

# Bulletin of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

Volume 37 • 2004

## Articles

Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's <i>Devanciers</i> , Forty Years Later . . . . .	1
Robert A. Kraft	
The Relationship between the Greek Translations of Daniel 1–3 . . . . .	29
R. Timothy McLay	
Lexicography and Interlanguage—Gaining our Bearings . . . . .	55
Cameron Boyd-Taylor	
Lexicography and the Translation of a Translation: The NETS Version and the Septuagint of Genesis . . . . .	73
Robert J. V. Hiebert	
Divine Name and Paragraphing in Ezekiel: Highlighting Divine Speech in an Expanding Tradition . . . . .	87
John W. Olley	
Lexicography and Translation: Experiences, Examples, and Expectations in the Context of the Septuaginta-Deutsch Project . . . . .	107
Siegfried Kreuzer	

## IOSCS Matters

Program in Atlanta . . . . .	119
Business Meeting . . . . .	120
Treasurer's Report . . . . .	123

---

**Book Reviews**

- Review of T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* . . . . . 127  
 John A. L. Lee
- Review of Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Revised edition* . . . . . 139  
 Dirk Büchner
- Review of A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* . . . . . 147  
 R. Timothy McLay
- Review of Bernard A. Taylor, John A. L. Lee, Peter R. Burton, and Richard E. Whitaker, eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography. Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker* . . . . . 149  
 Claude E. Cox

# Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's Devanciers, Forty Years Later

ROBERT A. KRAFT  
*University of Pennsylvania*

---

In 1953, scarcely a year after the bedouin had brought these materials to the École Biblique Française in Jordanian Jerusalem, Dominique Barthélemy (1921–2002) published his preliminary study in French of the Greek Minor Prophets scroll from the then “unknown provenance” somewhere south of Wadi Murabbaat.<sup>1</sup> This was followed in 1963 by his “Predecessors of Aquila” (*Devanciers*) tour de force.<sup>2</sup> That book was widely reviewed,<sup>3</sup> and in

---

1. “Redécouverte d’un Chaînon Manquant de L’Histoire de la Septante [with a facsimile]” [= “Recovery of a Lost Link in the History of the Septuagint”], *RB* 60 (1953) 18–29 [reprinted in B.’s *Études* (see n. 5 below) 38–50, with added notes on 387]. These Minor Prophets fragments proved to be from Nahal Hever.

2. *Les devanciers d’Aquila*: première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d’une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au première siècle de notre ère sous l’influence du rabbinat palestinien [= “Aquila’s Predecessors: first full publication of the text of the Minor Prophets fragments found in the Judean Desert, preceded by a study of the Greek translations and recensions of the Bible produced in the first century of our era under the influence of the Palestinian Rabbinate”] (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963 [some sections are reprinted in *Études* (see n. 5 below)] 66–90, with added notes on 388–89.

3. List of reviews (see also the appended bibliography below): F. M. Cross, in “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert,” *HTR* 57 (1964) 281–99; see also G. Howard, “Frank Cross and Recensional Criticism,” *VT* 21 (1971) 440–50, which reviews some of Barthélemy’s detailed work on which Cross based some conclusions. S. Jellicoe, *JAOS* 84 (1964) 178–82. R. A. Kraft, *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 474–83. C. M. Martini, *Biblica* 46 (1965) 365–68 [in Italian]. R. Tournay, *Revue Biblique* 72 (1965) 117–19 [in French]. J. Daniélou, *Recherches de sciences religieuses* 53 (1965) [in French]. P. Sacchi, *Atene e Roma* 10 (1965) 135–40 [in Italian]. M. Delcor, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 22 (1965) 301–2 [in French]. G. Vermes, *JSS* 11 (1966) 261–64 [with some comments on rabbinic theories]. S. P. Brock, “Lucian redivivus: Some reflections on

1972 he contributed to the IOSCS Symposium in Los Angeles that focused on Samuel-Kings as a testing ground for the study of LXX/OG developments (see further below).<sup>4</sup> Then in 1978, B. provided additional comments on these earlier publications—and their reception—when he issued a collection of his “studies on the history of the OT text,”<sup>5</sup> which also reprinted his 1974 article “Who Is Symmachus?”<sup>6</sup> in which he attempted to advance the investigation of ancient Jewish translations a step further.

Few things in the study of the ancient Greek translations of Jewish scriptural writings have been the same since. Most of the senior scholars active in LXX/OG studies have published something relating directly to B.’s investigations, as have many of the younger scholars (see the appended bibliography). In our own *Bulletin of the IOSCS*, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the appearance of *Devanciers*, John Wevers contributed his article “Barthélemy and Proto-Septuagint Studies.”<sup>7</sup> In addition to the 1972 IOSCS Symposium

---

Barthélemy’s *Les Devanciers d’Aquila*,” *Sudia Evangelica* 5 (1968) = *TU* 103, 176–81 [deals only with that issue in Samuel-Kings (see below)]. J. W. Wevers in his review article on “Septuaginta Forschungen Seit 1954,” *Theologische Rundschau* 33 (1968) 67–68.

4. Published as Robert A. Kraft, ed., *1972 Proceedings: Septuagint and Pseudepigrapha Seminars* (SCS 2; SBL, 1972) Part 1 (1–126) contains preprints of the four papers presented for the IOSCS Symposium “The Methodology of Textual Criticism in Jewish Greek Scriptures, with Special Attention to the Problems in Samuel-Kings”—Emanuel Tov, “The State of the Question: Problems and Proposed Solutions” (3–15); Barthélemy, “Les problèmes textuels de 2 Sam 11,2–1 Rois 2,11 reconsidérés à la lumière de certaines critiques des ‘Devanciers d’Aquila’” [“A Reexamination of the Textual Problems in 2 Sam 11:2–1 Kings 2:11 in the Light of Certain Criticisms of ‘Les Devanciers d’Aquila’”] (16–89, with an English translation by Kathleen McCarthy on facing pages to the original French); T. Muraoka, “The Greek Texts of Samuel-Kings: Incomplete Translations or Recensional Activity?” (90–107); and Frank M. Cross, Jr., “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts” (108–26). B.’s French contribution is reprinted in *Études* [see n. 5 below] 218–54, along with his previously unpublished comments on the other symposium papers (255–88), plus added notes on both these contributions 394–95.

5. *Études d’histoire du Texte de l’ancien testament* (OBO 21; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978) [mostly reprints of earlier articles, with some added notes].

6. “Qui est Symmaque?” *CBQ* 36 [Patrick W. Skehan *Festschrift*] (1974) 451–65 [reprinted in *Études* 307–21, with no additional notes].

7. *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) 23–24 [“Today there is no reputable Septuagint scholar who has not been influenced by [B.’s *Devanciers*]” (23). (Long digression on the legitimacy of looking for an “original” text behind the variations in Lagardian fashion, vs Kahle.) B. has demonstrated that he is dealing with a Jewish text, and that it “is a recension of the old Septuagint” (30). How it reveals its recensional character is explained, and it is emphasized that B. collected evidence for a “καίγυε group,” which only occasionally has the sense of a “καίγυε recension.” “The impulse to recensional activity had so dominated the original text

mentioned above, IOSCS and SBL held joint sections at the 1988 meetings in Chicago on the then forthcoming edition of the Greek Minor Prophets material (see below, n. 9), and again in New Orleans in 1996 on “Reassessing the Barthélemy Heritage.”

As a graduate student myself in the late 1950s, by transcribing the photograph and analyzing the text that B. published with his 1953 article, I learned a little paleography as well as some things about textual relationships and ancient translation techniques. Not many years later, I was invited to do an extensive review of B.’s “Predecessors” (*Devanciers*) monograph.<sup>8</sup> Some twenty years after that, I was privileged to assist Emanuel Tov with aspects of the preparation of the official DJD edition of that extraordinarily influential material.<sup>9</sup> In what follows, I will draw heavily on my reports at the aforementioned 1988 and 1996 meetings and attempt to assess B.’s influence now, more than a half century after the initial preliminary publication by B. And the well is not yet dry.

The task is formidable, the literature is enormous! Clearly Barthélemy has had a huge impact, both direct and indirect, on the study of the Greek anthology made up of translations of Jewish scriptures that we have come to call “Septuagint” and/or “Old Greek” (LXX/OG) and on the study of other early Greek attempts at translation.<sup>10</sup> While B.’s own interests and expertise tended to focus on text-critical issues, especially relating to the Hebrew text behind

---

that it has replaced it; it has become something new, and exists independently of the LXX. All of this development is part of the Palestinian Rabbinical tradition, not just a recension, but a tradition beginning already before our era began and issuing in the barbarisms of Aquila’s translation” (34).

8. *Gnomon* 37 (1965) 474–83 [also available on the internet at the following site: <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/publics/judaism/barthel.htm>].

9. Emanuel Tov, with the collaboration of R. A. Kraft and a contribution by P. J. Parsons, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Nahal Hever* (8HevXIIgr) (The Seiyal Collection 1, DJD 8; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990).

10. B. reminds us that there is a difference between the “Old Greek” (an ideal abstraction which is actually lost for the entire Greek Bible) and “the oldest available Greek” (represented by extant witnesses), *Études*, 272–73. In discussing the Antiochian text (see below) he also distinguishes between a “recension” (involving “the intervention of an individual or of a school to improve the translation, either by correcting its language or especially by conforming the received Greek text more faithfully to the available Hebrew text,” as with *καίτε*-Theodotion, Aquila, and Origen) and an “edition” (employing “imitation” of available versions and “opposition” to rival versions, as with the Antiochian text), 1972 Symposium *Proceedings* 72–75 (*Études*, 246–47). Perhaps understandably, he does not appear to apply such precise distinctions consistently throughout his own work.

these translations, he dared to attempt to contextualize the Greek translation/recension activities within their Jewish and Christian worlds and thus has challenged old established judgments and called for a fresh look at the historical situations. We are still trying to make sense out of some of the resulting complexities—and to correct the outdated information that circulates by means of older publications and especially on even newly-created internet sites (see for example below, n. 20).

B.'s pioneering work has proved especially significant in the following general areas:

- The history of the development of Greek translations and recensions in antiquity
- Study of the Greek versions of the Minor Prophets
- The importance of paying close attention to features/evidence of translation technique(s)
- The complex textual situation in the Greek books of Samuel-Kings and related problems pertaining to Origen's Hexapla and to the "Lucianic" recension(s)

### *1. Ancient Greek Translations of Hebrew Scriptures*

As is clear from the title of *Devanciers*, B. does not consider the relatively consistent, virtually interlinear translational work attributed to "Aquila" to be a pioneering effort (something new) in the first part of the second century C.E. that paved the way to later such translations, especially those associated with "Theodotion" and also "Symmachus." Indeed, B. admits that in *Devanciers*, he was not radical enough in identifying a range of "Theodotonic" features already present in the first century C.E. witnesses, well before the traditional date of Aquila's efforts. B.'s control case of primary historical evidence was the Minor Prophets materials from Nahal Hever, which he accepted as paleographically datable to the middle of the first century C.E. and in which he found a relatively-consistent translation technique symbolized by the unusual Greek particle *καίγε* (along with other more or less consistent characteristics<sup>11</sup>), which he then associated with a shadowy figure known

---

11. B.'s list of the characteristics has been supplemented by others in subsequent studies, although in his response to the 1972 Symposium (above, n. 4), he affirmed that the essential features are: (1) Hebrew *כִּי* rendered by Greek *καίγε*, (2) Hebrew first person pronoun *אֲנִי* rendered by Greek *ἐγὼ εἰμί*, (3) Hebrew *כֻּלָּם* in the sense of 'each' and of 'a person' rendered in Greek by *ἀνήθ*, and (4) Hebrew *וְכָל* rendered by Greek *οὐκ ἐστὶ*

from later rabbinic Jewish literature as Jonathan ben Uzziel, and with hermeneutical issues relating to rabbinic disputes attested for the first and early second centuries. Comparison of the features of the *καίγε* Minor Prophets with what is known of Aquila's translation led B. to argue that Aquila represents a development of such an early *καίγε* technique. Similarly, comparison of the features of the *καίγε* technique with information from other books of the Greek Jewish scriptures, including textual variants and competing translations/editions, led B. to argue that *καίγε* was associated with other "Theodotonic" evidence, although B. also recognized some variety within these materials such that it made more sense to think of a "Theodotonic school" of translation rather than simply of an individual "Jonathan/Theodotion."<sup>12</sup> If we can trust the ancient sources that date "Aquila" to the second quarter of the second century, it seems clear that the *καίγε* Minor Prophets is earlier, although simply based on the paleographic dating of those Nahal Hever fragments, it would not be difficult to push the original translation (of which the Nahal Hever materials apparently are copies) back at least another generation or two, well before B.'s first century dating of the Jonathan/Theodotion *καίγε* Minor Prophets.<sup>13</sup>

---

without regard to temporal considerations (*Études*, 268–69). For an extensive additional list, see Leonard J. Greenspoon, *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua* (HSM 28; Chico CA: Scholars Press, 1983) 270–76, and more recently, Tim McLay's comparison of such lists in "Kaige and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998) 127–39.

12. B. finds evidence for this "Theodotonic" approach in the OG (including variant forms) of Lamentations, Song, Ruth, Judges (B text), Daniel ("Theodotion"), additions to Job attributed to "Theodotion" and anonymous additions to Jeremiah, and Psalms (both "Theodotion" and "Quinta" in the Hexapla), in addition to the materials discussed below.

13. Parsons acknowledges that the "paleographic evidence . . . is shifting sand. Barth [élemy] 1953 dated the script (that is, hand A) towards the end of 1 A.D. Roberts *apud* Kahle (226) opted for 50 B.C.–A.D. 50, and Schubart, *ibid.*, for a date around the reign of Augustus; Barth[élemy] 1963 accepted Schubart's date for hand A, found parallels for hand B in dated papyri of 1 A.D. and assigned the whole manuscript to mid 1 A.D." (22). After his detailed analysis, Parsons concludes that with reference to hand A, "I can see nothing against ascribing this hand to the later first century B.C., and nothing specifically in favour of dating it later. . . . Hand B has at first sight a later look," but that may be deceptive. . . . Thus "the hands of our scroll could be of 1 B.C. (though of course they cannot exclude a later date)" (24–25). He concludes: "Both hands give the impression of belonging to the late Ptolemaic or early Roman period. Some features favour an earlier rather than a later date; no feature recommends a later rather than an earlier date. I should therefore opt, tentatively . . . , for a date in the later 1 B.C.; the objectively dated parallels show that such a dating is possible, though not of course necessary" (25–26).

Such details aside, B.'s legacy here is the radical redating and reconception of "Theodotion," no longer simply as a late second century figure who perhaps toned down the literalism of Aquila's translation, but as a much earlier approach to translation that had a major influence on Aquila. Such an insight was not new—"talk of proto- (or Ur-)Theodotion" had been around for a long time<sup>14</sup>—but B.'s detailed detective work and daring historical hypotheses gave new impetus to the study of these phenomena. The resulting picture, complex and still somewhat confused, was already outlined by Jellicoe in his 1968 update of Swete's classic introductory volume:

With some questionings, the order Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus has been widely accepted as chronological, but it is now evident that some modification must be made in the traditional position. . . . The accumulated evidence would be adequately satisfied by the addition to the trilogy of the work of one further translator for whom the name Ur-Theodotion, already in limited currency, may be adopted. It was the work of this unknown translator, whose activity should be placed probably in the earlier part of the first century B.C., thereby antedating Aquila by two centuries, whose work was revised by the traditional Theodotion in the second half of the second century of the Christian era. In what follows these translators, for the sake of clarity, will be referred to respectively as Ur-Theodotion and Theodotion.<sup>15</sup>

More recently, we find the post-B. position cautiously presented in surveys such as by Jobs and Silva as follows:

---

14. In his relatively lengthy review of B.'s *Devanciers*, Jellicoe rightly complains that B. either was unaware of earlier studies in areas he addresses, such as "Ur-Theodotion" evidence, or simply decided not to mention any of his modern scholarly predecessors. In his contributions to the 1972 Symposium (above, n. 4), B. shows much greater acquaintance with and use of such previous scholarship.

15. Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 83. For the earlier position, see Henry Barclay Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1902; reprinted with additional notes by R. R. Ottley, 1914) 42–49. Swete is aware of the problem of "Theodotionic" readings in sources that predate the late second century, especially with regard to Daniel, and reports on theories about "two pre-Christian versions of Daniel, both passing as 'LXX', one of which is preserved in the Chigi MS [OG Daniel], whilst the other formed the basis of Theodotion's revision. . . . But Theodotion's revision of Daniel may have differed so little from the [older] stricter Alexandrian version as to have taken its place without remark [in later LXX/OG manuscripts]" (48–49). See also Swete, 379 on "Ur-Lucian" as reflected in Josephus and 395–96 on "Theodotionic" readings in the New Testament. As we will see, this "Ur-Lucian" evidence is sometimes brought together with "Ur-Theodotion" by B. and his successors. (Swete's discussion of "Lucian" on 80–86 does not mention these issues as such.)

. . . most scholars now prefer to speak of *Kaige*-Theodotion, meaning by that term a well-defined, pre-Christian revision of the Old Greek; it is also thought that this revision became the basis for the work of both Aquila and Symmachus. The work of the historical Theodotion [in late second century] may then be viewed as a later updating of the revision.<sup>16</sup>

Hengel deals with the situation in a more oblique manner: e.g. the translation of Qohelet/Ecclesiastes “may go back to a first-century Pharisaic school of translators, whose tendencies Aquila extended in strengthened form and which had already revised the LXX of the prophets and other documents.”<sup>17</sup> He does not comment directly on “Theodotion” in this context. Further, Salvesen in the *Encyclopedia of the DSS* under “Origen”:

The existence of a ‘school’ of revisers of the Septuagint at the turn of the era . . . underlies much that goes under the name Theodotion, and influenced Aquila and possibly Symmachus. In recent years Barthélemy’s position has been somewhat nuanced by other scholars, but his basic findings on the priority of “Theodotion” . . . continue to be accepted.<sup>18</sup>

Tov speaks of the “*Kaige*-Theodotion” revision(s) as presumably from “the middle of the first century B.C.E.” and later ascribed “to Theodotion, who apparently lived at the end of the second century C.E.”<sup>19</sup> He underlines this in a note: “We now know that the [previously] conjectured proto-Theodotion is none other than *kaige*-Theodotion tentatively ascribed to the middle of the first century B.C.E.” (145 n. 97). Unfortunately, the revised view of these materials that is now “universally accepted” in scholarly circles has not made its desired impact on even some relatively respectable internet sites.<sup>20</sup> Much educational work remains to be done.

16. Karen H. Jobes and Moises Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker, 2000) 42.

17. Martin Hengel, with the assistance of Roland Deines, *The Septuagint as Christian Scripture: Its Prehistory and the Problem of its Canon* (Introduction by Robert Hanhart, translated by Mark E. Biddle; New York: T&T Clark, 2002) 89.

18. Alison Salvesen, “Origen,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds. (Oxford: University Press, 2000) 624.

19. Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (second revised edition; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001) 145.

20. Let one example suffice for now: St Pachomius Library. “Other Greek Translations of the Old Testament: Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus:

Around AD 128, Aquila, a pupil of Rabbi Akiba, published an extremely literal (almost unreadable) translation of the Masoretic text in which a particular Hebrew word was always represented by the same Greek word regardless of context. . . .

In short, Barthélemy's identification of *καίγε* characteristics and their similarity to what had been identified as "Theodotion" (including the problem of Theodotionic readings prior to the time of the late second century Theodotion) gave impetus to the clearer recognition of early translational activity along those same lines, and shifted the primary focus to Jewish translational activity in pre-Christian times. Barthélemy's first century C.E. dating and association with specific early Palestinian rabbinic persons and interests has not gained general acceptance—at least some of these translational activities seem to be significantly earlier than B. thought; whether they are necessarily "Palestinian" (or Pharisaic) is also in need of careful review; but his detailed work has been foundational for such developments and discussions.

Yet much more remains to be done in this new textual and historical atmosphere. The world in which the "*καίγε*-Theodotion" translations were produced (and B. did well to emphasize the variety within the group) was almost certainly more heterogeneous with respect to scroll production than we usually recognize when we view it through the later lenses of codex book production. The possibility of one person or related group ("school") producing a consistent translation of an extensive body of literature such as the Pentateuch surely existed, although maintaining the integrity of such efforts in transmitting the small library of individual scrolls that would result would have presented a major challenge (if anyone at that time cared about such textual homogeneity!). To speak of such a complete Greek version of what-

---

Theodotion of Ephesus wrote an extremely important translation which has a very odd history. Theodotion, who evidently was not a Jew but rather a member of the Ebionite Christian heresy (which kept kosher dietary laws), lived in the second century. His translation, however, is seemingly "quoted" in Heb. 11:33 and several times in Revelations [sic!]! This strongly suggests that Theodotion's version was based upon either a lost Greek translation which competed with the LXX or upon a "revised" LXX. Amazingly, Theodotion's version of Daniel is the one officially accepted by the Church and usually printed in modern editions of the LXX; the original LXX version survives in only 3 manuscripts. The oddities connected with Theodotion's version and its use by the Church were remarked upon already by the Fathers, specifically by St. Jerome, who could offer no definitive explanation.

Late in the Second Century, another member of the Ebionite sect, Symmachus, produced a loose Greek translation, almost a paraphrase. Other Greek versions already lost in the early Christian era were rediscovered not in modern times but by the ancients: Origen published a manuscript of Job, Psalms, Song of Songs, and the Minor Prophets which someone had found in a jar near Jericho in the reign of Caracalla, and another Greek version of Psalms and some other books found accidentally in Asia Minor."

ever one imagines as the corpus of “holy scriptures” (proto-canon) in such a context is also historically and technologically improbable, or at least challenging. What was the process of creating, collecting, and transmitting? Were there some early efforts at translation, then gradual recognition of the value of translating additional “scripture” scrolls as the earlier translations gained recognition and time passed? Were schools of translators established or commissioned for such endeavors (by whom? under what conditions?), and were their practices passed along from generation to generation? The translational diversity within the *καίγγε*-Theodotion witnesses, which led B. to posit a “school of translators” with similar techniques, may in part be a reflection of these conceptual and technical difficulties in the production and circulation of scrolls in this early period and right up to the time of Origen’s massive attempt at collecting and standardizing. And the earlier we find such translational activities, the more complex the problem of contextualizing them historically and tracing their respective influences. Attention to process as well as product is important in ways that go beyond B.’s pioneering conjectures, although as we shall see below, he was well aware of many of these issues as well.

B. explored Palestinian Jewish traditions for evidences of motivation to make specific translation choices. Starting with traditions about the approaches of Aqiba and Ishmael in the first half of the second century C.E., and with a view to the Greek work attributed to Aquila (whom B. identifies with Aqiba), B. worked back into the mid-first century C.E. and thought he could see a connection between Jonathan ben Uzziel and the *καίγγε* approach (with a nod in the direction of the mysterious “Nahum GamZu”). As noted above, this is probably too late purely on paleographic grounds to explain the *καίγγε* Minor Prophets translation. B.’s penchant for finding early rabbinic motivation for revisional activity is also evident in his attempt to provide a solution to the Aquila-like variants in the biblical quotations in some manuscripts of Philo.<sup>21</sup> While B.’s proposed solutions remain highly problematic, his ques-

---

21. “Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le ‘Commentaire allégorique’? A partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon” = 45–78 in *Philon d’Alexandrie: Lyon 11–15 Septembre 1966, colloques nationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (Paris 1967) and *Études* (1966) 140–73, with additional notes on 390–91. For additional background on this situation, see the electronic updating of H. E. Ryle’s *Philo and Holy Scripture* (1895) at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rs/rak/courses/999/RYLE1.htm>.

tions persist to encourage closer attention to the historical circumstances and motivations out of which such translational and recensional activities must or might have arisen.

This much is clear from B.'s investigations: the old picture of second century C.E. Jewish translational efforts—primarily Aquila, Theodotion, Symmachus in that sequence—is completely upset and exposed as simplistic. Whatever one wishes to label the new Minor Prophets text in relation to other known or suspected translational efforts, it moves us back well before the second century of the common era simply in terms of the actual preserved fragments. How far back we can go from those fragments is unclear. The new material provides us with one copy—or possibly two copies (two different hands, two different formats)—of a translation of the Greek Minor Prophets that necessarily predates the preserved fragments. Predates by how long a period? When was the presumed original (whether an independent translation or a revision of something even older) created? We cannot know. While B.'s door-opening attempt to describe forces and factors in first century C.E. proto-rabbinic Judaism that help explain the genesis of this translation technique has not proved persuasive, we need to look to an even earlier period to understand what was happening. If we accept B.'s supposition that the new text is evidence for Greek language activities in Palestine, are we now catching glimpses of Maccabean times, or at latest early Herodian, and if not Palestine, where and when and why?<sup>22</sup>

## *2. The Greek Minor Prophets as the Inspiration and the Control Case*

The extant *καίγυε* Greek Minor Prophets materials were discovered in Palestine, and the second century quotation of this version found in Justin the martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* probably was written down in Asia Minor (Ephesus), although Justin himself was born and bred in Samaria-Palestine.<sup>23</sup>

---

22. In his review of *Devanciers* (above, n. 3), Jellicoe suggests without discussion that “a strong case can be advanced for Ephesus” as a possible point of origin for “Ur-Theodotion,” perhaps keeping in view the appearance of the *καίγυε*-Theodotion text in Justin, who had associations with Ephesus (see the next note), and/or the Asia Minor translation hypothesis of Thackeray regarding Samuel-Kings that is mentioned below (Jellicoe, 180 column 1).

23. Justin quotes Mic 4:1–7 in a form almost exactly replicating the remnants of the *καίγυε* scroll (*Dialogue* 109–10), if we can trust the preserved manuscripts of Justin, which

Otherwise, our earliest extant copy of a Greek translation of the Minor Prophets comes from Egypt in the second half of the third century C.E. (the Freer Codex, Washingtonensis), and itself has significant variations from later “Old Greek” copies (including explicit “corrections” and apparent influence from Hebrew texts). Whether there is a genealogical relationship between these two Greek versions is still worth discussing, although B.’s contention that the *καίγε* “recension” is based on the OG has not been forcefully challenged beyond Kahle’s early remarks to which B. responded in *Devanciers* and elsewhere (see below, n. 24). To complicate the picture further, there also was a version of the Minor Prophets attributed to “Theodotion,” as can be partly recovered from Hexaplaric evidence, which seems to have nothing to do with B.’s *καίγε*-Theodotonic characteristics (the latter are closer to the Hexaplaric “Quinta” evidence for the Minor Prophets!<sup>24</sup>)—B. dismisses this as “late and eclectic,” reflecting dependence on Aquila and on the unrevised

---

are very late. Tov comments: “The text of the biblical quotations of Just[in] also reflects a very literal translation (beyond the aforementioned citation from Mi[cah]) so that it is quite certain that these quotations reflect R [= *καίγε*]. (At the same time, the running commentary of Just[in] reflects the LXX [=OG] text rather than a literal rendering of the type of R [= *καίγε*]. This mixture of text types belongs to the textual transmission of Just[in] and reminds one of that of the writings of Philo.)” (DJD 8, 158). See also P. Katz, “Justin’s Old Testament Quotations and the Greek Dodekapropheton Scroll,” *Studia Patristica* 1 (TU 63; 1957) 343–53. The situation with some Philo manuscripts is that the version of Aquila was substituted as lemma, while the subsequent comments are closer to LXX/OG; see Peter Katz, *Philo’s Bible: the Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in some Philonic Writings and its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1950). David Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey* (Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 3.3; Fortress 1993) 24–25, provides a succinct survey of the relevant literature and arguments: “The historian of the Cairo Geniza, Kahle, was convinced that these quotations represented not only Philo’s original text, but also reflected his Bible, so that we have evidence here of a Greek Bible that was adapted in order to confirm more to the Hebrew original [Kahle, *Cairo Geniza* (1959<sup>2</sup>) 247–49]. Katz, in contrast, argued that the aberrant quotations were added later on the basis of the post-Philonic translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion by a Christian from the Antiochean school in the fifth century”; Barthélemy argues for a “Jewish” reviser in the early third century who used the text of Aquila to hebraize Philo’s quotations from the scriptures (above, n. 25)—his argument is also summarized in Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature* (CRINT 3.3; Fortress, 1993) 24–25.

24. B.’s article on “Quinta ou Version selon les Hebreux?” in the *Festgabe für Walther Eichrodt* (*Theologische Zeitschrift* 16 [1960] 342–52 = *Études*, 54–64) reexamines the supposed “Quinta” readings in the second hand of the Barbarini MS 549 (Rahlfs/Gottingen # 86) that are identified with the notation ε’ and attributes them to an otherwise unknown ἑκδοσις κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους.

OG, and falsely identified with “Theodotion” (*Devanciers* 2.9). (As an added complication, in Habakkuk 3, yet another anonymous translation appears in some witnesses from the eighth century C.E. onward,<sup>25</sup> and the presumably earlier OG version of that independent poem appears also in the Greek “Odes” collection.) While, as we have seen, B. identifies Palestine as the location of the *καίγε* translation efforts, the argument is partly based on his reconstruction of proto-rabbinic interests and involvement in the first century C.E. (Jonathan ben Uzziel, en route to Aqiba/Aquila in the second century), a scene that is highly problematic and thus, far from determinative. But B.’s labors open up such questions to closer examination, and give us reason to explore the possibilities with renewed vigor.

The attempt to enlist the newly discovered Minor Prophets translation/reconstruction in the old Lagarde/Kahle debate about the extent to which it is useful to imagine an “original” LXX/OG translation behind the text-critical evidence (Lagarde), or a variety of relatively independent translations (Kahle), whether made by Kahle himself<sup>26</sup> or by supporters of a Lagardian approach such as Frank Cross and John Wevers,<sup>27</sup> proves to be more unfortunate than enlightening. That old debate, modeled as it was on “post-canonical” ideas of the development of ancient Jewish “biblical” texts, and to some extent on “post-scroll” perceptions of bookmaking techniques and products typical of mega-codex technology as it developed by the fourth century C.E., can be seen to be extremely simplistic, partly in the light of the impact of B.’s investigations. It is now widely acknowledged that no single “rule” or model can do service for all of the phenomena encountered in the study of ancient translational activity on the materials that came to be valued as Jewish scriptures.

---

25. See, e.g. Edwin M. Good, “Barberini Greek Version of Habakkuk 3,” *VT* 9 (1959) 11–30; Natalio Fernández Marcos, «El Texto Barberini de Habacuc III reconsiderado», *Sefarad* 36 (1976) 3–36.

26. Paul Ernst Kahle (1875–1964), “Die Lederrolle mit dem griechischen Text der Kleinen Propheten und das Problem der LXX,” *TLZ* 79 (1954) 81–94, and subsequently “Die Lederrolle mit dem griechischen Dodekapropheten,” in *Die Kairoer Genisa. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Hebräischen Bibeltextes und seiner Übersetzungen* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1962) 239–41. See also, in English, “The Greek Bible and the Fragments from the Judaean Desert,” *Studia Evangelica* 1 (*TU* 73; 1959) 613–21, and the second edition of *The Cairo Geniza* (Oxford, 1959) 226–28. For George Howard’s contributions to this sort of discussion, see n. 29 below.

27. E.g. Frank M. Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,” *HTR* 57 (1964) 281–99; John W. Wevers in *Theologische Rundschau* 33 (1968) 67–68, for examples, and again in *BIOSCS* 21 (1988) [above, nn. 3 and 7].

What may be highly probable for one book or section—and the model provided by the Greek Pentateuch has been highly influential in such discussions—may prove quite inapplicable to another. The data requires discussion piece by piece, and care must be taken not to export the results irresponsibly from one investigation to unravel the specific problems found elsewhere. The models we use, which are often necessary to jump-start our research, need constantly to be tested and reevaluated—and discarded when such action seems appropriate.<sup>28</sup>

Was there at some place and time a first and unique translation into Greek of the collected Hebrew Minor Prophets, a single Greek “*Urtext*” that influenced most, if not all, subsequent developments? Is it unlikely that there were no individual translations of any of these “minor prophets” prior to such a collective product? How is it possible to know? There are no ancient traditions of which I am aware that deal with the genesis of these books in Greek, either individually or as a collected set—the Aristeas legend concerning the Pentateuch does not apply. In searching for such answers, we find ourselves at sea.

What seems to be current “fact” is that the Naḥal Ḥever Greek Jewish Minor Prophets material is the earliest evidence we have of Greek translational activity on that portion of what came to be Jewish scriptures. And it is significantly different from the previously known OG textual tradition that is attested in later manuscripts and came to be accepted in the later Christian Greek biblical codices. If there were no Hebrew text with which to compare these two Greek versions, what would we be able to say about their relationship? The Naḥal Ḥever text would still seem more stilted, as Greek, more internally consistent (i.e. repetitious) and perhaps more limited in its lexical and grammatical phenomena. Would we say that the less stilted OG text was a revision in the interests of readability, a move towards something more closely resembling Pentateuchal Greek style, etc.? Or would arguments for priority of the more idiomatic OG be persuasive? I can imagine forceful

---

28. Even without the evidence supplied by B. this should have been more obvious, and was to most specialists. See for example Jellicoe (1968) 315: “The LXX presents ‘translations’ rather than ‘a translation.’ Hence any judgement of its quality must first take account of what might be termed ‘translational units’ as represented by a single book, part of a book, or more than one book.” And in the next paragraph: “Style and method vary considerably, but this is no more than would be expected in a production which extended over some decades [sic! “centuries” would be more appropriate] and which was the work of different hands” (316).

voices on both sides; and perhaps some who would deny a lineal relationship in either direction. Hopefully we would create some “control” studies to help us assess the probability of each position.

But we do have a Hebrew text with which to compare, and clearly the Naḥal Hever Greek Minor Prophets text is very close, as a translation, to that (“Masoretic”) Hebrew text that has come to be “traditional”—significantly closer than the traditional OG is, although the OG itself is not radically different. We do not know whether there once existed correspondingly divergent Hebrew texts of this material, and if so, when and where? Nor have we expended much effort on creating “control” cases or exploring analogous phenomena that might help us test the different possibilities.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps it is still too early in the game for us to appreciate the devastating effect that the evidence from the DSS and associated discoveries can have on our untested assumptions. B. saw only a part of this situation—certainly not the part I am trying to address here, since B. assumed that the new text must be a development of the OG without bothering to test other possibilities—and was led to revolutionary new results by that part which he saw. Perhaps we are now ready to see more, and to worry less about the damaged models associated with Lagarde and Kahle.<sup>30</sup>

---

29. Tov is an exception, insofar as he attempts to provide evidence for the direction of influence, from OG to καίγϵ. See DJD 8, 103ff.: “R [= καίγϵ] is a revision of the LXX [= OG], rather than an independent translation of the Hebrew.” In various publications, George Howard has challenged B.’s arguments for seeing the καίγϵ-Theodotion text as a “revision” of an older Greek substratum: in section B of the 1972 Symposium article B. provides a detailed response to Howard’s article (with its direct criticism of B.’s approach) on “Frank Cross and Recensional Criticism,” *VT* 21 (1971) 440–50; Howard responds to this with “Lucianic Readings in a Greek Twelve Prophets Scroll from the Judaean Desert,” *JQR* 62 (1971–72) 51–60, and “Kaige Readings in Josephus,” *Textus* 8 (1973) 45–54, and “The Quinta of the Minor Prophets: A First Century Septuagint Text?” *Biblica* 55 (1974) 15–22; B., in turn, addresses those arguments by Howard in a lengthy additional note in *Études* 392–93! While I am inclined to see B.’s (and Tov’s) evidence as more carefully presented than Howard’s, I have not seen a careful analysis of the assumptions involved (e.g. about what Hebrew texts existed when, about what can be expected in more or less bilingual situations when translations are created or revised and transmitted, etc.) in any of this literature.

30. In his note on B.’s attempt to do away with the “Lucianic” label (at least) in Samuel-Kings (above, n. 3; see further below), Sebastian Brock says some similar things. For instance, “since the tendency of the Palestinian text is to get closer to the Hebrew, while that of the Antiochene is to move away from it, this means that it is often going to be very hard to judge which of the two texts is secondary on any given point. In such cases, other things being equal, the answer can only be provided by studying the general usage of

### 3. Patterns of Translation Technique and Efforts at “Revision”

B. demonstrated that the Nahal Hever Minor Prophets translation exhibited a fairly consistent technique with respect to various linguistic features (see above, n. 11), and he attempted to trace these and related features in other early translation literature. In section F of his edition of the Minor Prophets material, Tov presents extensive detail on “Translation Technique, Orthographic Peculiarities and Textual Relations” (99–158), and elsewhere comments that “as a rule, [the translation] is rather consistent, so that its vocabulary and system of translation can be identified in other [fragmentary] instances as well” (83). Other authors have proposed additional linguistic criteria in studies of “καίγϵ-Theodotion” in other sections of Greek Jewish scriptures.

This awareness of patterns not only served to recreate the general parameters of καίγϵ-Theodotionic techniques, whether centered in an individual or a “school,” but also provided more systematic data for exploring the relationship of the old καίγϵ version(s) to manuscripts and variations within the LXX/OG traditions and to the materials collected by Origen in his massive Hexapla. For example, as has already been noted, Barthélemy and Tov argue that the evidence suggests that in the Minor Prophets the newly recovered καίγϵ translation is a revision of an older Greek text that can be reconstructed from the extant LXX/OG manuscripts and witnesses. They also argue that the Hebrew *Vorlage* behind the καίγϵ revisions is somewhat closer to what became the Hebrew MT than to the LXX/OG (lost) Hebrew *Vorlage* (*Vorlagen*?!). The arguments and impressions on which such reconstructions rest are quite subtle, and in the world of the first century B.C.E. that seems to have known variations in Hebrew copies (as attested in the DSS), not entirely persuasive. The activity of translation, especially where some level of “literalism” is desired, presents limited possibilities for any word or construction. How one establishes priority in such circumstances is problematic, and often rests as much on assumptions (what *Vorlage* was older, whether woodenness is more likely to give way to idiomatic or vice versa) as on clear features in

---

the translation as a whole” (179, see also 181). B. addresses this issue in section A of his 1972 Symposium paper, and admits to oversimplifying the situation “by restricting the term ‘recension’ to indicate revision towards the Hebrew text,” to the neglect of other sorts of recensional activity (*Études*, 219). Further exploration of the possibilities should prove rewarding.

the available evidence. Similarly, any ancient impetus to keep the translation close to the current supposed “parent text” (as with Aquila) or to provide a more idiomatic and/or varied flavor (as with Symmachus) will depend on a variety of factors (e.g. attitude to the texts, availability of variant forms), most of them lost to us. Barthélemy’s work has opened these doors more widely to contemporary scholarship, even when he did not recognize all of the implications.

This increased awareness of patterned translation—of more or less predictable translation technique—can only benefit the study of the preserved materials (manuscripts and other witnesses), especially in complex situations such as presented by the Greek witnesses to Samuel-Kings. None of this is particularly new, in principle, but the ability to present in more detail the various features of *κατίγγε*-Theodotion serves as a catalyst to more precise analysis of the data. Several relevant studies have been produced, many of them by students of Frank M. Cross, including at least one that B. himself reviewed quite favorably in print.<sup>31</sup> This focus has spilled over into studies of deuterocanonical and parabiblical materials as well, such as Sirach and Tobit, and deserves to be explored more in such texts as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*.<sup>32</sup>

#### *4. Samuel-Kings as a Test Case, Translation Technique as a Criterion, and Possible Hexaplaric Confusions*

Probably the most fruitful area in which B.’s research has developed and is still developing is the study of the Greek witnesses to Samuel-Kings. This, indeed, was the subject of the aforementioned 1972 IOSCS/SBL Symposium (above, n. 4) to which B. himself was invited, although as it turned out, he

---

31. Dominique Barthélemy, Review of Kevin O’Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* [HSM 3, 1972], *Biblica* 55 (1974) 91–93 [reprinted in *Études* 304–6, with an added cross reference on 395]. For a selection of other relevant works see the appended additional bibliography.

32. E.g. Benjamin G. Wright, *No Small Difference: Sirach’s Relationship to Its Hebrew Parent Text* (SBLSCS 26; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), and “The Jewish Scriptures in Greek: The Septuagint in the Context of Ancient Translation Activity,” in Frederick W. Knobloch, ed. *Biblical Translation in Context* (Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture 10; Bethesda, MD: University of Maryland Press, 2002) 3–18; Richard A. Spencer, “The Book of Tobit in Recent Research,” *Currents in Biblical Research* 7 (1999) 147–80; the frequent use of *κατίγγε* in some manuscripts of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* deserves closer scrutiny (most notably in *Testaments of Levi and Judah*).

was unable to attend. As noted above, four main papers were republished for that occasion: Tov, Barthélemy, Muraoka, Cross. Unfortunately, an official record of the discussions has not, to my knowledge, been preserved although B.'s prepared response published subsequently in *Études* is of some help, since he addresses several of the issues raised.<sup>33</sup>

A significant part of the argument in *Devanciers* is devoted to close analysis of portions of Samuel-Kings. The basic issues were already well known to students of Greek Jewish scriptures, and had been laid out most clearly by H. St. J. Thackeray in his 1920 Schweich Lectures, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship* (1921). Discussion is complicated by the fact that the pertinent sections of Samuel-Kings (Greek 1–4 Reigns) in the surviving Greek manuscripts do not divide neatly at obvious points, and thus have received from Thackeray what seem, at first glance, to be rather cryptic designations (using

---

33. For example, he uses the outline presented in Tov's essay, and discusses the points one by one:

1. The unity of 1–4 Reigns as a translation (Muraoka suggested that perhaps two translators were at work in the OG materials, but B. is skeptical) and as a mixture of text types in most surviving manuscripts (B. agrees with Tov that “mechanical” confusion was involved in producing the “archtype” reflected in the majority of manuscripts, but B. is still inclined to see Origen's influence as significant, and in accord with Origen's principles);
2. The relationship between the *καίγ*ε sections in Reigns and other witnesses of the *καίγ*ε-Theodotion revision (B. emphasizes his “school” idea, which can account for variations in the witnesses);
3. The characteristic features of the *καίγ*ε-Theodotion revision (see above, n. 11);
4. The relationship between the revisions of Aquila, Symmachus and *καίγ*ε-Theodotion (B. maintains that *καίγ*ε was used by the others);
5. The problem of *boc*<sub>2</sub>*e*<sub>2</sub>, the Old Greek, Lucian and proto-Lucian (see below—B. emphasizes that it is best to use “Antiochene edition” rather than “Lucianic reversion,” for historical as well as textual reasons);
6. The relationship between the Greek and the Hebrew texts in 1–4 Reigns (see B.'s separate study);
7. The synoptic problem of the Greek Texts of 1–4 Reigns and 1–2 Paralipomena (agrees with Tov that the Greek translator of Chronicles used the OG translation of Samuel-Kings);
8. The nature of the sixth column [“Theodotion”] of the Hexapla in 1–4 Reigns (see below; B. is less sure about the origin of what he called “Palestinian version 2” in *Devanciers*);
9. “Problems of text and midrash in the third book of Reigns” [see D. W. Gooding, “Problems of Text and Midrash in the Third Book of Reigns,” in *Textus* 7 (1969) 1–29] (B. agrees with Gooding on the “hybrid” nature of Greek 1 Kings [3 Reigns], and suggests that it may be comparable to Greek 1 Ezra).

