accordance with many Hebrew manuscripts, however, the possibility arises that the writer of the text from which Paul took the quote read or interpreted ולא אבו שמוע, "and they would not hear," as ולא כן שמעו, "and even this way they do not hear," skipping one א, replacing בו by כן, and changing וע to עו.[25] This quotation would then be evidence of the variability of the Hebrew text in Paul's time.

2. In addition to those four citations discussed above, there are five others that testify to an effort to bring the original Greek wording nearer to the Hebrew at certain points while stopping short of great alterations. All of them are found in Rom 9–11: in Isa 27:9 (Rom 11:27) and 65:1 (Rom 10:20) the word order has been rearranged; and in Isa 10:22–23 (Rom 9:27–28), 28:16 (Rom 9:33), and 59:20–21 (Rom 11:26–27) individual words have been replaced. With the exception of the latter reference, all modifications also occur in Hexaplaric manuscripts or, as for Isa 28:16, in its quotation in 1 Pet 2:6.[26] It seems reasonable to infer that Paul, while making preparations for his treatise on "The gospel and Israel," had access to a septuagintal text that was sprinkled with such minor corrections toward the Hebrew.[27]

3. Of the remaining eleven quotations scattered over Romans, 1 Corinthians, 2 Corinthians, and Galatians each shows a wording that is well

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[24] Paul only changed the third person of the verb into the first, and with that modification and the addition of λέγει κύριος at the end of Isa 28:12, he made clear who the speaker of Isa 28:11 was. He also deleted v. 12a, which would have been out of place in his argument in 1 Cor 14:20–25.

[25] As for the word אבוא, cf. *BHS.*

[26] Cf. Jobes in this volume, pp. 319–22.

[27] For details, see ibid., 31–42.

attested in the Septuagint tradition. Interestingly enough, at least six of them contain rather significant deviations from the Hebrew.[28]

4. The alternatives arising from these data are as follows: either Paul's citations originated from at least three different versions of the Septuagint, or its revision toward the Hebrew had not been carried out consistently. A decision is hard to make, all the more because a reflection on the question of documentation does not help. Often the textual basis of Paul's citations is unanimously testified by most Septuagint manuscripts.[29] It is true that when the manuscript from which he quotes follows a distinct strand of the textual tradition, it agrees with Alexandrian witnesses.[30] But this goes merely for four out of twenty Isaianic quotes, and in one case the wording of Paul's citation at the same time diverges from those witnesses in another respect.[31] Moreover, two Pauline quotations show minor deviations from Codex Alexandrinus.[32] In addition, if we group them all according to the manuscripts that attest to their respective wordings, the groups emerging are not in agreement with the three groups that have been formed in comparison with the Hebrew.

We must be content, therefore, to differentiate the Isaianic words cited in Rom 9–11 that indicate a guarded revision of the Septuagint towards the Hebrew, from Paul's remaining divergent quotations. It may well be that both alternatives named above hold true.

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[28] Cf. Rom 2:24 (Isa 52:5); 10:16 (53:1); 14:11 (45:23); 15:12 (11:10); 15:21 (52:15); 1 Cor 1:19 (29:14). Deviations from the MT are also to be found in Rom 9:29 (Isa 1:9); 10:21 (65:2); Gal 4:27 (54:1); in these cases, however, the LXX text that is quoted may correspond to the original Hebrew wording. Only the citations in Rom 11:8 (Isa 29:10) and 2 Cor 6:2 (49:8) are in obvious accordance with the Hebrew parent.

[29] Cf. Isa 29:10 (Rom 11:8); 29:14 (1 Cor 1:19); 49:8 (2 Cor 6:2); 52:5 (Rom 2:24 [although ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι, "among the Gentiles," falls under the obelus in B–Q et al. and is omitted in V]); 52:15 (Rom 15:21); 53:1 (Rom 10:16); 54:1 (Gal 4:27); 65:2 (Rom 10:21 [although καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, "and contrary," falls under the obelus in B–Q et al.]). The same applies—as far as Paul's copy of Isaiah concurs with the textual tradition of the Septuagint—to most of those quotations that testify to a revision of the Greek text toward the Hebrew: cf. Isa 8:14 (Rom 9:33); 25:8 (1 Cor 15:54); 27:9 (Rom 11:27); 28:11–12 (1 Cor 14:21); 52:7 (Rom 10:15); 59:20–21 (Rom 11:26–27).

[30] Emphasized by Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 48–50; and Wagner, *Heralds of the Good News*, 24 n. 86; cf. Ziegler's comment on the Alexandrian text in his edition (*Isaias*, 21–36).

[31] Agreeing with Alexandrian witnesses: Rom 9:27–28 (Isa 10:22–23: skipping αὐτῶν after κατά-/ὑπόλειμμα with A–Q et al.); 9:33; 10:11 (Isa 28:16: reading ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ with S A–Q et al.); 14:11 (Isa 45:23: reading ἐξομολογήσεται … τῷ θεῳ with A–Q et al.); 10:20 (Isa 65:1: reading ἐγενόμην with A et al.). Diverging from the Alexandrian witnesses: Rom 9:27–28 (Isa 10:22–23: reading κύριος instead of ὁ θεός with B–V et al.).

[32] Rom 9:29 (Isa 1:9: A–Q* read ὁμοιώθημεν); 15:12 (Isa 11:10: A reads ἔθνῳ).

5. Just to sum up:

a) A close analysis of Paul's citation technique backs up the hypothesis put forward in the title of this article: since his quotations were taken from the Septuagint they are indeed important witnesses for the form of its text in the first century C.E.

b) Their respective wordings may, however, be utilized as witnessing to the Septuagint tradition only after determining Paul's alterations to the texts upon which he depends for his quotes.

c) Paul's quotations from Isaiah show a certain, though not consistent, tendency towards the Alexandrian text type, and they testify to an ongoing process of scribal work on the Septuagint that was intended to align it with the Hebrew text.

3. Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to make the following points:

1. An analysis of the other quotations from Scripture contained in Paul's letters will, as far as I can see, lead to similar conclusions. At any rate, some citations from the Pentateuch correspond to the text given in the Codex Alexandrinus. Compare, e.g., those from Gen 21:10 in Gal 4:30 ("But what does the scripture say? 'Cast out the slave and her son; for the son of the slave shall not inherit with the son of the free woman'"), and from Exod 9:16 in Rom 9:17 ("For the scripture says to Pharaoh, 'I have raised you up for the very purpose of showing my power in you, so that my name may be proclaimed in all the earth'").[33] Some citations, again, attest to a revision of the Septuagint Greek on the basis of the Hebrew. Examples of that are to be found in 1 Cor 3:19 (quoting Job 5:12–13), Rom 11:4 (quoting 3 Kgdms 19:18), and 12:19 (quoting Deut 32:35).[34]

2. The results obtained by analyzing Paul's scriptural quotations call for corresponding investigations into his allusions. After all, he had a thorough

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[33] Reading μή after οὐ γάρ and skipping ταύτης after παιδίσκης in Gen 21:10; reading δύναμιν in Exod 9:16. Cf. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 53.

[34] On 1 Cor 3:19, cf. Berndt Schaller, "Zum Textcharakter der Hiobzitate im paulinischen Schrifttum," *ZNW* 71 (1980): 21–26 = "Zum Textcharakter der Hiobzitate im paulinischen Schrifttum," in *Fundamenta Judaica: Studien zum antiken Judentum und zum Neuen Testament* (ed. L. Doering and A. Steudel; SUNT 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001). On Rom 11:4 cf. Christopher D. Stanley, "The Significance of Romans 11:3–4 for the Text History of the LXX Book of Kingdoms," *JBL* 112 (1993): 43–54; Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 73–77. As for Romans 12:19, Paul's quotation from Deut 32:35 shows exactly the same wording as that in Heb 10:30; cf. Martin Karrer's contribution to this volume, pp. 335–53.

knowledge of the Scriptures and modified the wording of a given reference only in order to adapt it to his argument. One difficulty remains, though. With regard to allusions, such a process of adaptation might have also included a rewording in order to adjust a given phrase to Paul's use of language. For example, in the probable allusion to Isa 56:1 in Rom 13:11, we cannot tell whether the noun ἡ σωτηρία and the adjective ἐγγύς—both common words in Paul's writings— were first worked into the quote by Paul or were already included in the text from which he cites.[35]

Table 17. Romans 13:11 and sources

Isa 56:1	Symmachus [86]	Rom 13:11	Isa 56:1
		Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρόν, ὅτι ὥρα	
כה אמר יהוה			Τάδε λέγει κύριος
שמרו משפט		ἤδη ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὕπνου	φυλάσσεσθε κρίσιν
ועשו צדקה		ἐγερθῆναι, νῦν	ποιήσατε δικαιοσύνην·
כי־קרובה ישועתי לבוא ...:	ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἡ σωτηρία τοῦ ἐλθεῖν	γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν.	ἤγγισεν γὰρ τὸ σωτήριόν μου παραγίνεσθαι ….
Thus says the LORD: Maintain justice, and do what is right, for soon my salvation will come,		Besides this you know what hour it is, how it is full time now for you to wake from sleep. For salvation is nearer to us now than when we first believed.	This is what the Lord says: Keep judgment, do righteousness, for my salvation has drawn near to arrive....

Therefore, allusions cannot be used as evidence of a particular wording of a scripture reference. Apart from that, however, they too can shed light on the developmental history of the Septuagint text.

This applies, above all, to the immediate context of a scriptural citation. Let me give just one example. In Rom 2:24, the quotation from Isa 52:5 is used as

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[35] On this allusion, see Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, 329–30.

an answer to the question asked in Rom 2:23: "Do you, while priding yourself on the law, dishonor God by transgressing the law?"[36]

Table 18. Romans 2:23–24 and sources

Isa 52:5	Aquila/ Symmachus [86]	Rom 2:23–24	Isa 52:5
וְעַתָּה מִי־לִי־פֹה			καὶ νῦν τί ὧδέ ἐστε;
נְאֻם־יְהוָה כִּי־לֻקַּח עַמִּי חִנָּם		ὃς ἐν νόμῳ καυχᾶσαι, διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως	τάδε λέγει κύριος. ὅτι ἐλήμφθη ὁ λαός μου δωρεάν,
מֹשְׁלוֹ	οἱ ἐξουσιάζοντες αὐτοῦ	τοῦ νόμου	θαυμάζετε
יְהֵילִילוּ נְאֻם־יְהוָה	παρανομοῦσιν	τὸν θεὸν ἀτιμάζεις· τὸ γὰρ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ	καὶ ὀλολύζετε· τάδε λέγει κύριος.
		δι' ὑμᾶς	δι' ὑμᾶς διὰ παντὸς τὸ ὄνομά μου
וְתָמִיד כָּל־הַיּוֹם שְׁמִי מִנֹּאָץ:		βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καθὼς γέγραπται.	βλασφημεῖται ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.
Now therefore what am I doing here, says the LORD, seeing that my people are taken away without cause? Their rulers howl, says the LORD, and continually, all day long, my name is despised.		You that boast in the law, do you dishonor God by breaking the law? For, as it is written, 'The name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of you.'	And now, why are you here? This is what the Lord says, Because my people were taken for nothing, you marvel and howl. This is what the Lord says, Because of you my name is continually blasphemed among the nations.

In the Septuagint version of Isa 52, however, the word νόμος does not occur at all. But if we compare other versions as well as the Hebrew parent text, it

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[36] The modifications of the Septuagint text of Isa 52:5b and the chiastic word order in Rom 2:23–24 serve to stress this interrelation.

becomes plausible that in Paul's scroll, the statement preceding the sentence quoted by him had roughly the same wording as that used by Aquila and Symmachus who both wrote about those with authority in Israel transgressing the law. Accordingly, Rom 2:23 again bears witness to a septuagintal text that had been reworked on the basis of the Hebrew.

Thus, the Pauline allusions to passages of Scripture should not be disregarded when examining his letters as witnesses to and for the Septuagint text.

Flourishing Bones –
The Minor Prophets in the New Testament
Helmut Utzschneider

At the beginning of the second century B.C.E., Ben Sira in his "Praise of the Fathers" (Sir 44ff.) writes about the Twelve, "May the bones of the Twelve Prophets flourish again from where they lie, for they comforted the people of Jacob and delivered them with confident hope" (Sir 49:10 NRSV revised).[1] This remarkable obituary can be seen as a literary birth certificate as well. The questions addressed in this essay are in line with Sirach's vision: In what manner do the bones of the Twelve flourish in the New Testament? How do New Testament writers and readers perceive the Minor Prophets and their writings? Which Septuagint did New Testament writers and readers use when they cited and read the Minor Prophets in Greek?

Sirach's praise of the twelve Minor Prophets is often understood as a first witness to the literary and theological unity of those relatively short books. In wishing them a long and fruitful history of reception and reading, the speaker testifies that these twelve books could be read as one volume.[2] This testimony goes together with the common and relatively safe assumption that ascribes the Book of the Twelve in the Septuagint to *one* translator, most likely an Egyptian contemporary of the elder Sirach.[3] The existence of a Book of the Twelve is proved beyond any doubt by the seven Hebrew "Minor Prophets Scrolls," found in Cave 4 of Qumran, as well as by the Greek Minor Prophet Scroll of the first century B.C.E. from Naḥal Ḥever.[4] If Hartmut Stegemann is right with his

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[1] Translated passages from the Bible are taken from e-NRSV.

[2] See Aaron Schart, *Die Entstehung des Zwölfprophetenbuchs: Neubearbeitungen von Amos im Rahmen schriftenübergreifender Redaktionsprozesse* (BZAW 260; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 3ff.

[3] Cf. Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* (2d ed.; Septuaginta 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 120; Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (2d ed.; Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 108ff.

[4] Russell E. Fuller, "4QXII[a–g]," in *Qumran Cave 4: The Prophets* (ed. E. C. Ulrich, DJD 15; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 221–318. Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and P. J.

classification of the library of Qumran, these scrolls were intended for common use and study in the Essene community.[5] So the Book of the Twelve did have readers.

On the other hand, some material of the library of Qumran gives rise to doubt as to whether the Twelve were really always read as *one* or as a *uniform* book. The fact that both the Hebrew and the Greek Bible as well as the manuscripts of Qumran each includes the individual writings of the Twelve in different order suggests that there once existed several diverging editions of the book. Besides, the numerous prophet commentaries of Qumran (1Q14 [pMic]; 1QpHab; 1Q15 [pZeph]; 4Q166–167 [pHos[a–b]]; 4Q168 [pMic?]; 4Q169 [pNah]; 4Q170 [pZeph]; 5Q10 [apocrMal]) do not refer to "The Twelve" as a whole. In short, the flourishing of the Twelve, once invoked by Sirach, presumably is not to be understood as the success of *one* best-seller volume, but as a much more complex process of perception, transmission, and reception. We now turn to the part that was played by the New Testament in this process.

1. The New Testament Citations from the Book of the Minor Prophets: A Survey

We owe our knowledge of the way that the New Testament writers read the Minor Prophets directly and almost exclusively to the portions of the New Testament defined as "citations," which constitute our basic source material for research. Although the term "citation" is associated with a number of literary problems that I cannot dwell on in detail, I would like to name and discuss here briefly the most important indicators and evidences in verifying a citation.[6] The minimal condition is that the wording clearly enough corresponds, linguistically speaking, upon the "surface" of the two "intertexts"—the text quoted from the Minor Prophets as source text ("pre-text"), and the quoting New Testament text. Consequently both intertexts should be identifiable and available in written form as coherent text segments, especially the respective original text from the Minor

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Parsons, eds., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr)* (DJD 8; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[5] Hartmut Stegemann, *Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus: Ein Sachbuch* (Herder/Spektrum; Freiburg: Herder, 1993), 117.

[6] Cf. the comprehensive presentation of the problem of defining a citation, in connection with a literary theory of intertextuality, in Gérard Genette, *Palimpseste: Die Literatur auf zweiter Stufe* (trans. W. Bayer and D. Hornig; Aesthetica 683; Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1993), 9ff.; "Zitat," *Metzler Literatur Lexikon*, 511. For the Old Testament citations in the New Testament, cf. Dietrich-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums: Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus* (BHT 69; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1986), 11: "zur Abgrenzung von Zitat, Paraphrase, Anspielung und Verwendung biblischer Sprache …."

Prophets, but also the receiving text. Another indicator verifying a citation is the use of quoting formulas that are found both in the New Testament and in Qumran literature.[7] However, these three criteria (identical wording, availability of original text and receiving text, and quoting formula) are not always clearly given. How many words do we need and in what word order should they appear to verify a quotation with certainty? Which of the known old manuscripts or modern critical editions of the Greek or the Hebrew Bible is closest to the one that served as the source of the pre-text? Must, or can, we really count on having *written* Bible texts as sources, or do other written sources such as florilegia also qualify, or non-written sources like the authors' memory, which was full of information from personal study or synagogue reading of the prophets, or both? Modifications may have been made in the receiving text. The quoting formula, if there is one, rarely gives any evidence of the origin of the citation (cf. §3.1.). And finally, we must remember that the word "cite" comes from the Latin *citare*, which means "to call on, to summon." Calling on a text does not mean calling on a clearly demarcated (by quotation marks) group of words only, it also allows the contexts of the pre-text to come into play, perhaps even the wider ambience of text and ideas.

These problems are decisive factors in the selection of those New Testament texts that can be assumed to contain citations from the Minor Prophets. The proper procedure would be to analyze in what way each New Testament "citem" fulfills or does not fulfill the criteria.[8] Such analyses would soon go beyond the scope of this paper, and so I will follow the selection of citations suggested in the synopsis of G. L. Archer and G. Chirichigno, with small variations.[9] The result is a set of twenty-three citations from the Minor Prophets in the New Testament.

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[7] Concerning introductions to citations, cf. J. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit OT Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the NT," *NTS* 7 (1961): 297–333.

[8] For the term "citem," see: Arnold Goldberg, "Zitat und Citem: Vorschläge für die deskriptive Terminologie der Formanalyse Rabbinischer Texte," in *Rabbinische Texte als Gegenstand der Auslegung: Gesammelte Studien II* (ed. A. Goldberg, M. Schlüter, and P. Schäfer; TSAJ 73; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 96–97.

[9] Gleason L. Archer and Gregory Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1983); similar sets are also named in the register of NA[27] (cf. the twenty-one introduced citations marked with an asterisk (*) in contrast to about eighty allusions) and the tool "OT in NT" in *Accordance*, Accordance Version 4.5. 2000 with twenty-three citations. The question about the reception of the Minor Prophets in the Q source poses itself with regard to the citations, Jonah 2:1 in Matt 12:39, 16:4, and Luke 11:29–30, as well as LXX Mic 7:6 in Matt 10:35–36 and Luke 12:52. We refer to the text-forms suggested in James M. Robinson, Paul Hoffmann, and John S. Kloppenborg, eds., *The Critical Edition of Q Synopsis Including the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mark and*

This set of intertexts, together with intertexts of the Qumran Scrolls and of the "Apostolic Fathers," is presented in Table 19, first column. In columns two and three of the table the extent of literal agreement between the intertexts is indicated by numbers: the number in the second column indicates the number of identical words of the reconstructed "Old Greek" text of the Twelve and its New Testament citation. In the same column there is information about the text-critical sources. A small letter "a" indicates that the text of the citation shows affinities to the Alexandrian group of Septuagint manuscripts (cf. §3.3.1). A small letter "h" implies that the text of the citation contains elements diverging from the Septuagint text *and* has been adapted to the Hebrew consonantal text (cf. 3.3.2). The numbers in the third column of the Table indicate the numbers of words in strings from the citation and so informs about its inner coherence. Thus, for example, if we consider the use of Hos 10:8 in Luke 23:30 (example 4 in the Table), we find in the Greek of Hosea, τοῖς ὄρεσιν καλύψατε ἡμᾶς καὶ τοῖς βουνοῖς πέσατε ἐφ' ἡμᾶς. In Luke 23:30 we find four word strings from Hosea: τοῖς-ὄρεσιν, Πέσετε-ἐφ'-ἡμᾶς, καὶ-τοῖς-βουνοῖς, Καλύψατε-ἡμᾶς, which is represented by 2/3/3/2. The citing formula, where one exists, is noted in the fourth column.

Table 19. Intertexts

	Intertexts	Surface of citation	Coherent words	Citing formula
1.	Hos 2:1 (Isa 10:22)			
–	Rom 9:25–26	19	9/10	ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει
		7	6/1	Ἠσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ
2.	Hos 2:25			
–	Rom 9:25	6	6	ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει
3.	Hos 6:6			
–	Matt 9:13	5	5	μάθετε τί ἐστιν
–	Matt 12:7	5	5	τί ἐστιν
4.	Hos 10:8			
–	Luke 23:30	10	2/3/3/2	none
–	Rev 6:16			
5.	Hos 11:1			
–	Matt 2:15	2	2	ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ κυρίου
		6 (h)	6	διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος

Thomas with English, German, and French Translations of Q and Thomas (Hermeneia; Leuven: Peeters, 2000).

6.	Hos 13:14			
	(Isa 25:8)			
–	1 Cor 15:54	7	1/2/1/2/1	τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος
	(– Isa 25:8	4	4)	
7.	Joel 3:1–5a			
–	Acts 2:16–27	91 (a)	2/17/6/6/3 4/9/6/1/3/34	τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ εἰρημένον διὰ τοῦ προφήτου Ἰωήλ
8.	Joel 3:5a			
–	Rom 10:13	8	1/7	γὰρ (?)
9.	Amos 5:25ff			
–	CD VII, 14–15	4		כאשר אמר
–	Acts 7:42–43	37 (a)	6/2/3/18/2/4	καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν βίβλῳ τῶν προφητῶν
10.	Amos 9:11–12			
–	4Q174 1 I, 21, 2, 12	5		כאשר כתוב
–	Acts 15:15–17	43 (a)	5/6/1/1/5/16	καὶ τούτῳ συμφωνοῦσιν οἱ λόγοι τῶν προφητῶν, καθὼς γέγραπται
11.	Jonah 2:1			
–	Q/Luke11:29	1	1	τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ
–	Matt 12:40	12	12	τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ τοῦ προφήτου
–	Matt 16:4	1	1	τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ
12.	Mic 5:1, 3			
	(2 Sam 5:2)			
–	Matt 2:5–6	8	3/1/2/1/1	οὕτως γὰρ γέγραπται διὰ τοῦ προφήτου
	(– 2 Sam 5:2	6	6)	
13.	Mic7:6			
–	Q/Luke12:53	10	1/1/4/4/	??
–	Matt10:35–36	7	1/1/1/1/1/1	none
14.	Hab 1:5			
–	1QpHab I, 17–II, 1			[none?]
–	Acts 13:40–41	20 (a)	3/2/1/1/4/7	τὸ εἰρημένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις
15.	Hab 2:3–4			
–	1QpHab VII, 17	4		
–	8Ḥev1 XVII, 30	6 (h)	6	
–	Rom 1:17	6	6/1	καθὼς γέγραπται
–	Gal 3:11	6	6/1	
–	Heb 10:38	20	5/3/2/1/9	none

16. Hag 2:6
– Heb 12:26	8	4/2/2	νῦν δὲ ἐπήγγελται λέγων

17. Zech 8:16
– Eph 4:25	7	7	

18. Zech 9:9
(+Isaiah 62:11)
– Matt 21:5	11	6/4/1	τοῦτο δὲ γέγονεν ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος
– John 12:14–15	8	2/5/1	καθώς ἐστιν γεγραμμένον

19. Zech 11:12–13
(+ Jer 38:7 LXX
+ Jer 18:2)
– Matt 27:5–10	3	2/1	τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος (v. 9)

20. Zech. 12:10
– John 19:37	2 (h)	2	καὶ πάλιν ἑτέρα γραφὴ λέγει
– Rev 1:7	5 (h)	1/4	none

21. Zech. 13:7
– CD XIX:7			בבוא הדבר אשר כתוב ביד זכריה הנביא
– Matt 26:31	7 (h,a)	4/1/2	γέγραπται γάρ
– Mark 14:27 (cf. *Barn.* 5:12)	7	4/2/1	ὅτι γέγραπται

22. Mal 1:2
– Rom 9:13	7	2/1/4	καθὼς γέγραπται

23. Mal 3:22
– Matt 17:11	4	1/1/2	none
– Mark 9:11	3	1/1/1	
– Luke 1:17	4 (h)	4	

The Table gives us the following information about the different forms of citation (other features of the Table will be considered later):

The great majority—seventeen of twenty-three—of the Old and New Testament intertexts are short citations, i.e., they consist of up to ten words. Another feature is that nine of these seventeen short citations do not quote the surface of the pre-texts coherently. They do not, for instance, strictly follow the sequence of the original but cut it into small segments of one to four words and put them into a different order. They leave out parts of the original text and add other elements, so that the pre-text is closely interwoven into the wording of the

citing text.[10] Two or three citations are of medium length, about ten to twenty words (Hos 2:1 and 25 in Rom 9:25f; Jonah 2:1 in Matt 12:40; Hab 2:3–4 in Heb 10:37–38). Four citations consist of twenty words or more. They are found exclusively in Acts. Unlike the short citations, those of medium and longer length have been much less modified. It will be a matter of analysis to see whether and how these strikingly varying modes of dealing with citations can be explained. Before going into that, we will try to show roughly what place the New Testament reading of the Minor Prophets had in the context of the contemporary reading of the Bible.

2. The Reading Context: The Book of the Minor Prophets from the First Century B.C.E. to the Second Century C.E.

A comparative statistical survey of the citations from the Minor Prophets during the period of the first century B.C.E. to the second century C.E. informs us about the reading context. For this purpose, we compared instances of citations from the Pentateuch, Psalms, the prophets Jeremiah and Isaiah, and the Minor Prophets as they appear in the non-Biblical Qumran literature, in Philo of Alexandria (12), in the New Testament (13), and in the Apostolic Fathers.[11] (The basis of comparison could be extended, for example by including the *Gospel of Thomas* or other "New Testament Apocrypha".) A summary table gives the following picture:

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[10] A meticulous description of the use of the writings in the tension between "literality and freedom" for the letters of Paul can be found in Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 102–98.

[11] The following statistics are based on the texts and lists in: Martin G. Abegg, *Qumran Sectarian Manuscripts (Hebrew)*, Accordance Version 4.5. 2000; J. Allenbach, ed., *Philon d'Alexandrie* (BiPa 4, Supplement; Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1982); Archer and Chirichigno, *Old Testament Quotations in the New Testament*; J. Allenbach, ed., *Des Origines à Clement d'Alexandrie et Tertullian* (BiPa 1; Paris: Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique, 1975). For the Apostolic Fathers the following writings were considered: *Barnabas*; *1–2 Clement*; the seven letters of Ignatius; the letters of Polycarp *To the Philippians*; the Shepherd of Hermas, *Mandate, Similitude*, and *Vision*; the *Didache*; *Diognetus*; and the Papias fragments (cf. the selection in A. Lindemann, "Apostolische Väter," *RGG[4]* 1:652–53).

Table 20. Citation statistics

	Qumran	Philo	NT[12]	Apostolic Fathers
Pentateuch	144	ca. 4000	116	137
Psalms	117	50	66	81
Isaiah	70 (100)[13]	24	63	68
Jeremiah	9	18	10	16
Minor Prophets	40 (90)	9	25	16

Even with reservations about the exactness of such statistics, we can with some certainty conclude that the New Testament as well as other early Christian authors and the Qumran Essenes had very similar preferences when using the important books and book complexes of the later Old Testament. A glance at Philo suggests that at the same time there existed a reading of Biblical pre-texts that was of quite a different nature.

The canon of the Jewish and early Christian reading community demonstrates that the book of Isaiah obviously enjoyed first place among all prophetic books.[14] Perhaps this book even functioned as an exemplary hermeneutic model for the reading of other prophetic texts in the New Testament. As shown in Table 19, at three places the book of the Minor Prophets, too, is quoted in close association with Isaiah (Hos 2:1/Isa 10:28 in Rom 9:25f; Isa 25:8/Hos 13:14 in 1 Cor 15:54–55; Isa 62:11/Zech 9:9 in Matt 21:4). In comparison with Isaiah, the book of Jeremiah occupies a minor place; Ezekiel is hardly quoted at all. The book of the Minor Prophets holds a fixed but comparatively modest place in the Essene/early Christian reading canon. This is also demonstrated by the five Minor Prophet citations that appear in both a Qumran document and in a book of the New Testament (Amos 5:25–27; Amos 9:11; Hab 1:5; Hab 2:4; Zech 13:7; compare also Table 19).[15] Of course the shared reading does not necessarily imply general agreement concerning the interpretation of the texts; that can be illustrated with the common citations and

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[12] Cf. a similar list with regard to Paul in Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 33. The list shows similar numbers: Pentateuch, 39*x*; Psalms, 20*x*; Isaiah, 28*x*; the Twelve, 8*x*. It is remarkable, but not entirely surprising, that there are no citations at all from Jeremiah in Paul's writings.

[13] The first number refers to the cases of citations outside the pesharim, the number in parentheses refers to the number of citations in the pesharim.

[14] Cf. J. Flamming, "The New Testament Use of Isaiah," *SwJT* 11 (1968): 89–103.

[15] Cf. Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1965); and recently, Barbara Fuß, 'Dies ist die Zeit, von der geschrieben ist …': Die expliziten Zitate aus dem Buch Hosea in den Handschriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament (NTAbh NF 37; Münster: Aschendorff, 2000).

their understanding in the New Testament or in Qumran.[16] The common reading canon is a basis for discussion, but does not imply a general norm regarding contents.[17]

3. What Text Forms Does the New Testament Presuppose for the Minor Prophets?

The different forms of the citations from the Twelve in the New Testament have raised the question whether the pre-texts were conceived in different ways. We will examine that and start with the question asked at the beginning of this paper, namely, whether the New Testament perceives the Minor Prophets as one book.

3.1 Were the Minor Prophets Read as One Book?

Not only our statistical observations suggest that for most authors of the New Testament the book of Isaiah represented a significant literary and theological document. In the New Testament, the name of this prophet appears in twenty-two of the approximately sixty citations from his book.[18] The book of "Twelve" as a whole, on the other hand, is never mentioned by name in the New Testament, although according to Sirach the term could have already been known. One significant exception is, or could be, Acts which does refer to a *book* (7:42), or to *the words of the prophets* (15:14). The gospel of Luke and Acts are the only New Testament writings that apply the terms βιβλίον or βίβλος to identifiable Biblical books (Isaiah and also Psalms, cf. Luke 20:42; Acts

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[16] In that sense, Stendahl's old assumption of a Matthew school that worked in analogy to the exegesis of the prophets at Qumran still appears worth discussing. Cf. Krister Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (ASNU 20; Uppsala: Almqvist, 1954); Ulrich Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 1, *Matthew 1–7* (3d ed.; EKKNT 1; Zürich: Benziger; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1992), 139.

[17] Robert A. Kraft, "The 'Textual Mechanics' of Early Jewish LXX/OG Papyri and Fragments," n.p. [cited 20 January 2004]. Online: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/-earlypap.html, describes "the relationship between Greek Jewish 'scribal culture' and early Christian literary practices" on the basis of numerous biblical and related Greek fragmentary manuscripts. His conclusion is not far from our assumptions: "Early Christianity was formed in large measure in close relationship (positive and negative) to the types of Judaism present in the Greco-Roman world in the first century of the common era. The 'scriptural' preoccupations of many early Christian representatives surely were influenced by the established Jewish frameworks of the time."

[18] Cf. e.g.: Matt 3:3; 4:14; 8:17; 12:17; 13:14; 15:7; Mark 1:2; John 1:23; 12:38ff.; Acts 8:28, 30; 28:25; Rom 9:27, 29; 10:16, 20; 15:12.

1:20). So it is possible to associate the term "Book of the Prophets" in Acts 7:42 to a Minor Prophets scroll.[19] Though it could refer to the section of the canon called "Prophets," just as in Luke 24:44.

The names of the individual prophets are known and mentioned in some introductory formulas. In Rom 9:25 Paul refers to Hosea as the source of his citation.[20] Luke mentions Joel as the source of the text of Peter's Pentecostal sermon (Acts 2:16). Matt 27:9 ascribes a quotation to "Jeremiah, the prophet." Actually this particular verse quotes from Zech 11:12–13; it is the "field of the potter" referred to in Matt 27:10 that may relate to the book of Jeremiah (cf. below). The question is whether the author of Matt 27:3–10 really knew exactly where his citation came from. Matt 2:5, 15 and 21:4 attribute the citations from the Twelve to "the prophet"; to which prophet reference is made, or whether a definite prophet is meant at all—this question remains unanswered. Most other formulas, however, do not refer to a prophet or his book.

By and large the findings suggest that *the book* of the Twelve was not really of great literary and theological relevance for New Testament authors, even if they had scrolls of this book at hand. The individual writings and the names of the respective prophets may basically be known, but they do not have the authoritative significance of the figure of Isaiah and the book of Isaiah. Instead the citations from the Minor Prophets seem mostly to be part of a non-individualized prophetic tradition.

3.2 The Origin of the Short Citations: A Treasury of Prophetic Citations?

There are some remarkable features in common among the short citations: they are often, partly or as a whole, strikingly concise in form and content. They are quoted several times not only in the New Testament alone, but also in the New Testament *and* in Qumran; in addition, formulations similar in wording and content are found at other places, in the Old Testament as well as in contemporary literature of the New Testament. These features lead me to suppose that most (if not all) short citations are aphorisms that have their roots beyond their respective literary references, in the oral tradition and in the general knowledge of the time, and are not bound to the written tradition.

