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Articles

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1. The following five papers from the Panel Discussion “LXX and Descriptive Translation Studies—Making the Connection: The Case for Locating Septuagint and Targum Research within the Framework of Descriptive Translation Studies” were originally presented at the Twelfth Congress of the IOSCS at Leiden, The Netherlands, on July 30, 2004.

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LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?

ALBERT PIETERSMA
University of Toronto



Introduction

I only state the obvious when I say that in the past decade or so Septuagint studies have been on the upsurge. To speak just from personal experience, in 1998 I attended a meeting sponsored by the German Bible Society at which were represented more than half a dozen projects for translating the Septuagint into modern languages. Not all such projects in existence were in fact represented at Stuttgart, and more have been added to the list since that date. Two of these, *Septuaginta-deutsch* and *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (NETS) are being produced under the aegis of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies (IOSCS).

A meeting with similar representation took place at the Penteli Monastery near Athens, Greece, in the fall of 2001, organized by the Greek Bible Society, and focused to some extent on the translation of the Septuagint into Modern Greek.

September of 2002 saw a symposium on the Septuagint, organized by David Trobisch, at Bangor Theological Seminary (Maine, USA) chiefly between participants in *Septuaginta-deutsch* and NETS.

All of these symposia were a success in their own right, but it was especially Bangor that underscored for me the central question of the discipline: What *is* the Septuagint? That in the context of translating the Septuagint into modern languages this question should emerge or reemerge in all its force is hardly surprising. To translate a text demands that one reach conclusions about its character. As many can now testify from personal experience, nothing focuses one's attention more on the character of the text than having to translate it into another language.

Which Septuagint?

Although the topic of the Bangor symposium was assuredly “the Septuagint,” it gradually became clear that participants held widely differing views on both the nature of the text and the task of its interpreters. In fact, by the conclusion of the symposium it had become crystal clear that more than one Septuagint was at issue, even if the tacit assumption was that we were all speaking of one and the same Septuagint. I suggest that the disagreements that were emerging clustered around a number of interrelated conceptualizations: (1) the Septuagint as a coherent and systematic translation and interpretation of its source text (hence as a substitute for and revised edition of the Bible in Hebrew) in distinction from the Septuagint as a translation leaning heavily on its source (hence an ancillary tool in service to the original, one in which exegesis of any meaningful description is the exception rather than the rule, and even semantic coherence must be demonstrated rather than assumed), and (2) the Septuagint as to its reception history in distinction from the Septuagint as to its constitutive character, i.e., as it was produced. In what follows I will speak of the Septuagint *as produced* in distinction from the Septuagint *as received*, in full recognition of the fact that “produced” and “received” need not be mutually exclusive.

In recent secondary literature there seems to be developing a similar polarization between what some have labeled a “maximalist” versus a “minimalist” interpretive approach to the Septuagint. In short: is the Septuagint a corpus with its own unique theological profile—and indeed each individual book with its own theological profile—or is the Septuagint an anthology of heterogeneous representations of Hebrew (and Aramaic) texts, containing *anthropologoumena* and *theologoumena* that do not necessarily hang together? One thinks, for example, of the sharp disagreement between Martin Rösel¹ and Ronald Hendel.² While for Rösel “the Septuagint version of Genesis is *primarily* a document of an early stage of the *exposition* of the book” (emphasis added), for Hendel such a sweeping claim is contradicted by the book’s “translation technique.” The same point is made by Hermann-Josef Stipp against Helmut Utzschneider regarding the book of Micah in a

1. Martin Rösel, “The Text-Critical Value of Septuagint-Genesis,” *BIOSCS* 31 (1998) 62–70.

2. Ronald Hendel, “On the Text-Critical Value of Septuagint Genesis: A Reply to Rösel,” *BIOSCS* 32 (1999) 31–34.

recent issue of the *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*.³ What is surely of interest and concern is that both the “maximalist” and the “minimalist” appeal for support of their theses is not only to the same Greek text but also to the same translator who produced it.

To some extent, what we see reflected in these quite different conceptualizations may be due to the dual origin of our modern academic discipline of Septuagint Studies, namely, that of textual-criticism of the Hebrew Bible, on the one hand, and the hermeneutics of the New Testament, on the other. The former centers on questions of the original text of the LXX, while the latter focuses *par excellence* on exegesis in the Septuagint as a backdrop for the NT. Renewed interest and revitalized activity in the field appear to have accentuated this dual origin, to the extent that we are experiencing at present something of a crisis on the hermeneutical front of the discipline.

Text Produced ≠ Text Received

At issue, I believe, is a failure to apply to the semantics of the text a distinction routinely applied to the form of the translated text. If it be true that the distinction between original text form and (subsequent) text forms of transmission history is central to the field of Septuagint Studies, it follows that a similar distinction should be applied to the semantics of the text as *produced*, on the one hand, and the semantics of the text as *received*, on the other. If the original text form can only be established by a painstaking analysis of both the horizontal and the vertical dimensions⁴ of the text, it follows that the verbal makeup of the target text must be laid bare in essentially the same inductive way, namely, through a detailed analysis not only of the process by which the target text was derived from its source, but also of the literary product that resulted from this activity. Consequently, axiomatic for the discipline, both at the level of text form and at the level of text semantics, is the distinction between the Septuagint as *produced*, on the one hand, and the Septuagint as *received*, on the other, each with its own distinctive rules and procedures. When, however, “text received” is replaced with “text produced” (or vice-versa), the proper equations between text form and text

3. Hermann-Josef Stipp, “Bemerkungen zum griechischen Michabuch aus Anlass des deutschen LXX-Übersetzungsprojekts,” *JNSL* 29 (2003) 103–32.

4. See my “New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer* (ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 337–64 [351–52].

semantics are confused, and unproductive controversy in the discipline is sure to result. Equally detrimental is when “text produced” and “text received” are collapsed without distinction. A desideratum of the highest order in Septuagint studies is, therefore, it would seem, a clearly articulated theory of translation, which can then serve as a basis for principled exegesis of the Septuagint as produced. That is to say, what is called for, in my view, is a fully articulated explanatory model of the constitutive character of the LXX as a secure foundation for the hermeneutics of the translated corpus.

That a distinction between the text as produced and the text as received is axiomatic for the discipline is scarcely a novel observation. Not only is it rooted in the historical-critical approach—which continues to be practiced throughout Septuagint Studies—but one also finds it duly noted and fully recognized in the secondary literature for at least a century. Martin Flashar (1901) closed his impressive “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter” with the observation,

Als Kanon für alle Septuagintaexegese, —in seiner Anwendung freilich nach dem Character der betreffenden Übersetzung verschieden, —darf . . . der Satz gelten: Man muß von der Voraussetzung ausgehen, daß die Sprache der Septuaginta die ihrer hellenistischen Umwelt ist; man muß aber anderseits stets mit der Möglichkeit rechnen, daß die eigenartige Übersetzungstechnik G's zur Wahl einer Übersetzung führte, die ein hellenistischer Leser anders verstehen mußte, als G im Sinne hatte.⁵

Perhaps even more poignantly he had already written earlier,

Was sie [the translators] in der Übersetzung zum Ausdruck bringen wollten, kann etwas ganz anderes gewesen sein, als das, was heidnische und später christliche Griechen in Ägypten aus ihr herauslasen.⁶

Some forty years ago James Barr (1968) in his well-known debate with David Hill similarly insisted on the

necessary distinction between two sets of mental processes, [1] those of the translators themselves, whose decisions about meaning were reached from the Hebrew text, and [2] those of later readers, most of whom did not know the original.⁷

5. Martin Flashar, *ZAW* 32 (1912) 81–116, 161–89, 241–68.

6. *Ibid.*, 90. One might further add Egyptian Greek-speaking Jewry from the time of Aristaeas at the very latest.