Greek letters/numbers for each book of Reigns, *alpha* to *gamma*) to indicate obvious changes in translational styles and textual affinities. For those unacquainted with this coding, the use of English designations might be worth attempting:

- “1S” ( $\alpha$ ) is unambiguous, for the entirety of 1 Samuel (Reigns  $\alpha$ )
- “2S1” ( $\beta\beta$ ) represents 2 Sam 1:1–11:1 (Reigns  $\beta$ , part one);
- “2S+” ( $\beta\gamma$ ) covers 2 Sam 11:2 through 1 Kgs 2:11 (Reigns  $\beta$ , part two, through Reigns  $\gamma$ , part one);
- “1K2” ( $\gamma\gamma$ ) is 1 Kgs 2:12–21:43 (Reigns  $\gamma$ , part two, or most of the rest of that book); and
- “2K+” ( $\gamma\delta$ ) is the remainder, from 1 Kings 22 through 2 Kings (Reigns  $\gamma$ , part three, through Reigns  $\delta$ ).

B.’s main focus was on our 2S+ (Thackeray’s  $\beta\gamma$ ), where he found the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$  translation features in the majority of the OG manuscripts, although not in the variant text represented by manuscripts  $\text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$  (using the sigla of the Larger Cambridge Septuagint). A similar situation was evidenced in 2K+ ( $\gamma\delta$ ). But in the other sections of Samuel-Kings, the extant Greek manuscripts did not exhibit the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$  characteristics. Whereas Thackeray had conjectured that this phenomenon of inconsistency in the main body of Greek manuscripts had been caused by two different sets of translators working on the different sections at different times and for different reasons (an abridged translation containing 1S, 2S1, and 1K2 from Alexandria, later patched with 2S+ and 2K+ from an Ephesian Jewish translator), B. argued that Origen’s Hexapla had inadvertently created the situation by mixing manuscripts of the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$  recension with manuscripts of the older OG to produce what came to dominate the later copies. Origen lived at a time when scrolls and small codices were the norm, and thus such a confused situation can easily be imagined for a collector of available texts. Fortunately, portions of the minority OG text also survived elsewhere in the Hexapla for 2S+ and 2K+ (and in manuscripts  $\text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$ ), although the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$  version has been lost for the remainder of Samuel-Kings.<sup>34</sup>

---

34. B.’s attempt to explain how this confusion arose is ingenious, but probably unnecessary. He conjectures that before he left Egypt for Palestine, Origen was familiar with a complete Alexandrian Greek (OG) translation of Samuel-Kings—roughly what now is preserved in MSS  $\text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$ . In Palestine, Origen came across two additional, closely related Greek versions. The first (“Pal. 1”) was a hybrid—a composite of the older Alexandrian version plus “ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$ ” recensions of the sections 2S+ and 2K+. The second (“Pal. 2”) was a complete “ $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}\gamma\epsilon$ ” edition of the whole of Samuel-Kings. Thus Origen placed “Pal. 1” in

Previous research on this material had identified manuscripts  $\text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$  as “Lucianic,” representing a supposed early fourth century revision of the Greek scriptures attributed to the Antiochian martyr Lucian (died 311). B.’s understanding of the situation led him to see this supposed “Lucianic” material as the only manuscript remnants of the OG for the sections 2S+ and 2K+. In this connection he denied the accuracy of the “Lucianic” label in Samuel-Kings, and called into question the existence of the “Lucianic recension” in general. This stirred up a hornet’s nest of response, as can be seen from Tov’s “State of the Question” essay in the 1972 Symposium volume.<sup>35</sup> B.’s detailed contribution to the Symposium nuanced his position while in general reaffirming its main points—while the situation is certainly more complex than presented in *Devanciers*, and  $\text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$  do show themselves to represent a revised form of the OG in the relevant sections (and elsewhere as well; see for instance Bernard Taylor’s studies, n. 35 above), B. explains at some length how “Lucian’s recension” was an invention of much later Christian wishful thinking.<sup>36</sup>

---

the normal “LXX/OG” 5th column of his Hexapla (or Tetrapla), and relegated “Pal. 2” to the usual “Theodotion” 6th column. But since both Palestinian versions were in basic agreement in 2S+, Origen replaced “Pal. 2” with the Alexandrian “LXX/OG” for that section (but in col. 6). Something similar seems to have occurred at 1 Kings 22, but in 2 Kings there was enough difference between the two Palestinian versions that Origen added a “Quinta” seventh column in which to place his Alexandrian “LXX/OG.” More likely, scrolls and/or mini-codices had simply become mixed (with reference to textual characteristics) in the long process of transmission, as Tov also suggests (1972 Symposium paper, 5 and n. 6).

35. See above, n. 30, and the various contributions noted in the bibliography at the end of this article, especially Treballe Barrera (1982); Zipora Talshir (1990); Bernard Taylor (1992–93); Frank Polak (1992); Robert Gordon (1992).

36. For B.’s critique of the terminology, see also above, n. 10. B. would distinguish a “recension” from an “edition,” with the former involving “intervention of an individual or a school to improve [the] translation, either by correcting its language, or especially by rendering the inherited Greek text more faithful to a Hebrew text to which one has access” (Symposium *Proceedings* 73). The Antiochene text, on the other hand, operated by imitation (adopting readings from Hexaplaric sources) and opposition (in competition with Origen’s text), and thus can be called an “edition” but not a “recension.” B. also sees three “influences” at work in the long history that led to the Antiochene edition: (1) periodic retouching by Jewish transmitters to bring the text in line with current Hebrew texts, (2) Atticizing updating in later second century C.E. Syria, presumably as part of the “second sophistic” preoccupation, and (3) insertion of Hexaplaric readings in the third and early fourth centuries (Symposium *Proceedings*, 73). These distinctions seem rather strained in this context, although certainly worth further attention.

In his second thoughts about the existence of a “Lucianic recension,” B. once more illustrated an area of his research that deserves more attention and more emulation, namely, historical contextualization of textual developments. After exploring the history of (vague) references to “Lucian” as someone who did something noteworthy with biblical texts, B. argued that there is no solid reason to ascribe a “recension,” or even an “edition” of the Christian scriptures to Lucian, and lots of reasons to think he was honored with that distinction by later admirers to enhance his image. Whether B. is correct in this judgment, and whether it really makes much difference beyond the question of labels, B. once more opened a door to further exploration. He had already done this with his attempt to identify the work of the *καίγυε*-Theodotion school with first century C.E. Palestinian proto-rabbinic efforts—probably too optimistically. In the related area of the quotations in the Greek manuscripts of Philo, where some witnesses have the expected LXX/OG text form while a few exhibit an Aquila-like text, B. has provided evidence that the insertion of the latter may have been the work of a Jewish reviser, operating in the area of Caesarea around the time of Origen (see above, n. 23). B. also attempted to understand Origen’s procedures in compiling the Hexapla, as part of B.’s solution to the Samuel-Kings textual confusion.<sup>37</sup> Of course, other explanations for all these situations are also possible, but the mere fact of attempting to find suitable historical contexts for such developments is an advance over being unaware of the possibilities.

The larger issue here is, in part, the attempt to trace the history and influence of the versions of scriptural works that can be identified by paying attention to translation technique, especially *καίγυε*-Theodotion and Aquila. B. envisioned a closely related collection of *καίγυε*-Theodotion revisions of LXX/OG emerging from a Palestinian “school of translators” in the first century C.E. More likely, at least some of these efforts (the Minor Prophets) took place at least two generations earlier, in the first century B.C.E., in a period in which textual fluidity among Hebrew texts is now well documented, and in which the technology of scroll production at that time makes it difficult to imagine that a consistent text of major portions of what may have been considered “holy scripture” could easily be transmitted and maintained. Next B. gave us a glimpse of these *καίγυε*-Theodotion materials providing a base for

---

37. “Origène et le texte de l’Ancien Testament,” in *Epektasis, Melanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1972) 247–61; also in *Études* 203–17.

the activities of “Aquila” (perhaps also a translational “school”?) in the second quarter of the second century, and around the same time being used by Justin, if the manuscripts of Justin can be trusted (see above, n. 23). Meanwhile, Aquila’s popularity led to the work of B.’s Caesarean rabbinic emender of Philo’s texts, and both Aquila and some copies of *καίγε*-Theodotion texts fell into Origen’s willing hands for inclusion in the Hexapla, with some confusion along the way—not unusual or unexpected in that transitional period from scroll to codex. Aquila survives in Jewish circles beyond the time of Justinian into the sixth century, while the fate of the *καίγε*-Theodotion translations is less clear.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, to some extent the work of Origen must have been a major event that contributed both to the memory of these versions and to their complex survival histories and/or disappearance.

### Conclusions

Barthélemy’s work, starting with the Minor Prophets scroll(s) but branching out into other areas and adjusting to various comments and criticisms, has provided impetus to a variety of areas in the study of Greek Jewish scriptures and their subsequent developments. He made us all more conscious of the ways in which ancient Greek translators worked, and of the importance for some transmitters of being faithful to the current Hebrew text as they understood it. In trying to answer the “why?” questions, he forced us to be more aware of historical and even psychological contexts for what we could observe in the texts themselves. He did not hide from textual and historical complexity or defend simple solutions where they seemed unsatisfactory. He sought for adequate language to discuss the often-frustrating situations that the materials presented.

As a result, many new insights have been gained (e.g. regarding *καίγε*-Theodotion evidence in surviving texts), significant advances have been made on old mysteries (e.g. the Greek texts of Samuel-Kings<sup>39</sup>), and new

---

38. On survival of Jewish Greek after Justinian, see Nicholas De Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Geniza* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum; Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

39. See now the edition by Natalio Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I–III* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989–1996). For a comparison, see: Bernard A. Taylor, “The Lucianic Text of 1 Reigns: Three Texts Compared and Contrasted.” *BIOSCS* 29 (1996) 53–66.

approaches have been developed in certain areas (e.g. using features of translation technique to determine integrity of text, even where the manuscript evidence is confused and confusing, as in Samuel-Kings). Some of the doors that B.'s work has opened may never be able to be closed (e.g. the early history of Greek translations and recensions), others will probably prove to be convincing (e.g. the dubious connection of historical Lucian with the Antiochene text of the early fourth century). All in all, we are in his debt, as a great, late twentieth century catalyst to the study of Jewish Greek scriptures.

*Selected Bibliography*

*Studies pertaining to ancient Greek versions in general (chronological):*

Peter Katz. "Frühe hebraisierende Rezensionen der LXX." *ZAW* 69 (1957) 77–84.

Patrick W. Skehan. "The Earliest LXX and Subsequent Revisions." Pp. 570–72 in *Jerome Biblical Commentary* 2. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1968.

S. Daniel. "Minor Greek Versions." *EJ* 4 (1971) 955–56

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert. "Les rapports du judaïsme avec l'histoire de la Septante et de ses révisions." Pp. 122–49 in *Tradition orale et tradition écrite*. Edited by L. De Queker. Colloque, Louvain 1975, Bruxelles, 1976. [Includes discussions.]

Angel Saenz-Badillos. "El hebreo del S.II d. C. a la luz de las transcripciones griegas de Aquila, Simmaco y Teodoción." *Sefarad* 35 (1975) 107–30.

Kevin G. O'Connell. "Greek Versions (Minor)." Pp. 377–81 in *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible Supplement*. Nashville: Abingdon, 1976.

Staffan Olofsson. *The LXX Version: A Guide to the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*. Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament Series 30. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wicksell, 1990.

Lester L. Grabbe. "The Translation Technique of the Greek Minor Versions: Translations or Revisions?" Pp. 505–56 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (Manchester, 1990). Edited by G. J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars. SBLSCS 33. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992. See also "Aquila's Translation and Rabbinic Exegesis." *JJS* 33 (1982) 527–36 [summarized in *BIOSCS* 14 (1981) 54–55.

Claude E. Cox. "The Translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion Found in the Margins of Armenian Manuscripts." Pp. 35–45 in *Armenia and the Bible. Papers Presented to the International Symposium Held at Heidelberg, July 16–19, 1990*. Edited by C. Burchard. University of Pennsylvania Armenian Texts and Studies 12. Leuven: Peeters, 1993.

*Studies pertaining specifically to the "καίγε" Group and/or Recension(s)*

Chronological, except multiple contributions by the same author are grouped at the first occurrence; see also the article footnotes for Barthélemy [passim], Kahle [nn. 23, 26], Katz [n. 23], Cross [nn. 3, 4, 27, 29], Tov [nn. 4, 9, 19, 23, 29, 33], Muraoka [n. 4], O'Connell [n. 31], Howard [nn. 3, 26, 29], Greenspoon [n. 11], McLay [n. 11], DeLange [n. 38]).

- Werner E. Lemke. "Synoptic Studies in the Chronicler's History." Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1964; see the summary in *HTR* 58 (1965) 349–63.
- Sebastian P. Brock. *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel*. Torino: Zamorani, 1996. [see also above, n. 3].
- Ralph W. Klein. "Studies in the Greek Text of the Chronicler." Th.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966; see his subsequent article in *HTR* 60 (1967) 93–105.
- A. Schmitt. *Stammt der sogenannte "Θ"-Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?* MSU 9. Göttingen, 1966.
- M. Smith. "Another Criterion for the *kaige* Recension." *Biblica* 48 (1967) 443–45.
- James D. Schenkel. *Chronology and Recension Developments in the Greek Text of Kings*. HSM 1. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- J. M. Grindel. "Another characteristic of the *καίγε* recension." *CBQ* 31 (1969) 499–513.
- G. Howard. "Lucianic Readings in a Greek Twelve Prophets Scroll from the Judaeian Desert." *JQR* 62 (1971–72) 51–60; "Kaige Readings in Josephus." *Textus* 8 (1973) 45–54; "The Quinta of the Minor Prophets: a First Century Text?" *Bib* 55 (1974) 15–22; "Frank Cross and Recensional Criticism." *VT* 21 (1971) 440–50 [see also above, notes 3 and 31]; "Lucianic Readings in a Greek Twelve Prophets Scroll from the Judaeian Desert." *JQR* 62 (1971–72) 51–60; "Kaige Readings in Josephus." *Textus* 8 (1973) 45–54; "The Quinta of the Minor Prophets: A First Century Text?" *Bib* 55 (1974) 15–22.
- J. Schopphaus. "Das Verhältnis von LXX- und Theodotion-Text in den apokryphen Zusätzen zum Danielbuch." *ZAW* 83 (1971) 49–72.
- Emanuel Tov. "Lucian and Proto-Lucian—Towards a New Solution of the Problem." *RB* 79 (1972) 101–13 [reprinted as pp. 293–305 in Cross & Talmon. *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (1976)]; "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament. A Further Characteristic of the *καίγε*-Th. Revision?" *Textus* 8 (1973) 78–92; *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: collected essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999) [see also above, nn. 4, 9, 19, 23, 29, 33].
- K. Koch. "Die Herkunft der Proto-Theodotion-Übersetzung des Danielsbuches." *VT* 23 (1973) 362–65.
- S. Jellicoe. "Some Reflections on the *Kaige*-Recension." *VT* 23 (1973) 15–24 [see also above, nn. 3, 14, 15, 22, 28].

- W. R. Bodine. *The Greek Text of Judges: Recensional Developments*. HSM 23. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1980 [Harvard Dissertation, 1973]; "Kaige and other Recensional Developments in the Greek Text of Judges." *BIOCS* 13 (1980) 45–57.
- L. C. Allen. *The Greek Chronicles. The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text. Part I: The Translator's Craft*. SVT 25, 6–17, 137–41. Leiden: Brill, 1974.
- Natalio Fernández Marcos. "El Texto Barberini de Habacuc III reconsiderado." *Sefarad* 36 (1976) 3–36 [see n. 25 above]; "Theodoret's Biblical Text in the Octateuch." *BIOCS* 11 (1978) 27–43; "The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms: From Lagarde to the Textual Pluralism." Pp. 161–74 in *De Septuaginta. Studies in honour of John William Wevers on his sixty-fifth birthday*. Edited by A. Pietersma and C. Cox. Mississauga, Ont.: Benben Publications, 1984; \_\_\_\_\_, with J. R. Busto Saiz. *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I–III*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989–1996; \_\_\_\_\_. "Some reflections on the Antiochian text of the Septuagint." In *Studien zur Septuaginta - Robert Hanhart zu Ehren: aus Anlass seines 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast and John W. Wevers. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990; "The Antiochian Text in I–II Chronicles." Pp. 301–11 in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989*. Edited by Claude Cox. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991; *Scribes and Translators: Septuagint and Old Latin in the Books of Kings*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Leonard Greenspoon. "Studies in the Textual Tradition of the Book of Joshua" (Ph.D. diss. Harvard University, 1977), published as *Textual Studies in the Book of Joshua*. HSM 28. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983 [see above, n. 11]; "Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachus, and the Old Greek of Joshua." *Eretz-Israel* 16 (1982: H. M. Orlinsky volume) 82–91 (with summary in Hebrew); "Biblical Translators in Antiquity and in the Modern World: A Comparative Study." *HUCA* 60 (1989) 91–113; "Recensions, Revision, Rabbinics: Dominique Barthélemy and Early Developments in the Greek Traditions." *Textus* 15 (1990) 153–67; "Theodotion's Version." *ABD* 6 (1992) 447–48; "Kaige Is the Answer: What Is the Question?" Paper presented at the IOSCS/IOSOT meetings, 1998; "Old Testament Versions, Ancient." Pp. 752–55 in *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edited by Craig A. Evans and Stanley E. Porter. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
- José Ramón Busto Saiz. *La Traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos*. Madrid, 1978; "El Texto teodotiánico de Daniel y la traducción de Símaco." *Sefarad* 40 (1980) 41–55; see "Der Theodotion-Text von Daniel und die Symmachus-Übersetzung" [English summary in *BIOCS* 14 (1981) 44–45]; "On the Lucianic Manuscripts in 1–2 Kings." Pp. 305–10

- in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987; \_\_\_\_\_, and Natalio Fernández Marcos. *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I-III*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989–1996; “The Antiochene Text in 2 Samuel 22.” Pp. 131–43 in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995.
- D. H. Torp-Pedersen. “An Examination of the Sixth Column of Origen’s Hexapla for Characteristics of the Kaige Recension in the Book of Deuteronomy.” Diss., Dallas Theological Seminary, 1981.
- David G. Deboys. “The Greek Text of 2 Kings” (Dissertation, Oxford, 1981); “Quinta E in 4 Reigns [= 2 Kgs (LXX)].” *Tyndale Bulletin* 36 (1985) 163–78; “Recensional Criteria in the Greek Text of II Kings.” *JSS* 31.2 (1986) 135–39.
- Jean Carmignac. “Les devanciers de S. Jérôme. Une traduction latine de la recension καίγε dans le second Livre des Chroniques.” Pp. 31–50 in *Mélanges D. Barthélemy: Études bibliques offertes à l’occasion de son 60e anniversaire*. Edited by Pierre Cassetti, Othmar Keel, Adrian Schenker. OBO 38. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1981.
- Julio C. Treballe Barrera. “Textos ‘Kaige’ en la Vetus Latina de Reyes (2 Re 10, 25–28).” *RB* 89 (1982) 198–209; “The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in the Books of Kings.” Pp. 285–99 in *VII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leuven 1989*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991.
- Claude E. Cox. “Origen’s Use of Theodotion in the Elihu Speeches [Job 32 ff.].” *The Second Century, a Journal of Early Christianity* 3 (1983) 89–98.
- Oliver Munnich. “La Septante des Psaumes et le groupe καίγε.” *VT* 33 (1983) 75–89; “Contribution à l’Étude de la première révision de la Septante.” *ANRW* 2.20.1 (1986) 190–220.
- H. Engel. *Die Susanna-Erzählung. Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zum Septuaginta-Text und zur Theodotion-Bearbeitung*. OBO 61. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1985.
- Zipora Talshir. “Linguistic Development and the Evaluation of Translation Technique in the Septuagint.” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 31 (1986) 301–20; “The Nature of the Edition of the Books of Kings Reflected in the LXX.” *Tarbiz: A Quarterly for Jewish Studies* 59 (1990) 249–302; “Is the Alternate Tradition of the Division of the Kingdom (3 Kgdms 12:24a–z) Non-Deuteronomistic?” Pp. 599–621 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992; *The Alternative Story of the Division of the Kingdom: 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z*. Jerusalem Biblical Studies 6. Jerusalem: Simor, 1993.

- Héctor Avalos. “δεῦρο - δεῦτε and the Imperatives of יהלך. New Criteria for the ‘Kaige’ Recension of Reigns.” *EstBib* 47 (1989) 165–76.
- M. Pazzini. “La trascrizione dell’ebraico nella versione di Teodoziona.” *SBFLA* 41 (1991) 201–22.
- Gerard J. Norton and Stephen Pisano, eds. *Tradition of the Text: Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday*. OBO 109. Fribourg: Universitätsverlag, 1991. [Bibliogs, Pls, Por.]
- Emile Puech. “Les fragments non identifiés de 8KhXIIgr et le manuscrit grec des Douze Petits Prophètes.” *RB* 98 (1991) 583–93; “Notes en marge de 8KhXIIgr.” *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992) 583–93.
- Bernard A. Taylor. *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns*. 2 vols. HSM 50, 51. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992, 1993; “The Lucianic Text and the MT in 1 Reigns” Pp. 1–9 in *Ninth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997; “The Lucianic Text of 1 Reigns: Three Texts Compared and Contrasted.” *BIOSCS* 29 (1996) 53–66.
- Frank Polak. “Statistics and Textual Filiation: The Case of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>/LXX (With a Note on the Text of the Pentateuch).” Pp. 215–76 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*. Edited by G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- Robert P. Gordon. “The Problem of Haplography in 1 and 2 Samuel.” Pp. 131–58 in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings*. Edited by G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- 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.
- Peter Gentry. *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek of Job*. SBLSCS 38. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995; “The place of Theodotion-Job in the textual history of the Septuagint.” Pp. 199–230 in *Origen’s Hexapla and fragments*. Edited by A. Salvesen. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1998; “The Greek Psalter and the kaige Tradition: Methodological Questions in the Old Greek Psalter.” Pp. 74–97 in *Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma*. Edited by Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox and P. J. Gentry. JSOT Supplement Series 332. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- John W. Wevers. “The Interpretative Character and Significance of the LXX.” Pp. 84–107 in *HBOT* 1.1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996.
- Nicholas De Lange. *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah*. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum. J. C. B. Mohr, Paul Siebeck, 1996; “Jewish Greek” and “Greek influence on Hebrew” [both in Greek]. Pp. 473–79

and 598–602 in *History of the Greek Language: from the beginnings to late antiquity*. Edited by A.-Ph. Christidis. Thessaloniki, 2001.

C. Dogniez. “Le Dieu des armées dans le Dodekapropheton: quelques remarques sur une initiative de traduction.” Pp. 19–36 in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Edited by Bernard A. Taylor. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Staffan Olofsson. “The Kaige Group and the Septuagint Book of Psalms.” Pp. 189–230 in *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Timothy Janz. “The Second Book of Ezra and the ‘Kaige Group.’” In *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, 153–70. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Symposium: “Septuagint Lexicography and Beyond: Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion” (Friday, October 31, 2003; on the occasion of the publication of the revised one-volume edition of J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie. *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Revised edition*); “Propaedeutic to a Lexicon of the Three. Foundational Issues with Illustrations from Ecclesiastes,” P. J. Gentry; “Methodological issues preliminary to a Lexicon of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion,” K. Hauspie.

## *The Relationship between the Greek Translations of Daniel 1–3*

R. TIMOTHY MCLAY  
*St. Stephen's University*



Scholars in the field of Daniel studies know well that the Old Greek (OG) translation of chaps. 4–6 is significantly different in character compared to the remainder of the translation of the book, though there is no consensus among scholars to account for this. Nor is there an established consensus regarding the relationship between the OG version and the so-called Theodotion (Th<sup>1</sup>) version. Though few scholars have actually given any evidence for their views it is fair to say that the majority believe that Th is a revision of the OG. Among the few who have dissented from the majority view are: P. Grelot, who described Th as a translation “entièrement refaite”<sup>2</sup>; and A. Di Lella, who has stated that, “It is best to consider Theodotion-Daniel a fresh translation of the Hebrew and Aramaic form of the book with an eye on LXX-Daniel rather than a recension.”<sup>3</sup> In my own work I have taken a position similar to that of Di Lella, but I have emphasized more strongly the independence of the Th version. Approximately ten years ago in the published form of my dissertation I devoted three pages to describing the relationship of the Th version to the OG version in Daniel, stating:

Besides the certain evidence that OG is corrupted with Th readings, there is ample evidence that Th was translating independently from OG. For the most part, Th employs the common SE [stereotyped equivalents] for MT that are

---

1. The traditional term Theodotion is employed for convenience and bears no implications for either authorship or dating.

2. P. Grelot, “Les Versions grecques de Daniel,” *Bib* 47 (1966) 381–402.

3. L. F. Hartman and A. A. Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1977) 83. Di Lella is responsible for the introduction and chaps. 10–12, which he completed after the death of Hartman.

found throughout the LXX. However, we have seen how Th has his own pattern of translation equivalents for vocabulary sharing the same domain (e.g. knowing, wisdom) and his own way of resolving conflicts when two words are collocated that he normally renders by the same lexeme. That Th's translation pattern is substantially his own is also verified by the numerous HL [hapax legomena] and translation equivalents employed by Th that are not shared with OG. Furthermore, we have seen how Th consistently makes his own contextual guess, rather than follow OG, when he does not understand [the] MT. Finally, we have seen numerous omissions against [the] MT and [the] OG that would not be there if Th were revising [the] OG toward [the] MT. For these reasons, we can affirm that in the book of Daniel, the available evidence supports that Th is an independent translation of [the] MT and not merely a revision of [the] OG.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the attempt to describe the relationship between the two versions, an accurate description of their relationship had to be tempered with some equivocating remarks due to the paucity of the available evidence. Thus, the paragraph immediately following the one cited above begins:

To claim that Th is an independent translation does not necessarily deny that Th had any knowledge of OG or that he may have occasionally borrowed from OG. However, the evidence of such borrowing is scarce, and does not support a position that Th systematically revised OG toward MT.

In the past 10 years it does not seem that much has changed regarding the evaluation of Th as a revision. Despite the work that has demonstrated that Th should not be considered part of the so-called *kaige* tradition,<sup>5</sup> and the questions that have been raised about the legitimacy of whether such an individual ever existed,<sup>6</sup> these results have not made much impact in LXX literature or Danielic studies.<sup>7</sup> Collins, for example, clearly defines the Th version

---

4. T. McLay, *The OG and Th Versions of Daniel* (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996) 216. See also, "It's a Question of Influence: The Theodotion and Old Greek Texts of Daniel," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: Papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th July–3rd August 1994* (ed. A. Salvesen; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 231–54.

5. See n. 4 and A. Schmitt, "Stammt Der Sogennante 'θ' Text Bei Daniel Wirklich Von Theodotion?" *MSU* 9 (1966) 281–392; "Die Griechischen Danieltexte (θ' und ο') und Das Theodotionproblem," *BZ* 36 (1992) 1–29.

6. See A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSSM 15; Manchester: University Press, 1991) 287–89.

7. For example, in the most recent reference volume for LXX studies, N. Fernández Marcos does affirm that the basis for Th Daniel is not from a historical Theodotion, but allows for later revision and that it is connected with *kaige*. N. Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) 142–54.

as a revision of the OG.<sup>8</sup> And, in a recent article discussing the nature of the relationship between the Greek versions of Daniel, Di Lella agrees with Collins' comment that "the difference between . . . a correcting revision and a fresh translation with an eye on the OG does not . . . appear to be either clear-cut or very significant."<sup>9</sup> However, though Collins may be correct that it is difficult to distinguish the difference between "a correcting revision and a fresh translation with an eye on the OG", it does not follow that greater clarity regarding this issue cannot be achieved. It is also important to investigate this matter more thoroughly because the results may have significant bearing on our knowledge of the textual criticism and the transmission of biblical texts, the Greek texts of Daniel more specifically, and the origins and growth of the book of Daniel. Therefore, it is my intention to build on my previous research and to provide a more substantive argument that just as Th is not a revision of the OG in chaps. 4–6, it is not a revision in chaps. 1–3.

In two other articles I have examined various aspects of the Greek translations of chaps. 4–6.<sup>10</sup> In one the focus is particularly on the value of papyrus 967 as a witness to an alternative order of chapters for an earlier *Vorlage* for the book of Daniel.<sup>11</sup> In that article an explanation is offered for the origins of

---

8. Collins, *Daniel*, 11.

9. A. Di Lella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel and Theodotion-Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (2 vols.; eds. J. J. Collins and P. W. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2001) 596 n. 59. Collins renders this verdict in J. J. Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 11.

10. See the forthcoming articles, "The Old Greek Translation of Daniel Chapters 4–6 and the Formation of the Book of Daniel," in *VT* 55 (2005); "The Greek Translations of Daniel 4–6," (forthcoming).

11. The only pre-hexaplaric witness to the OG text is papyrus 967, which has been published in several places: A. Geissen, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel Kap. 5–12, zusammen mit Susanna, Bel et Draco, sowie Esther Kap. 1, 1a–2, 15 nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967* (PTA 5; Bonn: Habelt, 1968); W. Hamm, *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967: Kap I–II* (PTA 10; Bonn: Habelt, 1969); *Der Septuaginta-Text des Buches Daniel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967: Kap III–IV* (PTA 21; Bonn: Habelt, 1977); R. Roca-Puig, "Daniel: Dos Semifolgi del Codex 967," *Aegyptus* 56 (1976) 3–18. O. Munnich has revised Ziegler's critical edition of Daniel because 967 was not completely available to Ziegler. See O. Munnich, *Susanna-Daniel-Bel et Draco, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* (vol. 16.2; 2d ed.; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1999).

In papyrus 967 chaps. 7 and 8 appear between chaps. 4 and 5. The result is a smoother chronology because the narrative of chaps. 1–4 is situated in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, 7–8 and 5 in the time of Belshazzar, 6 and 9 in the period of Darius, and 10–12 are dated to the first year of Cyrus. For arguments that 967 preserves a more original order, see J. Lust, "The Septuagint Version of Daniel 4–5," in *The Book of Daniel* (ed. A. S. Van der Woude;

Daniel that takes into consideration the evidence of the Greek versions as well as the DSS. Moreover, additional evidence is provided that OG chaps. 4–6 are based on the work of an independent translator, which strengthens the position of L. Wills and R. Albertz that these chapters originally circulated independently.<sup>12</sup> In the second article a detailed analysis of the relationship between the OG and Th texts in chaps. 4–6 is undertaken. Part of the conclusion of that article is worth citing:

Generally speaking there is very little shared vocabulary in the Greek versions of Daniel in chs. 4–6. However, where they do agree, it is almost verbatim. The statistics reveal that 398/479 agreements or 83% are verbatim. . . . Given the high percentage of verbatim agreements despite the low frequency of shared readings overall, the only reasonable explanation is that the majority of these agreements are due to textual corruption. In addition to what is the best explanation for the agreements, all of them have been examined and numerous passages have been isolated where there are double translations in the OG that include the reading of Th. The evidence is incontrovertible. Indeed, scholars have been correct to posit that there are numerous accretions and additions to the OG version, but the primary (but not the only!) source for these additions is scribal corrections from the text of Th. Given the supremacy that Th achieved over time and the fact that these texts co-existed, this conclusion is to be expected. The cumulative weight of these facts requires the conclusion, even when the available textual evidence and the readings of the OG do not provide double translations, that all verbatim agreements in these chapters be treated as textually suspect in the OG.<sup>13</sup>

The force of the conclusions from the investigation of chaps. 4–6 have no small bearing on the remainder of the Greek texts in the book of Daniel. If it has been demonstrated that OG chaps. 4–6 are riddled with secondary additions and corrections based on the text of Th, then it only stands to reason that the same holds true throughout the rest of the book. Therefore, given the

---

BETL 106; Leuven: Peeters, 1993) 41–53. Lust's views were expanded by P. S. David in his thesis "The Composition and Structure of the Book of Daniel: A Synchronic and Diachronic Reading" (Ph.D. diss., Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 1991) 92–96. O. Munnich has advocated a slightly different approach in "Texte Massorétique et Septante dans le Livre de Daniel," in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (ed. A. Schenker; SBLSCS 52; Atlanta: SBL, 2003) 93–120.

12. L. M. Wills, *The Jew in the Court of the Foreign King* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990); R. Albertz, *Der Gott des Daniel: Untersuchungen zu Daniel 4–6 in der Septuagintafassung sowie zu Komposition und Theologie des aramäischen Danielbuches* (SBS 131; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk, 1988).

13. McLay, *The Greek Translations of Daniel Chapters 4–6* (forthcoming).

fact that one should expect Th readings infiltrated the OG during the transmission process and the fact that there are only three witnesses to the OG, it is only to be expected that there should be difficulty establishing a critical text for the OG. In many places a majority text is all that can be reconstructed because the OG reading has not been preserved. On this basis, there is both a more informed perspective for reconstructing the OG as well as for explaining the nature of the relationship between the OG and Th elsewhere in the book. In light of this evidence, the intention of this paper is to examine the shared agreements in chaps. 1–3 in order to determine the nature of the textual relationships between the two Greek versions.

*Presuppositions for Understanding the Relationship  
Between the OG and Th*

Prior to a more detailed analysis of the relationship between the OG and Th in chaps. 1–3, it will be beneficial to set out the presuppositions that should guide the analysis. Six are enumerated below.

1. If there was a historical personage named Theodotion who lived in the second century, he had nothing to do with the Th version in Daniel, because the Th version is employed by the New Testament writers who all wrote prior to his time.<sup>14</sup>
2. Furthermore, it has been established that Th is not related to other books that are known under that siglum in the LXX tradition.<sup>15</sup> That is, Th is not part of *kaige*-Th, though it is probably best to describe *kaige*-Th as a tradition of translation generally characterized by formal equivalence.<sup>16</sup>
3. Based on 1 and 2 above it is obvious that the relationship between Th and OG in Daniel has to be established on a close study of the texts.
4. As mentioned previously in this article, a detailed analysis of chaps. 4–6 has determined that the majority of the agreements between Th and OG in those chapters are due to secondary additions, expansions, and corrections to the OG based on Th. The Greek versions are clearly independent in these chapters.

---

14. Di Lella, "The Textual History of Septuagint-Daniel," 596.

15. See the publications by A. Schmitt that are cited in n. 5.

16. R. Timothy McLay, "Kaige and Septuagint Research," *Textus* 19 (1998) 127–39, esp. 139.

5. Based on 4, it is reasonable to expect that the remainder of the OG version of Daniel has suffered similarly from scribal corrections based on Th.
6. Therefore, it follows from 1, 2, 4, and 5 that it is contrary to the established evidence to assume that shared readings in the Greek versions is due to Th revising the OG in chaps. 1–3 and 7–12. Granted, it does not preclude the possibility either; but the issue requires careful investigation.

So, “How is the relationship between the Greek versions of Daniel determined?” First, armed with what has already been established it is possible to investigate the texts without a biased view that Th is a revision of the OG. Second, on the basis of what has been established principles may be constructed for interpreting the material.

Generally speaking, there are three types of relationships between the readings found in the two Greek versions. First, there are instances where the vocabulary and syntax are completely different. In this case there is no problem acknowledging that there is no necessary relationship between the OG and Th. However, these readings are very important for an additional reason. The presence of readings in Th that exhibit independence as a translator is positive evidence that Th does not rely on the OG. Unusual or rare vocabulary and singular readings or contextual guesses in Th are all indications that it did not rely on the OG. These may be referred to as distinctive disagreements,<sup>17</sup> and these distinctive readings have to be part of evaluating the nature of shared readings. Second, there are instances where the texts are exactly the same. In the past scholars have assumed that shared readings in the texts are because Th revised the OG and retained the OG readings where they were suitable.<sup>18</sup> But it has already been established that this assumption is invalid. There are three reasons why the texts could exhibit agreement: Th retaining the OG, textual corruption, or coincidental readings. Where the Greek versions are translating a similar *Vorlage*, it would be expected that in many cases they would choose similar vocabulary. For example, מִלֵּךְ would more than likely be translated by βασιλεύς. Similarly, it cannot be assumed that distinctive agreements of unique readings can be attributed to Th retaining the OG since it could be the result of textual corruption.<sup>19</sup> The third type of

17. McLay, *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 14.

18. For example, Jeansonne, 57.

19. See the appendix of my thesis where I note 29 instances where the reading of the OG has been influenced by Th as opposed to 5 times in the opposite direction. In 24 cases the direction of dependence is unclear. McLay, *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 246–48.

readings in the OG and Th is where their texts are similar. The same principle applies to understanding the relationship in these cases as instances of verbatim agreement. It cannot be assumed that just because the vocabulary is similar that Th was dependent upon the OG.<sup>20</sup>

The lynchpin in the whole discussion of the relationship between the OG and Th is the evaluation of the second type of readings: verbatim agreements. How many are there and how are they best explained? For example, Tov has noted that a revision must be characterized by a significant number of distinctive agreements to prove that one used the other and that there must be evidence that the reviser worked in a certain way. In the case of Th, the version is obviously toward the MT.<sup>21</sup> The evaluation of the distinctive agreements is both difficult and crucial for the versions of Daniel because the analysis of chaps. 4–6 provides the leverage to know that it has to be established that distinctive agreements in vocabulary and/or syntax between the OG and Th are due to Theodotonic revision since they may be the result of textual corruption in the OG. Thus, without the first criterion, the second one offered by Tov may offer no positive evidence for revision; because how does one distinguish between revising toward the MT and translating a text by means of formal equivalence? This important distinction is evident when Jeansonne defines revisional activity in Th according to agreements with the OG and “grammatical fidelity to M and standardization of word equivalents.”<sup>22</sup> If Th employed standard equivalents for vocabulary or tried to mirror the Semitic syntax or grammar, that does not require influence from the OG. Jeansonne’s understanding of what constitutes an “agreement” is not entirely clear in her volume either, because it seems to include verbatim agreements as well as any general relationship of vocabulary in the two versions. It bears repeating that similar or the same vocabulary in the OG and Th is not necessarily evidence of revisional activity. If both translators had similar *Vorlagen*, it would be likely that occasionally they would make similar renderings for vocabulary, though an extended agreement of vocabulary and syntax in the Greek texts would possibly qualify as a distinctive agreement. In fact, if one version

---

20. For example, compare Jeansonne’s analysis of 8:1–10 with mine. She assumes that any similar reading is due to OG influence on Th. S. Pace Jeansonne, *The Old Greek Translation of Daniel 7–12* (CBQMS 19; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association, 1988) 32–57, esp. 57; McLay, *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 153–74, esp. 172–74.

21. E. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch* (HSM 8; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976) 43.

22. Jeansonne, 57.

is a revision of another, frequent instances where the texts have lengthy agreements would be expected because there should be instances where the reviser would not have to make changes to the base text. This is why distinctive agreements are the primary evidence to establish revisional activity. They provide the foundation for explaining and understanding why the texts have extended agreements. In order to bring more balance to this issue it is also imperative that due weight is given to the evidence that is contrary to revisional activity, i.e. distinctive disagreements. This is particularly important since it cannot be assumed that agreements are due to revision.

Obviously, there are no easy solutions in this matter, but, ideally, definitive evidence for a revision would be established by three characteristics. First, and most important, there should be frequent distinctive agreements between the base text and the revision that establish a clear connection and a direction of dependence from one text to the other. These distinctive agreements should include not only rare translations and unique equivalents, but also extended agreements between the texts. However, the presence of some extended agreements alone is not sufficient to establish revisionary work since they may be the result of textual corruption. Second, there should be relatively little evidence of distinctive disagreements in the presumed revision. Third, and least important, there should be evidence that the reviser is operating based on certain principles. It is best to acknowledge that in some cases it will be a matter of perception whether something is evidence of revision or not.