The following four citations from the Minor Prophets in the New Testament will serve to illustrate this:

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[19] See Schneider's excursus on citations from the Old Testament in *Die Apostelgeschichte* (HTKNT 5.1; Freiburg: Herder, 1980), 1:236.

[20] Christoph Burchard, "Römer 9,25 Ἐν τῷ Ὡσηέ" *ZNW* 76 (1985): 131, suggests that we understand ἐν τῷ Ὡσηέ as "im Hoseaabschnitt (des Zwölfprophetenbuches)." This understanding is based on a *petitio principii* as Burchard supposes: "… hat Paulus ein Hoseabuch gekannt? Vermutlich doch nur das Zwölfprophetenbuch …."

3.2.1 "I desire mercy, not sacrifice" (Hos 6:6)

διότι ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν καὶ
ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ ἢ ὁλοκαυτώματα

כי חסד חפצתי ולא־זבח ודעת אלהים
מעלות

Matt 9:13 πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί
ἐστιν, ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν· οὐ
γὰρ ἦλθον καλέσαι δικαίους ἀλλὰ
ἁμαρτωλούς.

Matt 12:7 εἰ δὲ ἐγνώκειτε τί ἐστιν·
ἔλεος θέλω καὶ οὐ θυσίαν, οὐκ ἂν
κατεδικάσατε τοὺς ἀναιτίους.

The statement appears in the gospel of Matthew twice. Moreover, doubts with regard to God's "pleasure" in sacrifice is a widely-spread Old Testament topos (cf. 1 Sam 15:22; Hos 8:13; Ps 40:7; Isa 1:10–17; cf. Sir 34:19–20) and has found access into the New Testament as well (cf. Mark 12:33; Acts 7:42ff). Even the Old Testament sentence appears to "originate from a specific teaching tradition."[21] That assumption is supported by the introductory formula chosen in the gospel of Matthew, πορευθέντες δὲ μάθετε τί ἐστιν, a formula characteristic of the pharisaic-rabbinic teaching.[22]

3.2.2 "The righteous will live by his faith." (Habakkuk 2:4b)

Hab 2:3
διότι ἔτι ὅρασις εἰς καιρὸν καὶ
ἀνατελεῖ εἰς πέρας καὶ οὐκ εἰς κενόν
ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν ὅτι
ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ 4 ἐὰν
ὑποστείληται οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου
ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεώς μου
ζήσεται

Hab 2:4
הנה עפלה לא־ישרה נפשו בו
וצדיק באמונתו יחיה

1QpHab VII, 17–VIII, 1–3
7:17 וצדיק באמונתו יחיה [...]
8:1 פשרו על כול עושי התורה בבית
יהודה אשר
2 יצילם אל מבית המשפט בעבור
עמלם ואמנתם

Rom 1:17
δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ
ἀποκαλύπτεται ἐκ πίστεως εἰς πίστιν,
καθὼς γέγραπται· ὁ δὲ δίκαιος ἐκ
πίστεως ζήσεται.

Gal 3:11
ὅτι δὲ ἐν νόμῳ οὐδεὶς δικαιοῦται παρὰ
τῷ θεῷ δῆλον, ὅτι ὁ δίκαιος ἐκ πίστεως
ζήσεται·

Heb 10:36–38
ὑπομονῆς γὰρ ἔχετε χρείαν ἵνα τὸ
θέλημα τοῦ θεοῦ ποιήσαντες κομίσησθε
τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.
ἔτι γὰρ μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον, ὁ ἐρχόμενος
ἥξει καὶ οὐ χρονίσει· ὁ δὲ δίκαιός μου
ἐκ πίστεως ζήσεται, καὶ ἐὰν
ὑποστείληται, οὐκ εὐδοκεῖ ἡ ψυχή μου

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[21] Hans W. Wolff, *Dodekapropheton: Hosea* (BKAT 14.1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1965), 153.

[22] Cf. Eduard Schweizer, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus* (13th ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1973), 2:146; Str-B 1:499.

... במורה הצדק   3 <u>ἐν αὐτῷ.</u>

8Ḥev1 XVII, 30
[αὐτῷ καὶ δί]καιος ἐν πίστει αυτοῦ
ζήσε[ται]

As a short citation, the phrase is used in the New Testament (Rom 1:17; Gal 3:11) and probably in Qumran (1QpHab VII, 17f). The early Christian authors of the second and the early third century, such as Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus, and Tertullian, were quite familiar with it;[23] and "in early Rabbinic Judaism" it held "a place and function above the average."[24] Its conciseness and its frequent use in both the New Testament and the contemporary literature suggests that it is known as and cited as an aphorism. The citation in Heb 10:37–38 considerably differs from those in Romans and Galatians. It has twenty single words and rearranges the wording of Hab 2:3–4 in deliberate manner. Thus, Heb 10:37–38 cites from a written text.

3.2.3 "Like the sand by the sea," "Not my people, my people" (Hos 2:1, 3, 25)

1–3 καὶ ἦν <u>ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ισραηλ</u> <u>ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης</u> ἣ οὐκ ἐκμετρηθήσεται οὐδὲ ἐξαριθμηθήσεται <u>καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς</u> <u>οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται</u> <u>υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος</u> εἴπατε τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑμῶν <u>Λαός-μου</u> καὶ τῇ ἀδελφῇ ὑμῶν Ἠλεημένη

25 καὶ σπερῶ αὐτὴν ἐμαυτῷ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐλεήσω <u>τὴν Οὐκ-ἠλεημένην</u> καὶ ἐρῶ <u>τῷ Οὐ λαῷ μου λαός μου</u> εἶ σύ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρεῖ κύριος ὁ θεός μου εἶ σύ

Isa 10:22 καὶ ἐὰν γένηται ὁ λαὸς <u>Ισραηλ</u> <u>ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης</u> τὸ κατάλειμμα αὐτῶν <u>σωθήσεται</u> λόγον γὰρ συντελῶν καὶ συντέμνων ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ

Rom 9:25–27
ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὡσηὲ λέγει· καλέσω <u>τὸν</u> <u>οὐ λαόν μου λαόν μου</u> καὶ <u>τὴν οὐκ</u> <u>ἠγαπημένην</u> ἠγαπημένην· <u>καὶ ἔσται ἐν</u> <u>τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς</u>· Οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος. Ἠσαΐας δὲ κράζει ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰσραήλ· Ἐὰν ᾖ <u>ὁ ἀριθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν</u> <u>Ἰσραὴλ ὡς ἡ ἄμμος τῆς θαλάσσης</u>, τὸ ὑπόλειμμα <u>σωθήσεται</u>·

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[23] Clement of Alexandria, *Paed.* 2.7; 3.40; *Strom.* 2.8.29. Irenaeus *Epid.* 35; *Haer.* 4.34. Tertullian *Marc.* 4.18; 5.3.

[24] August Strobel, *Untersuchungen zum eschatologischen Verzögerungsproblem auf Grund der spätjüdisch-urchristlichen Geschichte von Habakuk 2,2 ff.* (NovTSup. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1961), 192–93.

With twenty-five words the combined citation from Hos 2:1, 3, and twenty-five (and Isa 10:22) in Rom 9:25–27 is relatively long. It belongs to those citation structures whose elements are particularly dissociated from the original texts of the Septuagint. In addition, this citation clearly operates with aphoristic pieces: the piece containing the "sand by the sea" (or, "the earth") is already proverbial in the Old Testament and has remained so to this day.[25] The phrase οὐ λαός μου – λαός μου is quoted in Rom 9:25 (again in 1 Pet 2:10). In Greek it forms— regarding the vowels and diphthongs—a catchy, melodious palindrome. The theme of the phrase in the Old Testament belongs in the context of the so-called "covenant formula": "YHWH, Israel's God – Israel, YHWH's people". A motif of this theological principle λαός μου, "my people," plays an important part in the Minor Prophets generally, in addition to the Hosea reference (cf. Hos 4:6ff.; Mic 1:9; 2:4, 8; 3:3; Joel 2:27; 8:8–9).[26] In short, we assume that the cited motif "sand by the sea" and the allusions to the "covenant formula" have an oral background. Admittedly, the passage καὶ ἔσται ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐρρέθη αὐτοῖς οὐ λαός μου ὑμεῖς, ἐκεῖ κληθήσονται υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος (Hos 2:1 – Rom 9:26) seems too long and too well preserved to be a purely oral citation.

In our opinion the examples discussed so far suggest that the short citations have been quoted from memory as aphorisms or common sayings. However, that does not mean that they did not have any backing in the written tradition. They do have—just like modern aphorisms—the written versions in the background, and therefore "interferences" between citations from memory and citations from the written tradition do occur as we will see now in our last example.

The diverging versions of the citations from Mic 7:6 in Matt 10:35 and Luke 12:53, as well as in the Q source, show a special case of interference between the oral and written background of a citation.[27]

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[25] We find this expression in the Septuagint twenty-two times. Cf. Gen 13:16; 22:17; 28:14; 32:13; 41:49; Exod 2:12; Josh 11:4; Judg 7:12; 1 Kgdms 13:5; 2 Kgdms 17:11; 3 Kgdms 2:35; Jdt 2:20; 1 Macc 11:1; Pss 77:27; 138:18; *Odes* 7:36; Sir 1:2; Hos 2:1; Hab 3:14; Isa 10:22; 48:19; Jer 5:22; 15:8; 26:22; Dan 3:36. Furthermore, 1QpHab III, 14; 4Q161 2 II, 2:7; 4Q163 4–6 II, 11, 14; *1 Clem.* 10:5.

[26] Cf. Rudolf Smend, "Die Bundesformel," in *Gesammelte Studien*, 1, *Die Mitte des Alten Testaments* (99; München: Kaiser, 1986), 11–39, esp. 30ff.

[27] Cf. Christoph Heil, "Die Rezeption von Micha 7:6LXX in Q und Lukas," *ZNW* 88 (1997): 211–22.

3.2.4 "Son and Father" (Micah 7:6 – Q12:53 par.)

Q 12:53[28]

διότι <u>υἱὸς</u> ἀτιμάζει <u>πατέρα θυγάτηρ</u>
ἐπαναστήσεται <u>ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα</u> αὐτῆς
<u>νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθερὰν</u> αὐτῆς <u>ἐχθροὶ</u>
ἀνδρὸς πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες <u>οἱ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ
αὐτοῦ</u>

ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι <u>υἱὸ<ν></u> {κατὰ}
<u>πατρ{ὸς}</u> καὶ <u>θυγατέρα</u> {κατὰ} τῆ{ς}
<u>μητρ{ὸς}</u> (αὐτῆς καὶ <u>νύμφην</u> {κατὰ}
τῆ{ς} <u>πενθερᾶ{ς}</u> (αὐτῆς)[29]

Luke 12:53
διαμερισθήσονται πατὴρ ἐπὶ υἱῷ καὶ
<u>υἱὸς</u> ἐπὶ <u>πατρί</u>, μήτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν
θυγατέρα καὶ <u>θυγάτηρ ἐπὶ τὴν μητέρα</u>,
πενθερὰ ἐπὶ τὴν νύμφην αὐτῆς καὶ
<u>νύμφη ἐπὶ τὴν πενθεράν</u>.

Matt 10:35
ἦλθον γὰρ διχάσαι ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τοῦ
<u>πατρὸς</u> αὐτοῦ καὶ <u>θυγατέρα</u> κατὰ τῆς
<u>μητρὸς</u> αὐτῆς καὶ <u>νύμφην</u> κατὰ τῆς
<u>πενθερᾶς</u> αὐτῆς, καὶ <u>ἐχθροὶ</u> τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου οἱ οἰκιακοὶ αὐτοῦ.

The version of the Q source (Q12:53) is associated with the Septuagint version in three word pairs concerning relatives: son – father; daughter – her (?) mother; daughter-in-law – her (?) mother-in-law. Beyond that, the theme of the disastrous conflict between these relatives is the same in Mic 7:6 and in Q 12:53. But that is all, there are no other common wordings between Q and Micah. If the Q source quotes LXX Mic 7:6 at all, it quotes it—in my opinion—as a fixed topos from memory, without direct reference to the written document as such.[30] Different from that, Luke not only provides the three word pairs concerning relatives, but in addition uses the preposition ἐπί, so that Luke's version is closer

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[28] We follow the reconstruction in Robinson, Hoffmann, and Kloppenborg, *Critical Edition of Q Synopsis*.

[29] Heil, "Die Rezeption von Micha 7:6LXX in Q und Lukas," 217, assumes "daß sich Q an die LXX-Fassung von Mi 7,6 <u>anlehnt</u> … Lk^R hätte die beiden Possessivpronomen bei τὴν μητέρα und τὴν πενθεράν getilgt und eventuell mit dem αὐτῆς bei τὴν νύμφην eine Reminiszenz an die Q-Fassung bewahrt." This seems to me to be a rather unlikely construct, which depends on the assumption of an intertextuality that is exclusively based on written documents. But why should Lk^R delete αὐτῆς against LXX Micah and replace κατὰ by ἐπὶ according to LXX Micah?

[30] This topos actually is not rare in the contemporary Jewish literature, as Heil, "Die Rezeption von Micha 7:6LXX in Q und Lukas," 212, has shown. He points out *Jub.* 23:19; *3 Bar.* 4:17; *1 En.* 91:11–17; *Sib. Or.* 8:84ff.

to the wording of Mic 7:6 than the Q version. Matt 10:35, finally, adds to the word pairs the topos of the members of the same household as being "enemies." Again, the version of the citation has come closer to the written pre-text. One may conclude that the citations from memory in the Q source have been subsequently re-adapted in Luke, and especially in Matthew to a written version of Mic 7:6.

The examples demonstrate that citing is not exclusively or mainly dependent on written sources, as biblical researchers usually claim.[31] The basic form of the short citation and the free way of using it in the quoting of texts support the assumption that there was a "treasury of citations"[32] that the members of the reading community could call on at any time from memory and integrate in their own texts. The "cultural memory" may depend on written tradition, but it is not its exclusive medium.[33] Therefore, we plead for adequate consideration of both the oral and the written culture of memory. We will now turn to the written background of intertextuality between the Minor Prophets and the New Testament.

3.3 Written Pre-Texts?

Table 19 shows that the majority of the citations (fourteen out of twenty-three) agree with the OG version of the Septuagint regarding the word material (not the word sequences!). Some of the citations, however, can be determined yet more precisely, even with regard to their written *Vorlage* (cf. the intertexts marked with the letters "a" and "h" in Table 19).

3.3.1 The long citations in Acts and the Alexandrian Text

A first group includes the four long citations in Acts: Joel 3:1–5 in Acts 2:17–21 (ninety-one words); Amos 5:25–27 in Acts 7:42–43 (thirty-seven words); Amos 9:22–23 in Acts 15:16–17 (forty-three words); and Hab 1:5 in Acts 13:41 (twenty-four words). These four citations differ from the text of the OG version as they contain variants derived from the Alexandrian group of manuscripts;

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[31] Cf. Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums*, 11.

[32] This "treasury of citations" postulated by us must not be confused with a "source of citations" in the sense of a collection of testimonies, such as the *Florilegium* in Qumran. Georg Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus* (FRLANT 82; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), has postulated the latter for Matthew's "reflection citations" (49ff.). Our "treasury of citations" does not refer to an actual document, nor was it collected "from Christian tradition" (83), but was part of the literary and theological knowledge of the time.

[33] On the written form of "cultural memory," see in particular Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis, Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hoch-kulturen* (3d ed.; München: Beck, 2000), 87ff.

these variants do *not* affect the relation to the Hebrew text, except for the καί γε in Acts 2:18.

The phrases τοὺς δούλους μου, τὰς δούλας μου, and καί γε in Acts 2:18 are documented in the Alexandrian manuscripts. In Acts 7:43 the αὐτῶν after τοὺς τύπους is left off, which corresponds to the Alexandrian tradition. In Acts 13:41 the pronoun ὑμιν with τις ἐκδιηγῆται is only documented in the Alexandrian texts. The same applies to ἄν and τὸν κύριον in Acts 15:16. All these features taken together indicate, in my opinion, that the citations go back directly to a written Septuagint version of the Alexandrian manuscript group. With Traugott Holtz one can conclude that, "Luke must have been provided with a copy of the Septuagint for this book (the Minor Prophets), and the text of that copy must be close to the one that has been preserved and is available to us today in the A-group of the Septuagint tradition …"[34] This means, in addition, that the long citations without reasonable doubt go back to an intertextuality that was handed down purely in written form.

3.3.2 The "Erfüllungszitate" and the Proto-Theodotionic Text

The second text group consists essentially of fulfillment citations ("Erfüllungs-zitate") in the gospels of Matthew and John (Matt 2:15 – Hos 11:1; Matt 21:4–5 – Zech 9:9; Matt 27:9 – Zech 11:12–13; Zech 12:10 – John 19:37).[35] These texts are short citations that at points diverge considerably from the vocabulary of the entire Septuagint tradition *and*, in these divergences, contain elements from the vocabulary of the *Hebrew* consonantal text.

This is quite evident in Matt 2:15, where the Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου does not represent the Septuagint (μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ), but the Hebrew text וממצרים קראתי לבני, maybe for theological reasons. The

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[34] Traugott Holtz, *Untersuchungen über die alttestamentlichen Zitate bei Lukas* (TU 104; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), 27 (author's translation). Possibly this "Alexandrian" group also includes Mark 14:27 (par. Matt 26:3) with a very short citation from Zech 13:7. The verb form used here, διασκορπισθήσονται, "and they will be scattered," which is characteristic of the MT in subject and language, is documented in the Alexandrian text group of the Septuagint, whereas the ἐκσπάσατε, "scatter!," of OG usage is missing in Mark and Matthew. Cf. Robert H. Gundry, *The Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel with Special Reference to the Messianic Hope* (NovTSup 18; Leiden: Brill, 1967), 25ff.

[35] To name just a few studies that are concerned with this problem: Anton Baumstark, "Die Zitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums aus dem Zwölfprophetenbuch," *Bib* 37 (1956): 296–313; Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*; Gundry, *Use of the Old Testament in St. Matthew's Gospel*; Wilhelm Rothfuchs, *Die Erfüllungszitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums: Eine biblisch-theologische Untersuchung* (BWA(N)T 5.8 [88]; Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1969); Luz, *Das Evangelium nach Matthäus*, 134ff.

formulation ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὄνον καὶ ἐπὶ πῶλον υἱὸν ὑποζυγίου, "riding on a donkey and on a foal, the *colt* of a donkey," in Matt 21:5 also is closer to the Hebrew text of Zech 9:9, ורכב על־חמור ועל־עיר בן־אתנות, "riding on a donkey, i.e., a male donkey, the *colt* of a female donkey," than to the LXX Zechariah version, ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἐπὶ ὑποζύγιον καὶ πῶλον νέον, "riding on a donkey and on a young foal."[36]

The citation in the Judas narrative, Matt 27:3–10, is even more complex. Here the gospel attributes a citation, which obviously stems from Zech 11:13, to the prophet Jeremiah.[37]

Table 21. Matthew 27:3–10

Zech 11:12–13	Matt 27:3–10
καὶ ἐρῶ πρὸς αὐτούς εἰ καλὸν ἐνώπιον ὑμῶν ἐστιν δότε στήσαντες τὸν μισθόν μου ἢ ἀπείπασθε καὶ ἔστησαν τὸν μισθόν μου <u>τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς</u> 13 καὶ εἶπεν κύριος πρός με <u>κάθες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον</u> καὶ σκέψαι εἰ δόκιμόν ἐστιν ὃν τρόπον ἐδοκιμάσθην ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἔλαβον τοὺς τριάκοντα ἀργυροῦς καὶ ἐνέβαλον αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν οἶκον κυρίου <u>εἰς τὸ χωνευτήριον</u>	Τότε ἰδὼν Ἰούδας ὁ παραδιδοὺς αὐτὸν ὅτι κατεκρίθη, μεταμεληθεὶς ἔστρεψεν <u>τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια</u> τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ πρεσβυτέροις 4 λέγων, ἥμαρτον παραδοὺς αἷμα ἀθῷον. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν· τί πρὸς ἡμᾶς; σὺ ὄψῃ. 5 καὶ <u>ῥίψας τὰ ἀργύρια εἰς τὸν ναὸν</u> ἀνεχώρησεν, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο. 6 οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς λαβόντες τὰ ἀργύρια εἶπαν· οὐκ ἔξεστιν βαλεῖν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν κορβανᾶν, ἐπεὶ τιμὴ αἵματός ἐστιν. 7 συμβούλιον δὲ λαβόντες <u>ἠγόρασαν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως</u> εἰς ταφὴν τοῖς ξένοις.
Zech 11:12–13	8 διὸ ἐκλήθη ὁ ἀγρὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀγρὸς αἵματος ἕως τῆς σήμερον.
ואמר אליהם אם־טוב בעיניכם הבו שכרי ואם־לא חדלו וישקלו את־שכרי שלשים כסף 13 ויאמר יהוה אלי השליכהו <u>אל־היוצר</u> אדר היקר אשר יקרתי מעליהם ואקחה שלשים הכסף ואשליך אתו בית יהוה <u>אל־היוצר</u>	9 τότε ἐπληρώθη τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Ἰερεμίου τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος· καὶ ἔλαβον <u>τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια</u>, τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ τετιμημένου ὃν ἐτιμήσαντο ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ,
Jer 18:2	10 καὶ <u>ἔδωκαν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως</u>, καθὰ συνέταξέν μοι κύριος.
ἀνάστηθι καὶ κατάβηθι εἰς <u>οἶκον τοῦ κεραμέως</u> καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀκούσῃ τοὺς λόγους μου	
18:2 קום וירדת <u>בית היוצר</u> ושמה אשמיעך את־דברי	

Jer 39 (MT: 32):9

καὶ ἐκτησάμην τὸν <u>ἀγρὸν</u> Αναμεηλ υἱοῦ
ἀδελφοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἔστησα αὐτῷ
ἑπτὰ σίκλους καὶ δέκα <u>ἀργυρίου</u>

According to Matt 27:7 the priests have spent the thirty silver pieces (τὰ τριάκοντα ἀργύρια, Matt 27:3), which Judas threw into the Temple, to purchase the field of the potter (ἀγρὸν τοῦ κεραμέως). According to MT Zech 11:13, the prophet is also supposed to throw thirty silver pieces into the Temple, אל־היוצר. The common understanding of this Hebrew participle יוצר, derived from the root יצר, is, in the Hebrew Bible as well as in the LXX, "potter" (κεραμέυς). LXX Zech 11:13 does not share this understanding here and renders יוצר by χωνευτήριον, "smelting furnace." Most probably LXX Zechariah derives יוצר from the root צור, which means in certain cases "to cast (metal pieces or coins)" (Exod 32:4; 1 Kgs 7:15; 2 Kgs 12:11).[38] The citation in Matt 27:7 obviously presupposes the Hebrew text of Zech 11:13 or, more likely, a Greek text that is revised according to the Hebrew text.[39] This revised Greek text created a "link" that connects the Judas narrative with MT Zech 11:13 on the one side and the Jeremiah tradition, namely the potter (κεραμέυς) of LXX Jer 18:2, and from there to the purchase of the field in LXX Jer 39:8–9.[40] This chain of associations and word bridges shows that Matthew cited from memory (and either made the mistake of ascribing the citation to Jeremiah, or at least expressed himself in a misleading way). In the background of his citation from memory, there is a written Greek text-form of Zech 11:13 that contained the word κεραμέυς or perhaps κεραμεῖον, according to the Hebrew text.

To these three citations from Matthew can be added the well-known citation from Zech 12:10 in John's passion story, John 19:37 (cf. Rev 7:1).[41] The version of the gospel of John corresponds with both the MT והביטו אלי את אשר־דקרו and with Theodotion.[42]

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[38] Cf. Otto Eissfeldt, "Eine Einschmelzstelle am Tempel zu Jerusalem (1937)," in *Kleine Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1963), 2:107–9; and *HALOT* 2:403; 3:1015–16.

[39] Cf. Menken, "Old Testament Quotation in Matthew 27:9–10," 319.

[40] For further "links," see ibid., 315–17.

[41] The wound in Jesus' side is seen as the fulfillment of a prophet's word that John renders with ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν, "They will look on the one whom they have pierced." (NRSV) The Septuagint uses here ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο, "they will look to me, instead of those they deride." Cf. Alfred Rahlfs, "Über Theodotion-Lesarten im Neuen Testament und Aquila-Lesarten bei Justin," *ZNW* 20 (1920): 182–99; and Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante²*, 277.

[42] Cf. the apparatus in Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*; Dorival, Harl, and Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante²*, 277.

How did the affinity of those New Testament citations to the Hebrew text come about? The suggestions attributing the affinities with the MT to certain sources such as the Palestinian Targum of the prophets (A. Baumstark) or an early Christian collection of testimonies (G. Strecker) are no longer accepted today.[43] A dependence on the Jewish translations of Aquila or Theodotion must be ruled out for chronological reasons, as Alfred Rahlfs has shown with Zech 12:10 and John 19:37. So in my opinion we should consider the first century B.C.E. precursors of Aquila as the text-historical background of those four citations. [44] That means that the New Testament authors as readers of the Greek Old Testament had not remained untouched by the attempts of the Jewish—also called "Proto-Theodotionic"—revision of the "Old Greek." (Unfortunately our passages are not included in the scroll fragments of Naḥal Ḥever.) Whether this influence was exerted through particular, no longer identifiable, written documents or simply through popular versions of these citations circulating at that time in oral form, that question must remain open. As the texts in question are short citations, the second possibility seems the more likely one. It would suit the Jewish-Christian reading community as postulated above (§2).

4. Conclusions

The different literary and historical aspects touched upon in this paper lead us to the conclusion that the relationship between the books of Twelve Prophets and the New Testament writings is a complex process of intertextuality. It is not a mere transmission from one written document into the other, controlled only by the intentions of the quoting authors. Besides authors and translators there are involved the reading community and its conventions, a cultural memory with both oral and written forms of tradition. Therefore the literary and scriptural horizons of the quoted texts are newly circumscribed in each instance of reading and understanding. Concerning the reading and quoting of the Twelve in the New Testament the following features seem to me particularly noteworthy:

− Although the Twelve are read to the same extent in contemporary Jewish and early Christian contexts, the New Testament does not consider them as a well defined, literary, or theological entity. The contrary seems more likely: the texts of the Twelve were regarded as part of a not clearly defined and a widely anonymous prophetic tradition.

− This goes well with our observation that the short citations are, or contain, familiar aphorisms, which are most likely quoted from memory and drawn from a common "treasury of citations." Nevertheless they do have a more or

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[43] Baumstark, "Die Zitate des Matthäus-Evangeliums," 305ff.

[44] Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila*.

less clear backing in the written tradition. The form of this written tradition—Minor Prophets scroll, scrolls of single books, testimonies—is hardly identifiable.

− The cases in which the written *Vorlage* can be verified with some probability, it is not the so called OG text. The *Vorlage* of the long citations in Acts is found in the Alexandrian group of manuscripts. The *Erfüllungs-zitate* in Matthew show affinities to the Proto-Theodotionic text-form.

Thus our introductory question, "Which LXX did New Testament readers and writers use when the read and cited the Minor Prophets in Greek?" has to be answered in a subtly differentiated manner.

Abandonment and Suffering
Stephen Ahearne-Kroll

1. Introduction

This study examines the possible allusion to Ps 40 (LXX)[1] in Mark 14:18 and the effect it might have on one's reading of Mark 14:17–21. Because of the somewhat subjective nature of allusion, there is a need to situate the study within the greater context of LXX studies and to develop an adequate methodology for performing this type of study. After doing so Mark 14:17–21 and Ps 40 will be considered in Greek, both separately and in conversation with each other. The results of this conversation will prove quite fruitful both in understanding the dynamics of Ps 40 and in gaining insight into the complexities of Mark 14:17–21 and of Mark's passion narrative in general.

1.1 The LXX Text: Translated Text, Translator's Intention, and Text Reception

There are two ways to proceed when considering a text from the LXX: (1) Consider the text at its inception, i.e., at the moment of its translation; and (2) examine the text through its reception history. This study is concerned with the second, and in particular, the reception of Ps 40 in Mark 14. The extent to which one has recourse to the Hebrew Vorlage of Ps 40 in considering its reception history depends on the make-up of the audience receiving the text. The vast majority of Mark's explicit quotations comes from the version of the LXX to which we have access,[2] and it is likely that most of his first century audience would have read any scriptural text referred to in his text in Greek without recourse to Hebrew. Therefore, the analysis of any text evoked from the LXX will proceed with the above assumptions and will delineate possible perceptions

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[1] From this point on I will refer to the psalms by their LXX numbering.

[2] Howard C. Kee, "The Function of Scriptural Quotations in Mark 11–16," in *Jesus und Paulus: Festschrift für Werner Georg Kümmel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. W. G. Kümmel, E. Gräßer, and E. E. Ellis; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975), 172.

of the Greek text as read by a Greek speaker of the first century—including grammar, syntax, and rhetorical structure.[3]

1.2 The Nature, Identification, and Interpretation of Allusions

The poetics of allusion have garnered a considerable amount of attention in literary theory over the past thirty years.[4] There is a need to define allusion and to develop a methodology for treating allusions with some degree of certainty. Ziva Ben-Porat, the theorist to which later theorists most often appeal, defines literary allusion in the following way:

The literary allusion is a device for the simultaneous activation of two texts. The activation is achieved through the manipulation of a special signal: a sign (simple or complex) in a given text characterized by an additional larger "referent." This referent is always an independent text. The simultaneous activation of the two texts thus connected results in the formation of intertextual patterns whose nature cannot be predetermined.[5]

Ben-Porat goes on to distinguish the term "marker" from allusion to indicate that the signal in the text should not be confused with the more complex process of allusion. Identification of the marker begins a four stage process; the culmination of at least the third stage characterizes an allusion. The four stages are: (1) recognition of the marker, (2) identification of the evoked text, (3) modification of the interpretation of the marker and its local context in the alluding text, and (4) activation of the evoked text as a whole to form connections between it and the alluding text that are not based solely on the markers and marked items themselves.[6]

In steps (1) and (2) a marker that signals an evoked text may be simple or complex. "The sign may be a poetic line or sentence or phrase, or it may consist of a motif, a rhythmic pattern, an idea, or even the form of the work or its title."[7]

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[3] Anneli Aejmelaeus, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique," in *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Oslo, 1998* (ed. B. A. Taylor; SBLSCS 51; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 533: "Over the last few years it has been frequently demanded that the Septuagint ought to be studied as a document in its own right. Of course, this can be done … if you are interested in the use of the Greek Scriptures in the Christian Church."

[4] For a good review of scholarship, see Udo J. Hebel, "Towards a Descriptive Poetics of Allusion," in *Intertextuality* (ed. H. F. Plett; Research in Text Theory 15; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1991), 135–64.

[5] Ziva Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 1 (1976): 107–8.

[6] Ibid., 110–11.

[7] Benjamin D. Sommer, *A Prophet Reads Scripture: Allusion in Isaiah 40–66* (Contraversions: Jews and Other Differences; Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998),

As a result, the process for identifying a marker is not uniform and oftentimes quite complex. An interpreter must be alert to any and all narrative, grammatical, linguistic, and rhetorical elements in a given text. Once the marker is tentatively identified, always with possible texts in mind, then one can bring in elements from outside the marked text to zero in on a possible evoked text or to verify the likelihood that a particular text is being evoked. For the gospel of Mark one should consider whether an alleged evoked text is used by texts contemporary to Mark. If so, then the likelihood of the marker signaling that evoked text increases, and if the text is used in a similar manner by contemporary authors, the likelihood increases even more.

Stages (3) and (4) determine whether a marker acts as an allusion or not. According to Ben-Porat unless the text to which the marker refers is identified, the marker simply signals a vague recollection in the mind of the reader of something outside the text. This would be categorized as an echo rather than an allusion.[8] In most instances a reader is able to understand the marker without recourse to the evoked text, but once the evoked text is identified there is a modification of the alluding text at the location of the marker in light of the evoked text.[9] Once the alluding text is re-read in light of the evoked text, the reader may wish to stop there in his or her investigation, but "most literary allusions possess the potential for the fourth stage," namely the activation of the evoked text as a whole.[10] This allows the reader to draw a more complex, in-depth, and wide-ranging correspondence between the alluding and evoked texts than exists merely at the location of the marker. The process of doing so need not include the marker or the marked elements of the two texts, but it can include other elements that can now be identified as intersections between the texts that were unseen before the identification of the evoked text. The thinking behind this fourth step is that once an author evokes an earlier text, there is the understanding that the alluding text should now be read in light of the evoked text. For our purposes the only criterion that can be relied upon when determining to what extent the two texts intersect is whether the connections

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11. See also, Carmella Perri, "On Alluding," *Poetics* 7 (1978): 305, and James K. Chandler, "Romantic Allusiveness," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (1982): 480–81. Robert Alter, *The Pleasures of Reading in an Ideological Age* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1989), 123, notes that the evoked text may be short (a line or section) or much longer (a whole work or even a corpus).

[8] For R. B. Hays, an "echo" is simply a subtle allusion. See Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29.

[9] Ben-Porat, "The Poetics of Literary Allusion," 110–11.