7. James Barr, “Common Sense and Biblical Language,” *Bib* 49 (1968) 377–87 [379].

More recently and from outside Septuagint Studies proper, Jonathan Z. Smith felt compelled to call for a “theory of translation” of the Septuagint as a basis for principled hermeneutics in aid of New Testament research.⁸

As these few representative citations make clear, the distinction between production and reception has long been recognized as axiomatic in the discipline. Furthermore, that it is the Septuagint *as produced* that forms the basis for the hermeneutics of the translated text is fully acknowledged as well. Not only is it standard to find references to what “the Greek translator” is supposed to have intended, but also a recent book by Holger Gzella on the Greek Psalter⁹ seeks to build an explanatory paradigm on how the Septuagint is thought to have been produced. One can only laud the attempt at articulating a paradigm, given the fact that a paradigm or explanatory model is in any event operative in hermeneutics, whether articulated or tacitly assumed,¹⁰ but whether the specific model Gzella proposes is in fact based on the text *as produced* is a question that begs for an answer.

Gzella’s theory in short is (1) that Aristeas’s legend of Septuagint origins, though only concerned with the Pentateuch, can *mutatis mutandis* be extended to Psalms and other books, and (2) that the translational terminology used by Aristeas demonstrates that the Septuagint was intended to be both a translation (*Übersetzung*) and an interpretation (*Interpretation*). Thus what we have, according to Gzella, is an exegetical translation with its own theological profile, hence a kind of systematically revised edition of the original. My problem with this portrayal is twofold: (1) if Aristeas is indeed an *apologia* for the Septuagint, a century and a half *after* its production with the clear purpose of defending the Septuagint as a text in its own right, genealogically admittedly a translation but genetically nevertheless a work of great literature, a portrayal other than what we have in Aristeas would scarcely be warranted; in short, the entire Letter exudes the “acceptability” (Gideon Toury’s term) of the Septuagint within its host culture, hence a translation that is effectively not a translation; (2) the model Gzella presents, rather than being rooted in the textual linguistic makeup of the translation itself, is in point of fact superimposed from outside, even though some of the linguistic features of the LXX are duly acknowledged, but then seemingly swept under

8. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine. On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 77.

9. Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit* (Berlin: Philo, 2002).

10. Pietersma, “A New Paradigm,” 339.

the carpet. In sum, for Gzella the Aristeas legend speaks to the Septuagint's production or constitutive character, whereas it might better be argued that the legend bespeaks its reception history instead,¹¹ and, furthermore, at a stage when the daughter text had declared its independence from its parent text, a declaration that was thought to stand in need of justification and defense. In other words, it is the scripturalization or canonization of the Septuagint that is related in Aristeas, not its production, all initial impressions notwithstanding.

Translation Technique and Discourse Analysis

Septuagintalists hardly need to be told that the study of "translation technique," championed especially by the so-called Finnish School, has a long and productive history of identifying and studying equivalencies between source text and target text—hence engaging the *vertical* dimension of the latter. The focus is thus clearly on the text *as produced*. Though "the Finnish School" has come in for criticism for failing to see the woods for the trees,¹² it has at the same time been acknowledged that the study of translation technique is propaedeutic to the exegesis of the text as produced. Indeed, it bears emphasizing that the detailed engagement with the relationship that holds target text and source text together, practiced by the Finnish School, is a *sine qua non* for hermeneutics of the text as produced. Be it noted, therefore, that both "text produced" in distinction from "text received" and "relatedness of target and source" are well established and familiar concepts in the discipline, both at the level of theory and at the level of practice.

An important tool for engaging the text—but with an emphasis on its *horizontal* dimension—is discourse analysis (or text linguistics), with the explicit aim of analyzing its linguistic makeup. Though not as yet widely employed by Septuagintalists, it would seem, it holds considerable promise. Even if only some of its claims are correct, it can help answer the question to what extent the translated text constitutes coherent discourse in its own right, and to what extent it is the kind of text Aristeas claims it to be. One might thus argue: if discourse analysis is designed to study the coherence of human dis-

11. See Benjamin G. Wright, "The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Reception History of the Septuagint," in this volume, pp. 47–67.

12. Joachim Schaper, *Eschatology in the Greek Psalter* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1995) 21; cf. Gzella, *Lebenszeit*, 76.

course, spoken or written, i.e., that it can analyze its textual linguistic make-up; if coherence, furthermore, is the property that distinguishes discourse from non-discourse (“text” from “non-text”), i.e., a coherent unit versus arbitrary sets of sentences;¹³ and if discourse meaning is, moreover, the basis of exegesis; it follows that Septuagint Studies might better make use of discourse analysis. Put another way, potentially, discourse analysis can show us to what extent we can speak of Septuagint materials as well-formed texts with their own features of discourse that are not simply transferred by rote from the source text, and to what extent they reveal themselves to be small text units or text fragments, with little or no contextual coherence not attributable to rote reflex of specific morphemes in the source text. For illustrative purposes let me use a few random examples from the Greek Psalter.

Since Greek particles have minimal semantic content and are widely used in Greek discourse as cohesive links, their use in translated literature invites attention. I will briefly look at γάρ (an explanatory particle) οὖν (a particle of consequence or continuation) and μὲν . . . δέ (a pair of particles marking binary contrast). My object is not to determine their specific use in each case, but simply to note their appearance as such, in an effort to provide a glimpse of the Psalter as a well-formed or an ill-formed text. For the sake of convenience, I have based my tallies on the Rahlfs text, even though that is not always the best text.

In the Psalter, καὶ γάρ always translates כִּי, כִּי, and כִּי and is thus of interest only to the extent that it represents a marked feature (a non-default), which is true only when it renders כִּי in 61:3. γάρ alone is of greater interest, since it can scarcely be said to have a standard Hebrew counterpart, seeing that it translates a number of Hebrew morphemes (54:20; 88:22, 48; 106:17; 118:120). As Aejmelaeus has shown in a recent study,¹⁴ on 7 occasions γάρ translates causal כִּי in the Psalter, as against 360 cases of ὅτι for the same Hebrew, thereby showing itself to be a marked discourse feature. Most interesting, however, is the fact that in 11 instances there is no counter-

13. See René Dirven and Marjolijn Verspoor, eds., *Cognitive Exploration and Linguistics* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1998) 198.

14. A. Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators: Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,” in *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, Claude E. Cox, and Peter J. Gentry; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001) 54–73 [59]. The seven cases are 24:11; 43:4, 7, 8, 22; 49:12; 118:39.

part in the source text, and as such γάρ is a discourse feature added by the translator to his source text.

Οὐν in the Psalter can be dealt with in very short order since it appears only once (9:35), though it is without Hebrew counterpart and of questionable originality. By way of comparison one might note that Genesis has some 40 occurrences, ⅓ without explicit warrant in the source text and ⅓ for Hebrew ו. Greek Job features οὐν a dozen times, some for Hebrew ו, but more than half without explicit warrant in the source text.¹⁵

As a pair, μὲν . . . δέ likewise never appears in Psalms, but again by way of comparison Genesis uses it half a dozen times, and Job twice that many.¹⁶

What these few examples suggest is not only that particles are in short supply in Septuagintal translations, but also that discourse analysis can play an important role in Septuagint studies. The Psalter is different, not only from at least some other translations within the translated corpus, but also, by extension, from the conventions of Greek discourse in general. To what extent such is the case in other books might be determined on a broader scale, both positively and negatively. That is to say, one needs to gauge (1) to what extent individual translations are well-formed units of discourse, (2) to what extent they are not, or (3) to what extent translation method incurs and creates disjointedness in discourse. Thus both cohesive links and “anti-links” are of vital interest.