Unfortunately, unlike the analysis of chaps. 4–6, it would take too much space in the present paper to examine every possible agreement between the Greek texts of Daniel in 1–3. Based on the surviving witnesses it is obvious from the outset that the OG and Th texts are translations of *Vorlagen* that are much closer to the MT; therefore, the presentation and description of the evidence is much more difficult. However, specific examples and passages from the first three chapters of Daniel will be analyzed in order to determine the nature of their relationship. It has already been established that the major issue in deciding the relationship between the texts is verbatim agreements, so that will be the focus of the investigation.<sup>23</sup> Since some verbatim agree-

---

23. In the analysis of chaps. 4–6 any possible agreement was included. This could be done because the two Greek versions were obviously independent and based on different *Vorlagen*. The fact that there are so few agreements in chaps. 4–6, yet most of them are verbatim, is the major reason why it is easy to isolate corruption of the OG with Th readings in those chapters.

ments may be coincidental or due to textual corruption, the limits of the investigation will be narrowed even more by concentrating on extended agreements. In this analysis five words are the arbitrary minimum, excluding names or titles, required to qualify for an extended agreement. For the purposes of the statistics any proper names or titles and their accompanying definite articles have also been excluded. The reason for this is that the inclusion of such items is one way that statistics would be distorted. Extensive agreement among names and titles would be expected. This procedure may lower the percentage of overall agreement, but the statistic is more than made up for by the number of isolated or inconsequential agreements in the texts based on definite articles, conjunctions, and prepositions. The one exception to this rule is if the shared reading is included within an agreement that extends for five or more words.

The presentation of the agreements is based on files in which there is a running text of the two Greek versions along with the MT in parallel alignment.<sup>24</sup> Only the Greek texts are provided here.

### *Chapter 1*

In chapter one of Th there are approximately 389 words excluding titles or names, of which 115 (30%) exhibit verbatim agreement with the OG. Of those 115 agreements, 23 are comprised of articles, conjunctions, and prepositions. There are several verses that exhibit virtually no relationship between the OG and Th. Also a number of verses (1:1, 4, 7, 10, 12, 14, 16) include extensive agreements. In these seven verses there are 61 agreements. Before analyzing the cases of extended agreement, vv. 9, 13, and 18 will be examined as examples where there is little or no agreement between the two texts.

#### *Chapter 1: passages with few or no agreements*

Th 1:9 καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν Δαυιηλ εἰς ἔλεον καὶ εἰς οἰκτιρισμὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἀρχιευνούχου.

OG 1:9 καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος τῷ Δαυιηλ τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἐναντίον τοῦ ἀρχιευνούχου.

Presuming that the *Vorlagen* for both versions could easily have read יְיָ, as in the MT, the agreement between the verbs is quite normal.

---

24. The reader may also refer to the detailed examination of 1:1–10; 2:1–10; 3:11–20; 8:1–10; 12:1–13 in McLay, *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*.

Th 1:13 καὶ ὀφθήτωσαν ἐνώπιόν σου αἱ ἰδέαι ἡμῶν καὶ αἱ ἰδέαι τῶν παιδαρίων τῶν ἔσθόντων τὴν τράπεζαν τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ καθὼς ἂν ἴδῃς ποιήσον μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν σου.

OG 1:13 καὶ ἐὰν φανῇ ἡ ὄψις ἡμῶν διαφανῆς παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους νεανίσκους τοὺς ἔσθοντας ἐκ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ δείπνου, καθὼς ἐὰν θεωρῆς οὕτω χρῆσαι τοῖς παισὶ σου.

Both versions appear to be based on a text basically the same as the MT, yet the OG employs a freer approach where Th tends to mirror the syntax of the Hebrew.

Th 1:18 καὶ μετὰ τὸ τέλος τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὧν εἶπεν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτούς ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος ἐναντίον Ναβουχοδονοσορ.

OG 1:18 μετὰ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας ἐπέταξεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀγαγεῖν αὐτούς, καὶ ἤχθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιευνοῦχου ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλεῖα Ναβουχοδονοσορ.

Both versions employ the same preposition. The difference between the simple and compound verbs is not evidence of Th revision. It only testifies to a translation based on formal equivalence.

### *Chapter 1: passages with agreements*

The following verses represent those instances where there is extensive agreement between the OG and Th. Note that the verbatim agreement is almost always characterized by strict formal equivalence to the MT.

Th 1:1 εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν

OG 1:1 εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ἐπολιόρκει αὐτήν.

The beginning of v.1 is quite different even though the names of the kings are shared by the versions. However, the final five words of the verse are verbatim. The verb *πολιορκέω* does render **צור** 5/5 times in 2 and 4 Reigns,<sup>25</sup> and Nebuchadnezzar is described as besieging Jerusalem in 4 Reigns 24:11, so it is possible that this rendering is coincidental. However, it is also noticeable that in each instance in Reigns the preposition **על** is rendered with *ἐπί* while neither Th nor OG does so in Daniel.

Th 1:4 καὶ οἷς ἐστὶν ἰσχύς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐστάναι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς γράμματα καὶ γλῶσσαν

25. 2 Rgns 20:15; 4 Rgns 16:5; 17:5; 18:9; 24:11.

OG 1:4 καὶ ἰσχύοντας εἶναι ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ διδάξαι αὐτοὺς γράμματα καὶ διάλεκτον

Whereas Th and OG are quite distinct in the rest of the verse, here they agree and follow the MT.

Th 1:7 καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος ὀνόματα, τῷ Δανιηλ Βαλτασαρ

OG 1:7 καὶ ἐπέθηκεν αὐτοῖς ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος ὀνόματα, τῷ μὲν Δανιηλ Βαλτασαρ

There is no doubt that the texts agree and follow the MT.

Th 1:10 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος τῷ Δανιηλ Φοβοῦμαι ἐγὼ τὸν κύριόν μου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐκτάξαντα τὴν βρωσιν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν πόσιν ὑμῶν μήποτε ἴδη τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν σκυθρωπὰ παρὰ τὰ παιδάρια τὰ συνήλικα ὑμῶν καὶ καταδικάσητε τὴν κεφαλὴν μου τῷ βασιλεῖ.

OG 1:10 καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀρχιευνοῦχος τῷ Δανιηλ Ἀγωνιῶ διὰ τὸν κύριόν μου τὸν βασιλέα τὸν ἐκτάξαντα τὴν βρωσιν ὑμῶν καὶ τὴν πόσιν ἵνα μὴ ἔαν ἴδη τὸ πρόσωπον ὑμῶν διατετραμμένον καὶ ἀσθενὲς παρὰ τοὺς συντρεφομένους ὑμῖν νεανίσκους τῶν ἀλλογενῶν, κινδυνεύσω τῷ ἰδίῳ τραχήλῳ.

Th and OG agree and follow the MT quite closely at the beginning of the verse, yet they are distinct at the end. Note, for example, Th's rare vocabulary choices σκυθρωπὰ (1/3 in the LXX) and καταδικάσητε (1/11 in the LXX) and how the OG does not follow the MT.

Th 1:12 Πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παιδᾶς σου ἡμέρας δέκα, καὶ δότωσαν ἡμῖν

OG 1:12 Πείρασον δὴ τοὺς παιδᾶς σου ἐφ' ἡμέρας δέκα, καὶ δοθήτω ἡμῖν

In the remainder of the verse Th and the OG give faithful but different renderings of *Vorlagen* basically identical to the MT,<sup>26</sup> but here they agree and follow it.

Th 1:14 καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπείρασεν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δέκα.

OG 1:14 καὶ ἐχρήσατο αὐτοῖς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον καὶ ἐπείρασεν αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δέκα.

Once again, the distinct nature of the two translations can be observed for part of a verse, yet they agree exactly and follow the MT at the end.

Th 1:16 καὶ ἐγένετο Ἀμελσαδ ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν οἶνον

---

26. OG has the plus τῆς γῆς.

OG 1:16 καὶ ἦν Αβιεσδρι ἀναιρούμενος τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν οἶνον αὐτῶν

The choice of the participle ἀναιρούμενος is a distinctive agreement, but the evidence to determine the direction of borrowing in this verse is mixed. Elsewhere in this chapter Th employs τράπεζα (1:5, 8, 13, 15) rather than δεῖπνον, while OG has employed relative clauses previously in vv. 5 (καὶ τοῦ οἴνου, οὗ πίνει) and 8 (καὶ ἐν ᾧ πίνει οἶνον) for a *Vorlage* similar to מִשְׁתֵּיָּי. Thus, in this case there is evidence that the formal equivalence to the MT in the OG is due to Th influence, even though δεῖπνον may be OG.

### *Chapter 1: summary*

There are verses and parts of verses in chapter one where there is virtually no evidence that the OG and Th versions are dependent upon one another even though a *Vorlage* very similar to the MT seems to be the basis for both. Based on this chapter, generally speaking, Th exhibits greater formal equivalence to the Semitic syntax of the MT while the OG is characterized by a freer though faithful approach. However, there are instances where the OG and Th exhibit extended verbatim agreement and this pattern is marked primarily by its faithfulness to the syntactical structure of the MT.

### *Chapter 2*

Chapter 2 mirrors to a large degree the situation in chapter 1. In chapter two of Th there are approximately 1075 words excluding titles or names, of which 389 (36%) exhibit verbatim agreement with the OG. There are several verses that exhibit virtually no relationship between the OG and Th, but there are twelve verses (2:4, 22, 23, 24, 28[2], 31, 32, 34, 35[2], 39, 42, 47) with a total of fourteen instances that include extensive agreements. In these twelve verses there are 161 agreements. It is also apparent that the first twenty verses or so have fewer agreements than the remainder of the chapter. Several verses where there is little or no agreement will be examined and then some passages that include extensive agreements.

### *Chapter 2: passages with few or no agreements*

Th 2:11–16 ὅτι ὁ λόγος, ὃν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπερωτᾷ, βαρὺς, καὶ ἕτερος οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃς ἀναγγελεῖ αὐτὸν ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἢ θεοί, ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ κατοικία μετὰ πάσης σαρκός. 12 τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν θυμῷ καὶ ὀργῇ πολλῇ εἶπεν ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος· 13 καὶ τὸ

δόγμα ἐξήλθε, καὶ οἱ σοφοὶ ἀπεκτένοντο, καὶ ἐζήτησαν Δανιηλ καὶ τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν. 14 τότε Δανιηλ ἀπεκρίθη βουλήν καὶ γνώμην τῷ Αριωχ τῷ ἀρχιμαγεῖρω τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς ἐξήλθεν ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος 15 Ἄρχων τοῦ βασιλέως, περὶ τίνος ἐξήλθεν ἡ γνώμη ἢ ἀναιδῆς ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ βασιλέως; ἐγνώρισε δὲ τὸ ῥῆμα Αριωχ τῷ Δανιηλ. 16 καὶ Δανιηλ ἠξίωσε τὸν βασιλέα ὅπως χρόνον δῶ αὐτῷ, καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν ἀναγγείλη τῷ βασιλεῖ.

OG 2:11–16 καὶ ὁ λόγος, ὃν ζητεῖς, βασιλεῦ, βαρὺς ἔστι καὶ ἐπίδοξος, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔστιν, ὃς δηλώσει ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ἄγγελος, οὐ οὐκ ἔστι κατοικητήριον μετὰ πάσης σαρκός· ὅθεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι καθάπερ οἶει. 12 τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς σύννους καὶ περιλυπος γενόμενος προσέταξεν ἐξαγαγεῖν πάντας τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας· 13 καὶ ἐδογματίσθη πάντας ἀποκτεῖναι, ἐζητήθη δὲ Δανιηλ καὶ πάντες οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ χάριν τοῦ συναπολέσθαι. 14 τότε Δανιηλ εἶπε βουλήν καὶ γνώσιν Αριωχ τῷ ἀρχιμαγεῖρω τοῦ βασιλέως ᾧ προσετάγη, ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς σοφιστὰς τῆς Βαβυλωνίας, 15 καὶ ἐπυνθάνετο αὐτοῦ λέγων Περὶ τίνος δογματίζεται πικρῶς παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως; τότε τὸ πρόσταγμα ἐσήμανεν ὁ Αριωχ τῷ Δανιηλ. 16 ὁ δὲ Δανιηλ ταχέως εἰσηλθε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἠξίωσεν ἵνα δοθῇ αὐτῷ χρόνος, καὶ δηλώσῃ πάντα ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως.

For the above six verses there are agreements between Th and the OG 19/85 times when names and titles are excluded or 36/113 if all the agreements of names and titles are included based on Th’s text. Given the number and type of the agreements in the two texts, would the relationship between them best be characterized by saying that Th is a revision of the OG? One can plainly see that there are no extensive agreements between the texts. In fact, though they are similar and it can be assumed that they are based on a *Vorlage* that is close to the MT they are quite different. There are, however, several readings that one might classify as distinctive agreements: βαρὺς, περὶ τίνος, and possibly οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ κατοικία μετὰ πάσης σαρκός. This is the only occurrence of βαρὺς in the Greek texts of Daniel and it is the only time that it translates קָיִר in the LXX. Thus, this is definitely a distinctive agreement, and there is no evidence that Th has borrowed from the OG. However, the OG includes a double translation for קָיִר in καὶ ἐπίδοξος therefore, the double reading in the OG, and the fact that both terms are rare equivalences in the LXX, is evidence that the agreement of βαρὺς is actually due to correction of the OG. The only other occurrence of περὶ τίνος is 2 Esd 12:4, so there is no possibility of determining the direction of borrowing. Finally, it could be suggested that οὐκ ἔστιν ἢ κατοικία μετὰ πάσης σαρκός is similar to an extended agreement because several words are shared in the two versions and Th’s choice of κατοικία was influenced by κατοικητήριον in the OG. The problem with this view is that it has to

assume that Th did revise the OG when the text of the OG indicates otherwise. The plus ὅθεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι καθάπερ οἶει, which may be classified as a distinctive disagreement in the OG, is evidence that οὐ οὐκ ἔστι κατοικητήριον μετὰ πάσης σαρκός is rooted in corruption from Th's text. In this case, the plus does not create a double reading, but one must admit that the plus is very different from Th/MT and the OG is characterized by freer readings that cannot be based on the MT.

In addition to the fact that the texts do not indicate any substantive evidence that Th is based on the OG and at least one, if not two, of the distinctive agreements can be traced to corruption of the OG, examples of Th's translation also weigh against revision. For example, ἡ γνώμη ἡ ἀναϊδής is a very free and colorful translation while OG's choice of a verb plus adverb is arguably closer to the MT. In addition, Th's choice of θυμῶ for **בַּנֶּפֶשׁ** is also unique for the whole LXX, though the rendering with θυμός is probably because of its frequent collocation with ὀργή.

### *Chapter 2: passages with agreements*

Four of the twelve verses that have extended agreements meet the arbitrary minimum of 5 words in succession (vv. 4, 22, 24, 39) and in each case the agreements exhibit close formal equivalence to the MT. Note part of v. 24 as an example.

Th 2:24 καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τοὺς σοφοὺς Βαβυλῶνος μὴ ἀπολέσης, εἰσάγαγε δέ με ἐνώπιον τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τὴν σύγκρισιν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀναγγελῶ.

OG 2:24 εἶπεν αὐτῷ Τοὺς μὲν σοφιστὰς Βαβυλῶνος μὴ ἀπολέσης, εἰσάγαγε δέ με πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἕκαστα τῷ βασιλεῖ δηλώσω.

This verse is another example of how both versions are based on a text similar to the MT, yet the OG does not follow it formally when using the prepositional phrase πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα or the general term ἕκαστα. The agreements occur where both texts follow the MT quite closely, though the inclusion of the postpositive conjunction is an example of free translation. However, there is another instance in this shared agreement that indicates Th influence on the OG. This is the only occurrence of any form of the verb ἀπόλυμι prior to chapter seven in the OG. Th employs the verb in 2:12, 18 and the aorist infinitive previously in v. 24. OG has the aorist infinitive ἀποκτεῖναι earlier in the verse, so there is good reason to argue that the agreement of ἀπολέσης is due to corruption in the OG.

Th 2:28 ἀλλ' ἡ ἔστι θεὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ ἀποκαλύπτων μυστήρια καὶ ἐγνώρισε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδοноσορ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν.

τὸ ἐνύπνιον σου καὶ αἱ ὀράσεις τῆς κεφαλῆς σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου τοῦτό ἐστιν.

OG 2:28 ἀλλὰ ἔστι κύριος ἐν οὐρανῶ φωτίζων μυστήρια, ὃς ἐδήλωσε τῷ βασιλεῖ Ναβουχοδονοσορ ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. βασιλεῦ, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ζήση· τὸ ἐνύπνιον καὶ τὸ ὄραμα τῆς κεφαλῆς σου ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου τοῦτό ἐστι.

Like v. 35, this verse has two places where there are extensive agreements and has the general appearance that Th has revised the OG because there is so much verbatim agreement between the versions. On closer inspection, however, things may not be quite as they seem. For example, there is the lengthy shared reading of ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν. In chapter 2 אֵלֶּיךָ דֵּי מַה נִּבְּרָא occurs in the MT four times: v. 28, 29(2), and 45. In each instance Th renders it with ἃ (τι once in v. 29) δεῖ γενέσθαι. Reconstructing the OG prior to access to papyrus 967 Ziegler had ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι for the three occurrences in vv. 28 and 29, but τὰ ἐσόμμενα in v. 45.<sup>27</sup> However, papyrus 967 reads ὅσα δεῖ γενέσθαι for the first occurrence in v. 29 and ἃ μέλλει γινέσθαι for the second, which explains the changes in Munnich's text. Given v. 29 and the very different reading in v. 45, is it not likely that the text of the OG in v. 28 is corrupt?<sup>28</sup> The agreement of ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου also is suspect. The phrase ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης + possessive pronoun occurs 7 times in the Th text for עַל-מִשְׁכַּב + pronominal suffix (2:28, 29; 4:2, 7, 10, 13; 7:1); therefore, this rendering is characteristic of Th. Munnich's OG text reads the phrase as well in 2:28; 4:2; 7:1,2. In 2:29 OG has ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης and there are no equivalents in 4:10, 13. However, even though the phrase is present in papyrus 967 in 4:7, it is marked by the asterisk in codex 88, which is why Ziegler omitted it from his critical text.<sup>29</sup> This phrase has been examined elsewhere and it has been demonstrated that it should not be considered original.<sup>30</sup> At least one of the double readings in 7:1 and 2 is also suspect, so that leaves questions about 2:28. Is Th retaining the OG in 2:28 and 7:1 or has the OG been corrupted with corrections from Th?

27. J. Ziegler, *Susanna-Daniel-Bel et Draco, Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum* (vol. 16.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1954) 105, 111.

28. See my discussion in *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 8–9.

29. Ziegler, 137. Munnich's reconstruction brings the phrase to the end of v. 2.

30. See the discussion of this passage in, "Formation of the Book of Daniel," and "The Greek Translations of Daniel 4–6."

*Chapter 2: summary*

Though other verses could be examined, those selected offer an overview of the type of material that one encounters in the first three chapters of Daniel. Some verses show very little relationship between the OG and Th. In other cases there are more verbatim agreements and generally a closer relationship to one another and the MT, and in a few cases there are verses where the agreements and affinity to the MT is even greater. In those cases where there is agreement at least one case has been discovered where the influence of Th on the OG is almost certain (βαρύς) and several other instances where it is likely but cannot be proved. Other than the agreements there is no actual evidence that Th is revising the OG.

*Chapter 3*

Chapter 3 exhibits a much higher degree of relationship than chaps. 1–2. Based on the 30 verses in chapter three where Th and the OG are translating a Semitic *Vorlage* (3:1–23, 91–97), there are approximately 680 words excluding titles or names, of which 301 (44%) exhibit verbatim agreement with the OG. The number of verbatim agreements is increased because there is some information (musical instruments, the fiery furnace, the golden image, and the list of officials) that is repeated several times. Yet, the agreements might have been even higher if the OG had not omitted portions of the lists in places (vv. 3, 7, 10, 15). In those 30 verses there are only three (vv. 23, 96–97) that exhibit little agreement between the Greek versions, apart from those verses where the OG has minuses, while there are eighteen cases of extensive agreement (vv. 1[2], 4, 5, 6[2], 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17[2], 93, 94, 95[3]). Clearly, there is a much closer relationship between the OG and Th versions in this chapter.

*Chapter 3: passages with few or no agreements*

Th 3:96–97 (MT 3:29–30) καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκτίθεμαι δόγμα Πᾶς λαός, φυλή, γλῶσσα, ἢ ἐὰν εἶπη βλασφημίαν κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω, εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσσονται καὶ οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν εἰς διαρπαγὴν, καθότι οὐκ ἔστι θεὸς ἕτερος ὅστις δυνησεται ῥύσασθαι οὕτως. 97 τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς κατεύθυνε τὸν Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ ἠξίωσεν αὐτοὺς ἠγείσθαι πάντων τῶν Ἰουδαίων τῶν ὄντων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

OG 3:96–97 (MT 3:29–30) καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ κρίνω ἵνα πᾶν ἔθνος καὶ πᾶσαι φυλαὶ καὶ γλῶσσαι, ὅς ἐὰν βλασφημήσῃ εἰς τὸν κύριον θεὸν Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω, διαμελισθήσεται καὶ ἡ οὐσία αὐτοῦ δημευθήσεται,

διότι οὐκ ἔστι θεός ἕτερος ὃς δυνήσεται ἐξελέσθαι οὕτως. 97 οὕτως οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ Σεδραχ, Μισαχ, Αβδεναγω ἐξουσίαν δούς ἐφ' ὅλης τῆς χώρας αὐτοῦ κατέστησεν αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας.

Generally speaking, it can be observed that the versions are related to a *Vorlage* similar to the MT in v. 96. Furthermore, it should be noted that Th makes a contextual guess εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσονται καὶ οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν εἰς διασπαγὴν for the MT וּבֵיתָהּ נֹלֵי יִשְׁתוּהָ הַרְמִין יַתְעַבֵּר that is based on his translation of the similar Aramaic in 2:5 (the person of the verb and the pronominal suffix are different), but in neither instance does Th employ the OG. This is a distinctive disagreement that demonstrates that Th is translating independently. There is also one portion of v. 96 that exhibits a close relationship between the Greek texts: οὐκ ἔστι θεός ἕτερος ὅστις δυνήσεται, and it is noticeable that the texts also mirror the MT. However, even though most of the agreement is difficult to question, there is one element in the OG that is highly unlikely.

The equation of θεός for אֱלֹהִים (אֱלֹהֵי) is definitely not automatic in the OG. In fact, the OG seems to prefer forms of κύριος for references to the divinity. For example, though κύριος is by no means absent from Th, note 1:2, 17; 2:19, 20, 23, 28, 37 as instances where the OG reads κύριος while Th has θεός. In fact, it is more likely that the OG does not employ θεός at all in the first two chapters and rarely in chapter three. θεός does not appear in chap. 1 in the OG according to Munnich's text and only three times in chap. 2 (vv. 44, 45, 47). The rendering in v. 44 is dubious because in all three prior instances (vv. 19, 28, 37) where שְׁמִיָּא is collocated with אֱלֹהִים the OG renders אֱלֹהִים with κύριος. The plus that is evident in ἐστὶν ὁ θεός ὑμῶν θεός τῶν θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων where Th has ὁ θεός ὑμῶν αὐτός ἐστι θεός θεῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων in v. 47 is likewise due to correction from Th. Without the secondary addition from Th, the OG would read ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος ὑμῶν καὶ κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων or, even more likely, ἐστὶν κύριος τῶν κυρίων καὶ κύριος τῶν βασιλέων. That leaves v. 45 as the only instance in the first two chapters where θεός renders אֱלֹהִים, when everywhere else κύριος is the designated term for the deity. How likely is that?

The only occurrences of θεός in the translated portions of the OG according to Munnich in chap. 3 are vv. 14, 15, 17, 92, 93, 95(3), and 96(2). Immediately, the preponderance of appearances at the end of the chapter are no-

ticeable.<sup>31</sup> In vv. 95 and 96 the first occurrence of θεός is a doublet for κύριος. The secondary character of θεός is again evident when compared to Th/MT, which have only one divine name. The collocation of θεοῦ with ἀγγέλου in 3:92 is also dubious. Elsewhere ἄγγελος is a replacement for the deity in the OG and is never part of a divine epithet in the translated portions of the book.<sup>32</sup> A similar case to 3:92 is found in 2:11 where ἄγγελος alone renders אֱלֹהֵי. 3:17 has the interesting rendition ἐστι γὰρ ὁ θεός ὁ ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς κύριος ἡμῶν for אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהֵי הַיְיָ in the MT. Given the preference for κύριος elsewhere and the fact that the postpositive conjunction reflects a distinctive agreement with Th (ἐστι γὰρ θεός) there is good reason to question this text. There are several variants,<sup>33</sup> but, on the basis of the same kind of double readings noted elsewhere, the OG would read well without the agreement with Th: ἐν οὐρανοῖς εἰς κύριος ἡμῶν or εἰς κύριος ἡμῶν ἐν οὐρανοῖς.<sup>34</sup> That would leave vv. 14, 15, 93, 95(2) and the passage in 96 as the only possible places in the translated portions of chaps. 1–3 where θεός appears in the OG. The instance in v. 96 is clearly similar to other instances where θεός has been added as a correction for κύριος, while those in 93 and 95(2) occur in texts that are very close to Th. These passages along with the remaining two in vv. 14 and 15 have to be considered tenuous based on the pattern of translating in the OG.

The end of v. 97 in the OG has some differences in the syntax that may be evidence that its *Vorlage* differed, but the readings may also be more indicative of the approach in the OG.

### *Chapter 3: passages with agreements*

A few passages with lengthy shared readings and some distinctive agreements are analyzed below.

Th 3:2 καὶ ἀπέστειλε συναγαγεῖν τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς τοπάρχας, ἡγουμένους καὶ τυράννους καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν καὶ πάντα τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν χωρῶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῆς εἰκόνος, ἧς ἔστησε Ναβουχοδονοσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς

31. I have argued elsewhere that 3:21–97 in the OG was edited by a later hand who inserted the hymnic material (McLay, *OG and Th Versions of Daniel*, 146–48). Thus it is more problematic in this section to isolate what might have been the OG.

32. The only exception in the whole book is in 3:58 where it occurs with κύριος.

33. Munnich, *Daniel*, 266, notes that the definite articles are omitted in 88–Syh. Compare Ziegler's text, 117.

34. Compare the similarity to 2:28.

OG 3:2 καὶ Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεὺς βασιλέων καὶ κυριέων τῆς οἰκουμένης ὅλης ἀπέστειλεν ἐπισυναγαγεῖν πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φυλὰς καὶ γλώσσας, σατράπας καὶ στρατηγούς, τοπάρχας καὶ ὑπάτους, διοικητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν κατὰ χώραν καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἔλθειν εἰς τὸν ἐγκαινισμὸν τῆς εἰκόνοσ τῆς χρυσοῦσ, ἧς ἔστησε Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεύσ.

This verse is typical of what is found in chaps. 4–6. There are agreements between the OG and Th, but many of the shared readings have all the appearance of double translations in the OG. There is also a related but important difference between the OG and Th/MT. In the OG the gathering includes basically everyone (“all the nations, and tribes and languages”), while Th/MT focuses exclusively on various kinds of officials. In addition to the fact that OG includes a more general listing of people, it is a characteristic of the OG, particularly noticeable in this chapter, to shorten lists of any kind (e.g. vv. 3, 7, 10, 15). Therefore, it is unlikely that the OG has both the pluses πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φυλὰς καὶ γλώσσας as well as a long list of officials. Thus, it is probable that the verbatim agreements στρατηγούς, τοπάρχας and ὑπάτους are secondary additions to the OG based on Th. This would allow σατράπας καὶ διοικητὰς in the OG to serve as general terms that would include all officials. It is almost impossible to sort out the texts, but textual corruption is also evident in καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν κατὰ χώραν καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην. For example, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην in the OG repeats what has already been stated by πάντα τὰ ἔθνη καὶ φυλὰς καὶ γλώσσας. The shared reading καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν is the rare example of an OG reading that has been added to Th. The reason for this decision is that Th has two references to all those in authority: καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν χωρῶν. Where the OG translates ܢܒܠܫ it employs ἐξουσία in each instance but one.<sup>35</sup> In contrast, Th exhibits significant variety in his renderings,<sup>36</sup> and, though he has the same equivalence in some cases as well (3:100; 4:31; 7:6, 14[2], 27), Th renders the identical Aramaic with καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν χωρῶν in the very next verse. Therefore, καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν is not part of Th's text. Finally, though it cannot be proved, the ending of the verse in the OG reads suspiciously close to Th, particularly ἧς ἔστησε Ναβουχοδοноσορ βασιλεύσ.

35. See chap. 7: 12, 14(3), 26, 27. The exception is γλώσσα in 7:6.

36. Note ἄρχοντας in 3:3; κυριεία in 4:19; 6:26; and ἀρχή in 7:12, 14, 26, 27.

Th 3:8 διέβαλον τοὺς Ιουδαίους

OG 3:8 διέβαλον τοὺς Ιουδαίους

The verb is a distinctive agreement because outside of Daniel it only occurs in 2 Macc 3:11 and 4 Macc 4:1. However, the fact that Th renders the same vocabulary in 6:24 (אכלו קרצוה) with the identical expression while the OG employs καταμαρτυρήσαντες is evidence that the Th reading has corrupted the OG in 3:8.

Th 3:91(24) Καὶ Ναβουχοδοноσορ ἤκουσεν ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἐξάνεστη ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ εἶπε τοῖς μεγιστᾶσιν αὐτοῦ

OG 3:91(24) Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐστῶς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας, τότε Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἀνέστη σπεύσας καὶ εἶπε τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ

As previously mentioned, 3:21–97 in the OG was edited by a later hand who inserted the hymnic material,<sup>37</sup> so evaluating the relationships between the OG and Th in this material has further complications. However, the examination of a few distinctive agreements can still be rewarding. The shared plus ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν as well as the agreement of ἐθαύμασεν, which in Th translates הוֹדוּ, would both have to be considered distinctive agreements. Though ἐθαύμασεν is a good rendering and one might consider it coincidental that OG and Th employ the same verb, it is also unique and part of a longer section in Th that one might suppose is dependent upon the OG. But these shared readings and the longer equivalent for the MT in the OG also merit closer scrutiny in order to determine the reason for their relationship. For example, the OG contains two references to the king, so that, except for the omission of ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν, τότε Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἀνέστη σπεύσας καὶ εἶπεν τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ is equivalent to Th. This equivalence in the OG contains a second reference to the king, the distinctive reading ἐθαύμασε, two verbal forms (ἀνέστη σπεύσας) related to Th, as well as the less significant agreement of καὶ εἶπε τοῖς . . . αὐτοῦ. Though it could not be described as a double translation in the OG (since it would not be based on a similar *Vorlage*), the nature of the remaining material in the OG is such that it gives the content of the king's response: Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκοῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν καὶ ἐστῶς ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας. It is not absolutely necessary for the present purposes to account for the origin of the adverbial participle

37. See above n. 31.

ύμνούντων and its pronoun because the distinctive agreement could be the work of the later redactor. However, it should be noted that ύμνούντων αὐτῶν is not required by the syntax of the OG, while it is in Th where the finite verb is employed. Therefore, without the certain corruption from Th the OG could be reconstructed to read:

Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἀκούσαι τὸν βασιλέα [ύμνούντων αὐτῶν], ἐστῶς  
ἐθεώρει αὐτοὺς ζῶντας, καὶ εἶπε τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ

Th 3:94(27) καὶ τὰ σαράβαρα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠλλοιώθη, καὶ ὁσμη πυρὸς οὐκ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

OG 3:94(27) καὶ τὰ σαράβαρα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἠλλοιώθησαν, οὐδὲ ὁσμη πυρὸς ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς.

The relationship between the Greek versions is obvious from the overlap of material as well as by the distinctive agreement σαράβαρα. Though the shared reading of ὁσμη πυρὸς may be an example of a coincidental reading because both are stereotyped equivalents in the LXX, this is not true of all the agreements. The distinctive agreement σαράβαρα, glossed as ‘trousers’, is particularly significant because the OG employs a different rendering (ὑποδήματα) for סרבליהון earlier in v. 21 where Th has σαράβαρα. The agreement in v. 94 is due to a scribal correction of the OG.

### *Chapter 3: summary*

The relationship between the two Greek versions is different in chap. 3 than it is in chaps. 1–2 because there are many more agreements. However, the relationship is much the same in that where there are shared readings, particularly extensive agreements, they invariably exhibit formal equivalence to the MT. Apart from the passages where the OG has large omissions, there are only a few verses that demonstrate little or no relationship between the two versions. However, evidence for a number of other instances where the OG has been corrupted with Th readings has also been discovered as well as additional instances where it is most likely that the OG is the victim of scribal corrections. The reading καὶ τοὺς ἐπ’ ἐξουσιῶν in 3:2 is the only instance where the evidence supported that an OG reading has corrupted Th. However, it is essential to recognize that this variant is a double reading in Th. In other words, it is due to textual corruption of Th as opposed to Th revising the OG. Given the evidence of the corruption of the OG and the nature of the agreements, many of the shared readings in this chapter would have to be questioned; particularly since a good portion of them are based on repetitions

about musical instruments, the fiery furnace, the golden image, and other lists.

### *Conclusion*

Based on the three criteria for a revision it is clear that Th chaps. 1–2 do not qualify. In neither case could they be defined as demonstrating the most important criterion: frequent distinctive agreements between the base text and the revision that establish a clear connection and a direction of dependence from one text to the other. In fact, where the direction of dependence for distinctive agreements can be established, one normally finds that Th readings have corrupted the OG. These findings are consistent with what has been argued previously. Second, though little time was spent investigating the possibilities, there was further evidence of distinctive disagreements that establish the independence of Th's translation.

Chapter three is distinguished from chaps. 1–2 by the frequency of the shared readings, especially of more extensive agreements. However, the only distinctive agreement that was isolated as evidence of an OG reading in Th was καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν in 3:2, but this is a double reading in Th and is not evidence that Th is revising the OG. In contrast, more evidence from distinctive agreements and other parallels that Th readings have corrupted the OG was uncovered.

It is only chap. 3 that at first glance one might be tempted to characterize as a revision of the OG based on the number of shared readings. However, shared readings, even extensive agreements, are not sufficient evidence to establish that Th is a revision in this chapter. At this point the reader may protest that one is engaging in special pleading. They may point to the shared readings as evidence for revision and argue that places where Th corruptions of the OG have been argued for are spurious because there is no manuscript evidence for the reconstructions. However, the case against Th as a revision is summarized below.

It has been established that shared readings between the OG and Th in chaps. 4–6 are due to secondary additions and corrections to the OG based on Th. Based on this finding, it is reasonable to expect that the remainder of the OG version of Daniel has suffered similarly from scribal corrections based on Th. It is the nature of the shared agreements, not distinctive agreements, that is at the heart of the issue in chap. 3 and it has been established that shared agreements that correspond to the MT are most likely due to Th corruption of the OG. The certainty of what can be determined from chaps. 4–6 is the lev-

erage for evaluating shared readings elsewhere in Daniel. Furthermore, the reader is reminded that there are many passages throughout chaps. 1–3 where the two versions are clearly independent. For example, even though there were only a few verses that showed little or no relationship between the versions in chap. 3 (vv. 23, 96–97), there are other passages where the OG has minuses that also demonstrate independence (vv. 3, 7, 10, 15). These passages, including those with the omissions, have to be given a central role for deciding the nature of the OG translation for chap. 3. After all, given the fact that it is known that textual corruption is inevitable in the transmission of texts, the best place to begin for reconstructing the original text is with the readings that can be established with the highest degree of probability. In the case of the OG, this is most true of readings that depart from both the MT and Th, and, secondly, of readings that depart from Th but may be based on a similar *Vorlage* to the MT. Not only in chap. 3, but also in chaps. 1–2 there are numerous passages where the two Greek versions are clearly independent from one another. The passages where the versions are clearly independent have to serve as a measuring stick for those that exhibit shared readings.

There are six ways that the passages with shared readings in chaps. 1–3 may be described.

1. There are readings that are clearly secondary in the OG. In 1:16 the OG employed relative clauses seen previously in vv. 5 (καὶ τοῦ οἴνου οὗ πίνει) and 8 (καὶ ἐν ᾧ πίνει οἴνω) for a *Vorlage* similar to מִשְׁתִּיהַּ. In 2:11 βαρῦς is a Th addition. Th's contextual guess εἰς ἀπώλειαν ἔσονται καὶ οἱ οἴκοι αὐτῶν εἰς διαρπαγὴν for the MT in 3:96 and 2:5 is a distinctive disagreement. διέβαλον is a secondary addition to the OG in 3:8. The distinctive agreement σαράβαρα in v. 94 is due to a scribal correction of the OG.
2. There are secondary readings in the OG from Th that are discernible based on the presence of pluses in the OG. The dependence of οὗ οὐκ ἔστι κατοικητήριον μετὰ πάσης σαρκός upon Th in 2:11 is suggested by the plus ὅθεν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται γενέσθαι καθάπερ οἶει, which is clearly OG. The reading of θεός is a doublet for κύριος in 3:95, 96 and there is a large addition to the OG in 2:45. In 3:91 τότε Ναβουχοδοноσορ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐθαύμασε καὶ ἀνέστη σπεύσας is a plus in the OG that agrees very closely with Th.
3. There are readings that may be determined to be secondary in the OG based on the translation technique of the OG and Th elsewhere. The agreement of the verb ἀπολέσης in 2:24 is likely Th because it appears

previously in Th in 2:12, 18, and 24. The shared readings ἃ δεῖ γενέσθαι and ἐπὶ τῆς κοίτης σου in 2:28 are characteristic of Th. Employing θεός as a designation for the deity is unlikely in 2:44 and 3:96, and the collocation of θεοῦ with ἀγγέλου in 3:92 is also dubious. The remaining appearances of θεός in 3:14, 15, 17, 93, and 95(2) are tenuous and it has been argued that in 3:17 θεός is part of a doublet with κύριος. The verbatim agreements στρατηγούς, τοπάρχας and ὑπάτους in 3:2 are secondary additions based on Th. Textual corruption is also evident in καὶ πάντα τοὺς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην in 3:2.

4. There are distinctive readings between the OG and Th for which the direction of dependence is unclear: the verb πολιορκέω in 1:1; the participle ἀναιρούμενος in 1:16; περὶ τίνος in 2:15; and ὑμνούντων αὐτῶν in 3:91 (though it is more likely Th).
5. There are readings that are OG that are found in Th: δεῖπνον in 1:16 and καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν in 3:2.
6. There are the remaining shared readings that are characterized by formal equivalence to the MT. Many of these agreements are also insignificant with respect to the question of revision since they consist of expected equivalences and minor words.

The weight of the cumulative evidence is that Th is not a revision of the OG in chaps. 1–3. Throughout most of chaps. 1–2 and for portions of chap. 3 it is clear that the OG does not exhibit formal equivalence to the MT and contains readings that are clearly distinct from Th/MT. In those passages that contain distinctive agreements and shared readings (that is, they depart from the OG's normal approach and show greater affinity to Th/MT), they can often be identified as due to secondary corrections and corruptions from Th. This is consistent with what has been established in chaps. 4–6 as well as previous research. In the passages examined, there were only two instances where one can provide evidence of a distinctive agreement where Th is dependent upon the OG, and one of them is clearly secondary to Th. It is only in chap. 3 that there is a high degree of agreements between the texts, so it is also unlikely that one chapter out of the first six would be a revision. Therefore, rather than speak of revision in these chapters the evidence points to the conclusion that textual corruption has occurred in the OG due to the dominance of the Th version. These conclusions are based on a careful analysis of the texts and the overwhelming practice of the OG and Th translators. Where there are agreements between the OG and Th in chaps. 1–3 that are not expli-

cable as coincidental readings based on the same *Vorlage*, the probability is that the OG has been corrupted by readings from Th.



# *Lexicography and Interlanguage— Gaining our Bearings*

CAMERON BOYD-TAYLOR  
*University of Toronto*



As Wittgenstein famously quipped, there is no such thing as a private language.<sup>1</sup> Communication is premised on convention. Words may well take wing and elude our grasp but underlying our ways with words are norms, and it is the business of lexicography to record them. That is why translational literature presents us with the dilemma it does. On the one hand, it is self-evident that translation represents an attempt to communicate meaning in the target language. As such, it is obviously grist for the lexicographer's mill. But it is equally self-evident that translation does not represent a straightforward instance of performance in the target language.<sup>2</sup>

This point has been driven home by the Israeli linguist Gideon Toury, who cautions that in translation, forms and structures occur that are seldom if ever

---

*Author's note:* This is a revision of a paper presented to the Biblical Lexicography section at the SBL Annual Meeting held in Atlanta, Georgia, November 22–25, 2003.

1. Cf. L. Wittgenstein, *Philosophical Investigations*, G. E. M. Anscombe, trans, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968). "If language is to be a means of communication there must be agreement not only in definitions but also (queer as this may sound) in judgments (s. 242)."

