



BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION
FOR SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

Volume 20 Fall, 1987

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BULLETIN IOSCS

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THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR
SEPTUAGINT AND COGNATE STUDIES

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MINUTES OF THE VI CONGRESS OF IOSCS

21-22 August 1986 -- Hebrew University, Jerusalem

Programme

Thursday, 21 August

10.00 - 13.30

D. Dimant (Israel):

"The Problem of a Non-Translated Biblical Greek"

P. Cowe (U.S.A.):

"*Tendenz* in the Greek Translation of Proverbs"

Z. Talshir (Israel):

"Double Translations in the Septuagint as an Exegetical Technique"

R. G. Jenkins (Australia):

"The Proverbs Text of P. Antinoopolis 8/210"

14.30 - 17.00

SYMPOSIUM: EXEGETICAL ASPECTS OF THE SEPTUAGINT

C. Cox (Canada)--Chairman:

"Methodological Issues in the Exegesis of LXX-Job"

J. Cook (South Africa):

"Exegesis of the LXX-Genesis"

A. van der Kooij (The Netherlands):

"The Old Greek of Isaiah 19:16-25: Translation and Interpretation"

B. Lindars (U. K.):

"A Commentary on the Greek Judges?"

J. Lust (Belgium):

"The LXX and its Exegesis in Ezekiel"

17.30 - 18.50

M. K. H. Peters (U. S. A.):
"The Textual Affiliation of the Coptic (Bohairic) Genesis"

T. Muraoka (Australia):
"Towards a Septuagint Lexicon"

Friday, 22 August

08.30 - 10.30

P. R. Callaway (U. S. A.):
"Deuteronomy in the Temple Scroll: Textual Affinities and their Use in Composition"

N. Fernández-Marcos (Spain):
"Literary and Editorial Features of the Lucianic Text in Kings"

B. G. Wright (U.S. A.):
"Free' or 'Literal?': An Examination of Translation Technique in Ben Sira"

11 - 13.30

SYMPOSIUM: TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE IN THE SEPTUAGINT

E. Tov (Israel)--Chairman:
"The Nature and Study of the Translation Technique of the Septuagint in the Past and Present"

A. Aejmelaeus (Finland):
"The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint"

J. Barr (U.K.):
"Translators' Handling of Verb Tense in Semantically Ambiguous Contexts"

G. Marquis (Israel):
"Consistency of Lexical Equivalents as a Criterion for the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the LXX, as Exemplified in LXX-Ezekiel"

I. Soisalon-Soininen (Finland):
"Methodologische Fragen der Erforschung der Septuaginta-Syntax"

13.30 - 14.00

Business Meeting

The meeting was called to order by the President, Professor Albert Pietersma.

1. Minutes of the meeting of November 23, 1985 in Anaheim approved as read.
2. Business arising from the minutes: none.
3. President's Report.
 - a. Proceedings of the 6th Congress will be published in our own SCS series, edited by Dr. Claude Cox.
 - b. Congratulations were expressed to Dr. Natalio Fernández-Marcos on the volume of Salamanca Proceedings. The book in every respect reflects well on both the editor and the IOSCS.
 - c. In accordance with an unwritten rule, the IOSCS will not meet with SBL in 1986 (Atlanta).
 - d. Thanks were expressed to all participants in the 6th Congress but especially to Devorah Dimant, Emanuel Tov, Robert Kraft and Claude Cox.
 - e. No Treasurer's report was available, but will be published in the forthcoming issue of the Bulletin.
4. Report of the Editor of BIOSCS.
 - a. Volume 19 of the Bulletin is in preparation.
 - b. The Editor urged members to send in information for the Work in Progress section.
5. Report of the Editor of SCS.
 - a. C. Cox solicited the papers of participants in the congress with a view to publication early in the new year.
 - b. The Editor explained that three or four volumes can be published annually in the SCS series. Good manuscripts should be sought out for inclusion.
 - c. Volumes that have appeared in the last two years: L. J. McGregor, *The Greek Text of Ezekiel* (1985); M. K. H. Peters, *The Coptic (Bohairic) Pentateuch: Genesis* (1985); R. A. Kraft and E. Tov, *Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies, Volume 1, Ruth* (1985); C. Cox, *Hexaplaric Materials Preserved in the Armenian Version* (1986); M. K. H. Peters, *The Coptic (Bohairic) Pentateuch: Exodus* (1986). One manuscript is at present with readers.
6. New Business: none. The meeting adjourned at 1:50 p.m.

C. Cox for the Secretary

IOSCS TREASURER'S REPORT

July 1, 1986 - June 30, 1987

Initial Balance (6/30/86).....	\$	876.38
Payments Received.....		+1,040.02
		\$ 1,916.40

9/22/86	198.00	3/31/87 (int.)	17.87
9/22/86	139.00	5/06/87	203.00
9/30/86 (int.)	11.99	5/06/87	86.00
12/23/86	205.00	6/30/86	163.05
12/31/86 (int.)	17.31		

Expenses.....	\$	- 757.86
		\$ 1,158.52

12/23/86	(mailing expenses)	45.44
5/6/86	(mailing expense)	15.00
6/6/87	(mailing expense)	35.94
6/30/87	(printer)	661.50

Balance as of 6/30/87.....	\$	1,158.52
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Walter R. Bodine
IOSCS Treasurer
Dallas Theological Seminary

NEWS AND NOTES

Change in the Treasurer

Professor Walter Bodine has asked to be relieved of his office as Treasurer of the IOSCS. The executive committee recommended and the membership voted to recombine the Offices of Secretary and Treasurer and to invite the current Secretary, Professor Leonard Greenspoon, to fill this dual role. Warm thanks are extended to Professor Bodine for his services in this demanding office. Inquiries about the *Bulletin* and subscription dues should immediately be directed to:

Professor Leonard Greenspoon,
Secretary-Treasurer IOSCS
Department of Religion and Philosophy
Clemson University
Clemson, South Carolina 29631 U. S. A.

Additions and Corrections to BIOSCS 19

The following inadvertent errors were discovered by or brought to the attention of the Editor after the publication of the last *Bulletin*:

- p. 5. under Rahlfs 928, line 4. Read is for in 1°.
- p. 12. under Pietersma. Read Jannes for James.
- p. 13. under Tov. Read Emanuel for Emmanuel.
- p. 21. example 3, 8:14//6:3. Read K,C: wybrk 't kl qhl ysrl.
McKenzie should everywhere be spelled with a "z" not "s."
- p. 33. note 8, line, 2. Read an for any.

Available Computer Materials

The CATSS project was described in several past issues of the *Bulletin*, most recently in *BIOSCS* 18. The following is an update on the latest available materials:

- Rahlfs LXX text (TLG, verified by CATSS)
- Rahlfs LXX text Morphologically Analyzed
- Parallel Hebrew (BHS) and Greek (Rahlfs) texts
- Hebrew BHS MT text
- CD-Rom (laser disk) containing all the above plus more (e.g., Vulgate, Greek NT, samples of Syriac, Aramaic, Coptic, Armenian). These are all available from:

CCAT
Box 36 College Hall
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, PA 19104 U. S. A.

A collection of basic statistics on the vocabulary of the whole Greek Bible (Rahlfs, complete but without apparatus and UBS-3 N.T. / Nestle-26, *idem*) is available at the Centre "Informatique et Bible"-Maredsous 5198 BELGIUM. It gives, for the whole lemmatized vocabulary, frequency lists by book, with comparison and proportion to LXX, NT or both considered as a corpus, word classes, frequency, words particular to a single book, lists by standard deviation on each book and on each word, etc.

The *Dictionnaire Encyclopedique de la Bible* ed. J. Longton and R.-F. Poswick (Centre "Informatique et Bible"-Maredsous), Brepols, Turnhout, 1987, 1364p. --ISBN 2-503-5902-0 was presented on the 19th October, 1987 in Paris. Simultaneously, it was presented "on-line" in its extended form in the French MINITEL videotex network (3615-code: DEXTEL). With more than 13,000 pieces of information linked to the 4,000 entries of the Dictionary, it is the largest Data Base for scholars in the field of Bible Studies up to this date. It will be updated annually.

The entry SEPTANTE does not exist, but one is directed to VERSIONS ANCIENNES DE LA BIBLE where #3 (pp. 1304-1311) is on VERSIONS GRECQUES: A. La Septante (by P.-M. Bogaert); B. Aquila; C. Theodotion; D. Symmaque etc.