LXX and DTS

Other tools to study the Septuagint *as produced* might be noted, but when all is said and done, what stands to benefit the discipline most, I believe, is a comprehensive, descriptive, explanatory framework such as that provided by the newly-emerging discipline of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), championed among others by Gideon Toury,¹⁷ a discipline, moreover, that makes it its business to study translation as a phenomenon of human behavior and as such seeks to describe it in all its ordered complexity.

15. See Claude Cox, “Tying It All Together: The Use of Particles in Old Greek Job,” *BIOSCS* 38 (2005) 41–54.

16. For comparative statistics on the use of particles in translational and non-translational literature see Georg Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue. An Investigation on the Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament* (Studia Graeca et Latina Lundensia 8; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2001).

17. Gideon Toury, “A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?” in this volume, pp. 13–25; and in greater detail, *Descriptive Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995).

According to Toury, all translations are facts of their respective recipient cultures and as such can best be studied by a target-oriented approach. That is to say, not only are they called into being by a felt need in a specific cultural environment, but, as such, they are intrinsically endowed with three interdependent aspects designed to meet the cultural need that evoked them. Translators can thus be said to be working in the interest of the target culture regardless of what kind of product they produce. The (logically) first of the three interdependent aspects or foci that Toury identifies he labels “function,” by which he has in mind not so much the actual use to which a translation is put, but rather what systemic slot it is designed to fill within the recipient culture or subculture. That is to say: what sort of text is it, and to what extent does it cater to the norms of the target system and is thus “acceptable” to its host culture? Is it “acceptable,” for example, as a literary or a non-literary production? Is it seen to be a philosophical text or a non-philosophical text, a text in prose or in poetry, romance or history, designed to function bilingually or monolingually? In short, “function” (or “position”) signifies a translation’s cultural slot and the prospective use for which it has been designed. It is this question of systemic or cultural position that Steven Fraade attempts to answer for Targumic literature from a DTS perspective. Not surprisingly, in so doing he raises several basic issues of direct relevance to the Septuagint as well—hence a clear recommendation for studying closely related fields within an overarching theoretical framework.¹⁸

The second aspect Toury calls “product,” by which he means the textual linguistic makeup of the translated text, that is to say, the network of relationships introduced by the translator; in other words, what is studied in discourse analysis. Concretely, one may think here of the target text as a cultural entity.

The third aspect Toury terms “process,” that is to say, the strategies by which a translation is derived from its source text. Consequently, it includes the relationships that hold the target text and the source text together. Here Septuagintalists might think of “translation technique” since its focus, as noted above, is precisely that of target-source equation and hence the process by which the target text is derived from its source.

Central to Toury’s conception is, however, that these three aspects intrinsic to a translation (“function,” “product,” and “process”) are not only

18. Steven D. Fraade, “Locating Targum in the Textual Polysystem of Rabbinic Pedagogy,” in this volume, pp. 69–90.

interrelated but also interdependent. (For Toury's diagrammatic representation, see Benjamin Wright.¹⁹)

Since these three aspects are interdependent, any study of them in isolation, according to Toury, will likely result in superficiality. Since in essence the three form a complex whole, the real object of research into a translation is said to be the exposing of their interdependencies, with the aim of uncovering the underlying concept of translation, and the model used to shape the product. In other words, the analysis of "product" ("discourse analysis") and of "process" ("translation technique") go hand in hand with "function," i.e., the prospective cultural position of the translation.

Key terms in DTS's descriptive accounting for the translation as produced are "acceptability" and "adequacy" for the purpose of signaling, on the one hand, the degree to which a translation caters to the norms of the target culture, and, on the other hand, the extent to which it strives to reflect the formal features of the source text. The issue of translation as normative behavior is addressed in some detail by Cameron Boyd-Taylor.²⁰

In conclusion, let me emphasize that though DTS, as I read it, in the first instance concerns itself with the description of any given translation *as produced*—and to that extent excludes from its purview questions of origin and *Sitz im Leben*—it by no means follows that the text *as received* remains necessarily without interest to DTS. Consequently, it can be said to affirm the distinction that has been center stage in this article. For as Toury writes:

this principle [of function determining product, which in turn governs process] does not lose any of its validity when the position occupied by a translation in the target culture, or its ensuing functions, happen to differ from the ones it was initially "designed" to have; e.g. when the translation of a literary work, intended to serve as a literary text too and translated in a way which should have suited that purpose, is nevertheless rejected by the target literary system, or relegated to a position which it was not designed to occupy. In fact, one task of descriptive studies in translation may well be to confront the position which is *actually* assumed by a translation with the one it was *intended* to have, and draw the necessary conclusions.²¹

19. Wright, "The *Letter of Aristeas*."

20. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, "Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms: A Sighting Shot," in this volume, pp. 27–46.

21. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 14.

The converse of this is that a translation not originally *designed* as, for instance, a literary work of high prestige may in time be *assigned* the position of a literary work of high prestige—without, however, any change to its original textual linguistic makeup. In other words, reception history does not alter textual linguistic makeup, even though function > product > process be re-articulated through recontextualization. As Benjamin Wright suggests,²² in the legend of Septuagint origins as propagated by Aristeas that is precisely the stage of reception reflected. Hence Aristeas should be read as speaking not of text production but of text reception, that is, the Septuagint as a complete substitute for the Bible in Hebrew, a status never achieved by Targum.²³

Conclusion

Less than a generation ago biblical scholars began to study biblical languages within the parameters of modern linguistics. Might I suggest that the time has come for biblical translations, Septuagint and (probably) Targum alike, to be studied within Descriptive Translation Studies and thus to provide research in these ancient biblical translations with a new Archimedean point.²⁴ DTS provides a framework within which translation technique (“process”) and textual linguistic makeup (“product”), together with the prospective slot (“function”) of the text within its recipient culture can be described with reference to the translational paradigm that informs the text.

22. Wright, “The *Letter of Aristeas*.”

23. See Fraade, “Locating Targum.”

24. Cf. also Theo van der Louw, “Approaches in Translation Studies and Their Use for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Proceedings of the XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden, 2004* (in press).

A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?

GIDEON TOURY
Tel Aviv University

1. Introductory Remarks

This article has a rather modest goal: I try to present a skeletal overview of some of the basic methodological issues pertaining to one particular brand of research into translation as an empirical phenomenon, the one that has come to be known in the last 20–25 years as DTS (short for Descriptive Translation Studies). Within this scholarly paradigm translations are approached as facts of the so-called “target culture.” The aim is to produce systematic accounts—both comprehensive descriptions and feasible explanations—of the interdependencies believed to obtain between (1) *contexts, or sociocultural circumstances*, (2) *translation processes* (or translators’ strategies) and (3) *translation products*, first and foremost texts and elements thereof. Translation (i.e., mental) processes, when looked at in the sociohistorical contexts in which they are embedded, constitute what might be termed “translation events,” and it is these that should be focused on, since our studies are basically retrospective and nonpsychological. They refer to processes that have already ceased to exist, and search for explanation on a nonindividual level.

The presentation of the methodological claims, which is the main objective of the article, is interspersed with a few brief and cautious remarks and questions on their possible application to the Septuagint (mostly in indented paragraphs). In an attempt to avoid superfluous complications in the embryonic state of a possible cooperation between “translationists” and “Septuagintists,” the Septuagint would be defined narrowly—possibly somewhat artificially—as the Greek Pentateuch, which seems to be more homogeneous than the rest of the corpus. Occasionally, issues will also be indicated that, to the best of my knowledge, have not (or not yet) found a satisfactory solution within this particular paradigm of Translation Studies. It is to be hoped that this presentation will reveal not only the logic underlying scholarly activity in

DTS, but also allow each one of us to decide for him- or herself whether there is anything worth his or her while there; and if so, how to make the best possible use of it.