2. G. Toury, "The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary," in M. Snell-Hornby and E. Pohl, eds., *Translation and Lexicography* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1989) 45–53, here 45f. A revised version of this paper was later incorporated into G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 206–20. See also C. Boyd-Taylor, "A Place in the Sun: The Interpretative Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c," *BIOSCS* 31 (1998) 71–105, here 72. "Literary composition and literary translation are distinct socio-linguistic activities, with distinct methods and aims, and the hermeneutics of the former can seldom be applied to the latter."

encountered in utterances originally composed in the target language.<sup>3</sup> Toury refers to this phenomenon as “interlanguage,” since it is the result of interference between two linguistic systems, i.e. the target language and the source language. The term is drawn from the literature on second language acquisition, where it refers to the interference of a person’s first language in their performance of an acquired language.<sup>4</sup> Within this literature, interlanguage tends to be seen mainly as a phase in the learning of a second language, one characterized by errors which are later corrected. But as Toury points out, interlingual “forms are likely to occur whenever and wherever one language is used in some contact with another.”<sup>5</sup> This would include cases where a person is translating a source text into their mother tongue.<sup>6</sup>

The phenomenon of interlanguage is therefore not only of concern to psycholinguistics; it bears on the descriptive study of translations as well. As such, it is of particular relevance to lexicography. After all, it is in the lexicon that linguistic interference is often most readily felt. This is in part due to the tendency of translators to select their lexical replacements at a lower level of textual relations than would obtain in an original composition, e.g. at the level of the phrase rather than the sentence, or the sentence rather than the paragraph.

Another contributing factor is the reliance of translators on characteristic matches, that is, where source item *x* is typically rendered by target item *y*. In such instances the basis for the selection of a word in the target language is

---

3. “[I]t is a well-documented fact that in translations, linguistic forms and structures often occur which are rarely, or perhaps even never encountered in utterances originally composed in the target language.” G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995) 207f. One reason for this is that features of the source language tend to act as external constraints on the translator. Quite simply, how a translator expresses himself in the target language is in part determined by the form of what is being translated. As a result, certain aspects of the source text remain invariant in translation.

4. See L. Selinker, “Language Transfer,” *General Linguistics* 9, 67-92; “Interlanguage,” *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 10 (1972) 209-231.

5. G. Toury, “Interlanguage in Translation,” in G. Toury, *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: Porter Institute, 1980) 71-78, here 72; *Applied Linguistics* 10 (1972) 209-31.

6. Translation “inevitably puts the translator, a potential bilingual, in the position of actual, materialized bilingualism, while bringing the two languages themselves, SL and TL, into contact through him and his activity. Thus, it is more than just reasonable to expect the product of his activity, the translated text, to serve as an unflinching source of interlingual phenomena.” G. Toury, “Interlanguage,” 72.

bound up with the usage of the source language.<sup>7</sup> And so we find that in translation the habitual function of a target lexeme, whether semantic or pragmatic, may be suspended at times. Where this is persistent, the result is interlanguage.

Typically, interference from the source text is seen in the company a word keeps. Within a translation, a word will often occur without its typical collocates, and be found instead with dubious companions in unfamiliar haunts. Its distribution will prove to be unconventional; the word occurs either more or less frequently than expected. In extreme instances, the usage of the translator may require the reader to infer a word-meaning specific to the translation, if they are to make any sense of it at all. Interlanguage thus refers to a wide-range of semantic phenomena. And while it may be more or less obtrusive, Toury makes a convincing case for its universality.<sup>8</sup> Quite simply, it is to be found in some form in every translation, though of course it will be most pronounced in cases where the translator has leaned heavily on the form of the parent text. Yet all is not a blooming, buzzing confusion.<sup>9</sup> While target lexemes do not always function as a native speaker would expect them to, al-

---

7. "Just as a large part of our sentences are practically automatic responses to certain recurring stimuli, so the translator soon uses words and phrases as responses to verbal stimuli rather than as acts of conscious choice . . . We may call this automatic connection between source items and receptor items of all kinds "verbal linkage." C. Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968) 1–26, here 8.

8. "I would claim that the occurrence of interlanguage forms in translation follows from the very definition of this type of activity/product, thus being a formal 'translation universal.'" G. Toury, "Interlanguage," 72.

9. Linguistic interference is after all not a random phenomenon—there are patterns. Usage which might at first blush appear anomalous is not entirely so. This follows from the fact that the target lexeme is, as it were, tagging along with its counterpart in the source language. Hence its selection by the translator is far from arbitrary, for he is inadvertently adhering to the usage of the parent text. This is why Toury's use of the term interlanguage is so *apropos*. Lexical patterns within the source language tend to get mirrored in a translation. Competent readers turn out to be rather good at identifying interlanguage, and assigning meaning to it; to such an extent that the phenomenon can be imitated. "Thus, a group of translators may behave in much the same way, and hence produce translational replacements of a similar kind. In the long run, a habitualized translationese may even acquire some distinct markers, which would set it apart from any other mode of language use within the same culture, translational or non-translational." G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 208. Interlingual forms may even undergo institutionalization, giving rise to a distinct speech register. For an example close to home, we have only to think of the impact of the Authorized Version of the Bible on liturgical language in English.

lowances can be made and inferences drawn.<sup>10</sup> But while we can trust the reader of a translation to take linguistic interference in stride, the lexicographer must tread more carefully. My aim is to show just how thorny a problem interlanguage can be. This turns out to be particularly true for the translational literature of the Septuagint, to such an extent that it places a question mark beside any word-study of this corpus which has not taken linguistic interference into full account. The typical Septuagint translator approaches his source text as an organization of lower-level constituents, and for this reason we can expect the lexicon to be shot through with linguistic interference.<sup>11</sup> We want to be sure that what we are describing is the Greek language as it was known to the translators, and not the idiosyncrasies of their translation technique.

### *Linguistic Interference in the Lexicon*

For an obvious example of linguistic interference in the lexicon of the Greek Pentateuch, I draw your attention to its persistent use of *θάλασσα* as a match for Hebrew יָם. In the majority of contexts, this equivalency hardly deserves comment. The two words both refer to large bodies of water, whether lakes or seas. But יָם does have an habitual function which its Greek counterpart lacks. It is used with or without the directional suffix to indicate the western quarter. This usage obviously had its origin in geography, but יָם

---

10. Successful communication involves giving one another the benefit of the doubt. A translation is an intended act of communication in the target language, and however eccentric it may strike them, readers will do their best to make sense of the text. Here they are aided by contextual cues. See C. Rabin, "Character of the Septuagint," 9. "The force of the context is such that even some degree of deviation from the meanings with which the reader or listener is familiar will not spoil the sense. . . . We may call this ability of the context to absorb semantic deviation 'semantic tolerance.'"

11. This is not to deny the significance of the corpus for lexicography. The Greek Pentateuch in particular remains a substantial literary witness to the Greek language as it was used in the Hellenistic world; but of course it is a translation, and like any translation, it does not offer us straightforward linguistic evidence. And so when we embark on corpus-based studies of its usage, we must be careful lest we founder on the shoals of interlanguage. For there is clearly a tendency towards what Rabin calls "verbal linkage" in the Septuagint. See J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations*, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 15 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979) 307. "Thus for many terms the Greek translators, whether rightly or wrongly, thought a standard or normal equivalence to be adequate: even when they depart from it, it is not usually because peculiarities of the context made the usual word seem inadequate at this point. More often it is rather plain inconsequence or carelessness."

came to be used independently of the relative location of the Mediterranean or any body of water for that matter. And so in those instances where  $\square$  refers to a point of the compass, its rendering by  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  gives rise to interlanguage.<sup>12</sup> Expressions such as  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$  and  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$   $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ , which abound in the Septuagint, do not conventionally refer to the western quarter in Greek, but mean simply “by the sea” or “towards the sea,” as the case may be. To gain his or her bearings, the reader must first ask, “which way is the sea”?

Of course, most of the time it does not take long to figure out which way is which.<sup>13</sup> Yet in translation things are not always what they seem. At LXX-Gen 13:14,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  occurs together with  $\beta\omicron\rho\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ,  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ , and  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ , conventional designations for the compass points north, west, and east, respectively. By elimination,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  should refer to the southern quarter in this instance. This would certainly have given the ancient reader pause. Whether one takes bearings from Jerusalem or Alexandria, the Mediterranean would likely be the default reference for  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$ , and in neither case is it “southward.” The lexicographer is likewise faced with a dilemma. To illustrate this graphically, I have set out below the relevant lexical matches according to the points of the compass.

12. An example is Gen 12:8. Here  $\square$  is used in opposition to  $\square\tau\epsilon$ , ‘east’. In such contexts, the Greek translator typically replaces  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  by  $\square$ , and  $\square\tau\epsilon$  by the plural form of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$ . But while the use of  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$  in reference to the compass was conventional, its pairing with  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  is something of an anomaly. A native speaker of Greek, including, presumably, the translator, would have habitually paired  $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\eta}$  with a word such as  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\eta}$ , as Symmachus is in fact believed to have done in the present instance. See J. W. Wevers, ed., *Genesis*, Vol. 1, Septuaginta, Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974) 152.

13. And anyway, as I have indicated, readers are generally savvy to the ways of interlanguage. The contemporary reader of Greek Genesis would have long since picked up on the association between  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  and the western quarter, and would have drawn the right inferences regarding its use by the translator. So too, the modern lexicographer finds nothing puzzling here. In the use of  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  in reference to a compass point, we have an innocuous, seemingly trivial, instance of interlanguage. No one would be tempted to argue on the basis of the Septuagintal evidence that the word was used in Ptolemaic Egypt to indicate the compass point west. This is because the selection of  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  as a match for  $\square$  is readily explicable.

<i>MT-Gen 13:14</i>		<i>LXX-Gen 13:14</i>	
	צפון		βορρᾶς
	N		N
מ' W	E קדם	θάλασσα W	E ἀνατολή
	S		SW
	נגב	λίψ	S

As we have seen, θάλασσα replaces מ', and מ' conventionally points west. Since βορρᾶς renders צפון and ἀνατολή renders קדם, λίψ must stand for נגב. But whereas נגב points south, λίψ points west (or perhaps southwest). As a translation the text is thus doubly problematic. Yet the lemma is incontrovertible. And, as it happens, this curious pairing of נגב with λίψ is by no means unique. On the contrary, it occurs four times in Greek Genesis, and is taken up by subsequent translators.<sup>14</sup>

Presumably there was some semantic overlap between the two items or else they would not have been paired. Does λίψ therefore mean 'south' at Gen 13:14 rather than 'west'? I cannot say whether a third century Alexandrian would have drawn this conclusion, but as it happens, most contemporary lexicographers do. Consequently, a two-fold entry appears in all the major English lexica and the impression given that in Hellenistic Greek λίψ could mean either 'west' or 'south', with the Septuagint cited accordingly.<sup>15</sup> As an example, I have reproduced the entry found in H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (henceforth, LSJ).

14. LXX-Gen 13:14; 20:1; 24:62; and 28:14.

15. E.g. H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1940). J. Lust, E. Eynikel and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the LXX*, Part II (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996). T. Muraoka, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Pentateuch and Twelve Prophets* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002). See also J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930). F. W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, Third Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000).

*LSJ Entry for λίψ*

λίψ, ό, gen. λιβός, *the SW. wind*, Hdt. 2.25, Arist. *Mete.* 364<sup>b</sup> 2 (pl.), *Mu.* 394<sup>b</sup> 27, *Theoc.* 9.11 : pl., Plb. 10.10.3.

2. *the South*, freq. in LXX, *Ge.* 13.14, al.

3. *the West*, opp. ἀπηλιώτης, *PTeb.* 14.19 (II B.C.), *Vett. Val.* 8.5, *Paul. Al. A.* 2, *Herm. ap. Stob.* 1.21.9, 1.; rarely in LXX, 2 *Ch.* 32.30, 33.14, *Thd. Da.* 8.5; λιβός or λιβα εις ἀπηλιώτην from *West* to East, *BGU* 1037.15 (I A.D.), *CPR* 28.21 (II A.D.).

4. Astron., πρωινός λ., μεσημβρινός λ., ὄψινός λ., *position of a star on the W. horizon* at sunrise, midday, or sunset, *Ptol. Alm.* 8.4.

Now as a description of how the word λίψ behaves in the Septuagint corpus, a two-fold dictionary entry may well be warranted, as we shall presently see. But the question remains, what is being described here? Does the evidence of the Septuagint reflect the conventions of the Greek language as the translator knew it, or does λίψ represent a special case of interlanguage? Are the lexica describing what the word actually meant, or the use to which it was put in the translation of certain Hebrew texts? The distinction is subtle, I admit, but the issue it raises ought to be a source of deep disquietude to anyone who looks to the Septuagint for a clue to the meaning of Hellenistic Greek words. For to the extent that one cannot be sure which way is which in the Pentateuch, it is unlikely that the lexicography of this corpus is on as firm ground as might be imagined. In the space remaining, I shall identify some of the issues that arise when we put a relatively straightforward question to the Septuagint, namely, what does it tell us about the meaning of the word λίψ?

*The Occurrence of λίψ in the Greek Pentateuch*

Within classical Greek the word λίψ properly refers to the southwest wind.<sup>16</sup> The meaning continues through the Hellenistic and Imperial periods and underlies modern usage.<sup>17</sup> Thus we find it used in Polybius (II B.C.E.),

16. See H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*.

17. In Demotic Greek the form ό λιβας is typically glossed νοτιοδυτικός άννεμος or, in Vulgar usage, γαρυπής, that is, the southwest wind. See J. Stamatakos, *Lexicon Tes Neas Hellenikes Glosses* (Athens: ΕΚΔΟΤΙΚΟΣ ΟΡΓΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ, 1971). E. J. Archon-dakis, ΜΕΓΑ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΟΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΟ-ΑΓΓΛΙΚΟΝ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΝ (Athens: Robert College, 1974).

Diodorus Siculus (I B.C.E.) and Plutarch (I-II C.E.).<sup>18</sup> In antiquity, λίψ was also regularly used to denote the compass direction southwest and by extension the western quarter.<sup>19</sup> As such it occurs in opposition to words denoting the eastern quarter. Thus in his *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus uses it in opposition to ἀνατολή, ‘east’.<sup>20</sup> We find no trace of ambiguity in the use of λίψ by Hellenistic authors. East is east, and west is λίψ, and never the twain shall meet.

When we turn to the Greek Pentateuch, however, the compass begins to spin. For not only does λίψ render נגב, it is also used to render תימן, source items conventionally denoting the southern quarter.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps then we should redefine the word λίψ accordingly and call it a day. But this would hardly be a principled solution to the problem. The inference of synonymy from the mere pairing of target and source lexemes does not wash as a methodological principle.<sup>22</sup> Translators frequently base their lexical matches on other considerations. To establish a case for attributing an otherwise unattested meaning to a Greek word we need first to rule out all other possibilities.<sup>23</sup> One such possibility is that the Pentateuchal translators selected λίψ as a match for נגב and תימן not because it meant ‘south’, as such, but because it solved a problem of translation. This hypothesis may seem unlikely, but it does need to be

18. See A. Mauersberger, *Polybios-Lexikon*, Band I, Lieferung 4 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1975); J. I. McDougall, *Lexicon in Diodorum*, Pars II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1983); and D. Wyttenbach, *Lexicon Plutarcheum*, Part II (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1962).

19. See H. G. Liddell, R. Scott and H. S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*. It is also worth noting that in derived forms, such as νοτολιβυκός, ‘southwesterly’, which is used by Strabo, *Chrestomathiae*, 11.14 (I B.C.E./I C.E.), the morpheme λίψ contributes the sense ‘west’ to the compound, not ‘south’.

20. Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 3.294. In this context, Josephus refers to all four compass points — βορρᾶς, ἀνατολή, λίψ and νότος.

21. It also renders ררום at LXX-Deut 3:27. Yet this match likely reflects the unmarked meaning of each lexeme. Like its Greek counterpart, the Hebrew item denotes a southerly wind. Furthermore, it may have been used to refer specifically to the southwest compass point. Hence there was considerable semantic overlap between the two.

22. I hold this as self-evident. Yet cf. E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889) 35. “A word which is used uniformly, or with few and intelligible exceptions, as the translation of the same Hebrew word, must be held to have in Biblical Greek the same meaning as that Hebrew word.”

23. See J. A. L. Lee, “A Note on Septuagint Material in the Supplement to Liddell and Scott,” *Glotta* 47 (1969) 234. “It is a basic principle of lexicography that in order to establish the existence of a new sense of a given word incontrovertible examples of that sense must be found. So long as the word can be understood in one of its established senses without undue strain, it ought to be classified under that sense.”

tested. And there remains of course the further question of whether in fact the evidence of the Septuagint, taken on its own terms, warrants a two-fold entry for λίψ such as we have seen in LSJ. Answering these questions turns out to be more difficult than one might expect. In a corpus such as the Greek Pentateuch, determining which way is west is not always a straight forward matter.

If we are to gain our bearings, we need to bring some order to the evidence, without, of course, misrepresenting it. Empirical lexicography seeks to describe the difference a word makes; it thus seems prudent to begin with those cases in which λίψ is used in opposition to at least two other cardinal points in the Greek text.<sup>24</sup> Only then can we speak with any confidence as to what it might or might not mean. In the Pentateuch there are eight such occurrences. In seven of these, λίψ occurs in opposition with the same two lexemes, βορρᾶς and ἀνατολή. We shall treat these seven first.<sup>25</sup>

On the reasonable assumption that λίψ had the same meaning for the translators of the Septuagint as it did for other Hellenistic authors, we would expect it to point west, and in five of the seven texts, there is no compelling reason why it cannot. At Exod 37:7–11, however, we are faced with a conundrum. Understanding λίψ in the sense ‘west’ wreaks havoc with the dimensions of the court of the Tabernacle. For in this case, the eastward side is 50 cubits long and the westward side 100, the north 100 cubits and the south 50. On the other hand, if λίψ is understood in reference to the ‘south’, everything lines up nicely. And this is not surprising; for it was selected to render נגב. When we turn to Num 34:3–12, serious problems again arise due to the wealth of geographical detail.<sup>26</sup>

And so in at least two contexts λίψ behaves very oddly. Its conventional meaning renders the Greek text ambiguous because it replaces source items

---

24. See M. Silva, “Describing Meaning in the LXX Lexicon,” *BIOSCS* 11 (1978) 19–26.

25. LXX-Gen 13:14; Gen 28:14; Exod 37:7–11 (= MT 38:9–13); Num 2:3–25; Num 3:23–38; Num 34:3–12; Deut 3:27. In every instance, all four quarters are denoted within the Hebrew narrative, but only three compass points are explicitly identified in the Greek translation, the fourth quarter always being “seaward.” Since there is no reason to believe that βορρᾶς and ἀνατολή signify anything other than ‘north’ and ‘east’ respectively, and since the meaning of ‘seaward’ is relative to one’s frame of reference, λίψ might conceivably refer to either the ‘west’ or ‘south’ in any given case.

26. Here the land of Canaan is defined by its boundaries, and we are given detailed geographical information. In this passage, to understand λίψ in its conventional sense gets us into all manner of difficulties. Again, this comes as no surprise, since once more it renders נגב.

that mean ‘south’. The question arises, then, as to whether we should simply bite the bullet and concede that λίψ could mean ‘south’ as well as ‘west’. This solution has admittedly become very tempting; but before we draw any hasty conclusions, we might ask whether or not the evidence is so clear-cut. Two observations are in order. First, in each of the seven texts we are considering, the translators have retained the compass terminology first employed by the translator of Greek Genesis at 13:14, namely, λίψ, βορρᾶς and ἀνατολή. What is striking about this usage is the complete absence of the typical oppositions employed by contemporary Greek authors. In compositional Greek, βορρᾶς is typically opposed to νότος, and ἀνατολή either to δύσις or δυσμή. While one was by no means bound by these specific oppositions, they were conventional, and it is curious that they do not once occur in the evidence before us. Second, on the hypothesis that λίψ means ‘south’, it is curious that a word for ‘west’ never once occurs in these texts. Thus λίψ is never found in opposition to words such as δύσις, δυσμή, or ἔσπερος.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps then we are dealing with interlanguage after all.

With this in mind, let us turn to what I have identified as the exception, Exod 27:9. Here the term λίψ occurs with ἀπηλιώτης and νότος. Since νότος unambiguously points south and ἀπηλιώτης east, λίψ must carry its conventional sense, ‘west’, as it can hardly point ‘north’. Rather, it is κατὰ θάλασσαν, ‘seaward’, that points ‘northward’. Again, I have represented the relevant lexical matches graphically.

<i>MT-Exod 27:9–13</i>	<i>LXX-Exod 27:9–13</i>
צפון	ἀπηλιώτης
N	E
ם' W	θάλασσα N
E םק	S νότος
S	W
גב	λίψ

27. At the same time, the expression “seaward” is always employed, and, as we have seen, this results in no little ambiguity. If the use of λίψ in our literature is odd, so too is the company it keeps.

And so in this passage, at least, the translator would seem to break altogether with the usage established at Gen 13:14. Yet in abandoning one convention it would appear that he took up another, namely, that of the workaday world.

As I have indicated, Greek authors had numerous options when it came to describing the compass. Greek literary composition favors variety. Yet the literary register is an exclusive and restricted modality of usage. If we turn to other registers, a very different picture emerges. Variety gives way to formulaic usage. In a survey of papyri in which all four directions of the compass are denoted, I found that a strict convention was in place by the time of our earliest witnesses, and continued to be in use as long as Greek remained the language of commerce and administration in Egypt. The oppositions νότος and βορρᾶς, ἀπηλιώτης and λίψ turn out to have been as conventional as our North and South, East and West. We see this convention attested in witnesses roughly contemporary to the translation of the Greek Pentateuch. It is seen, for instance, in the plan of a house dated to the twenty-seventh year of Philadelphus, about 259 B.C.E., and, later in the third century, a land survey in which households are listed.<sup>28</sup> It occurs in a second century decree of Euergetes II concerning voluntary associations and the purchase of property.<sup>29</sup> The terminology is found in a wide range of documents, both official and private, commercial, administrative, and juridical. In document after document, the same four compass terms are used.

Turning back now to the usage of the Septuagint, we realize that it is the pattern established by the translator of Genesis that is anomalous, not that of Exod 27:9–13, which turns out to be the only text in which the usage of the papyri is reflected. In light of this, it is possible, I think, to explain why the translator of this text made the word choices he did. First, he apparently followed the precedent of Genesis in selecting λίψ as a match for נֹגֵב.<sup>30</sup> But when he came to the next compass term, he supplied its conventional opposite, ἀπηλιώτης, ‘east’. In so doing, however, he inadvertently reshuffled

28. P. Jouguet, *Papyrus Grecs - Institut Papyrologique De L'Université De Lille*, Tome Premier (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux, 1928) #1.6 “Plan et Devis de Travaux,” Ghorân 9 (259–8 B.C.). A. S. Hunt and J. G. Smyly, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, Vol. 3, Part 2 (London: Oxford University Press, 1933) #834.4 *et saepe*, “Land Survey, List of House Property” (late 3rd early 2nd B.C.).

29. A. S. Hunt and J. G. Smyly, *Tebtunis Papyri*, #700 “Decree of Euergetes II Concerning Associations and Purchase of Property” (124 B.C.).

30. MT-Exod 27:9 reads נֹגֵב־תִּימְנָה.

the order of compass terms as they occur in his source. Where the source text describes the north-south axis, he had described the west-east axis. This means that when he came to the second pair of compass points in the source text, describing the east-west axis, he had to replace it by the north-south axis. The next Hebrew item is **יָם**, and so the translator supplied the characteristic equivalent, 'seaward'. But when it came to selecting a match for the final Hebrew term, **מִזְרָח** 'east', a literal rendering was out of the question since he had already used ἀπηνλιώτης.<sup>31</sup> He therefore had recourse to his own geographical frame of reference. As P. Bogaert has observed, from the perspective of an Alexandrian translator 'seaward' is typically 'northward'; hence, having used κατά θάλασσαν for one pole of the north-south axis, he naturally selected νότος for the other.<sup>32</sup> Again he fell back on what was familiar to him. As we saw, νότος is the term for 'south' consistently employed in the papyri. It would seem then that the translator of Exodus both adhered to the pattern of Greek Genesis and yet departed from it.<sup>33</sup> Having followed its precedent in supplying λίψ for **לֵב**, he lapsed for a moment and assimilated the text to usage that was second nature to him, selecting the conventional opposite of λίψ.<sup>34</sup>

31. The MT-Exod 27:13 reads **קְדָמָה מִזְרָחָה**.

32. P. M. Bogaert, "L'orientation du parvis du sanctuaire dans la version grecque de l'Exode (Ex., 27,9–13 LXX)," *L'Antiquité classique* 50 (1981) 79–85.

33. On this account, the translator of Greek Exodus displays a certain freedom both from the source text and from the precedent of Greek Genesis. Of course, he is not altogether free. He still supplies θάλασσα for **יָם**, even in a context where he otherwise goes his own way, untroubled by the constraints of the source text. Yet his inconsistency should not trouble us. As J. Barr, *Typology of Literalism, passim*, has shown, this mixture of the free and the literal is not uncommon for many of the Septuagint translators.

34. Is the picture credible for the translator of Greek Exodus? I believe it is. If we look at his treatment of Hebrew compass terms elsewhere we find a certain amount of freedom. At 10:13 the Hebrew narrator informs us that the Lord brought an *east* wind upon the land of Egypt bringing locusts. In the Greek text, the expression **רוּחַ קָדִים** is rendered ἄνεμον νότον, 'south wind'. As J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus*, SCS 30 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 152, observes, to "an Alexandrian an east wind producing locusts would not make much sense." See also A. Le Boulluec and P. Sandevor, eds., *L'Exode* (La Bible D'Alexandrie. Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989). "La direction du vent n'est pas la même dans la LXX et dans le TM: pour des observateurs placés en Égypte, ce n'est pas de l'est, mais du <sud> (ou du sud-ouest) que peuvent venir les criquets." The expression **רוּחַ קָדִים** is again replaced by ἄνεμον νότον at LXX-Exod 14:21. In this context, Moses stretches his hand out over the sea, and the Lord drives it back by a strong *east* wind and turns the sea into dry land. Here too the translator would appear to have assimilated the source text to his cultural context. See J. W. Wevers, *Notes on Exodus*, 220. Returning to the account of the tabernacle, we find another type of discrepancy with the

For the lexicographer, the evidence of Greek Exodus is highly significant. It turns out that in the one context in which a Pentateuchal translator deviates from the precedent of Gen 13:14, and at the same time exhibits freedom in his rendering of the source text, λίψ is used in accordance with contemporary norms. This might suggest that what we are dealing with in the other passages is in fact interlanguage. Still, we are not out of the woods yet. We are still left with the troubling fact that λίψ became established as a match not only for נֹב, but also for הַיָּמִן. This calls for some explanation.

I have suggested that a pattern of usage introduced by the translator of Greek Genesis at 13:14 might have been adopted by later translators thus giving rise to an interlingual phenomenon. But is the scenario plausible? Only if we can account for the initial pairing of λίψ with נֹב. It turns out that this may be possible. If we look at the treatment of נֹב in Greek Genesis we find that it is never rendered as a proper name. Rather, in each of its first three occurrences, it is rendered ἔρημος, ‘desert’. But at 13:14 this will not do, a compass term is required, and here λίψ is supplied. But if the Greek

---

parent text. At 26:18–20 the Greek translator reverses the order of the description, north south rather than south north. What is interesting here is that he again selects νότος for south, resulting in the opposition of νότος with βορρᾶς, the very opposition attested by the contemporary papyri. This opposition is found again at LXX-Exod 26:35 (where the order of the Hebrew compass terms is followed). As it happens, it appears unlikely that λίψ is ever used by the translator of Greek Exodus other than in its conventional sense. The only exception is LXX-Exod 37:7, but this text comes from a section of the tabernacle account notorious for its independence both from the preceding Greek translation as well as from the MT, namely chapters 35–40. Wevers has long argued that this section was produced by a second translator. See J. W. Wevers, “The Building of the Tabernacle,” *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 19 (1993) 123–31. See also J. W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Exodus*, *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens* 21 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992) 144–46. A thorough study by M. L. Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (SBLSCS 49; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003) 245, confirms Wevers’ basic position. “While no claims can be made about proving or disproving a particular theory, this detailed, multi-faceted examination of the tabernacle accounts identified consistent, minute differences between the approaches in the two accounts, especially in the translation of the parallel accounts that were ambiguous in the first account. On the basis of this accumulation of minutiae, it seems likely that the second tabernacle account was produced by a second translator who used the translation of the first tabernacle account as a point of reference.” Yet cf. the earlier study of D. Gooding, *The Account of the Tabernacle: Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus*, *Texts and Studies: Contributions to Biblical and Patristic Literature* 6 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), who concluded that most of the tabernacle account came from the same translator, with parts of 35–40 undergoing displacement and redaction at a later time.

word did not mean ‘south’, why was it selected? The answer perhaps lies in the translator’s characteristic approach to lexical selection, namely, his reliance on unmarked meanings. As we saw, the unmarked meaning of  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  is not ‘south’ but ‘southwest wind’. As such it could be used to refer to the compass point southwest. Hence there is a degree of semantic overlap with  $\text{ננב}$ . On the other hand, while the translator recognizes that  $\text{ננב}$  points south in certain contexts, he obviously considers its unmarked meaning to be  $\xi\rho\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$ . Here he may be drawing upon his knowledge of Aramaic, where the verbal cognate means ‘to be dry, parched’.<sup>35</sup> Well, as it happens,  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  would undoubtedly have carried the connotations of ‘desert’ or ‘arid place’ for an Alexandrian. To the southwest of Alexandria was  $\Lambda\iota\beta\acute{\upsilon}\eta$ , Libya, widely recognized in antiquity as a characteristically arid place.<sup>36</sup> In rendering  $\text{ננב}$ , it is just possible that the translator opted for a compromise, selecting an item that would do double duty for him, picking up both the idea of a southward direction and that of an arid place.<sup>37</sup>

Thus we find that the pairing of  $\text{ננב}$  with  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  can be explained without assuming that the Greek term actually denoted ‘south’ as such. On this hypothesis, the match set a precedent for later translators, and they extended the usage to  $\text{תִּימָן}$  as well.<sup>38</sup> Here of course the original basis for the selection of  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ , the idea of aridity, is absent. But the habitual use of  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  as a match for  $\text{ננב}$  had rendered the Greek word a suitable replacement for other source items meaning south. We would say that an interlingual usage became partially institutionalized.

As Gideon Toury has shown, this is a well-attested feature of translational literature. Certain norms of usage arising from interlanguage become habitual

---

35. F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951).

36. E.g. Herodotus, 3.32. From about c. 500 B.C.E. Libya was regarded as a separate continent. Its frontier was traditionally drawn along the Nile, i.e. to the west of Egypt, but after Herodotus it was generally fixed at Suez. See M. Cary, et al., *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949).

37. Moving on to the other translators, we can see that while the pairing of  $\text{ננב}$  with  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  became fairly well established, it was by no means a stereotype. Rather,  $\text{ננב}$  continues to be rendered by  $\xi\rho\eta\mu\omicron\varsigma$  in certain contexts.

38. Within the Pentateuch  $\text{תִּימָן}$  in the sense ‘south’ appears first as a doublet for  $\text{ננב}$  at Exod 26:18, resulting in the expression  $\text{ננב-תִּימָנָה}$ . The Greek translator replaced this item with  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$ , and this choice perhaps acted as a bridge to the rendering of  $\text{תִּימָנָה}$  by  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\psi$  in later contexts.

for translators but are never adopted outside of this specific domain. The phenomenon is referred to by Toury as “translation specific usage.”<sup>39</sup> Of course, there is nothing to prevent such usage from becoming fully institutionalized, and hence available for use outside of the context of translation. In this way, a translation specific usage becomes a calque.

Does the evidence suggest that λῖψ became a calque? Did it ever come to mean ‘south’ within the Greco-Jewish community? The hypothesis finds partial support in the extended use of λῖψ as a match for תִּיִּמֶן. Against it is the fact in 2 Chronicles λῖψ replaces מִעֵרָב, ‘west’, as it does in the Theodotionic text of Daniel.<sup>40</sup> Hence there can be no doubt that the Greek word retained its conventional meaning for later Jewish translators.

It is important to note that certain translators did not adhere to the precedent of Greek Genesis, and used νότος rather than λῖψ when rendering נֹבֵב.<sup>41</sup> In this regard, it is highly instructive to look at the readings attributed to Aquila and Symmachus for the Greek Pentateuch, as recorded in the lower apparatus of Wevers’ critical editions. While I found numerous instances in which λῖψ is replaced by νότος, I did not find a single instance where νότος is replaced by λῖψ. So too with the secondary readings arising in transmission history: νότος tends to creep into the text, displacing λῖψ. This might suggest that while readers of the Septuagint remained tolerant of its odd use of λῖψ, the usage never became fully institutionalized.

This evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that the use of λῖψ as a match for Hebrew words denoting the southern quarter should not be regarded as a calque but as a translation-specific usage. Hence it would have been understood by contemporary readers and translators alike as a *marked usage*, that is, as a usage restricted to a certain body of translation literature. This is consistent with what we see in Greco-Jewish literature. If we examine original works exhibiting a literary dependence upon the Septuagint, we find no evidence that its peculiar use of λῖψ was ever adopted.

39. See G. Toury, “Translation-Specific Lexical Items,” *passim*.

40. The translator of LXX-2 Chr 32:30 and 33:14, as well as Th-Dan 8:5 supply λῖψ for מִעֵרָב.

41. E.g., the translators of the extant text of Reigns.

*The Representation of Translation-Specific  
Phenomena in the Dictionary*

It would seem reasonable to conclude that the conventional meaning of λίψ in Hellenistic Greek was unaffected by its pairing with נגב and תימן in the Septuagint. This raises the question of whether its interlingual function ought to be described in a dictionary such as LSJ. Perhaps there is no need; as I have indicated, it was never fully institutionalized, and in this sense never became a productive feature of the Greek language. On the other hand, it does represent a distinct use of the lexeme, one to which those who turn to a Greek lexicon might expect to be alerted.

Here again, Gideon Toury offers much-needed guidance. In a seminal article on the subject, Toury points out that so long as a translation-specific usage remains nothing more than the *ad hoc* solution of an individual translator to some problem of translation, it constitutes a mere performance phenomenon, and, as such, does not qualify for lexicographic treatment.<sup>42</sup> When, however, such a usage becomes habitual for a group of translators, then it does warrant attention; for it now represents a lexical convention, albeit one with a highly restricted distribution. Still, restriction to the domain of translation hardly disqualifies an item for inclusion in a dictionary, especially when we consider that translation often turns out to be a key source of innovation within the target language.

For a dictionary to ignore translation-specific usage is to incur a twofold charge of inadequacy. Firstly, it will fail those who turn to it for practical guidance. A reader of the Septuagint, for instance, whose dictionary neglects to record the fact that the word λίψ frequently replaces Hebrew items denoting the southern quarter, is liable to misconstrue the usage. Secondly, the philological value of the dictionary is greatly diminished. After all, philology demands as complete a picture of the lexicon as possible based on what is currently known. The habits of translators represent part of the larger picture of word-use in a linguistic community and should be recorded appropriately. That λίψ was regularly employed as a replacement for Hebrew נגב by certain Alexandrian translators in the third century B.C.E. is not uninteresting, and might conceivably prove linguistically significant in the light of further evidence. Such information undoubtedly belongs in a dictionary with any claim

---

42. G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 211.

to comprehensive coverage. The question therefore is not whether it should be represented but how.

Here there arises the risk of misrepresenting the evidence, for we do not want to give the impression that translation-specific usage represents a straightforward instance of communication in the target language.<sup>43</sup> This would be misleading. Although a candidate for the dictionary, an interlingual item of this type is a product of translation, and must be flagged appropriately. But this is by no means a tall order for an historical lexicon worthy of the name. The following proposal is adapted from Toury's article.

Employing a distinct sub-entry, the lexicon would identify the relevant pairings of source and target items, indicating the literature in which they occur and their frequency. The goal here is twofold. On the one hand, we want to ensure that users of the dictionary do not mistake interlingual phenomena with conventional usage. At the same time, we want to alert them to the lexical matches characteristic of significant translation corpora. This would be especially important for students of the Septuagint, who in their translation and exegesis of the text need to be able to differentiate between the language of the Greco-Jewish translators, the third century κοινή, and the idiosyncratic way in which that language was at times used in the rendering of Semitic texts. I have supplied a revision of the LSJ entry in which this distinction is made.

*Suggested Revision of the Liddell-Scott-Jones Entry for λίψ*

λίψ, ὄ, gen. λιβός, *the SW. wind*, Hdt. 2.25, Arist. *Mete.* 364<sup>b</sup> 2 (pl.), *Mu.* 394<sup>b</sup> 27, *Theoc.* 9.11 : pl., Plb.10.10.3.

2. *the West*, opp. ἀπηλιώτης, *PTeb.* 14.19 (II B.C.), *Vett. Val.* 8.5, *Paul. Al.A.* 2, *Herm. ap.Stob.* 1.21.9,1.; rarely in LXX, 2 *Ch.* 32.30, 33.14, *Thd. Da.* 8.5; λιβός or λίβα εις ἀπηλιώτην from *West* to East, *BGU* 1037.15 (I A.D.), *CPR* 28.21 (II A.D.).
3. Astron., πρωινός λ., μεσημβρινός λ., ὄψινός λ., *position of a star on the W. horizon* at sunrise, midday, or sunset, *Ptol. Alm.* 8.4.
4. Used also in translations c. III–I B.C. from Hebrew to Greek as a regular replacement of the lexical items נֶנֶב and תִּימָן which are used to refer to the southern quarter, LXX *Gen.* 13.14; *Gen.* 28.14; *Exod.* 37.7-11 (=MT 38.9-13); *Num.* 2.3-25; *Num.* 3.23-38; *Num.* 34.3-12; *Deut.* 3.27, etc.

---

43. *Ibid.*, 212.

I should stress that only a small body of words requires such treatment. Some of these items, however, are of considerable significance, as they are words upon which much interpretative weight has been placed. The tendency has been to assign otherwise unattested meanings to these items simply on the basis of their occurrence in the Septuagint. This will not do. While a given Greek word may function as a habitual replacement for its Semitic counterpart, the two are not thereby synonymous. Conversely, the sense required of a translation-specific usage by its context *within the translation* might have little or nothing to tell us about the meaning of the word as such. As we have seen, words sometimes behave oddly in translations. The task of descriptive study is to account for this oddness. Where it is corroborated by the usage of non-translational literature, we may well have straightforward semantic evidence, i.e., evidence pertaining to the description of the word's semantic field. Otherwise, its evidentiary value is of a very different order, a fact which must be reflected in our lexicography.<sup>44</sup>

Since, in the course of my discussion, I have appealed to the needs of exegetes and translators, I might conclude by raising the question, how should occurrences of λίψ in the Greek Pentateuch be translated? On the basis of what has preceded, I would suggest that the ideal gloss would be one consistent with the conventional meaning of the word, and, at the same time, transparent to its interlingual function, at least to the extent that this is possible. The forthcoming NETS version of the Greek Pentateuch manages this balancing act nicely. It translates λίψ by 'southwest'.<sup>45</sup> In contexts where the four points of the compass are assumed, this will give the reader a feel for the strangeness that at times characterizes this corpus, and, for that matter, any translation. I close with the plea that a little of this strangeness be felt in our lexica as well.

---

44. See C. Boyd-Taylor, "The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography: Alice's Reply to Humpty Dumpty," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001) 47–80.

<sup>45</sup>45. A. Pietersma, personal communication.

# *Lexicography and the Translation of a Translation: The NETS Version and the Septuagint of Genesis*

ROBERT J. V. HIEBERT  
*Trinity Western Seminary*

---

In his interesting and thought-provoking article, “The Evidentiary Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography: Alice’s Reply to Humpty Dumpty,”<sup>1</sup> Cameron Boyd-Taylor points out that readers of Greco-Jewish translation literature “require lexical assistance of various sorts” that “is not always forthcoming from the existing dictionaries.” He goes on to affirm “the desirability of specialized lexica *for* the Septuagint” but to question “the need for a lexicon *of* the Septuagint, i.e., a corpus-based description of its usage” because such an undertaking “involves one in the category error of treating a translation-corpus as if it were compositional literature.”<sup>2</sup> Boyd-Taylor is, of course, echoing the kind of caveat that G. B. Caird expressed in his critique of Septuagint entries in H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones’s *A Greek-English Lexicon* when he lamented the fact that “no systematic consideration has been given to the problems raised by the fact that the LXX is for the most part a translation of a Semitic text.”<sup>3</sup>

In discussing methodology for ascertaining meaning in the LXX, Boyd-Taylor contrasts the source-oriented approach, which emphasizes the congruence of intention of the author and the translator, and the reception-oriented approach, which focuses on how a text would normally have been understood

---

*Author’s note:* This article was presented as a paper in the Biblical Lexicography Section at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Atlanta, November 25, 2003.

1. *BIOSCS* 34 (2001) 47–80 (47).

2. *Ibid.*

3. “Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint. I, II,” *Septuagintal Lexicography* (SBLSCS 1; Robert A. Kraft, ed.; Missoula: Scholars, 1972) 110–52 (111).

by a reader of Hellenistic Greek. While acknowledging that both approaches are based on certain valid observations regarding the translation enterprise, he asserts that these interpretative stances are rivals, that they may in a given instance yield incompatible results, and that in such cases one will be unable to arbitrate between them. He maintains that what is required to break this impasse is a socio-linguistic theory of translation that adequately accounts “for how the relevant translation-units were produced, under what circumstances, and to what end.”<sup>4</sup> Only then, he suggests, will one be able to gain some leverage on the question as to the degree and the nature of the translator’s reliance on the source text.<sup>5</sup>

The alternation between *verbum e verbo* and *sensus de sensu* modes of translation, even within narrowly circumscribed translation units of the LXX, is the one phenomenon, more than any other, that has occasioned the ongoing debates regarding the method and purpose of this translation and the kind of approach to ascertaining meaning that one should take. The question as to the nature of the relationship between the LXX and its Hebrew *Vorlage* is one that challenges investigators of this translation corpus at every turn, and the discerning interpreter/lexicographer will certainly have to wrestle with the implications of this question as much as anyone else who is concerned with the problem of semantics. As I have discovered in my work of translating the book of Genesis for the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) project, this part of the LXX corpus provides a great deal of opportunity to participate in that struggle.