The first *International Conference on "Bible and Computers"* (Louvain-Belgium, 1985) was announced in BIOSCS 19. Acts of this conference are available at Slatkine (Geneve-Switzerland) or at CIB-Maredsous 5198 Dence, Belgium. The second AIBI Conference (Association Internationale Bible et Informatique) will be held in Jerusalem from 9-13 of June 1988. It will be a joint conference with the XVth ALLC (Association for Literary and Linguistic Computing) Conference (5-9 June, 1988). Information: Prof Y. Choueka, Dept. of Math and Computers, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, Israel, 52100. Electronic Mail: R 70016% BAR-ILAN BITNET.

RECORD OF WORK

PUBLISHED OR IN PROGRESS

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THE USE AND ABUSE OF THE TERM "LXX" AND
RELATED TERMINOLOGY IN RECENT
SCHOLARSHIP*1

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The genesis of this paper and its scope should be explained at the outset. A few years ago, I was asked to review several commentaries on the book of Joshua. These commentaries differed in coverage, intended audience, level of difficulty, and so forth. Although I found attractive features in each, I was unhappy with their discussion of the "LXX" and the citation and interpretation of the Greek evidence in general.

I am passing over out-and-out errors, which range from the sublime--such as R. Boling's [AB] designation of minuscules boc_2e_2 as Lucianic in Joshua--to the inspired ridiculous, such as M. Woudstra's assertion [NICOT] that "two manuscripts of the Vaticanus are among the discoveries at Qumran." In this case, the commentator was kind enough to provide us with a clue to the source of his strange assertion. He took the following sentence from Soggin [OTL]: "The text of LXX B can be found in Hebrew in two manuscripts from Qumran," and simply left out the key phrase "in Hebrew." Of such haste are inspired gaffes made, whether in the scholarly heights or the purgatory of undergraduates. By the way, Soggin's statement itself is not all that clear, and on the basis of later work on 4QJoshua, not all that correct.² But that is another matter.

*1This paper was read at the recent meeting of the IOSCS in Boston. It is being published with minimal editorial adjustments and with the kind permission of Professor Greenspoon because it was deemed timely and broadly applicable. (Ed.)

²Boling devoted a paragraph of his "Notes on the Hebrew Text" to my work on the 4QJoshua fragments. I thank him for his kindness in so doing.

I am also passing over inconveniences, such as Boling's insistence that the reader look to his *Judges* or Campbell's *Ruth* for basic data concerning the textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. I even pass over, for the moment, the widespread reliance on the MT by commentators who loathe to part company with the familiar Hebrew text even though they love to fiddle with the traditional English.

I cannot, however, pass over other features that are symptomatic of the problems I want to address here. I notice, for example, the paucity of references to textual scholars in the indices of such works. Boling cites Aharoni, Albright, Noth, Wright, Mendenhall, and Cross-Freedman (the latter as a single or as a duo) dozens of times on a variety of matters. But Max Margolis, Samuel Holmes, and Harry Orlinsky are cited fewer than four times each. Moreover, the Septuagintal critic most frequently cited by Boling is one Leonard Greenspoon, whose work on the *kaige* recension of Joshua is peripheral--and here I speak with some authority--to the basic concerns of almost all types of commentaries.

What does the reader of a commentary most likely want to know about the "LXX"? It is this: the nature of the Hebrew text underlying the earliest Greek translation. It is this text that forms an appropriate comparison with the received text. In order to arrive at the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, we must, in the classic words of S. R. Driver, "recover, as far as possible, the text of the Greek Version as it left the translator's hands." For Joshua, that is exactly what Margolis aimed to do. By all accounts, his aim was excellent. Commentators on the book of Joshua, who largely ignore Margolis' work on the Greek text, fail to provide readers with the best basis for comparison with the Hebrew. They typically emphasize peripheral textual matters, or other admittedly important issues (such as archaeology and tradition history), to the exclusion of fundamental textual criticism.

What then do we find in the often lengthy textual sections of commentaries and similar works? We find a bewilderingly large number of ways to refer to

the Greek textual tradition (or parts thereof) but no clear conception, I think, of what Margolis, Driver, Moore and others sought: a "text that is the nearest approach to the Greek original as it left the hands of the translator(s)."³

In most studies produced by members of the IOSCS, the points of comparison are the Old Greek (OG) and MT (whether "the" or "a"). We explain the means by which we obtain the former and, with due caution, attempt to retrovert its Hebrew *Vorlage*. The term "Old Greek" is, by contrast, rarely found in commentaries or similar works. Boling refers to it in his Introduction, but OG makes only occasional appearances in his textual notes. Instead, he uses the term LXX, sometimes superscripted with an A, B, or some other letter. Never does he inform the reader what exactly he means by LXX or how it can be consulted. This is only one problem. Another: LXX by itself ought to mean something different from LXX B--Vaticanus--which has its own designation. I would have thought that reference to a specific manuscript was meant to limit a reading to that manuscript and its satellites and therefore to exclude it from the oldest Greek text. In practice, I do not see any clear rationale on the part of Boling for citing a reading as simply LXX or, on the other hand, as LXX A and/or B.

Before proceeding to discuss a few examples from Boling, I wish to make one thing clear: his widely-used commentary is enjoyable, useful and makes a number of distinctive contributions. But his methods of citing Greek evidence did create some problems for me. For instance, in reference to a reading in 5:4 Boling states that "haplography will account for the absence of this phrase in LXX." He then cites an occasion for haplography in what I suspect is meant to be the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Old Greek. Evidently, LXX = OG here. A few verses later, at 5:11, Boling speaks of another phrase as "missing because of haplography in LXX AB." Again a Hebrew text is cited. Is this Hebrew the *Vorlage* of the great uncials, but somehow not of the Old Greek? Is, indeed, the text without the phrase, the "Old Greek"? I cannot be sure what Boling

³This was Margolis' goal in the preparation of his *Book of Joshua in Greek*.

intends, but I think that this is an example of the arbitrary use of LXX AB, when LXX alone would suffice.

Further, in the next episode at 5:15, Boling uses the term LXX in a way that seems incompatible with the earlier usage. In discussing the phrase "Yahweh's army commander," he writes that the word "army" is "lacking in LXX, probably as a result of an inner Greek haplography." He then naturally cites a Greek text which could have occasioned the hypothesized haplography. Here, very clearly, LXX means a developed form of some earlier Greek. In other words, LXX does not = OG here. Again, in his textual notes to 10: 15 and 43, Boling uses a common, but vague, reference when he explains that these two verses "are missing from the best LXX witnesses." We can assume, I think, that he means they were missing in the Old Greek, although it is not clear whether or not they were in its Hebrew *Vorlage*.

To sum up (again, with the caveat that these are generic problems): commentators and others rarely refer to the Old Greek, but instead to something more generally called the LXX. That elastic abbreviation seems equivalent to the OG in some cases, in others it is not. Commentators use other designations, but, for the most part, these are indistinguishable from LXX or are insufficiently precise. A clear picture of the character of the earliest Greek text and of its Hebrew *Vorlage* cannot be obtained when terminology is used in this fashion.

I hope that I have made clear that Boling is not alone. For a somewhat different genre, we might look at the Textual Notes that accompany the New American Bible. As in the case of Boling, we find the general designation, LXX, and then references to the great uncials. Two of Jerome's three recensions, the hexaplaric (with small h) and Lucianic (large L) are also found. In addition, there is the designation, LXX mss--(defined here as Septuagint manuscripts), a general and therefore practically meaningless term that serious scholars ought to abandon. My major concerns with the NAB Textual Notes are similar to those with Boling: (1) the LXX is cited on occasion as if it were the OG and at other times as if it were not and (2) there seems to be no discernible

difference between readings cited simply as LXX and those that are from the text of a particular manuscript.

When it comes to ways to cite and "mis-cite" the Greek tradition, no one has anything on *Biblica Hebraica*. In this instance, *BH4* (my term for *Stuttgartensia*) may have gone even further than its predecessors. (In most other textual matters, *BH4* seems somewhat better, if blander.) *BH3* lists no fewer than 30 designations that incorporate the letter G in one fashion or another. The list begins with the unadorned G = *versio graeca LXX interpretum* (although no source for the LXX is given) and ends with the rather odd G *ipsum* = *omnes MSS vel gravissimi*. I am at a loss to fathom a meaningful difference between the head and the tail of this listing. Within the list, there are a few unique items such as G (x)MSS (Holmes-) Parsons, by which a certain number of unnamed manuscripts are cited on the often dubious authority of H-P.⁴ *BH3* also cites first, second, and third hands of manuscripts without any further explanation. This is misleading even when the citation is first hand.