2. DTS: A Skeletal Overview

2.1. The Archimedean point around which DTS revolves, the assumption from which all its other claims follow, is the understanding that *translation is not one homogeneous category* that can be captured by an essentialist definition of any kind (that is, a finite list of characteristics, all of which a case must have in order to belong to the category thus defined). In fact, it is not even just *variable*, or *changeable*—in principle, that is. It is also a truly *variegated* category, and not only across text-types (which is old news), but across cultures, too. Finally, the category “translation” is actually *changing* in time; sometimes rather quickly.

This is to say, a text that has been accepted as a translation in one place and time, under one definable set of conditioning circumstances, may not be accepted as one if encountered in another place or time. Or else it may still be recognized as a translation but change position and status; for instance, from “central” to “peripheral,” from “normal” to “deviant,” from “contemporaneous” to “dated” (or in the opposite directions). Features that have come to be associated with translation behavior, or with texts accepted as translations, may likewise move to and fro between being “mandatory,” “recommended,” “typical,” “possible,” “tolerated,” and “totally unacceptable.”

Let us take a small example that seems to be of some relevance for the study of the Septuagint; namely, the cross-cultural differences in, and the historical changes of, both distribution and status of so-called *calques* in translated texts, especially on lower linguistic levels. It is easy to see how a host of possible questions can be raised, and—what is more important—tackled systematically, and in one coherent framework. The aim will be to find out, for instance, what (if any) the correlations are between the presence (or density) of calques and the relative acceptability of a text containing them as a translation—in the immediate context (Jewish, Greek-speaking, etc.) where the Septuagint came into being (as against earlier and later periods of time) and different territories (e.g., the land of Israel vs. Egypt vs. medieval Spain), *vis-à-vis* other texts, or texts pertaining to other genres that may have been translated into Greek, in view of earlier Jewish translation tradition(s)

(of the same texts), e.g., into Aramaic, or, conversely, in view of earlier (non-Jewish) Greek traditions, and many more.

Indeed, as I have been trying to argue, the main factor that determines how the general notion of “translation” would be realized in a particular socio-historical context, and hence where the borderline between translations and nontranslations will run, as well as between “typical” and “deviant,” even “good” and “bad” performance of translation, is *the constellation of the cultural system in (or for) which the act was performed*. It may or may not be the exact place the product of translation finally occupied in the target culture, but that position marks the beginning of a different story. A third story, also of a cultural-historical nature, would involve the fate of the translation in future history, which can be very different again. One thing is certain: the two additional kinds of stories have absolutely nothing to do with the emergence of the translation. There is no way they can be regarded as part of the constraints under which translational decisions were made and the translated text came into being. Even though, in practice, it is not always easy to draw exact lines between the three stories, it should have become clear that what we are talking about here is initial *acceptability*, which is a potentiality, and not any factual *acceptance*.

The intended target society practices its authority and exerts its power on individual translators through *sets of norms* that would-be translators are expected to internalize, whether they are acquired through trial and error, imitation, apprenticeship, or formal schooling. Different norm sets, if carried on over time, may even yield so much as distinct translation *traditions*.

For instance, as the Septuagint came into being there may already have existed one or more than one set of conventions and norms for translating the Bible into languages spoken by Jews for the exclusive use of Jews, starting with the first Aramaic translations. If we can establish the existence of such sets of relatively fixed norms, it might be possible to approach the Septuagint as part—or offshoot—of the tradition thus created. Another possibility might be that the translational decisions as reconstructed from the Greek text of the Septuagint could reflect a general Greek tradition, if there was one, or a more local variety where that kind of “mixed language” which may have started off as a whim of an individual, or as the “languagette” of a small group, had already undergone a process of at least partial institutionalization and is no longer idiosyncratic. (Has there ever been a distinct variety of Judeo-Greek? Is this the language that the Septuagint was written in?) Of course, the book

can also prove to be a mixture of all of these, even an *ad hoc* one, each one appearing at different points and on different levels in the text.

2.2. Seeing that the notion of translation is so fluid, there is very little point in subjecting a *study* of translation as it was practiced in one or another cultural-historical circumstances to any *a priori* definition of the object of study, which may well prove alien to it and which is bound to breed little more than circular reasoning, anyway. (To be sure, there is a truly insurmountable methodological obstacle here: I can see no way one could claim to “know” about a particular text, or body of texts, which has/have not yet been submitted to study, whether they would concur with a definition—any definition—of translation.)

What DTS adopts as a starting point instead is a reality-like *heuristics*, which I now call *the maxim of assumed translation*. According to this principle, every text that is presented or regarded as a translation, on no matter what grounds, would be taken as a *bona fide* translation, as it is done in real-life cultural practice. Thus, for example, when one visits a book store and sees a book that is presented as a translation [from . . . by . . .], one’s normal reaction is not to start questioning the truth of the statement, but rather to accept it at face value; a kind of “innocent-until-proven-guilty” stance. In other words, the translation assumption will be taken just as a *working hypothesis*, which will hold even in the absence of a reliable source text, be this absence temporary or permanent. The assumption will retain its validity as long as no “positive” reasons will have been found to drop it (such as some real proof—if it can ever be proved beyond all doubt—that no corresponding text in another language and culture has ever existed). One of the best verifications of the translation assumption is probably the existence of so-called *pseudotranslations*, especially if—or as long as—the mystification has not been dispelled. The only way to surpass the anecdotal and tackle cases of this kind in culturally-relevant terms (e.g., to regard them as instances of innovation and culture planning) is to proceed from a theory of translation of the kind advocated here, approach them as “assumed translations” and refer them to the circumstances under which they were formulated, offered, and accepted as genuine ones.

The pseudotranslation which seems most similar to the case of the Septuagint is that of the *Book of Mormon*, another sensitive text which played an important role in introducing novelties into a culture; in both cases especially in the religious domain. Needless to say, most believers have been clinging to

the claim that the *Book of Mormon* represents a genuine translation and keep approaching it accordingly. For them, there is hardly any other way!¹

As to the Septuagint: it has been accepted as a translation (or, maybe better put: an anthology of lower-level translations) since a more-or-less definable point in the past. As far as I know, nobody has ever challenged this claim in any serious way, nor can I see how such a challenge could be substantiated. In other words, there are good reasons to go on studying it on the assumption that it is indeed a translation (by which I mean, above all, the translation it was *intended* to be; and secondly, the translation it actually was when it first met its [designated? non-designated?] audience. Changes of status that the [unchanged?] Greek text, not to mention translations thereof into other languages, has undergone through the ages, both among members of the (changing!) culture itself and by the scientific community, will be tackled separately, as will any attempt to draw some lines for new translations of the Septuagint into other languages (where the Greek text is taken as *source* without, however, losing sight of the fact that that “source text” itself had been initially intended as a translation; probably not even as a fully independent entity, let alone a replacement of the original, the way it evolved later on).

Of course, all this does not mean that the general notion of translation as used in our working hypothesis would not be found to have been realized differently in different parts of the “anthology.” It is not even impossible that there would be found cases of pseudotranslation in the totality of the Septuagint, at least on levels lower than an entire “book” (Frank Polak, personal communication).

From what has been said so far, an important implication can be drawn that is crucial for our methodological interests: namely, that *texts assumed to be translations should be regarded as facts of the culture that hosted them*. They may or may not have a unique position within that culture, or a special identity as “translations,” but they are facts of the so-called *target* culture in any event. Even if they seem to occupy a cultural space of their own (sometimes referred to as “interculture” [e.g., Anthony Pym]), that space would be

1. Interestingly enough, a number of more scholarly-oriented Mormons have recently started toying with the idea of pseudotranslation. See, for instance, David J. Shepard, “Rendering Fiction: Translation, Pseudotranslation, and the Book of Mormon,” in *The New Mormon Challenge* (ed. Francis J. Beckwith, Carl Mosser, and Paul Owen; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2002) 367–95, which later gave rise to a small debate on that topic. The debate seems to still go on.

locatable within the target culture. This is so even if later on, in further historical evolution, a new, semiautonomous space emerges out of the “translated” domain; for instance, in a process of pidginization/creolization.