Before going any further, I should say a few words about some of the principles and methodology of this translation project to provide context for the present discussion. While it is acknowledged that the translated parts of the LXX eventually came to be read and interpreted with little or no reference to its Hebrew/Aramaic parent, we as NETS translators have striven to reflect the constitutive phase in the life of the Greek version, when certainly the translators themselves and at least some of the earliest readers would have had recourse to the Semitic original, whether literally or from memory. This is not to suggest, by any means, that one may assume that the Greek simply reproduces its Hebrew/Aramaic *Vorlage*. But it is clear that there would have been some degree of dependence by the former upon the latter. Thus, as part of the groundwork for the NETS translation process, we translators have had

---

4. Boyd-Taylor, “Evidentiary Value,” 51–52, 54, 65–66.

5. *Ibid.*, 67–68.

to sketch out systematically the respective semantic ranges of Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek counterparts. We have also had to evaluate at every turn the position on the semantic scale—ranging from contextual rendering to stereotype to calque to isolate rendering—of Greek terms. For a lexeme that falls on the side of the scale that is demarcated by the categories of contextual

Contextual Rendering	Stereotypes		Calques	Isolate Renderings
----------------------	-------------	--	---------	--------------------

renderings and stereotypes, the focus has been on choosing an English equivalent that reflects the Greek semantic range. For a lexeme that belongs on the calques to isolate renderings portion of the scale, an English counterpart that corresponds to the Hebrew semantic range has been sought. This procedure has been followed to ensure that due weight is given both to the fact that the LXX is a translation and to the fact that it is a Greek text that for the most part (i.e., especially when Greek terms are not situated on the right hand side of the semantic scale) employs language the way it would have been used in normal discourse in Hellenistic times.<sup>6</sup>

In the following discussion, I will explore the nature of the relationship between a number of MT-LXX equivalents in Genesis, and reflect on some possible semantic and lexicographical implications of these data.

רַב־טַבָּחִים, שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים ⇒ ἀρχιμάγειρος

The term ἀρχιμάγειρος is the counterpart to שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים in Genesis (37:36, 39:1, 40:3, 41:10, 12)<sup>7</sup> which the NRSV renders ‘the captain of the guard’. It is used in reference to Petephres/Potiphar, the Egyptian official who acquires Joseph/Joseph as a slave. Elsewhere in the LXX, the Hebrew term that is rendered ἀρχιμάγειρος is רַב־טַבָּחִים which the NRSV renders ‘the captain of the (body)guard’,<sup>8</sup> while the Aramaic term is the exact equivalent רַב־טַבָּחִיָא which comes across in the NRSV as ‘chief executioner’.<sup>9</sup> The Hebrew/Aramaic terms derive from roots having to do with being a butcher or cook, but they seem to have developed into the title of a royal official involved with security. Perhaps the idea of ‘executioner’ is the semantic

6. A. Pietersma, *Translation Manual for “A New English Translation of the Septuagint” (NETS)* (Ada, Mich.: Uncial Books, 1996) 12–17, 31–34.

7. Apart from these five cases, in 40:4 the equivalent to this Hebrew title is ἀρχι-δεσμώτης ‘chief jailer’ (NETS).

8. 2 Kgs 25:8, 10, 11, 12, 15, 18, 20; Jer 47(40):1, 2, 5, 48(41):10, 52:12, 14, 16, 19, 24, 26.

9. Dan 2:14.

component that links these two roles. The Greek counterpart ἀρχιμάγειρος literally reproduces the surface meaning of the Hebrew/Aramaic terms, but the question is whether it is merely at the level of ‘chief butcher/cook’ that the Greek would have been understood at the constitutive stage of this translation, rather than at the metaphorical level inherent in the Hebrew term. To gain leverage on this question, one needs to look for evidence in antecedent, or at least contemporaneous, Greek literature for this additional semantic component referring to a security officer. Josephus interprets Dan 2:14 in this latter sense with his use of σωματοφύλαξ ‘bodyguard’<sup>10</sup> instead of ἀρχιμάγειρος to designate Arioches’s/Arioch’s position, but Josephus is likely to have been interpreting the Aramaic term in Daniel rather than the Greek one in the LXX. Plutarch (I/II C.E.) is mentioned in the LSJ entry for ἀρχιμάγειρος, but his testimony would be a bit too late to try and establish anything with regard to the semantic range at the time of even the Daniel translator, let alone the Genesis one.<sup>11</sup> At any rate, it seems as though all subsequent LXX translators followed the lead of the Genesis translator in this case, and so that brings us back to the problem of ascertaining its meaning in that book.

There is certainly no evidence in LSJ to suggest that the term ἀρχιμάγειρος was used in III B.C.E. to designate a chief of security type of royal official.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, it seems to me that if the translator had intended to convey that sense, he would have elected to use a term like ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ ‘chief of the body-guard’.<sup>13</sup> Hence my choice of ‘chief butcher’ for the term that the LXX translator does use.<sup>14</sup> The translator produced what can only be regarded as a stereotypical rendering, inasmuch as this Hebrew-Greek equivalence occurs five of the six times that **שַׂר הַטְּבָחִים** is found in Genesis,<sup>15</sup> and in at least some cases the Greek term “stands in tension with its context.”<sup>16</sup> The only passages in which there might be some logic to the choice of ἀρχιμάγειρος are 41:10, 12, where the chief cupbearer’s (ἀρχιουνοχόος) recollection of his incarceration and that of the chief baker (ἀρχι-

10. Josephus, *Antiquities* 10.197; LSJ, s.v. σωματοφύλαξ.

11. LSJ, s.v. ἀρχιμάγειρος.

12. *Pace* LEH.

13. LSJ.

14. In T. Muraoka’s lexicon (*A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* [Louvain: Peeters, 2002]), ἀρχιμάγειρος is glossed ‘chief cook’. BDAG and LN have no entry for either ἀρχιμάγειρος or μάγειρος.

15. See note 7.

16. Pietersma, *Translation Manual*, 39.

σιτοποιός) in the house of the ἀρχιμάγειρος is described. But in other contexts there is the tautology of having one of the royal kitchen staff come across as a major-domo with considerable clout and a big estate for Ioseph to manage. Perhaps the translator's choice of term in these instances was conditioned in part by the fact that the Egyptian official so designated, Petephres, was the one who threw the hero of the story, Ioseph, into prison, and so 'chief butcher' would be an apropos designation.

Thus there appears to be no justification for one to assume that ἀρχιμάγειρος in LXX Genesis would have been intended or understood at the time of its translation as a technical term for 'the captain of the guard' or some such official. Any lexicographer, therefore, who would wish to represent its initially-apprehended sense would need to provide a gloss that reflects the stereotypical sense of the LXX's rendering of the Hebrew, a gloss like 'chief butcher'. But unless such an entry were to include an explanation of the fact that the Greek term represents a surface level, but not an *ad sensum*, reproduction of the underlying Hebrew, the reader would be unaware of its semantic dissonance *vis-à-vis* its narrative context. In such a case, one would be inclined, along with Boyd-Taylor, to question the value of a lexicon of LXX usage, and to look instead for one that facilitates LXX research by providing data on how terms were used in normal discourse at the time of translation.

סְרִיִּס ⇒ σπάδων/εὐνοῦχος

Another designation for Petephres/Potiphar is σπάδων which is the LXX rendering for סְרִיִּס 'official' (NRSV) in Gen 37:36. The only additional place in the LXX that σπάδων is found is Isa 39:7 where it also translates סְרִיִּס 'eunuch' (NRSV). For most of the other occurrences of סְרִיִּס the Greek equivalent is εὐνοῦχος, including Gen 39:1, 40:2, 7 where the NRSV counterpart is 'officer' in all three contexts.<sup>17</sup> Both Greek terms serve to designate a eunuch in literature contemporaneous with, or antecedent to, the LXX. In some cases the focus is on the physical state of a male who has been

17. The other 27 cases of this equivalence are found in 1 Sam 8:15; 1 Kgs 22:9; 2 Kgs 8:6, 9:32, 20:18, 23:11, 24:12, 15, 25:19; Isa 56:3, 4; Jer 29(36):2, 41(48):16, 52:25; Esth 1:10, 12, 15, 2:3, 14, 15, 21, 4:4, 5, 6:2, 14, 7:9; 2 Chr 18:8. For רַב־שָׂרִיִּס, etc. the Greek has ὁ ἀρχιτενοῦχος etc., in Dan 1:3, 7–9, 10, 11, 18. In 2 Kgs 18:17 (רַב־סְרִיִּס) ≈ τὸν Ραφίς) and Jer 39(46):3 (רַב־סְרִיִּס ≈ Ναβουσαρις) it is (approximately) transliterated; in Jer 34(41):19 and 1 Chr 28:1 the Greek equivalent is δυνάστης; in Jer 38(45):7 and 39(46):13 there is no Greek counterpart.

castrated or is impotent; in others (particularly involving εὐνοῦχος) it is applied to an individual who may (or may not)<sup>18</sup> be a physical eunuch but (also) an official in a royal court, whether the keeper of the harem or the occupant of some other position.<sup>19</sup> σπάδων is also attested in a III B.C.E. papyrus in the sense of a gelding.<sup>20</sup>

In Genesis, סְרִיִּץ = εὐνοῦχος is used not only of Potiphar/Petephres (39:1), but also of the chief cupbearer and chief baker who are incarcerated together with Joseph/Ioseph and who tell him their dreams for him to interpret (40:2, 7). Yet, as mentioned above, σπάδων too is used of Petephres as a counterpart for סְרִיִּץ (Gen 37:36). Although not every εὐνοῦχος or σπάδων may have been a castrated male, it appears as though that would have been a common implication when the term was used in pre-LXX Greek. This gives rise to a potential tautology in Genesis 39 where the reader learns that Petephres/Potiphar has a wife. Nevertheless, in an attempt to reflect what would seem to have been communicated in a III B.C.E. Hellenistic Greek context, I translate εὐνοῦχος as ‘eunuch’ in all its occurrences in Genesis, and σπάδων as ‘gelding’ in its one occurrence. The decision to go with two English terms serves to distinguish the two Greek equivalents for the same Hebrew term, equivalents that are used of the same individual and thus signal to the reader of NETS that at least lexical differentiation occurs in the Greek *vis-à-vis* the Hebrew. The *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* lists ‘a gelded person’, ‘a eunuch’ as a denotation (albeit a “long *rare* or *obsolete*” one) for ‘gelding’,<sup>21</sup> so while this latter term is normally applied to a horse, its use in English in relation to a human is attested as well. In any case, a lexicographer would need to note the fact that the terms selected to render סְרִיִּץ are surface level, though probably not *ad sensum* level, equivalents of the Hebrew.

18. Note Jer 52:25 which talks about a סְרִיִּץ = εὐνοῦχος who is פְּקִיד עַל-אֲנָשֵׁי הַמְּלָחָמָה ‘in command of the soldiers’ (NRSV)/ἐπιστάτης τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν πολεμιστῶν ‘commander of the warriors’. Would this have been a castrated male? (*TDNT*, s.v. εὐνοῦχος).

19. LSJ, LEH, Muraoka; BDAG and LN only have entries for εὐνοῦχος.

20. LSJ Supplement.

21. Fifth ed.; 2 vols. (Oxford: University Press, 2002).

מְרִיעַ ⇒ νυμφαγωγός

Only twice in Jewish Scripture is the מְרִיעַ = νυμφαγωγός equivalence attested: in reference to Ahuzzath/Ochozath, one of the retinue of Abimelech, the king of the Philistines/Gerara (Gen 26:26), and in the description of a friend of Samson/Sampson (Judg 14:20). In Gen 21:22, 32, the LXX also mentions Ochozath and describes him this way, but this is without counterpart in the MT. The Hebrew word is rendered by the NRSV as ‘adviser’ in Gen 26:26 and ‘companion’ in Judg 14:20. The Greek word in literal etymological terms means ‘leader of the bride’, i.e., ‘one who leads her from her home to the bridegroom’s house’.<sup>22</sup> Originally the LSJ entry had the gloss ‘generally, *friend*’ for the LXX references mentioned there (i.e., Gen 21:22 and Judg 14:20), but in the Supplement to the 1996 edition the LXX examples have been grouped with sources that attest the above-mentioned sense of ‘leader of the bride’. Caird is quite right to challenge the original LSJ entry regarding the general sense of ‘friend’ for the LXX occurrences, and to point out that the LXX translator of Genesis understood Ochozath to be King Abimelech’s groomsman and that the translator of Judges likewise regarded Sampson’s νυμφαγωγός to be his groomsman. Rather than follow his suggestion that LSJ’s entry for Genesis should read ‘*companion*, of a king’s confidential adviser’,<sup>23</sup> however, I have elected to adopt his original designation ‘groomsman’ for the Genesis occurrences, since ‘companion’ obscures the very sense that Caird acknowledges the LXX translators understood νυμφαγωγός to have. This again creates a tautology in the contexts in which the term appears in Genesis, but a tautology that is not the inevitable consequence of a quantitative, surface level approach to rendering the Hebrew, as per the previous two examples. In this case, the LXX translator has exercised a fair degree of interpretative license in specifying the particular type of context to which this companionship is linked—i.e., the companionship of those whose relationship is defined in terms of Israelite marriage custom. This makes logical sense in the Sampson/Samson story in Judg 14, but the logic is not as obvious in the relationship between Ochozath/Ahuzzath and Abimelech in Genesis.

22. LSJ; see Muraoka, LEH.

23. Caird, “Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint. II,” 136–37.

*עַלְמָה/נַעֲרָה (ה) בְּתוּלָה* ⇒ παρθένος

The term παρθένος occurs 52 times in the LXX in passages that have a Hebrew counterpart: 42 times it is equivalent to בְּתוּלָה,<sup>24</sup> one time to בְּתוּלִים;<sup>25</sup> six times to נַעֲרָה (ה),<sup>26</sup> two times to עַלְמָה,<sup>27</sup> and one time to כְּלָה.<sup>28</sup> Among the denotations attested for it in Greek literature that is contemporaneous with, or antecedent to, the LXX are ‘maiden’, ‘girl’, ‘virgin’, and ‘unmarried woman who is not a virgin’.<sup>29</sup> Thus it is clear that the use of παρθένος is not restricted to virgins.<sup>30</sup> It will be noted that 16 of the LXX occurrences of παρθένος are found in the Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy). In Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, it always renders בְּתוּלָה or בְּתוּלִים. In Genesis, this term is used of Rebekka prior to her marriage to Isaak (five times in chap. 24) and of Dina just after Hemmor’s violation of her (two times in chap. 34), and it serves as the counterpart to בְּתוּלָה (ה), נַעֲרָה (ה), and עַלְמָה in these various settings. In fact, in Gen 24:16 both (ה) נַעֲרָה and בְּתוּלָה are rendered παρθένος.

MT: וְהַנַּעֲרָה טַבְּת מְרֵאָה מְאֹד בְּתוּלָה וְאִישׁ לֹא יִדְעָהּ

NRSV: The girl was very fair to look upon, a virgin, whom no man had known.

LXX: ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἦν καλὴ τῇ ὄψει σφόδρα, παρθένος ἦν, ἀνὴρ οὐκ ἔγνων αὐτήν.

The clause that explicates בְּתוּלָה = παρθένος makes it clear that Rebecca/Rebekka has never experienced sexual intercourse, so ‘virgin’ would be a suitable gloss for both the Hebrew and the Greek terms here. The fact that earlier in this verse (ה) נַעֲרָה is also rendered as παρθένος means that this is a

24. בְּתוּלָה Gen 24:16 (2°); Exod 22:15, 16; Lev 21:3, 14; Deut 22:19, 23, 28, 32:25; Judg 19:24, 21:12; 2 Sam 13:2, 18; 2 Kgs 19:21; 2 Chr 36:17; Esth 2:17; Ps 44(45):15, 77(78):63, 148:12; Job 31:1; Amos 5:2, 8:13; Zech 9:17; Isa 23:4, 37:22, 47:1, 62:5; Jer 18:13, 26(46):11; 28(51):22, 38(31):4, 13, 21; Lam 1:4, 15, 18, 2:10, 13, 21, 5:11; Ezek 9:6, 44:22.

25. בְּתוּלִים Lev 21:13.

26. נַעֲרָה (ה) Gen 24:14, 16 (1°), 55, 34:3 (2x); 1 Kgs 1:2.

27. עַלְמָה Gen 24:43; Isa 7:14.

28. כְּלָה Jer 2:32.

29. LSJ, BDAG; cf. LEH, Μυραόκα, LN.

30. The NRSV also renders בְּתוּלָה in a number of ways besides ‘virgin’: ‘young woman’ Deut 32:25; Isa 23:4, 62:5; Jer 31(38):13; Ezek 9:6; Amos 8:13; Zech 9:17; Ps 148:12; Lam 1:18, 2:21; 2 Chr 36:17; ‘girl’ Jer 2:32, 51(28):22; Ps 78(77):63; ‘young girl’ Lam 1:4, 2:10; ‘maiden’ Amos 5:2.

case of at least lexical leveling. The question is whether or not this also constitutes semantic leveling. That is to say, did the LXX translator intend that contemporaneous readers understand both occurrences of *παρθένος* in this verse, as well as in v. 43 where *παρθένος* renders *עַלְמָה*, to be communicating the same thing, or did he expect that they would perceive the kind of distinction that the Hebrew makes by employing three different lexemes in this chapter (cf. NRSV ‘girl [for *נַעֲרָה* (ה) vv. 14, 16] . . . virgin [for *בְּתוּלָה* v. 16] . . . young woman [for *עַלְמָה* v. 43]’)? On the one hand, the fact that *παρθένος* is used to translate these three different Hebrew terms is indicative of some degree of overlap in their semantic ranges. On the other hand, it is possible to make the case for an implicit distinction in the Greek of v. 16 because of the explicatory clause following *παρθένος* 2° which emphasizes Rebekka’s virginity, whereas the only description that accompanies *παρθένος* 1° is the statement that she “was very beautiful in appearance,” something that could presumably apply to either a virgin or a non-virgin. But one would be hard pressed, it seems to me, to find contextual indicators to distinguish these usages from the one in v. 43. Furthermore, the Greek translator had available to him a number of equivalents for *נַעֲרָה*<sup>31</sup> and *עַלְמָה*.<sup>32</sup> It appears, therefore, that leveling of some sort has happened in Genesis 24, and consequently I have replicated that phenomenon by choosing an equivalent that is neutral as to the matter of virginity—i.e., ‘maiden’—but that allows for the explicatory clause in v. 16 which emphasizes her virginity to be the determining factor for English readers, in the same way as it is for Greek readers.

NETS: Now the maiden was very beautiful in appearance; she was a maiden—no man had known her.

Thus translators of the LXX should take this leveling into account, and should not, by their renderings, lead readers to believe that the Greek replicates the Hebrew’s differentiation of terms. As for lexicographers, they should take note of the fact that the use of *παρθένος* in Genesis is consistent with what is standard in contemporaneous Greek literature.

31. Other equivalents used for *נַעֲרָה* (ה) in the LXX include: *παῖς* Gen 24:28 ‘girl’ (NETS); *ἄβρα* Gen 24:61 ‘maid’ (NETS); *νεᾶνις* Deut 22:19; *κοῤῶσιον* 1 Sam 9:11; *παῖδις* Amos 2:7; *θεράπεινα* Prov 31:15; *γυνή* Esth 2:4.

32 Other equivalents used for *עַלְמָה* in the LXX include: *νεᾶνις* Exod 2:8; Ps 68 [67]:26; *νεότης* Prov 30:19.

**טָנַף** ⇒ ἐνταφιάζω/θάπτω

The term **טָנַף** occurs three times in the Hebrew Bible in the sense of ‘embalm’. All three occurrences are found in Genesis 50 in connection with the description of funeral rites performed for Jacob/Iakob and Joseph/Ioseph. Twice it is rendered as ἐνταφιάζω (50:2 [2x]), the only two times that this Greek verb is found in the LXX. In fact, the LXX translator of Genesis apparently created a new form based on the previously-attested noun ἐντάφιον ‘shroud’, ‘winding-sheet’<sup>33</sup> by applying the verbal suffix -άζω denoting action. This, of course, warrants a separate lexical entry apart from ἐντάφιον. For NETS I have elected to go with one of the options that is common to the standard lexica in my rendering of ἐνταφιάζω as ‘prepare for burial’.<sup>34</sup>

For the other occurrence of **טָנַף** the equivalent is θάπτω (Gen 50:26), a term which in LXX Genesis normally (25 of 27 times) is the rendering for **קָבַר**.<sup>35</sup> The gloss for **קָבַר** in the NRSV of Genesis is ‘bury’, as it is typically for θάπτω in NETS Genesis.

MT: וַיִּטְנֵפוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמִצְרַיִם

NRSV: he was embalmed and placed in a coffin in Egypt.

LXX: καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔθηκαν ἐν τῇ σοροῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ.

In this case, there are two elements involved in the description of laying Ioseph to rest, and if they are described in chronological sequence, as seems likely, then we have the potential tautology, if θάπτω is to be rendered ‘bury’, of Ioseph being buried before being placed in a coffin. In and of itself, that is not sufficient reason for a NETS translator to depart from his/her normal default, considering that one is translating a translation that, in a book like Genesis, contains not a few tautologies due to the kinds of techniques that the LXX translator employs in rendering his *Vorlage*. But in this case we are faced with an otherwise unattested Hebrew-Greek equivalence (**טָנַף** = θάπτω) in a passage that has to do with an Egyptian burial rite, namely embalming, the details of which the translator may well be intending to downplay, because of its potential cultic associations and theological implications,

33. LSJ, s.v. ἐντάφιος II.1.

34. LSJ, LEH, Muraoka, LN, BDAG.

35. Gen 15:15, 23:4, 6 (2x), 8, 11, 13, 15, 19, 25:9, 10, 35:19, 29, 47:29, 30, 49:29, 31(3x), 50:5 (2x), 6, 7, 13, 14. The only other occurrence of θάπτω has no Hebrew counterpart (50:12). **קָבַר** is rendered by something else than θάπτω just once in Genesis, i.e., κατορύσσω ‘bury’ (NETS) in 48:7. On two other occasions, **קָבַר** has no counterpart in Greek (35:8, 50:14 [2°]).

by choosing a more general term for disposal of the dead.<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, in pre-LXX Greek there is evidence that θάπτω was in fact used in connection with a range of possible funeral rites, and not only in regard to actual interment.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, in 50:26 I have followed the lead of LSJ in rendering this Greek term ‘honor with funeral rites’.

NETS: they honored him with funeral rites and placed him in the coffin in Egypt.

This generalized understanding both eliminates the above-mentioned tautology, and is consistent with attested Greek usage in certain contexts, usage which this passage could be employed to support.

לְעֵץ אֶרְמוֹן ⇒ ἄρουρα

The Hebrew term לְעֵץ אֶרְמוֹן ‘tamarisk tree’ (NRSV) is translated all three times it occurs as ἄρουρα in the LXX.<sup>38</sup> In NETS Genesis I render the Greek term ‘a ploughed field’ (Gen 21:33), but provide an alternative in the footnote “Or *an aroura* = a measure of land (nearly two-thirds of an acre) in Egypt.”<sup>39</sup> The

36. “The religious character of the process of embalming cannot be overemphasized. For most—if not, all—of Egyptian history, embalming was a religious practice. The preservation of the body was necessary so that the *ba*, very roughly similar to an individual’s soul or spirit, could recognize the body upon its return to it. Further, in certain periods at least, the embalming priests wore masks of the god whose function they were ritually performing upon the deceased. For example, from one workshop has been discovered a priest’s mask of Anubis, the god of embalming, which has openings located at the bottom of the chin through which the wearer could see and work upon the dead while at the same time impersonating the god of embalming himself. . . .

“Embalming itself surely took less than the 70 days mentioned in certain texts. It is now clear that this included the period of actual embalming as well as the periods of mourning, ceremonies, and other burial preparations, as illustrated by one Demotic text which mentions day 35 as the day in which the prepared corpse was wrapped with linen. It has been rightly emphasized that the ceremonial and religious aspects of embalming were extremely important to the Egyptians, being the key to the continuance of life in the hereafter. Accordingly, the various ritualized performances attending death were the reason why the process of embalming and burial lasted so long. . . . The period of 40 days in which the body of Jacob was embalmed (Gen 50:2–3), is not incompatible with current knowledge of the duration of the process” (Richard N. Jones, “Embalming,” *ABD* II 490–96).

37. LSJ. This could include cremation, though that would not be what is alluded to in Genesis. Entries regarding θάπτω in LEH, Muraoka, LN, BDAG only refer to burial.

38. Gen 21:33; 1 Sam 22:6, 31:13.

39. LSJ (9th ed. with Supplement [1996]) indicates that it is 100 cubits square. The entry in H. G. Liddell and R. Scott’s *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1889) indicates that it was nearly equal to the Roman *jugerum*, which measured 28,000 square feet or about two-thirds of an acre (D. P. Simpson, *Cassell’s New Latin-*

LXX Genesis translator clearly did not understand his Hebrew *Vorlage* at this point and so chose a counterpart that suggested itself to him from the context. Although it is a logical guess in this passage (καὶ ἐφύτευσεν Ἀβραὰμ ἄρουραν “And Abraam planted a ploughed field” [or: an aroura]) and may not be that out of place in 1 Sam 31:13 (καὶ λαμβάνουσιν τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτῶν καὶ θάπτουσιν ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρουραν “And they take/took their bones and bury/buried [them] under the ploughed field/aroura”), its usage in 1 Rgn 22:6 does not suit the context at all (καὶ Σαουλ ἐκάθητο ἐν τῷ βουνῷ ὑπὸ τὴν ἄρουραν “And Saoul was sitting on the hill under the ploughed field/aroura”). This is as clear an indication as any that the later LXX translator(s) followed the lead of LXX Genesis and used it as a lexical resource.<sup>40</sup> So while LXX translators did not understand this Hebrew word, the meaning communicated by their Greek equivalent would have been consistent with contemporaneous usage, even though in at least one case that resulted in nonsense. Consequently, any reference in a lexicon to the LXX’s use of ἄρουρα should be in accord with its employment in other sources of the same period, and should not contain the suggestion that the semantic range of this Greek term was expanded to include the meaning of its counterpart in the Hebrew Bible.

יְרֻבָּעַי ⇒ ἀρραβών

The term יְרֻבָּעַי ‘pledge’ (NRSV) occurs only three times in the Hebrew Bible—in Gen 38:17, 18, 20 in connection with the pledge provided by Judah/Ioudas to his daughter-in-law Tamar/Thamar. It is translated in the LXX as ἀρραβών ‘pledge’ (NETS) on each occasion. This Greek equivalent is not, however, just a transcription, but a true loan word, derived from a Semitic root, that was in use already in pre-LXX Greek.<sup>41</sup> Thus the lexicographer would want to note that at some stage in the development of the Greek

---

*English English-Latin Dictionary*, 5th ed., s.v. *iugerum* [London: Cassell, 1968]). Muraoka’s definition is ‘tilled land’. LEH’s glosses are ‘corn-land’, ‘field’ (Gen 21:33) and ‘land’, ‘field’ (1 Sam 22:6). There are no LN or BDAG entries.

40. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Genesis* (SBLSCS 35; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 314.

41. LSJ. LEH has ‘deposit’; LN and BDAG both refer to Eph 1:14, which describes the Holy Spirit as the “first installment” of the inheritance of believers. Both also list the glosses ‘downpayment’, ‘pledge’; LN attests ‘guarantee’ as well, while BDAG includes ‘deposit’ in its list of definitions. Muraoka’s entry states: “*sth of value which is handed over as security that a promise will be fully kept*, ‘pledge’: Ge 38.17.”

language, certainly by IV B.C.E.,<sup>42</sup> this term entered the lexicon from outside Greek culture and became part of regular discourse.

יִרְמֵס ⇒ ἄχλει/ἄχλι

יִרְמֵס is found just three times in the Hebrew Bible, twice as the term for the ‘reed grass’ (NRSV) on which the cows in Pharaoh’s dream were grazing (Gen 41:2, 18). Its Greek equivalent in the LXX in those two contexts is ἄχλει/ἄχλι ‘reed grass’ (NETS).<sup>43</sup> Both Hebrew and Greek terms are Egyptian loanwords, with perhaps the earliest attested appearance in Greek occurring about 300 B.C.E.<sup>44</sup> So, like ἄροαβών, ἄχλει/ἄχλι was imported into the Greek lexicon from elsewhere.

יִבְבֵּץ ⇒ σαβέκ

The Hebrew term יִבְבֵּץ ‘thicket’ (NRSV) is rendered σαβέκ in LXX Gen 22:13. This is clearly a transcription that seems to have come about because the translator was not sure of the meaning of his Hebrew *Vorlage*. The translator understood that יִבְבֵּץ was some kind of plant, as is evident from the fact that it is paired attributively with φυτόν, i.e., ‘sabek plant’ (NETS).<sup>45</sup> As a transcription attested nowhere else in the LXX as a counterpart to יִבְבֵּץ,<sup>46</sup> and as a neologism created by the translator of Genesis, σαβέκ has little lexicographical significance.

42. LSJ.

43. The Hebrew term is also found in Job 8:11 where the Greek counterpart is βούτομον ‘sedge’ (LSJ).

44. BDB, LSJ, Muraoka (“Egypt. loan word. *reed-grass*”); Wevers, p. 675; H. St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek* (Cambridge: University Press, 1909) 32, n. 1. LEH has ‘grass’, ‘sedge weed’. See also Miriam Crouchs, “Intertextuality in the Septuagint: The Case of Isaiah 19,” *BIOCS* 34 (2001) 81–94 (87–88), especially n. 15 on p. 88. She mentions Greek magical papyri dating from c. 300 B.C.E. to 500 C.E. and quotes one such example but gives no date for that source. BDAG and LN have no entries.

45. LSJ, Muraoka, BDAG, and LN have no entries for σαβέκ. LEH does have an entry in which it is acknowledged that σαβέκ is a transcription of the Hebrew counterpart.

<sup>46</sup>46. Neither יִבְבֵּץ (Isa 9:17, 10:34) nor its synonym יִבְבֵּץ (Jer 4:7; Ps 74[73]:5) has σαβέκ as a counterpart.

*Conclusion*

The preceding analysis has provided evidence of the various degrees of dependence of the Greek upon the Hebrew in the book of Genesis. This kind of variability, coupled with unevenness in literary style—in Genesis, and elsewhere in the LXX—has given rise to much debate among scholars over the years as to the context, purpose, and method of this Hellenistic Jewish translation venture. Such considerations, in turn, have significant implications with respect to the field of biblical semantics, and highlight the need for judicious (re-)evaluation of both the data of relevant texts and the adequacy of available lexicographical tools for the translator/interpreter of the LXX.

# *Divine Name and Paragraphing in Ezekiel: Highlighting Divine Speech in an Expanding Tradition*

JOHN W. OLLEY

---

## *Introduction*

A characteristic of Ezekiel MT is the frequent use of the double אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, seen also in the limited fragments of Ezekiel texts from the Dead Sea. Corresponding places in the Greek manuscripts show a variety of (ὁ) κύριος, κύριος κύριος, κύριος (ὁ) θεός (τοῦ Ἰσραηλ), Ἀδωναι κύριος and combinations such as κύριος κύριος (ὁ) θεός and Ἀδωναι κύριος ὁ θεός.

The data have been used in two different but related investigations:

a. *The history of usage of the divine name by both Jews and Christians.* This explores changes relating to the speaking and writing of יְהוִה, the use of κύριος and Ἀδωναι, along with the use of compound names. Related is the question as to whether κύριος was used in the first LXX texts, or was it introduced by Christian scribes? Why are there differences between Greek manuscripts? Significantly, to date the double אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה is unknown outside biblical texts. This topic is wider than Ezekiel: it includes the examination of practices observed in Qumran material.

b. *The debate as to translator(s) and reviser(s) of the Ezekiel LXX and its relationship to a Hebrew Vorlage.* This arises from the observed variety in the usage in different parts of the book and in different manuscripts.

The purpose of this article is not to re-examine all the data and proposals<sup>1</sup> but rather to present as a contribution to the debate close parallels between

---

1. Significant presentations of data and analyses in the past 25 years are those of Skehan (1980), Zimmerli (1983, 556–62), McGregor (1985, 57–94, 213–58), Pietersma (1984) and Lust (1996). On the question of translator(s) and/or reviser(s) of Ezekiel LXX, in addition see examination of the variety in divine names by Thackeray (1903), Kase (in Johnson, Gehman and Kase 1938, 48–73), Ziegler (1945/1948) and N. Turner (1956).

the use and forms of the divine name in Ezekiel and developments in paragraphing (major sense-divisions) in early manuscripts of the book.

*Brief Overview of the Progress of the Debate*

Scholarly discussion has been influenced by two developments. In 1937/1938 major parts of the newly discovered P967 were published (Kenyon 1933; 1937; Johnson et al. 1938; Kenyon 1938), to be followed in the early 1970s with the remaining extant portions (Fernández Galiano 1971; Jahn 1972).<sup>2</sup> Because of the prominence of the single κύριος in P967, the dominant view has been that the Hebrew *Vorlage* had simply יהוה and that this was also the case in the earliest LXX.<sup>3</sup>

The second development came out of the Dead Sea discoveries, including texts in Greek. Reconsideration in the light of this material and observations on the specific locations of the double name in the MT have led some to propose that יהוה ארני יהוה was original, particularly in the speech combinations יהוה ארני יהוה and כה אמר ארני יהוה and נאם ארני יהוה which comprise 94% of the instances in Ezekiel MT (Lust 1968; Zimmerli 1983; McGregor 1985; Lust 1996). This is supported by the fragmentary MasEzek from Masada which agrees with MT (Talmon 1999). This does not however resolve the question of what was done in the LXX.

There are to date no known pre-Christian LXX texts of Ezekiel nor of any text where the double name might be expected. Relevant, however, are fragments of early Greek texts with the single יהוה in (paleo-)Hebrew letters or the Greek ΙΑΩ, but no instances of κύριος (Skehan 1980; McGregor 1985, 85–87, including evidence from later writing and other texts; Lust 1996).

The only clear evidence for pre-Christian use of κύριος is in Philo, who regularly uses the term. Again there are no pre-Christian Philonic texts, but his exposition of the meaning of θεός and κύριος in *De Abrahamo* 121 and *De Plantatione* 85–90 shows that his biblical text was read as having κύριος (Pietersma 1984, 93, alluding especially to comments on Gen 21:33 and 28:21).

---

2. Images of the Cologne portion (see Jahn) were placed on the web in Aug. 2001 at: <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/NRWakademie/papyrologie/Ezechiel/bildereze.html>.

3. This is seen in the critical notes to *BHS* with the repeated use of *additum*, and in the text and apparatus of the Göttingen LXX (Ziegler 1977), in contrast to the Rahlfs edition (1935) which follows the doubling in B.

Irrespective of what was written, even in the early texts to hand the very form of writing raises the question as to what was *said* when these texts were read. Given the universal later written usage there can be no doubt that κύριος was standard. This is supported by the Qumran use of אֲדֹנָי in non-biblical material (Skehan 1980, 36). Pietersma (1984) takes the argument further, and concludes from form and usage that throughout the Pentateuch translation κύριος was *written* in the original, probably to ensure against pronunciation of the ineffable name. Further, it is of note that in the NT when Paul cites OT references to YHWH he regularly uses κύριος; this includes Romans which is written to an at least partly Jewish-Christian audience (e.g., 4:8; 9:28–29; 10:16; 11:34; 15:11), suggesting a common pre-Christian practice (Hurtado 1993).

### אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה *in the MT*

#### *Instances in Ezekiel*

The combination occurs 293 times in the whole MT, 217 of these being in Ezekiel (the single יהוה occurs in Ezekiel 218 times). The great majority of the Ezekiel instances are in three contexts:

a. In the introductory phrase אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה כֹּה אָמַר “thus says the Lord YHWH”: 122 times. With the single יהוה this phrase occurs only three times (11:5; 21:8; 30:6).

b. In the oracle formula נֹאֵם אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה “says the Lord YHWH”: 81 times. The single יהוה occurs only four times (13:6, 7; 16:58; 37:14).

c. In direct address (i.e., as a vocative): 5 times (4:14; 9:8; 11:13; 21:5; 37:3).

It occurs in only nine other locations: five in the combination יָדַע כִּי אֲנִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה “... know that I am the Lord YHWH” (13:9; 23:49; 24:24; 28:24; 29:16) and four in a construct chain (“hear the word of ...”, 6:3; 25:3; 36:4; “the hand of...”, 8:1).

The combination יהוה אֱלֹהִים “YHWH God” occurs only as “YHWH your God” (four times), “YHWH their God” (four) and “YHWH God of Israel” (once).

To provide a wider setting for exploring the peculiarities of Ezekiel it is helpful to review patterns in other books before returning to Ezekiel.

*Instances outside of Ezekiel and the Greek in Those Locations*

The only four instances in the Torah are in direct address: Gen 15:2, 8; Deut 3:24; 9:26. Eleven of the 12 instances in the Former Prophets are similarly in direct address (the exception is “the ark of . . .” in 1 Kgs 2:26).

The translation of these is diverse: Gen 15:2 LXX δέσποτα; 15:8 δέσποτα κύριε; Deut 3:24 κύριε κύριε (B\* κύριε ὁ θεός) and 9:26 κύριε κύριε βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν (B has only one κύριε).<sup>4</sup> Josh 7:7 has the simple κύριε; Judg 6:22(B) κύριέ μου κύριε; 16:28(B) Ἀδωναιε<sup>5</sup> κύριε [A has κύριε κύριε in both<sup>6</sup>]. There are 7 instances in 2 Sam 7:18–29 where the Rahlfs text has κύριέ μου κύριε, but notes variants (e.g., occasional omission of the second κύριε). 1 Kgs 8:53 has κύριε κύριε (not in A).

Three instances in Psalms, all vocative, are variously rendered: 68:7(69:6) κύριε κύριε (B single); 70(71):5 κύριε κύριος where the second word is treated as the subject of the following verbless clause; and 70(71):16 κύριου κύριε, with the first being linked with the preceding word.<sup>7</sup>

Of the 23 instances in Isaiah only 8 are in the phrase . . . כה אמר (out of 44 such phrases in Isaiah) and 2 . . . נאם (out of 23), with none in the vocative. Overwhelmingly the simple κύριος is used throughout.<sup>8</sup> The exceptions are ὁ θεός in 10:23 and 25:8. Doubling of the divine name is evident only in hexaplaric manuscripts.

Of the eleven instances in Jeremiah, five are vocative, one is in the phrase . . . כה אמר and four are in . . . נאם. Again the single κύριος dominates in the LXX. Two of the vocatives are translated as δέσποτα κύριε (cf. Genesis). In 2:19 יהוה צבאות נאם is matched by λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου. While the double κύριος κύριος is in 51(44):26, the LXX has understood each word as linked with a different phrase.

In Amos, of 20 instances 2 are in the vocative (7:2, 5 both translated κύριος κύριος), 2 in . . . כה אמר (only 5:3 has the double κύριος κύριος),

4. βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν is unknown elsewhere in the Bible and is probably influenced by Ptolemaic religion (Dogniez and Harl 1992, 179).

5. The only other instance of ἀδωναι in B that I am aware of is 1 Sam 1:11 where MT has יהוה (צבאות).

6. Judges A also has the double κύριος in 2:1 (B: τὰδε λέγει κύριος). Both A and B apparently seek to avoid having the angel of the Lord saying, “I brought. . .”

7. Κύριε κύριε also is equivalent to the reverse order יהוה אדני in direct address in 108(109):21, 139(140):8 and 140(141):8; and for the simple אדני in 129(130):3.

8. Generally LXX Isaiah is seen as dependent on the Ezekiel translation (Seeligmann 1948, 74–75; Turner 2001, 294).

and 5 in . . . נאם (only 3:13; 4:5 are translated κύριος ὁ θεός). In 7 places where MT has the full אלהי־צבאות יהוה LXX has κύριος ὁ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ [this longer Greek also stands in 5:8; 9:6, 15 where MT is simply (יהוה (אלהי־)]. A further two instances translated by κύριος ὁ θεός are in the strong statements in 3:7–13 (3:7, 8). In 4:3 MT has simply נאם־יהוה but LXX has λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός.

For the three remaining instances in the MT of the Twelve, Obadiah 1 has τάδε λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός, while Mic 1:2 has the simple κύριος and Zeph 1:7 also κύριος ὁ θεός.

### *General Observations for Books Other Than Ezekiel*

1. There is only limited use of the double name אדני יהוה in the MT in the Latter Prophets. For the speech formulae details are: . . . כה אמר, Isaiah 8x; Jeremiah 1x; Amos 2x; Obad 1x; and . . . נאם, Isaiah 2x; Jeremiah 4x; Amos 5x. For each book this is a small proportion of the total number of instances of the speech formulae.

2. There is very limited use of the double κύριος κύριος, and only in instances of direct address apart from Amos 5:3 (the possible exceptions are where the translator has interpreted with a phrase division between the two words). There is an occasional κύριος ὁ θεός: Deut 3:24 B\* and in Amos, with ὁ θεός in Isaiah 10:23; 25:8. This can be compared with the instances of κύριος ὁ θεός where MT has the single יהוה or אלהים in Genesis. The occurrences of the double name are much rarer in the LXX than in the MT, although in Amos a longer title occurs where MT has the simple יהוה.