BH4 adds a few notations, deletes a few and rearranges several of the holdovers from *BH3*. The reference to Holmes-Parsons is gone, but new on the scene is the common G Ms(s). The reader who does not feel like adding the manuscripts included in such a grouping may pass time subtracting: *BH4* has negative superscripts, as in G^{-s} = *textus Graecus excepto codice Sinaitico*. New also is a division of the Lucianic recension into "*sublucianica prima*" and "*secunda*," a novelty that not all will find felicitous.

When we move to the top of *BH4*'s listing, it appears that we have an advance. G by itself is *versio LXX interpretum Graeca secundum* (according to) the Göttingen editions, or, where they are lacking, Rahlfs, or, for certain books, Brooke-McLean. At least we know what text is being cited, and we can, if we so choose, check the accuracy of the citation. This is also the case with Trent Butler [*WORD*]. If *BH4* had left well enough alone. . ., but it did not. For the same naked G just defined according to its source can also mean "*omnes*

⁴On the dubiousness of relying on Holmes-Parsons, I can confidently refer readers to Margolis' article in *JBL* 49 (1930) 234-264.

vel gravissimi codices," which is not necessarily the same as citing from one of the three modern editions just listed. Moreover, this re-named holdover from *BH3* is joined by a new one: G*, defined as "*textus Graecus originalis*." This is presumably the Old Greek, although its relation to any other source or combination of sources is a mystery.

I have been attempting to describe what I think is a widespread lack of conceptual clarity on what the LXX is or, perhaps, what they, i. e., the LXX, are. Failure to clarify these matters makes it hard either to determine the original Greek reading or to trace developments within the Greek tradition. This is not a failing of "professional" textual critics (although such critics have plenty of other failings). We tend to define our terms carefully, so as to lay very careful groundwork for the relationships and developments we posit.

It is, however, worth noting that terminological fuzziness, and the imprecise thinking that goes along with it, are nothing new. In ancient times the term "LXX" had more than one meaning, sometimes in one and the same author, often in one and the same tradition. It is almost universally asserted that, strictly speaking, the term "LXX" or Septuagint referred initially only to the translation of the Pentateuch. In even a brief review of these matters, it is worth noting that, strictly speaking, the above statement is not accurate.⁵ Although the earliest Jewish sources--the *Letter of Aristeas* and the slightly earlier Aristobulus, also Philo and Josephus--limit the initial translation to the Law, they do not designate it as "*Interpretatio septuaginta virorum/seniorum*" or use any other precise Greek or Hebrew equivalent. This is true where the number of translators is given, as in *Aristeas* and Josephus (72), as well as where the team of translators remains unenumerated, as in Aristobulus and Philo. Multiple enumerations are found in Rabbinic material--72, 70, 5, in descending order--but again there is no effort to "name" the translation referred to.

⁵Briefly stated, the evidence presented in this and the next paragraph shows the following: where the earliest Greek translation was limited to the Pentateuch, the term LXX was not used; where the term was used, it was generally not limited to the Pentateuch.

When the term LXX does appear, as for example in Justin in the mid-2nd century, it is the entire Greek Old Testament that is meant. The same enumeration (70) and extent predominates among Christian writers such as Irenaeus, Eusebius, Chrysostom, and the anonymous author of *Cohortatio ad Graecos*. Even where the earlier number 72 is reverted to, the extent of the translation is generally thought of as the whole Old Testament, as with Tertullian, Epiphanius, and Augustine. Jerome was virtually alone among Christian leaders in insisting that the term LXX should properly refer only to the Greek translation of the Torah. In this, it is suggested, he based himself on information from contemporary Jewish sources. But this is not all.

Not only did the compass and the name of the translation vary, but there was also no unanimity over exactly what text was being cited when an authority resorted to the "LXX." This is evident in the case of Justin, who strongly maintained the primacy of the LXX over against later revisors or translators. Although he intended to defend what we would term the Old Greek, he actually quoted a text which incorporated *kaige/Th.* and other later readings. No doubt this was an inadvertence on his part, but it points out that for any particular individual, the reference to "LXX" might well involve an old Greek, presumably one accepted in his community, but not necessarily the Old Greek whose origins are detailed in the *Letter of Aristeas*, the writings of Aristobulus and elsewhere.

On this latter point, it is also worth noting, with respect to Origen, that the term LXX had two very different meanings. It is, at once, the text that Origen used as the basis for the fifth column of his *Hexapla* and the text that resulted from his manipulation of that koine. Failure to keep those two uses distinct has caused considerable, if understandable, confusion.⁶

⁶Might this help explain the odd comment by James H. Charlesworth in a recent review of reprinted Field. He speaks of the fifth/septuagint column and queries: "Why have we accepted the Septuagint when O' is more representative and succinct?"

In short, we can detect at least six uses for the term "LXX" in antiquity: the earliest Greek translation of the Pentateuch, the earliest Greek translation of the entire Old Testament, Origen's koine, Origen's completed fifth column, any authoritative Greek text, and the entire Greek tradition. There is little reason, however, to accept such fluid terminology in today's scholarly work. In a recent survey of activity since the Second World War, Emanuel Tov dealt well with a variety of terms.⁷ In the case of some, such as Ur-Theodotion and proto-Lucian, the jury is still out. In the case of others, including ones we have been emphasizing, there is wide agreement among researchers on how best and most accurately to use terminology.

It is not clear to me then why those outside the field of textual criticism often adopt so cavalier an attitude toward our work. This attitude is of course not new. In describing the era at the turn of the century, Harry Orlinsky wrote: "It was already very fashionable for scholars to use the ancient versions, especially the Septuagint, rather indiscriminately to support emendations of the standardized (Masoretic) text. [They] never made it a practice to study any of the primary versions (not even the Septuagint) per se; they 'used' these versions indiscriminately only when they thought they might be of some use to them in the emendation of the present Hebrew text--a most unscientific procedure!"⁸ Then and now.

It also strikes me that commentary writers are considerably more careful when dealing with the discoveries of archaeologists or the hypotheses of linguists than they are when it comes to the work of textual critics. I cannot, for example, imagine any reputable author who would discuss the archaeological history of Jericho and cite only Garstang but not Kenyon. Or who would fail to mention, in a clear (even if negative) fashion, the insights of Noth. Then what has happened to the equally authoritative work of Margolis?

⁷Emanuel Tov, "Jewish Greek Scriptures." In *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986) pp. 223-237 (especially, pp. 229-231).

⁸Harry M. Orlinsky, "Margolis' Work in the Septuagint." In *Max Margolis: Scholar and Teacher* (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1952) pp. 35f.

Is it really the case that textual criticism is more arcane or specialized than these other fields? Could it be that a proper understanding of the Greek traditions is simply not important in an all-purpose commentary? I think not. Then, have Septuagintal and other textual critics failed to make their work adequately accessible to their fellow scholars? I do not think that is the case either. Rather, in spite of our best efforts, there is a discernible and continuing tendency to relegate "basic criticism" (a phrase I prefer to the usual "lower criticism") to the periphery.

I have tried to be descriptive, not prescriptive, but I am not without a personal stake in all of this. Just as the true prophets anguished over the false, just as the true artisan grieves when mass-produced items pass for handmade, so, I think, we have a stake, a personal stake, in how our specialty is translated into the general scholarly world and to the general public.

The picture, of course, is not totally bleak. The Wellhausens and Drivers, the Cornills and Moores of yesterday have their contemporary counterparts. They were a minority in their day. May their numbers increase in ours!

HELLENISTIC INFLUENCE IN THE BOOK OF PROVERBS (SEPTUAGINT)?

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Much has been published on the possibility and extent of Hellenistic influence in the Septuagint. This issue has become, as a matter of fact, quite a contentious question, partly because in the past it was an abused¹ area of research. There is, however, no legitimate reason why contemporary scholarship should avoid this matter. On the contrary, we are in an excellent position to address such questions anew,² if we approach the task in a methodologically correct way.

Understandably, much time has been spent during the past decades on the external form of this Greek translation. The Göttingen edition is steadily nearing completion and the next logical step would be to attend to the contents of the Septuagint (cf. J. W. Wevers, 1985, cf. also Pietersma 1985). The International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies has in fact

¹Many books have been written on this aspect of the composition of the Septuagint. Cf. Dähne (1834) and Gfrörer (), as well as the criticism of Siegfried (1970: 8 ff). The research of Z. Frankel (1841 and 1851), is methodologically more sound, albeit outdated [cf. Wevers' plea (1985:20 ff.) for the need for the rediscovery of this scholar].