I am told that some Septuagint scholars hold that such an evolution is precisely what occurred in the case of the (translated) LXX. It may also be of interest to note that an evolution from bi-text to substitute did not occur in the case of Targum, even though LXX and Targum may well share a very similar origin. What, then, caused the difference?

2.3. An important methodological implication of this amplified notion of “assumed translation” is that making full sense of a text assumed to be a translation requires a dual kind of reading, sometimes bordering on the schizophrenic. This holds for both scholars and naïve readers, to the extent that the latter still have a wish to perform a “correct” (i.e., historically-justifiable) act of reading rather than “interpret” (and twist) the text for their own purposes (which is the most normal thing for the average reader to do, and understandably so).

Basically, an assumed translation is to be read as a text that was designed to serve in a particular target context, but the assumption that the text came into being in an act of translation would not be neutralized either. Rather, it will often be activated in an attempt to account for phenomena in the text that—in terms of the target language and culture themselves—may seem odd. In extreme cases it may even serve as a basis for giving a sense to sheer obscurities in texts assumed to be translations, a sense they would hardly have been given in the absence of such an assumption. (Eventually, in certain cases, this is precisely the stage when the translation assumption would often be made; namely, with respect to texts that have neither been presented as translations nor regarded as ones within the culture in question, but found to show certain features that have come to be associated, correctly or incorrectly, with the dominant concept of translation.)

Thus, we will often encounter in an assumed translation words, phrases, or other elements that are unknown or at least look odd. The meanings of such items can never be exhausted when checked against the backdrop of the target resources alone. The thing to do, on the basis of the translation assumption, is to couple problematic entities with their counterparts in the assumed source text, as if “being replacements of (or representing) particular source entities” were part of the overall function those entities have.

As far as I know, the Septuagint is not free of examples of this kind. One of them is, maybe, the noun *κοιρογρόλλιος*, which replaces the biblical

noun שֶׁפַן. The Hebrew word itself denotes an animal whose identity has never been established beyond any doubt. (Things may have been different in earlier days!) Consequently, the word *κοιρογορύλλιος* would better be defined as ‘a Greek (or maybe Jewish Greek?) *replacement* of the Hebrew שֶׁפַן’, rather than simply claiming that ‘its *meaning* is שֶׁפַן’.²

The “dual reading” principle applied to assumed translations is but an alternative formulation of the old-time claim that a translation always enters into *two sets of relationships*: one between the target text and the hosting culture/language (in terms of *acceptability*), the other one between the assumed translation and another text in another language/culture (in terms of so-called *equivalence*). I would say that dual reading is beneficial for assumed translations under all circumstances; but in cases where no source text has been supplied, or at least agreed upon, it seems a true methodological *must*, tentative as the resulting accounts may be.

I daresay it will not be too difficult to see how “schizophrenic” a reading of the Septuagint as a Greek, even Jewish-Greek text may become, once the context where it came into being, the purpose it was designed to serve, and the intended audience are given their place in the story. I will soon return to this point.

An interim summary before we go on: in accordance with the principle of assumed translation, any retrospective study—which is the main kind of research we are doing in DTS—will start with no preconception of what translation “is” (as such, so to speak, and irrespective of anything else), much less of what conditions a text (or a mode of text generation) allegedly “has to fulfill” in order to be “justifiably” regarded as a translation. What we have instead is a flexible conceptual framework that should make it possible to address many different descriptive-explanatory questions to whatever corpus we wish to study and to go hunting for *regularities of actual behavior* and the probabilities of their occurrence under different circumstances that are found to be pertinent to them, instead of wasting our limited resources trying to

2. This fascinating topic has been addressed at some length in two articles of mine: “The Meaning of Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Its Representation in the Dictionary,” in *Translation and Lexicography: Papers read at the EURALEX Colloquium Held at Innsbruck, 2–5 July 1987* (ed. Mary Snell-Hornby and Esther Pöhl; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, Paintbrush, and EURALEX, 1989) 45–53; “Translation-Specific Lexical Items and Their Representation in the Dictionary,” in *Meaning and Lexicography* (ed. Jerzy Tomaszczyk and Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990) 287–300. It is summed up in chap. 11 of my *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).

make the fruitless decision as to whether or not a text is “indeed” a translation.

“Regularities” is the key concept here. This is what we are really looking for in the descriptive and the explanatory phases of a study, two kinds of activity that follow each other indefinitely, in a kind of helical progression, and whose attainment marks one of the goals of our endeavors.

Instead of going into the intriguing question of how regular regularities ought to be for the findings to count as significant, let me elaborate a little more on the conceptual framework itself and its methodological implications for DTS.

2.4. In actual fact, the notion of “assumed translation” is slightly more complex than the impression I may have created so far. Basically, what it amounts to is a cluster of three—at least three—interconnected postulates: a source-text, a transfer, and a relationship postulate. However, unlike any other paradigm, all three postulates are of a *posited* rather than factual nature, and therefore they have no fixed content. Rather, they are functional (relational) entities, very much like vessels to be filled with concrete substance as the study goes on, and on the basis of its findings, and will therefore differ from one case to another.

What I have in mind can be summed up in the following series of arguments:

(1) Regarding a text as a translation implies that there was *another text*, in another culture and language, which had both *chronological* and *logical priority* over it. This assumption is operative even when that “other” text has not been pinpointed; in fact, even if it never will be. If properly applied, this postulate will sometimes make it necessary to choose from among a number of candidates for being regarded as the required source text, whether they are all in one and the same language or in different ones. It also entails the possibility of a compilative translation, one that is based on more than just one source text throughout. (Are these options not relevant to the Septuagint?)

(2) The Source-Text Postulate, in turn, entails the assumption that the process whereby the text regarded as a translation came into being involved the *transference from the assumed source of certain features that the two texts now share*. What is *not* entailed is any previous knowledge of what the transferred features were or how the transference itself was executed (that is, what strategies the translator adopted), or indeed that one can have such knowledge prior to the performance of the study.

(3) Finally, the Transference Postulate implies that a pair of texts assumed to be a translation and its immediate source are tied to each other by a set of similarities and differences, which draw on an *invariant nucleus* of features shared by the two as a result of the transference process, vs. *variations*, i.e., features that only one of them has; whether the [assumed] translation or the [assumed] source text. So-called “translation relationships” are unidirectional, and hence irreversible by their very nature. They can have as their common nucleus either linguistic-textual substance or function, institutionalized as well as *ad hoc* ones, or any mixture of the two, and they can all occur on various linguistic-textual levels. Consequently, any wish to expose both similarities and differences requires readiness to accept them all non-judgmentally: they are all possible traits of an assumed translation.

It is important to note that, despite their undeniable connections, *there is no need for the correlation between strategy and result to be a flat 1:1*. In principle, one strategy may yield a variety of surface realizations, or realizations of a different status, whereas one and the same product may result from the activation of different strategies.

A case in point that seems highly pertinent to any attempt to account for the Septuagint as a translation is the following macro-strategic instruction derived from previous cases: “decompose source-text entity into its constitutive elements (for instance, a word or a phrase into the morphemes it is made of) → find a target-language replacement for each element in isolation, and then → link the replacing elements to each other to form (at least a possible) target-language entity.”

The application of this strategy can result both in an *existing* word or phrase, not even necessarily too deviant or very odd, as well as in a *neologism*; and, in the case of a neologism, the new entity may be more or less “possible,” in terms of the target lexicon and grammar.³ Strategies and surface phenomena thus form two distinct objects, which had better be studied separately, each one in its own terms.