The debate as to whether P967 points to an earlier Hebrew text that does not have the double name has been noted above, and similar arguments (without the benefit of a textual witness equivalent to P967) can be applied to other books. Does the lower use in the LXX point to a simpler earlier Hebrew text, or is it the result of inconsistent translation practice (or scribal idiosyncrasy)? Do instances of an expanded name in the LXX not matched in the MT point to an independent tradition or again to inconsistent scribal practice or, to anticipate the data below regarding Ezekiel LXX, a developing intra-Greek pattern? While it is likely that the double name was characteristic of Hebrew Ezekiel from the earliest time (*pace BHS*) the diversity in other books in both MT and LXX points to the possibility of a developing practice. One awaits the discovery of other early manuscripts that may elucidate pre-Christian practice.

*Developing Pattern of Divine Names in Ezekiel LXX*

Tables showing the occurrence and form of the divine name in several manuscripts of Ezekiel are provided by McGregor (1985, 213–58). His lists provided the raw data for much of the following analysis. Table 1 shows LXX equivalents for the 217 MT instances of יהוה אֱלֹהֵי<sup>9</sup> (P967 is not extant for chs. 1–11).

P967 clearly follows the pattern seen elsewhere in the LXX of the single κύριος. For passages corresponding to those extant in P967 MT has 169 instances of the double name. In 154 of these, P967 has simply κύριος or nothing.

*The Phrase “. . . know that I am . . .”*

In P967, in addition to the 15 instances of κύριος ὁ θεός matching MT יהוה אֱלֹהֵי, there are a further 3 instances where MT has the single יהוה. All of these are in the common (72x) Ezekiel phrase, “. . . know that I am . . .” (16:62; 20:12; 35:15). Elsewhere in the MT this phrase has the double name on only 5 occasions, but in none of those do P967 or B have any doubling of the name. A has doubling in 3 (13:9 ἀδωναι κύριος; 28:24 and 29:16 κύριος ὁ θεός).

*Vocative Use*

The name of God in address occurs only 5 times in the MT, all using the double name. While A has no expansion at all, B has expansion only at 4:14 κύριε θεὲ τοῦ Ἰσραηλ (P967 is not extant) and 20:49(21:5) κύριε κύριε, and P967 at 37:3 κύριε ὁ θεός.<sup>10</sup> Of note is the lack of consistency in the translation of the direct speech instances, although the translation κύριε κύριε matches the only instances of the double name in the MT Pentateuch. As an illustration of later usage κύριε κύριε is found in direct speech in Matt 7:21, 22; 25:11; Lk 6:46, which suggests that it may have become a common form of address.

9. For all 8 instances where MT has יהוה אֱלֹהֵי all LXX manuscripts have κύριος ὁ θεός, except P967 20:5b where the relevant phrase is not included. These instances have not been included in the analysis or discussion.

10. P967 is not extant for 4:14; 9:8 and 11:13, but is for 20:49(21:5).

Table 1: LXX Equivalences for MT יהוה יהוה

Chs.	1–11			12–25			26–39			40–48					
MSS	B	A	Q	P967	B	A	Q	P967	B	A	Q	P967	B	A	Q
κύριος	20	1		58 <sup>11</sup>	78	25		75	42 <sup>12</sup>	13		17	1	1	
κύριος ὁ θεός	1 <sup>13</sup>	1 <sup>14</sup>	1 <sup>15</sup>	9 <sup>16</sup>		7 <sup>17</sup>	1	6 <sup>18</sup>		9		16 <sup>19</sup>	15	12	
κύριος κύριος		3 <sup>20</sup>	2		13 <sup>21</sup>	19 <sup>22</sup>	27		42	39 <sup>23</sup>	71 <sup>24</sup>				5
Ἄδωναι κύριος		16 <sup>25</sup>	18			40 <sup>26</sup>	63 <sup>27</sup>		2 <sup>28</sup>	26 <sup>29</sup>	17 <sup>30</sup>				1

11. In addition there are 4 instances where no noun is used.  
 12. In addition there are 2 instances where no noun is used.  
 13. Κύριος (ὁ) θεός τοῦ Ἰσραηλ is used in both 4:13 (MT יהוה) and 4:14.  
 14. κύριος κύριος θεός τοῦ Ἰσραηλ in 4:14.  
 15. κύριος θεός τοῦ Ἰσραηλ in 4:14.  
 16. In addition P967 has κύριος ὁ θεός in 16:62 and 20:12 where MT has יהוה once.  
 17. Including two cases of κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραηλ. See also n. 22.  
 18. In addition, in 35:15 all Greek MSS have κύριος ὁ θεός where MT has יהוה once.  
 19. In B and A at 43:18 the expression is κύριος ὁ θεός Ἰσραηλ, the phrase common to all, including MT, in 44:2. B has κύριος ὁ θεός in chs. 43–44 (6x) but κύριος θεός in chs. 45–48 (9x). For detailed discussion of a possible rationale and link with readings in Q and Lucianic texts, see Kase (in Johnson et al. 1938, 52–68).  
 20. 2:4; 3:11, 27.  
 21. In addition B has κύριος κύριος in 20:38 where MT has יהוה once. Of the 14 instances of the doubling, only 3 are in 12–20:37 (12:10; 13:20; 14:6) compared to 11 in 20:38–25:17.  
 22. Including 10 instances of κύριος κύριος ὁ θεός.  
 23. Including 13 instances of κύριος κύριος ὁ θεός; in addition 36:36b and 37:14b have κύριος κύριος where MT has יהוה once.  
 24. As for A (but not B), in 37:14b Q has κύριος κύριος where MT has one יהוה.  
 25. Starting from ch. 5.  
 26. Including ἄδωναι κύριος κύριος ὁ θεός at 23:32.  
 27. In addition Q has ἄδωναι κύριος in 21:8; 24:24; and 25:17 where MT has יהוה.  
 28. Both are in the block that is missing in P967, 36:23b–38.  
 29. Including ἄδωναι κύριος κύριος at 26:15; 27:3 and ἄδωναι κύριος ὁ θεός at 37:21; 38:17.  
 30. In addition 30:6a has ἄδωναι κύριος where MT has יהוה once.

*“Thus Says the Lord” and “Says the Lord”*

These phrases occur 213 times in the MT, 206 having the double name. The amount of matching of expanded names clearly increases as one progresses from P967 (a mere 14), to B to A and Q. Of the 7 where MT does not have a double form, the only LXX doubles are in A: 21:3(8) with κύριος ὁ θεός and 37:14 κύριος κύριος.

*A Developing Practice in Codices*

The developing practice in Greek codices can be seen in Table 2 showing the number of instances of expanded name. Here can be seen the broad picture of the increase in numbers of instances of an extended name with evidence of a growing tradition in the LXX of using an expanded name. A few patterns can be observed.

It is clear that much of the increase in the LXX codices is towards closer conformity to an MT text-form, to varying degrees and with differing translation equivalents. Matching MT there is a growing expanding of the name in speech formulae. In the tradition represented by A this is more marked in instances in the speech formula, “Thus says . . .”, than in the (usually concluding) phrase “says . . .”. In Q however there is equal movement as well as higher conformity. At the same time there are cases where a LXX manuscript has an expanded form and MT does not. It would thus appear that conformity to MT text-form is not the only motivation. Although small in numbers (18% of instances of expanded name in P967; 4% in B, 3% in A and Q) it is of note that the greatest discrepancy is for the common Ezekiel phrase “. . . know that I am. . .”

There is thus some inner-Greek diversity and independence; yet the increasing conformity to Hebrew doubling suggests close interaction with Hebrew texts. This is seen especially in A and Q, two texts known to be influenced by hexaplaric tradition. The low matching of P967 and the partial matching of B (at times also not matching where P967 does) suggest that there is no direct line between the two, but that nevertheless they witness a movement of increasing focus upon the speech of YHWH.

That the process is partial, and progressive, is also seen in the ways in which the form of the expanded name varies within a manuscript. While this could result from scribal inexactitude, it seems more likely that the expanded form already present in an exemplar is retained, shown by patterns in relationships. For example, it is common for A and Q to have ἀδωναι κύριος where B has simply κύριος, but to agree with B in the use of κύριος

**Table 2: Instances of Expanded Divine Name in Ezekiel**

	P967	B	A	Q	MT	Comment
Vocative: matching MT	1	2	5	5	5	P967 does not match B
“... know that I am ...”: matching MT			3	4	5	
... not matching MT*	3	2	2	3		P967 matches B,A,Q only at 35:15
“Thus says ...”: matching MT	7	38	104	122	125	P967: 6 ≠ B, 2 ≠ A; all = Q
... not matching MT			1	2		21:3(8); 30:6a
“Says ...”: matching MT	7	28	59	80	85	P967: 4 ≠ B,A; all = Q
... not matching MT			1	1		37:14b
Other: matching MT			2	4	4	“word of ...”, “hand of ...”
... not matching MT		1	2	1		“says ...”

\* Instances where the MT has the single יהוה but LXX has a double name.

κύριος (of 56 instances in B, A has the same in 23 instances, plus 12 κύριος κύριος ό θεός, while Q has the same 49 times) and where B has κύριος (ό) θεός (in chs. 40–48) there is also overwhelming agreement in A and Q. The pattern also shows that A and Q, while both having much greater numbers of enlarged names, represent differing traditions: Q at times agrees with P967 over against B and A, or agrees with B over against A.

Above all, while of necessity one can only speculate on possibilities, it is clear that there is a general progression of highlighting of the speech of the Lord by increasing the usage of a longer form of the divine name.

### *Parallel Development in Paragraphing*

A feature of all extant manuscripts, Greek and Hebrew, is the presence of paragraphing, dividing the text into significant sense-divisions, commonly with two types which may be labeled major and minor (as in the Hebrew tradition of “open” and “closed” paragraphs).

#### *Comparison with Isaiah*

My earliest research on paragraphing focussed on 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, including comparison with later Hebrew manuscripts of Isaiah (Oolley 1993). Divine speech proved to be a predominant factor in the location of paragraph breaks: of 44 instances of . . . כה אמר 38 had division markers; and of 23 instances of . . . נאם 17 were linked with a division. Related phrases, דבר אמר and שמע, all were overwhelmingly associated with new divisions.

An examination of divine names in Isaiah shows that expanded divine names are widely used in both MT and LXX, but there is no disproportionate use in speech formulae, apart from LXX use of κύριος ὁ θεός (see below). MT usage is: 62x יהוה צבאות (7x preceded by אדני), mainly in chs. 1–39; 56x קדוש ישראל throughout; 16x אדני יהוה throughout. It is not the intention here to pursue diversity in Greek manuscripts, but as a broad picture the following results emerge from the Rahlfs text. יהוה צבאות is translated κύριος σαβαωθ [52x, plus 7:7 where MT has (כה אמר) אדני יהוה] and 23:11 and 45:14 for the simple יהוה] and θεός σαβαωθ [in 44:6]. κύριος σαβαωθ also occurs 5x where the MT title is preceded by אדני (no divine name in 3:15; and simple ὁ θεός in 10:23). אדני יהוה is generally translated simply κύριος; while יהוה alone occurs 340x. Given the expansion seen in P967 Ezekiel, it is interesting to note that in 16 places in Isaiah where MT has simply יהוה LXX has κύριος ὁ θεός (26:12 [vocative]; 41:17; 41:21 [“says the Lord”]; 42:6, 8, 13, 21; 43:1, 10, 14, 15; 45:1 [“thus says...], 3, 5, 6, 7, 11 [“thus says . . .]),<sup>31</sup> so there is some expansion compared to MT, but varied in context. One could only wish for an Isaiah equivalent of P967!

The Isaiah texts thus show paragraphing that has particular emphasis on divine speech and divine name usage that is generally comparable between MT and LXX, except that LXX does not render אדני in compound forms.<sup>32</sup>

31. The Göttingen LXX critical apparatus has no significant variants.

32. This is distinct from the rendering of the definite האדני (5x) as ὁ δεσπότης (3x, not rendered in 10:16 and 19:4).

*Locations of Paragraphs in Ezekiel*

More recently my attention has turned to Ezekiel, especially P967 and later developments in Greek manuscripts, including comparison with later MT texts (Olley 2002; 2003). Significantly the results show that the presence and growth in use of paragraph divisions are closely related to speech formulae.

*The Amount of Paragraphing*

As with divine names there is a degree of matching amongst manuscripts, together with diversity.

The increase in the number of divisions is evident as time progresses. P967 has 87 in extant sections, compared with approximately 180 in equivalent sections of B, 273 in A and at least 340 in Q, with 135 in later Hebrew codices (MT) for equivalent sections. Approximately 90% of the major divisions in P967 match paragraphs in all the Hebrew and Greek codices examined (99% for Q). The matching between P967 and MT is closer in chs. 12–39 (92%), than in chs. 40–48 (80%), while the matching between P967 and Greek codices is 100% in chs. 40–48.

Inner-Greek matching varies widely. The 224 paragraphs in B (whole book) have an 80% match with A (88% in chs. 12–39) and 83% with Q (89% in chs. 12–39). The matching is even better for the 54 major divisions alone: 93% with A (98% in chs. 1–39) and 96% with Q (100% in chs. 1–39). The cross-matching of A and Q however is much weaker, only 62% of paragraphing in A matching Q. This is a similar pattern to that observed in the usage of compound divine names.

*Rationale for Location of Paragraphs*

As expected, paragraphing is related to distinctive literary features of Ezekiel (e.g., dating and addresses to “son of man”), but as in Isaiah even more so in Ezekiel speech formulae are key markers.

Each of the 13 instances of dating in Ezekiel is marked by a division in all codices, generally major.

A number of phrases related to divine speech are marked by new divisions. The two phrases, “Thus says the Lord” and “says the Lord” alone account for 50 paragraphs in P967 and 120 in B (the Aleppo Codex has 102), the number rising further in later codices, Q 148 and A 170. Significantly the

**Table 3A: Paragraphing Statistics: Divine speech and dates**

	Dates	And the Lord's word came to me	and he said to me	Thus says the Lord	says the Lord	As I live, says the Lord	TOTAL OF PRECEDING	PERCENTAGE OF PARAGRAPHS
No. of Instances [P967]	12 [11]	42 [34]	42 [19]	128 [93]	80 [71]	13 [11]		
No. as paragraphs in P967	11	31(1)	1	25	25(19)	0	73	84
P967 dd <sup>33</sup>	0	1	0	5	0	0	6	43
B	12	41	11	89(1)	1(20)	5(5)	163	71
A	12	40	22	121(1)	49(21)	11(11)	222	55
Q	12	41	26	95(1)	53(20)	10(10)	206	44
MT (Aleppo)	12	41(1)	14	72(1)	30(20)	4(4)	147	80

Numbers in brackets (..) are the number of paragraphs in that category overlapping with categories to the left [in Table 3B, including respective number in Table 3A categories]

33. "dd" = "double dot." See n. 35 for the explanation.

**Table 3B: Paragraphing Statistics (cont.): other**

	And you, son of man	and you	In that day	And he brought me	And he measured	ch. 48	ALL CATEGORIES	Other Paragraphs	PARAGRAPHS TOTAL
No. of instances [P967]	44 [26]	8 [2]	13 [15]	31 [24]	30 [30]				
No. of paragraphs in P967	12(6)	1(1)	0	2	0	0	81	6	87
P967 dd	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	8	14
B	25(15)	1(1)	4(3)	14	0	20	208	21	229
A	37(19)	5(1)	3(3)	21	6	8	279	125	404
Q	39(21)	6(1)	7(3)	24	9	29	295	169	464
MT (Aleppo)	28(15)	3(1)	4(3)	2	0	0	165	19	184

**Table 4: Places where MT/LXX have כה אמר/נאם / (τάδε) λέγει + expanded divine name which are also the location of a paragraph division**

	P967	B	A	Q	MT(Aleppo)
Instances of phrases with expanded name	13	66	165	205	210
Coinciding with paragraph division <sup>34</sup>	2	42	136	140	103

34. As well as total figures there is varied overlap with some paragraph divisions in the MT which are not paragraphs in any Greek codex and vice versa (Olley 2003, 206–10).

four Greek codices have around 40 instances where the division does not coincide with a verse division (15 in B).<sup>35</sup> All relate to the position in the verse of the phrase, “thus says the Lord.” There are two types of variation, before or after an introductory phrase [such as “and/therefore say (to . . .)”] and before or after “thus says the Lord”. There is much diversity between codices in this regard, suggesting scribal idiosyncrasy prompted by the phrase. Detailed statistics are in Table 3A.

Because of the diversity of weighting of paragraphs linked with other factors, especially in chs. 40–48, and to provide an overall picture within which to evaluate the “divine speech” paragraphs, statistics for other factors are given in Table 3B.

There is a possible eschatological interest shown in the marking of the phrase “in that day”<sup>36</sup> in chs. 38–39, but not elsewhere.<sup>37</sup>

In chs. 40–48 a number of repeated phases are linked with divisions in the Greek codices, suggesting a heightened interest, while in ch. 48 there is diversity regarding paragraphing in the listing of the tribes.

Tables 3A and 3B are adapted, with minor corrections, from Olley (2003) where there is a more extensive discussion. The categories considered cover 94% of paragraphs in P967 and 91% in A and MT (Aleppo).

Of course, not all instances of a phrase are division locations, so leaving open the issue as to why particular instances occur. Nevertheless, starting from the core paragraphing represented in P967, it can be seen how the phrases considered have led to increasing division in later codices. There is a combination of tradition and individual scribal practice. Contrasts between Hebrew and Greek codices are evident, especially in chs. 40–48.

---

35. The present common division into verses was developed by the Masoretes. The book of Ezekiel exhibits the rare phenomenon known elsewhere of paragraph divisions which are independent of the verse traditions, פִּיטְקָא בְּאִמְצַע פְּסוּק (section division in the middle of a verse) (Tov 2001, 52–54; 2003). Codex Leningrad, the diplomatic text for *BHS*, has two such divisions, in 3:16 and 43:27, while the earlier Aleppo Codex has a further three, in 20:31; 27:3 and 37:9. The only match with the Greek tradition is 20:31 where B, A and Q have a division and P967 a double dot (a probably later division marker, different from the more common marker in P967 of a space with two dots at an oblique angle, together with an extension into the margin of the first letter on the following line).

36. In 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> this is generally associated with the start of major divisions (Olley 1993, 33).

37. Apart from Q which includes 23:39\* (hexaplaric addition); 24:26 and 30:9 (destruction of the Ethiopians).

---

*Paragraphing and Divine Speech*

As noted above, the two divine speech formulae that often have the expanded divine name also are prominent in marking new paragraphs. The increase in paragraphing and increase in expanded divine names are correlated. This is seen even more clearly when the location of the double name and location of paragraphs are compared (Table 4).

In addition, paragraphing is associated with other markers of divine speech (Table 3), although the enhancing of the divine name is primarily in the two formulae.

*Conclusion*

The close correlation between increasing use of a longer divine name and paragraphing in the LXX codices strongly suggests a similar motivation. While conformity to the MT tradition may be a major factor in use of the longer divine name, it is not a factor in paragraphing. It is suggested here that there was a serendipitous relationship: the locations of the expanded divine name in the MT coincided with factors that led to increased paragraphing. Thus the reason for the expanded name in the MT Ezekiel (and perhaps in the earliest texts of the book) meshes with the emphasis expressed in the LXX codices' paragraphing. Increasing "conformity to MT" with regard to an expanded divine name as one moves from P967 to B and then the later A and Q happily reinforces the focus given by paragraphing and in turn may have encouraged the increasing use of the expanded name. This also suggests that instances of an expanded name in the LXX codices where MT has a single יהוה are not simply cases of scribal inconsistency but also fit the factors involved in paragraphing.

Certainly both paragraphing and the adding of reading/hearing emphasis to the divine name are closely related to giving prominence to sections that are introduced or closed as the word of the Lord formally ("thus says the Lord" and "says the Lord"). It is as if divine words linked with the formulae are to be given additional weight. The data from both sources demonstrate a spirituality and/or theology that places weight upon "hearing the word of the Lord."

The data from these two sources together add weight to the case for seeing an intentional development of the LXX text in both words and format.

With regard to the transmission and translation of the text of Ezekiel the following points are clear:

At least one Hebrew text (MasEzek) in the first century C.E., pre-dating any extant Greek text, used the double name that is common in the MT. It is possible, but not proven, that the LXX *Vorlage* did the same.

The evidence that both P967 and Isaiah LXX in general have the simple κύριος where MT has יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ leaves open the question as to what was in a Hebrew *Vorlage* of both. One awaits the evidence of any Hebrew texts that can show a movement from simply יהוה, read as אֱלֹהֵינוּ, to the writing of both together. The incidence of double name in Ezekiel compared with similar books argues for the expanded name being original.

It is quite likely that, if a *Vorlage* had the compound, since it was already the custom to speak of YHWH as ὁ κύριος, it was deemed appropriate (and smoother) to use the single title. As both P967 and Isaiah LXX also have a few instances of κύριος ὁ θεός where MT has simply יהוה it is likely that there was some tradition of emphasizing the divine name (perhaps in certain contexts). There is no evidence in Isaiah LXX of the practice in Ezekiel of somehow representing a double divine name in Hebrew by a double in Greek. However, the Ezekiel practice seen in the LXX codices from different dates points to a developing practice of using an expanded divine name in Greek. Is this related to liturgical practice?

Differences between the translations of divine names for sections of P967 are not statistically significant, while for B there are differences (which had led to earlier scholars arguing for multiple translators). This could suggest different revisers being involved, or different stages of translation.

B, A and Q, in that order and in differing ways, had greater use of compound forms in places where MT had יהוה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Indeed, Q has only compound forms. They also, again in that order and in differing ways, expanded the use of paragraphs with speech formulae with the divine name being a major rationale for the location of divisions. Divine name and paragraphing both relate to reading of the text, each reinforces the other: the text is a word of God to which attention is to be given.

---

*Bibliography*

- Dogniez, C., and M. Harl  
 1992 *Le Deutéronome*. La Bible d'Alexandrie 5. Paris: Cerf.
- Fernández Galiano, M.  
 1971 "Nuevas Páginas del Códice 967 del A. T. Griego (Ez 28,19 – 43,9) (P Matr. bibl. 1)." *SPap* 10(1): 9–76.
- Hurtado, L. W.  
 1993 "Lord." Pp. 560–69 in *Dictionary of Paul and His Letters*. Edited by G. F. Hawthorne, R. P. Martin, and D. G. Reid. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press.
- Jahn, P. L. G.  
 1972 *Der Griechische Text des Buches Ezechiel nach dem Kölner Teil des Papyrus 967*. PTA, 15. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt.
- Johnson, A. C., H. S. Gehman and E. H. J. Kase (eds.)  
 1938 *The John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri*. Ezekiel. PUSP, 3. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kenyon, F. G.  
 1933 *The Chester Beatty Biblical Papyri, Descriptions and Texts of Twelve Manuscripts on Papyrus of the Greek Bible*. Fasciculus 1: *General Introduction*. London: Emory Walker.  
 1937 *Ibid*. Fasc. 7: *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, Text*. London: Emory Walker.  
 1938 *Ibid*. Fasc. 7: *Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, Plates*. London: Emory Walker.
- Lust, J.  
 1968 "'Mon Seigneur Jahweh' dans le texte hébreu d'Ezéchiel." *ETL* 44: 482–88.  
 1996 "'אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה' in Ezekiel and its counterpart in the Old Greek." *ETL* 72: 138–45.
- McGregor, L. J.  
 1985 *The Greek Text of Ezekiel: An Examination of Its Homogeneity*. SBLSCS, 18. Atlanta: Scholars.
- Olley, J. W.  
 1993 "'Hear the Word of YHWH': The Structure of the Book of Isaiah in 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>." *VT* 43: 19–49.  
 2002 "Paragraphing in the Greek text of Ezekiel in P967, with particular reference to the Cologne portion." Pp. 202–25 in *Studies in Scriptural Unit Division*. Edited by M. C. A. Korpel and J. M. Oesch. Pericope, 3. Assen: Van Gorcum.

- 2003 "Trajectories in Paraphrasing of the Book of Ezekiel." Pp. 204–31 in *Unit Delimitation in Biblical Hebrew and Northwest Semitic Literature*. Edited by M. C. A. Korpel and J. M. Oesch. Pericope 4. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Pietersma, A.  
1984 "Kyrios or Tetragram: A Renewed Quest for the Original Septuagint." Pp. 85–101 in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by A. Pietersma and C. Cox. Mississauga, Ontario: Benben.
- Rahlf's, A. (ed.)  
1935 *Septuaginta*. Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Seeligmann, I. L.  
1948 *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems*. Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux," 9. Leiden: Brill.
- Skehan, P. W.  
1980 "The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada Scroll, and in the Septuagint." *BIOSCS* 13: 14–49.
- Talmon, S. (ed.)  
1999 *Masada VI. Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports. Hebrew Fragments from Masada*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Thackeray, H. S. J.  
1903 "The Greek translators of Ezekiel." *JTS* 4: 398–411.
- Tov, E.  
2001 *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*. Minneapolis: Fortress, second revised edition.  
2003 "The Indication of Small Sense Units (Verses) in Biblical Manuscripts." Pp. 473–86 in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Edited by M. F. J. Baasten and W. T. van Peursen. OLA 118. Leuven: Peeters.
- Turner, N.  
1956 "The Greek Translators of Ezekiel." *JTS* 7: 12–24.
- Turner, P. D. M.  
2001 "The Translator(s) of Ezekiel Revisited: Idiosyncratic LXX Renderings as a Clue to Inner History." Pp. 279–307 in *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint*.

---

Edited by R. Sollamo and S. Sipilä. The Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Ziegler, J.

1945/1948 "Die Bedeutung des Chester Beatty-Scheide Papyrus 967 für die Textüberlieferung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta." *ZAW* 61: 76–94.

1953 "Zur Textgestaltung der Ezechiel-Septuaginta." *Bib* 34: 435–55.

1977 *Ezechiel. Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academie Scientiarum Gottingensis*, 16/1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, second edition.

Zimmerli, W.

1983 *Ezekiel 2. A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, Chapters 25–48*. Hermeneia. Philadelphia: Fortress. (German original, 1979).



*Lexicography and Translation:  
Experiences, Examples, and Expectations  
in the Context of the  
Septuaginta-Deutsch Project*

SIEGFRIED KREUZER  
*Barmen School of Theology  
Wuppertal, Germany*

---

*Introduction*

This paper is in response to a request to share lexicographical experiences from the translation work going on with the Septuaginta-Deutsch translation project. The project itself was presented in *BIOSCS* 34 (2001) 40–45: “A German translation of the Septuagint.”

In this article I do not discuss special words or problems, but rather sum up our experiences with the extant lexicographical aids, interpret them, and make suggestions for future lexicographical works. First, I briefly refer to our word list prepared as an internal aid for our translation work. Second, I present some results of the survey I made amongst our translators, and interpret the data; and third, I offer some suggestions.

*I. A Word-List as an Internal Aid*

The Septuagint German translation project involves a respectable number of translators. As a result of the number of books in the Septuagint and of the fact that for the larger books two or three people are working together, there are more than seventy people working on Septuaginta-Deutsch. A large number of co-workers/translators pose the problem of coherence and homogene-

---

*Author's note:* This article is a revision of a paper presented in the Biblical Lexicography Section at the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, Atlanta, 2003.

ity of the translation. Besides aspects like style and level of language there is also a problem of lexicography and the choice of words in the translation.

To cope with this problem we drafted a word list that is to be used as far as possible.<sup>1</sup> This list has proven to become quite useful for another reason, too, but I will return to that aspect later. At first we set up this list to have at least some semantic consistency, or to use the German expression: we were striving towards “eine konkordante Übersetzung.” This list is highly recommended, but it is not law. We soon found out that there are many instances with special meanings or at least instances where one needs a special German word to express the meaning; but adding all these special expressions would run against the basic intention of suggesting a mainline for the translation. The intention of providing a guideline for consistency in translation becomes especially important in cases of specific—mainly theological—differentiations. For instance the two words βωμός and θυσιαστήριον basically mean ‘altar’ and it would be correct to so translate both words. But a closer look shows, that in many—though not in all—of the books of the Septuagint there is a difference: βωμός is used for a heathen altar, while θυσιαστήριον is used for a legitimate place of sacrifice. So our word list also serves to warn of such phenomena and to suggest a consistent translation; in this case we use *Altar* (‘altar’) for βωμός and *Opferstätte* (‘place of sacrifice’) for θυσιαστήριον.

The word list also contains some special subjects and semantic fields like architectural terms, or administrative and military terms. Altogether it comprises some 500 words. It is not intended to be used instead of a dictionary. Therefore, we not only—for the reason I explained—resisted the temptation to mention all possible meanings of each and every word, but also to add more and more words to the list.

In the meantime the translation has made considerable progress. There is at least a preliminary version of every book. Many books are more or less finished, at least except for some revision and editorial procedures. As there is now much experience with dictionaries and lexical aids I undertook a small survey among our translators.

---

1. The list is part of the guidelines that have been established; cf. [www.septuaginta-deutsch.de](http://www.septuaginta-deutsch.de) (Richtlinien/guidelines).

## II. Survey Results on the Use of Dictionaries and Lexicons in Septuagint Translation Work

I sent out a questionnaire posing three questions in regard to seven often-used dictionaries. I provided a scale from zero to five with regard to frequency of use (*häufig*), to richness and usefulness (*ergiebig*), and user-friendliness (*Handhabung*). Beyond this, I invited remarks and comments on additional dictionaries.

The dictionaries were LSJ,<sup>2</sup> LEH,<sup>3</sup> the Hatch and Redpath *Concordance*,<sup>4</sup> a computer concordance as in BibleWorks<sup>5</sup> and similar programs, the old Schleusner *Thesaurus*,<sup>6</sup> the *Septuaginta-Vokabular* by Rehkopf,<sup>7</sup> and a much-used school lexicon, the *Wörterbuch* by Gemoll.<sup>8</sup> Understandably, I did not ask about lexicons that are relevant for only parts of the Septuagint, but in many of the answers the importance of a work such as Muraoka's lexicon on the Minor Prophets (and now also to the Pentateuch) was emphasized.<sup>9</sup>

Altogether I received some 35 answers, quite a good feedback. In most of the answers there were not only the figures, but also interesting comments. So the following remarks are not only my interpretation of the numbers and the diagrams, they also rest on those comments.

Certainly there is some information that can be expected anyway, for instance that LEH is easy to handle while Schleusner is not so easy because—apart from being missing in some libraries—it is quite voluminous and in Latin. But there is more to say.

The first aspect in the survey was the frequency of use. As one can expect, LEH, LSJ and HR were used the most, with variations in relation to their ease

2. Henry George Liddell, Robert Scott, and Henry Stuart Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*: with a revised supplement (ninth ed.; Oxford, 1996).

3. Johan Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Revised; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

4. Edwin Hatch and Henry Redpath, *A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1906 = Graz, 1956 = Grand Rapids, 1998).

5. <http://www.bibleworks.com>.

6. Johannes Friedrich Schleusner, *Novus thesaurus philologico-criticus sive, lexicon in LXX et reliquos interpretes Graecos, ac scriptores apocryphos veteris testamenti* (Leipzig, 1820–21; Glasgow, 1822 = Turnhout, 1994).

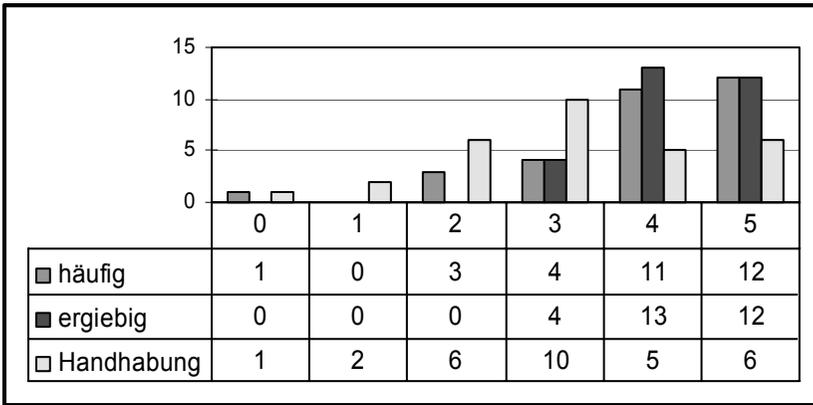
7. Friedrich Rehkopf, *Septuaginta-Vokabular* (Göttingen, 1989).

8. Wilhelm Gemoll, *Griechisch-deutsches Schul- und Handwörterbuch* (2. Aufl.; Leipzig, 1923; 9. Aufl.; Wien, 1997).

9. Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: The Twelve Prophets* (Louvain, 1993); Takamitsu Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets* (Louvain, 2002).

of use. Certainly LEH is used the most, but if one combines the two highest values, LSJ reaches about the same numbers. The more complicated handling evidently is outweighed by its richness of information. This probably is so because the translators know their Greek and if they need the dictionary it is for rare words or for special problems.

*Table 1. Liddell-Scott-Jones, A Greek-English Lexicon*



*Table 2. Lust-Eynikel-Hauspie, A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*

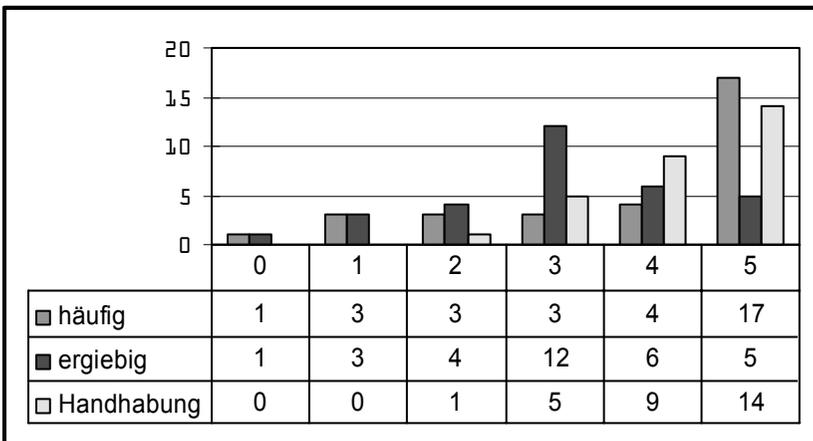


Table 3. *Rehkopf, Septuaginta-Vokabular*

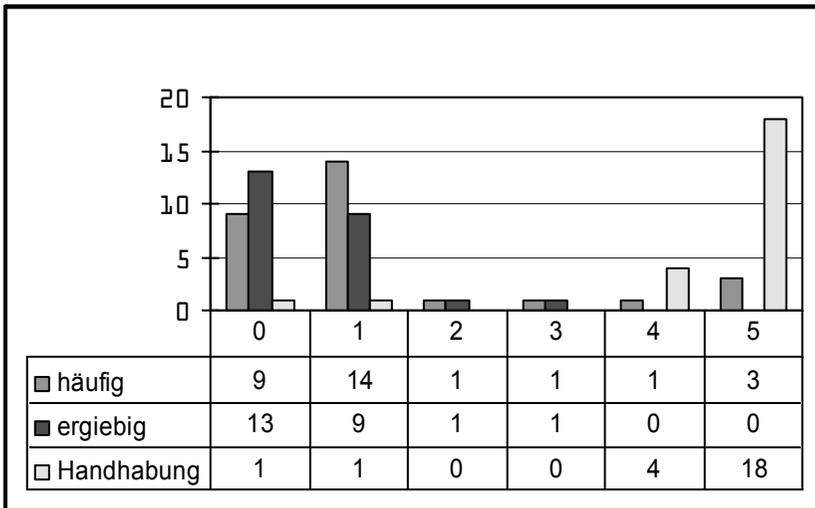


Table 4. *Schleusner, Novus Thesaurus philologico-criticus sive Lexicon in LXX*

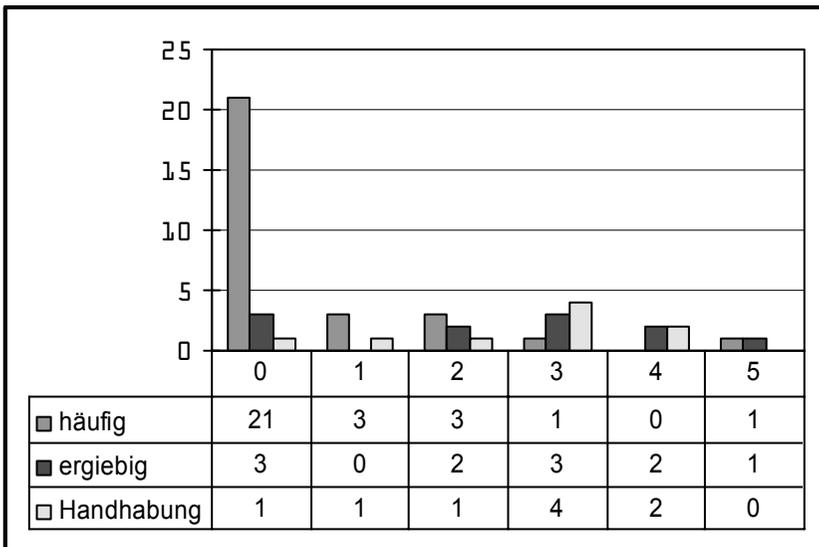


Table 5. BibleWorks Computer Concordance

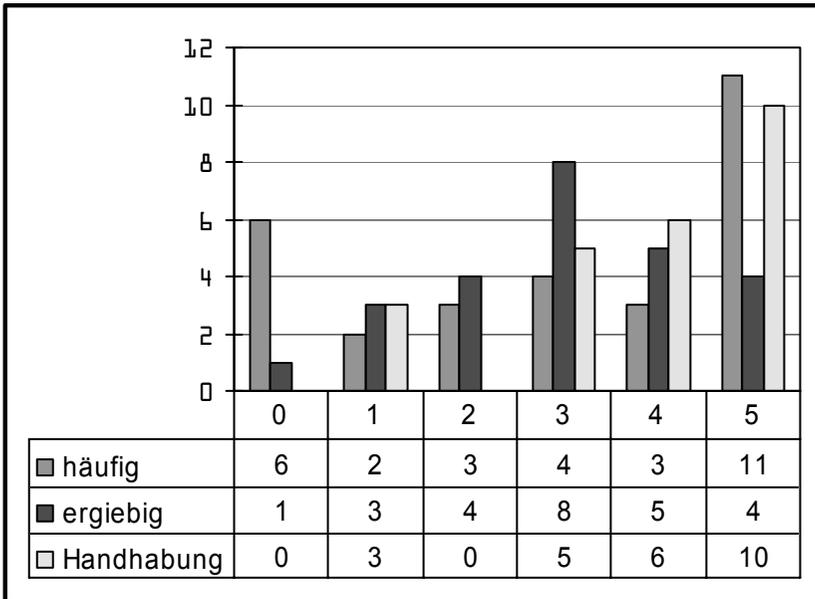


Table 6. Gemoll, Wörterbuch

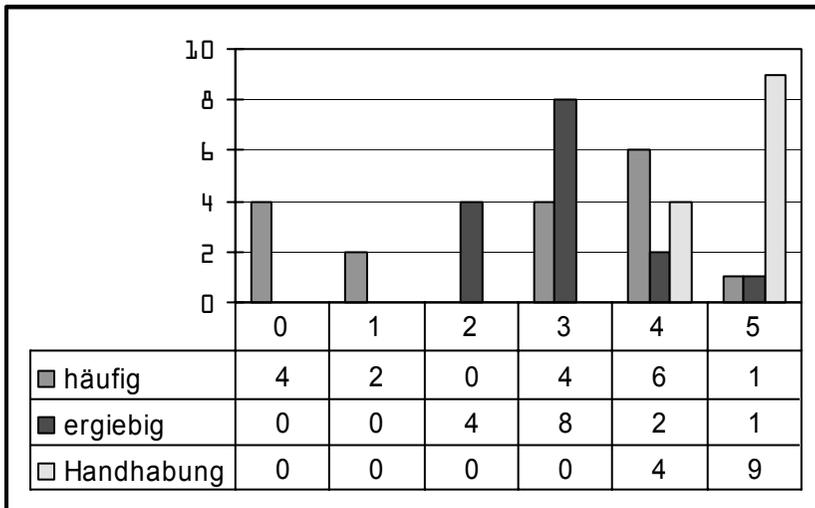
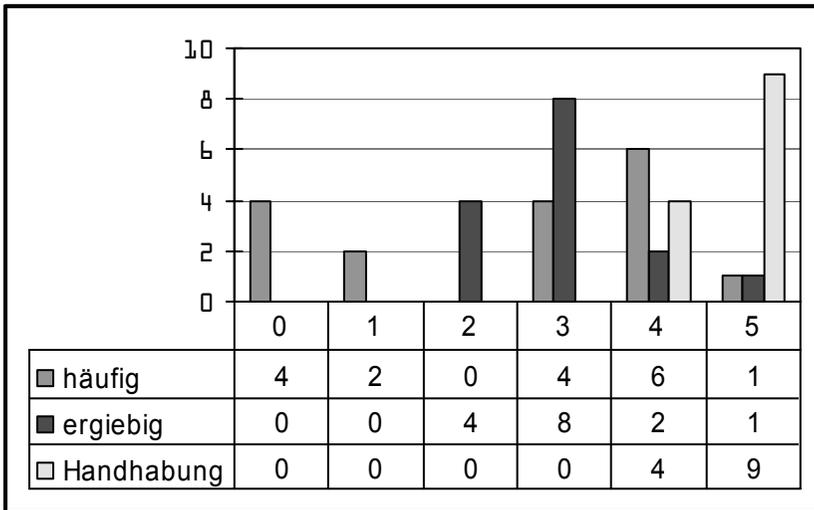


Table 7. *Hatch-Redpath, Concordance*

In the first edition of my questionnaire I had not included HR because it is a concordance, but my test group mentioned the importance of HR also as a lexical aid, so I included it in the survey. It is used quite a lot and it is considered quite fruitful. Many mentioned that looking up the concordance is especially useful in complicated cases and that it may help more to see where and how the word is used in context than even looking it up in the large dictionaries. Evidently the same holds true in regard to the computer concordances. This shows that many of our translators did not want to rely upon the dictionaries alone, but wanted to find out the idea given in the texts.