²The introduction of the computer as an exegetical tool certainly has improved the manipulating possibilities of the text (cf. E. Tov, 1986).

realized this desideratum and recently launched a project which has as its aim the determination of the exegesis³ of the Septuagint.

That the translators of the Septuagint could theoretically have been subjected to influences of a Hellenistic nature is surely true, for the impact of Hellenism⁴ upon the Ancient Near East was widespread. In the realm of religion, reactions to Hellenism were disparate. Broadly speaking, three positions can be defined. In some instances, Hellenistic ideas were rejected. The Jewish sect whose writings were discovered in the Judean desert (Qumran) is a suitable example, even though their writings do exhibit some Greek influence. In other instances, such ideas were only partly accepted. And third, Hellenistic ideas were absorbed totally, with syncretism as a result. Philo of Alexandria, the graecized Jew whose treatise on the creation (*De opificio mundi*) for example is interspersed with Greek philosophical ideas, belongs to this grouping.

One of the significant results of this encompassing hellenizing process was actually the creation of the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, but just where it should be placed within the three groupings above is a matter of dispute. The question consequently remains: "Is this document only, primarily a Hellenistic writing, [as is suggested *inter alia* by Gerleman (1950)], or is the Jewishness of its authors indeed a factor to be reckoned with?"

The answer to this question has been addressed differently by scholars. Gerleman held the opinion (1950:15) that the book of Proverbs was reshaped and that it shows Hellenistic influence with respect to form, content, style (Gerleman, 1956:11-35) and ideas (*op. cit.* 51ff). Hengel (1973: 209) limits the possible extent of Hellenistic influence to the books of Proverbs and

³The aim of this project is to determine the exegesis followed by the different LXX-translators. Various scholars are co-operating in this project. A part of the last congress of IOSCS held in Jerusalem was spent on this issue. Claude Cox is doing the book of Job, Johan Lust, Ezekiel; Arie van der Kooij, Isaiah; B. Lindars, Judges; and I am working on the book of Genesis.

⁴For a methodological discussion of what the term Hellenism actually comprises, cf. the standard work of M.Hengel (1973:1-7).

Job, phrasing it as follows: "Das Auffallende an der Septuaginta war ja--wenn man von den Übersetzungen der Proverbia und Hiobs absieht (s. u. S. 292)-dass sie im Grunde nur wenig vom griechischen Geiste beeinflusst wurde."

At first glance, it would thus seem that these two scholars differ on the issue under discussion. However, they actually agree that two of the books containing wisdom literature⁵ display traces of Hellenistic influence. They also seem to agree on the issue of the extent to which the translator of Proverbs was reflecting Greek philosophical perspectives, and their agreement is based upon their respective viewpoints on the pericope in chapter 8:22-31.

Because Gerleman has, to date, published the most exhaustive analysis of the issue under discussion, I will address his views primarily. I cannot, however, do so extensively within the limits of this paper. I will not, for example, treat Proverbs 8, but on the contrary will discuss chapter 2 (with reference to chapter 7), which is mentioned by both Gerleman and Hengel, but not treated exhaustively by them.

The Septuagint version of Proverbs has been classified as a free translation of its Hebrew Vorlage (Tov and Wright, 1985:163); that is already clear from chapter 2. Thus, when one encounters a variant, one is naturally apt, in the first place, to explain it as the work of the translator. This indeed was done by Gerleman, with an important qualification: to his mind, these deviations were primarily the result of Greek influence. And, as suggested already, he attributed this supposed influence to the form, i. e., Greek style and literary form, as well as to the contents.

His monograph⁶ is divided basically into two parts. In the first, he demonstrates the "overwhelming" influence of Greek style, whereas the second half is spent on proving the influence of Hellenistic ideas. Concerning the issue of style, he actually states unequivocally as follows: "The translator, in

⁵Gerleman (1946) also treated the book of Job.

⁶The earlier paper contains a synopsis of his views.

his technique, has made a free use of the stylistic devices adopted and acknowledged by the Greeks. His way of working reveals a considerable familiarity with Greek tradition." (*op. cit.*, p. 15).

To prove his point, he argues for a supposed difference in thought-pattern between the Hebrews (the ancient Orientals) and the Greeks,⁷ and for the pertinent endeavour of the translator to "hand down in his version the peculiar stylistic shape of the Hebrew Proverbs" (*op. cit.*, 12). This applies to literary characteristics such as assonance and rhyme. (In passing one could ask: "Is this indeed typical of Greek tradition? Could it not simply be the result of Hebrew tradition?")

Another argument used by him is that the synonymous parallelisms of the Hebrew text have been replaced, to a large extent, by antithesis (*op. cit.*, p. 18). It is undoubtedly true that the Greek version of Proverbs has many more examples of antithetical parallelism than has the Hebrew. However, whether this should at the same time prove Greek (Hellenistic) influence is an issue of another order. Again, the determinative argument for Gerleman is the contrast of thought between Greeks and Hebrews. "The Semite, proud of his language's wealth of words, finds a special delight in clothing one and the same thought in new words. The Greek, it is true, did not love to repeat the same words, but what chiefly offended him was monotony of thought" (*op. cit.*, 18). This, according to him, gave rise to the use of antithetical parallelism by the Greek translator.

As to the correspondence with Greek ideas, Gerleman is once again adamant, stating that: ". . . the LXX Proverbs seems to be markedly unfamiliar to the distinctive Jewish traits of religion and ethics. Its anthropocentric and humanizing piety, its freedom from legalistic tendencies, its pedagogical-moralizing interest, all these things do not lead up to Judaism, but to the Greek world" (*op. cit.*, p. 51). He actually draws a direct relationship

⁷*Op. cit.*, p. 11. "To the Oriental there is a secret connection between the idea and its wording, between the thing and its name".

between the question of Greek style and the influence of Hellenistic ideas.⁸ As a matter of fact, the most profitable field of Hellenistic thought, in his opinion, is specific philosophical schools, namely the great post-Aristotelian schools, especially Stoicism with its strong religious feeling and interest in morals (*op. cit.*, p. 53). He finds a fair amount of correspondence between the Greek Stoic and the Hebrew sage⁹.

In order to prove his point, he discusses the positions of various scholars, playing down the possibility of Jewish influence. He is, for instance, very critical of the position of Bertram that the standardization and uniformity of the moral estimation found in the Greek translation is the result of Jewish legalism (*op. cit.*, 44). On the contrary, he finds the ethics of the translator markedly free from legalistic points of view (*op. cit.*, 45ff.), which he deems a Hellenistic trait. He also rejects, rightly, Kaminka's interpretation that the Septuagint actually has the Targum as Vorlage.

An implicit part of his analysis is the contention that "the translator has not taken for granted the deep content implicit in the Hebrew terminology. He has chosen to underline the religious character by slight changes of the wording in order to make the proverbs more explicitly religious and moralizing" (*op. cit.*, 38). Interestingly enough in this respect he refers to Proverbs 2 verse 11, and more specifically to the pregnant concepts βουλή καλή and ἔννοια ὀσία. To these phrases I shall return shortly.

⁸Actually the great familiarity with Hellenistic literary tradition which is noticeable in the form and style of the LXX Prov. makes it natural to ask whether this translation is not also materially influenced by Hellenistic ideas" (*op. cit.*, p.52).

⁹Again in his own words: "Turning back to the LXX Prov. it is undeniable that its modification of the original is compatible with Stoic tendencies and sometimes, so it would seem, variants are most simply explained if we presume that the translator has been influenced by Stoic ideas" (*op. cit.*, p.53).

The question which should thus be answered is this: "Should the deviations mentioned by Gerleman actually be attributed to Hellenistic influence or is there perhaps another explanation?" I am of the opinion that Gerleman made a methodological mistake by endeavouring to analyse the Septuagint only thematically. In the process, words/concepts were taken out of their contexts, opening the way for misinterpretation. Therefore, I now offer a contextual analysis of Proverbs 2 in order to prove my point.

The text of Proverbs 2 (LXX) differs considerably from MT.¹⁰ The reasons for these deviations should be searched for in three directions. On the one hand, the translator could have had another Vorlage at his disposal. On the other hand, these deviations could have been brought about by the translator. A third possibility-- the question of inner Greek corruptions--has a bearing upon the intricate tradition history of the Septuagint. It is simply not possible to discuss all of these deviations. Accordingly, for the sake of this paper, I shall treat primarily those readings which have a bearing upon the theme outlined above.