[10] Ibid., 111. See also Perri, "On Alluding," 289–95, which culminates in her working definition of allusion. The last part of the definition states, "the property(ies) evoked modifies the alluding text, and possibly activates further, larger inter- and intra-textual patterns of properties with consequent further modification of the alluding text."

between the texts deepen or add anything to the reading of the alluding text. In this study we will limit ourselves to stage (3) of the process.

2. The Possible Allusion to Psalm 40 in Mark 14:17–21

Mark 14:17–21 can be read and understood without recourse to any outside text. The passage follows the episode where Judas Iscariot, one of the Twelve, agrees to hand Jesus over to the chief priests and the episode where Jesus predicts the events that will happen when the disciples go into the city of Jerusalem to prepare the Passover meal. Both the negative power of Jesus' opponents and Jesus' superhuman powers and authority are evident.[11] At dinner time he reclines with the Twelve and begins to eat. This is a special time between Jesus and the Twelve—it is a meal, which is a sign of intimacy and fellowship in the ancient world.[12] More than that, however, it is specifically a Passover supper in Mark's narrative context. Jesus takes this moment to make a disturbing prediction that one of the Twelve would hand him over to his enemies. Each of the Twelve denies Jesus' claim, but he insists and specifies in v. 20 who it will be: "the one who dips into the bowl with me" (ὁ ἐμβαπτόμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ εἰς τὸ τρύβλιον). Judas is never named, but there are enough clues in the preceding verses to know that he is the one about whom Jesus is speaking. Then Jesus interprets this handing over (παραδίδωμι) as being in line with Scripture—the Son of Man goes καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ. Judas's actions are predetermined by Scripture, but even so his fate is terrible—so bad that Jesus declares that it would be better if he had never existed. The passage displays Jesus' powers to predict the course of events accurately, demonstrates the negativity of Judas's betrayal by putting it in the context of a special meal and describing it with sharp rhetoric, and makes it all divinely approved and perhaps foretold.

2.1 Identifying the Marker and Identifying the Evoked Text

In Mark 14:18 we read, "And when they reclined and were eating, Jesus said, 'Amen I say to you, that one of you will hand me over, the one eating with me.'" (καὶ ἀνακειμένων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐσθιόντων ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν· ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν ὅτι εἷς ἐξ ὑμῶν παραδώσει με ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ.)[13] There is only minor textual variation in

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[11] Mark 14:16b: "and they found (it) just as he told them." John R. Donahue and Daniel J. Harrington, *The Gospel of Mark* (SP 2; Collegeville: Liturgical, 2002), 393.

[12] Ibid., 394; Morna D. Hooker, *The Gospel According to Saint Mark* (BNTC; Peabody: Hendrickson, 1991), 336; Dennis E. Smith, "Customs (Greco-Roman Meal Customs)," *ABD* 4:652–53; Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983), 239.

[13] All translations from the Greek and Hebrew in this study are mine, unless otherwise stated.

the verse, so there is a high degree of certainty to the reading as noted.[14] The phrase ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμού is the first possible marker in the pericope, mainly because of its awkwardness and redundancy.[15] This could be a case of a Markan two step progression. In appositional cases "together they [the two steps] comprise a … description, in which the emphasis usually lies on the second part."[16] In this verse, ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμού does not clarify or specify the betrayer overtly, because the only ones present are the ones eating with Jesus. So it seems redundant rather than clarifying.

As we move along in the pericope Jesus interprets his cryptic prediction of betrayal (παραδίδωμι) in v. 21a: ὅτι ὁ μὲν υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπάγει καθὼς γέγραπται περὶ αὐτοῦ. Taken alone, this could be a general statement of prediction from scripture or even a general statement that indicates Mark's belief about the need to understand scripture in order to understand Jesus' death properly. But in combination with ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμού in v. 18, it increases the possibility that ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμού is a marker and directs the reader to look for an evoked text. When one searches the scriptures for something similar to ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμού, one must look for lexical similarities but also for motifs, themes, and other narrative dynamics. The major motifs of Mark 14:17–21 are a meal with close associates and betrayal or handing over (παραδίδωμι) by a close associate.

When one searches the scriptures with these motifs, themes, and terms in mind, several possibilities arise. However, the best possible match is Ps 40 because it has the highest similarities with regard to motif, theme, and terminology.[17] It has similarities in vocabulary (ὁ ἐσθίων … μου in v. 10 and παραδῷη in v. 3), as well as other similarities such as: (1) Treachery has occurred at the hand of a meal companion (v. 10); (2) the meal companion is a close associate of the protagonist (ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς εἰρήνης μου, in v. 10); and (3) being handed over into the hands of one's enemies colors the entire psalm from v. 3 onward. We must check this initial finding with contemporary usage of Ps 40.

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[14] τῶν ἐσθιόντων, instead of ὁ ἐσθίων in B and 2427 co.

[15] Joel Marcus, *The Way of the Lord: Christological Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Gospel of Mark* (1st ed.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 172. See also Vernon K. Robbins, "Last Meal: Preparation, Betrayal, and Absence (Mark 14:12–25)," in *The Passion in Mark: Studies on Mark 14–16* (ed. W. H. Kelber and J. R. Donahue; Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), 31.

[16] David M. Rhoads, Joanna Dewey, and Donald Michie, *Mark as Story: An Introduction to the Narrative of a Gospel* (2d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1999), 49.

[17] The strongest alternatives are Gen 27:1–29 and 1 Kgdms 20. The other possibilities have no likelihood of being the evoked texts: Lev 26:29; Deut 2:26–31; Isa 65:13; Ezek 25:4; Mic 6:14–16; Bel 27–28.

Ps 41:10 (MT) is used by the author of the *Hodayot* in 1QH[a] XIII 22–24 in an unmarked, modified quotation:

1QH[a] XIII 22–24[18]

ואני הייתי על עוֹן מעדני לריב	But I have been the target of sl[ander
ומדנים לרעי קנאה ואף לבאי	for my rivals,] cause for quarrel and
בריתי ורגן ותלונה לכול נועדי נֶם	argument to my neighbours, for
אועכלי לחמי	jealousy and anger to those who
עלי הנדילו עקב ויליזו עלי	have joined my covenant, for
בשפת עול כול נצמדי סודי	challenge and grumbling to all my

But I have been the target of sl[ander for my rivals,] cause for quarrel and argument to my neighbours, for jealousy and anger to those who have joined my covenant, for challenge and grumbling to all my followers. Ev[en those who e]at my bread have raised their heel against me; they have mocked me with an unjust tongue all those who had joined my council.

Here the author, presented as the leader of the community, describes strife between himself and his rivals and in the midst of the description uses Ps 41:10 to describe the depth of the strife that he has caused. There is no meal scene as in Mark 18:17–21, but the author uses Ps 41:10 as an image to describe and lament the depth of controversy he, as leader of the community, has caused, and the danger in which he found himself as a result. Although not exactly the same as Mark, the similarities in usage are enough to lend credibility to Ps 40 (LXX) as the evoked text in Mark 14:18.

The second occurrence is from John 13:18b, which contains a marked quotation to some form of Ps 41 (MT).[19] The gospel of John reads, "but so that the scripture may be fulfilled, 'The one eating my bread has raised up his heel against me'" (ἀλλ' ἵνα ἡ γραφὴ πληρωθῇ· ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπῆρεν ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ). The way John uses this verse is very similar to what we found in Mark 14:17–21: the setting is at the last supper; Jesus is talking of his betrayal; and he makes a prediction based on the text of Ps 41:10. The text from the Qumran *Hodayot* and this text from John greatly increase the probability that Ps 40 is the evoked text in Mark 14:18, enough so that it is worth proceeding with our analysis.[20]

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[18] Text and translation taken from Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Study Edition* (Leiden; Grand Rapids: Brill; Eerdmans, 1997–1998), 1:172–73.

[19] See Martinus J. J. Menken, "The Translation of Psalm 41:10 in John 13:18," *JSNT* 40 (1990): 61–79.

[20] A proverbial use of Ps 41:10 can be found in the *Syr. Men.* 213–16: "Do not despise your friends, and do not dishonor those who honor you. And he with whom you had a meal, do not walk with him in a treacherous way." See T. Baarda, "The Sentences of the Syriac Menander: A New Translation and Introduction," in *OTP*, 2:583–606. However,

2.2 Modifying the Initial Interpretation of the Alluding Text

After identifying ὁ ἐσθίων μετ' ἐμοῦ as the marker that evokes Ps 40:10, the interpretation of the alluding text must be modified in light of the evoked text. In doing this most commentators give only a brief statement of the evoked text's importance for understanding Mark 14:17–21. In his work on the exegesis of the Old Testament in Mark, Joel Marcus gives the evoked text more extensive treatment than most. He mentions the reference to Ps 40 twice, and the first time he says that it is one of many references to the "Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer" in Mark's Passion narrative.[21] Marcus does this to contribute to his argument that these psalms are interpreted apocalyptically by Mark so that Jesus, as the Righteous Sufferer, is vindicated in the resurrection, which is a preview of the apocalyptic eschaton envisioned by Mark.[22] John Donahue and Daniel Harrington briefly refer to the reference saying that "Jesus continues to be presented as 'the suffering just one' of the Psalms," giving Pss 41 and 55 (MT) as the primary Psalms to examine for this usage in Mark.[23] Lothar Ruppert gives a similar treatment of Ps 41, but Ben Witherington and Morna Hooker give even shorter treatments of the reference.[24] Craig Evans has a brief treatment of this reference, but only reflects on the effect of Jesus' prediction of the betrayal in that it "softens the embarrassment and disgrace for Jesus, namely, that one of his own disciples would give him up."[25]

The second time he treats Ps 41, Marcus does so only after arguing that the references to Ps 22 in Mark 15 include more than just the verses cited or alluded to in Mark. He states that "the citation of Ps 41:9 in Mark 14:18 is true to the

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because of the difficulty in dating (approximately, third century C.E.) and provenance, this reference cannot be used with any certainty with regard to the discussion of usage in Mark.

[21] Marcus, *Way of the Lord*, 172, uses 'Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer' as "more descriptive of the actual content of the psalms" than H. Gunkel's 'laments of the individual.' There are serious problems with the title 'Psalms of the Righteous Sufferer,' and its use requires more explanation and argumentation than what Marcus provides. The category clearly determines how he reads the way the psalms are used in Mark's passion narrative, thus giving him a predetermined meaning for Mark's depiction of Jesus in the passion narrative.

[22] Ibid., 172–86.

[23] Donahue and Harrington, *Gospel of Mark*, 394, 399.

[24] Lothar Ruppert, *Jesus als der leidende Gerechte? Der Weg Jesu im Lichte eines alt- und zwischentestamentlichen Motivs* (SBS 59; Stuttgart: KBW, 1972), 50, 51–52; Ben Witherington, *The Gospel of Mark: A Socio-Rhetorical Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 372; Hooker, *Gospel According to Saint Mark*, 336.

[25] Craig A. Evans, *Mark 8:27–16:20* (WBC 34B; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2001), 375–76.

wider context of the psalm since it not only speaks of betrayal but also situates this betrayal in the context of a *meal*. The continuation of the psalm, moreover, fits extremely well into the immediate Markan context and the larger flow of Mark's story." He goes on to discuss briefly the continuation of Ps 41 after v. 9 (v. 10 in the LXX and MT) and reads it in terms of the psalmist being rescued and vindicated by God.[26] Although the context of Ps 41:9 matters to Marcus, he does no detailed analysis of Ps 41, either in Hebrew or Greek, to understand fully how the context affects Mark 14.

What is needed is a closer examination of the psalm in question. Even if Mark 14:18 refers only to Ps 40:10, the meaning of this verse is most fully understood in the context of the entire psalm. To this end, I will examine Ps 40 in Greek using Rahlfs's text from the 1931 Göttingen Edition.[27] I will bring in discussion of the MT Ps 41 only when it aids in understanding particular terms and acts as a heuristic device that illuminates the grammar, syntax, or rhetorical structure of the Greek. After analyzing and interpreting Ps 40 as a literary whole in Greek, we can determine more carefully how the psalm may contribute something to the pericope in Mark or to other aspects of Mark's story of Jesus.

2.2.1 The Structure and Interpretation of LXX Psalm 40

a. Structure

The standard Psalms commentaries do not offer detailed analyses of the structure of Ps 40 in Greek because they all comment on the Hebrew Ps 41, only referring to the Greek when it will help clarify linguistic, lexical, or textual difficulties found in the Hebrew.[28] The few articles that deal exclusively with Ps

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[26] Marcus, *Way of the Lord*, 183. See also Ruppert, Jesus als der leidende Gerechte?, 50.

[27] For the problems associated with Rahlfs's critical edition, see Cameron Boyd-Taylor, Peter C. Austin, and Andrey Feuerverger, "The Assessment of Manuscript Affiliation With 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* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 98–124; Albert Pietersma, "The Present State of the Critical Text of the Greek Psalter," in *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen* (ed. A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 12–32.

[28] There is a consensus that Ps 41 is of mixed form, but by the time this psalm was appropriated by early Christian writers such as Mark, it was probably viewed in its Greek form(s) as a unity. For analyses of the MT Ps 41 as a mixed wisdom, lament, and thanksgiving form, see Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 1–59: A Commentary* (trans. H. C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1988); Peter C. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50* (WBC 19; Waco: Word, 1983); Manfred Oeming, *Das Buch der Psalmen: Psalm 1–41* (Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar, Altes Testament 13; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 2000); and Frank-

41 take the same approach.[29] With this in mind we turn to the text of LXX Ps 40 and consider it as a reader without recourse to Hebrew might have.

I will argue for the following structure:

v. 1 Superscript
v. 2 Beatitude
v. 3–4 Petition/wish for one named in Beatitude
v. 5 Plea for mercy and healing
v. 6–10 Lament: Description of situation
v. 11 Plea for mercy, elevation and revenge
v. 12–13 Expression of confidence
v. 14 Praise of God.

The superscript is obvious and self explanatory, as is the beatitude. As the psalm moves to v. 3, we notice that the verbs are aorist optatives in 3a (διαφυλάξαι, ζήσαι, μακαρίσαι) indicating either a wish or an imperatival construction. Verse 3b follows with μὴ παραδώῃ, which is a negation of an aorist subjunctive in the third person. Given the parallelism that usually occurs in poetry of this sort, we can take this as a prohibitive subjunctive, which has much the same force as the optatives of v. 3a if they are taken imperatively.[30] The next verse begins with another aorist optative (βοηθήσαι) in 4a, following the same pattern as in v. 3a, but then it contains a second person singular aorist active indicative in 4b (ἔστρεψας), breaking the pattern of third person singular exhortation found in vv. 3 and 4a. Instead of relying on grammatical structure, we must look at the content of these verses to see how they are functioning structurally. I will address this issue below in the interpretive section. Since there is such a clear change in subject, content, and grammar between vv. 4 and 5, it is safe to assume that structurally there is a break after v. 4.[31]

Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger, *Die Psalmen I: Psalm 1–50* (NEchtB:AT 29; Würzburg: Echter, 1993).

[29] Lauren R. Fisher, "Betrayed by Friends: An Expository Study of Psalm 22," *Int* 18 (1964): 20–38; P. Auffret, "'O Bonheurs de l'Homme Attentif au Faible!': Étude Structurelle du Psaume 41," *Bijdr* 50 (1989): 2–23.

[30] Therefore we can translate v. 3, "Let the Lord guard him, and let him live and bless him in the land; and let him (the Lord) not hand him over into the hand of his enemy." In English, in the third person it is difficult to distinguish between optative of wish and the imperatival optative. I have chosen to use "let" as the more imperatival sense, with "may" as the wish sense. In my view the imperatival optative is not as strong as the imperative. Instead, the imperatival optative corresponds more closely with the hortatory subjunctive (or in this case, the subjunctive of prohibition), rather than to the imperative.

[31] Cf. Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 39, who also breaks the psalm here.

The next section, vv. 5–11, begins and ends with a cry for mercy, which frames a lament of the psalmist's situation. The section is very easily discernible and in need of little discussion. Verse 12, however, is not so straightforward. The key to determining the structural function of v. 12 lies in the phrase ἐν τούτῳ, which often signals a causative or instrumental relationship with what immediately precedes it.[32] However, ἐν τούτῳ in the LXX often introduces a vow, a conditional statement, or a statement of fact.[33] Therefore, it is most likely that ἐν τούτῳ refers to v. 13, with the two ὅτι constructions of v. 12 telling what he knows based on those actions.[34] So the verse would read, "By this I know that you have favored me; (and) that my enemy will certainly not rejoice because of me," followed in v. 13 by what leads him to that conclusion, namely that in the past God has helped him and established him forever, creating an unresolved tension between the present state of the psalmist and the fact that in the past God has established him forever.

Verse 14 follows this and completes the structure of the psalm by offering a benediction, which blesses God as opposed to describing the blessed state of the person who pays attention to the poor.[35] Form critically one can see a mixture of forms in the psalm, even in the Greek. However, as a unit, it seems to function

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[32] H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (ed. G. M. Messing; 2d ed.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956) does not discuss the construction ἐν τούτῳ explicitly, but he draws the distinction between οὗτος and ὅδε as the former referring to what precedes and the latter to what follows. He does note that sometimes the reverse is true, especially with the neuter, which is present in v. 12. See the discussion in §§1238–56 and cf. LSJ C.VIII.6. F. Blass and A. Debrunner, *A Greek Grammar of the New Testament* (tr. and rev. R. W. Funk; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961) §219 (2) (cf. BDAG, 741) give a translation of "for that reason" for ἐν τούτῳ and then cite Acts 24:16 and John 16:30 as two clear examples of it referring to what precedes.

[33] Of the thirteen places where ἐν τούτῳ is used causatively or demonstratively, eleven point to what follows the phrase. See Gen 34:15, 22; 42:15, 33; Exod 7:17; Num 16:28; Josh 3:10–11; 1 Kgdms 2:10; Wis 16:8; *Pss. Sol.* 5:17; Jer 9:23. See Gen 24:14, 44 for examples of ἐν τούτῳ referring to what precedes it.

[34] ἐν τούτῳ translates בזאת, but this gives us no guidance since בזאת can be used for reference backward or forward. See *IBHS*, 309.

The MT of 41:12 reads: בזאת ידעתי כי־חפצת בי כי לא־יריע איבי עלי. The double כי can be interpreted similarly to the Greek, but the second כי could also be read as a causal particle (which is how Pietersma translates the Greek in *New English Translation of the Septuagint: Psalms*, 39). A third possibility is that the second כי could be an emphatic particle. Given the parallelism in the verse it is most likely that the verb ידעתי is assumed in the second part of the verse leading to a reading similar to the one I propose for the Greek.

[35] See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 28–28A; Garden City: Doubleday, 1981–1985), 1:633 who describes the distinction between the terms μακάριος and εὐλογητός.

most like a Psalm of Lament. We will see this more clearly below, because I will argue that the whole psalm is directed towards God as a way to persuade God to act on behalf of the suffering psalmist. The lament is at the heart of the psalm as the major element used to appeal to God for help.[36]

b. Interpretation[37]

After the superscript, which attributes the psalm to David or implies that it was written for David (ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ), the psalm begins with a beatitude for the one who considers the poor and needy and an assurance of the Lord's deliverance on the day of evil. This statement seems to be a general didactic saying that describes the order of social relations favored by God, since care for the poor is a primary criterion of a just order in Israel's sacred literature.[38] Verses 3 and 4 continue in this vein, but instead of asserting confidence in God's protection of the one who considers the poor, as the MT could,[39] the verbs are all in the form of an exhortation to God for protection, life, blessing, and aid during sickness, positively, and for not being handed over to enemies, negatively. Following the beatitude of v. 2, v. 3 can be read as an exhortation for the continuation of the just social order as determined by God. If one considers the poor, then advocating for that person's well-being is to wish for the same thing that God has willed. By doing this the psalmist establishes personal piety by taking the side of God with respect to social relations.

Verse 4 continues the urging begun in v. 3, but it becomes more specific. The psalmist's desire is for help during sickness, and this help is closely associated with the general qualities that should result from a person's just action. Verse 4b becomes even more specific, appealing to a past action of God

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[36] "Most of all it should be plain from our structure analysis that PLEA or PETITION for help … forms the very heart of a complaint song … In fact, all the other elements can be interpreted as preparing and supporting the petition … Complaints always try to change a situation of injustice and misery for the better," Erhard Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part 1, with an Introduction to Cultic Poetry* (FOTL 14; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988), 13.

[37] Both the Hebrew and its Greek translation use the masculine singular generically. Although it is desirable to change these to plurals, due to the interplay between the generic singular and the singular relating to the psalmist, the singular will be retained throughout this discussion. When a pronoun is needed to refer to the psalmist, it will be the masculine, in keeping with the Hebrew and Greek.

[38] For example, Ps 82; Jer 22; Deut 10, 16, 24, 27; much of Amos; Isa 1, 58; Job 31, Zech 7, are among the many passages that describe this criterion.

[39] All of the verbs from vv. 3a and 4a are in the imperfect; 3b has the construction אל + perfect, indicating a negative imperative. These imperfect verbs could be read as jussives, but the common future translation is also possible. Therefore in the MT vv. 3 and 4 could continue the beatitude of v. 2. The Greek is much more clearly some form of wish or exhortation because the verbs are not in the indicative.

with an aorist verb and appealing directly to God with the second person of the aorist. And it is not just general help during sickness that the psalmist recalls, but it is *care* during sickness: "his whole bed you changed during his sickness" (ὅλην τὴν κοίτην αὐτοῦ ἔστρεψας ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ). Although this phrase is as difficult to understand in a precise way, as it is in the MT, the tense and person of the verb and the description of some caring action on behalf of the subject, God, make the verse intelligible enough to show the psalmist's intention to positively describe God's past action during illness.[40]

The psalmist quickly takes the psalm from the most general statement of justice in v. 2, which expresses his understanding of God's ways, to general exhortations for the fruits of justice in v. 3, which expresses his alignment with God's will, to a more specific extrapolation of God's blessing of a just person in v. 4a, namely help during sickness, to a specific instance of past action that resulted in care during sickness in v. 4b. This progression sets up the description of the psalmist's particular case of suffering in the next section. Verses 2–4 are at once an affirmation of God's justice and a preparation for challenging that justice by the psalmist's specific situation of suffering. The juxtaposition of vv. 2–4 with the next section raises the question of where his desperate situation fits in this scheme of justice just described.

Verse 5 begins with the statement ἐγὼ εἶπα, which puts the following verses in the context of reported speech. The question is, where does the reported speech end? The words that follow are in the second person, so we should look for where the second person verbal subjects end in order to determine where the reported speech ends. It is possible to read v. 6 as the end of the reported speech, but vv. 11–13 pick up the second person address to God again.[41] Grammatically, it makes sense to include vv. 6–13 in the reported speech and possibly even v. 14, if one considers the blessing spoken directly to God in the third person. Below, we will address the implications for these sections of the psalm all being part of reported speech.

The cry for mercy in v. 5 comes just after the psalmist's recollection of God's past actions and wish for more of the same. The cry for healing in v. 5b is coupled with the reason that healing is needed, namely, the psalmist's sin against God. This sin goes undescribed; the acknowledgement is perhaps a general statement of the psalmist's lowly condition in comparison to God. As

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[40] The MT reads כל־משכבו הפכת בחליו. Craigie, *Psalms 1–50*, 320, reads this half of the verse as a metaphor with God as a nurse who provides the sick person with some comfort and consolation. Hossfeld and Zenger, *Die Psalmen I*, 262, read this verse as God reversing the sickness, turning it into health for the sick person. Both recognize the grammatical difficulty of the Hebrew in the verse and the ambiguous nature of the image.
[41] Pietersma, *New English Translation of the Septuagint: Psalms*, 39, ends the reported speech of the psalmist with v. 5.

the psalmist continues the tension grows between the present situation and the way things should be. The psalmist describes his condition and the way those around him respond to his suffering. Twice in this section the psalmist reports in direct speech the ridicule received from the perceived enemies. In v. 6, they wish for the psalmist's death so that his name may perish, which is a double death, actual death and the forgetting of his name after death.[42] Verse 7 is confusing because of the unexpressed singular subject of the verbs.[43] The best way to read it is that v. 6 ends the direct quote and v. 7 continues with an indefinite subject representing one of the psalmist's "enemies." The verse is a simple past condition, "And if he came in to see, he spoke falsely (or without cause); his heart gathered lawlessness to himself, he went out and spoke." The verbs in 7a and 7c, which describe the action of the antagonist, are in the imperfect indicative,[44] which connotes uncompleted or customary action here. The abuse started in the past but continues in the present, and perhaps happened repeatedly in the past.

Verses 8 and 9 continue with the description of more abusive speech against the psalmist. In v. 8 all the psalmist's enemies whisper together and devise evil things. In v. 9, they utter λόγον παράνομον, "a lawless word," which is then quoted as a question assuming a negative answer: "Will the one who is sleeping (or dead) ever rise again?" In v. 10 even the one closest to the psalmist has joined in: "For even the man of my peace, in whom I hoped, the one eating my bread, magnified his cunning against me" (καὶ γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς εἰρήνης μου, ἐφ᾽ ὃν ἤλπισα, ὁ ἐσθίων ἄρτους μου, ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν). The psalmist ends the lament here with the worst possible scenario: his closest friend has failed to respond to his need and has acted duplicitously, even though it is not specified what exactly the friend did.[45] This is in sharp contrast to the way things ought to be, as described in vv. 2–4. The psalm in v. 11 moves to another cry for mercy, framing the lament, but this time the psalmist cries, "Raise me up and I will pay them back" (καὶ ἀνάστησόν με, καὶ ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς).

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[42] See, for example, Sir 15:6; 37:26; 40:12; 41:10–13; 44:8; Eccl 7:1; Prov 10:7; Job 18:17. See John J. Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997), 79.

[43] The MT has a similar issue: ואם־בא לראות שוא ידבר לבו יקבץ־און לו יצא לחוץ ידבר.

[44] The syntax of v. 7 in the MT is a real condition introduced with אם and a perfect in the protasis, and a series of imperfects in the apodosis. This construction connotes more of a present-future orientation to the conditional rather than the simple past condition of the Greek construction, although the distinction is not as clear in Hebrew as it is in Greek.

[45] The phrase ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ᾽ ἐμὲ πτερνισμόν is ambiguous in its content, but it is clear that it is a vivid expression that communicates the antagonistic response to the psalmist. The noun only appears here and 4 Kgdms 10:19 and in other Greek literature only in reference to Ps 40.

As I argued above, ἐν τούτῳ in v. 12 refers to what follows in v. 13, and the two ὅτι clauses signal what it is that the psalmist has learned. Much like vv. 2–4, v. 13 reflects past events to remind God of what God has done in the past, but this time it is not for any just person, but for the psalmist: "So, *me*, because of (my) innocence, you helped, and you established me before you forever" (ἐμού δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀκακίαν ἀντελάβου, καὶ ἐβεβαίωσάς με ἐνώπιόν σου εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). The emphatic ἐμού, both in its form and placement, emphasizes the relationship to which the psalmist directs God's attention in this verse: (paraphrasing) "It is *I* here for whom you have done these things in the past; what about now?" The διὰ τὴν ἀκακίαν is an additional key to understanding this verse. In the past, God has helped the psalmist and established him because of his innocence. This is in sharp contrast to v. 5 in which the psalmist asks for mercy and healing *because of his sin*. In the past, the psalmist reminds God, help and establishment came because of the psalmist's blamelessness; but what about now, when sin is present? Together vv. 12 and 13 function to express confidence in God's ability to act on behalf of the psalmist, but at the same time they challenge God to act as God has in the past in spite of the psalmist's sinfulness.[46] In other words, the psalmist is challenging God to live up to one end of the relationship assumed by the psalmist, by acting on behalf of the psalmist.[47]

Verse 14 then rounds out the psalm with an unconditional praise of the God of Israel. Knowing that God delights in praise, it is performed in anticipation of God's definitive act as a persuasive device to elicit God's response to the psalmist's desperate situation.[48] As the psalm ends, the psalmist has tried everything to entreat God. He has appealed to the past actions of God, to the just way in which God would prefer people to act; he has aligned himself with God's will; he has cried out for mercy, healing, and forgiveness; he has described his desperate situation; he has expressed confidence in God's ability to respond

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[46] The expression of confidence is also a common trait of the psalms of lament or complaint. See Gerstenberger, *Psalms: Part 1*, 12.

[47] Tony W. Cartledge, "Conditional Vows in the Psalms of Lament: A New Approach to an Old Problem," in *The Listening Heart: Essays in Wisdom and the Psalms in Honor of Roland E. Murphy* (ed. K. G. Hoglund; JSOTSup 58; Sheffield: JSOT, 1987), 81. See also Walter Brueggemann, "The Psalms As Prayer," in *The Psalms and the Life of Faith* (ed. P. D. Miller and W. Brueggemann; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 55.

[48] Cartledge, "Conditional vows in the Psalms of lament," 81, 86. This reading is contrary to the most commonly held view developed originally by Westermann in *The Praise of God in the Psalms* (trans. K. Crim; Richmond: John Knox, 1965), 15–35 and idem, "The Role of Lament in the Theology of the Old Testament," *Int* 28 (1974): 20–38. According to Westermann the praise in the lament psalms indicates that God has heard the complaint and petition and that there has been a change in the situation of the psalmist. Westermann strongly asserts that the lament has no meaning without praise because the lament is turned into praise by the end of the psalm.

while at the same time issuing a challenge to God to act as in the past to show that the psalmist is pleasing to God; and finally, he has praised God in advance of an answer. But there is no answer, and this is highlighted by the fact that the whole of the psalm from v. 5 onward is placed in a reported speech context with the psalmist reporting his travails to God. By the end of the psalm, the reader expects a quotation that records God's answer. The psalm ends without God's response, and thus an ambiguity arises in the mind of the reader about where God is in the midst of this psalmist's isolation and suffering. It is clear that the psalmist stands with God because the entire appeal is directed toward God. But where does God stand? By raising this question the psalm leaves the reader to reflect more deeply on the nature of the relationship between God and humans. There is no answer in the psalm, and in fact the psalm is not about finding answers. Rather it is about asking questions, expressing the reality of human suffering and the abandonment felt in the midst of it, and probing more deeply into the mystery of God's interaction with humanity.

2.2.2 Reading Mark 14:17–20 in Light of Psalm 40

As we saw in our first reading of Mark 14:17–21, Judas has already agreed to find a way to hand over Jesus to the chief priests (14:10–11), Jesus has accurately predicted the situation in the city as the disciples prepare the Passover (14:12–16), and the scene of Jesus' prediction of Judas's actions is at that meal. It is worth emphasizing the intimacy of the situation, characterized first by the meal and then even more so by it being a Passover meal, a commemoration of the founding events of Israel's history. In the course of one verse, Mark narrates the intimacy between the twelve and Jesus, reaffirms Jesus' connection with the divine world by his making an accurate prediction of the course of events, and aligns Jesus with the plight of the lamenter in Ps 40. During this intimate moment with Jesus' closest associates, Mark juxtaposes two voices, that of the one who knows the divine world and that of Ps 40, the one who suffers at the hand of his friend-turned-enemy.

When one considers the ambiguity that arises by the end of Ps 40, Jesus' already ambiguous relationship with God in Mark gains an added dimension. Without exploring this aspect of Mark's narrative extensively, I wish to point out several key elements that reveal this ambiguity before the passion narrative. Jesus is presented as a powerful healer, exorcist, and miracle worker. He is also presented as working with God's approval as evidenced in the epiphany of his baptism (1:11) and the transfiguration (9:7). At the same time, elements of suffering begin to emerge. The Jewish authorities continually oppose him beginning in 3:6. His family accuses him of being out of his mind in 3:21, and then his family and members of his home town reject him in 6:3. This suffering is understandable, especially when one thinks of the prophetic tradition in Israel,

and thus far does not directly affect his relationship with God. However, when the theme of suffering begins to grow, Jesus' approval and authority, which he received from God, stands right alongside life-threatening suffering. Divine necessity is indicated in the first prediction of suffering and death (8:31) and implied in the other two predictions (9:31; 10:33–34). Mark 10:45 is a summary statement of Jesus' mission: "For the Son of Man did not come to be served but to serve and to give his life as ransom for many." By juxtaposing Jesus' power and suffering, one can see Mark trying to make sense of Jesus' death by placing it in the context of God's will and approval.

In chapter 14, Jesus' power becomes evident again, but the voice of the suffering lamenter comes to the fore in 14:18. Let us explore the perceived maltreatment of the psalmist in Ps 40 a bit deeper in conversation with Mark 14:17–21. The psalmist describes being on a deathbed, at death's door. Fellow associates do not come to his aid. In the psalmist's view they speak evil things against him, wondering when he will die and have his name erased from memory (v. 6b); they gather lawlessness to themselves (v. 7b), whisper together against him (v. 8a) and devise evil things (v. 8b). Because of these actions, they cease being friends and become enemies who abandon him during grave illness. They give up on him as indicated by the strongly negative rhetorical question in v. 9, "Will the one sleeping (or, the one who is dead) ever rise up again?" (Μὴ ὁ κοιμώμενος οὐχὶ προσθήσει τοῦ ἀναστῆναι;). They take him for dead. Certainly, the psalmist believes that his friends, especially the most intimate one, should be a support and companion during the darkest of hours, even to the point of death. They all turn against him with their lawless and evil words, which culminate in the cunning of "the man of my peace." Associates and friends have become enemies; therefore, the psalmist is left to the mercy of enemies and left to die in their hands. God is the only hope, but even in the midst of his cries there is no clear answer.