On the contrary, I was surprised by the low usage of Rehkopf. Besides its ease of use and its being the only—though, small—Septuagint dictionary in the German language, it is used quite rarely. The main reason is because of its quite small content. Most of the more frequent and simple words are known to the translators anyway, and in the other cases more than just the information of a word list is needed.

At this point I have to mention the school dictionaries. In addition to the famous Gemoll, the Langenscheidt dictionary from Menge<sup>10</sup> was especially

10. Hermann Menge, *Langenscheidts Großwörterbuch. Altgriechisch-Deutsch* (29 Auflage; München, 2001).

mentioned. This dictionary is the same type of dictionary as Gemoll, and would about double the usage number for this type of dictionary. These school dictionaries are considered easy to use, interestingly even easier than LEH, although they are more voluminous. This may be because of a psychological effect: the school dictionary was the first dictionary one had used; a kind of first love with a dictionary.

But there seems to be another reason too: the general so-called profane Greek dictionaries were many times mentioned as an important source of information. As reason for the high esteem of these dictionaries a certain mistrust against the traditional Septuagint dictionaries was voiced several times. Sometimes the information in the latter dictionaries seems to be influenced by problematic assumptions. So the translators wanted to get a firsthand impression of the Greek usage and meaning of a word in general. I do think that this is a valuable approach, because there are indeed problematic traditions that are carried on in Septuagint lexicography.

With respect to the computer concordances, there is some gap. Many use them quite often, others not at all. It is interesting that those who used one found it user friendly and easy to handle. On the other hand, the value of information is considered only average, and lower than that of the HR concordance.

In the first part of my paper I mentioned the word list we put together for the sake of some homogeneity. I did not think to put it on my questionnaire, but in the answers it was mentioned several times as an important aid. This brings me to a problem we have in our Septuaginta-Deutsch project: there is no real German dictionary of the Septuagint; so working with a Septuagint dictionary means working in two steps: first identifying the appropriate meaning in LSJ or in LEH, and then figuring out the best German words to represent this meaning. The problem of this twofold translation process becomes even more severe since many equivalents for Septuagint words are not just everyday English at all (apart from the problem that the English language has developed since the days of LSJ). This also explains the readiness to use the concordances as help for translating since looking into the concordance and into the biblical passages helps to understand the meaning and to create an authentic idea in the mind of the translator.

This problem of double translation—Greek-English, English-German—in my opinion also contributes to the frequent use of the profane, general dictionaries of classical Greek. Besides the other factors that make those dictionaries quite useful, several German words are available to choose from for the translation.

As mentioned, other lexicons were useful: Walter Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*<sup>11</sup> (what in English is called BDAG<sup>12</sup>); Wilhelm Pape, *Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*;<sup>13</sup> and, also from the nineteenth century, Franz Passow, *Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch*,<sup>14</sup> which was the “father of LSJ.”

### III. Conclusions and Suggestions

The interpretation of the statistics and the remarks in the answers to the survey lead to the conclusion that there were different lexicographical needs and that these needs lay on two different levels, which leads to two different suggestions.

The first one is language specific and concerns the process of translating the Septuagint into any modern language, be it German or French or Italian, etc. The translation process comprises two steps. One step is to understand a given Septuagint text; the next is to express that meaning in the target language. For the second step it is a problem to have the meanings in an English Septuagint lexicon and then to translate into another target language, in our case German. So what is needed is a modern German dictionary to the Septuagint. This could be a German version of the LEH dictionary with some additions, or it could be one of the existing Greek-German dictionaries, expanded to the complete Septuagint vocabulary.

In either case it would be important to add information with regard to specific Septuagint phenomena, and with regard to semantic fields, be they cultic terminology, military, administrative, architectural, etc. I have explained this by the example of βωμός and θυσιαστήριον.

It would have been helpful if we had had such a lexicon in advance, but it is still important: on the one hand the results of our translation and of the

---

11. Walter Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, ed. Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland (6 Aufl.; Berlin, 1988).

12. Frederick W. Danker, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* (3rd ed. based on Walter Bauer's *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, eds. with Viktor Reichmann [6th ed.], and on previous English editions by W. F. Arndt, F. W. Gingrich, and F. W. Danker [Chicago, 2000]).

13. Three volumes, second enlarged edition, Braunschweig 1849; third edition, Braunschweig 1880 = Graz, 1953.

14. Leipzig, 1828; fifth edition 1841–57; reprint Darmstadt, 1993 = 2004.

explanatory work can flow into such a lexicon, on the other hand such a Septuagint lexicon would be useful for future students of the Septuagint.

The other suggestion concerns a lexicon for Septuagint research. What I am thinking of is not a dictionary with each and every word of the Septuagint. This is provided by LSJ and by the new Spanish *Diccionario Griego-Español*,<sup>15</sup> and for specific books of the Septuagint by Muraoka and others. I am rather thinking of a historical and theological lexicon. Such a lexicon should inform about place names and geographical terms: what was the name of a given place or landscape through the ages? Similarly, there should be information about *realia* like architecture and architectural terms, about social situation and sociological terms and their development, administrative and military terminology, and about measurements, and the like. Such a lexicon should discuss important theological terms from their Old Testament and early Jewish background down to their reception and *Wirkung* in the New Testament and in other, later literature.

Such a lexicon should not be a lexicon about antiquity in general, it should not be a combination of the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* and of the *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* and of the Pauly lexicon.<sup>16</sup> It rather should focus on specific subjects and semantic fields, on areas that are important for understanding the Septuagint, and areas where there was recognizable development and change, like military and administrative terminology, words that are diagnostic for the original translation and for the time and the background of the revisions of the Septuagint.

In Septuagint research the Lucianic recension is a well-known problem. Because of convergences with the Josephus text and with biblical texts from Qumran it is clear that the Antiochene text has a base text that comes close to the original Septuagint. At the same time there certainly is a Lucianic recension, but which traits of the text belong to the Lucianic recension from around 300 C.E., and which traits belong to the Old Greek? This makes a difference of some 400 years, yet it is hard to find information in the existing

---

15. *Diccionario griego-español* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 1989–2002).

16. *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, Johannes G. Botterweck, Helmer Ringgren, and Heinz J. Fabry, eds. (10 vols.; Stuttgart, 1973); *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. (10 vols.; Stuttgart, 1933–79 = 1990); English translation: *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds.; Geoffrey W. Bromiley, trans. and ed. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–76); *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, Hubert Cancik and Manfred Landfester, eds. (16 vols.; Stuttgart, 1996–2003).

lexicons that is of real diagnostic value for such questions. A real Septuagint-research lexicon would be important for such questions.

Looking at Septuagint lexicography, much valuable work has been done in the past, and there are important and excellent lexical aids. But it also needs to be said that there are new needs and new challenges for lexicographical work in the future.



*International Organization for  
Septuagint and Cognate Studies*



Program in Atlanta

**Monday November 24, 2003**

1:00–3:30 p.m.

Benjamin G. Wright, Lehigh University, presiding

Jonathan T. Pennington, University of St. Andrews

*Heaven, Heaven and Earth, and the Heavens in the LXX*

Ross Wagner, Princeton Theological Seminary

*The Language of 1 Maccabees*

Sarah Pierce, University of South Hampton

*The Text of Isaiah in Paul's Letters*

Jason S. Derouchie, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

*The Translation of the Participle in the Greek Ecclesiastes*

Andrew Fincke, Trinity Western University

*Pluses and Minuses in the Septuagint of Samuel*

H. F. van Rooy, Potchefstroom University

*The Headings of the Psalms in Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus*

## Business Meeting

### Monday November 24, 2003

1. The minutes were circulated. Moved by Tyler Williams that they be adopted as read and seconded by Kristin de Troyer. Approved.
2. R. Hiebert reported that our account balance as of June 30 was about \$10,500 in the US account, \$128 in the Canadian, and \$9,320 in the NETS account. It was also noted that the 2002 bulletin (vol. 35) is out and we plan to be caught up by 2004. Rob Hiebert moved the adoption of the treasurer's report. Seconded by Peter Gentry. Approved.
3. Ben Wright presented Mel Peters' report as editor of the SCS series.
  - a. The following publications have appeared since the Toronto meeting:

Martha Wade. *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek*. SBL, 2003 = SBLSCS 49

Adrian Schenker, ed. *The Earliest Text History of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*. SBL, 2003 = SBLSCS 52
  - b. The main Congress Volume from the Basel meeting has not yet been received. A formal proposal for its publication has also not been submitted to and approved by SBL publications. Recent contacts by the IOSCS president with the editor of that volume revealed that it is nearing completion and might be submitted shortly.
  - c. A manuscript of a volume edited by Glenn Wooden and Wolfgang Kraus based on a Conference held in Bangor, Maine and including contributions from distinguished members of the IOSCS is expected to be submitted.
  - d. The long-time Editorial Director of SBL publications, Rex Matthews, has resigned. The effect of this on our series and its publication is not clear at this time but I suspect that things will remain the same as they have always been.
  - e. The advisory board of the Series has been dissolved. It might be appropriate to revisit the whole issue of a board in due course.

Kristen de Troyer moved the adoption of the editor's report. Seconded by Priscilla Turner. Approved.

- 
4. It was announced that Katrin Hauspie won the LXX prize for 2003.
  5. It was moved by Martin Karrer and seconded by Bernard Taylor that the Advisory Committee and Editorial Committee for NETS be reappointed. Approved.
  6. Ben reported on the NETS commentary that the contract is in process.
  7. It was moved by Rob Hiebert and seconded by Kristin de Troyer that the Hexapla Project be sponsored by IOSCS under Article 21 of the IOSCS Bylaws and that it be carried out by the Hexapla Institute on behalf of the IOSCS. Approved.
  8. It was moved by Kristin de Troyer and seconded by Jenny Dines that the Septuaginta-Deutsch Translation Project be sponsored by IOSCS under Article 21 of the IOSCS Bylaws and that it be carried out by the Septuaginta-Deutsch Organization on behalf of the IOSCS. Approved.
  9. It was moved by Jenny Dines and seconded by Dave Aiken that the IOSCS strike an Editorial Committee for the Hexapla Project with an initial membership of Peter Gentry, Bas ter Haar Romeny, and Alison Salveson. Approved.
  10. It was moved by Kristin de Troyer and seconded by Peter Gentry that the IOSCS strike an Editorial Committee for the Septuaginta-Deutsch Translation Project with an initial membership of Wolfgang Kraus (Koblenz) and Martin Karrer (Wuppertal). Approved.
  11. It was moved by Dick Saley and seconded by Larry Perkins that the Board of Advisors and Editorial Board for the NETS commentary be reappointed. Approved.
  12. It was moved by Bernard Taylor and seconded by Kristin de Troyer that the IOSCS give a vote of thanks to Ted Bergren for his service as editor of the Bulletin. Approved.
  13. Due to Ted's resignation as editor and based on the recommendation of the executive committee, it was moved by Tyler Williams and seconded by Peter Gentry that Bernard Taylor be appointed as the new editor for the Bulletin. Approved.
  14. In order to make full use of the advantages provided by the World Wide Web it was the recommendation of the executive committee that the position of webmaster for the IOSCS website be created, and that it be an

executive position. Moved by Bernard Taylor and seconded by Jenny Dines. Approved.

15. It was moved by Peter Gentry and seconded by Dave Aiken that Jay Treat be appointed as the new webmaster. Approved.
16. Peter Gentry reported on the activity of the Hexapla project. The report focused on three areas. First, the editorial committee has participated in several conferences in order to promote the project, which is to publish a new edition of the fragments of Origen's Hexapla for the twenty-first century. There is also a website at [www.Hexapla.org](http://www.Hexapla.org). Second, the Editorial Committee has made arrangements for the New Edition to be published in fascicles by Peeters Publishers. The Editorial Committee will continue to work with Peeters during the first part of next year to finalize the format of the new edition. Third, a number of assignments have been made for the project, but there are books that have not yet been assigned.
17. Martin Karrer reported on the Septuaginta-Deutsch Translation Project, which involves over seventy translators. The translation will be published by the *Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft* and will appear in two volumes. Volume one will be the translation and volume two will consist of introductions to the books and discuss focal points in the translation. All the translations have been completed and are currently being revised so that the translation may be completed by 2005 and published in 2006.
18. Karen Jobes reported that the meeting of the Institute for Biblical Research in 2004 will focus on the Septuagint. Karen Jobes, Peter Gentry, and Tim McLay will be presenting papers.

Respectfully submitted,  
Tim McLay, IOSCS Secretary

## Treasurer's Report

U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNTS  
JULY 1, 2003–JUNE 30, 2004

*1. Account No. 4507919 — Royal Bank of Canada, Oakville, ON*

BALANCE 7/1/03	3,784.84
CREDITS	
7/2/03 (Interest)	0.81
8/1/03 (Interest)	0.32
9/2/03 (Interest)	0.19
10/1/03 (Interest)	0.15
11/3/03 (Interest)	0.16
12/1/03 (Interest)	0.15
1/2/04 (Interest)	0.08
1/13/04 (Deposit)	16.00
2/2/04 (Interest)	0.07
3/30/04 (Deposit)	33.85
Total	51.78
DEBITS	
12/4/03 (membership/subscription fees [Eisenbrauns])	1,980.50
12/15/03 (Postage [IOSCS Secretary])	4.26
1/30/04 (membership/subscription fees [Eisenbrauns])	1,800.00
3/30/04 (Transfer to NETS account)	33.85
Total	3,818.61
6/30/04 BALANCE	18.01

## SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/03		3,784.84
7/1/03–6/30/04	Credits	+51.78
	Total	3,836.62
		3,836.62
7/1/03–6/30/04	Debits	–3,818.61
	Total	18.01
6/30/04 BALANCE		18.01

## 2. Account No. 9550519—Farmers State Bank, Warsaw IN

BALANCE 7/1/03		6,726.27
CREDITS		
7/24/03	(Deposit)	340.00
11/6/03	(Deposit)	959.00
11/10/03	(Paypal)	270.37
1/20/04	(Deposit)	1,689.00
3/19/04	(Deposit)	769.78
4/26/04	(Paypal)	179.31
5/25/04	(Deposit)	408.00
	Total	4,615.46
DEBITS		
1/13/04 (Farmers State Bank Checks)		19.75
1/26/04 (IOSCS membership/ subscription fees [Eisenbrauns])		236.50
Total		256.25
6/30/04 BALANCE		11,085.48

## SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/03		6,726.27
7/1/03–6/30/04	Credits	+4,615.46
	Total	1,1341.73
		11,341.73
7/1/03–6/30/04	Debits	–256.25
	Total	11,085.48
6/30/04 BALANCE		11,085.48

Respectfully submitted:	Audited:
Robert J. V. Hiebert	Bruce Guenther
IOSCS Treasurer	Associated Canadian Theological Schools

CANADIAN DOLLAR ACCOUNT  
JULY 1, 2003–JUNE 30, 2004

*Account No. 8082-010 — Bank of Montreal, Mississauga, ON*

BALANCE 7/1/03	128.05
Credits	
7/31/03 (Interest)	0.01
8/29/03 (Interest)	0.01
9/30/03 (Interest)	0.01
10/31/03 (Interest)	0.01
11/28/03 (Interest)	0.01
12/31/03 (Interest)	0.01
1/30/04 (Interest)	0.01
2/27/04 (Interest)	0.01
3/31/04 (Interest)	0.01
4/30/04 (Interest)	0.01
5/31/04 (Interest)	0.01
6/30/04 (Interest)	0.01
Total	0.12
6/30/04 BALANCE	128.17

SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/03	128.05
7/1/03–6/30/04	Credits     +.12
	Total       128.17
6/30/04 BALANCE	128.17

Respectfully submitted:	Audited:
Robert J. V. Hiebert	Bruce Guenther
IOSCS Treasurer	Associated Canadian Theological Schools

NETS PROJECT  
U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNT  
JULY 1, 2003–JUNE 30, 2004

*Account No. 4508552 — Royal Bank of Canada, Oakville, ON*

BALANCE 7/1/03	9,320.67
CREDITS	
7/2/03 (Interest)	1.91
8/1/03 (Interest)	1.97
8/29/03 (Deposit: NETS royalty from OUP)	58.29
9/2/03 (Interest)	1.98
10/1/03 (Interest)	1.93
11/3/03 (Interest)	1.99
12/1/03 (Interest)	1.93
1/2/04 (Interest)	1.99
2/2/04 (Interest)	1.99
3/1/04 (Interest)	1.86
3/30/04 (Deposit: NETS royalty from OUP)	33.85
4/1/04 (Interest)	1.99
5/3/04 (Interest)	1.93
6/1/04 (Interest)	1.99
Total	115.60
6/30/04 BALANCE	9,436.27

SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/03	9,320.67
7/1/03–6/30/04	Credits +115.60
	Total 9,320.67
6/30/04 BALANCE	9,436.27

Respectfully submitted:  
Robert J. V. Hiebert  
IOSCS/NETS Treasurer

Audited:  
Bruce Guenther  
Associated Canadian Theological Schools

## Book Reviews



Muraoka, T. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Chiefly of the Pentateuch and the Twelve Prophets*. Louvain: Peeters, 2002. Pp. xxxi + 613. ISBN 9-429-1182-4.

It is given to few scholars to compile a lexicon, to even fewer to compile one to the Septuagint. Compared with the lexicography of the New Testament or of ancient Greek generally, this has been the most neglected of fields. Until the late twentieth century, lexicons devoted entirely to the Septuagint, from the elementary effort of Rosenbach in 1634 to Schleusner's classic of 1820–21, could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The reasons for the long gap after Schleusner in modern times are not difficult to discern, but need not detain us here. The Septuagint was certainly read, or at least consulted, and there was great interest in it as an adjunct to other disciplines. But those who ventured into it had to rely on the guidance of the general lexicons of Greek, notably Liddell and Scott, with some help from the New Testament lexicons and their partial coverage of Septuagint material. That this was the cause of much inadequate if not mistaken understanding of the Greek of the Septuagint cannot be doubted.

By the mid 1980s the pressure to address the problem had built up greatly and more than one project was begun or mooted. A kind of scrum developed, from which two players emerged. The competition can only have been beneficial, however much one might have preferred to see, in an ideal world, a single major project combining all resources. As so often in the history of lexicography, individuals simply set to work. Around the same time as Lust, Eynikel and Hauspie began their Septuagint lexicon project in Leuven, Takamitsu Muraoka began work in Melbourne on a lexicon to one portion of the Septuagint, the Twelve Prophets. This was no small objective in itself, but was achieved by 1993.<sup>1</sup> It was, as it turned out, only the prelude to a much

---

1. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint (Twelve Prophets)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1993). The present reviewer's contribution to this lexicon, generously acknowledged in the introduction, was made at an early stage, and ended well before the lexicon reached completion; the subsequent work on the Pentateuch has been entirely Muraoka's own.

larger effort culminating in the present impressive lexicon. In it the earlier material on the Twelve Prophets is expanded to cover the Pentateuch, together with, for a significant proportion of the words, coverage of the whole Septuagint. With the Pentateuch included, the tipping-point has been reached and the lexicon is now a major tool for work on the Septuagint, even though of course much still remains to be covered.

It is known that Muraoka intends to continue work along the same lines and add treatment of further Septuagint books, perhaps all of them, until a full lexicon of the Septuagint is achieved.<sup>2</sup> This step-by-step approach is both acceptable and commendable, given the size of the task of producing a major lexicon of the Septuagint providing full data on every word. The all-too-familiar alternative, of a project that sets out to cover everything and makes a start with a fascicle reaching a point somewhere in alpha, then takes another forty or fifty years to complete, is not inviting.

Muraoka's lexicon uses the traditional method of presentation, namely a list of headwords in alphabetical order, each accompanied by an entry that gives the meaning(s) of the word along with occurrences and a selection of other information. There are 4,478 headwords, of which 1,553 are treated for the whole Septuagint. The layout is pleasing and easy to read, with large print and conspicuous divisions. In each entry the following information appears: headword and its morphology; the sense(s) of the word, accompanied by full (though not necessarily exhaustive) listing of occurrences (many quoted and translated); range of application and syntactic breakdown; a list of semantically related words; brief references to secondary literature; a summary of the corresponding words in the Hebrew original. A set of special symbols is used (eleven in all) to indicate various things, for instance that data are complete for the whole Septuagint. It must be admitted that the symbols are not easy to remember and most users will tend to ignore them, but they are a useful system for supplying information that may be wanted at some point.

The great virtue of this lexicon is its offering of a full lexical analysis of each word. All the occurrences in the books covered have been examined and classified semantically. Splits into different senses are made when required, each of the senses is defined, and under each a thorough if not complete list of occurrences is given. Along the way one gets, as already noted, an indication of the various applications of the word and the syntactic relations it enters into.

The framework thus established is very valuable not only for the books covered but also, in general, as a guide to the meaning of the word in a Septuagint occurrence not yet treated. It will also be the basis for the expansion of the lexicon to cover the whole Septuagint, when that is undertaken. There are inevitably gaps at present where

---

2. Cf. Muraoka's entry in "Record of Work Published or in Progress" in *BIOSCS* 35 (2002) 33: "Next phase started. Finished Isaiah, now working on Jeremiah." Professor Muraoka has kindly informed me (by e-mail, 11 Jan 05) that he has now covered about 70% of the whole Septuagint.

a word happens to be used in a different sense in some book(s) not yet dealt with, and of course the lexicon can give no assistance with words that are not yet entered at all. But as far as it goes, and that is a long way, it provides an extremely good guide to the meaning of the Septuagint vocabulary.

How good are the lexical analyses? My impression is that they are generally sound; I can detect few faults. Muraoka has adopted, at least in principle, a definition method of indicating meaning, avoiding the problems created by glosses, and ensuring a reliable breakdown and description of the senses. (More will be said on this topic below.) That Muraoka has tackled this task in a language not his first is highly commendable; the reader cannot fail to be impressed by the results. There are times when one might quibble over details of English expression, but this is not a serious problem: the intended meaning is always sufficiently clear.

On the question of taking into account evidence from Greek outside the Septuagint, that essential adjunct to deciding meanings, Muraoka's approach is as follows. First, he has relied primarily on what has so far been gathered into the major reference works or noted in special studies of the Septuagint vocabulary: he has not attempted any fresh searching, as he himself explains (p. ix). This is an acceptable approach, given that further searching and assessment, even of a limited kind, would have slowed progress immeasurably. It must not be forgotten, however, that the existing collection of evidence on each word is not necessarily complete, and further collecting needs to go on, especially from the documentary sources contemporary with the Septuagint. But this is work for the future. Secondly, none of this evidence is reported in the entries (with some exceptions). This too I think is the right way to proceed: it is simply impossible to give an adequate summary within the constraints of the printed page. It is also better for the reason that what is reported in lexicons tends to become authoritative and immutable (like the meanings). Such data will be better assembled systematically, over a longer time, in an electronic database, as I have argued elsewhere in relation to New Testament lexicography.<sup>3</sup> Some mention of parallels does, however, slip in, in a very sporadic way.<sup>4</sup> I am not sure that this is a good thing, though one can understand the temptation to mention some particularly apt parallel. The risk is that it will be taken to be definitive.

In regard to secondary literature, Muraoka has made use of existing studies as much as possible, but in this case the material does gain a mention in the entries,

---

3. See John A. L. Lee, *A History of New Testament Lexicography* (New York: Peter Lang, 2003) 182–86.

4. So, for example, s.v. ἀγαπητός an example from Homer is quoted; s.v. ἐκλύω 2. one from Aristotle; s.v. ἴσθημι I.3 one from Demosthenes; s.v. ἐλπίζ 2. we are told that “this sense is also attested by Polybius”; s.v. ἐγχάσσω a parallel collocation of εἰς with χάσσω in Philostratus is noted; and s.v. ἔλεος Aristotle's definition of the word is quoted fully (in translation).

though somewhat sparingly. Muraoka explains (p. xvi) that mention in the entry implies that the study has made a “substantive contribution” to determining the semantics of the word concerned. This makes good sense, and avoids the problems created by simply listing works that may or may not have anything useful to offer. But it can be unclear whether a particular article or discussion has been omitted because it has nothing to offer, or because it has been missed. Again, a collection in electronic form that was systematic and ongoing could keep track of everything, and solve the problem of keeping up to date; but this too is for the future.

A comparison with the other current lexicon of the Septuagint, LEH, is inevitable.<sup>5</sup> First it needs to be said that LEH is compact, easy to use for a quick indication of meaning, and above all complete for the whole Septuagint (as things stand at present). It is also, paradoxically, quite thorough in its collection of references to secondary literature. But what LEH gains in completeness it loses in brevity of analysis. Though full statistics are given, the selection of occurrences for each word is small, and most important, there is no systematic analysis and breakdown of the senses. A series of glosses is offered, mostly derived from LSJ. These cannot adequately represent the range of meanings found in the Septuagint. In short, LEH is ideal as a smaller lexicon, with a different aim from Muraoka’s. It was a welcome holding effort produced at a time when there was nothing but LSJ and Schleusner, and such it will remain. But the future major lexicon of the Septuagint will need to be built on a different and better foundation, and Muraoka’s work is that foundation.

\* \* \*

I offer a sample of words to show the character of the work and illustrate some of the points mentioned.

λόγος. Muraoka makes seven divisions in his analysis, as follows:

- 1.[a.]<sup>6</sup> *word spoken or uttered.*
  - b. of divine message communicated to a human or humans [*sic* plain text].
2. *report, news, rumour.*
3. esp. pl., *a chain of connected events*, ‘a story, an account.’
4. *what is or may be a good reason.*
- \*5. *course of action, step to be taken.*
6. *matter under discussion.*

Under each of these senses, references and brief quotations are given, for example under 6. we have “ἐν τῷ ~ῳ τοῦτῳ ‘in this matter’ De 1.32; a legal case, 22.20.” The

---

5. Johan Lust, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (2 vols.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1992, 1996); idem, *Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint: Revised Edition* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003).

6. “[a.]” added by me for clarity; Muraoka mostly omits this “a.”

number of references ranges up to 24 in the case of sense 1. It is a little disconcerting to realize, however, that all of the references under sense 1. are to the Twelve Prophets and none to the Pentateuch, though of course the meaning occurs there. The references for this sense are simply continued unchanged (with one exception, the correction of Hos 1:3 to 1:2) from the 1993 lexicon, and no Pentateuch references have been integrated into them. There is no great harm in this; but it could mislead the user into thinking there are no occurrences in the Pentateuch.

The use of the asterisk, seen here in sense 5., “signifies that the word is not attested earlier than the Septuagint Pentateuch, i.e. the third century B.C.E.” (p. xiv). The purpose is to alert us to a possible innovation in the Greek of the Pentateuch. Muraoka is careful to add that “words so marked do not have to be neologisms created by Septuagint translators.” Besides new words, Muraoka marks previously unattested meanings in the same way, as in the case of λόγος 5. It seems likely that this sense is indeed a neologism and has arisen from stereotyped rendering of the Hebrew word (לִּשְׁׁרָר), but Muraoka does not foreclose on the question: by the use of the asterisk he simply points out the absence of earlier evidence for this sense and allows the user to draw a conclusion (or not).

In the analysis of λόγος the divisions seem well taken and show subtlety in detecting differences not obvious at first sight. The division at 1.b. however gives one pause. Is this a separate lexical meaning, or simply a difference of *reference* under the one lexical meaning *word spoken* or *uttered*? Comparison with other entries suggests that these divisions usually indicate differences of reference, syntax or collocation, not a new lexical meaning, and that would seem to be what is intended here; but sometimes they do offer a separate lexical meaning, as, e.g., in the case of δίδωμι 2.d. “to entrust for temporary safe-keeping.”<sup>7</sup> This is a matter that needs clarification and a consistent policy.

As to completeness of coverage of the meanings of λόγος, one might wonder where Exod 18:19 (καὶ ἀνοίσεις τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν θεόν) is intended to fit. The meaning required in the context seems to be ‘matter in dispute’, something different from sense 6 and its cited occurrences (even Deut 22:20, which seems to me to belong in sense 1.). This example highlights the problem of bulk that the lexicographer constantly faces. Muraoka has dealt with the 110 or so occurrences of λόγος in the Twelve Prophets and the Pentateuch as best he can, perhaps missing even some of these, but to cover the whole Septuagint there are still over 1000 to go!

κάτεργον. The meaning given, *operating costs* (for Exod 30:16, 35:21), has evidently benefited from the evidence of the word in documentary sources: LSJ give examples only in III B.C. papyri and the Pentateuch, offering the glosses *wages* . . .

---

7. Other examples like δίδωμι s.vv. ἄρχω 3.b; ἀξάνω 1.b.; ἐκτός 3.b.; ἐπικαλέω B. 1.a., b., c., d.; κινέω A.b., c. I do not find this explained in the relevant section of the Introduction (pp. xiv–xv).

*labour-costs . . . service* (*sic* for Exod 30:16, 35:21). But we also see the difficulty of keeping track of sources and coverage of the evidence. Muraoka refers to Wevers on Exod 30:16 as his source (where there is no mention of papyri); the similar discussion in Le Boulluec and Sandevor is not noted (where there is a brief mention); none of these writers refers to LSJ, which must be their ultimate source for the meaning. A full examination of the evidence is presumably still to be done: LSJ cite only five papyri; there are in fact up to 120 occurrences, 50 of them in III B.C. texts. Such an investigation is likely to lead to a more refined understanding of the word's meaning in the time of the Pentateuch (e.g., does it refer to wages strictly, or more broadly to expenses including wages?)<sup>8</sup>

παίδιον. Connotation, a feature difficult to handle in the traditional method of lexical description, comes into the picture for this word. Muraoka's solution here is first to define (*young child*) and give the usual breakdown of occurrences, then add a separate note: "The feature of endearment and affection appears to be present in some cases: e.g., . . . [examples]." Such notes do not appear often. In the case of τέκνον there is a different treatment. Four senses are given first with normal definitions, then comes "5. an endearing address to a youth: . . . Ge 43.29 (Joseph to Benjamin)." Strictly speaking this implies that there is no semantic content, only connotation, which may be right; but what of the two examples in 1.b.? These fall under the definition 1. *immediate offspring*, with only the following description: "b. voc. without a posses. pron.: τί ἐστίν, τέκνον; 'What is the matter, child?' Ge 22.7; 22.8." They miss out, somewhat unexpectedly, on any special connotation. The whole subject is clearly one well worth future debate and experiment.<sup>9</sup>

λαμπάδιον. Muraoka has changed his mind on the form of the headword: it was λαμπαδεῖον in the 1993 lexicon and is now λαμπάδιον, for what reason one cannot deduce. The only secondary literature mentioned in both editions is Walters (*Text of the Septuagint*, 1973). There is no reference to Boyd-Taylor's lengthy and penetrating discussion (2001), bearing on the meaning as well as the form of the word.<sup>10</sup> This may have appeared too late to be taken into account, but will be relevant to future

---

8. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 496. Alain Le Boulluec et Pierre Sandevor, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: L'Exode* (Paris: Cerf, 1989) 309. LSJ shows the impact of the documentary discoveries early in the twentieth century: in LS 8th ed. (1897) κάτεργον was cited only from the Pentateuch, with the meaning *work*. Preisigke's somewhat baffling contribution in *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* 1 (1925) s.v. will also need to be assessed: "1) Arbeitslohn . . . 2) Leistungsmaß, Arbeitsnachweis. . . 3) Lehenbeartungsdarlehen. . ."

9. The term "connotation" is used here as defined in L. Zgusta, *Manual of Lexicography* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971) 38, not as Caird uses it (op. cit. n. 11) following John Stuart Mill.

10. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "The Evidentiary Value of Septuagint Usage for Greek Lexicography: Alice's Reply to Humpty Dumpty," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001) 47–80.

treatment. The examination of the Septuagint vocabulary is young and ongoing: almost every word is potentially on the brink of further elucidation by a new study.

διαστέλλω, διαστολή. Muraoka has a good analysis of the tricky verb διαστέλλω (but aren't they all?), rightly recognizing a sense 4. *to state precisely* in Gen 30:28, Lev 5:4 *bis*, along with five other senses. But things seem to have gone wrong with the occurrence of the noun in Num 30:7, where a parallel nominal sense such as *precise statement* seems required by the context and where the Hebrew has the noun corresponding to the verb in Lev 5:4 *bis*. Muraoka has placed this example of διαστολή under 2. *express orders* or *instruction*, along with Num 19:2 where it is right, but this does not make proper sense in Num 30:7. Muraoka refers to Caird's old but decisive discussion, and to the more recent one of Dorival. The latter seems to have put him off course. Dorival (and his colleagues) saw three possible senses, but could not come to a decision between them and opted for the translation 'disposition', "qui peut avoir ces trois sens." This stratagem is hardly helpful to the lexicographer trying to decide the lexical meaning. Fortunately Muraoka has ignored another discussion of Num 30:7, that of Wevers, which could only have created deeper confusion.<sup>11</sup>

This instance could serve as a model of the peculiar demands of preparing an entry in a Septuagint lexicon. To reach a result, one must assess the entries in the major lexicons (the splendid confusion of LSJ, partially corrected in later works; the entry in the very recent *DGE*, which in the case of διαστολή is six or seven times the size of LSJ's); make sense of the now generous but still somewhat raw commentary tradition; seek out other studies and try to absorb their conclusions; search for and assess, as far as one can, the evidence of the word in texts both literary and documentary outside the Septuagint, not trusting older collections that may be out of date; take into account the Hebrew equivalent in the source text; notice parallel formations and passages; compare the meaning of semantically related words; and check for equivalent words used in the context (in this case ὀρισμός is relevant). All this can be a confusing—and time-consuming—mixture to absorb. In the end, the only guide through the maze is one's own sense of the likely meaning in the context. Muraoka is as aware as anyone of these demands, and has coped with them to great effect. But no one should imagine that there is no work left to be done.<sup>12</sup>

---

11. G. B. Caird, "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint. I," *JTS* n.s. 19 (1968) 467–68. Gilles Dorival, *La Bible d'Alexandrie: Les Nombres* (Paris: Cerf, 1994) 513. J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 497–98. Yet another meaning appears in the *Diccionario Griego-Español*, vol. 5 (Madrid: CSIC, 1997) where Num 30:7 slips in at the end of διαστολή C II 2 glossed as *compromiso* (= 'commitment?').

12. I do not enter here into the issue of the theoretical basis of Septuagint lexicography, the focus of Boyd-Taylor's stimulating paper (op. cit. n. 10). I would say only that in my opinion the ultimate criterion for deciding the meaning is the intention of the translator, who works with Greek as he knows it and as he expects readers and hearers of his own

\* \* \*

I turn now to a closer look at the definition method employed in Muraoka's lexicon. My remarks are not intended to amount to a negative assessment of the work as a whole but made with a view to possible improvement in future editions, and as further reflections on the current debate over method in stating meaning in Greek lexicons.

Muraoka describes at the outset (pp. xii–xiii) the method he intends to apply. Instead of giving a “translation equivalent,” the problems of which are succinctly summarized, he has “chosen to go for definition, to describe senses of a given word in sentence form or as fragments of a sentence.” A definition is formatted in italics; occasionally a translation equivalent will be added, in plain text within single quotes. So far all is clear. The definition method will be used, and a definition is understood to have a form involving the use of more than one word. Anything else will be a translation equivalent and formatted differently. But then Muraoka adds this statement: “Where there is no or little likelihood of misunderstanding, we have given translation equivalents: e.g., τροφός *wet-nurse* instead of *woman employed to suckle another's child*.” This step causes confusion. It means that a translation equivalent (or “gloss”) will sometimes take the place of a definition proper, but will be formatted in italics like a definition, even though it is still a gloss. It seems that the only way we will know it is a gloss and not a definition is that it will be a single word, since a definition is a “sentence” or “fragment of a sentence” and a gloss is by implication one word. But the user will have difficulty maintaining, or seeing any point in, the distinction. In effect what Muraoka is saying is that a single word can serve as a definition in certain cases. It would have been better to formulate it that way. To me this is a perfectly acceptable method of defining in a Greek-English dictionary for English speakers, provided there is no ambiguity or lack of clarity in the chosen word, as in the case of Muraoka's example, *wet-nurse*, which needs no further unpacking. When such a statement of meaning is used, it is to be regarded, not as a translation equivalent or gloss, but as a one-word definition.<sup>13</sup>

In practice however Muraoka does not keep consistently to his stated method. From what has been said in the introduction, we expect to find each word or sense defined by means of a word or phrase—*one* of either—formatted in italics; a translation equivalent in plain text and quotation marks might sometimes be added. This would be the strict definition method. Such definitions do occur, as in:

---

time to understand it. We cannot, of course, *know* the intention of the translator; we can only make the best deduction from the indications available.

13. Cf. the discussion in Lee, *History*, 22. Anne Thompson, in her review of my book in *BIOSCS* 36 (2003) 113–27, attributes to me (114) the term “definition gloss” for such a one-word definition. I did not use it in the book, and would be reluctant to accept it; I think it is liable to be misleading.

δίκαιος 2. *conforming with set and agreed standards:*

δικαιόω \*1. *to pronounce innocent, 'to acquit':*

ἐφοδιάζω *to furnish with supplies for a journey:*

ἔτος *year:*

θηλυκός *female:*

πειρα 1. *attempt: . . . 2. testing: . . . 3. experience:*<sup>14</sup>

But what are we to make of the following?:

καύχημα *that which makes one proud, object of pride:*

μακρόθεν 2. *at a distance, at a remove:*

παράφρων *wandering from reason, out of one's mind:*

πορεύομαι Π.3. *to conduct oneself, follow a certain moral life-style:*

Here we have *two* definitions, each one, presumably, helping to explain the other. In the same way, we often find the meaning stated by means of not one, but two or even three single words, as in:

θέλημα *desire, interest:*

λογίζομαι 4. *to reason, consider:*

λογίζομαι 5. *to deem, consider:*

παίγνιον *plaything, toy:*

περιστερά *dove, pigeon:*

ἐπιθυμέω *to desire, long for, covet:*

καλός 1. *advantageous, beneficial, desirable:*

καταφρονέω *to despise, belittle, treat with contempt:*

ὄπή *opening, hole, crevice:*

πεδῖον *plain, open land or field:*

ποιέω 4. *to fashion, construct, manufacture:*

πόνος 1. *toil, suffering, hardship:*

πορεία 2. *journey, going, marching:*

Are these really single-word definitions? That is, in Muraoka's terms, translation equivalents that have replaced a definition because there was "no likelihood of misunderstanding." It seems unlikely that they are. Rather, as the use of multiple equivalents suggests, they are in fact old-fashioned glosses that do not have the character of definitions.

In addition to these, we find cases in which there is a combination of phrase and single word; that is, apparently, definition plus gloss, but with both in italics, not just the definition:

δορά *skin of body when taken off, hide:*

ἐκεῖ 1. *there, in that place already mentioned:*

καταλαμβάνω 1. *to lay hold of, seize:*

---

14. Colons are retained from the original, where they mark the end of the statement of meaning, before other material begins.

πληθος 1. *large quantity, multitude*:  
 σιωπή *silence, abstinence from speech*:

Let us take stock at this point. What we have seen shows that glosses, the traditional method of indicating meaning in lexicons, have maintained their hold and are being used along with definitions, in a variety of combinations. This is a mixture of methods, and Muraoka is not alone in using it. The “mixed method,” as I think it deserves to be called, turns up often elsewhere. It appears at times in a predominantly definition lexicon like the *OLD*, as in:

*ingens* 1 Of very great size or dimensions, huge, vast.  
*insanus* 1 Of unsound mind, demented, frenzied, mad.

Conversely the *DML*, which is primarily a gloss lexicon, at times mixes the methods, as in:

*gratanter* 1 with joy or pleasure, thankfully.  
*improvisus* 1 appearing or occurring without warning, unexpected.<sup>15</sup>

The mixed method also appears occasionally even in the *OED*, the premier definition lexicon and pioneer of the method. E.g.:

*glad* 1. Bright, shining, beautiful.  
*subside* 1. *intr.* To sink down, fall to the bottom, precipitate.<sup>16</sup>

Can the mixed method work? Many would say yes, and one would have to concede that no great harm is done, e.g., by defining περιστερά as *dove, pigeon*. The user gets, as it were, two hits of information which together, presumably, are clearer than one—though one could say, even in this simple case, that we are just being given

---

15. *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. P. G. W. Glare (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1968–82). *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, ed. R. E. Latham, then D. R. Howlett, et al. (London: for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1975–, in progress).