The differences between MT and LXX in Proverbs 2 can be classified in the following ways:

1. *Grammatical changes.* The participle of the verb δέχομαι (verse 1) represents a different aspect of the verb than that found in the Hebrew. The infinitive of specification in verse two is rendered by means of a Futurum indicative in verse 2. The translator seems not to be consistent as far as this issue is concerned, as in verse 8 an infinitive is rendered by means of a typical Greek construction τοῦ φυλάξαι. Again, in verse 12 ἵνα ῥύσῃται is used to render yet another infinitive ַלְּבַרְבֵּרֶךָ. The variation seen in this respect actually is another indication of the freedom of the translation of Proverbs.

2. *Stylistic Changes.* For classification purposes, one could deem harmonization--a principle found in all translations and especially in the LXX Proverbs--a stylistic change. For example, the second-person singular masculine of the verb has been utilized more consistently in LXX than in MT

¹⁰Significant deviations appear in vss. 2b, 3b, 7b, 16, 17a, 19b, and 21.

(cf. verses 2 and 9). As a matter of fact the translator apparently used this principle in his reinterpretation of this whole passage. The concepts "path" ὁδός, τρίβος and "straight" εὐθεία (cf. verses 13, 16 and 19) function prominently in some of the paraphrased parts. More significant is the nuanced use of καλή in conjunction with βουλή in verse 11, which has been deliberately utilized in reference to κακή βουλή (verse 17).

The abundant addition of the conjunction καί, is perhaps the best example of this stylistic principle. The translator has also used particles in a highly significant manner in this chapter, for instance, the addition of ὦ (alas!), the omission of the equivalent of וְ (verse 21) and the rendering of לְמַעַן by means of εἰ in verse 20.

Are these changes indeed the result of Hellenistic influence? Gerleman (1950:17), as said already, bases much of his argument upon the assumed translator's familiarity with Hellenistic tradition. However, the typical harmonizations referred to above need not be taken as proper Hellenistic literary phenomena; these occur in all the early translations of the OT.

Harmonization was applied not only from the immediate, but also from the broader context. Verse 18 has an obvious addition, for אֵל אֱלֹהִים is represented by καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἅδῃ μετὰ τῶν γηγενῶν. In Prov 9:18, which apparently is the background to this passage, the two concepts ἅδῃ and γηγενῶν occur together. It would seem as if Gerleman would interpret this expansion (two synonymous or nearly synonymous words instead of the single expression of the Hebrew text) as a typical Greek stylistic device deliberately used by the translator (*op. cit.*, p. 25). One more example, where the equivalent in the Hebrew was apparently omitted for harmonizational reasons, occurs in verse 14. The verb עָשָׂה (to do), used in connection with רָע (evil), is probably avoided here as it does not fit structurally with the second strophe, which in MT has no verb.

3. *Different Vorlage.* The third category includes those differences which clearly have a deviating Hebrew Vorlage as a basis. It must immediately be

said, as should in any case be evident, that, with a free translation such as Proverbs, it simply is difficult to determine precisely which readings are the result of Vorlage differences. In a free translation, the tendency is precisely in the opposite direction; i.e., to attribute changes to the translator, and it can also be safely assumed that by far the largest amount of changes identified in Proverbs 2 were of this kind. However, one deviation, the phrase ὑπερασπιεῖ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν in verse 7, is not the result of this translator. MT reads חָסֵד לְהַלְכֵי מִגֵּן "A shield he is for those that walk upright." The translator evidently had a reading חָסֵד לְהַלְכֵי in front of him.

4. *Changes by the Translator.* In verse 1, the phrase ῥῆσιν ἐμῆς ἐντολῆς "the word of my stipulations," evidently indicates something different from MT, for the latter reads וְדַבְרֵי וְדִבְרֵי "my word and my stipulations." The translator thus either changed a corresponding Hebrew reading into a genitive construction on purpose, or he had a different Vorlage. If one takes the nearer context into account, this passage has been rendered literally in LXX. Chapter 3:1 has a similar structure to chapter 2, וְדַבְרֵי תֹרָה taking the place of וְדַבְרֵי אֱלֹהִים. This interpretation is confirmed by the broader context. The combination λόγους/ ἐντολὰς "words/stipulations" also occurs in 7:1, a chapter which corresponds to a great extent to the one under discussion. However, chapter 7 has been rendered more literally than chapter 2. To cite one example, verse 1 reads: בְּנֵי שֹׁמֵר אֱמָרִי וְנִצְוֹתַי תִּפְּחֵן = υἱέ, φύλασσε ἐμοὺς λόγους, τὰς δὲ ἐμὰς ἐντολὰς κρύψον παρὰ σεαυτῶ. This obvious parallel passage seems to have been deliberately ignored in chapter 2. It therefore seems a viable conclusion that the translator changed his text in this case.

It is rather difficult to decide whether the translator actually added the passages which have no equivalent in MT in verses 2, 3, 19 and 21, or whether he simply has translated a different Vorlage. Arguing from the translation technique only, it surely is possible that he deliberately added these strophes. The fact that all the verses in chapter 2, excepting the verses under discussion, have a two-strophe structure, seems to underscore this possibility. The additions are moreover all explicative additions and cannot be defined in the

same manner as suggested by Gerleman, viz., avoiding monotony of thought. If this in fact was an overriding characteristic, one could ask the question why have not all the synonymous parallelisms been altered?

One issue which should be taken into account is that LXX agrees with the Targum and the Peshitta on a certain amount of additions. This naturally could be an indication that these versions have corresponding Vorlagen, but this issue is beyond the scope of this paper.

The situation in verses 16 and 17 (situated in the latter part of the chapter where the most significant differences are found) is different. To begin with, the particle of woe (וָ) is introduced in order to mark a definitive break between verse 13-22 and those verses preceding them. It is a surprising break, for verse 13 could very easily be read in conjunction with verses 11 and 12, as follows: 11."Discretion will protect you and understanding will guard you 12. by saving you from wicked ways, from men whose words are perverse 13. men who forsake righteous ways by walking upon paths of darkness." This particle is, in fact, introduced in order to group humans into two definable groups. On the one hand are those who forsake righteous ways, who rejoice in evil, who on purpose mislead you, removing you from a straight way (verse 16). They are the ones who are overcome (καταλάβη) by bad counsel (κακή βουλή). On the other hand, there is the group who are guarded by good counsel βουλή καλή (verse 11), who are delivered from evil ways and from the untrustworthy man.

A whole verse is consequently rewritten in order to make a point. In the process the direct reference to the immoral lady הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה is reinterpreted. The Hebrew phrase הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה "in order to save you from the adulteress, from the wayward woman with her seductive words," is interpreted by means of: τοῦ μακρὰν σε ποιῆσαι ἀπὸ ὁδοῦ εὐθείας καὶ ἀλλότριον τῆς δικαίας γνώμης 17. υἱέ, μὴ σε καταλάβη κακή βουλή "to remove you far from the straight way, and to estrange you from a righteous purpose. 17. My son, let not evil counsel overtake you. . . ." What has happened here? Was the translator perhaps a moralist? Did he purposefully avoid the sexual issue, or was some other intention at stake? Did

he perhaps have a Hellenistic idea in mind? In order to solve this question, it is necessary to look again at chapter 7.

Even though it would seem as if this chapter has been changed extensively, it nevertheless has fewer fundamental differences than chapter 2. What really interests us here is the treatment of the immoral woman, for in this chapter she is discussed extensively in MT (verse 5-27). Significant indeed is the fact that the translator has not altered the description of this woman in the least. She is called explicitly γυναικὸς ἀλλοτρίας καὶ πονηρᾶς "the strange and immoral woman" (verse 5), exactly as described in the Hebrew. The parallels between Proverbs 7:5 and 2:16 in MT are, to say the least, striking, the only difference being the verb הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה which is used instead of הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה. There is no endeavour either to avoid her or to play down her role. Consequently one has no reason to accept that the translator of chapter 2 was a moralist. Of course, one could assume that two different translators were here at work, but this is not a viable proposition. The other passages where the immoral woman is mentioned in Proverbs (chapter 5 and 6:24) are all translated rather literally in LXX. So, clearly, the translator of chapter 2 understood this passage as referring not to the immoral woman, but to something else, namely, evil counsel.