2.5. It is very clear that, in translation reality, the application of a strategy always precedes the emergence of a product (which, to be sure, may not

3. It might be interesting to note that the strategy delineated here is akin to the one posited by the interlinear paradigm of NETS. (Cf. Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique. “From Alpha to Byte.” University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July* [ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill] 337–64.)

come into being at all; certainly not as a fully fledged, well-formed text). However, once over, the act of translation will have completely vanished, often leaving no trace other than a linguistic product, which is thus the only real clue to the act. Little wonder that, under retrospective observation, the term “translation act” often hides a variety of different activities, performed in different times, even by different persons, which—for the sake of convenience—is regarded as one continuous, quasi-homogeneous entity; a fictitious act that is assigned to a single persona referred to as “the translator,” no matter how many different agents may have been involved in the transition from zero translated text to the existence of the translation in the form that was regarded as finalized, and hence not processed anymore.

That is to say, the product is always more, and more directly observable, than anything else. Therefore, in any well-designed research, texts and textual phenomena will be tackled first, sometimes even exclusively. Only later, if at all, will translation strategies and entire processes come, which cannot be tackled in any direct way. Rather, they are always *reconstructed* from the observables; namely, as a processual *explanatory hypothesis* of the products. Reconstructions of this kind are, at best, *tentative*, and therefore they cannot be assigned any factual truth, only *feasibility* in their role as viable explanations—that is, in regard to their so-called *explanatory power*.

Being just weaker or stronger explanations, tentatively reconstructed processes of translation make no necessary claim to *psychological validity*. At the same time, awareness and knowledge of cognitive possibilities and limitations (for instance about the human memory) are bound to enhance the feasibility of some reconstructed processes above others: it is very easy, very tempting, and indeed rather common to suggest explanations that are psychologically dubious!

2.6. As just hinted, there may easily be several alternative hypotheses competing for the status of a better explanation. In principle, such hypotheses may be either *complementary* or *mutually exclusive*. In the first case, different hypotheses may work hand in hand and reinforce each other, making it less crucial to distinguish among them. In the second case, by contrast, contending explanations should be weighed against each other, which is not a simple task, especially in the present state of DTS. We still do not know what possible variables are more or less central to translation, or even what it is that would make some of them stronger than others.

Regard, for instance, the following partial list of factors, all of which seem to entail increase of the predictability of the occurrence of so-called “literalisms” in the text, or enhance recourse to “literal translation” as a strategy:

- poor knowledge of the source language, the target language, or both, on the translator’s part;
- incomplete knowledge by the intended audience of the target language;
- the amount of knowledge of the *source* language by the intended audience;
- lack of previous experience in translation, especially of the socially-motivated kind, and the resulting ignorance of the relevant norms;
- the source text pertaining to a particular type, which is normally regarded as requiring literal translation;
- time pressure during the execution of the act;
- use of the oral channel, including dictated translation;
- working in an environment that accepts, maybe even prefers, this mode of translation;
- the existence of a whole tradition that practically reduced translation to the literal mode.

In principle, the relations between sociocultural context and translation process are not very different from the relations we observed between product and process: in translation reality, the (prospective) position (or function) of a translation within a culture is one of the major forces that determines the appropriate makeup of a translation, which, in turn, governs the choice of strategies through which this makeup would be achieved, and hence also the relationships between target and source text.⁴ In introspective studies into translation, by contrast, it is often precisely the intended cultural niche that is not given, and that, when tentatively established during the research, will finally be taken as a higher-order explanation of all the rest.

In fact, the overall endeavor of studying existing translations made by human beings for the consumption of other human beings in particular socio-historical contexts is not unlike the resolution of a set of equations with a large number of unknown quantities. In every individual case there are different quantities (or variables) that can be regarded as given, and the rest will stand for gradual exposure on the basis of those givens. Like mathematics, sometimes the best heuristics would be to tentatively assume knowledge of one or another of the variables and see where this assumption would lead us; that is, whether it will still be possible to use it to explain all that will have

4. For a diagrammatic representation see B. G. Wright, “The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Reception History of the Septuagint,” below, p. 49.

been exposed in and by the study. As every researcher into any kind of translation knows, the greater the number of unknown factors, the more complex the study will turn out to be and the more controversies there will be about the validity of its results. And I do not think there is any need to single out the Septuagint in this respect.

Even if we have at our disposal two full texts, an assumed translation and a corresponding assumed source text, there is no room for claiming that the former emerged as one homogeneous text, if only (but not really only) because of limitations of memory. All we know about cognitive processes, including what we have learned from experiments in translation, leads to the conclusion that *decomposition* and *recomposition* are necessary companions of transference, and hence an integral part of the translation process.

In other words, what is actually submitted to translational operations is always rather small, relatively low-level linguistic entities, the decomposition itself being a flexibly-realized strategy. Only a naïve scholar would speak seriously about the “text as a translation unit,” unless what he or she means is regarding lower-level entities in (some of) the roles they may be claimed to have served in the source text, and even this is not easy to verify. It is not easy to achieve either, which is one of the reasons why the “textual” type of translation relationships seem to have been so marginal. (I wonder how common or how rare it is in the Septuagint!)

Unfortunately, there is no way that the relationships obtaining between the assumed translation and the assumed source could be established at one go, that is, for the two texts as integral wholes. Much like the translator, the scholar, too, has no escape from decomposing the two texts. However, since he or she decomposes them for different purposes than the translator, the claim that the researcher’s units necessarily reflect the translator’s is at least problematic. Again, what we have here are probabilities, not absolute truths.

How, then, would one go about studying translation relationships? In my opinion, these relationships can best be studied on the basis of what I called “coupled pairs of replacing and replaced items.” These pairs are established by the researcher during the study itself and for its purposes, and there is no need for the members of a pair to be of the same rank and scope. One of them may even be zero (as in the case of omissions or additions). The pairing is governed by the heuristic principle that, beyond the boundaries of a target-text segment, no leftovers of the source-text segment will have remained (and *vice versa*). Thus, the study of translation relationships is intimately con-

nected with the notion of *unit of translation*, which is one of the things translation scholars have always been after. In this context too, *regularities* count.

Of course, the preparation of lists of different relationships found to hold between the members of different pairs is unavoidable in a study that purports to be comprehensive and systematic.⁵ However, such lists constitute just a phase. In themselves, they are not sufficient, inasmuch as there is a refusal to settle for mere descriptions and a wish to supply some explanations, too. To that end, the findings of this initial phase of comparative analysis should be *organized* in a way that would suggest some *generalizations* about the relationships themselves and their dependencies on—or interdependencies with—a variety of different variables. For instance, a list of omissions or additions certainly contains a lot of important information, but as data it is raw data only, as long as no attempt has been made to sort out the circumstances under which a translator tends to use this strategy or refrain from using it, along with the possible reasons for his or her decision (of which s/he personally may not have been fully aware).

Conclusion

Should any of the claims I have made prove to be untenable in the study of the Septuagint as a translation, the theoretical and methodological framework will have to be at least modified to accommodate for it. What I *do not* believe is that there is a need for a special methodology for each single corpus. As you can see, I have been regarding the Septuagint as a *corpus* of a special kind, and not as a unique *phenomenon*.

5. For Septuagint studies see, e.g., Frank Polak and Galen Marquis, *Classified Index of the Minuses of the Septuagint*, Part 1: Introduction; Part 2: The Pentateuch (CATSS 4, 5; Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 2002).

*Toward the Analysis of
Translational Norms:
A Sighting Shot*

CAMERON BOYD-TAYLOR
University of Cambridge



Introduction

The proposal that Septuagint studies are in need of a theoretical framework might at first blush appear an idle one; a donnish prank—clever but unworthy of serious attention. This response is altogether understandable. Until fairly recently the main emphasis in the field has been on the character of the translation as a witnesses to its Hebrew parent.¹ This has often as not come down to documenting the perceived fidelity of the translator to his task. There is no doubt that our understanding of the text has been immensely enriched. Yet few would deny that the source-oriented approach to the Septuagint has demanded minimal theoretical reflection on the part of its practitioners; so too, it has tended to eschew hermeneutic questions.