Jesus' situation seems similar in Mark. By this point in Mark's narrative, the Pharisees have begun to conspire with the Herodians in order to destroy him (3:6). And the chief priests and scribes were seeking how to take him ἐν δόλῳ and kill him (14:1). The conspiracy of the Pharisees with the Herodians and the desire of the chief priests and scribes to take Jesus ἐν δόλῳ recalls the cunning (πτερνισμός) with which the psalmist was treated in LXX Ps 40:10. Similarly, all of these people are Jesus' countrymen-turned-enemies as in Ps 40. Because of these plans to arrest and destroy Jesus and the fact that Jesus has predicted his suffering and death three times (8:31; 9:31; and 10:32–33), Mark's reader plainly knows that death is coming. When the intimacy of the meal arrives in 14:17, one also knows that Jesus is about to be handed over, something that the psalmist prays never to happen to him. When Jesus makes his prediction by evoking Ps 40, the reader associates the injustice, the outrage, and the ambiguity of the psalmist's cries with Jesus' situation, the most serious aspects of which

are the treachery of his most trusted companions and the question of God's presence in the midst of his suffering. When Jesus makes the statement that the Son of Man must go as it is written of him, this is no longer just a general statement of divine sanction through the appeal to scripture. Ps 40 changes the coordinates with which one reads the rest of the story by bringing in the questions that are raised by the psalmist's cries—what kind of justice is God's justice and where is God in the midst of this suffering? By evoking Ps 40, Mark 14:17–20 begins the process of searching deeper into the mystery of divine-human relations.

In this brief consideration, we can see the potential depth that Ps 40 has added to Mark 14:17–21. Without examining the evoked text of Ps 40, one might miss important themes and contours of the Gospel that can shed light on early Christian struggles to understand Jesus' death and his relationship to God. We could go further and consider how Ps 40 affects one's reading of the entire passion narrative in Mark—in other words, go through stage (4) of Ben-Porat's process of allusion. Much could be made of the ambiguity raised in the relationship between God and Jesus, especially when one considers it in light of Jesus' experience in Gethsemane and the allusion in that material to Pss 41–42 (LXX). Much could also be made of Mark's probable allusions to Ps 68 (LXX) in 15:23 and 36, and Jesus' use of Ps 21 (LXX) as he cries from the cross. But these considerations are far too complex for this study and will have to wait for further consideration.

The Septuagint Textual Tradition in 1 Peter

Karen H. Jobes

The book of 1 Peter quotes and alludes to the Septuagint more frequently than any other New Testament book, relative to its brief length. This paper presents a descriptive analysis of the Septuagint textual tradition as it is found in 1 Peter. This study does not concern itself explicitly with textual criticism, in that where evidence for more than one OG reading is found it does not attempt to determine the original reading. Where such differences may be evidence for a Hebrew reading different from the MT, this study does not attempt to determine the original reading of the Hebrew. This study is descriptive in that it is concerned with identifying individual textual issues for subsequent study in light of the larger picture of how the author of 1 Peter characteristically handled quotations. The critically reconstructed 27th Nestle-Aland text of the New Testament and the Göttingen *Septuaginta* are assumed to represent the original readings as a working hypothesis, until there is good reason to adopt a different reading.[1] However, to be sure, this study *is* concerned with questions related to textual criticism that are hopefully of value in reaching textual decisions. Specifically this study addresses three major questions:

1)   How do the quotations in 1 Peter compare with their Septuagint source texts; and where there are differences, how can they best be accounted for?

2)   To what extent has the text of 1 Peter influenced the transmission of the Septuagint texts it quotes?

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[1] The primary texts used for this study are NA[27] for 1 Peter; Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis* (3d ed.; Septuaginta 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) for Psalms; Joseph Ziegler, *Isaias* (3d ed.; Septuaginta 14; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983) for Isaiah; John W. Wevers, *Leviticus* (Septuaginta 2.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) for Leviticus; Joseph Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae* (2d ed.; Septuaginta 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) for the Twelve Prophets; and Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr., 2 vols. in 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979) for Proverbs. In reference to variant readings, only the major apparatus of each text was examined.

3) To what extent has the transmission of the text of 1 Peter been influenced by the Greek texts of the passages it quotes?

One specific example might illustrate the value of this kind of study. In 1 Pet 2:6 we find a quote from Isa 28:16: "For in Scripture it says: 'See, I lay a stone in Zion, a chosen and precious cornerstone, and the one who trusts "in him" will never be put to shame.'" Leonhard Goppelt claims in his commentary on 1 Peter that the prepositional phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "in him," (Isa 28:16) is a secondary Christian interpolation that was inserted into manuscripts of Isaiah to harmonize that text with 1 Peter (or possibly with Rom 9:33, where it is also quoted).[2] Knowledge of whether the text of 1 Peter was frequently interpolated back into the manuscripts of the Septuagint passages it quotes, and if so, whether the nature of those interpolations was distinctively Christian, helps to evaluate such a claim as made by Goppelt. We shall return to this example later.

1. How Do the Quotations in 1 Peter Compare with Their Septuagint Source Texts, and Where There Are Differences, How Can They Best Be Explained?

Quotations from the Septuagint are found in every chapter of 1 Peter along with even more numerous allusions to it.[3] Seven of the fourteen quotations identified in this study are from the book of Isaiah, and generally speaking these are used to form the basis of 1 Peter's Christology. Three quotations are from Psalms, two from Proverbs, and one from Leviticus. Quotations from these three books are generally used as the grounds of exhortation, directly appropriating the authority and relevance of the Tanak for Christian readers. Each of the three parts of the Tanak is represented within 1 Peter, albeit not evenly.

While it is well known that 1 Peter draws its quotations from the Septuagint, to what extent do the quotations as they appear in 1 Peter agree with the extant OG of the passages it quotes? Where there are differences, can they be best explained as textual issues or as hermeneutical issues? Where the Tanak

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[2] Leonhard Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter* (trans. J. E. Alsup and ed. F. Hahn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 145 n. 49.

[3] Depending on how one defines and divides a quotation (see S. Ahearne-Kroll, pp. 293–309, and Wilk, pp. 253–71, in this volume), various counts have been offered, from my fourteen, to McCartney's ten (Dan G. McCartney, "The Use of the Old Testament in the First Epistle of Peter." [PhD diss., Westminster Theological Seminary, 1989]), to Voorwinde's 18 (S. Voorwinde, "Old Testament Quotations in Peter's Epistles," *VR* 49 [1987]: 3–16), to Osborne's 31 (T. P. Osborne, "L'Ancien Testament Dans La Iᵃ Petri," *RTL* 12 [1987]: 64–77). For the purposes of this study the references to Hos 1:6, 9 in 1 Pet 2:10, to Isa 53:6 in 1 Pet 2:25 (on which see n. 8 below), and to Isa 11:2 in 4:14 are considered to be allusions, not quotations, because of their brevity.

is quoted in 1 Peter, does the OG agree with the Hebrew MT, and if they disagree, with which does 1 Peter side?

The list below indicates both the extent of agreement between 1 Peter and the Old Testament text it quotes, as well as where the OG disagrees with the MT and with which tradition 1 Peter agrees. When there is significant disagreement between the MT and OG within the passage quoted, an asterisk (*), pound sign (#), or percent sign (%) is used as follows to characterize with which text 1 Peter agrees:[4]

*   1 Peter agrees with the OG against the MT
\#   1 Peter agrees with neither OG nor MT
%   1 Peter agrees with MT against OG
?   It is uncertain with which 1 Peter agrees; it depends on how "agreement" is defined.

As Table 22 below indicates, of these fourteen quotations, eight exhibit some difference between the OG and the MT. Of the eight quotations in 1 Peter where the OG and MT do not agree, 1 Peter follows the OG five times. In one case—when quoting Isa 8:14 in 1 Pet 2:8—it is uncertain with which 1 Peter agrees, for although at first glance it seems to be following the syntax of the MT, the phrase is short enough that 1 Peter may be simply excerpting the OG. One of the two cases where 1 Peter follows neither the OG nor the MT—1 Pet 4:8 quoting Prov 10:12—is deceptive because it appears that the author of 1 Peter is simply using a familiar saying and not quoting a text at all. The other case where 1 Peter follows neither the OG nor the MT, Isa 28:16 in 1 Pet 2:6, is one of the few places where some of the differences in this verse may be due to a different Greek text of Isaiah that reflects a *Vorlage* different from the MT.

The tables below also indicate the nature of the extent of agreement between 1 Peter and OG by the following categories:[5]

[A] =   exact agreement, according to the critical texts, except for orthographical differences
[B] =   trivial difference(s) without textual or hermeneutical significance
[C] =   significant difference(s) of textual or hermeneutical interest
[D] =   substantial and extensive discrepancy

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[4] These notations and the categories employed follow those used by Moisés Silva in a similar study of the Psalms quotations in Paul's letters: Moisés Silva, "The Greek Psalter in Paul's Letters: A Textual Study," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 277–88. In the following discussion, chapter and verse numbers correspond to those of the Greek text, with the English (and Hebrew) versification given in parentheses where that is different from the Greek.

[5] Again, following Silva's conventions in "Greek Psalter in Paul's letters."

Table 22. 1 Peter citations compared with Old Greek

		1 Peter		Location of quote	Notes
1.	[A]	1:16	*	Lev 19:2	(1 Peter agrees with OG against MT)
2.	[C]	1:24–25	*	Isa 40:6–8	(1 Peter agrees with OG against MT)
3.	[C]	2:3		Ps 33:9 (34:8)	
4.	[C]	2:6	#	Isa 28:16	(1 Peter agrees with neither OG nor MT)
5.	[A]	2:7		Ps 117:22 (118:22)	
6.	[C]	2:8	?	Isa 8:14	(uncertain with which 1 Peter agrees)
7.	[B]	2:12		Isa 10:3	
8.	[A]	2:22		Isa 53:9	
9.	[C]	2:24	*	Isa 53:4, 5, and 12b	(1 Peter agrees with OG against MT)
10.	[C]	3:10–12		Ps 33:13–16 (34:14–17)	
11.	[C]	3:14, 15	*	Isa 8:12, 13	(1 Peter agrees with OG against MT)
12.	[D]	4:8	%	Prov 10:12	(1 Peter agrees with MT against OG)
13.	[A]	4:18	*	Prov 11:31	(1 Peter agrees with OG against MT)
14.	[A]	5:5		Prov 3:34	

Table 23. Quoted passages in 1 Peter [English Bible order]

	1 Peter
Lev 19:2	1:16
Ps 33:9 (34:8)	2:3
Ps 33:13–16 (34:14–17)	3:10–12
Ps 117:22 (118:22)	2:7
Prov 3:34	5:5
Prov 10:12	4:8
Prov 11:31	4:18
Isa 8:12, 13	3:14, 15
Isa 8:14	2:8
Isa 10:3	2:12
Isa 28:16	2:6
Isa 40:6–8	1:24–25
Isa 53:4, 5, and 12b	2:24
Isa 53:9	2:22

1.1 Exact and Nearly Exact Citations: Categories [A] and [B]

Five of the fourteen quotations in 1 Peter agree exactly, or nearly so, with the best currently reconstructed OG text:

[A] 1 Pet 1:16 quoting exactly Lev 19:2
[A] 1 Pet 2:7 quoting exactly Ps 117:22 (118:22)
[B] 1 Pet 2:12 quoting exactly Isa 10:3[6]
[A] 1 Pet 2:22 quoting exactly Isa 53:9
[A] 1 Pet 4:18 quoting exactly Prov 11:31
[A] 1 Pet 5:5 quoting exactly Prov 3:34[7]

Although the text of all these quotations is exactly the same between 1 Peter and the Septuagint, or nearly so, three passages, 1 Pet 1:16; 2:7; and 4:18, attest variant readings that provide data relevant to the question of whether one text influenced the transmission of the other.

1.1.1 1 Peter 1:16

Quoting Lev 19:2 in 1:16 the verb ἔσεσθε, "you will be," is a minority reading that agrees with LXX Leviticus. The majority of manuscripts of 1 Peter read γίνεσθε, "you will be/ become." In spite of the prevalence of γίνεσθε in the manuscripts of 1 Peter, this variant reading appears in only one fifteenth century manuscript of LXX Leviticus and one manuscript of Severianus when quoting Leviticus. Therefore, the majority reading of 1 Pet 1:16 does not appear to have influenced the textual transmission of LXX Lev 19:2.

1.1.2 1 Peter 4:18

A variant reading in 𝔓[72] of the 4:18 quotation of Prov 11:31 attests a transposition of the phrase ἀσεβὴς καὶ ἁμαρτωλός, "ungodly and sinner." This appears only in the Sinaiticus text of Prov 11:31.

1.1.3 1 Peter 2:7

In contrast to 1:16 and 4:18 the critical apparatus of 2:7 shows evidence that the text of OG Ps 117:22 (118:22) influenced the textual transmission of 1 Peter, because the noun λίθος, "stone," is 'corrected' in the majority of manuscripts of 1 Peter from the nominative form back to the accusative form found in the

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[6] Except that the OG includes definite articles where 1 Peter does not. (Does he consider the nouns monadic?)
[7] Except that 1 Peter specifies the subject as θεός, "God," rather than κύριος, "Lord"— though both texts agree on the referent in view—probably to avoid confusion with Jesus Christ, who is referred to as κύριος in 1 Peter.

psalm, even though this change introduces grammatical discord in the context of 1 Pet 2:7.

1.2 Citations with Substantial and Extensive Discrepancies: Category [D]

1 Pet 4:8	ἀγάπη καλύπτει πλῆθος ἁμαρτιῶν	Love covers a multitude of sins
Prov 10:12	πάντας δὲ τοὺς μὴ φιλονεικοῦντας καλύπτει φιλία	All who do not love strife love covers
Prov 10:12	כל־פשעים תכסה אהבה	all wrongs love covers

There is only one 'quotation' in 1 Peter that is substantially different from the OG it allegedly quotes. According to Aland's marginalia, 1 Pet 4:8 quotes Prov 10:12, but this study finds it doubtful that this is a quotation at all. The Greek of 1 Pet 4:8 is completely different from that found in OG Prov 10:12, which it allegedly quotes. Furthermore, although 1 Pet 4:8 renders the Hebrew of Prov 10:12 more closely than does OG Proverbs, it does so imperfectly. HRCS indicates that the Greek of 1 Pet 4:8 is a typical Greek rendering of these Hebrew words, except that πλῆθος, "multitude," rendering כל, "all," is an equivalence not found elsewhere in the Septuagint. Given that the author of 1 Peter pervasively uses the Septuagint throughout the epistle, it is unlikely that there would be such an uncharacteristic translation of the Hebrew text for only one quotation. Since the expression is a proverb, it is more likely that it already existed as a familiar saying in Greek, and 1 Peter is simply using that saying, possibly with the modification of "all" to "a multitude." Since this expression is deemed not to be a quotation of the Septuagint, it can be set aside for the purposes of this study. It should be noted, however, that there is no evidence in the manuscripts of OG Prov 10:12 that the Greek expression of the "proverb" that appears in 1 Pet 4:8 exerted any influence whatsoever on the textual transmission of OG Prov 10:12, at least as far as the very limited data of Rahlfs's critical apparatus reveals.

1.3 Citations of Textual or Hermeneutical Interest: Category [C]

There are seven quotations in 1 Peter that exhibit differences of textual or hermeneutical significance compared to the best critically reconstructed OG text.[8]

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[8] The reference to Isa 53:6 in 1 Pet 2:25 preserves intact only the two words ὡς πρόβατα, "as sheep," and is therefore considered an allusion, not a quotation, and is excluded from this study.

1.3.1 1 Peter 1:24–25 quoting Isaiah 40:6–8.

1 Pet 1:24–25	διότι πᾶσα σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῆς ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου· ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν· τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα κυρίου μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.	For, "All humanity is as grass, and all human splendor is as the flower of grass; the grass withers and the flower falls off, but the word of the Lord abides forever."
Isa 40:6–8	… πᾶσα σὰρξ χόρτος καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου ὡς ἄνθος χόρτου ἐξηράνθη ὁ χόρτος καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐξέπεσεν τὸ δὲ ῥῆμα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν μένει εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα	… All flesh is grass, all the glory of man is like the flower of grass. The grass has withered, and the flower has fallen, but the word of our God remains forever.
Isa 40: 6–8	כל־הבשר חציר וכל־חסדו כציץ השדה: יבש חציר נבל ציץ כי רוח יהוה נשבה בו אכן חציר העם: יבש חציר נבל ציץ ודבר־ אלהינו יקום לעולם:	All people are grass, their constancy is like the flower of the field. The grass withers, the flower fades, when the breath of the LORD blows upon it; surely the people are grass. The grass withers, the flower fades; but the word of our God will stand forever.

This is one of the three instances where the MT and OG of Isaiah are significantly different, because a line of text present in the MT is absent from the OG: "because the breath of the LORD blows on them. Surely the people are grass." In this lack 1 Peter follows the OG in 1:24–25, but presents three small differences compared to the OG of Isa 40:6–8. First, 1 Peter inserts ὡς, "as," in the opening phrase of the quotation: "all flesh is *as* grass." Many manuscripts of 1 Peter also omit the ὡς in agreement with the OG. Apparently influenced by 1 Peter, two late minuscules of Isa 40:6 include the ὡς, as do also a subgroup of the Cantena recension, and two daughter versions. Since ὡς is typical in 1 Peter for introducing metaphor even where a quotation is not involved, it was probably added here by the author of 1 Peter for stylistic reasons and subsequently influenced manuscripts of Isa 40.[9]

A second difference between 1 Pet 1:24 and Isa 40:6 is where the OG reads καὶ πᾶσα δόξα ἀνθρώπου, "and all the glory of humankind," NA27 of 1 Peter prefers αὐτῆς, "it" (fem.), over ἀνθρώπου as the original reading of the quotation, with the antecedent of the pronoun being σάρξ, "flesh." This difference is of

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[9] As also Paul J. Achtemeier, *1 Peter: Commentary on First Peter* (ed. E. J. Epp; Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 141 n. 70; and Osborne, "L'Ancien Testament dans la Iᵃ Petri," 67.

little or no significance in meaning, for σάρξ can be understood as referring to humankind, and so the substitution of the pronoun could be the result of slight paraphrase by the author of 1 Peter. On the other hand, F. A. Hort and J. Ramsey Michaels are among those who believe this difference may represent a Greek text of Isa 40:6 that included the pronoun.[10] However, a very feasible explanation, offered by Robert Kraft, is that the scribal abbreviation of ἀνθρώπου, ΑΝΟΥ, was corrupted to ΑΥΤΟΥ (αὐτοῦ), which was then changed to ΑΥΤΗΣ (αὐτῆς) to achieve grammatical agreement with σάρξ.[11] In fact, the original hand of Sinaiticus does attest the reading αὐτοῦ in 1:24 and the second corrector writes αὐτῆς, thus providing manuscript evidence of this very sequence of scribal activity. Since the habit of such abbreviation is limited to scribes of the Christian era, 1 Pet 1:24 would have originally read ἀνθρώπου, contra NA^{27}.[12] In fact, the majority of manuscripts of 1 Peter do read ἀνθρώπου here, and the reading αὐτῆς that is found in $\mathfrak{P}^{72}$, ℵ*, A, B, and C has had no influence on the manuscripts of OG Isa 40 (but it does appear in a few manuscripts of two Christian fathers quoting Isa 40).

The third difference between 1 Pet 1:25 and OG Isa 40:8 might be expected to have generated attempts to harmonize the two texts. It is where κυρίου appears in 1 Peter instead of θεοῦ, thus going against both the MT and OG. *Contra* Hort, who suggests that all the differences between 1 Pet 1:24–25 and Isa 40:6–8 were found in the author's OG text, this difference is almost certainly a deliberate change introduced by the author of 1 Peter, who consistently makes the opposite change from κύριος to θεός in the quotation of Prov 3:34 in 5:5 (see 1:3 and cf. 3:13, 14 below).[13] This change allows for the consistent use of terms that distinguish God from Christ. The change in 1:25 therefore identifies the eternal word of God known to Isaiah as equivalent with the gospel of Christ. In the six other places where 1 Peter uses κύριος to refer to deity, three are clearly references to Jesus Christ (1:3, 2:3, 3:15), and two are somewhat ambiguous (2:13, 3:12^{2x}). Interestingly, the OG manuscripts of Isa 40:6–8 were influenced here by 1 Peter through the major Lucianic group, four Christian writers, and two daughter versions. On the other hand, there is not one extant reading where OG Isa 40:8 influenced the text of 1 Peter in this verse.

In summary, 1 Peter's quotation of Isa 40:6–8 clearly follows the extant OG version, where the only significant difference (κυρίου for θεοῦ) was introduced

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[10] Fenton J. A. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter, I. 1–II. 17: The Greek Text with Introductory Lecture, Commentary, and Additional Notes* (London: Macmillan, 1898), 94; followed by J. Ramsey Michaels, *1 Peter* (WBC; Waco: Word, 1988), 77.

[11] Offered in discussion at the conference The Septuagint in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor Maine, September 8–12, 2002.

[12] On the *nomina sacra* see the article by Schart, pp. 157–77, in this volume.

[13] Hort, *First Epistle of St. Peter*, I. 1–II. 17, 94.

to maintain a consistent style for a theological reason that was central to the message of 1 Peter.

1.3.2 1 Peter 2:3 quoting Psalm 33:9a (34:9a).

1 Pet 2:3	εἰ ἐγεύσασθε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος.	… since you have tasted that the Lord is good.
Ps 33:9	γεύσασθε καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι χρηστὸς ὁ κύριος	O taste and see that the Lord is kind
Ps 34:9	טעמו וראו כי־טוב יהוה	O taste and see that the LORD is good

There are two differences between 1 Pet 2:3 and OG Ps 33:9, and both are clearly the deliberate decision of the author of the epistle. The imperative mood of γεύσασθε, "taste!," is changed to an aorist indicative, ἐγεύσασθε, "you tasted," because the author of 1 Peter is using the quotation to ground the exhortation that the epistle's Christian readers, who have already tasted the goodness of the Lord, should crave pure spiritual milk as newborn babies (2:2). 1 Peter also omits the second verb ἴδετε, "see," because it does not cohere with the use of the sensory metaphor of taste and is superfluous to his point.

The variant reading χριστὸς ὁ κύριος, "Christ is the Lord," in manuscripts of 1 Pet 2:3 appears in one early papyrus ($\mathfrak{P}^{72}$), which also changes ἐγεύσασθε, "you tasted," to ἐπιστεύσατε, "you believed"—clearly an interpretive gloss indicating that to taste the Lord meant to believe in Christ. However, neither this reading nor the other differences between 1 Pet 2:3 and the psalm prompted any variant readings in the manuscripts of OG Ps 33:9.

1.3.3 1 Peter 2:6 quoting Isaiah 28:16.

1 Pet 2:6	διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ· ἰδοὺ τίθημι ἐν Σιὼν λίθον ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἐκλεκτὸν ἔντιμον καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ	For in Scripture it says: "Behold! I place in Zion a chosen, precious cornerstone, and the one who trusts in him will never be put to shame."
Isa 28:16	διὰ τοῦτο οὕτως λέγει κύριος ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐμβαλῶ εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ἔντιμον εἰς τὰ θεμέλια αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ πιστεύων ἐπ' αὐτῷ οὐ μὴ καταισχυνθῇ	therefore thus says the Lord, See I will lay for the foundations of Sion a precious, choice stone, a highly valued cornerstone for its foundations, and the one who believes in him will not be put to shame.
Isa 28:16	לכן כה אמר אדני יהוה הנני יסד בציון אבן אבן בחן פנת	therefore thus says the Lord GOD, See, I am laying in Zion

יקרת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא   a foundation stone, a tested
יחיש: stone, a precious cornerstone, a
                                   sure foundation: "One who
                                   trusts will not panic."

This is one of five quotations of Isaiah where the OG is different from the MT, and the only case where 1 Peter agrees with neither, although it is clearly closer to the OG. Isa 28:16 is one of the three "stone" passages of the Hebrew Scriptures (the other two being Ps 118:22, and Isa 8:13–14) that even before the advent of Christ were interpreted to refer to the Messiah. This Messianic understanding may be reflected where OG Isa 28:16–17a differs in two ways from the Hebrew. First, it interprets the verbal aspect of the Hebrew to be future oriented: "See, I *will lay* for the foundations …" Secondly, the Greek includes the prepositional phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ: "… and whoever believes *in him* will not be put to shame" (NETS).

Whether the prepositional phrase ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "in him," is original to OG Isa 28:16 or is a secondary and possibly Christian interpolation, is debated. According to Ziegler's critical edition of Isaiah, the phrase originated with the Greek translator of Isaiah apparently as an interpretive gloss. The gender and number of the pronoun in the prepositional phrase is masculine singular, agreeing grammatically with the antecedent λίθον, "stone." It could be understood to mean that whoever trusts in this stone as a sure foundation will never be ashamed. However, in collocation with the verb πιστεύω, "I believe," the pronoun can be taken as personal (as the NRSV translator apparently took it) and possibly as a reference to the Messiah who was expected to come. A personal referent for the prepositional phrase is not a distinctively Christian understanding, for the phrase was so understood in some traditions of Judaism in the pre-Christian era. As de Waard points out, the quotation of Isa 28:16 in *Rule of the Community* was understood to refer to the eschatological community (cf. 1 Pet 2:5), and *Tg. Isa.* 28:16 identifies the appointed stone as a mighty king in Zion.[14] By adding the prepositional phrase the Greek translator of Isaiah may be expressing a similar interpretation of 28:16.

The quotation of Isa 28:16 in 1 Pet 2:6 also includes the prepositional phrase, but identifies the stone as Jesus Christ. In his commentary on 1 Peter L. Goppelt claims that the appearance of the phrase in Isa 28:16 is a Christian interpolation that was inserted back into manuscripts of Isa 28:16 to harmonize it with 1 Pet 2:6 or Rom 9:33, where it is also quoted.[15] This claim should be considered after examining how many of the other interpretive changes the

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[14] Jan de Waard, *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: Brill, 1965), 54–60.
[15] Goppelt, *Commentary on I Peter*, 145 n. 49.

author of 1 Peter made to quotations were actually inserted into OG manuscripts, and of those which were, whether they are specifically Christian interpolations. Notably there are no contending variant readings in the OG manuscripts of Isa 28:16, as might be expected if the Isaiah verse had been harmonized with the New Testament quotations of this passage, all of which include the prepositional phrase (1 Pet 2:4; Rom 9:33; 10:11). To anticipate the conclusion of this study, the text of 1 Peter does not appear to have influenced the transmission of the OG Isaiah (see further discussion in summary below), even where Christology is at issue. When such data from all the quotations of 1 Peter are considered, it seems unlikely that ἐπ' αὐτῷ, "in him," in LXX Isa 28:16 was an interpolation from 1 Peter. F. Wilk reached the same conclusion on the originality of the phrase to the OG in his study of the quotation of Isa 28:16 in Romans.[16]

A second major difference between the OG and the MT of Isa 28:16 is that the former has a completely different thought following in the next verse. Where v. 17 in the MT reads, "I will make justice the measuring line …," the OG reads, "And I will turn judgment into hope …", a motif that is also important to the message of 1 Peter.

Although 1 Peter is clearly using the OG of Isaiah, there are nevertheless three interesting differences between the quotation in 2:6 and its source in Isa 28:16. 1 Pet 2:6 uses the present tense verb τίθημι, "I place," where the OG has the future form ἐμβαλῶ, "I will lay." This may at first glance suggest that 1 Peter is closer to the MT reading, except that, according to HRCS, the Hebrew verb יסד, "to found, establish," found in Isa 28:16 is not translated with τίθημι elsewhere in the LXX. On the other hand, the same can be said of the OG verb ἐμβαλω, which is found only here in the LXX to render יסד. This may indicate that a different Hebrew word was in the *Vorlage* of the OG translator.

The author of 1 Peter may have chosen to substitute τίθημι for ἐμβαλω because the semantic range of that verb facilitates the idea of divine appointment, which he will highlight in 2:8 using a form of τίθημι again. However, the first five words of the quotation, including τίθημι, appear identically in the quotation of Isa 28:16 in Rom 9:33. This perhaps argues against τίθημι being introduced by the author of 1 Peter, for if it were, it would imply that Romans is dependent on 1 Peter here. Or perhaps both Peter and Paul depended on a common source that included the verb, possibly a Greek text of Isa 28 that included the word as argued by Wilk, or a source of messianic testimonies as argued by Michaels.[17]

The author of 1 Peter probably uses the present tense rather than the future because he interprets the stone to be Jesus Christ who had already been "placed

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[16] Florian Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus* (FRLANT 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998), 31.

[17] Ibid., 33–34; Michaels, *1 Peter*, 104.

in Zion." Interestingly, there are no variant readings of 1 Pet 2:6 that "correct" this text to the verb ἐμβαλῶ of OG Isa 28:16, nor does τίθημι find its way back into the manuscripts of OG Isa 28:16. This lack of attestation of either verb in the manuscripts of both books may be considered as evidence that 1 Peter's use of the verb does not derive from a different Greek text of Isa 28.

The second difference between 1 Peter and OG Isa 28:16 is where 1 Pet 2:6 reads ἐν Σιών, "in Zion," where the OG has the phrase εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων, "for the foundations of Zion." According to 1 Peter the Living Stone placed in Zion had become the foundation of the Christian church, thus making the phrase εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων less suitable in the new historical context. However, the omission of εἰς τὰ θεμέλια Σιων also happens to agree with the MT, 1QIsᵃ, and *Targum Isaiah*. This probably indicates that 1 Peter is following a Greek text of Isa 28:16 that also omitted the words.[18]

The third difference between the quotation in 1 Pet 2:6 and its source text in Isa 28:16 is found in the description of the stone. Of the three adjectives found in the OG description of the stone—πολυτελῆ, ἐκλεκτόν, and ἔντιμον, "precious, chosen, and valuable"—only the last two appear in the 1 Peter quotation, both following the noun ἀκρογωνιαῖον, "cornerstone." Adjectives in 1 Peter precede the substantive at least twenty-two times and follow it at least sixteen times, so there is no clear stylistic pattern that would explain this difference between 1 Peter and the OG text. The retention of ἐκλεκτὸν and ἔντιμον make sense given 1 Peter's emphasis on election elsewhere and the use of the cognate noun τιμή immediately in the next verse. Although there are no extant manuscripts of OG Isa 28:16 that omit πολυτελῆ, T. Osborne has suggested that a confusion of ו and ר in the phrase אבן בחן, "precious stone," led to אבן בחר, "chosen stone," and an alternate translation as λίθον ἐκλεκτὸν, "chosen stone." This was subsequently conflated with the λίθον πολυτελῆ, "precious stone," of other manuscripts to yield the extant OG text λίθον πολυτελῆ ἐκλεκτὸν, "precious, chosen stone."[19] He suggests that the author of 1 Peter used a Greek text that included λίθον ἐκλεκτὸν but omitted πολυτελῆ. This is one of the few quotations in 1 Peter introduced with a formula, in this case διότι περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ, "for it is in the writing." This may suggest that the author here intends to closely follow a written source, which would give weight to the theory about a Greek text that differed from the extant OG text. Although Osborne's theory is quite plausible, there is no extant manuscript evidence to support it. Given the lack of manuscript evidence, it is also possible that 1 Peter's omission of πολυτελῆ reflects not a different OG text but a deliberate paraphrase to include only the two adjectives that best suited the rhetoric of the immediate context.

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[18] de Waard, *Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text*, 57.

[19] Osborne, "L'Ancien Testament dans la Iᵃ Petri," 68 n. 11.

1.3.4 1 Peter 2:8 quoting Isaiah 8:14.

1 Pet 2:8	καὶ λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου· οἳ προσκόπτουσιν τῷ λόγῳ ἀπειθοῦντες εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθησαν	and, "a stone causing stumbling and a rock that is an occasion to sin." They stumble because they are disobeying the word—to which also they were appointed
Isa 8:14	καὶ ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πεποιθὼς ἦς ἔσται σοι εἰς ἁγίασμα καὶ οὐχ ὡς λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι ὁ δὲ οἶκος Ιακωβ ἐν παγίδι καὶ ἐν κοιλάσματι ἐγκαθήμενοι ἐν Ιερουσαλημ	If you trust in him, he will become your sanctuary, and you will not encounter him as a stumbling caused by a stone, nor as a fall caused by a rock; but the house of Iakob is in a trap, and those who sit in Ierusalem are in a pit.
Isa 8:14	והיה למקדש ולאבן נגף ולצור מכשול לשני בתי ישראל לפח ולמוקש ליושב ירושל ם:	He will become a sanctuary, a stone one strikes against; for both houses of Israel he will become a rock one stumbles over—a trap and a snare for the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

This example highlights the need to define the nature and extent of "agreement" and "disagreement" between texts. Is there semantic agreement? Lexical agreement? Syntactical agreement? The MT and OG of the passage differ greatly in meaning. In the MT the LORD will be a stone of stumbling and a rock of falling for both houses of Israel. In the OG the threat is qualified: "If you (sg.) trust in him, … you will not encounter him as a stumbling caused by stone, nor as a fall caused by a rock."