The question to be addressed of course is: "From where does this concept actually come? Is it a Greek concept, or does it perchance have a Jewish background?" Hengel is of the opinion that the foreign woman הַיָּתֵי הַשָּׂאָה is interpreted metaphorically in the passage under discussion as a reference to "foreign wisdom" ἡ ἀπολείπουσα διδασκαλίαν νεότητος "the one who has left the instruction of her youth." According to him it was already the intention of the Hebrew to prevent the development of an alien wisdom which endangered traditional belief. Whether this is indeed the case is unclear. It is evidently possible, as the first nine chapters of the Hebrew version of Proverbs were finalized during the Hellenistic period.

According to Gerleman (1950:19), the Greek translator did not fully comprehend the Hebrew words and he emphasized their religious content by

making small alterations in wording (1950:19). The addition of καλή in conjunction with βουλή, and δόξα in respect of *ἔννοια*, he deems examples of a tendency to give the text a more explicit religious and moral significance. This in turn he sees as a typical Greek/Hellenistic characteristic. The use of the concepts βουλή καλή, which he did not treat together with βουλή κακή and *ἔννοια δόξα* are consequently, according to him, examples of typical Hellenistic influence, because: "Discretion and understanding, according to the Hebrew view, are manifestations of Wisdom, seen as a mysterious, propitious spiritual habit, needing no special qualification as is the case in the Septuagint (1950:19)." However, is this indeed correct? Are the concepts βουλή καλή/κακή and *ἔννοια δόξα* actually typical Greek concepts? In my opinion this is a faulty perception. The significant interpretation of κακή βουλή to depict the immoral woman ("foreign wisdom?") is, on the contrary, a typical Jewish concept. At the back of this application lingers the well-known Jewish view about the good and the evil inclinations, the so-called בַּיָּמִין וְבַּשְּׂמֹאל and עֲרֵב וְצָרָה (Bowker 1969:116), which, as is believed in Judaism, guides each person. The Greek renderings βουλή καλή/ βουλή κακή are nuanced interpretations of these terms.

One could ask whether there are any parallels to these concepts in the Septuagint or in other comparative material. The word βουλή is used diversely in the Septuagint to describe wisdom categories such as ΠΥΞ, ΓΥΞ, ΠΥΞΥΜ, ΠΥΞ, ΓΙΣ, etc. The Hebrew phrases בַּיָּמִין וְבַּשְּׂמֹאל / עֲרֵב וְצָרָה, on the contrary, do not occur abundantly in the Old Testament and are not found at all in the book of Proverbs. They are, in any case, rendered diversely by different translators in the LXX.

In Hab 2:18 and Isa 26:16 the noun τὸ πλάσμα is used, in Gen 6:5 and 1 Chron 28:18 it is brought into relation with *διάνοια*, in Gen 8:21 ἔγκειτα, in Deut 31:21 *πονηρία*, in Isa 26:3 ἀλήθεια and 1 Chron 28:9 ἐνθύμημα are respectively used as renderings. In one instance, Ps 103:14, this concept was interpreted. Comparison of the Greek and Hebrew words respectively seems not to deliver the required results. However, a significant passage in Ben Sira acts as a determinative example of the way the concept צָרָה is rendered in the

Septuagint. In chapter 15:14 the well-known doctrine of the good and evil inclinations is formulated in the following way: αὐτὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐποίησεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀφῆκεν αὐτὸν ἐν χειρὶ διαβουλίῳ αὐτοῦ "from the beginning he made man and he put him under the power of his inclination." Even though the words used in Ben Sira and those utilized by the translator of Proverbs are not absolute equivalents, it does not require much imagination to actually see the correspondence between the concepts. The translator of Proverbs made use of Greek words which seem to contain Hellenistic ideas; however, on closer inspection, they simply act as bearers of typical Hebrew concepts.

Two final remarks need to be made. First, the fact that the terms compared in Proverbs and Ben Sira do not correspond exactly should not pose a problem, as it has been demonstrated that the translator of Proverbs actually made use of variation to a great extent. He simply used a well-known Greek concept in order to translate a decisive Jewish doctrine. Second, even though it was not my aim to treat the question of the essence of the book of Proverbs exhaustively, it proved a grave mistake to search for the meaning of these concepts (good and bad counsel) only in Greek literature. As a matter of fact, the doctrine of good and bad inclinations is a typical Jewish concept dressed in Greek language.

It was my intention to demonstrate that in order to understand the issue of possible Hellenistic influence in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, one needs to take various issues into account. Contextuality proved to be the fundamental hermeneutical principle in this respect, for it is partly because of the lack of the application of this principle that Gerleman and Hengel failed to perceive the hidden Jewish element behind some Greek concepts.

Lastly, it is basic to all endeavours to understand the LXX that one acknowledge that it is essentially a Jewish-Hellenistic document. The extent to which the persons responsible for the LXX were actually influenced by Hellenistic culture has in no way been proven beyond doubt. Yet, at the very least, this paper has sought to show that the translator of Proverbs 2 was a Jewish person who clothed his Jewish belief in Greek garment.

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THE SEPTUAGINT OF JONAH: ASPECTS OF
LITERARY ANALYSIS APPLIED TO BIBLICAL
TRANSLATION¹

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It is often said that translation is commentary, in that the translator can proceed in his task only as he first interprets² the source text and then renders its concepts into the target language. The intermediate stages which are influenced by the translator's motivation, his view of the source text, his competence in the respective languages, his cultural perspective and his philosophy of translation determine the nature of the resultant translation. Consequently, a wide variety of translation styles is possible, some of which go so far as to alter certain literary features in the source text. This phenomenon is apparent in portions of the LXX.

The narrative of Jonah provides an interesting example. The translator of Greek Jonah (presumably the same person who translated the entire Dodekapropheton), although following a fairly literal translation strategy, reveals different understandings of certain aspects of the plot and characterization from those found in the MT. This paper attempts to review the

¹The LXX edition used is Joseph Ziegler (ed.) *Septuaginta XIII Duodecim Prophetarum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967). The Hebrew text is K. Elliger & W. Rudolph, *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969).

²James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*. *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* XV, pp. 290-291.

more apparent examples of these changes and to offer brief suggestions for their origin.

The question at issue is this: "How has the story of Jonah as it now stands in Greek dress been changed through the translation process, and for what reasons?" In what ways have the plot and characterization been modified and biblical parallels enhanced by the translator? The primary methodology used to determine the LXX translator's attitude to his source text is the analysis of his translation technique, comparing the Hebrew text as we have today (presuming that it is essentially the same consonantal text which the translator had before him) with a recognized eclectic edition of the LXX text (which presumably reflects as closely as possible the state of the LXX as it left the translator's hand). Four key changes in the translation of Jonah which affect the plot--the series of events which form the skeleton of the narrative--will be considered.

The most surprising alteration occurs in 3:4. The MT's 40-day grace period in which Nineveh is to decide its response to Yahweh's warning becomes 3 days in the LXX. Several explanations have been offered for this difference (most are textually based³) but none alters the textual certainty of this reading as the original LXX text. This shortening of the time allowed by Yahweh for repentance heightens the tension in the story. The drastic action of the Ninevites becomes more understandable, their impetus to refrain from evil receives a stronger motivation, the abstinence from food and water becomes more realistic, and Jonah's decision to wait and see the results makes better sense. The LXX reading intensifies the action and strengthens the plot development.

The second alteration in the plot is the description of the recommissioning of Jonah in 3:2. In this context the LXX adds the expression (τὸ κήρυγμα) τὸ ἔμπροσθεν "the former proclamation" and uses the verb ἐλάλησα, "I spoke" making it quite clear that this oracle is not a new statement but the repetition of

³W. Rudolph for example (*Kommentar zum Alten Testament. XIII.2 Joel Amos Obadia Jona*, 1971) argues that "Es handelt sich bei [LXX] offenbar nur um einen mechanischen Fehler des Übersetzers, weil er die Dreizahl von v.3 her noch im Kopf hatte," p. 355.

the original one given in 1:2. The content of that oracle has not changed nor, presumably, have any of the time constraints included in it.⁴ The MT suggests that Yahweh provides a new oracle to Jonah, not necessarily the exact duplicate of the original.

The third example of plot change concerns Jonah's reaction to God's sparing of Nineveh as it is recorded in 4:1. The Hebrew narrative stresses that Jonah became displeased and very angry. Jonah's desire was for the destruction of Nineveh, not its preservation. In the LXX translation⁵ Jonah's displeasure and anger are converted into painful distress, or perhaps vexation and confusion (καὶ ἐλυπήθη . . . καὶ συνεχύθη). The motif of anger is certainly not emphasized in the LXX and, I think it could be said, is not even present. This modification of Jonah's reaction from anger to disturbing grief and confusion may indicate the translator's concern to moderate the conflict between Jonah and God so that Jonah's behavior conforms to that considered appropriate for a Hebrew prophet, as the plot comes to a conclusion. The prophet is very disturbed at the outcome, even to the point of desiring death, but he does not become angry at God.