As long as the study of the Septuagint remains in the service of textual criticism, these limitations are perhaps methodologically defensible. But scholars seldom restrict themselves to matters textual. On the contrary, it is very often within the context of what is properly speaking historical investigation that the Greek translation is discussed. Here the text is regularly used as a warrant for making specific claims about the beliefs and practices of the

1. J. W. Wevers, “The Interpretative Character and Significance of the Septuagint Version,” in *Hebrew Bible/Old Testament—The History of Its Interpretation, Volume I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages* (ed. M. Sæbø; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996) 84–107; 87.

people who produced it. But this, I submit, involves one in the theory of translation. The historical exegete will inevitably approach the texts with tacit assumptions as to how and why they were produced. It is simply that, in the absence of a theoretical framework, these assumptions tend to be “folk-theoretical.”

The folk theory of translation imagines a unique encounter between the translator and the text, one in which the translator, like some lone frontiersman, negotiates the boundaries of language and culture with little more than his wits. This image is magnified somewhat in Septuagint studies, where there is a tendency to stress the unprecedented nature of the Greek Pentateuch.² And yet the Seventy, if I may refer to them as such, pioneers though they may have been, were, like most translators, engaged in a socially significant undertaking.³ Their work was informed by shared expectations or norms that defined both its limits and possibilities. This is not to deny the Seventy their due; it is rather to contextualize their achievement properly.⁴ Translation is, after all, a sociocultural phenomenon, and, as Gideon Toury has taught us, it is appropriate to think about it in a sociocultural way.⁵ For Septuagint studies, this means moving beyond a folk theory of translation to something more adequate to our purposes.⁶

Like any other socially significant behaviour, translation is governed by conventions of various sorts. As translators, the Seventy fulfilled a function allotted by their community in a manner deemed appropriate within its cul-

2. E.g., A. Aejmelaeus, “Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator,” in *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993) 65–76; 66, “But in fact, these translators never paused to consider their aims any more than the methods by which best to attain them. Their work is characterized by intuition and spontaneity more than conscious deliberation and technique.” Yet see S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 315: “there remains abundant evidence that to each translator (or company) there was a ‘philosophy of translation,’ and that this in each case determined the translation-technique.”

3. I use “the Seventy” merely as a figure for the translators of the Greek Pentateuch.

4. “The operation of translational norms is then not a matter of texts, or of textual relations, but of acting, thinking, feeling, calculating, sometimes desperate people, with certain personal or group interests at heart, with stakes to defend, with power structures to negotiate.” T. Hermans, “Translation as Institution,” in *Translation as Intercultural Communication* (ed. M. Snell-Hornby, Z. Jettmarova, and K. Kaindl; Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997) 3–20; 10, 11.

5. G. Toury, “A Handful of Paragraphs on ‘Translation’ and ‘Norms,’” in *Translation and Norms* (ed. C. Schäffner; Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999) 9–31; 13.

6. See J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 77.

tural frame of reference.⁷ We are thus to imagine them working within a set of norms that determined what would count as an acceptable translation of the Hebrew text and what would not. As I understand it, a key goal of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) is to reconstruct and contextualize these norms.⁸ For the purposes of the present paper, I would like to illustrate how the concept of translational norms bears on our study of the Greek text. To this end, I shall provide (in outline) a descriptive analysis of a pericope. While such a study has obvious limitations, it does raise the sort of questions I want to address. But first, a few words about norms.

Toward the Analysis of Translational Norms

Following Gideon Toury, we may conceptualize translation as the negotiation of two distinct sets of constraints.⁹ One set comes from the translator's mandate to produce a text in the target language. For the translation to be accepted *qua text*, it must adhere to certain linguistic and textual norms. Furthermore, the text may be expected to occupy a particular slot within the target culture. A text fashioned for liturgical use will be quite different from one marked for a literary audience, which in turn will differ from one intended for

7. "[T]ranslatorship' amounts first and foremost to being able to *play a social role*, i.e., to fulfil a function allotted by a community—to the activity, its practitioners and/or their products—in a way which is deemed appropriate in its own terms of reference. The acquisition of a set of norms for determining the suitability of that kind of behaviour, and for manoeuvring between all the factors which may constrain it, is therefore a prerequisite for becoming a translator within a cultural environment" (G. Toury, *Translation Studies and Beyond* [Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995] 24, 53).

8. The study of norms differs in a subtle but crucial way from the analysis of translation technique. By translation technique we generally have in mind regularities in the replacement of source text units by target text units, regularities suggestive of a certain method or way of proceeding. This kind of study is always of value, but it only takes one so far—it stops short of explanation. A table of equivalencies provides a succinct description of the cross-linguistic evidence, but the process of translation is not thereby accounted for. Ultimately we want to get at the concept of equivalency underlying the matches. Needless to say, this cannot be decided *a priori*. How the problem of translation has been conceptualized and solved in the production of the text is not a cognitive or psycholinguistic given. Translational equivalency is not somehow inherent in thought or language. From the perspective of DTS, we would say that it is governed by norms operative within the target system. Our aim is to infer these norms from the evidence available to us. The manner of proceeding is hypothetico-deductive; hypotheses are framed, tested, and refined. Our main source of evidence is the text itself. Hence the study of translation technique has a key role to play, but set within a larger descriptive-explanatory framework.

9. G. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995) 56.

use in a school setting. In each case, the demands placed upon the translator are distinct, and different models of textual production will come into play.

The second source of constraints is the translator's mandate to represent a text preexisting in some other language, a text that itself occupies a definite position within some culture. For the text to be accepted *qua translation*, certain expectations have to be met touching its relationship with the parent. These expectations are bound up with the value of the source text within the target culture. Its perceived status, its association with social institutions of one sort or another, and the role it plays within these institutions, will have considerable bearing on how the task of translation is framed.¹⁰

We are to understand these two sets of constraints as being in tension with one another; they make rival claims. According to what I have called the folk-theory of translation, the translator negotiates them on the fly, in a largely ad hoc manner. Undoubtedly, some translators imagine themselves working in such a way; but one can argue that the texts they produce speak against this. Translational behavior exhibits a degree of regularity that cannot be reduced to psycholinguistic or cognitive variables alone; cultural context is evidently a determining factor. Translators working under different socio-cultural conditions tend to adopt distinct strategies and produce markedly different products. What accounts for this phenomenon is the operation of translational norms.¹¹

10. These constraints will thus play a role in governing the shape of the final product, principally in its threshold of tolerance for interference from the source text. Certain correlations tend to hold, such that it is possible to speak of laws of interference. As I. Even-Zohar has argued, translations will deviate more or less from models of production in the target language depending upon the relative cultural centrality of the undertaking ("The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem" in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Studies* [ed. J. S. Holmes, J. Lambert, and R. van den Broeck; Leuven: Acco, 1978] 69–82). The translation of a source text with a high prestige might resist target models of textual production, especially if it was undertaken within a marginal literary system. This may account for certain features of the Septuagint. Greco-Jewish literary production was undoubtedly located on the periphery of the Hellenistic literary world; conversely, the Hebrew Pentateuch held an unrivaled status within the Jewish community. Under such circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that the form of the Greek version leans so heavily on that of its Hebrew parent.