1 Pet 2:8 does not agree exactly with the OG, for where Isa 8:14 renders the Hebrew מכשול with πτώματι, "fall, misfortune, disaster," 1 Peter reads σκανδάλου, "trap, snare, temptation to sin." According to HRCS this Hebrew word is rendered only here in OG Isa 8:14 by πτῶμα but elsewhere three times by σκάνδαλον (Lev 19:14; 1 Kgs 25:31; Ps 68[69]:22). Because the reading in 1 Peter is the more common translation equivalent for מכשול, its source is possibly a Greek text that read differently from the extant OG. The appearance of σκάνδαλον in Aquila Isa 8:14 (albeit with the additionally word στερεόν, "solid, severe, strong") suggests that more than one reading of Isa 8:14 eventually circulated—and possibly even during the first century C.E. The text of 1 Pet 2:8 has no variant readings here, which indicates that the extant OG

reading πτῶμα in Isa 8:14 had no influence here on the text of 1 Peter, contrary to what one might expect.

At first glance it appears that 1 Pet 2:8 follows the syntax of the MT more closely than that of the OG:

Isa 8:14	ולאבן נגף ולצור מכשול
1 Pet 2:8	λίθος προσκόμματος καὶ πέτρα σκανδάλου
Isa 8:14	λίθου προσκόμματι συναντήσεσθε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὡς πέτρας πτώματι

However, with two short phrases λίθος προσκόμματος and πέτρα σκανδάλου, it is difficult to say whether the syntax of 1 Peter actually agrees with the MT against the OG or whether the author is simply excerpting two short phrases from his Greek text and changing their inflection for the new grammatical context.

1.3.5 1 Peter 2:24 quoting Isaiah 53:4, 5, and 12b.

1 Pet 2:24	ὃς τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐν τῷ σώματι αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον, ἵνα ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις ἀπογενόμενοι τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ζήσωμεν, οὗ τῷ μώλωπι ἰάθητε	"who himself bore our sins" in his body upon the tree, so that being separated from sins we might live for righteousness—he "by whose wounds you are healed"
Isa 53:4, 5, 12b	οὗτος τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν φέρει καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλογισάμεθα αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐν πόνῳ καὶ ἐν πληγῇ καὶ ἐν κακώσει αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτραυματίσθη διὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν καὶ μεμαλάκισται διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν παιδεία εἰρήνης ἡμῶν ἐπ' αὐτόν τῷ μώλωπι αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς ἰάθημεν … 12bκαὶ αὐτὸς ἁμαρτίας πολλῶν ἀνήνεγκεν	This one bears our sins and suffers pain for us; and we accounted him to be in trouble and calamity and ill-treatment. But he was wounded because of our transgressions, and has been weakened because of our sins; upon him was the discipline of our peace, by his bruise we were healed. … and he bore the sins of many….
Isa 53:4, 5, 12b	אכן חלינו הוא נשא ומכאבינו סבלם ואנחנו חשבנהו נגוע מכה אלהים ומענה׃ והוא מחלל מפשענו מדכא מעונתינו מוסר שלומנו עליו ובחברתו נרפא־לנו׃ 12b … והוא חטא־רבים נשא	Surely he has borne our infirmities and carried our diseases; yet we accounted him stricken, struck down by God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, crushed for our iniquities; upon him was the punishment that made us

whole, and by his bruises we
are healed. 12b … yet he bore
the sin of many

1 Pet 2:24 combines wording from three verses: Isa 53:4, 5, and 12b. The OG of Isa 53:4 follows the syntax of the MT, but with some semantic difference. While the MT speaks of "this one bearing our infirmities" (חלינו), the Greek renders the noun with ἁμαρτίας, "sins," which does not translate חלי elsewhere in the LXX. This suggests that either a different Hebrew word appeared in the translator's *Vorlage* or, perhaps more likely, that this reading is an interpretation of "infirmities" as spiritual weakness, namely, "sin." The second difference between the OG and the MT involves translating the Hebrew phrase מכאבינו סבלם, "carried our sorrows," with περὶ ἡμῶν ὀδυνᾶται, "suffered pain for us," which again is a translation equivalent not found elsewhere in the Septuagint. These are most likely deliberate interpretations made by the Greek translator of Isaiah.

Although 1 Pet 2:24 follows OG Isa 53, it replaces οὗτος, "this one," with the relative pronoun ὅς, "who," the antecedent of which is Christ (v. 21). This is clearly an exegetical technique intended to identify the suffering servant of Isa 53 with Jesus Christ, and it results in the only passage in the New Testament that does so explicitly.[20] The compound verb ἀναφέρω, "take up," found in 1 Pet 2:24 where the OG of Isa 53:4 reads φέρω, "bear," is the author's conflation of wording from Isa 53:12 with vv. 4 and 5. The fact that there are no variant readings of Isa 53:4 that include a form of ἀναφέρω suggests that the text of 1 Pet 2:24 had no influence on the transmission of OG Isa 53:4. 1 Peter further includes the intensive αὐτός from v. 12, and the explanatory gloss "in his body on the tree, so that being separated from sins we might live for righteousness."

The short quotation of Isa 53:5 in 1 Pet 2:24 is modified for its new syntactical context by omitting the αὐτοῦ, "of him," no longer needed because the quote is introduced by the possessive relative pronoun οὗ, "whose." The change in the form of ἰάομαι from first person plural (ἰάθημεν, "we are healed") to second plural (ἰάθητε, "you are healed") is consistent with the use of the second plural throughout 1 Peter, even where the first plural would seem appropriate, and almost certainly originates with the author of the epistle. Neither the compound verb ἀναφέρω, nor the second person form of ἰάομαι are found as variant readings among the manuscripts of OG Isa 53:4 and 5. This indicates that the text of 1 Pet 2:24 did not influence the transmission of OG Isaiah here. In contrast, the variant readings of 1 Pet 2:24 show that attempts were made to conform it to OG Isaiah.

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[20] Acts 8:32–34 identifies Jesus and the suffering servant passage, but neither so explicitly nor so extensively.

1.3.6 1 Peter 3:10–12 quoting Psalm 33:13–16 (34:14–17).

1 Pet 3:10–12	ὁ γὰρ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς παυσάτω τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χείλη τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον, ἐκκλινάτω δὲ ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποιησάτω ἀγαθόν, ζητησάτω εἰρήνην καὶ διωξάτω αὐτήν· ὅτι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακά.	For, "whoever wishes to love life and to see good days must stop the tongue from evil and the lips from speaking deceit. Turn from evil and do good. Seek peace and pursue it." For "the eyes of the Lord are upon the righteous and his ears are toward their prayer, but the Lord's face is against those who do evil."
Ps 33:13–16	τίς ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς παῦσον τὴν γλῶσσάν σου ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ χείλη σου τοῦ μὴ λαλῆσαι δόλον ἔκκλινον ἀπὸ κακοῦ καὶ ποίησον ἀγαθόν ζήτησον εἰρήνην καὶ δίωξον αὐτήν ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν	Who is the person that wants life, coveting to see good days? Stop your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit. Turn away from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it.
Ps 33:13–16 (34:12–15)	מִי־הָאִישׁ הֶחָפֵץ חַיִּים אֹהֵב יָמִים לִרְאוֹת טוֹב: נְצֹר לְשׁוֹנְךָ מֵרָע וּשְׂפָתֶיךָ מִדַּבֵּר מִרְמָה: סוּר מֵרָע וַעֲשֵׂה־טוֹב בַּקֵּשׁ שָׁלוֹם וְרָדְפֵהוּ: עֵינֵי יְהוָה אֶל־צַדִּיקִים וְאָזְנָיו אֶל־שַׁוְעָתָם:	Which of you desires life, and covets many days to enjoy good? Keep your tongue from evil, and your lips from speaking deceit. Depart from evil, and do good; seek peace, and pursue it. The eyes of the LORD are on the righteous, and his ears are open to their cry.

This is the second place in 1 Peter where Ps 33 (34) is quoted (see 1 Pet 2:3). The quotation appears to have come from the extant text of OG Ps 33 with one modification. The rhetorical question of OG Ps 33:13 (34:12) is recast into a statement in 1 Peter, which probably also motivated the change from the second person imperative forms to the third person imperatives in vv. 10b and 11.

A more difficult difference to judge is the slight change—indeed of only one vowel—that changes the participle ἀγαπῶν, "the one who loves," in OG Ps

33:13 to the infinitive form ἀγαπᾶν, "to love," thereby destroying the parallelism of Ps 33:13 (34:14):

| ὁ θέλων ζωὴν | The one who wants life |
| ἀγαπῶν ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς | who loves to see good days |

Here "the one who wishes" parallels "the one who loves" and "life" parallels "good days." However, 1 Pet 3:10 has the infinitive form instead of the participle, making the infinitive a complement of θέλων:

| ὁ θέλων ζωὴν ἀγαπᾶν | The one who wants to love life |
| καὶ ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας ἀγαθὰς | and to see good days |

This changes the sense in 1 Pet 3:10 to "the one who wishes to love life and to see good days." The word order of ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν ἀγαθάς in the psalm is changed in 1 Peter and the conjunction καί is added thus joining the two complementary infinitives.

Some New Testament interpreters see this as the creative work of the author of 1 Peter to improve the 'crude barbarity' of the LXX syntax, or to paraphrase the psalm from memory, or to conform the verse to the eschatology of 1 Peter.[21]

On the other hand, a difference of only one vowel strongly suggests that textual corruption of the psalm's text is a more likely explanation. If, however, textual corruption of the psalm were the cause, it is somewhat surprising that there is no manuscript evidence of it, for there are no extant variant readings of OG Ps 33:12 in which the infinitive appears. This lack of variants also indicates that OG Ps 33:12 was not harmonized with 1 Pet 3:10. Furthermore, there are no variant readings of 1 Pet 3:10 that would harmonize it with the participle form found in OG Ps 33:12 (34:13). The minor variants of OG Ps 33:13 (the introduction of a καί, "and," and the transposition of ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν, "to see days") do not seem to be an attempt to make sense of a textual corruption. Therefore, the extant manuscript evidence tilts toward a conclusion that the differences originated with the author of 1 Peter. Given that 1 Peter sees new life in Christ as the inheritance of believers (3:7), it would make sense that reference would be made to the need for ethical transformation in the one who wishes *to love* that new life in Christ.

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[21] Respectively, Francis Wright Beare, *The First Epistle of Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction and Notes* (3d ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1970), 135; Edward Gordon Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Essays* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan; New York: St Martin's, 1947; repr., 1958), 25; Achtemeier, *1 Peter*, 225–26; and J. Piper, "Hope As the Motivation of Love: I Peter 3:9–12," *NTS* 26 (1979): 226–27.

Other concepts that are found in OG Ps 33 (34) are used extensively throughout 1 Peter, but none is more congenial to 1 Peter's exile motif (cf. 1 Pet 1:1; 5:13) than the translation of מגורה, "terror, fear," in v. 5 by the Greek word παροικιῶν, "sojournings."[22] The Septuagint translator apparently construed the troubles of David, from which the Lord delivered him, as the fears of sojourning when David was living in exile among the Philistines away from Judah. This is a good example of the Septuagint translator contextualizing the translation for the Greek Jews who were also living in exile away from Jerusalem. Because the author of 1 Peter has framed the letter with the Diaspora motif (cf. 1 Pet 1:1; 5:13), this particular psalm of deliverance is particularly well suited to the purpose, and it is used extensively.

The order of the words ἰδεῖν ἡμέρας in 1 Pet 3:10 as compared to ἡμέρας ἰδεῖν in OG Ps 33:13 provides an opportunity to examine whether one reading influenced the other. There are no variant readings of the phrase in 1 Pet 3:10, thus suggesting that there were no attempts to harmonize 1 Peter to the Ps 33:13 reading. On the other hand, there is substantial manuscript evidence that attests the word order of the phrase in 1 Pet 3:10 among the manuscripts of Ps 33:13. If this is a result of harmonization, then clearly the influence went from 1 Peter to the psalm. However, the order of the words as found in 1 Pet 3:10 appear to be more natural, and for that reason scribes may have transposed the words in Ps 33:13 without any reference to, or thought for, 1 Pet 3:10. Rahlfs probably chose the less natural, and therefore more difficult, reading as original to the psalm, since it best explains how the more natural order would have arisen.

1.3.7 1 Peter 3:14–15 quoting Isaiah 8:12, 13.

1 Pet 3:14–15	ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πάσχοιτε διὰ δικαιοσύνην, μακάριοι. τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτῶν μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν	But even if you should suffer on account of righteousness, you are blessed. "Do not be afraid of them or be troubled." But revere Christ as Lord in your hearts.
Isa 8:12, 13	μήποτε εἴπητε σκληρόν πᾶν γάρ ὃ ἐὰν εἴπῃ ὁ λαὸς οὗτος σκληρόν ἐστιν τὸν δὲ φόβον αὐτοῦ οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆτε οὐδὲ μὴ ταραχθῆτε κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε …	Never say "Hard," for whatever this people says is hard; but do not fear what it fears, neither be troubled. Sanctify the Lord himself ….
Isa 8:12, 13	לֹא־תֹאמְרוּן קֶשֶׁר לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־ יֹאמַר הָעָם הַזֶּה קָשֶׁר וְאֶת־ מוֹרָאוֹ לֹא־תִירְאוּ וְלֹא תַעֲרִיצוּ:	Do not call conspiracy all that this people calls conspiracy, and do not fear what it fears,

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את־יהוה צבאות אתו תקדישו or be in dread. But the LORD
והוא מוראכם והוא מערצכם: of hosts, him you shall regard
as holy; let him be your fear,
and let him be your dread.

This is the second quotation from Isa 8 (see 1 Pet 2:8). The OG of Isa 8:12 faithfully translates the syntax of the MT and maintains lexical correspondence with it, but the immediately surrounding verses have been considerably reframed in the Greek. The one notable difference between OG Isa 8:13 and the Hebrew is that the OG does not translate צבאות "almighty."

This passage is Isaiah's prophetic encouragement to the southern kingdom not to fear the kings of Israel and Aram, or the great power of Assyria that will sweep both former adversaries away. 1 Peter places the quote into an entirely different context, but with the same purpose of encouragement in the face of great threat; it is applied to the readers who were facing not hostile powers beyond their borders but adversaries from within their own society.

The quotation literally reads, "their fear do not fear," which requires a context to disambiguate its meaning. Does it mean, "do not fear the things these people fear" (reading αὐτῶν as a subjective genitive)? Or, "Do not be afraid of these people" (reading it as an objective genitive)? In both the Hebrew and OG versions the first meaning is intended, for the antecedent of αὐτοῦ, "its," is "this people," which refers to Isaiah's compatriots in Jerusalem and Judah who are overwhelmed by their fear of the alliance between Aram and Israel against them. The Lord warned Isaiah not to be motivated by the same fears.

Although 1 Pet 3:14 reproduces the quote faithfully, a minor change from a singular pronoun to a plural contextualizes it for a completely different situation. The third singular pronoun αὐτοῦ, whose antecedent is "this people" has been replaced by the third plural αὐτῶν with an undefined antecedent but presumably in the context of 1 Peter referring to the members of society at large. Although the plural genitive happens to agree with the MT against the OG, it is more likely a change caused by new context than conformity to the Hebrew text. Therefore, the object of the fear in 1 Pet 3:14 changes to, "these people," i.e., those who may harm you even if you are eager to do good (1 Pet 3:13, 14). As Michaels notes, quoting Selwyn, were the author not quoting the Septuagint, he could have written μὴ φοβηθῆτε αὐτῶν, "do not fear them."[23] Rather than fearing their adversaries, the Asian Christians are to revere the Lord—who is defined as Christ by the insertion of τὸν Χριστὸν in the quotation: κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστὸν ἁγιάσατε, "but revere Christ as Lord." In comparison, the OG of Isa 8:12 and 13 instructs readers to "sanctify the Lord himself" (κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε).

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[23] Michaels, *1 Peter*, 187.

G. Howard has argued that the introduction of κύριον in this verse was not theologically motivated.[24] He argues that the Hebrew Tetragram appeared in the original writing of 1 Peter and that the author of 1 Peter intended no change in the referent of the OG (which also included the Hebrew Tetragram?). After a period of time scribes began to replace the Hebrew Tetragram in Greek texts with the word κύριον, which also happened to have been used by New Testament writers to refer to Christ. Therefore, Howard would argue that what may at first glance appear to be a Christologically motivated change is an illusion, for it was produced not by the theology of the author but subsequently by mechanical scribal substitution.

The syntax of the negative particles in 1 Pet 3:14 and 15 is also different than what is found in OG Isa 8:12, probably for stylistic reasons, because οὐ μὴ with the aorist subjunctive is a classical form.[25] Where the OG has οὐ μὴ φοβηθῆτε οὐδὲ μὴ ταραχθῆτε, "do not fear, neither be troubled" 1 Pet 3:14 reads μὴ φοβηθῆτε μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, "Do not be afraid or be troubled," which perhaps lessens the intensity, but not the sense, of the command commensurate with the new historical context to which it is being applied.

Most likely these changes have been made by the author of 1 Peter in order to contextualize the quotation for a new situation: Christ has been identified as the Lord whom the readers are to revere; and the nature of the threatening adversaries is different, but the basis for the command not to fear is the same, because "the Lord God is with us" (OG Isa 8:10). If they trust in the Lord and remain faithful to his calling, he will be a sanctuary for them, but if they do not, he causes them to stumble and fall (1 Pet 2:7–10).

The variant reading found in three third to fourth century witnesses of 1 Pet 3:14 (and one much later manuscript) that omits μηδὲ ταραχθῆτε, "nor be troubled," probably due to haplography, is not found in any extant manuscripts of the Isa 8:12 passage.[26] This is not surprising, since it would be assumed that the quote in 1 Peter simply ended earlier than the original apparently did, assuming Metzger is correct. But neither did any of the three variants involving that same verb in Isa 8:12 find their way into the textual transmission of 1 Pet 3:14. Conversely, although the majority of New Testament manuscripts read θεόν, "God," instead of Χριστόν, "Christ," in 1 Pet 3:15 ("sanctify the Lord God" instead of "… the Lord Christ"), the majority reading θεόν is found in only one eleventh century manuscript (534) of Isa 8:13. This suggests little influence

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[24] George D. Howard, "The Tetragram and the New Testament," *JBL* 96 (1977): 63–83.
[25] BDF §365.
[26] Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament: A Companion Volume to the United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament (fourth revised edition)* (2d ed.; London: United Bible Societies, 1994), 621.

between the transmission of the citation in 1 Pet 3:15 and the transmission of Isa 8:12.

2. Do the Quotations in 1 Peter Suggest a Different OG Text of the Sources Used?

There are only five elements in one quotation from Psalms and three from Isaiah that may indicate a slightly different Greek text was used, though none clearly so:

– 1 Pet 1:24 quoting Isa 40:6–8
– 1 Pet 2:6 quoting Isa 28:16 (two differences)
– 1 Pet 2:8 quoting Isa 8:14
– 1 Pet 3:10, quoting Ps 33:13–16.

It should be noted that two of these five readings further imply that if 1 Peter used a different OG text, the nature of the differences between the OG texts indicates a difference in their Hebrew *Vorlagen*: Isa 8:14 where the difference involves an adjective, and Isa 28:16 where it involves a verb. The data presented by the Psalms quotations in 1 Peter, albeit slight, supports the conclusion of previous study that the Greek text of the Psalms was stable by the time the New Testament was written.[27] The situation with the text of Isaiah is somewhat different, for of the five elements of the citations that indicate a possibly different OG text, four are in Isaiah, and two of these may suggest Hebrew readings that differed from the extant MT.

2.1 To what extent has the text of 1 Peter influenced the transmission of the Septuagint texts it quotes?

The manuscript evidence suggests only scant and insubstantial influence of the quotations in 1 Peter on the transmission of their source texts. With this observation in mind, Goppelt's claim that the prepositional phrase ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ, "in him," is a Christian interpolation that was introduced in the OG of Isa 28:16 can be reconsidered. The lack of influence by 1 Peter on the Greek manuscripts of Isaiah supports Ziegler's judgment, *contra* Goppelt, that the prepositional phrase ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ in Isa 28:16 is original to the OG and is not a Christian interpolation.[28] Since none of 1 Peter's other deliberate, and especially Christological, changes were inserted back into the corresponding OG texts, it seems very unlikely that, if such an interpolation was introduced into Isaiah, it was due to the influence of 1 Peter. Of course, a similar study of the influence of the Romans quotations on

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[27] Silva, "Greek Psalter in Paul's Letters," 288.
[28] Ziegler, *Isaias*; Goppelt, *Commentary on I Peter*, 145 n. 49.

Isaiah would have to be done to see if the text of Romans elsewhere influenced the Greek text of Isaiah, for Isa 28:16 is also quoted in Rom 9:33 and 10:11. It would be of interest to know if Paul's writings generally had a greater influence on the transmission of the Septuagint manuscripts than those of other New Testament writers.

2.2 To what extent has the transmission of the text of 1 Peter been influenced by the Greek texts of the passages it quotes?

Although there does not appear to be much scribal harmonization in either direction between the quotations in 1 Peter and their sources, there is a slightly more noticeable tendency for the quotations in 1 Peter to be harmonized with readings from the manuscripts of Isaiah. There appears to have been virtually no cross influence between the text of 1 Peter and the Psalms manuscripts. And even where the quotations of 1 Peter were 'corrected' toward the OG Isaiah the 'corrections' were inconsequential, affecting primarily style and not content. Moreover, where the quotations of the OG in 1 Peter do not follow the MT, the quotations in 1 Peter do not appear to have been 'corrected' toward the Hebrew text either, even in those places where it might be expected (e.g., 1 Pet 1:24 quoting Isa 40:6–8 and 1 Pet 2:8 quoting Isa 8:14).

2.3 A word about the source of the quotations.

The author of 1 Peter does not use Scripture quotations to proof-text. Instead, the way the quotations are used in 1 Peter involves an application of their original contexts as well (especially, for instance, the extensive use of OG Ps 33 throughout much of the epistle). This kind of use does not support the idea that the author got his quotations from a list of disjointed passages that circulated out of context, such as the theory of the messianic *testimonia* would provide.[29] The author of 1 Peter seems to be not only intimately familiar with the larger context of the passages he quotes, but also familiar with a Greek form that is—with the five possible exceptions noted above—the same as the critically-reconstructed Septuagint text.

2.4 Some final questions.

The apparent lack of influence by the quotations in 1 Peter on the Greek manuscripts of their sources raises additional questions. Did other New Testament books—for instance, Romans or Hebrews—have more influence on the source texts of their quotations? Was the influence of certain New Testament books limited to certain groupings of Septuagint manuscripts or text types?

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[29] Cf. the similar conclusion of Wilk, pp. 253–71, in this volume.

Which way did the textual influence more often go? Did the New Testament readings more often introduce variants into the Septuagint manuscripts—which might be expected from Christian scribes—or vice versa? Is there a pattern to the type of variants that resulted from New Testament influence on the Septuagint and vice-versa? Were changes introduced in the Septuagint manuscripts to conform the language to formal principles of Greek rhetoric, whether or not those changes were motivated by the New Testament?

For centuries the Septuagint and Greek New Testament formed one unit, the Greek Bible, used and transmitted by the Christian church. The bridging of New Testament and Septuagint studies gives this historical fact its due. Although Septuagint and New Testament studies have for a long time intersected in the practice of textual criticism, even this effort has been conducted in relative isolation—witness the two great centers of textual criticism, Göttingen and Münster. Even in the well plowed field of textual criticism, new work could be facilitated if a list of manuscripts that contain both Septuagint and New Testament books were available that cross-reference Rahlfs numbers with corresponding Nestle-Aland numbers. But beyond textual criticism, there remain for scholars with competence in both Septuagint and New Testament interesting and important questions concerning hermeneutics, biblical theology, the development of religious vocabulary and concepts, and the interaction of ancient faith with its culture.

In his 1956 survey "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century," Peter Katz marveled that one hundred and thirty years earlier Johann Schleusner "was able to produce extensive Lexica both of the Septuagint (LXX) and the New Testament."[30] He continued,

> Today such a feat seems almost to belong to the realm of fairy tales. No N.T. student is now prepared to follow his example. In this age of specialization both O.T. and N.T. studies have been branching out widely, without much regard for the LXX, though the LXX is by nature a connecting link between them both.

When scholars of 2050 look back at the development of the discipline in the first half of the twenty-first century, may they find many examples of how both Old and New Testament studies have been enriched by those who have recognized the significance of the Septuagint in its own right as that all-important connecting link in the history of the biblical texts.

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[30] Peter Katz, "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century: Their Links with the Past and Their Present Tendencies," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 176.

The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Septuagint[*]

Martin Karrer

1. Introduction

The author of Hebrews creates a more literary Christian work than any other New Testament author. He adopts rhetorical elements in a superior style, beginning with the famous alliteration in 1:1 (πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως κτλ., "in many and various ways …").[1] He broadens the early Christian vocabulary with about 150 New Testament *hapax legomena*.[2] He likes metaphoric language (education in 5:12–14; navigation in 6:19; sports in 12:1; etc.). And, most important for us, he forms an intertextual network.

Such a network is typical for literature. But our author shapes it in a unique way. Though writing in sophisticated Greek, he never alludes to or quotes any work of non-Jewish Greek or Roman literature. Instead, he casts his literary net exclusively over the words of God that he finds recorded in the Scriptures of Israel in Greek translation.

This decision is based on a theological program revealed in the *prooemium* 1:1–4, where our author's identity and place within the history of early Christianity are not disclosed. He pushes God alone to the fore: "God spoke to the fathers" (1:1), and "spoke to us in the end" (1:2). "We," the author and his readers, become listeners. Our author subsumes his own person as well as his addressees under the first person plural pronoun.[3] Consequently, details of the authorship, situation, and historical background of Hebrews remain a mystery

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[*] In memoriam Jürgen Roloff (1930–2004).

[1] Cf. Lauri Thurén, "The General New Testament Writings," in *Handbook of Classical Rhetoric in the Hellenistic Period, 330 B.C.–A.D. 400* (ed. S. E. Porter; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[2] The *hapax legomena* are listed in Ceslas Spicq, *L'Épître aux Hébreux*, 1 (3d ed.; EBib; Paris: Gabalda, 1952), 157.

[3] The first person singular remains an exception throughout Hebrews. The only example, 11:32, is part of a rhetorical question and is a stylistic feature of the diatribe, not a personal statement.

for scholarship.[4] Yet at the same time, the impersonal beginning indicates the theological intention: the author wishes to listen, together with his readers, only to words attributed to God.

Urged on by this theology of the word, the author of Hebrews quotes about twenty-nine different texts of Scripture; if we count every single quotation, up to thirty-five (and one may add approximately twenty-four relevant allusions).[5] The number and the length of the quotations are outstanding in the New Testament. Thus, Hebrews presents the climax of New Testament citing, and additionally gives significant insights into the history of the Hellenistic-Jewish transmission of Scripture, the Septuagint.

Because of this double importance, much work has been done on Scripture and hermeneutics in Hebrews since Katz in 1958 and Ahlborn in 1967 (Schröger, Howard, Hughes, etc.), with new points of view since McCullough in 1980 (Hübner, Leschert, Jobes and Silva, Rüsen-Weinhold, and others).[6] We will try

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[4] In the famous words of Franz Overbeck (*Zur Geschichte des Kanons: Zwei Abhandlungen* [Chemnitz: E. Schmeitzner, 1880; repr., Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965], 1–70, here, 1) "lacking a genealogy, Hebrews is itself a melkisedekian kind of being," etc. On the present state of the discussion concerning introductory matters see Harold W. Attridge, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (ed. H. Koester; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 1–13; Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 2001); Erich Gräßer, *An die Hebräer* (EKKNT 17; Zurich: Benziger, 1990–1997), 1:14–25; Martin Karrer, *Der Hebräerbrief: Kapitel 1:1–5:10* (ÖTK 20.1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 2002), 91–101; and Gerd Schunack, *Der Hebräerbrief* (ZBK:NT 14; Theologischer Verlag: Zürich , 2002), 9–12.

[5] The quotations are listed in Friedrich Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (BU 4; Regensburg: F. Pustet, 1968), 251–56; the most important allusions at pp. 201–7.

[6] Peter Katz, "The Quotations From Deuteronomy in Hebrews," *ZNW* 49 (1958): 213–23; Erko Ahlborn, "Die Septuaginta-Vorlage des Hebräerbriefes." (PhD, University of Göttingen, 1967); Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger*; George D. Howard, "Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations," *NovT* 10 (1968): 208–16; Graham Hughes, *Hebrews and Hermeneutics: The Epistle to the Hebrews as a New Testament Example of Biblical Interpretation* (SNTSMS 36; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); John C. McCullough, "The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews," *NTS* 26 (1980): 363–79; Hans Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990–1995), 1:15–63; Dale F. Leschert, *Hermeneutical Foundations of Hebrews: A Study in the Validity of the Epistle's Interpretation of Some Core Citations from the Psalms* (National Association of Baptist Professors of Religion Dissertation Series 10; Lewiston: Mellen, 1994); Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2000), esp. 195–99; Ulrich Rüsen-Weinhold, *"Der Septuaginta-Psalter im Neuen Testament: Eine Textgeschichtliche Untersuchung."* (PhD, Wuppertal, 2002). See in addition for the

to sketch an overall picture in the following section. We begin with general observations (including the connection between quotations and theology of the word). Then we give a review on the Septuagint text in Hebrews, and finally we show an example for the correlation between textual history and theology. As far as possible, we will neglect the allusions, which cause special difficulties for examination.

2. General Observations

2.1 The quotations

The quotations of Hebrews are usually marked by introductory formulae. Therefore they are easily discernible.

Table 24. Quotations in the Book of Hebrews[7]

1:5a	Ps 2:7	3:7–11 (and on to 4:7)	Ps 94:7–11	10:16–17	Jer 38:33–34
1:5b	1 Chr 17:13 / 2 Kgdms 7:14	4:4	Gen 2:2b	10:30a	Deut 32:35 / Odes 2:35
1:6	Deut 32:43 / Odes 2:43; cf. Ps 96:7	5:5	Ps 2:7	10:30b	Deut 32:36 / Odes 2:36
1:7	Ps 103:4	5:6	Ps 109:4	11:18	Gen 21:12
1:8–9	Ps 44:7–8	6:13–14	Gen 22:16–17	11:21	Gen 47:31
1:10–12	Ps 101:26–28	7:17	Ps 109:4	12:5–6	Prov 3:11–12
1:13	Ps 109:1	7:21	Ps 109:4	12:20	Exod 19:13
2:6–8	Ps 8:5–7	8:5	Exod 25:40–39	12:26	Hag 2:6, 21

older discussion, Günther Harder, "Die Septuagintazitate des Hebräerbriefs: Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Auslegung des AT," in *Theologia Viatorum: Theologische Aufsätze* (ed. Martin Albertz; Munich: Kaiser, 1939); and for the last decades Otfried Hofius, "Biblische Theologie im Lichte des Hebräerbriefes," in *New Directions in Biblical Theology: Papers of the Aarhus Conference, 16–19 September 1992* (ed. S. Pedersen; NovTSup 76; Leiden: Brill, 1994); Richard T. France, "The Writer of Hebrews As a Biblical Expositor," *TynBul* 47 (1996): 245–76; and James W. Thompson, "The Hermeneutics of the Epistle to the Hebrews," *ResQ* 38 (1996): 229–37.

[7] The texts are quoted according to LXX. In MT, ch. 31 is LXX Jer 38, and the numbering of the Psalms often differs too.

2:12	Ps 21:23	8:8–12	Jer 38:31–34	13:5	Deut 31:6
2:13a	Isa 8:17	9:20	Exod 24:8	13:6	Ps 117:6
2:13b	Isa 8:18	10:5–10	Ps 39:7–9		

Most commentators add:

3:2, 5	Num 12:7	7:1–2	Gen 14:17–20	10:37–38	Isa 26:20; Hab 2:3–4

Introductory formulae are missing in the last passages, and the use of the LXX text is not as clear as in the quotations with introductions; e.g., in 3:1–6, the alluded passage, LXX 1 Kgdms 2:(30–)35 is not less important for the understanding than Num 12:7.[8] So our author indicates a greater poetic license where he abstains from introductory formulae. The dividing line between quotations and allusions becomes blurred. Hence one should modestly weigh such quotations.

2.2 Origin and distribution

The origin and distribution of the quotations is worthy of attention. Hebrews prefers the Pentateuch (thirteen instances), the Psalms (fourteen instances), and the Prophets (major prophets five instances, minor prophets two instances). That does not seem surprising in literature of the first century C.E. If we compare the Torah and Psalms, however, the latter gain in prevalence. They dominate in their number, length, and placement. Unmistakably, they form the central line of argument early in the decisive first chapter (from LXX Ps 2:7 in v. 5, to LXX Ps 109:1 in v. 13). The Law is there quoted after Psalms and a prophetic motif (Nathan's oracle in 1:5). Moreover the single quotation from the Torah (1:6) is taken from the Song of Moses (Deut 2 / *Odes* 2), which is a psalm within a narrative.[9] By so using the Psalms, the author of Hebrews turns upside down the normal assessment of Scripture, according to which the Law would determine exegesis.[10] In addition, the only quotation out of the historical books, LXX 1 Chr 17:13 / 2 Kgdms 7:14 in 1:5b, is part of a prophetic word (the oracle of Nathan), and also the noted allusion to LXX 1 Kgdms 2:35 in 2:17 and 3:2, 6 refers to a

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[8] Cf. Martin Karrer, "Der Weltkreis und Christus, der Hohepriester: Blicke auf die Schriftrezeption des Hebräerbriefs," in *Frühjudentum und Neues Testament im Horizont Biblischer Theologie* (ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Karl-Wilhelm Niebuhr; WUNT 162, Tübingen 2003), 151–79.