⁴One might speculate that this understanding of the oracle led the translator to make the change from forty to three days. If Jonah in the first oracle was told that Nineveh had forty days in which to repent and all the action of chapters one and two has intervened, how much of that forty days remained as Jonah now journeyed to Nineveh and began his prophetic ministry? Such reasoning, of course, depends upon the translator's perception of the oracle and the assumption that although he was writing in Greek, the process of translation led him to a temporary confusion between the source text and his production. For a discussion of the possible difference in significance between אַל קָרָא and אַל קָרָא see J. Sasson, "On Jonah's Two Missions," *Henoch* 6 (1984) 23-29.

⁵The verb λυπεῖν only renders קָרָא in Jonah (4:4, 9 (2x) and Gen 4:5 (the context in which Cain is very upset at Yahweh's refusal to accept his sacrifice). The more usual rendering in LXX for קָרָא is ὀργιζέιν. The word אַל קָרָא is only rendered by λυπεῖν at Deuteronomy 15:10 and Proverbs 25:20 (אֵל). See further discussion of the meaning of this verb as it occurs in Jonah in G. I. Davies, "The Uses of אַל קָרָא Qal and the Meaning of Jonah IV, 1" *VT* 27 (1977) 105-110.

The last example of alteration in plot occurs in 3:7-9, the decree of the king of Nineveh. In the MT this decree is introduced in vs. 7 with the idiom $\square\text{מִצְוַת}$ וְגִבְרֵי־לְוִי ("decree of the king and his nobles"). The noun $\square\text{מִצְוַת}$ is found infrequently in the Old Testament and although identified as an Aramaism, its correct meaning is usually recognized by LXX translators.⁶ The LXX translator of Jonah has apparently misunderstood the term, construing it as prepositional in function ($\text{παρά} + \text{genitive}$). The initial verb of vs. 8 (וַיִּתְבְּסוּן "and they put on") is understood as a continuation of the waw-consecutive followed by the imperfect formation with which vs. 7 begins, rather than as a continuation of the imperatives which occur in the decree (אַל תִּטְעֲמוּן "do not taste. . . do not feed . . . do not drink"). All of vss. 8 and 9 in the LXX records then the response of the population to the decree found in vs. 7, not the content of the decree. As fact, rather than command, this alteration expands and explains the description of the Ninevites' response to Jonah's message found in vs. 5. The king commands a fast of men and beasts, but does not elaborate the religious implications of such a fast according to the LXX rendering.

The chief character in this prophetic narrative is Jonah. Although the sailors and the people of Nineveh are involved, they serve as foils to define the actions and attitudes of Jonah. The sailors, for example, despite their non-Jewish origin, display a greater sensitivity regarding the death of one man, Jonah, than Jonah, Yahweh's servant, displays for the entire population of Nineveh. The people of Nineveh demonstrate an obedience which contrasts markedly with Jonah's disobedience.

In the LXX of Jonah two important shifts occur in the portrayal of Jonah's character. The first is found in 1:9. When the lot falls to Jonah, identifying him

⁶It is included in M. Wagner, "Die Lexikalischen und Grammatikalischen Aramäismen im Alttestamentlichen Hebräisch" *BZAW* 96 (1966) Berlin #117. This is not the only context in which a proposed Aramaism is misread. Consider the rendering of the hithpael וַיִּשְׁעֲמוּ by διασωση in 1:6.

as the cause of their present crisis, the sailors want to know more about Jonah, particularly as this will help them understand their predicament. In response to their questions Jonah admits: $\Delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ $\theta\epsilon\omicron\nu$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\omicron\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\omicron\upsilon$ $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$ $\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ $\delta\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\nu$ $\xi\eta\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ "A servant of Yahweh am I and Yahweh God of heaven I reverence, who made the sea and the dry land. . ."

The source text has Jonah identifying himself as "a Hebrew" rather than "a servant of Yahweh." There is a simple orthographical explanation for this difference (וְיִבְרִי being read as וְיִבְרִ), but the result is still a very considerable difference in the definition of Jonah and his role.

How does this affect the reader's understanding of the story? Two factors are immediately suggested:

- a) For the sailors, this clearly identifies Jonah as a prophet--this is his work ($\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$).
- b) This phrase $\delta\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\upsilon\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon$ establishes a much closer connection with the prophet Jonah mentioned in 2 Kgs 14:25 ($\text{ἐν χειρὶ δούλου αὐτοῦ Ἰῶνα}$ "by the hand of his servant, Jonah"), thereby emphasizing an historical interpretation of this narrative.⁷

The explicit identification of Jonah as Yahweh's servant also throws into greater contrast his confession to the sailors and his present actions. His personal credibility is questioned and the astonishment of the sailors at his audacity, as well as their reluctance to throw him overboard, become more

⁷Josephus combines both Hebrew and Greek traditions defining Jonah as $\text{Ἑβραῖος εἶναι προφήτης δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ}$ "a Hebrew and a prophet of the Most high God" *Ant.* 9.10.2, par 211, and the story is recounted in the context of Jeroboam's reign.

understandable, because he is the representative of Yahweh. The focus shifts from an ethnic plane to a sacred, vocational one.⁸

The second feature by which the character of Jonah is presented in a different light occurs in the alterations which are made in the prayer recorded in chapter 2. These changes are in the direction of personalizing the content and increasing the element of uncertainty as to whether God will respond and save Jonah. Although many contemporary scholars do not consider this Psalm of Thanksgiving part of the material composed by the author, the translator considers it an integral part of the story and through various modifications enhances its integration into the plot as the specific expression of Jonah's personal experience.

The addition of (τὸν θεόν μου "my God") in vs. 3a (ἐβόησα ἐν θλίψει μου πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεόν μου = "I cried in my affliction to the Lord my God") emphasizes Jonah's personal relationship with the god addressed. This insertion probably occurs under the influence of the same phrase in the preceding verse, but the repetition in the actual prayer does enhance the personal application to Jonah's situation.

Four assertions in the source text are changed in the translation process into questions, wishes, requests, or vows. The statement in vs. 5b (Hebrew = "I will certainly look again toward your holy temple")⁹ becomes a rhetorical question, couched with considerable uncertainty or anxiety, as the Greek particle ἄρα suggests: ἄρα προσθήσω τοῦ ἐπιβλέψαι πρὸς τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἅγιον

⁸The closer identification of this Jonah with his namesake in 2 Kings 14, a widespread belief in antiquity as Josephus' account indicates, places the entire story in an historical framework, increasing its potential impact. This is not merely legend, but actual event. Jonah, the prophet who dared to refuse Yahweh's commission, actually lived. This stress upon the κυριος-δουλος relationship is perhaps related to the addition of δεσποτα in 4:3 where Jonah pleads that the master, Yahweh, let him die.

⁹As the text is now pointed in the MT (𐤒𐤏). The rendering of 𐤒𐤏 attributed to Theodotion πῶς suggests that another interpretation of the consonantal text was known, one which the LXX translator may have followed.

σου ("Shall I again look towards your holy temple?") Jonah according to the LXX does not yet know what the outcome of his prayer will be. In the MT, this clause $\text{הֲאֵין אֶתְּבַיִתְךָ אֵלַי הַיּוֹם קָדְשְׁךָ}$ is a firm assertion, indicating that the present banishment is temporary.

In vs. 7b, the source text states that Yahweh has brought Jonah back from the depths alive (וַתַּעַל מִשְׁחַת חַיִּי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי = "and you have brought up my life from the pit (or corruption), Yahweh my god.") In the LXX the subject is no longer Yahweh but rather "corruption of my life" and the assertion is rendered as a 3rd person imperative construction: καὶ ἀναβήτω φθορὰ ζωῆς μου κύριε ὁ θεός μου = "And let the corruption of my life ascend, O Lord my God."¹⁰ The assertion that Yahweh has rescued Jonah from the pit is transformed into a hope that the threat of his imminent death will prod Yahweh into continuing his existence.¹¹

The third example is in vs. 8b. The MT has the poet assert that as he neared death, he remembered his God and his prayer came to God in his holy temple. The LXX follows the first part of this verse, but drastically alters the last stich. The use of the optative (ἔλθοι) turns this clause into a direct appeal to God to hear his prayer: καὶ ἔλθοι πρὸς σε ἡ προσευχή μου εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον σου" = "And may my prayer come to you into your holy temple." Although he

¹⁰There is a textual variant which makes ἡ ζωῆς μου the subject of ἀναβήτω: φθορὰ ζωῆς μου W* B-S* 956 La^c Bo CantP | εκ φθορας ζωης μου Sc-V 86mg; εἰς σε εκ φθορας την ζωην μου W^c Sa; εκ φθορας η (>407) ζωη μου reil.