16. *Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., 20 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). The mixed method may be seen in John Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca: Contributions to the Lexicography of Ancient Greek* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) e.g., 87, 100, 207, 261. It is to be noticed that the mixed method is *not* used in *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, rev. and ed. Frederick W. Danker (3rd ed., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000): definitions are always typographically distinguished from glosses, even though the two may occur together. The strict definition method is also followed in Johannes P. Louw, and Eugene A. Nida, eds., *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains* (2 vols.; New York: United Bible Societies, 1988; 2nd. ed. 1989). My own thinking and practice have undergone development: my earlier analysis of συνίστημι showed the same faults I am criticizing in Muraoka (John A. L. Lee, “Συνίστημι: A Sample Lexical Entry,” in *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography*, ed. Takamitsu Muraoka [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990] 3–4).

an older and a newer word for the same thing and there is no need for both. Even so, no great harm is done, nor perhaps in πόνος 1. *toil, suffering, hardship*, or σιωπή *silence, abstinence from speech*. But we should be aware of the hazards of this method when close attention to the meaning is needed in exegesis or for other purposes in reading a text. Take the case of ἐπιθυμέω *to desire, long for, covet*, quoted above. It matters very much what exactly this word means in Exod 20:17 and Deut 5:21 (οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ πλησίον σου. οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὴν οἰκίαν . . .). Simply glossing it in this way (the glosses, incidentally, are the same as LSJ's) fails to resolve the question of what it actually means, in particular whether it implies sexual desire. The English words could have more than one meaning as well as differing from one another, so all sorts of possibilities are left open by stating the meaning in the form of these three glosses. The exegete may or may not be aware of this, and may proceed to decide the meaning on the basis of the *English* words as he/she understands them.<sup>17</sup>

But this is not by any means the end of the variations that Muraoka allows himself in the statement of meaning. A frequent and significant element, though one on which no information is offered, are words in plain text joined with the definition or gloss in italic. Examples:

- ἀφαιρέω 1. *to remove and cause to disappear*:  
 βρῶμα 1. *food, not cooked*:  
 γεροσσία *assembly of elders* as a decision-making body in ancient Israel:  
 διαβιβάζω *to cause to cross* from one side to the other:  
 ἐπέχω 1. *to wait* without proceeding to next action:  
 ζωή 1. *life, vitality*, inclusive of non-physical dimension:  
 ζωογονέω 2. *to preserve alive* without killing:  
 θῦμα *slaughtered animal*:  
 κατάλοιπος *left remaining* untouched, unharmed or not mentioned:  
 κατανοέω *to observe closely* to find out about:  
 κήτης *huge sea-fish*:  
 κόσμυβος *decorative fringe* of a garment:  
 κράσπεδον *tassel* on the four corners of an ancient Israelite's outer garment:  
 λανθάνω *to escape notice of*, mostly of inadvertent omission on the part of the beholder:  
 λοιπός *left and remaining* out of a given number or quantity:  
 πειρασμός *putting of character to the test*:  
 πένθος *grief*, esp. over the dead:  
 σαλπίζω *to blow a trumpet*:

---

17. The meaning of ἐπιθυμῶ is a crucial question for William Loader's discussion of the decalogue in *The Septuagint, Sexuality, and the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 5–25, but he seems unaware of the inadequacy of a gloss like 'desire'. He would get no help from Muraoka. Notice further that 'desire' also appears in Muraoka's meanings for θέλω 1 *to desire, wish*: and βούλομαι *to wish, desire*: What does 'desire' mean there and is it the same as in ἐπιθυμῶ?

The formatting suggests that these are explanatory additions not intended to be part of the definition, but amplifying it in some way. Yet many of them do seem to be part of, indeed an essential part of, the definition proper. So for example in θύμα slaughtered *animal*, where it is surely clear that *animal* alone is not sufficient to define the word. Similarly κητος is probably not just any *sea-fish*, but one that is of a specially large size, or huge. On the other hand, some of these examples may have to do with indicating the collocation, that is, the word(s) with which the defined word is or may be combined in context. Such may be the case in *πειρασμός putting of character to the test*, though it is hardly clear.<sup>18</sup>

This brings us to collocation and how it is treated by Muraoka. The best and clearest method, as it seems to me, is the one seen in examples like these:

ἡγέομαι 1. *to direct* (organisation, group of individuals):

μανθάνω 1. *to learn* (a skill, art, habit):

ὀρθοῦν 2. *to seek and turn in eager anticipation* (to sbd, πρὸς τινα):

The collocation is in plain text enclosed in brackets, and not part of the definition itself. But we find numerous variations, with the brackets sometimes omitted, the collocation sometimes in italics, and elements of definition sometimes treated as if part of the collocation (as in μολύνω):

ἀφαιρέω 2. *to shift* from place X to Y:

εἰσακούω 1. *to give ear* to sbd or sth:

ἐξαποστέλλω 5. *to part with, give a send-off* to guest or visitor:

εὐλαβέομαι 2. *not to venture* to do, *to refrain* from doing out of a sense of awe:

---

18. Sometimes the explanatory addition is bracketed, as in: τηρέω *to watch* (to attack at an opportune moment). There are also instances in which the whole definition is in plain text. At first one might think these are simply the result of a formatting slip, but I am not so sure: some of them look like explanatory material that has invaded the whole definition. Examples:

ἀφή 2. part of body infected by leprosy:

γραμματεὺς 2. a person in leadership position of one sort or another: [contrast 1. *one who records*]

καρδία 3. seat where human thoughts, intentions and attitudes are generated and take shape:

λόγιον 3. woven piece of an ephod placed on the breast worn by the high priest and used to arrive at legal decisions by means of δῆλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια 'oracle box':

ὄνυξ 3. a precious stone, 'onyx':

I note also instances in which definitions include bracketed explanatory words that are also italicised, e.g.:

ἐπιθύω *to offer* (*heathen, cultic*) *animal sacrifice*:

κοιμάομαι 1. *to lie* (*down*):

οἰκογενής 2. *belonging to the* (*royal*) *household*:

καλύπτω 1. *to place sth over an entire surface:*  
 λατομέω 1. *to dig a cavity in the ground:*  
 λογίζομαι 7. *to put down to sbd's account:*  
 μολύνω 2. *to violate (a woman sexually):*  
 περναίω II. mid. *to remove from oneself or sbd close to oneself:*  
 περιζώννυμι I. act. *to put (garment) round sbd's body:*

In the last two features discussed, I do not see any fundamental problem. In the case of collocation it is only a matter of applying consistent formatting. As to the explanatory elements of definition currently formatted in plain text, further thought is needed. The simplest solution would be to change all of them into italic format as being part of the definition, if they can be so regarded. If not, at least an explanation of their function needs to be formulated and a consistent policy maintained in their use. The question of the mixed method is more difficult. It would help at least if the distinction between a one-word definition and a translation equivalent or gloss were maintained. Further revision along the lines of conversion of glosses into definitions (multi-word or one-word) and removal of superfluous glosses would be a larger enterprise.

It has been truly said that it is not possible to make a good lexicon out of a bad one. In the case of Muraoka's lexicon the possibility exists of making a good lexicon better. These remarks are offered as a contribution to that end.

JOHN A. L. LEE  
 MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

Lust, Johan, Erik Eynikel, and Katrin Hauspie. *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, Revised edition*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2003. Pp. cii + 678. ISBN: 3-438-05124-9.

At present, while a number of Septuagint Lexica are appearing and are being re-worked, significant activity is going on in the field of lexicography independent of the lexica, which is an ideal situation for scholarship, but the implication is that by the time a lexicon appears the editors (and their readers) may have mixed feelings about some entries. Two such activities are first the NETS translation process based on the descriptive-linguistic principle of interlinearity; and second, recent articles that have appeared on lexicographical theory which pay particular attention to defining more closely the linguistic relationship between the Hebrew source text and the Greek target text.<sup>1</sup> These two enterprises, the creation of lexica and the work relating to NETS, seem to be going on without any mutual interaction.<sup>2</sup>

1. A. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 337–64; C. Boyd-Taylor, "The Evidentiary

Any Septuagint lexicon's value is determined to a large extent by its approach to the relationship between the Hebrew or Aramaic source text and the Greek target text. The lexicon's presentation of the lexical evidence of the target text will hinge upon that understanding. This means that it needs to make epistemological choices: 1. on the level of the text-critical relationship between source and target, 2. on the level of semantics of a target text in the light of linguistic interference, and 3. on the level of the relationship of the lexemes in the target text to one another. The Septuagint lexica currently available suffer from indecision on the second level, or from inattention to what may be called "an articulated theory of translation."<sup>3</sup>

The Lexicon (LEH) is the culmination of years of meticulous scholarship, and has boldly given scholars and students a compact *Handausgabe*, of words that occur in a collection as complex as the Septuagint. This review is limited to comments about semantics and linguistic interference in the context of the interlinear model proposed by Pietersma. In a nutshell, it may be said that though LEH evidences lack of clarity about the principle of linguistic interference and what this means for lexicography, it is quite clearly already assuming this principle in a large number of entries. This makes it easy for a reviewer to suggest minor refinements that may be taken into consideration for the Lexicon's anticipated revision process. This review first addresses the extent to which LEH answers to the requirements of the interlinearity model, by taking notice of some features of Johann Lust's Introduction. Next it will highlight some aspects of the interlinearity model and assess LEH in the light of them. Next, entries will be examined both to show their value and where revisions may be neces-

---

Value of Septuagintal Usage for Greek Lexicography," *BIOSCS* 34 (2001) 47–80; id., "Linguistic Register and Septuagintal Lexicography," in B. A. Taylor, et al., eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography. Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 149–66; and id., "Lexicography and Interlanguage," this volume, pp. 57–74.

2. So, for example, J. Lee, "The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek," in B. A. Taylor, et al., eds., *Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography. Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004) 66–74, does not refer to Pietersma, or Boyd-Taylor. Neither do the contributions of Muraoka, Hauspie, and Eynikel in the same volume. Lust's introduction in LEH makes only a passing reference to Pietersma's older work (1.d. on p. xxii). Muraoka does not refer to Pietersma at all in his introduction or bibliography. Pietersma proposed the interlinear model in Cambridge in 1995.

3. A Pietersma, "A New Archimedian Point for Septuagint Studies?" forthcoming. Boyd-Taylor would like to see lexicographers treading more carefully around the area of linguistic interference, since translations do not offer us "straightforward linguistic evidence" ("Interlanguage," xxx, n. 11). Elsewhere, he argues that what happens when meaning is assumed to lie either in the mind of the translator or in the mind of the reader, is that we are presented with rivaling epistemologies. They cannot be reconciled, since semantic inferences may be drawn from them that produce different results, and both cannot be right ("Evidentiary Value," 54).

sary. Finally some recommendations will be made for the review process of LEH and also to the IOSCS.

Cameron Boyd-Taylor in Vol 34 of this *Bulletin*<sup>4</sup> already covered much of the ground any reviewer would have to cover in representing the range of lexicographical approaches in the world of Septuagintal scholarship today. He provides a useful overview of contributions by Tov, Muraoka, Silva and LEH, and then suggests as a response, in what ways the Septuagint contributes or does not contribute to entries in a Greek lexicon. Going on from the existing work on Septuagint lexicography, Boyd-Taylor and Pietersma have striven, as any scientific community should, for the reduction of the Septuagint's evidence to as simple a set of laws as possible,<sup>5</sup> and have proposed the interlinearity model to account for the Septuagint's textual-linguistic make-up. The translation-theoretical work of Gideon Toury is much cited.<sup>6</sup>

### 1. *LEH: The Editors' Approach to Lexicographical Method*

LEH approaches lexicography from the perspective that the translators tried to make the best sense of their parent text and that meanings were therefore those intended by the translator. Lust differs from the approach of Muraoka, for example, who is interested in the perspective of the reader.<sup>7</sup>

LEH makes it quite clear that we are dealing with translation Greek and that lexicography has to be carried out bearing in mind that what is written in Greek is strongly defined by the Hebrew source text, especially on the level of syntax.<sup>8</sup> Other affirmations in the Introduction on which there seems to be general consensus among lexicographers are: that one is dealing with standard Koine Greek; that words not found in certain meanings in classical Greek are found with those meanings in the Papyri; that one finds Greek equivalents that are used stereotypically that are in conflict with their context;<sup>9</sup> that the translators are bringing their public to the source language;<sup>10</sup> and that there are text-critical and theological factors embedded in the translation that cannot be accounted for without recourse to the Hebrew.

The Introduction raises a number of other aspects of Septuagint lexicography about which there is some debate. The first is the role played by the immediate context of Greek words in determining their meaning. The statement made on p. xxii

---

4. "Evidentiary Value," 50–54.

5. A. Pietersma, "A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions," in J. Cook, ed., *Bible and Computer* (Leiden: Brill, 2002) 338.

6. So for example, G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).

7. Introduction, xviii–xxi.

8. *Ibid.*, xviii.

9. *Ibid.*, xxiv.

10. *Ibid.*, xix.

“First of all, attention is to be given to the meaning of the Greek word in its context” is a loaded statement and needs to be qualified. One sees in some entries that the temptation to assume a (usually Semitic) meaning from the context is resisted, but in others it is not. More will be said about this below. Also, though one is told that the editors have been careful not to assign to a Greek word “all too quickly the meaning of its Hebrew counterpart”,<sup>11</sup> one would like to know under what circumstances that does happen, because one finds it in the entries. Furthermore, there is an interesting discussion of synchronic and diachronic approaches to the Septuagint,<sup>12</sup> but where the lexicon itself is situated in this context is not indicated. Thus, for example, we are told that neologisms are recognized as such if they are attested in later literature<sup>13</sup> (a diachronic approach that incorporates into lexicography the reception history of the Septuagint) but by and large the lexicon is interested in the translators’ intention at the point of translation and the way they worked with the Hebrew and Aramaic texts before them<sup>14</sup> (a synchronic approach).

## 2. Pietersma, Boyd-Taylor and NETS: The Interlinearity Model

As stated above, NETS rests on the interlinearity model that seeks to account for the textual-linguistic make-up of the text at its point of production rather than its reception. It wishes to represent the Septuagint as a translated work, not as a free-standing compositional one. The notion of interlinearity has been clearly explained by Pietersma<sup>15</sup> and by Boyd-Taylor in the two articles already cited above.<sup>16</sup> Three immediate implications of the interlinearity model for lexicography are:

### A. Unintelligibility

In the Septuagint as a work of translation carried out under the influence of linguistic interference, one expects to find both intelligible and unintelligible Greek. When it is intelligible, it is because there is positive transfer from the source text onto the target text in known Greek usage, even though that usage at times may be over-worked. When it is unintelligible, it is because the parent text exerted negative transfer, and the resultant Greek has nothing to offer in terms of meaning.<sup>17</sup> When the lexicographer confronts that lexical impossibility, appealing to Greek context is not permissible because there was more going on than can be inferred from the Greek text

---

11. *Ibid.*, xvi.

12. *Ibid.*, xx.

13. *Ibid.*, xiv.

14. *Ibid.*, xxi.

15. “A New Paradigm,” 350–57.

16. “Evidentiary Value,” and “Linguistic Register.”

17. Pietersma, “A New Paradigm,” 343; Boyd-Taylor, “Evidentiary Value,” 56.

itself.<sup>18</sup> Interference by the Hebrew occurs at the syntactical level, though seldom at the level of the meaning of individual words. Stereotypical usage does not necessarily signal transfer of meaning.<sup>19</sup>

### *B. Attestation as Criterion of Meaning*

What crops up in Pietersma's and Boyd-Taylor's detailed treatment of individual words in various articles,<sup>20</sup> is always the question: where is this meaning attested outside the Septuagint? The only hard and fast criterion for normative meaning in a translated work is attestation outside the translation corpus *at the time or before the translation was made*. Apart from this it is very hard to show any level of semantic borrowing from Hebrew to Greek occurred. Lexicographers are fully aware that attestation is incomplete, that lack of attestation does not mean lack of usage, and that technical Judaic religious terminology is unlikely to be part of a *lingua franca*.<sup>21</sup> None the less, these facts serve only to increase our uncertainty and may not be adduced to infer meaning.

### *C. Translational Convention and Suspension of Convention*

The lexicographer, in Boyd-Taylor's words, "is not entitled to make direct inferences from the Septuagint text touching normative Greek usage; not, at least, without demonstrating that, in a given instance, the translator has in fact suspended his normal way of proceeding."<sup>22</sup> He means by this not that lexicography of the Septuagint is impossible, but that it should indicate the practice of the translator at a given moment. For instance, his principal agenda is to indicate the force of the parent text, but as Boyd-Taylor puts it, "rival interests" surface at times.<sup>23</sup> Thus we find in Leviticus 13 that κοῖλος is used abnormally with ἀπὸ τοῦ δέουματος as a stereotype to bring the

---

18. The argument of Chamberlain ("Method in Septuagint Lexicography" in L. M. Hopfe, *Uncovering Ancient Stones: Essays in Memory of H. Neil Richardson* [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1994] 182), that the meaning of words that derive from the Hebrew may be inferred from the Greek context on the basis that later Christian authors found them intelligible in context, does not work because it reads the rules of diachronic lexicography back onto the moment of the production of the Septuagint, where they were not designed to be intelligible in the first place, but occur simply because the translator felt constrained to pair them with their Hebrew counterpart.

19. In this regard, many lexical entries are wrongly influenced by J. Wevers, who holds that stereotypical usage is synonymous with "calque," seen in his treatment of ψυχῆ (*Notes on the Greek Text of Leviticus* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997] 34).

20. A. Pietersma "Ἐπίχειρον in Greek Jeremiah," *JNSL* 28/2 (2002) 101–8. See also Boyd-Taylor's treatment of δικαίωμα in *Linguistic Register*, 164–66 and λαμπάδιον in "Evidentiary Value," 58–66.

21. Lee, "Lexical Study," 31–50.

22. "Linguistic Register," 151.

23. *Ibid.*, 151.

reader to the formal characteristics of the Hebrew עֵמוֹק מִן־הָעוֹר “lower than the skin.” However, in v. 20 the more idiomatic or “linguistically well-formed” use of ταπεινότερα τοῦ δέματος appears as a rival interest.

When one subjects LEH to the test in these areas, one sees some vagueness. On the level of intelligibility/unintelligibility it does not spell out clearly enough how a lexicon establishes when a translator’s choice can be an indicator of meaning and when it cannot. Because this is not explicitly stated, one still finds too many instances where the meaning of the Hebrew context is transferred over to the meaning of the Greek, even though the need to be sensitive to this issue is a stated caveat.<sup>24</sup> The caveat needs to be taken to its logical conclusion. Thus, for example, on p. xviii, where it states that there is formal transfer from Hebrew to Greek in terms of syntax, an addition such as ‘this does not imply that the transfer extends automatically to the level of the semantics of individual words’ would be appropriate. We know that the editors follow this principle of caution because we see it in the entries, though on an inconsistent basis. What one really wants to see presented in an introduction to a Septuagint lexicon is a set of well-theorized rules for semantic transfer.<sup>25</sup> The goal in LEH of providing translational equivalents is probably to blame for decisions that favor saying, here we have a neologism, rather than saying, here is a stereotypical rendering of whose lexical value we are not sure.

On the matter of attestation, LEH does not take up the important issue of what the implications are that a meaning given by LSJ, hinted at by the Hebrew context, is not attested outside of translation Greek at the time of the translation. Again, because there is no clear statement about prior or later attestation, one wonders if later attestation has swayed their choice of meaning.

If these comments are found to be valid, it would not take lengthy revisions or refinement to rectify inconsistencies and inaccuracies, as the following cases will show.

### 3. Analysis of Selected Entries

1. A good example of Septuagint lexicography done according to the principle of linguistic interference is the entry for κλητή,<sup>26</sup> namely that the term is used for the Hebrew word meaning ‘assembly’, but does not itself mean anything other than ‘called out’. Lee’s suggestion of an etymologizing rendering whereby the meaning

24. Introduction, xvi. Boyd-Taylor views this as the result of LEH’s source-oriented approach (“Evidentiary Value,” 65).

25. Chamberlain, for example, sees stereotypical translation “as the major way that the semantic range of a Greek word is extended to include aspects of the underlying Hebrew term” (“Method in Septuagint Lexicography,” 182, n. 21). Pietersma does not agree, and is adamant that the burden of proof that a stereotype has taken on the meaning of its Hebrew counterpart lies with the lexicographer, who must find contemporary attestation (Pietersma, “A New Paradigm,” 353).

26. LEH, 343

‘assembly’ would stand,<sup>27</sup> is not adopted, and rightly so. Here the *modus operandi* is precisely as called for under the interlinearity model. The abnormal use of the Greek is indicated by recourse to the Hebrew from which it emanates, without the assumption that the semantic value of the Hebrew is transferred to the Greek lexeme.

2. The entry for *πλημμέλεια*<sup>28</sup> leaves room for question. In terms of the gloss: ‘offering for sin or error’, there is no evidence that the meaning ‘offering’ is found in ordinary Greek. It is rather a stereotypical rendering for *עֹשֶׂה* which means ‘offering for sin or guilt’. As for later attestation, although they mark it with a plus sign (†) as occurring in the NT, it does not occur there.<sup>29</sup> It is recommended that it be changed to “stereotype for Hebrew *עֹשֶׂה* *guilt offering*.”

3. The entry for *ἀμαρτία*<sup>30</sup> is similarly in need of revision. As far as we know, at the point at which the translator chose to use this Greek word for the Hebrew *חַטָּאת*, no precedent existed for understanding *ἀμαρτία* as having any connotations of a sacrifice in standard Greek. There are frequent later attestations of that meaning in non-translational literature such as Philo, Josephus, 4 Maccabees and the New Testament, but none representing the time of production of the Greek Pentateuch. It is recommended that the entry read: “stereotype for Hebrew *חַטָּאת*, which means both ‘sin’ and ‘sin offering’. This meaning was adopted by subsequent literature.”

4. The entry for *δικαίωμα*<sup>31</sup> is equally in need of revision. Boyd-Taylor treats it under the rubric “status uncertain.” His uncertainty is over the choice between ‘legal ruling’ and ‘legitimate claim’, both of which are attested in contemporary non-translational literature.<sup>32</sup> But the unattested meaning given in the lexicon of ‘custom’ is simply adopting one of the meanings of *מִשְׁפֵּט* on the basis of repeated usage. At this point in the entry it should rather have read “stereotypical use for Heb. *מִשְׁפֵּט* *custom*.”

5. The use in 3 Rgns 11:31 of *σκήπτρον* is to my mind correctly marked as the stereotype for Hebrew *שֵׁבַט*.<sup>33</sup> And so the entry one finds for that word: “*staffs* . . . for MT *שֵׁבֵט* *tribes*” is consistent with the principles of linguistic interference.

6. In the case of *ἀντιτάσσω* in 3 Rgns 11:34 we are given the useful information accounting for the misreading of the Hebrew at that point.<sup>34</sup> Regardless of this,

27. J. Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983) 51.

28. LEH, 497.

29. However, it is listed in BDAG, since it occurs in 1 Clement, a text within the purview of that lexicon.

30. LEH, 31.

31. *Ibid.*, 154.

32. “Linguistic Register,” 164–66.

33. LEH, 556.

34. *Ibid.*, 56.

though, the meaning of the Hebrew syntagm inf. abs. + main verb cannot be said to extend to the Greek.

7. *θέσις* for *נָרַן* is in need of revision. ‘Adoption’ is the proposed gloss<sup>35</sup> on the basis of a reading that differs from the MT. The usual meanings for this Greek word, ‘setting’ or ‘placing’ could have worked equally well here. Even though the Hebrew translator may have had some form of *נָרַן* in front of him, it says nothing to us about the meaning of *θέσις*, and it is a long way from ‘setting’ to ‘adoption’.

8. Next is *πιστός* which is given the standard LSJ meaning relating to things: ‘trustworthy’, ‘sure’, to which one could add ‘reliable’, but what is not possible in my mind is ‘lasting’<sup>36</sup> because that would be allowing this meaning of *נָאֲמַן* to intrude. Here it would be necessary to investigate to what extent the translator of Reigns worked stereotypically.

9. The word *προστίθημι* is used for its Hebrew counterpart *פָּסַח*. The standard meaning of the Greek word is ‘do more’, ‘add’ and this is correctly given, but the stereotypical equivalence for the Hebrew adverbial use of *פָּסַח* as ‘again’ cannot be said to extend to the Greek.

#### 4. Recommendations

These examples show that most of the inconsistencies apparent to this reviewer are attributable to an unclear approach to the lexicographical value of words that occur under the influence of linguistic interference. This lack of clarity allows for the intrusion of the Hebrew meaning into the Greek context. And yet, every now and again there is a clear decision against this, and words are marked as occurring under the influence of linguistic interference (without explicitly saying so) and the Hebrew meaning is given for the Hebrew word, not for the Greek. It is recommended that LEH refine its methodological approach in response to the interlinearity model and change more entries to “*unsure*; Greek X is a stereotype for Hebrew Y.” It is further recommended that LEH takes a firm stance on synchrony and hence against later attestation as a criterion for assuming Hebrew meanings.

The next recommendation is directed to the IOSCS and its cohort of able lexicographers. One awaits with interest the response of lexicographers such as Lee, the LEH team, and Muraoka to the vigorous and interesting proposals that have been emanating from Pietersma and Boyd-Taylor. Next, it would be very valuable for Septuagint lexicography if the data that will accumulate from the lexicographical interaction between translators and editors that is certain to happen with the publication and review of the entire NETS translation could be incorporated or captured in some way by an existing lexicon. If it is not, then a vast amount of vital lexicographical information

---

35. *Ibid.*, 274.

36. *Ibid.*, 494.

about attestation, stereotypical use and the linguistic well- or ill-formedness of Greek renderings will simply be relegated to printoffs of emails. The ideal is a kind of lexicographical chat-room that Lee calls for,<sup>37</sup> with the proviso that it have a firm-handed editorial policy. Perhaps LEH III could be the culmination of this, with the collaboration of the IOSCS as another spinoff from NETS.

DIRK BÜCHNER  
TRINITY WESTERN UNIVERSITY

Schenker, A., ed. *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*. SBLSCS 52. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003. ISBN: 1-58983-081-4.

This volume represents the papers given during a panel discussion at Basel in August 2001 as part of the eleventh Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. In the light of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the increasing interest in the Greek versions of the biblical books, the focus of the discussion was the literary relationship between the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint (LXX) and the Masoretic Text (MT). Offered by a range of international authorities in Septuagint studies, these essays provide scholars, teachers, and graduate students models for methodology and immediate access to the nature of the complicated textual and literary relationships shared by the witnesses to the Hebrew Bible. There are six essays that deal with particular differences between the versions, while in the concluding essay Emanuel Tov offers an overview of the evidence regarding the differences between the versions in the biblical books (pp. 121–44).

In “The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges,” Natalio Fernández Marcos analyzes 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> and argues, *contra* J. Trebolle Barrera, that it is not warranted to conclude that this fragment offers evidence for two editions for Judges; nor that such a conclusion is supported by the textual witnesses as a whole (pp. 1–16). First, Fernández Marcos argues that the limited evidence of six singular readings in 4QJudg<sup>a</sup> from Judg 6:2–6, 11–13 is not enough to establish a relationship between it and the Antiochene text. He then re-examines four minuses in the Antiochene text of Judges (9:16–19; 12:4–5; 20:27–28; 20:19, 31) in order to determine whether they also support the hypothesis of a shorter edition of the text. In the view of Fernández Marcos these minuses are based on textual corruption and translational problems.

While the interrelationships between the textual and literary questions in Judges are difficult to separate, Adrien Schenker develops a strong argument that the MT in 1 Kings 20 exhibits a redacted form of an earlier *Vorlage*. His paper, “Junge Garden

---

37. Lee, “Present State,” 73.

oder akrobatische Tänzer? Das Verhältnis zwischen 1 Kön 20 MT und 3 Regn 21 LXX” (pp. 17–34), demonstrates that the redactor of the MT, which is supported by most LXX witnesses, has introduced the idea that the 7,000 young warriors are the liberators of Samaria. The more original form of the story is preserved in codex Vaticanus, which attributes the victory to young dancers and sixty men of valor. Schenker finds supporting evidence in the way that the MT has also eliminated or altered references to dancing men elsewhere in 2 Sam 6, 1 Kgs 1, and 1 Chron 13 and 15 (pp. 18–23), and he convincingly explains how the final narrative in the MT does not make sense (p. 27). Given the fact that Ahab had already paid tribute and was afraid, does it make sense that this happened when he had 7,000 warriors according to 20:15?

In the article “On the Relationship between Textual and Literary Criticism. The Two Recensions of the Book of Ezra: Ezra-Neh (MT) and 1 Esdras (LXX)” it is argued that the account of Nehemiah’s building of the city, which is lacking in 1 Esdras, is connected to a series of smaller textual variants (pp. 35–50). According to Dieter Böhler, Ezra-Nehemiah is a later redaction of 1 Esdras, which has inserted the story of Nehemiah. The setting for this revision and its additional emphasis on the social organization of God’s people was the Maccabean period when there was a desire to encourage the quest for political independence (p. 49).

Pierre-Maurice Bogaert demonstrates the relationship between the Old Latin (OL) and the LXX of Jeremiah compared to the MT, and argues that the OL preserves a better witness to the Old Greek (OG) version of Jeremiah in some instances. In “La vetus latina de Jérémie: texts très court, témoin de la plus ancienne Septante et d’une forme plus ancienne de l’hébreu (Jer 39 et 52)” (pp. 51–82), Bogaert clearly presents the evidence from the textual witnesses and argues that the OL is the best witness to the earliest stage of the Hebrew text in Jer 52. The OL has an even shorter text than the LXX witnesses (vv. 1–11 are completely absent) and Bogaert explains that this is due to later redaction of the Greek toward the MT. The evidence for his position is that references revolving around the return of the sacred vessels are also absent from the LXX in Jer 34:13–18=MT 27:16–22 (this passage is not attested in the OL) and omissions of events related to the fall of Jerusalem and the release of Jeremiah from prison are shared by the OG and the OL in 45:28–46:16=MT 38:28–39:15. Even in 46:1–2 (MT 39:1–2) the OL omits these verses against the LXX, which were marked with an asterisk as an addition by Origen (p. 59). The text of the OL is coherent without the pluses, and together with the OG witnesses to an earlier Hebrew *Vorlage*.

Johan Lust adds to his contributions on the LXX of Ezekiel in “Major Divergences between LXX and MT in Ezekiel” (pp. 83–92) by arguing that the minuses of 12:26–28; 32:25–26; 36:23b–38 that are preserved in papyrus 967 witness to a more original OG text. Lust notes how each of these passages shares a similar theological interest to “downplay the eschatological and apocalyptic tendencies in the book of Ezekiel” (p. 90). He compares these omissions to those in OG 7:1–11 where there is a similar concern in the MT to undermine the eschatological interests of the text.

In “Texte Massorétique et Septante dans le Livre de Daniel” (pp. 93–120) Olivier Munnich attempts to establish not only that the OG version of chapters 4–6 reflects an earlier *Vorlage* than the MT, but that the order of the chapters preserved in papyrus 967 (i.e. chaps. 7 and 8 intervene between chaps. 4 and 5) witnesses to an older *Vorlage* as well. Munnich is concerned to demonstrate literary development from the OG to the MT, and to this end he does note several ways that chaps. 4 and 5 in the MT exhibit that it is a later redaction than the OG. For example, the role and character of Daniel is more developed in the MT. Daniel is not mentioned in the OG of chap. 4 until v.15(18) compared to the MT in which he is described as “endowed with a spirit of the holy gods” and “no mystery is too difficult” for him in 4:8–9(5–6). The intelligence and wisdom of Daniel are also emphasized in the MT in 5:11–16. Thus, Munnich is correct when he identifies later additions to MT 4:3–6 and 5:3, but it is much more difficult to establish a direct linear development from the *Vorlage* of the OG in chaps. 4–6 to the MT, particularly when Munnich also wants to argue for the alternative order of the chapters (pp. 116–17). A comparison of these chapters reveals that the texts preserved in the OG and MT/Th have little in common, particularly in chaps. 4–5, so it is unlikely that one can establish linear development from one to the other. Munnich’s suggestions have been given a more thorough examination elsewhere by the present writer in “The Old Greek Translation of Daniel Chapters 4–6 and the Formation of the Book of Daniel” (forthcoming).

As Tov notes in his concluding essay, the LXX is the major repository for the large-scale literary differences compared to the MT (p. 120). He also observes that in many cases it has been argued that there is a linear development that connects these alternative literary editions, but the evidence is complex (p. 140).

This volume is an excellent contribution to understanding and examining the complex issues involved in the origin and transmission of the biblical text. Though access to this volume will be limited for some students because two articles are in French and one is in German, it will be used with great benefit by scholars and teachers.

R. TIMOTHY MCLAY  
ST. STEPHEN’S UNIVERSITY

Taylor, Bernard A., John A. L. Lee, Peter R. Burton, and Richard E. Whitaker, eds.  
*Biblical Greek Language and Lexicography. Essays in Honor of Frederick W. Danker.* Grand Rapids, Mich., 2004. Pp. xxi + 266. ISBN 0-8028-2216-9.

This volume of essays is valuable for helping one understand the evolution of the Greek-English lexicons deriving from the work of Walter Bauer. Since all of us who work in the Greek of the Bible use these lexicons, we are all indebted to the editors for having put at our disposal through this tribute to Frederick Danker an informative collection that explores developments in lexicography and Danker’s role in them.

The volume contains the following: a photo of Danker stands opposite the title page; there follows a Table of Contents (pp. v–vii); then an Introduction and Acknowledgements, by Burton and Taylor, in which they summarize the various contributions to the book (pp. viii–xiv). Then come Abbreviations (pp. xv–xvii) and “A Brief Biography of Frederick William Danker,” written by Burton (pp. xviii–xxi). Here we read about Danker’s life, from his birth in 1920, to the publication of the second edition of the lexicon associated with his name. By way of reminder, W. Arndt and F. W. Gingrich’s English translation of Bauer’s German-Greek lexicon (BAG) appeared in 1957. After Arndt’s death that same year, Danker joined Gingrich to compile the edition that followed in 1979, known as BAGD. It was after his “retirement” in 1988 that Danker began to work on BDAG, which is no longer a translation and adaptation of the latest German edition of the Bauer lexicon, but a new work that reflects Danker’s own insights. BDAG appeared in the year 2000.

The contributions to the volume are: Danker, “Lexical Evolution and Linguistic Hazard,” pp. 1–31; Rykle Borger, “Remarks of an Outsider about Bauer’s Wörterbuch, BAGD, BDAG, and Their Textual Basis,” pp. 32–47; John Elliott, “Look It Up. It’s in BDAG,” pp. 48–52; Terry Roberts, “A Review of BDAG,” pp. 53–65; Lee, “The Present State of Lexicography of Ancient Greek,” pp. 66–74; William A. Johnson, “Greek Electronic Resources and the Lexicographical Function,” pp. 75–84; Takamitsu Muraoka, “Septuagintal Lexicography,” pp. 85–90; Barclay M. Newman, Jr., “A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament: Reflections and Ruminations,” pp. 91–93; Richard E. Whitaker, “Concordances and the Greek New Testament,” pp. 94–107; Katrin Hauspie, “The LXX Quotations in the LSJ Supplements of 1968 and 1996,” pp. 108–25; Erik Eynikel and Katrin Hauspie, “The Use of  $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$  in the Septuagint,” pp. 126–35; Taylor, “Hebrew to Greek: A Semantic Study of  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega$  for the New English Translation of the Septuagint,” pp. 136–48; Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Linguistic Register and Septuagintal Lexicography,” pp. 149–66; Taylor, “Deponency and Greek Lexicography,” pp. 167–76; Randall Buth, “Verbs Perception and Aspect: Greek Lexicography and Grammar,” pp. 177–98; Trevor V. Evans, “Future Directions for Aspect Studies in Ancient Greek,” pp. 199–206; Stanley E. Porter, “Aspect Theory and Lexicography,” pp. 207–22; James W. Voelz, “External Entailment as a Category of Linguistic Analysis,” pp. 223–30.

There are two appendixes: “Selected Bibliography of Frederick W. Danker,” pp. 231–34; and “BDAG and Its Precursors,” pp. 235–36. Then follow Index of Biblical References, Index of Greek Words, Index of Hebrew Forms, and Index of Grammatical and Lexicographical Terms, pp. 237–66.

There are eighteen papers in the book. Nine of them were presented at SBL meetings, most often, it appears, in the Biblical Lexicography Section, in 1995 (Lee, Johnson, K. Hauspie), 1999 (Danker, Muraoka), 2000 (Taylor:  $\sigma\pi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\delta\omega$ ), and in 2001 (Boyd-Taylor, Taylor, Buth). Roberts’ review of BDAG appeared on the *Review of Biblical Literature* website, then in print in *RBL* in 2002. The volume seems to have

grown out of the Lexicography group, supplemented with contributions by several other scholars, especially in the area of Greek grammar. As is often true of such collections, it is diverse.

The editors have usefully provided brief summaries of the papers in the book in its introduction, so that less needs to be said here than otherwise would be the case.

Maybe not surprisingly, the most interesting and stimulating contribution in the whole volume is that of the honoree, Frederick Danker! Readers will find here a wonderful, insightful journey, with lots of personal tidbits, but also much about how lexicography is done and the kinds of issues that arise in the presentation of material. For example, he writes about the concern not to read an extended sense into the word ὑποκρίτης and its cognates for BDAG. The use of this word in Matt 6:2–4, 5–6, and 16–18 comes to bear; BDAG defines as follows: ‘in our literature only metaphorically actor, in the sense pretender, dissembler’ (p. 21). Danker goes on to speak of the tendency of lexicographers to convey a “stained glass” connotation to certain words. One of these is χάρις, rendered ‘grace’. He suggests ‘generosity’ would be better and continues, “Refuge in sanctified vagueness, despite the patina of centuries of usage, is not a lexical gesture devoutly to be greeted.” (p. 24) Also worth noting here are his comments about the translation of Greek καί. He says that the repetition of καί in a Greek text does not elicit the boredom that its translation by “and” does in English: “The syntagmatic setting in Greek itself provides pleasing varieties of color in the use of καί, but these variations must be reproduced in English with a corresponding variety of expressions to avoid an ‘and’ banality” (p. 26). Danker’s paper has an appendix that lists 221 new words in BDAG. Anyone who uses a Greek lexicon will find this contribution richly informative.

Borger’s contribution is a fascinating, opinionated exposure of the behind-the-scenes workings of the personalities who work in the area of NT text criticism and lexicography. Elliott gives us an example of using the BDAG, by tracing a cluster of words associated with “the evil eye,” namely φθόνος, ζῆλος, ὀφθαλμὸς πονηρός. Roberts’ review, among other things, shows how BDAG is an advance on BAGD. In particular he examines the issue of definitions in lexical entries. Lee’s article provides a brief survey of lexical resources for ancient Greek, including LSJ, BDAG, for LXX the lexicons of Lust-Eynikel-Hauspie and Muraoka, and Lampe. Johnson affirms that electronic resources can help in the area of Greek lexicography and suggests several ways in which the now-available large data bases could be made usable, namely, through “automated glossing, retrieval of allowable and typical contexts, organization by groups of morphological relatives” (p. 80). In a two-page appendix he offers a sample morphological categorization for the word γαμέω and cognates. Muraoka writes from first-hand experience in preparing a lexicon. At the centre of his paper is his remark that “apart from information on the morphology of a lexeme, the most important information concerns what a word means and how it is used” (p. 87). He sets forth his own methodology by presenting an entry for the

preposition κατά. Newman's contribution is that of his experience working on *A Concise Greek-English Dictionary of the New Testament*, a project initiated by Eugene A. Nida. Whitaker's entry begins with the observation that contexts are important for understanding the meaning of words. This takes him through an informative survey of concordances of the New Testament, helpfully illustrated.

K. Hauspie's contribution examines the Supplement to LSJ and looks at the entries there which she arranges by several categories, e.g., new words. Among her conclusions, she determines that the underlying Hebrew, where it exists, has been an important source of inspiration for the treatment of Greek vocabulary of the Greek versions of the OT (p. 124). That is not true of the Revised Supplement of 1996. The article by Eynikel and Hauspie offers a word study of δράκων in the LXX and concludes that it "mostly denotes a monster in the LXX, a sea or land creature, and translates a wide variety of Hebrew words. . . . It can mean 'snake', but its overall usage shows a clear preference for the meaning 'monster'" (p. 135). As Taylor shows in his first contribution, the puzzling choice of σπεύδω 'hasten' to render בהל 'be terrified' (Nif.) is resolved when one sees that בהל came to mean 'be in haste' in late Hebrew under the influence of Aramaic (cf. p. 140). Boyd-Taylor's paper explores the way "linguistic register," i.e., "use-based language variety" (p. 152) intersects with the language of the LXX as translation. He deals with the example of ἐξομολογέω on the way to a treatment of Exod 21:1–22:17 on the basis of Gideon Toury's work on "target-orientedness" of translation.

Taylor's second contribution dealing with deponency shifts the Festschrift in the direction of Greek grammar. In his conclusions, he says that the notion of deponency needs to be laid aside for Greek: this terminology came into Greek grammar from Latin where there is a category of verbs that are passive in form but active in meaning. Buth's paper takes us into the question of how Koine Greek is taught and, then, by extension, to the question of how dictionaries and their entries are organized. He suggests, for example, that "In terms of language use we would be better off using the aorist infinitive as our most abstract, default reference word for most verbs" (p. 193). Buth's contribution contains an appendix of 66 verbs that are strongly aoristic.

The next two papers, those of Evans and Porter, lead us into the discussion of verbal aspect in Greek. Books by Porter (1989) and B. M. Fanning (1990) reignited interest in the central issue of aspect. Evans' contribution has as its purpose to demonstrate that we have just begun to unravel problems surrounding aspect and to set out some urgent desiderata (p. 200). Evans has a conversation with Porter and Fanning that informs the reader of some of the basic issues in the debate. It is helpful that Evans' paper is followed by that of Porter who begins by pointing out areas of agreement and disagreement among recent contributors to questions about aspect. Keeping in mind that this book is to honor Frederick Danker, Porter gives us an intriguing exploration of the relation between aspect theory issues and lexicography. In his Conclusion—in fact, in the sentence immediately before the Conclusion—he remarks that "it is proba-

bly the case that future lexicons will need to look a lot more like grammars than they have in the past” (p. 221).

The final contribution to the Festschrift is that of Voelz, in which he suggests “external entailment” as a method of assigning meaning to Greek words. He says, “*the meaning of the noun or adjective related to a verbal root ‘entails,’ as it were, the meanings of the words which accompany that verbal root in a basic sentence appropriate to the context*” (p. 225; italics in the original). As examples he uses διακονία (Eph 4:12), κλητός (Rom 1:1, 7), and ἐξουσία (1 Cor 1:10).

There is something here for almost everyone who works in the Greek of the Bible. Especially engrossing are the first-hand stories and insights of those who make the dictionaries and the discussions among specialists on issues of lexicography and grammar.

CLAUDE E. COX  
MCMASTER DIVINITY COLLEGE