[9] Cf. the Song of Moses in Rev 15:3 (ᾠδή). The next strong allusions or quotations from the Torah in Hebrews are 3:2, 5 (cf. Num 12:7), and 4:4 (cf. Gen 2:2b).

[10] See, particularly, Philo, whose writings are devoted to the exegesis of the Law alone, although he mentions Psalms in his writings. For the Psalms in Philo cf. Jutta Leonhardt, *Jewish Worship in Philo of Alexandria* (TS 84; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001).

prophecy (God's word through Samuel). Evidently, the author is not interested in history as history of external facts. Besides Torah and Psalms he picks up especially prophetic materials.

Regarding language, our author consistently chooses Greek traditions, as noted. We do not find a single Hebrew or Aramaic relic in the quotations or elsewhere in Hebrews.[11] Moreover, no quotation presents us with undisputable evidence of a correction by our author toward the Hebrew (Proto-MT) text. The author abstains from checking Hebrew traditions, even in the Pentateuch (Torah), as 11:21 shows. There the writer overlooks how LXX Gen 47:31 misunderstands the Hebrew text by reading המטה (staff) instead of המטה (bed), and follows the LXX and combines it with Gen 48:15–16[12] So, there is no proof of a knowledge of Hebrew. In any case, the Qumranic or proto-rabbinic tendency to return to the Hebrew text of Scriptures is not found in this book. There is a clear conviction that the Greek language was appropriate to the speaking of God.

Nevertheless, the author shares the impact of the Jewish formation of Scriptures. Wisdom literature has less weight; we find just one quotation, the exhortation in 12:5–6 (following Prov 3:11–12). No quotation comes from literature beyond the later canon of the Hebrew Bible.[13] Even Esther, still disputed at the time of Hebrews, is not mentioned. Thus in spite of the peculiarities, Hebrews runs parallel to the development of the Jewish canon.[14]

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[11] One may compare Philo, who praises the Greek translation of his LXX corpus, the Pentateuch (*Moses* 2.25–44), and reflects Hebrew motifs only within onomastics. Folker Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament: Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta* (MJSt 9; Münster: LIT, 2001), 104–5; idem, *Register zur "Einführung in die Septuaginta": Mit einem Kapitel zur Wirkungsgeschichte* (MJSt 13; Münster: LIT, 2003), 343. In addition, the onomastic explanation of "Melchizedek, king of Salem" as "king of righteousness" and "king of peace" in Heb 7:1–2 is fully conventional (cf. Philo, *Alleg. Interpr.* 3.79–81; Josephus, *J.W.* 6.438; *Ant.* 1.180). We cannot draw any conclusion about knowledge of Hebrew by the author of Hebrews.

[12] The difference at LXX Gen 47:31 results in the translation "Israel [Jacob] was bowing in reverence over the top of his staff," instead of "Israel bowed himself on the head of his bed."

[13] Although Hebrews touches upon motifs known from some other Greek Scriptures: cf. Heb 1:3 and Wis 7:25–26; Heb 11:25 and 2 Macc 6–7; 4 Macc 15:2, 8; and Heb 12:7 and *Pss. Sol.* 10:2; 14:1. See H. Anderson, "The Jewish Antecedents of the Christology in Hebrews," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 530–35; and Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 38–39.

[14] That development takes the Hebrew Scriptures of Israel as its point of reference as can be seen in Hellenistic-Jewish authors of the first century C.E.; see especially Josephus,

In sum, the choice and the priorities in the treatment of quotations may be unusual. But fundamentally, Hebrews bears witness to the option of its author to develop Christian theology on a Jewish basis. Let us say it more generally: despite the parting of the ways between early Christianity and ancient Judaism, the formation of the Hebrew canon affected the extent of respect and the quotation out of Septuagint manuscripts in Christianity in the time of our author. The use of Scripture united Judaism and Christianity more than it separated them.

2.3 Introductory formulae and speakers

Hebrews's theological concept of the word affected the imbedding of quotes in a context, and especially the introductory formulae. Our author avoids the most frequent quotation formula of the first century, γέγραπται, "it is written."[15] Since the quoted word of God is spoken word, there is a favoring of "it is said" or other forms of λέγειν, "say," φάναι, "speak," and μαρτυρεῖν, διαμαρτυρέομαι, "testify".[16] All emphasis lies on the actual, performative word.

This word is primarily word from above. God, the Spirit, and Christ speak it in, and from, the "heights" (ὑψηλοί, first mentioned in 1:3). Only in Heb 9:20 and 13:6 do words of Scripture (LXX Exod 24:8 and Ps 117:6) remain fully human words (the first time a word of Moses, the second time a word of the community).[17] In the other cases human speakers recede behind God.[18]

In consequence, our author often changes the speaker. Thus, the Song of Moses in 1:6 (cf. 10:30) against Deut 32 and *Odes* 2 (superscription) is referred to as a word of God, not of Moses. In a similar way God or the Spirit speaks the

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Ag. Ap. 1.38–46. On this topic see Christine Gerber, "Die Heiligen Schriften des Judentums nach Flavius Josephus," in *Schriftauslegung im antiken Judentum und im Urchristentum* (ed. M. Hengel and H. Löhr; WUNT 73; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994), 91–113.

[15] The only exception, Heb 10:7, has γέγραπται inside the quotation of LXX Ps 39:8, and was therefore not arranged by our author. Γέγραπται was used from as early as LXX 4 Kgdms 14:6.

[16] 1:5, etc.; 10:5, 8, etc.; 2:6; 7:17, etc.

[17] But also in the latter case, the community answers to a word of God: Deut 31:6, etc. in Heb 13:5.

[18] Sometimes into abstraction (e.g., 7:17). Therefore it is difficult to count the speakers. Michael Theobald finds God as speaker 22*x*, the Son 4*x*, the Spirit 2*x*, and others 5*x* (mostly abstract formulae) ("Vom Text zum 'Lebendigen Wort' [Hebr 4:12]," in *Jesus Christus als die Mitte der Schrift: Studien zur Hermeneutik des Evangeliums: Festschrift Otfried Hofius* [ed. C. Landmesser, H.-J. Eckstein, H. Lichtenberger, BZNW 86; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997], 764).

Psalms from 1:5 onwards. The contemporary view of the Davidic origin of the Psalms is almost completely ignored (though our author knows about it).[19]

The tradition that the Spirit spoke through David (LXX 2 Kgdms 23:2) helps us to understand this position. Nevertheless, from an outward perspective and in retrospect, it provokes serious criticism. Modern hermeneutics must come to terms with the phenomenon that, due to our author's theology, even words that were not originally words of God in the Scripture are regarded as coming from God and the Spirit.

2.4 Word of God, quotations and christology

Hebrews is not the only book of the New Testament that focuses on words of God. An interesting comparison can be made with the Revelation. This book also claims to give a testimony to the word of God (λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 1:2). But it updates the word in another way. It starts with unveiling / revelation (ἀποκάλυψις, 1:1) and seeing (1:2, 12 etc.). Consequently, it forms new words out of Scripture. Characteristically, it uses the name "Song of Moses," e.g., in 15:3, following the LXX (*Odes* 1 and 2 *superscription*; cf. Exod 15:1; Deut 31:22; 32:44), but then it combines different parts of Scripture and new motifs for the song itself (15:3–4).[20] So in early Christianity, the reception of Scripture did not necessarily mean the reception of a particular form of the quotations.

Hebrews however leaves every new unveiling (ἀποκάλυψις) aside and has a mistrust in seeing.[21] Moreover, the author finds his criticism of seeing confirmed already in the Scriptures. As 3:12–4:11 unfolds, the fathers saw (εἶδον) and did not obey (3:7–11 after LXX Ps 94:7–11). That underlines the notion that the major way is to hear (sketched in a history of hearing 2:3). And what is to be heard are known words. Therefore contrary to the Revelation of John, God, Spirit and Christ in Hebrews do not say any new words. Only the framework may be free; the words of God are fixed. The performative act of speaking supports the accuracy in citation in Hebrews; the conviction that God speaks needs quoted words as a strong basis.

A secondary effect is problematic. Not only God and the Spirit speak in the words of Israel's Scriptures, even Christ does. In fact, all of Jesus' statements are scriptural quotations (2:12–13; 10:5–7; cf. LXX Ps 21:23, etc.); the author of

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[19] "In David" (Heb 4:7) refers explicitly to LXX Ps 94 (MT 95), where v. 1 (differently from MT Ps 95) says that the Psalm was authored by David. But Hebrews moves this note far from the first quotation of the Psalm in 3:7–11; there it names the Spirit as speaker.

[20] See Klaus-Peter Jörns, *Das hymnische Evangelium: Untersuchungen zu Aufbau, Funktion und Herkunft der hymnischen Stücke in der Johannesoffenbarung* (SNT 5; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1971), 126–32 and the commentaries.

[21] In Hebrews we find no instance of ἀποκάλυψις, "unveiling, revelation," and very rarely Revelation's favorite expression (καὶ) ἰδού. Cf. also 11:1.

Hebrews abstains from quoting any word of the historical Jesus (despite 5:7 and his focus on the historical Jesus). Thus, the theology of the word of Scripture reaches its peak in the author's Christology. Christ becomes not a Christ of new revelation, but in general the Christ of Scripture. Some research in the last decade has discovered such a Christology of word and Scripture intended to overcome ontological Christology.[22] Others wrestle with the lack of Jesus' words. Yet that is not our main concern here.

3. Hebrews and the Text of the Septuagint

3.1 The Vorlagen of Hebrews

There is good evidence that our author appreciates written *Vorlagen* where he has them. Above all the quotations from his favorite books, Psalms, the Pentateuch, and Jeremiah are not only frequent, but also very extensive. Jer 38 (MT 31):31–34 in Heb 8:8–12 provides the longest quotation in the Christian literature of the first century on the whole.[23] Heb 3:7–11 (LXX Ps 94:7–11) stands out in length when compared to citations of Psalms in other writings of early Christianity.[24] So the conclusion is almost certain that the author possessed and used scrolls of the Psalms and Jeremiah.

Regarding the Pentateuch, the facts are more complex. Our author prefers Genesis (the Melchizedek passage Gen 14:17–20, etc.), Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and probably had access to manuscripts of these books (for peculiarities regarding the text-forms, see below).[25] But there is no quotation from Leviticus (including ch. 16), even though our author is very interested in the book and

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[22] Cf. David Wider, *Theozentrik und Bekenntnis: Untersuchungen zur Theologie des Redens Gottes im Hebräerbrief* (BZNW 87; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997); and this author's review in *TLZ* 30 (1999): 166–67.

[23] Cf. Knut Backhaus, *Der Neue Bund und das Werden der Kirche: Die Diatheke-Deutung des Hebräerbriefs im Rahmen der frühchristlichen Theologiegeschichte* (NTAbh n.F. 29; Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 167–80; and Jörg Frey, "Die Alte und die Neue διαθήκη nach dem Hebräerbrief," in *Bund und Tora: Zur theologischen Begriffsgeschichte in altestamentlicher, frühjüdischer und urchristlicher Tradition* (ed. F. Avemarie and H. Lichtenberger; WUNT 92; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 263–310.

[24] In addition Ps 94:11 brings into Heb 3:11 and 4:3, 5 a special element of LXX grammar, the unusual negation using εἰ; cf. *Blass-Debrunner-Rehkopf* §454.6.

[25] On Gen 14:17–20, see Heb 7:1–3, etc. We have already considered the most interesting passage in textual reception against MT, i.e., LXX Gen 47:31 in Heb 11:21 (see above §2.2). A third passage, Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18, allows us to study ancient translation technique: The LXX translates the Hebrew text word for word (כִּי= ὅτι, בְ = ἐν, etc.), and Hebrews takes that over (ὅτι in 11:18, line 1, may be quotation, *contra* NA²⁷).

especially in the day of atonement traditions.[26] We must take into account theological reasons to explain this: our author hesitates to quote cultic laws, for in his opinion the (cultic) law is no more than a shadow (σκία) of the things to come (cf. 10:1). The question of whether there was a manuscript of Leviticus cannot, therefore, be decided.

Perhaps we can explain a second surprising gap in a similar way. Hebrews does not offer a single quotation from Ezekiel, even though we would expect a preference for this book with its cultic interests (cf. esp. Ezek 40–48). But the problem surpasses that associated with Leviticus, because we also miss any significant allusions to Ezekiel.[27] Therefore, the easiest explanation seems to be here that our author could have both had theological reservations and lacked a manuscript.

Surprisingly, we must be cautious also with Isaiah. Our author loves this prophet; in addition to 2:13 (Isa 8:17–18) and 10:37 (Isa 26:20) we find six allusions.[28] But the quotations are short, in 2:13a slightly altered, and in 10:37 disputed (see above).[29] Therefore it may be that the author quoted from Isaiah from memory.

Even clearer is the issue with the Minor Prophets. The quotation of (or dense allusion to) Hab 2:3–4 in Heb 10:37–38 contains important peculiarities against all our LXX manuscripts, and also the second quotation, Hag 2:6 in Heb 12:26, differs from the LXX.[30] The differences are not necessitated by the context in Hebrews; therefore they are hardly due to redaction. It is just as problematic to explain them as secondary adaptations to the MT (following, for example, a *kaige*-tradition).[31] Thus, it is nearly certain, that our author lacked a manuscript of the Dodekapropheton and so quoted it from memory.

A last specific feature may be found in the background of Heb 1. The chapter is formed out of a catena containing LXX Ps 2:7(f.), 103:4, 109:1, and other passages (see above). This catena has an important parallel in *1 Clem.* 36. It inverts the order of the Psalms (first LXX Ps 103:4, then Ps 2:7) and leaves out some quotations of Heb 1 (Deut 32:43 / *Odes* 2:43; Pss 44:7–8; 101:26–28; etc.). There are, however, some variants readings in common between them: in

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[26] See the list of allusions in NA[27], 775–76.

[27] The eight allusions noted in NA[27], 795–96, are of limited importance.

[28] Heb 2:16; 5:9; 9:28; 10:27; 12:12; and 13:20.

[29] At 2:13a against all known LXX manuscripts of Isa 8:17, ἐγώ is added and the word order is altered. Perhaps the author did so for the embedding into the context of Hebrews.

[30] For details see Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger*, 182–87, 190–94 and the commentaries.

[31] Our passage is missing in the scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (see Emanuel Tov, Robert A. Kraft, and P. J. Parsons, eds., *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever [8HevXIIgr]* [DJD 8; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990]).

Ps 103:4 they have πυρὸς φλόγα, "fire flame," against the main LXX manuscripts, and in 109:1 they both have ὑποπόδιον, "footstool," in the sense of ὑποκάτω, "under," with LXX, but against the usual reception of the Psalm in early Christianity.[32] So it is possible that our author in that chapter does not quote directly from a Psalms scroll but used an early Christian testimonium.[33] The loyalty of our author to manuscripts is then broadened; to the older manuscripts we must add later collections of Christological proofs taken from Israel's Scriptures. However, we should not build too much on a testimonium thesis; the proof for it is not without difficulties (all testimonia of the first century are controversial), and we can write a history of the text without recourse to such a concept.

All in all, Hebrews gives indirect, but informative insight into the distribution of LXX manuscripts: even an author who is orientated strictly to the Scriptures of Israel—as is the case with the author of Hebrews—possessed, at the end of the first century, at most Psalms scrolls and one or two great prophets and in addition, had access to manuscripts of the Torah (the most widespread text of Israel and available in the synagogues). Our concept of "Septuagint" in that time, therefore, must be one of a loose, emerging sampling of texts.

3.2 Quotations and textual variants of Septuagint

If we look into the texts, we often find small variants against the critical Septuagint editions (Septuaginta Göttingensis and Rahlfs). Only six (respectively seven) quotations agree with all the main manuscripts of the critical edition (A, B, and S).[34] In many cases Hebrews goes with A against B, in others with B against A, in a third set of cases with lesser manuscripts, and about fifteen times it differs from virtually all known LXX manuscripts.[35]

Numerous variants are more distant from the Hebrew text than the main manuscripts of Septuagint (which are later than Hebrews). In the past, scholars tried to attribute almost all of them to the redaction of the author of Hebrews. But by-and-large, the variants are not necessary for the context and the theology

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[32] Mark 12:36; Matt 22:44.

[33] Cf. especially, Martin C. Albl, *And Scripture Cannot be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSup 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 201–7.

[34] Ps 2:7 in Heb 1:5a and 5:5; 2 Kgdms 7:14 in Heb 1:5b; Ps 109:1 in Heb 1:13; Isa 8:18 in Heb 2:13b (but cf. n. 29 regarding 2:13a); Gen 21:12 in Heb 11:18; and, with vagueness regarding the extra καί, Ps 117:6 in Heb 13:6.

[35] See the lists in Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger*, 247–50. Particular variants of Hebrews are found at 1:6, 10, 12; 2:12, 13a; 3:9, 10; 8:8, 9, 10–11; 10:30[2x]; 12:15, 26; and 13:5.

of Hebrews, and their vocabulary differs from our author's preferred stock of words.

The difficulty of proving redaction is exemplified by the citation of Jer 38:31–34 in Heb 8:8b–12. There we have many variants against the critical, reconstructed Jeremiah text (Septuaginta Göttingensis Ziegler). But a portion of them go with A, a portion with collateral manuscripts, and the remaining are stylistic without being definitely explicable by redaction. As it stands today it is probable that our author took over a *Vorlage* without alteration (but alters the quotation when it is repeated in 10:16 and 17).[36]

We can broaden the evidence for this conclusion. In the last twenty years, it has been recognized that differences from the MT in manuscripts and quotations often are unaffected by the LXX-redactions that took place around the turn of our era (beginning in the end of the second century B.C.E.[37] and continuing till the second century C.E., especially the *kaige*-recension).[38] If we draw the conclusion for Hebrews, our author found most of his variants in the manuscripts, and these manuscripts witness collateral, sometimes older lines of the Septuagint.

The argument accords well with the observation made above, that our author did not endeavor to participate in the Proto-MT revisions of his day. Opting to use the Greek text made it easy for the author to employ manuscripts that were at hand, even when they were only revised to a small extent.

A last topic will round off the matter. Jobes has observed phonetic assonance in six of the (as she says) "misquotes" of Heb: 1:7 πνεύματα – φλόγα; 2:12 ἀπαγγελῶ – ἐν μέσῳ; 3:10 ἔτη – ταύτῃ; 8:5 πάντα – δειχθέντα; 10:5–7 οὐκ ἠθέλησας – οὐκ εὐδόκησας and περὶ ἐμοῦ – θέλημά σου; 13:5 ἀνῶ – ἐγκαταλίπω.[39]

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[36] Variants against all or almost all LXX manuscripts are ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον instead of τῷ οἴκῳ in 8:8, ἐποίησα instead of διεθέμην in 8:9, and the omission of αὐτῶν καί in 8:11. Ibid., 249, added λέγει instead of φησίν in v. 9 (and 10). For the state of research see Backhaus, *Der Neue Bund und das Werden der Kirche*, 170–72. He also discusses συντελέσω instead of διαθήσομαι in v. 8 without clear results and gives literature.

[37] Cf. *Let. Aris.* 310; and Rüsen-Weinhold, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter im Neuen Testament," 26–28.

[38] For more information, see Gilles Dorival, Marguerite Harl, and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible Grecque des Septante: Du Judaisme Hellénistique au Christianisme Ancien* (2d ed.; Initiations au Christianisme Ancien; Paris: Cerf, 1994), 142–43, 150–61; Emanuel Tov, "The Septuagint," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. M. J. Mulder; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988), 182–86; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. W. G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 142–54; and Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 84ff.

[39] Karen H. Jobes, "Rhetorical Achievement in the Hebrews 10 'Misquote' of Psalm 40," *Bib* 72 (1991): 390–92; cf. idem, "The Function of Paronomasia in Hebrews 10:5–7," *TJ* ns 13 (1992): 184 and *passim*.

They affect the Pentateuch (Exod 25:40; Deut 31:6) as well as Psalms (Pss 21:23; 39:7–9; 94:10; 103:4). Three are (fully or partially) supported by other texts that make use of them: Ps 103:4 by 1 Clement, see above §3.1; and Exod 25:40 and Deut 31:6 by Philo, see below §3.4). Elsewhere we cannot find Hebrews's favorite vocabulary.[40] So again, redaction by our author is unlikely.[41] This phenomenon, rather, highlights a marginal but appealing characteristic of textual transmission: ancient texts were read and dictated aloud. In that way, rhetoric influenced orality and writing. Of course one should check more references in manuscripts to prove the issue finally.

3.3 Quotations and localization of Hebrews

It would be nice if we could learn from the variants something about the textual location of the author Hebrews and the LXX manuscripts that were used. But we have contradictory evidence where Hebrews uses texts of the first century:

Like Philo, Hebrews has an additional πάντα in Exod 25:40, against the MT and the main Septuagint manuscripts.

Exod 25:40	Exod 25:40	Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 3.102	Heb 8:5
... וְעֲשֵׂה בְּתַבְנִיתָם אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה מָרְאֶה בָּהָר	Ποιήσεις κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει	κατὰ τὸ παράδειγμα τὸ δεδειγμένον σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει <u>πάντα</u> ποιήσεις	ποιήσεις <u>πάντα</u> κατὰ τὸν τύπον τὸν δειχθέντα σοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει

At first glance one may think of an Alexandrian origin for Hebrews, the more so as some features of the theology of Hebrews are similar to Philo's.[42] But the differences with Philo are great, even in our verse, and the rest of Hebrews does not confirm the agreement with Philo. Therefore no commentary places Hebrews in Alexandria with certainty.[43]

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[40] Regarding 2:12, ἀπαγγελῶ is a *hapax legomenon* in Hebrews whereas διηγεῖσθαι (which the LXX prefers) occurs at 11:32.

[41] *Contra* Jobes in "Rhetorical achievement" and "Function of paronomasia in Hebrews 10:5–7," who assumes that our author has a specific "rhetoric skill" ("Function of paronomasia in Hebrews 10:5–7," 191).

[42] Regarding textual history some add Gen 2:2 in Heb 4:4 and Philo, *Posterity* 64. Both times we have an additional ὁ θεός. But it stands at different places and is not significant; cf. the criticism by Katz, "Quotations from Deuteronomy in Hebrews," 220. Of more interest is Num 12:7 in Heb 3:5 and Philo, *Leg.* 3.204, 228; both times, against the main LXX manuscripts, πιστός stands at the beginning of the phrase.

[43] Only Schunack, *Der Hebräerbrief*, 11 considers it, at all.

This is confirmed by a second textual variant. Here we have a special agreement with Paul, who did not write in Egypt: Heb 10:30 quotes v. 35 of the Song of Moses Deut 32 / *Odes* 2 with the same syntax as Rom 12:19 against the main Septuagint manuscripts; maybe the variant influenced the MT, or maybe it is, unusually for Hebrews, partially Proto-MT:

Deut 32:35	Deut 32:35=*Odes* 2:35	Rom 12:19 and Heb 10:30
לי נקם ושלם	ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω	ἐμοὶ ἐκδίκησις, ἐγὼ ἀνταποδώσω

There is a hint of Paulinism in Heb 13:23, and in the greetings to some persons from Italy in 13:24. So it is possible that our author wrote near Rome. We cannot decide. But it is clear that Hebrews witnesses to the spreading of textual variants in the Mediterranean region between Alexandria and Rome.

3.4 Hebrews and the reconstruction of Septuagint passages

New Testament quotations are seldom used in the reconstruction of Septuagint passages, because the good transmission of New Testament texts is to a large extent balanced out by the problems of quoting (e.g., incorrect memory, mistakes in the received LXX manuscripts).[44] Yet with regard to the observations we have made, Hebrews not only gains relevance for our understanding of the transmission of the Septuagint, but sometimes also it may be helpful as a witness to LXX textual traditions. We will offer two examples.

In *Conf.* 166 Philo cites the λόγιον, "word," of God οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ, οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω, "I will never leave and never forsake you.". In Heb 13:5 we find exactly the same text.[45] Yet we lack an exact parallel in our Septuagint traditions. The quotation seems to combine three texts: Deut 31:6, Gen 28:15, and Josh 1:5, with greatest affinity to Deuteronomy.[46]

Philo, *Conf.* 166 = Heb 13:5	Deut 31:6	Gen 28:15	Josh 1:5
Οὐ μή σε ἀνῶ οὐδ' οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω	κύριος ὁ θεός […] οὐ μή σε ἀνῇ οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπῃ	οὐ μή σε ἐγκαταλίπω ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με πάντα ὅσα ἐλάλησά σοι	ἔσομαι καὶ μετὰ σοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψω σε οὐδὲ ὑπερόψομαί σε

But is it plausible that Philo and Hebrews developed a combination of three texts in parallel? More likely they both used the same textual form of their

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[44] Cf. Siegert, *Zwischen hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament*, 106–7.

[45] There introduced by εἴρηκεν, and thus again marked as a quotation of Scripture.

[46] There the phrase is in addition repeated with small variations in 31:8.

Greek Scripture, a non extant text of probably Deuteronomy (less likely Joshua or Genesis). Since the Hebrew Deuteronomy is rather correctly translated in the main Septuagint text, the variant in Philo and Hebrews shows a collateral text, not the OG.

Psalms 39:7 provides the second example. At this verse, all relevant Greek manuscripts (including Pap. Bodmer 24 [Rahlfs 2110]) render "a body (σῶμα) have you [i.e., God] prepared me (κατηρτίσω μοι)," whereas the MT (Ps 40:7) reads "ears (אזנים) have you dug for me." The text of Heb 10:5 has the same as the major LXX manuscripts (σῶμα κ.τ.λ.). No witness to Hebrews or the LXX has a word for word translation "ears have you dug."

If we put this issue into the context of the cultures of antiquity, it is easy to explain the new rendering in the LXX and Hebrews: "You (God) dug ears" contradicted the Hellenistic way of thinking (as it does modern thought). The translators evidently bore in mind the target audience, and chose a metonymy that made good sense. They dared to render a new text, even though they were on the whole interested in a faithful translation.

The explanation fits with our knowledge of ancient translators.[47] However the Rahlfs text contradicts what we know. It gives the priority to the Latin daughter-translation and minor witnesses and reads ὠτία, "ears," against Hebrews and the main manuscripts of the Septuagint.

Ps 40:7	LXX Ps 39:7, main manuscripts = Heb 10:5	LXX Göttingensis (Rahlfs; La^G Ga Hex)
זבח ומנחה לא־חפצת אזנים כרית לי	Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι	θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας ὠτία δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι

These witnesses alone are not weighty enough to justify adopting ὠτία as original. Thus far unspoken, the common opinion is that Hebrews cites the text in a form altered according to fit its Christology (Christ speaks the Psalm), and then that text influenced the main Septuagint text. Some researchers add that ΣΩΜΑ could be a misreading for ΩΤΙΑ (with Σ from the previous word).[48] Yet the misreading is too complicated (also the Σ must be doubled), and it is unlikely that Hebrews influenced the Old Testament texts to a great extent; Hebrews was

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[47] Most psalms are translated very precisely, but there are more examples of free renderings, on which see Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalters* (BBB 134; Berlin: Philo Verlagsgesellschaft, 2002), 26–29 and passim regarding LXX Pss 15; 16; and 89.

[48] Masséo Caloz, *Étude sur la LXX Origénienne du Psautier, les Relations entre les Leçons des Psaumes du Manuscrit Coislin 44, les Fragments des Hexaples et le Texte du Psautier Gallican* (OBO 19; Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1978).

not wide-spread till the fourth century. Moreover, Hebrews uses σάρξ, "flesh," (and αἶμα) for the earthly life of Jesus beginning at 2:14 (cf. 5:7), and does so also in our chapter (in the famous v. 20). If the author had corrected the text, we would expect σάρξ.

All in all, a redactional σῶμα in Heb 10:5 is very improbable, even if we cannot solve all problems of the quotation here.[49] Therefore, we would propose to correct the Psalms text in the coming revision of the Septuaginta Göttingensis according to the main manuscripts (and Hebrews) and to explain the weaker ὠτία as a secondary adaptation to the Proto-MT; that fits with the general process of secondary LXX revisions.

4. An Example for Textual History and Theology: Deuteronomy 32 / Odes 2:43 in Hebrews 1:6

Let us finally take a look at the interdependence of textual history and theology. Hebrews offers some famous examples, such as its treatment of Melchizedek. We will choose an unknown one, however. It concerns Hebrews's approach to a theology of religions: though the work is addressed predominantly to Gentile Christians (see 6:1; 13:23–25, etc.), it ignores their religious traditions and even avoids using the term ἔθνη, "Gentiles." How did Hebrews come to this position? The question is worth asking, because the Scriptures of Israel also allowed other options. A considerable openness is perceived by contemporary scholars especially in the Song of Moses, Deut 32, a text used in Hebrews. We will begin with an outline of its history.

4.1 The Hebrew text of Deuteronomy 32

In Deut 32:8, 4QDeut[j] (4Q37) reads "children / sons of God" instead of "children of Israel" of the MT. If this reflects—as many contemporary scholars assume—the earliest form of the Song of Moses, we can assume a Hebrew stage of development that acknowledged divine beings as protectors of the Gentile nations.[50] Schenker has concluded that in that passage, God was described as

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[49] We cannot discuss here the other variants of Heb 10:5–7. Recently, Jobes and Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint*, 195ff. cogently argue for an original ὠτία. But see the review by James Barr, *RBL*, n.p. [cited 16 January 2003]. Online: http://www.-bookreviews.org.; and Rüsen-Weinhold, "Der Septuaginta-Psalter im Neuen Testament," 208–10, against it.

[50] Cf. Martin G. Abegg, Peter W. Flint, and Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible: The Oldest Known Bible* (San Francisco: Harper, 1999), 191.

"Founder of the world's Religions," and granted them something "divine"; the text allowed an open theology of religions.[51]

Yet we must be aware of a problem. The interpretation presupposes a parting of the ways in the text's transmission between v. 8 and v. 43. Verse 43 is lost in 4QDeut[j] but preserved in 4QDeut[q] (4Q44), which demands that the gods fall down before the one God (instead of "praise, nations, his people," in the MT). Thus the gods, whose divine status seemed to be acknowledged in v. 8, lose their status in v. 43.

Consequently the version of the text that is open to other religions is confined to one fragment, 4QDeut[j]. A correction is provable elsewhere in early Judaism, before the Common Era. There was a tendency to put the divine children of God in charge of the authority of the God of Israel. The MT becomes the last stage of that development. It ignores any gods or divine beings in v. 8 and regards "the bounds of the people" as set "according to the number of the children of Israel" (not divine beings).

4.2 The Greek text

Hellenistic Judaism highly appreciated the Song of Moses and probably handed it down separately (beside Deuteronomy), for we find it also in the *Odes*.[52] We cannot solve here the problems concerning the double transmission, but be that as it may, in Deuteronomy, as in the *Odes*, the Greek Song of Moses includes two important alterations.[53] First, in all extant versions of v. 8, the first reference to "sons of God" becomes "angels of the nations," installed by the one God.[54] This was a typical approach to such ideas in early Judaism.[55] Secondly, v. 39

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[51] Adrian Schenker, "Gott als Stifter der Religionen der Welt: Unerwartete Früchte der textgeschichtlichen Forschung," in *La Double Transmission du Texte Biblique: Études d'histoire du texte offertes en hommage à Adrian Schenker* (ed. Y. Goldman and C. Uehlinger; OBO 179; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 99 (quotation) and 102.

[52] For Philo, it is the "great" song in Scripture; cf. especially det. 114 and post. 121.

[53] For a fuller discussion of the double transmission of the song, see Karrer, "Der Weltkreis und Christus, der Hohepriester."

[54] According to Hanhart, in v. 8 the OG (LXX) reads ἄγγελοι θεοῦ (Robert Hanhart, "Die Söhne Israels, die Söhne Gottes und die Engel in der Masora, in Qumran und in der Septuaginta," in *Vergegenwärtigung des Alten Testaments: Beiträge zur biblischen Hermeneutik: Festschrift für Rudolf Smend zum 70. Geburtstag* [ed. C. Bultmann et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002], 171–73, with Rahlfs, against John W. Wevers, *Deuteronomium* [Septuaginta 3.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977]). For angels of the nations, cf. Dan 10:13, 20–21; 12:1; and maybe Sir 17:17. Later sources are mentioned in Michael Mach, *Entwicklungsstadien des jüdischen Engelglaubens in vorrabbinischer Zeit* (TSAJ 34; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 257–62.

[55] Which no longer sees the transcendental "sons of God" as gods, but as angels: Cf. Ps 82:6; Job 1:6–12; 2:1–6; 38:7 and the sons of heaven in texts from the Dead Sea Scrolls,

shows in all Greek manuscripts an absolute divine self-predication (clarifying the Hebrew text): "I am He, and there is no God apart from me."

Verse 43 follows the Hebrew precisely. We read (according to the *Odes* that are nearer to Hebrews): "Rejoice, heavens, with him, and let all the angels (!) of God worship him (the one God of v. 39)."