¹¹The verb ἀναβαινειν does not refer to resurrection in the LXX, but to lifting something up. In this sense it is applied to the ascension of Jesus (eg. Acts 2:34).

remembered God, he is not yet certain that God remembers him or has heard his prayer. This is his hope, but this hope has not yet received confirmation.¹²

The last example is in vs 10b. Two changes are made here. First, καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως ("and of thanksgiving") is inserted after αἰνέσεως ("of praise") creating the hendiadys αἰνέσεως καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως which commonly occurs in the Greek Psalter.¹³ Its addition does not substantially alter the meaning, but adds a pious note to Jonah's affirmation. The second change is more dramatic. In the MT the last two words of the Psalm are a nominal clause pronouncing that "salvation belongs to Yahweh" (לַיהוָה לְיִשְׁעוֹ). The translator apparently did not observe this syntactical relationship and has made τῷ κυρίῳ (לַיהוָה) the indirect object of ἀποδώσα (אֶשְׁלַם) "I will pay") and εἰς σωτηρίαν μου (לְיִשְׁעוֹ) an adverbial modifier: ὅσα ἠξάμην ἀποδώσω εἰς σωτηρίαν μου τῷ κυρίῳ = "What I have vowed, I will repay for my salvation to the Lord." In the LXX version, Jonah promises that he will obey the Lord because he now realizes that such obedience is the only route through which rescue will be achieved. A theological dictum is transformed into the personal promise of Jonah to the Lord and the basis for his hope. Jonah realizes (in verse 9) that "those who preserve vain things and deceits lose their mercy."

¹²Josephus regards Jonah's prayer as a prayer of confession, in which he seeks pardon for his sin. However, as the Psalm now stands in the MT, no confession of sin is expressed. Rather, Jonah relates how Yahweh heard his prayer for deliverance and rescued him. He offers to Yahweh his sacrifice of praise and his promise to pay his vow. The Psalm does not explain why Jonah is in the "belly of Hades". The translator, on the other hand, may have construed verse 9 as being Jonah's confession. The use of μάταια καὶ ψευδῆ ("vain things and deceits") as the rendering of הַבְּלִיָּוִת ("lying vanities") permits this generalization to apply to Jonah's specific case. By disobeying Yahweh and trying to deceive him, Jonah has jeopardized his ἐλεος--his relationship--with Yahweh.

¹³This addition is probably due to the influence of parallel passages in the Psalter.

The monograph by G. Vanoni¹⁴ suggests several Old Testament contexts whose language and motifs may have influenced the Hebrew narrative of Jonah. Two of these contexts are the Sodom and Gomorrah episode in Genesis 18 and the Elijah narrative in 2 Kgs 19. The story of Jonah begins with Yahweh who is disgusted at "Nineveh's wickedness," ordering Jonah to take his proclamation of judgment to this city. Through the addition of the words ἡ κραυγὴ ("the cry" vs. 2) the translator strengthens the lexical parallelism between the LXX translation of the Sodom and Gomorrah episode and that of Nineveh.

Gen 18:21 καταβὰς οὖν ὄψομαι εἰ κατὰ τὴν κραυγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐρξομένην με συντελοῦνται εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴνα γινῶ

Jonah 1:2 ὅτι ἀνέβη ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς κακίας αὐτῆς πρὸς με

The lexical parallels in the Hebrew text are not particularly obvious, but in the Greek texts, the use of ἡ κραυγὴ, a verb of ascension, and the phrase πρὸς με in combination are noteworthy, particularly as we remember that ἡ κραυγὴ is added in the LXX version of Jonah. This parallel is further defined through the use of καταστρεφεῖν to render forms of שָׁפַח in both Genesis (19:21, 25, 29)¹⁵ and Jonah (3:4). Nineveh is in as much danger and for the same reasons as Sodom and Gomorrah. Destruction is certain without intervention. The refusal of Jonah to intervene on behalf of Nineveh may be contrasted with the efforts of Abraham to preserve Sodom and Gomorrah.¹⁶

Another context in Jonah perhaps has parallels with the account of Elijah in 1 Kgs 19. Jonah's request for death is similar to that of Elijah who, in despair because of tremendous opposition, flees to the desert to die. In both cases, Yahweh miraculously intervenes to preserve and to teach strategic lessons.

¹⁴Gottfried Vanoni, *Das Buch Jona. Literar- und formkritische Untersuchung* (St. Ottilien: Eos, 1978).

¹⁵This equivalence is also found in several other LXX contexts in which the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah is referred to (e.g. Deut 29:23; Isa 13:19; Jer 27:40, 29:18; Lam 4:6).

¹⁶The translator may have hesitated to suggest that the κακία of Nineveh entered in Yahweh's presence and therefore hinted that not the wickedness, but only its "noise" entered, thereby protecting the concept of Yahweh's holiness.

However, the same lexical parallels are not present in the LXX in the Elijah story as were suggested in relation to the Sodom and Gomorrah incident.

Different reasons can be supplied for the alterations in the plot, the modifications made in Jonah's characterization, and the enhancement of the parallel with the Sodom and Gomorrah episode. Sometimes the translator seems to have had a different consonantal text; sometimes he vocalized a word differently; on occasion he understands the syntax differently. Some of the changes occur because he misunderstood the meaning of an expression or added a word which apparently he felt would clarify the meaning. Whatever the specific reasons for these changes, their cumulative effect upon the literary perspective of the story is significant:

- a. the historicality of the story is strengthened;
- b. the satirical and ironic elements are somewhat reduced;¹⁷
- c. Jonah's prophetic role and character are enhanced, reflecting a desire to have Jonah act in a manner more appropriate to the prophetic office;
- d. the internal consistency of the story is improved through greater integration of the various sections.

It may be that these changes occurred because the translator approached his task with a prior determination to effect them. In other words, the translator's perception of the canonical status of the original meant that his rendering should eliminate details which may seem inconsistent, make explicit what is implicit, and ensure that Jonah's actions were appropriate to those of a Hebrew prophet. Possible apologetic motives in these subtle changes also cannot be ruled out.

¹⁷John C. Holbert, "Deliverance Belongs to Yahweh!": Satire in the Book of Jonah," *JSOT* 21 (1981) 59-81. The translation does not appear to understand Jonah as being "satire" in that it emphasizes the historical perspective and attempts to understand Jonah as an actual prophet. It does not appear to be a careful attack upon certain kinds of prophets by means of satirical story.

Whatever the reasons for these alterations, they do show the way in which the story was understood in Alexandria during the third or second century BCE.¹⁸

The impact of the translation upon the subsequent history of interpretation of Jonah is independent of this prior question. What is created, regardless of the intent of the translator, follows its own independent history. Revision towards the Hebrew text does occur as the fragments from R indicate in the first century BC, as well as the retranslation of the entire work by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Some of the peculiarities are preserved in these new translations, while others, particularly those which relate to specific Hebrew forms, are corrected. No direct evidence occurs in the New Testament (e.g. Matt 12:40ff) that these changes in the LXX affected the way in which the Jonah story was used, although the tendency to rehabilitate Jonah's character may have encouraged such reference.

This investigation has sought to demonstrate some of the ways in which the LXX translation process has affected the literary structure of one Old Testament narrative. Its conclusions can only be accurately measured when the question it raised is pursued in other portions of the LXX. It attempted to contribute to the history of interpretation of the Old Testament, particularly among the Jewish Diaspora in the pre-Christian era.¹⁹

¹⁸Josephus seems somewhat defensive about the more miraculous elements of the Jonah story when he says: "as for Jonah, the story has it that he was swallowed by a whale, . . ." *Ant.* 9.10.2. par. 213.

¹⁹Whether the same types of changes occur in other parts of the LXX Dodekapropheton remains to be seen. The same type of prophetic narrative is not found, but perhaps in certain contexts such as the autobiographical statements of Hosea, similar kinds of changes may be discerned.

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