Deut 32:43 (abridged)	*Odes* 2:43 (abridged) (underlined: difference over against Deut 32)	Deut 32 / *Odes* 2:43 in Heb 1:6
εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί ἅμα αὐτῷ Rejoice, ye heavens, with him [God],[56]	εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί ἅμα αὐτῷ Rejoice, ye heavens, with him [God],	
καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες <u>υἱοὶ</u> θεοῦ and let all <u>sons</u> of God worship him;	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες <u>οἱ ἄγγελοι</u> θεοῦ and let all the <u>angels</u> of God worship him;	καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες <u>ἄγγελοι</u> θεοῦ and let all <u>angels</u> of God worship him.
εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people,	εὐφράνθητε ἔθνη μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ rejoice, ye Gentiles, with his people,	
καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες <u>ἄγγελοι</u> θεοῦ and let all <u>angels</u> of God strengthen it[57]	καὶ ἐνισχυσάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες <u>υἱοὶ</u> θεοῦ and let all <u>sons</u> of God strengthen it	

The result is as simple as clear. Those who stand above the nations cannot be regarded as gods, but only as guardian angels, subordinated to the one God who assigned them to the nations. Therefore, they need to fall down worshipping before the one God. Indeed, there emerges an interaction with the nations, but it lacks openness towards their religions. The one God does not tolerate belief in

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esp. 1QS XI, 20 (=4Q264 XI, 8). On this see further Maxwell J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran: A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1–36, 72–108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: JSOT, 1992), 166ff., 192–93.

[56] There is a change of speaker between vv. 42 and 43 (LXX and *Odes*). Previously, God was speaking, now it is Moses.

[57] The construction of ἐνισχύειν with a dative is unusual, but possible (cf. Hos 10:11). Thus, αὐτῷ, "it," in our line is best understood as referring to τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ, "his [God's] people" (with Hanhart, "Die Söhne Israels, die Söhne Gottes und die Engel," 175 n. 7). The alternative translation, "and let all angels of God strengthen themselves in him," is less probable.

other gods or divine beings. The nations have reason to rejoice, but only in the one God, who gives strength to the angels so that they are able to invigorate his people (this is the most probable interpretation of Deut 32 LXX).[58] Or the nations may even have to rejoice in the strength that the one God gives to his people through the children of Israel, who are his own children (thus v. 43 in the *Odes*, if a difference is made there between angels and children of God; otherwise we have the same meaning as in LXX Deuteronomy). In summary, the Hellenistic Jewish Diaspora does not use the Song of Moses to increase openness towards religions, but modifies it in order to invalidate them.

Other examples of early Jewish reception confirm this picture, especially *Jub.* 15:31–32 and LXX Ps 96:6. In the latter we find the short and sharp contrast: where gods worshipped in the MT, now the angels worship, and any permission to venerate idols and images vanishes.

LXX Ps 96:7 (parallels to the Song of Moses underlined)	(cf. the underlined text and Heb 1:6)
αἰσχυνθήτωσαν πάντες οἱ προσκυνοῦντες τοῖς γλυπτοῖς οἱ ἐγκαυχώμενοι ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτῶν <u>προσκυνήσατε αὐτῷ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι αὐτοῦ</u>	Let all worshipers of carved images be put to shame, those who make their boast in their idols. <u>All his angels worship him!</u> [the Lord: see v. 1:5].

4.3 The reception in Hebrews

The author of Hebrews takes up this line and connects it with Christology.[59] In 1:6 we read:

Heb 1:6	
ὅταν δὲ πάλιν εἰσαγάγῃ τὸν πρωτότοκον εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην, λέγει· Καὶ προσκυνησάτωσαν αὐτῷ πάντες ἄγγελοι θεοῦ.	and again, when he [God] brings the firstborn into the inhabited world,[60] he says: And let all the angels of God worship him.

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[58] If one prefers the alternative translation, "and let all angels of God strengthen themselves in him," another possible meaning emerges: The nations have reason to rejoice, but only in the one God, who gives strength to the angels so that they are able to protect them.

[59] Perhaps imparted by an early Christian *testimonium* (see above §3.1).

[60] Another possible translation, preferred by many exegetes, but less likely, is: "but when he [God] brings the firstborn into the world again."

Other Gods are ignored. Instead, angels of the one God are responsible for the nations of the world. Thus our author opts for a kind of religious exclusivism without developing it anew or giving a reason for it. The position is—as he sees it—already included in the quoted text of Scripture.

The main interest moves to Christology: the Son is so great when he is brought into the inhabited world (the οἰκουμένη) that even the angels of the nations must fall down on their knees before him.[61] Nevertheless, the exclusivist position does not moderate, as becomes clear at 12:15, which contains an allusion to Deut 29:17 LXX. According to that verse devotion to foreign gods would be like the shooting up of a bitter root. Hebrews implicitly gives the old religions of his readers a negative critique.

The problems in this development are obvious. In the textual history of the Song of Moses the once open perspective narrows, and Hebrews fails to widen the horizon in its Christological use. Modern hermeneutics, therefore, must look for a correction to that perspective through other texts and traditions. But that charge goes beyond our task here.

5. Conclusion

We could give only a rough sketch of the many aspects regarding the Septuagint reception in Hebrews, and some of the considerations surely remain matters for dispute. Yet, some insights seem to be relevant not only for understanding Hebrews, but also exemplify a change in our understanding of scriptural quotations in general. Until recently, it might not have been considered adequate to take seriously the New Testament quotations in the inquiry of the Septuagint, and vice versa to examine the details of text history and the original contexts of scriptural quotations in New Testament studies. However, we are in a process of recognizing anew the history of manuscripts and texts; the New Testament quotations make their contribution to it. Parallel to this development, we detect evidence of the history of theology behind the textual history, and again the New Testament plays a role in that. All in all the complexity of quotations calls for close attention, because it helps us to understand the textual and the theological history of early Judaism and the beginnings of New Testament theology.

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[61] Οἰκουμένη refers to οἶκος, "house," and is of special importance to political ideologies beginning in Ptolemaic times. (PSI 5, 541,7; for first century C.E. texts [Claudius, Nero, etc.] see Otto Michel, "ἡ οἰκουμένη," *TWNT* 5:159–61). Thus Heb indirectly criticizes not only pagan religions, but also contradicts the worship of ruler cults.

Observations on the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the Septuagint Psalms in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity

Ralph Brucker

In this paper I will give an overview over the *Wirkungsgeschichte* (history of reception) of the LXX Psalms[1] in ancient Judaism and early Christianity. I will focus on two aspects of *Wirkungsgeschichte*, both contained in the German word *Wirkung*: one aspect is the *reception* in a narrower sense, i.e., quotations, allusions, and "echoes"; the other is the *perception*—this concerns the questions of author, literary genre, and canonicity.

1. Ancient Judaism

1.1 1 Maccabees

Although the first book of the Maccabees (generally dated around 100 B.C.E.) was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic and the Greek version we have is a translation, some scholars hold the opinion that the text of the LXX Psalms was available to the translator of 1 Maccabees.[2] Arie van der Kooij points to the

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[1] The textual basis for the LXX Psalms is Alfred Rahlfs's Göttingen edition: *Psalmi cum Odis* (3d ed.; Septuaginta 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979). Concerning the text itself (not the *apparatus criticus*), the psalms in Rahlfs's *editio minor* (*Septuaginta: Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* [Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1935; repr., 2 vols. in 1. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979]) are, however, almost identical to those in the Göttingen edition. The English translation follows in most cases that of Lancelot C. L. Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851; repr., Peabody: Hendrickson, 1986). The psalm numbers always refer to the LXX version (differing from the MT).

[2] Arie van der Kooij, "The Septuagint of Psalms and the First Book of Maccabees," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. R. J. V. Hiebert, C. E. Cox, and P. J. Gentry; JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 229–47. His

quotation of Ps 78:2–3 in 1 Macc 7:17, which can be seen as a literal quotation
with slight modifications, and he also points to the allusion to Ps 109:4 in
1 Macc 14:41 with the striking expression "high priest for ever" (ἀρχιερέα εἰς
τὸν αἰῶνα). The second case, however, is less convincing, as Ps 109:4 speaks
of a "priest for ever (σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα), after the order of Melchi-
zedek."

But there is another quotation not discussed by van der Kooij:[3] After the
victory over Gorgias told in ch. 4 the Jews under their leader Judas praise God
with the words, "for ⟨he⟩ is good, for his mercy[4] endures for ever" (4:24). This is
a refrain well known from a number of psalms,[5] usually preceded by the words
"acknowledge the Lord" (ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῷ κυρίῳ). But it is also to be found
in the later historical books (esp. 1 and 2 Chronicles)—with a remarkable
difference in the translation: "Acknowledge the Lord, for *it* is good" instead of
"for *he* is good."[6] Now in 1 Macc 4:24 the manuscripts read, καὶ
ἐπιστραφέντες ὕμνουν καὶ εὐλόγουν εἰς οὐρανὸν ὅτι καλόν ὅτι εἰς τὸν
αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ.[7] The ὅτι καλόν ("for *it* is good") is not exactly
corresponding with either of the other Greek versions, yet seems to be nearer to
that of 1 and 2 Chronicles. But in the text of 1 Maccabees the reading ὅτι
καλόν produces some difficulties: as the introduction "acknowledge the Lord" is
missing here, the καλόν cannot refer to the acknowledgement itself. The only

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opinion is shared by Tyler F. Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," in
The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma, 248–76, esp. 270–72.

[3] It is mentioned by Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," 272, but not
sufficiently discussed.

[4] Albert Pietersma, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint, and the Other Greek
Translations Traditionally Included under That Title: The Psalms* (New York: Oxford
University Press, 2000), sees ἔλεος as a "calque" (Greek word with Hebrew meaning) and
translates it (according to the NRSV) with "steadfast love" when equating with חסד (see
his introduction, p. xxii).

[5] Pss 99:5; 105:1; 106:1; 135 *passim* with "for he is kind" (ὅτι χρηστός); and 117:1, 2, 3,
4, 29 with "for he is good" (ὅτι ἀγαθός). The first version is also quoted in Jer 40:11 and
Dan 3:89–90.

[6] 1 Chr 16:34 [cf. 16:41]; 2 Chr 5:13; 7:3 [cf. 7:6, 20:21]; Ezra 3:11 (ὅτι ἀγαθόν). The
Hebrew text has in all cases כי טוב which could indeed be understood in both ways, cf.
Ps 146:1 (similarly Ps 91:2).

[7] According to the Göttingen edition (Werner Kappler, *Maccabaeorum liber I* [2d ed.;
Septuaginta 9.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967], 70) there are only two
manuscripts (the minuscules 55 and 58, tenth and eleventh century, respectively) reading
ἀγαθός instead of καλόν, and one (534, eleventh century) reading ἀγαθόν—obviously
trying to get in line with one of the parallels cited above (Ps 117 and the books of
Chronicles, respectively).

possible reference of the neuter καλόν is τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, "his mercy."[8] The first ὅτι could thus be understood as a ὅτι *recitativum*, and the sentence would be rendered as follows: "And when they returned they sang and praised to heaven: Good is his mercy, for it endures for ever!"[9] This seems a bit awkward, so that many modern translations prefer the conjecture "for ⟨he⟩ is good" (ὅτι χρηστός or ὅτι ἀγαθός) which would correspond to the Psalms version of the refrain.[10] But if, as is most probable, the translator of 1 Maccabees is himself responsible for the ὅτι καλόν,[11] it becomes less probable that the text of the LXX Psalms was available to him.[12]

Apart from these cases, further allusions to the Psalter can be found in 5:4 (cf. Ps 68:23; but cf. also Josh 23:13; Wis 14:11) and 9:23 (cf. Ps 91:8). Moreover, the book contains several passages that are inspired by "Biblical Poetry" (lamentations, prayers, and eulogies).

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[8] It remains puzzling, why the translator should have understood the Hebrew טוב as a predicate to חסד (= ἔλεος). After all, it does not seem very probable that the σωτηρία of "that day" (14:25) should be in any way paralleled to the days of creation where the ὅτι καλόν is a recurring statement (Gen 1:4, 8, 10, 12, 18; cf. 3:6). In Ps 134:3 (αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ὅτι ἀγαθὸς κύριος / ψάλατε τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὅτι καλόν), the ὅτι καλόν refers to the name (ὄνομα) of the Lord (cf. with ὅτι ἀγαθόν, Ps 53:8).

[9] The second ὅτι is missing in Codex A; this is clearly facilitating the sentence ("And when they returned they sang and praised to heaven: Good is his mercy for ever!" or "… praised to heaven, for good is his mercy for ever!"), but distorting the quotation.

[10] This is explicitly stated by F.-M. Abel, *Les Livres des Maccabées* (2d ed.; EBib; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1949), 78; Werner Dommershausen, *1 Makkabäer, 2 Makkabäer* (NEchtB:AT 12; Würzburg: Echter, 1985), 36. Many others (including Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," 272) translate "he" without discussing the textual problem.

[11] This (καλόν as a mistake of the Greek translator) is the opinion of Carl L. W. Grimm, *Das erste [-vierte] Buch der Maccabäer* (2 vol. in 1; Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch zu den Apokryphen des Alten Testamentes 3–4; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1853), 70; Emil F. Kautzsch, "Das erste Buch der Makkabäer," in *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, (ed. E. F. Kautzsch; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1900), 1:44 n. c; Klaus-Dietrich Schunck, "1. Makkabäerbuch," in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen* (JSHRZ 1.4; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1980), 315 n. 24.

[12] The case may be different with regard to the LXX translations of Isaiah and Proverbs. But due to limits of space, this has to remain undiscussed here. See on this topic, Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," 263–70 (overview); and Johann Cook, "Intertextual Relationships Between the Septuagint of Psalms and Proverbs," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, 218–28.

1.2 Philo of Alexandria

Philo explicitly quotes several verses from the LXX Psalms.[13] His standard quotation formula is "in the hymns" (ἐν ὕμνοις, occurring 9x,[14] so he probably knows the whole collection that we call "the Psalter."[15] But of the titles used in the inscriptions of the major LXX manuscripts—i.e., ψαλμοί in B, ψαλτήριον in A et al.[16]—the word ψαλμός cannot be found throughout his works, and ψαλτήριον occurs only twice in the sense of a musical instrument (*Post*. 103, 111).

Sometimes Philo refers to a certain ᾆσμα, "song" or "canticle," but this term is used for various biblical songs in the books of Exodus, Numbers, and 1 Kingdoms (1 Samuel) as well.[17] However, in Philo's eyes, the most important biblical songs—according to the frequency of quotations—are obviously the

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[13] Pss 22:1 (*Names* 115; *Agriculture* 50); 26:1 (*Dreams* 1.75); 30:19 (*Confusion* 39); 36:4 (*Planting* 39; *Dreams* 2.242); 41:4 (*Migration* 157); 45:5 (*Dreams* 2.246); 61:12 (*Unchangeable* 82); 64:10 (*Dreams* 2.245); 74:9 (*Unchangeable* 77); 77:49 (*Giants* 17); 79:6 (*Migration* 157); 79:7 (*Confusion* 52); 83:11 (*Heir* 290); 93:9 (*Planting* 29); 100:1 (*Unchangeable* 74); 113:25 (*Flight* 59). Of these, the reference to Ps 83:11 in *Heir* 290 should, despite the quotation formula, better be qualified as an allusion, because it is rather free (see below, n. 27). Furthermore, Philo alludes to Pss 90:11–12 (*Unchangeable* 182) and 113:13–15 (*Decalogue* 74), summarizing the verses in his own words. On Philo's use of the LXX Psalms, see most recently David T. Runia, "Philo's Reading of the Psalms," *SPhilo* 13 (2001): 102–21. Some examples are also discussed by Williams, "Towards a Date for the Old Greek Psalter," 272–75.

[14] In the LXX Psalter, the formula ἐν ὕμνοις occurs in the titles of six psalms that are not quoted by Philo (Pss 6:1; 53:1; 54:1; 60:1; 66:1; 75:1, always as the translation of בנגינות). Here, it suggests the existence of a collection of its own ("among the hymns"), whereas Philo can use the term "hymn" for all psalms.

[15] The frequently used formula "it is written" (γέγραπται) never refers to a psalm but is restricted to quotations from the Pentateuch. This indicates that the collection of "hymns" is not quite of the same authority for Philo as the Pentateuch. Statistics confirm this impression: Of 1161 biblical quotations, only forty-one do not stem from the Pentateuch (Helmut Burkhardt, *Die Inspiration heiliger Schriften bei Philo von Alexandrien* [Monographien und Studienbücher 340; Giessen: Brunnen, 1988], 134; Runia, "Philo's reading of the Psalms," 102, both following Leisegang's *Index*; F. H. Colson, "Philo's Quotations From the Old Testament," *JTS* 41 [1940]: 237–51, specifically 238, counts somewhat different, but with an even clearer tendency: about 2000 citations, fifty not from the Pentateuch).

[16] See the *apparatus criticus* in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*[3], 81. Some manuscripts, including S, do not have an inscription.

[17] In the LXX ᾆσμα occurs only fifteen times—just once in the Pentateuch (Num 21:17) and never in the historical books. In the five occurrences in the Psalter (Pss 32:3; 39:4; 95:1; 97:1; 149:1) it is always connected with καινόν, "a new song."

songs of Moses from Exod 15 and Deut 32. The term ᾠδή , "song" or "ode," at least in the singular is almost always connected to one of these two.[18]

Whereas in the case of Moses the author's name is known to Philo, in most other cases the writer remains anonymous. Only Balaam, whom he calls μάταιος, "vain" or "false," is mentioned as a composer of "exceeding hymns to God," one of them being "God is not as man …" (Num 23:19). As for the Psalms, the authors are referred to as "one of the friends of Moses" (τις τῶν ἑταίρων Μωυσέως), "one of the acquaintances of Moses" (τῶν Μωυσέως γνωρίμων τις), "the fellow of Moses" (ὁ τοῦ Μωυσέως δὴ θιασώτης), "the divine man" (ὁ θεσπέσιος ἀνήρ), "a prophetic man" (τις προφητικός ἀνήρ), "the hymn-singer" (ὁ ὑμνῳδός), "the one who wrote the hymnic songs" (ὁ τὰς ὑμνῳδίας ἀναγράψας). But just as often the reference is given in the passive form: "It is sung" (ᾄδεται, 3x), "it is said" (εἴρηται [2x], λέγεται, λέλεκται, λεχθέν), "it is contained" (περιέχεται),[19] or just "and there is another song of this kind" (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ᾆσμα τοιοῦτον).

What is striking is the absence of David in this list, since the books of Kingdoms (2 Samuel/1 Kings) picture him as a psalmist and many psalms are explicitly ascribed to him.[20] The only time when Philo mentions David at all, he shows that this tradition is well known to him, when he speaks of the later kings of Israel as "sons of David who has praised God in hymns" (υἱοὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὑμνήσαντος Δαβίδ; *Conf.* 149). But Philo's 'hero' is Moses, and so he is rather

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[18] The characterization of the songs of Moses as ᾠδή can be found in the LXX as well (Exod 15:1; Deut 31:19, 21, 22, 30; 32:44). But the LXX also mentions ᾠδαί written by David (2 Chr 23:18; Neh 12:36) and by Solomon (5000 according to 3 Kgdms 5:12; cf. Sir 47:17). A number of psalms are designated as ᾠδή in the title (Pss 4:1; 17:1 [= 2 Kgdms 22:1]; 38:1; 44:1; 64:1; 75:1; 95:1), many of them ascribed to David (of these, Ps 64 is quoted by Philo). Some psalms are specified as ᾠδὴ ψαλμοῦ (65:1; 82:1; 87:1; 107:1), and Pss 119–133 as ᾠδὴ τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν (130; 132 ascribed to David; 126 ascribed to Solomon). Cf. also the inscriptions ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς (Pss 29:1; 47:1; 66:1; 67:1; 74:1; 86:1; 91:1) and αἶνος ᾠδῆς (Pss 90:1; 92:1; 94:1). The song of Habakkuk is characterized as προσευχὴ Αμβακουμ τοῦ προφήτου μετὰ ᾠδῆς (Hab 3:1). In the Christian compilation of fourteen "Odes" (following the psalms in both of Rahlfs's editions; his general inscription ᾠδαί is not found in the manuscripts) only some are explicitly called ᾠδή in the title: In codices A and 55: Ode 1 [= Exod 15:1–19]; 2 [= Deut 32:1–43]; in Codex 55: Ode 4 [= Hab 3:2–19]; 5 [= Isa 26:9–20]; 8 [= Dan 3:52–88]; in Codex R: Ode 10 [= Isa 5:1–9] (in R, also cf. the inscriptions to Ode 2; 4).

[19] With the verb in the passive form, but a logical subject added, *Giants* 17: "what is said at (by?) the hymnographer in this song" (τὸ παρὰ τῷ ὑμνογράφῳ εἰρημένον ἐν ᾆσματι τούτῳ).

[20] Out of the sixteen (fifteen) psalms that are listed above (see n. 13), eight are ascribed to David in the LXX—or at least connected to him, as the dative τῷ Δαυιδ is not necessarily stating authorship.

inclined to connect the Psalter with Moses' fellowship than with David or other figures of biblical tradition.[21]

1.3 Josephus

Josephus does not quote the Psalter, and he seems to be rather indifferent about ᾄσματα, ψαλμοί, and ᾠδαί.[22] But there is one passage in his *Jewish Antiquities* that gives an insight into his perception of the LXX Psalms: in *Ant.* 7.305, Josephus states:

> And now David, being freed from wars and dangers, and enjoying for the future a profound peace, composed songs and hymns to God of various meters; some he made in trimeters, and some in pentameters (ᾠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο μέτρου ποικίλου· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν).

Josephus obviously feels a certain lack about the Greek Psalms, as they don't follow the standards of Greek religious poetry. In fact, the translator of the Psalms did not try to create pieces of metrical poetry but preferred a translation into rhythmical prose. Now Josephus, in order to meet the expectations of his Greco-Roman readers, claims that the missing meters are actually there—but in the Hebrew original (which of course none of his readers could check).[23] The passage cited above continues with a description of the musical instruments

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[21] Even Solomon, who is also mentioned one single time (*Prelim. Studies* 177), is made "one of the disciples of Moses" (τις τῶν φοιτητῶν Μωυσέως).

[22] He uses ψαλμός four times (*Ant.* 6.214; 7.80; 9.35; 12.323) and ᾠδή three times (*Ant.* 2.346; 7.305; 8.44), whereas ᾄσμα occurs only once (*Ag. Ap.* 1.12). His favorite term for sung praises of God is ὕμνος (14*x*, the whole ὑμν- family more than 50*x*).

[23] The (iambic) trimeter is the standard meter of the Attic drama, especially tragedy (and in Josephus's days known from the proverbial *sententiae* as citations from dramas); the pentameter is to be found in elegiac poetry and epigrams—always, alternating with a hexameter, in so-called 'distichs' (this seems to be the associative bridge to the psalms which often, due to the 'parallelism', consist of line pairs). Cf. with regard to the songs of Moses (Exod 15 and Deut 32), *Ant.* 2.346 and 4.303: Here, Josephus finds the hexameter (the 'heroic' meter of the Homeric writings and many hymns). Similarly, Philo speaks of the various meters of the "hymns and psalms" sung by the Therapeutai (*Contempl. Life* 3, 10, 29–30, 80), but it remains open whether he is referring to biblical songs or postbiblical compositions.

These apologetic "findings" of meter in the Scriptures had a *Wirkungsgeschichte* of their own: They were taken over by ancient Christian authors such as Origen, Eusebius of Caesarea, Jerome, and Augustine, and ever repeated throughout the Middle Ages. Even in our days scholars are eagerly trying to work out the 'meters' of Hebrew poetry. See James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), esp. 135–70.

which David constructed and taught the Levites to use on the Sabbath day and other festivals. So, David appears as the sole inventor of musical art in Israel.

Excursus: An Example of the Wirkungsgeschichte of the LXX Psalms in the Graeco-Roman World

In the fifth book of Cicero's *Tusculanae disputationes* there is a famous hymnic prayer to Philosophy (§§ 5–6).[24] The solemn passage, beginning *O vitae Philosophia dux* ("O Philosophy, life's leader!"), directly addresses Cicero's personal "Goddess" in the style of Greco-Roman prayers and hymns. One would not expect a biblical reflex in this context, but as Otto Weinreich has shown, a psalm verse found its way into this impressive piece of religious prose.[25]

The hymnic prayer culminates in a *sententia* that runs as follows: *Est autem unus dies bene et ex praeceptis tuis actus peccanti immortalitati anteponendus* ("For one day, spent well and according to thy commandments, is to be preferred to a sinning immortality"). The contrast between one single day and a long lifetime, as well as the contrast between living near to the divine and living in sin, can be found in a verse of the biblical Psalter, namely Ps 83:11: "For one day in your courts is better than thousands; I would rather be an abject in the house of God, than dwell in the tents of sinners" (ὅτι κρείσσων ἡμέρα μία ἐν ταῖς αὐλαῖς σου ὑπὲρ χιλιάδας· ἐξελεξάμην παραρριπτεῖσθαι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ θεοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεῖν ἐν σκηνώμασιν ἁμαρτωλῶν).[26]

How could a psalm verse become the prototype for a Ciceronian *sententia*? The transmission is probably due to Cicero's teacher of Stoic philosophy, Posidonius of Apameia (in Syria). Of him a very similar sentence is testified by Seneca, *Ep.* 78.28: *Nam ut Posidonius ait, unus dies hominum eruditorum plus patet quam imperitis longissima aetas* ("For, as Posidonius says, one day of wise men opens more than the longest age for the foolish"). So, it is not necessary (it is, in fact, improbable) that Cicero himself knew the LXX, but for Posidonius, who was very interested in foreign cultures, this is not at all impossible. More

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[24] For a detailed analysis see Hildebrecht Hommel, *Ciceros Gebetshymnus an die Philosophie, Tusculanen V 5* (SHAWPH 3; Heidelberg: Winter, 1968); cf. Ralph Brucker, *'Christushymnen' oder 'epideiktische Passagen'?: Studien zum Stilwechsel im Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt* (FRLANT 176; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 211–18.

[25] Otto Weinreich, "Ciceros Hymnus an die Philosophie und ein Psalmenvers: Das Gebet aus den Tusculanen," in *Ausgewählte Schriften* (ed. O. Weinreich, U. Klein, and G. Wille; Amsterdam: B. R. Grüner, 1979), 3:381–94.

[26] Cf. also the Latin version of the Vulgate (according to the LXX): quia melior est dies una in atriis tuis super milia; elegi abiectus esse in domo Dei mei magis quam habitare in tabernaculis peccatorum (Robert Weber and Bonifatius Fischer, *Biblia sacra: iuxta Vulgatam versionem* [2 vols.; 3d ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1983]).

likely, however, is the oral transmission of the psalm verse as a kind of maxim, which could easily be paraphrased and transformed.[27]

2. The New Testament Reception of the Psalms

The only New Testament author who mentions the "Psalms" (ψαλμοί) as a book is Luke (Luke 20:42; 24:44; Acts 1:20; 13:33). This is also the only occasion in the New Testament where the concept of a three-piece Jewish canon is taking shape, consisting of "the Law of Moses and the Prophets and the Psalms" (24:44). Three further occurrences of the term ψαλμός occur in the writings of Paul and his school (1 Cor 14:26; Col 3:16; and Eph 5:19), but along with the terms ὕμνος and ᾠδή (connected in Col 3:16 and Eph 5:19) they do not clearly refer to the biblical psalms.[28] Apart from these incidences the term ᾠδή is only applied in the Revelation of John, here labeling the "new songs" sung in heaven. Nevertheless the Psalter takes a prominent role among the references to "Scripture" in the New Testament—this can readily be seen by the marginal notes in the standard Bible versions.[29] But there are differences among the uses of psalms in the individual New Testament writings.

2.1 Gospels

In the Synoptic Gospels the psalm quotations are spoken (recited) by the acting persons, especially Jesus. The most prominent psalm quotations are connected with Jerusalem: right at Jesus' entry the multitude cries out words from Ps 117:26 ("Blessed is the one who comes in the name of the Lord").[30] Also taken

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[27] This is confirmed by Philo's use of the psalm verse in *Heir* 290: Discussing the term "good old age" (καλὸν γῆρας), he states that it is not a life of long-time duration, but one with prudence that is desirable. Then he adds his paraphrase of Ps 83:11: "For the welfare of a day is as much better than a multitude of years, as is its briefer light than eternal darkness. For, as a prophetic man soundly said, he rather wants to live one day with virtue than ten thousand years in the shadow of death, 'death' indeed meaning the life of the evil people" (τὸ γὰρ εὐήμερον πολυετίας κρεῖττον, ὅσῳ καὶ βραχύτερον φῶς σκότους αἰωνίου. μίαν γὰρ ἡμέραν ὑγιῶς εἶπέ τις προφητικός ἀνὴρ βούλεσθαι βιῶναι μετ' ἀρετῆς ἢ μυρία ἔτη ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου, θάνατον μέντοι τῶν φαύλων αἰνιττόμενος βίον). Cf. also the echo of the same thought in *Rewards* 112.
[28] "Whenever you come together, each of you has a psalm, etc." (1 Cor 14:26) could refer to biblical psalms but as well to newly written Christian psalms, and the same is the case with the ψαλμοῖς ὕμνοις ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς which are sung according to Col 3:16 and Eph 5:19.
[29] Cf. the *Loci citati vel allegati* in the NA[27], 770–806: The Psalter fills 9 columns (pp. 783–88); next is Isaiah with 8 columns (pp. 789–93).
[30] Mark 11:9; Matt 21:9; Luke 19:38.

from this psalm is the saying "The stone that the builders rejected has become the chief cornerstone" (Ps 117:22–23), spoken by Jesus, thus concluding the parable of the wicked tenants (and cited as a word from the Scriptures).[31] The next psalm quotation is also spoken by Jesus and is this time ascribed to David: "The LORD says to my lord, 'Sit at my right hand until I make your enemies your footstool'" (Ps 109:1).[32] Eventually Ps 21:2 ("My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?") is prayed by the dying Jesus, preceded by the Aramaic version of these words; since this is the beginning (*incipit*) of the psalm, several scholars hold the opinion that the scene implies Jesus' praying of the whole psalm (which is a psalm of lament, turning at v. 23 into a psalm of thanksgiving).[33]

Besides the quotations there are a number of allusions to psalm words interwoven with the narrative.[34] Again, we can find Ps 109:1 when Jesus declares at his trial before the council that they will see him "sitting at the right hand of God."[35] In the synoptic accounts of the baptism and transfiguration of Jesus there is an allusion to Ps 2:7 ("The Lord said to me, You are my Son, today have I begotten you").[36] Psalm 21 is alluded to throughout the passion narrative (dividing of the garments by casting lots, the crowd "wagging their heads," and in Matthew, also, "let God deliver him").[37]

Finally, one special genre has to be taken into account in a discussion of *Wirkungsgeschichte*: the canticles in Luke's infancy narrative (especially 1:46–55 and 1:67–79). Although no exact quotations or assignable allusions can be proved these "songs" are clearly imitating the style and diction of the LXX Psalms (and related biblical songs such as 1 Kgdms 2).

In the gospel of John there are more formal citations from the Psalter and less allusions. The usual citation formulas are "it is written" (γεγραμμένον) and "that the Scripture (ἡ γραφή) should be fulfilled"; in some cases the given "Scripture" quotation turns out to be combined of more than one biblical *locus*. Whereas in the Synoptics the bulk of the Psalter references are to be found in the passion narrative, they are more spread in the gospel of John—the first one near

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[31] Mark 12:10; Matt 21:9; Luke 20:17.

[32] Mark 12:36; Matt 22:44; Luke 20:42.

[33] Mark 15:34; Matt 27:46. In Luke 23:46, this quotation is replaced by another psalm quotation: "Father, into your hands I commend my spirit" (Ps 30:6).

[34] On allusions to Ps 40 in the gospel of Mark, see the contribution by Stephen Ahearne-Kroll in this volume, pp. 293–309.

[35] Mark 14:62; Matt 26:64; Luke 22:69.

[36] Mark 1:11; 9:7; Matt 3:17; 17:5; Luke 3:22; 9:35.

[37] Mark 15:24, 29; Matt 27:29, 35, 39, 43; Luke 23:34–35.

the beginning of the gospel's actual narrative, in John 2:17 ("Zeal for your house will consume me," cf. Ps 68:10).[38]

2.2 Paul

One remarkable observation concerning the Scripture quotations in the letters of Paul is that they are restricted to his *Hauptbriefe* (Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and Galatians).[39] If we take only the psalm quotations into account, this reduces to Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians,[40] with more than two-third in Romans (16 instances). The highest density of psalm quotations can be found in Rom 3:10–18 (6 instances).[41]

When Paul introduces a psalm quotation, his standard formula is καθὼς γέγραπται (Rom 3:4, 10; 8:36; 15:3, 9; 2 Cor 9:9; cf. καὶ πάλιν Rom 15:11; 1 Cor 3:20; κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον 2 Cor 4:13). In two cases the psalm verses are ascribed to David (Δαυὶδ λέγει, Rom 4:6; 11:9, referring to Pss 31 and 68, respectively).

What seems worth pointing out, in my view, is the way Paul uses those quotations: they are embedded into the argumentation, just as the quotations from the prophets or other parts of the Scriptures. He obviously does not see, or at least does not make, any difference between the various kinds of biblical literature. The Psalter quotations are not emphasized as instances of what might be called 'Biblical Poetry'.

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[38] The gospel of John quotes from seven psalms: Pss 21:19; 33:21; 40:10; 68:5, 10, 22; 77:16, 20, 24; 81:6; 117:26. See most recently Margaret Daly-Denton, *David in the Fourth Gospel: The Johannine Reception of the Psalms* (AGJU 47; Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[39] See generally on Paul's use of Scripture, Paul Harlé et al., *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Le Lévitique. Traduction du Texte grec de la Septante* (Paris: Cerf, 1994); and Christopher D. Stanley, *Paul and the Language of Scripture: Citation Technique in the Pauline Epistles and Contemporary Literature* (SNTSMS 74; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

[40] In Galatians there is only one debated case which is better understood as an allusion: Gal 2:16, alluding to Ps 142:2 (cf. Rom 3:20). On Paul's use of the Psalter, see most recently Moisés Silva, "The Greek Psalter in Paul's Letters: a Textual Study," in *The Old Greek Psalter: Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*, 277–88. Cf. also Allan M. Harmon, "Aspects of Paul's Use of the Psalms," *WTJ* 32 (1969): 1–23 (based on the author's unpublished dissertation).

[41] Quite interesting is the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of Rom 3:12–18: Paul connects the initial quotation from Ps 13:3 with a chain of further short quotations taken from Pss 5:10; 139:4; 9:28; Isa 59:7–8; and Ps 35:2. This chain has found its way into the main LXX manuscripts (and into the Bohairic, Sahidic, Latin, and Syriac translations) as a part of Ps 13:3; only the Lucianic recension (followed by Codex A) omits the 'Pauline' addition. See §4.4 of the *prolegomena* in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis³*, 30–31 and the *apparatus criticus ad loc.*, p. 96.

But there are some passages in the Pauline corpus which represent an elevated style—e.g., Rom 8:31–39; 11:33–36; or 1 Cor 13. Almost all New Testament scholars would agree that these passages have been composed by Paul himself. Their diction and their world of ideas, however, are inspired by the psalms. So, these passages can also be seen as belonging to the *Wirkungsgeschichte* of the LXX Psalms.

2.3 Other New Testament writings

In the Acts of the Apostles the death of Judas and the election of Matthias are explicitly related to two quotations from "the book of Psalms" (Acts 1:20, quoting Pss 68:26 and 108:8). Psalm 15:8–11 plays a prominent role in Peter's Pentecostal speech in Acts 2 (cited in vv. 25–28) and is quoted again in Paul's speech in Acts 13:35. In these programmatic speeches we also find two psalm verses that were important in the Synoptic Gospels as well: Ps 109:1 is quoted by Peter in Acts 2:34–35 and Ps 2:7 by Paul in Acts 13:33. Another psalm quotation occurring twice is the statement that God "made the heaven and the earth, the sea, and everything in them" (Ps 145:6 = Exod 20:11, quoted in Acts 4:24 and 14:15, cf. 17:24). This is introduced in a prayer of the church in Jerusalem (Acts 4:24ff.), where it is followed by a further psalm citation: Ps 2:1–2. Here the authorship is described in a rather complicated way: "Sovereign Lord, […] it is you who said by the Holy Spirit through our ancestor David, your servant …"

The Epistle to the Hebrews begins with a solemn introduction (ch. 1). It praises the glory of the Son of God who excels all angels, and the author makes use of several psalm verses (2:7; 96:7; 103:4; 44:7–8; 101:26–28; 109:1). All of them are introduced as words spoken by God himself and demonstrating the superiority of the Son over the angels. As the argumentation continues, that the exaltation of the Son must be preceded by abasement (ch. 2), the author cites as a "witness" words from the Psalter (Ps 8:5–7); this time they are introduced: "But someone has testified somewhere" (v. 6; διεμαρτύρατο δέ πού τις λέγων). Unique in the New Testament is the quotation of five succeeding psalm verses (Ps 94:7b–11), followed by a detailed interpretation in the manner of a homiletic *midrash*, in Heb 3:7–4:11. The quotation is introduced: "Therefore, as the Holy Spirit says," but at the end of the interpretation, quoting again the beginning of the section, it is identified as words of God (4:8), spoken "through David" or "in (the book ascribed to) David" (4:7; ἐν Δαυίδ). If we could ask the author who actually wrote the psalm text, the answer would probably be that the Scripture, including the psalms, contains words directly spoken by God, no

matter whether the "chosen vessel" happens to be David, Moses, or one of the prophets.[42]

Another long psalm quotation is found in 1 Pet 3:10–12, where Ps 33:13–17a is cited to support the author's argument (γάρ is inserted).[43]

Second Peter 3:8 uses Ps 89:4 ("For a thousand years in your sight are as yesterday which is past, and as a watch in the night") as a foundation for his curious chronological conversion: "With the Lord one day is like a thousand years, and a thousand years are like one day." This has been interpreted by some scholars as a biblical testimony to chiliasm, i.e., the expectation of a 1000 year reign of the Messiah; but that is probably not meant here.[44]

3. Early Christianity outside the New Testament

3.1 Apostolic Fathers

In the corpus of the so-called Apostolic Fathers the terms ὕμνος, ψαλμός, ᾠδή, and ᾆσμα do not occur at all.[45] Nevertheless, at least two of these writings, namely *1 Clement* (ca. 100 C.E.) and the *Epistle of Barnabas* (ca. 130/132 C.E.), are to a great extent based on Scripture quotations. In *1 Clement* there can be found larger portions of the Psalter, e.g., *1 Clem.* 18 (Ps 50:3–19); 22 (Ps 33:12–18); 35:7–12 (Ps 49:16–23). In the *Epistle of Barnabas* one observation might be worth mentioning here: *Barn.* 10:10 cites Ps 1:1 as spoken by David; after having quoted several words from the prophets (Jeremiah; Isaiah) the author returns in 11:6–7 to Ps 1 from which he quotes vv. 3–6 as words found in "another prophet" (καὶ πάλιν ἐν ἄλλῳ προφήτῃ λέγει). Similarly, Barnabas quotes Ps 17:45, "at the hearing of the ear they obeyed me" (εἰς ἀκοὴν ὠτίου ὑπήκουσέν μοι), at the beginning of a collection of Scripture quotations concerning hearing and circumcision of the heart, mostly taken from Isaiah (*Barn.* 9:1); here too the psalm quotation is said to be spoken "in/through the prophet" (λέγει κύριος ἐν τῷ προφήτῃ). This is probably due to the circumstance that Barnabas did not actually use the LXX, but rather used existing

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[42] For more about the Scriptures in Hebrews see Martin Karrer's paper in this volume, pp. 335–53.

[43] See the contribution by Karen Jobes in this volume, pp. 311–33.

[44] See the discussion in Richard Bauckham, *Jude, 2 Peter* (WBC 50; Waco: Word, 1983), 306–10.

[45] The verb ᾄδω is used by Ignatius (*Eph.* 4:1–2; *Magn.* 1:2; *Rom.* 2:2) and the Shepherd of Hermas (*Sim.* 9:11), and the verb ψάλλω occurs in a psalm quotation in *Barn.* 6:16 (mixture of Pss 21:23 and 107:4).

collections of "testimonia."[46] Indeed, in Barnabas's eyes the actual author of the Scripture is "the Lord," so it doesn't really matter from where a single quotation is taken.

3.2 Apologists

Among the Greek Apologists Justin clearly stands out; this is also true in regard to the Psalter. Especially the *Dialogue with Trypho* is full of Psalm quotations. Justin's standard term is ψαλμός, and he often gives the psalm's number, according to the LXX.[47] In most cases the psalms are explicitly ascribed to David. Justin is, as far as I know, also the first one to quote entire psalms in full length.[48]

The most interesting one is probably the quotation of Ps 95 in *Dial.* 73–74 (cf. *1 Apol.* 41.4). In v. 10 of this psalm Justin's text differs from that of most LXX manuscripts—and from that of his Jewish contemporaries: the majority reading is εἴπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ("Say among the nations, The Lord became king!"). Justin's text has 'three little words' more where he reads εἴπατε ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν· ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, "Say among the nations, The Lord became king, because of the tree!" Since the ξύλον, "tree" or "wood," clearly refers to the cross (cf. Acts 5:30; 10:39; 13:29; Gal 3:13; 1 Pet 2:24), this is obviously an early Christian interpolation. It transfers the proclamation of God's kingdom into a proclamation of Christ's kingdom. However, Justin is so convinced that his reading is original that he accuses the Jewish scribes of having eliminated the words referring to the cross.[49]

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[46] About the use of tradition and the problem of the "testimonia" in *Barnabas* see the introduction by Klaus Wengst, *Didache (Apostellehre); Barnabasbrief; Zweiter Klemensbrief; Schrift an Diognet* (SUC 2; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1984), 119–29. On the "testimonia" in general see, most recently, Martin C. Albl, *And Scripture Cannot be Broken: The Form and Function of the Early Christian Testimonia Collections* (NovTSup 96; Leiden: Brill, 1999).

[47] See *Dial.* 22.7 (Ps 49); 37.1 (Ps 46); 37.2 (Ps 98); 38.3 (Ps 44); 73.1 (Ps 95); 97.3 (Ps 21).

[48] In Justin's *Dial.*, we find full-length quotations of Pss 23 (36.3–4); 44 (38.3; cf. 63.4); 49 (22.7); 71 (34.3; 64.6); 81 (124.2); 95 (73–74); 98 (37.2; cf. 64.4); 109 (32.6; cf. 83.2). *Dial.* 64.7 refers back to ch. 30, where probably Ps 18 was cited in full length. *Dial.* 98 cites Ps 21:2–24 as "the whole psalm," followed by a long christological interpretation (up to 106). In his *First Apology* Justin quotes Pss 1 and 2 (40) and large parts of Ps 95 (41).

[49] See §4.4 of the *prolegomena* in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis³*, 31; and more recently J. Duncan M. Derrett, "Ὁ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΕΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΞΥΛΟΥ," *VC* 43 (1989): 378–92.

3.3 The Greek Fathers of the Church

The homilies and commentaries of the church fathers share the hermeneutical principle of the New Testament writers that Christ can be found throughout the Scripture. The new thing about their approach is the existence and canonicity of the New Testament writings: they can be used as a key to interpreting the writings of what was now called the Old Testament. Skilled in Alexandrian or Antiochian exegesis, the Fathers were able to find everywhere in the Scriptures clues to Christ—even in the animals mentioned in the Psalter.

As an example I would like to point to the interpretation of Ps 17:34. The verse speaks of God who "made my feet like a deer's" (ὁ καταρτιζόμενος τοὺς πόδας μου ὡς ἐλάφου). Originally the deer served as a simile for physical strength and quickness, such as in the promise in Isa 35:6 where we find, "then shall the lame leap as a deer" (τότε ἁλεῖται ὡς ἔλαφος ὁ χωλός).[50] Now, the church fathers have knowledge of another quality of the deer: it is said to be the natural enemy of serpents (and other reptiles) which it crushes with its feet (cf. Pliny the Elder, *Nat.* 8.118).[51] This allows a kind of ping-pong reading between Old Testament and New Testament—one might also say that this opens the door to a real 'intertextual' dialogue: Jesus promised his disciples, "See, I have given you authority to tread on snakes and scorpions, and over all the power of the enemy; and nothing will hurt you" (Luke 10:19). This saying is in turn inspired by Ps 90:13 "You will tread on the asp and basilisk, and you will trample on the lion and serpent." (ἐπ᾿ ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα). In early Christianity the serpent is, of course, read metaphorically as Satan or the devil.[52] So, the deer who according to another psalm "longs for flowing streams" (Ps 41:2) is Christ himself who has beaten the devil.[53] The psalmist who compares his feet with that of the deer (Ps 17:34) is the follower of Christ, equipped with the power to overcome the devil with all his sinful temptations.[54]

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[50] For a similar view in Greco-Roman authors, cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 30.18; Lucian, *Philops.* 7.

[51] Cf. already Aristophanes Grammaticus (third to second century B.C.E.), *Hist. an.* 2.500 (= Aelian, *Nat. an.* 2.9).

[52] In accordance with the predominant reading of Gen 3. The reception of Ps 90 in the gospel of Luke (Luke 4:10–11; 10:19) also paves the way for this understanding, as in both instances, the devil is mentioned explicitly in the narrower context (Luke 4:1–13; 10:17–20).

[53] See the *Physiologus*, ch. 30; Eusebius, PG 23:368; John Chrysostom, PG 55:162; Didymus the Blind, *Psalmenkommentar (Tura-Papyrus)* (ed. and trans. M. Gronewald; PTA 12; Bonn: Habelt, 1968–1970), 5:296–97; *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65:329.

[54] See esp. Theodoretus, PG 81:97 and 1836. Origen, PG 12:1236–37, and Cyril, PG 69:824–25, share this interpretation, but also mention the deer's quickness. The LXX

What is so fascinating about the exegesis of the church fathers is that every detail makes (or rather, gets) sense in a giant mosaic that is a picture of the universe of Christ.

I hope my modest contribution will form a useful stone in the mosaic of studies on the Septuagint in the universe of ancient Judaism and early Christianity.

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version of Ps 28:9 speaks of "deer" in the plural and uses the same verb as Ps 17:34 (φωνὴ κυρίου καταρτιζομένου ἐλάφους, "the voice of the Lord who establishes deer"). This is also interpreted as referring to the followers of Christ, cf. Origen, *Fr. Ps.* (ed. Pitra), *ad loc.*; Eusebius, PG 23:257 and 369; Epiphanius, *Pan.* 2.249; Basil, PG 29:297 and 300; Theodoretus, PG 80:1068–69.

Textual Variants as a Result of Enculturation:
The Banishment of the Demon in Tobit

Beate Ego

Recent text-critical research on Tobit has predominantly led to insights into the priority of the longer version of the story, which is represented mainly by Codex Sinaiticus.[1] In that research, however, little concern has been shown for noting the theological contents and specific tendencies of the different recensions, which become apparent in the reworked, longer version.[2] Nor has there been consideration of the Hellenistic setting of the recensions. In order to contribute to this wider field of inquiry into Tobit, I will first give in this paper an overview of recent insights into the mutual relationships between the recensions of Tobit. Using this as a background I will then try to elucidate one of the units of variation found in the recensions, and I will consider the religious and cultural framework of the variant, namely the banishment of a demon.

1. Textual Criticism of the Book of Tobit: The Priority of Codex Sinaiticus

Discoveries in the Judean desert manuscripts have thrown new light on Tobit. In the Greek there are two different recensions: a shorter text represented by Vaticanus and Alexandrinus (G I), and a longer text represented by Sinaiticus (G

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[1] Concerning other recent topics regarding research on Tobit, cf. Richard A. Spencer, "The Book of Tobit in Recent Research," *CurBS* 7 (1999): 147–80.

[2] For a list of differences that are interesting from a text-critical point of view, cf. Robert Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Tobit* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 139; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 23–34. However, the existence of differing contents in the versions was stressed recently by Loren Stuckenbruck, "The Book of Tobit and the Problem of 'Magic,'" in *Jüdische Schriften in ihrem antik-jüdischen und urchristlichen Kontext* (ed. H. Lichtenberger and G. S. Oegema; Studien zu den Jüdischen Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit 1; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2002), 258–69.

II). With Tischendorf's discovery of the longer text of Tobit in St. Catherine's Monastery in 1844, scholarly debate raged over questions such as, What is the relationship between these two Greek texts? Does a Greek original exist, or are these texts translations? If translations, what was the original language of the text?

During the nineteenth century a number of scholars argued that the longer recension of the book was a reworking of the shorter one, and even until the end of the twentieth century there were scholars like Paul Deselaers, Heinrich Gross, and Bernd Kollmann who favored the shorter version of the text.[3] This text-critical decision was based on the assumption that a text was more likely to be expanded through additions than shortened through deletions. On the other hand, there currently is an increasing tendency to regard the shorter as the secondary recension. This means that the longer text was reworked and shortened in order to avoid redundancies and to concentrate on the plot of the narrative. This view has actually been supported by the Qumran manuscripts of Cave 4. The fragments of five different manuscripts—four in Aramaic and one in Hebrew—not only furnished sufficient evidence of the existence of a Semitic original but also gave a crucial evidence concerning the relationship of the two Greek recensions. In 1966 J. T. Milik listed the verses that were preserved in each of the five manuscript and stated that the text of these Qumran fragments agrees with Sinaiticus.[4] For this reason he concluded that the recension represented by Sinaiticus is closer to the Semitic original than the shorter texts of Vaticanus and Alexandrinus.[5]

Further evidence for this conclusion was provided in Joseph Fitzmyer's official publication of these fragments in the series Discoveries in the Judean Dessert in 1995. After nearly four decades of waiting scholars saw with their own eyes that with very few exceptions the Qumran fragments most resembled the text of Sinaiticus.[6] For this reason recent contributions, such as the

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[3] Paul Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit: Studien zu seiner Entstehung, Komposition und Theologie* (OBO 43; Göttingen; Freiburg, Schweiz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Universitätsverlag, 1982); Heinrich Gross, *Tobit, Judit* (NEchtB:AT 19; Würzburg: Echter, 1987); Bernd Kollmann, "Göttliche Offenbarung magisch-pharmakologischer Heilkunst im Buch Tobit," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 289–99, esp. 290 n. 5.

[4] Cf. Joseph T. Milik, "Le Patrie De Tobie," *RB* 73 (1966): 522–30, here 522: "… la recension longue (Sinaiticus et Vetus Latina), la plus proche de original sémitique dont plusieurs fragments on été identifiés parmi les manuscrits de la Grotte 4 de Qumrân …."

[5] Concerning the whole issue of the "Textgeschichte," cf. Carey A. Moore, "Scholarly Issues in the Book of Tobit before Qumran and after: An Assessment," *JSP* 5 (1989): 65–81; see also Beate Ego, "Buch Tobit," in *Unterweisung in erzählender Form* (JSHRZ 2.6; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1999), 875; both with references to earlier literature.

[6] Cf. Carey A. Moore, *Tobit: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (1st ed.; *AB* 40A; New York: Doubleday, 1996), 1–76, here, p. 4: "Although the Aramaic form of Tobit from Qumran frequently agrees with the long recension of S and La,

commentaries by Carey Moore, and Helen Schüngel-Straumann, and the article by Armin Schmitt on the Hebrew Tobit fragments are based on the preference for Sinaiticus.[7] There are, however, slight differences between the Qumran fragments and Sinaiticus, and thus the text of Sinaiticus is not identical with the Greek original, i.e., the translation of the Semitic *Vorlage*.[8]

2. Different Concepts Relating to the Conception of the Banishment of Demons in the Manuscripts and Recensions

As a contribution to the study of the differences between the two recensions and of the possible influences of the Hellenistic setting on the Greek recensions, we will focus on the motif of the banishment of the wicked demon Asmodeus.[9] This demon was responsible for killing seven bridegrooms of Sara during their respective wedding nights. Finally God sent the angel Raphael, who succeeded in expelling this wicked creature.

   At Tob 3:17 we find a difference in the concept of what Raphael did. On the one hand we read in Sinaiticus:

   And Rafael was sent to cure them both: Tobit, by removing the white patches from his eyes so that he might see God's light again, and Sarah, daughter of

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neither the Greek nor the Latin is a direct translation of such an Aramaic *Vorlage*; the latter contains inverted phrases, expanded expressions, and words not rightly understood by either the Greek or Latin translator of these versions." Examples for cases where G II agrees with the Qumran texts are given by Moore, p. 57.

[7] Ibid., 56; Helen Schüngel-Straumann, *Tobit* (HTKAT; Freiburg: Herder, 2000); and Armin Schmitt, "Die Hebräischen Textfunde zum Buch Tobit aus Qumran 4QTob[e] (4Q200)," *ZAW* 113 (2001): 566–82. Cf. also Stuckenbruck, "Tobit and the problem of 'magic,'" 258–69.

[8] Concerning the question, whether the original language of Tobit was Hebrew or Aramaic, cf. Ego, "Buch Tobit," 880 and the additional literature listed there.

[9] It is very likely that the Aramaic or Hebrew name of the demon "Ashmodai" traces back to the Avestic demon of wrath called "aeshma daeuua." This demon represents one of the most important negative powers among the dualisms of Zoroastrianism. Concerning this etymological proposal cf. Deselaers, *Das Buch Tobit*, 87; Manfred Hutter, "Asmodeus," *DDD*, 106–8; Esther Eshel, "Ha-Emunah Be-Shedim Be-Erets-Yisra'el Bi-Yeme Ha-Bayit Ha-Sheni [Demonology in Palestine During the Second Temple Period]." (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1999), 154; Gregor Ahn, "Dualismen im Konzept von Gegenweltsvorstellungen: Von zoroastrischen Gegengottkonzepten zu jüdischen Satansfiguren," in *Die Dämonen: Die Dämonologie der israelitisch-jüdischen und frühchristlichen Literatur im Kontext ihrer Umwelt* (ed. A. Lange, D. Römheld, and H. Lichtenberger; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 122–36, here, pp. 126 and 131–32.

> Raguel by giving her for a wife to Tobias son of Tobit and by setting free
> (λῦσαι) the wicked demon Asmodaeus from her.[10]

On the other hand, in the parallel verse in Alexandrinus and Vaticanus we read:
"And Raphael was sent … to bind (δῆσαι) the wicked demon Asmodeus" (3:17).

Actually, the concept of the binding of the demon is found in both recensions, because in Tob 8:3 of Sinaiticus it is stated:

> When they had finished eating and drinking and were ready for bed, they
> escorted the young man to the bridal chamber. Tobias recalled what Raphael
> had told him; he took the fish's liver and heart out of the bag in which he kept
> them, and put them on the smoking incense. The smell from the fish held the
> demon off, and he took flight into Upper Egypt; and Raphael instantly followed
> him there and bound him hand and foot.[11]

It is worth elucidating here the different ideas that underlie the terminology describing the banishment of the demon. At a first sight the term λύω, which is used in Sinaiticus, seems to be very unspecific. In the Greek magical papyri it is often used of sending away a helping and graceful deity, after being called by its "client" in order to give a particular charm or oracle.[12]

However, when trying to understand the semantic connotations of the word λύω in the context of Tobit, it is an assumption that this term is an equivalent of the Aramaic word פטר.[13] The term פטר in Babylonian Judaism served as *terminus technicus* in the sense of "to divorce" (e.g., *b.Git* 65b). It is also significant that in Greek λύω was used with the connotation of divorce (e.g., Matt 5:31–32; 1 Cor 7:10–11). It should be stressed, however, that especially in Aramaic and Mandaic magical texts, the term פטר was also used of the expulsion of demons. Thus, it is possible to imply that demons were regarded as being associated with their victims in a manner resembling marriage and therefore had to be divorced.[14] This idea is clearly mentioned, for example, in one of the incantation texts published by Yamauchi. Here the banishing or

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[10] This translation is based on the NEchtB; slight changes were made in order to give a more literal translation.

[11] Quoted according the translation of the NEchtB.

[12] Cf. for example, *PGM* I. #1, lines 35, 170; #2, line 176; #3, lines 195, 260; #4, lines 232, 250, 916, 1057–58, 1066; #5, line 41; II. #7, lines 15, 11, 10ff.

[13] Cf. Paul-Eugène Dion, "Rafaël l'Exorcist," *Bib* 57 (1976): 399–413, here, p. 406.

[14] Concerning the idea that demons chose men as spouses, cf. Daniel Schwemer, *Akkadische Rituale aus Hattuša: Die Sammeltafel K Bo XXXVI 29 und verwandte Fragmente* (Texte der Hethiter 23; Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1998), 60: "He should no go out upon the roof, otherwise he will be chosen as groom for the girl of the wind." (*KAR* 177, Rs. III 25–26); cf. also the female demon Lilith; see Gershom Scholem, "Lilith," *EJ* 11:245–49.

"divorcing" of the demon is explicitly connected with the writing of a bill of divorce.

> 8 This I have written against you, Haldas the lilith, and thus 9 have I banished (אפתרתיך) you from the house and the body of Hormiz the son of Mahlapta, and from his wife Ahata 10 the daughter of Dade, and from his sons and daughters, as the demons write a bill of divorce (ניטא) for their wives 11 in truth, and may not return again and may not … Behold! Take your bill of divorce (ניטך) and receive your oath, Haldas. 12 O Haldas the lilith, flee, depart, escape, and remove yourself from the house, the dwelling, the mansion 13 and building, from the bed and pillow of Hormiz the son of Mahlapta, and from his wife Ahata 14 the daughter of Dade, and from their sons and their daughters and from their beds and pillows, and do not 15 show yourselves, neither in their dreams of the night nor in their visions of the day. Because bound and sealed is the house, the dwelling, the mansion, and the building of Hormiz … 22 … This bill of divorce (שריר וקאים ניטא הדן) stands confirmed for eternity. On this bowl this lilith is bound (אסירא) 23 and removed (מרחקא) from the house of Hormiz the son of Mahlapta …[15]

The concept of divorcing a demon is already attested in Babylonian ritual texts such as *KAR* 66, in which the demon is associated with a doll-like figure that represents him. First, the possessed and sick person, through words of exorcism, is 'married' to the demon of sickness that is plaguing him. Once married the exorcist—using the demon doll—carries out on the sick person the action of a husband divorcing himself from his wife. This he does by cutting through the hem of the sick person's gown, thus separating it into two parts. In order to render the demon permanently harmless the exorcist marries it, as it were, to a pig.[16]

Since the Greek word λύω has a broad semantic field, there may be doubt about whether this expression really is used in our example with the sense of Asmodeus being divorced from Sara. However, the description of the relationship between Asmodeus and Sara in 4QTobit[a] ar (4Q196) VI 15 (Frg. 14 i.4) would seem to support the association:

<div align="right">דחל אנה מן שדא דן די רחם לה</div>

[I am afraid of this demon] which is [in lo]ve with her[17]

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[15] Quoted according to Edwin M. Yamauchi, *Mandaic Incantation Texts* (AOS 49; New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1967); further evidence is to be found in Dion, "Rafaël l'Exorcist," 406 n. 40; see also John G. Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 230–31.

[16] Cf. Schwemer, *Akkadische Rituale aus Hattuša*, 59–67. Cf. Mark 5:9–13 and parallels.

[17] See also 4Q Tobit[b] ar (4Q197) VI 15 (Frg. 4 ii.10); however, in this text, the term רחם is restored by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Tobit," in *Qumran Cave 4, XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 47; cf. also Eshel, "Ha-Emunah be-shedim be-Erets-Yisra'el," 156.

This reconstruction is based on the Greek Tob 6:15 in MS 319 where the following words can be found: καὶ νῦν φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ ἀπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου τούτου ὅτι φιλει αὐτήν, "And now, I am afraid of this demon, since he is in love with her."[18] Thus it is evident that even the original Greek translation of Tobit contained this concept of Asmodeus's love for Sara. Although we do not find this idea in Sinaiticus, it is found in both Alexandrinus and Vaticanus.[19]

Thus, the evil Asmodeus might be characterized as a so-called "incubus," i.e., a demon that longs to have sexual contact with its "victim" and for this reason tries to keep at bay any other lovers of its beloved.

The binding of the demon referred to in the shorter recension at Tob 3:17 and in Tob 8:13 in both recensions represents a different and separate concept from the divorcing. This is, however, also attested in Aramaic and Mandaic incantation texts as well as in Ethiopic *1 En.* 10:4–7.[20] Here, as in the story of Tobit, the angel Raphael has to act in order to expel demons, since the Lord says to him:

> "Bind Azaz'el hand and foot (and) throw him into the darkness!" And he made
> a hole in the desert which was in Duda'el and cast him there he threw on top of
> him rugged and sharp rocks. And he covered his face in order that he may not
> see light; and in order that he may be sent into the fire on the great day of
> judgement. And give life to the earth which the angels have corrupted …"[21]

A similar concept is also found in the Greek magical papyri. There, in K. Preisendanz's edition, we find the following example: ἔξελτέ δαῖμον᾿ ἐπεί σε

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[18] Cf. the group of minuscles d and Vetus Latina: "et nunc timeo hoc daemonium, quoniam diligit illam." Concerning MS 319, see Robert Hanhart, *Tobit* (Septuaginta 8.5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983), 13; Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Tobit*, 17.

[19] In the shorter version we find a similar idea voiced: "And now I am the only son of my father, and I am afraid, lest, if I go in unto her, I die, as the others before: for a wicked demon loveth her, which hurts no one except those which come unto her." (Translation is based on Lancelot Charles Lee Brenton, *The Septuagint with Apocrypha: Greek and English* [London: Samuel Bagster & Sons, 1851; repr., Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1980]).

[20] In the Aramaic and Mandaic incantation texts the word ארס functions as technical term for the overpowering of a demon; cf. Dion, "Rafaël l'Exorcist," 408–9, with reference to earlier literature; see also Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked, *Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993), s.v. ארס /ארסא (ca. twenty-five examples); Gager, *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells*, 226–32.

[21] Quoted according to Ephraim Isaac, "1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch: A New Translation and Introduction," *OTP*, 1:5–89, here, p. 17.

δεσμεύω δεσμοῖς ἀδαμαντίνοις ἀλύτοις, "come out you demon, since I bind you with bonds of steel that cannot be loosed."[22]

The idea behind the binding of the demon seems to be obvious: after being expelled, such as through the smell of the fish's liver and heart being put on the incense, the binding prevents the demon from returning to its host.[23]

3. Conclusion

In summing up, concerning the relationship between Sara and Asmodeus and concerning the banishment of the demon, we find in the manuscripts the following differences:

	Tob 3:17	Tob 6:15	Tob 8:3
MS 319	λύω	ὅτι φιλεῖ αὐτήν	δέω
ℵ	λύω	–	δέω
A B	δέω	ὅτι φιλεῖ αὐτήν	δέω

Having considered the different conceptions of banishment of demons as found in the different manuscripts and recensions, let us now examine the reasons that may have led to the existence of differing conceptions. First, it is necessary to establish that, based on the above illustrated relationship between the recensions the idea of the demon's love to Sara and its divorce should be regarded as the original concept. This is backed up by the fact that the same concept is also found in MS 319. Through this one may assume the original Greek translation of the story of Tobit also contained this concept. In MS 319 we are able to understand that, after the divorcing of Asmodeus from his beloved Sara the demon's binding serves as a guarantee that he will be unable to return and do any further harm.[24]

In Sinaiticus as well as in Alexandrinus and Vaticanus this original concept is found changed and reduced: on the one hand, in Sinaiticus the motif of the demon's love for Sara is eliminated, and without it the reader of the story is inclined to understand the term λύω as referring to an evil demon's banishment. On the other hand, the reworking and shortening of the longer version of Tobit

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[22] *PGM* I, #4, lines 1244ff.; see also Kollmann, "Göttliche Offenbarung magisch-pharmakologischer Heilkunst," 298 n. 26. Further examples are to be found in the dissertation of Bianca Schnupp, "Rafael im Tobitbuch: Eine kulturhermeneutische und theologische Studie zur Schutzengelvorstellung" (PhD diss., Erlangen-Nürnberg, 2002), 76.

[23] Evidence for a fish's liver and heart being put on the incense as a widespread method in Egyptian and Hellenistic sources is given by Kollmann, "Göttliche Offenbarung magisch-pharmakologischer Heilkunst," 292–93.

[24] A connection to the demon's divorce and its binding is also attested in the Mandaic incantation bowl text cited above.

into the recension G I has changed the motif of the demon's divorce into the demon's binding. It is possible to explain these two cases as a kind of simplifying adaptation of this story. Perhaps we may assume that the copyists or redactors of the Greek original version were not aware of the original connection between the verb λύω and the demon's expulsion.

When we consider the reasons for the phenomenon that differing versions of the banishment of the demon have developed, we can even go one step further by considering the different parallels to the motifs of a demon's expulsion that are found also in Mesopotamian and Greek literature. In this literature it becomes obvious that the whole concept of a demon's love and its divorce as well as the idea of its binding was well known in the Eastern world. Particularly in Greek literature, however, only the motif of the demon's binding is well attested, whereas the connection between the love of a demon and its divorce does not seem to play any crucial role at all.[25]

It is now plausible to assume that the erasing of the motif of Asmodeus's love for Sara in Sinaiticus as well as the replacement of the term λύω through δέω in Alexandrinus and Vaticanus was influenced by the cultural and religious setting of those who did the reworking of the different versions and manuscripts. It also seems that the original, probably eastern-Diaspora, Tobit, with its demonology, was incorporated into the Hellenistic world. With this study of the various versions, recensions, and manuscripts of the story of Sara and Asmodeus, a window opens for us into a "'conversation' that extended beyond the time of composition into the period during which Tobit was being copied and re-edited."[26] In light of the above arguments it is now possible to say that Tobit, which was influenced by concepts found in the eastern Diaspora, also carries traces of the cultural background of the western Diaspora.

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[25] Cf. for example the following basic literature where this motif is not mentioned: Johanna ter Vrugt-Lenz, "Geister (Dämonen): B II Vorhellenistisches Griechenland," *RAC* 9:598–615; Peter Habermehl, "Dämonen," *HRWG*, 2:203–7; Otto Böcher, "Dämonen ("Böse Geister") I. Religionsgeschichtlich," *TRE* 8:270–74; Sarah Iles Johnston, "Dämonen V. Griechenland und Rom," *DNP*, 3:262–64; Peter Habermehl, "Exorzismus," in *Handbuch religionswissenschaftlicher Grundbegriffe*, 2 (ed. H. Cancik, B. Gladigow, and M. S. Laubscher; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1988–2001), 2:401–4; Jonathan Z. Smith, "Towards interpreting demonic powers in Hellenistic and Roman antiquity," *ANRW* 16.1:425–39; Frederick E. Brenk, "In the light of the moon: demonology in the early imperial period," *ANRW* 16.3:2069–145.

[26] So a formulation of Stuckenbruck, "Tobit and the problem of 'magic,'" 269.

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