11. "Norms have long been regarded as the translation of general values or ideas shared by a group—as to what is conventionally right and wrong, adequate and inadequate—into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension" (Touy, "Translation and Norms," 15). All texts are composed in accordance with cultural norms—linguistic, textual, and literary. Such norms obviously

We may think of such norms as providing the translator with the instructions requisite to his task. It is axiomatic for a sociocultural approach that these instructions do not represent a grab bag of techniques; rather, they constitute a model or paradigm that has arisen under specific historical circumstances. As Toury observes, the instructions provided by such a model act as a restricting factor in the translation—they open up certain doors, they close others.¹² A key insight here is that translational equivalency is itself a function of the underlying model of translation. What will count as an equivalency between the source and target languages for a given translation is not determined *a priori*. It is not a purely linguistic matter; rather it is culturally determined and expressed through the norms underlying the translation. These norms, in turn, are conditioned by the prospective location of the translation within some literary system; this is to say, a given model of translation will tend to produce a text more or less fitted for a particular function within that system.

The constitutive principle of such a model is what Gideon Toury calls the initial norm.¹³ This norm is initial in the sense of being logically prior to the particular norms that inform the production of a translation. It is a sort of fundamental option between adequacy and acceptability. If an initial norm of adequacy is assumed, then the process of translation is guided principally by constraints arising from the source text. This option will give rise to a text that in many instances fails to conform to the normal practices of the target culture. With respect to the language of the translation, there may be a high tolerance for linguistic interference from the source text. If, on the other hand, an initial norm of acceptability is assumed, there will be little tolerance for such interference. Rather, the text will be produced in accordance with target conventions.¹⁴ Most translations fall somewhere in between the limits

bear on the production of translations as well. After all, translations are by definition products of some literary system. But translational norms per se are to be distinguished from compositional norms. They are to be seen against the background of the two sets of constraints identified by Toury; on the one hand, the demands of the target system; on the other, the claims of the source text. Translational norms may be conceived of as culturally sanctioned guidelines for resolving the tensions inherent in the process of translation.

12. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 54, 55.

13. *Ibid.*, 56.

14. This will require nonobligatory shifts away from the textual relationships of the source text. In extreme instances, the form of the translation will be modeled directly on existing compositions within the target culture.

of adequacy and acceptability; they involve some compromise between the two.

Whichever form this trade-off takes—and this depends upon the prospective function of the translation—it will be expressed through what Gideon Toury calls operational norms. These norms govern the constitution and textual linguistic makeup of target material; that is, for a given source item, whether a target replacement is supplied at all, where it is to be located within the target text, and what form it will take.¹⁵ The operational norms underlying a translation may or may not coincide with the default norms of the target language. Hence, as the case may be, a translation will be more—or less—recognizable as a product of the target system. This will depend squarely upon the model of translation that informs it.

It has been asserted that the Seventy had no such model, but a moment's reflection suggests otherwise.¹⁶ Translation was a fact of life in the Hellenistic world. That there were cultural expectations bearing on this activity cannot be doubted.¹⁷ Just what these assumptions were would have depended in part on the circumstances of the translation itself. A given undertaking would presuppose a distinct configuration of translational norms. What is at issue, then, is not whether the Septuagint was produced in accordance with norms. Rather, the question is how best to characterize them. The answer to this question will arise only through a descriptive analysis of the texts.

15. Obviously, we seldom have direct access to the particular configuration of norms underlying a translation. Rather, they must be inferred from the textual linguistic makeup of the translation and the relationship it exhibits with a putative source text. In the case of the Septuagint, we are of course fortunate in having the MT as an approximation of the Hebrew parent.

16. E.g., Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique," 69: "Study of translation technique aims at describing the end-product of a translator's work. It cannot be a question of discovering the system used by the translator, because there was none."

17. This is not to say that the Seventy had a Platonic ideal of translation to consult before taking up their task. But it is to say that, living in the world in which they did, they would have internalized assumptions, some coming from the larger culture, some from their own particular tradition, as to what was required of them as translators. See E. J. Bickerman, "The Septuagint as a Translation," in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 167–200; C. Rabin, "The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint," *Textus* 6 (1968) 1–26; and S. P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," *Oriental Studies* 17 (1972) 11–36.

LXX-Deuteronomy 19:16–21

As a sighting shot for such a research program, I shall now sketch out a descriptive study of LXX-Deut 19:16–21 (henceforth, OG). The question I want to put to the text is this: how is the initial norm of the translation to be conceptualized? Another way of putting it would be: what is the basic concept of equivalency underlying the replacement of source material with target material? To answer this, I shall address both the relationship of the OG to its parent and its relative acceptability as a product of the target system.

To this end, I have laid out the Greek text in coupled pairs with the consonantal text of the MT, an approximation of its source. The coupled pair is a unit of comparative analysis introduced by Gideon Toury. It consists of a target text segment and the source text segment it replaces, the boundaries of which being determined by the principle “nothing left over,” that is, nothing left over from the translator’s solution to the problem posed by the source text.¹⁸

Within the purview of the present study, I have also included the text of *Targum Onkelos* (henceforth, TO). The analysis of norms is comparative by nature, and in TO we have an interesting point of reference. Comparison of the Septuagint and the Targums has hitherto focused on the presence or absence of Midrash in the Greek text.¹⁹ A better way of proceeding, I would suggest, lies in the analysis of translational norms.

The texts have been laid out in tabular form. For both OG and TO, coupled pairs could be established at the level of the word or phrase. This is reflected in the vertical columns. Yet, since both translations are undoubtedly grammatical, word-based pairings are not entirely adequate to the evidence. For this reason, the pairs are also established on a syntactical basis, as reflected in the horizontal axis of the tables.²⁰

18. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 88, 89.

19. E.g., R. Le Déaut, “La Septante, un Targum?” in *Études sur le judaïsme hellénistique* (Lectio divina 119; Paris: AC FEB, 1984) 147–95.

20. The Hebrew text (MT) is drawn from *Librum Deuteronomii* in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (ed. J. Hempel; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1972); the Greek text (OG) from *Deuteronomium* in *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum* (ed. J. W. Wevers; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977); the Aramaic text (TO) from *Targum Onkelos* in *Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy* (ed. A. Berliner; Berlin: 1884; as reproduced by I. Drazin; New York: KTAV, 1982).

Verse 16²¹

MT כִּי	יקום	עד	חמס	באיש
OG ἐὰν δὲ	καταστῆ	μάρτυς	ἄδικος	κατὰ ἀνθρώπου
TO ארי	יקום	סהיד	שקר	בגבר

MT לענות	בו	סרה
OG καταλέγων	αὐτοῦ	ἀσέβειαν
TO לאסרהא	ביה	סמיא

Verse 17²²

MT ועמדו	שני האנשים	אשר	להם	הריב
OG καὶ στήσονται	οἱ δύο ἄνθρωποι	οἷς ἐστιν	αὐτοῖς	ἡ ἀντιλογία
TO ויקומו	תרין גברין	דלהון		דינא

MT לפני יהוה	לפני הכהנים	והשפטים
OG ἐναντι κυρίου	καὶ ἐναντι τῶν ἱερέων	καὶ ἐναντι τῶν κριτῶν
TO קדם יי	קדם כהניא	ודיניא

MT אשר	יהיו	בימים	ההם
OG οἱ ἂν ὦσιν		ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις	ἐκεῖναις
TO דיהון		ביומיא	האינון

21. Cf. *Der hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner* (ed. A. von Gall; Giessen, 1918), which reads כִּי against MT כִּי. According to J. W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 262, the presence of δὲ in OG has no textual significance.

22. For לפני 2°, Kenn 17, 69, 80*, 84, 158, and 184 read ולפני; cf. OG καί. Wevers, *Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, 316.

Verse 18²³

MT ודרשו	השפטים	היטב
OG καὶ ἐξετάσωσιν	οἱ κριταὶ	ἀκριβῶς
TO ויתבעון	דיניא	יאות

MT והנה	עד	שקר	העד	שקר
OG καὶ ἰδοῦ	μάρτυς	ἄδικος	ἐμαρτύρησεν	ἄδικα
TO והא	סהיד	שיקרא	סהרא	שקרא

MT ענה	באחיו
OG ἀντέστη	κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ
TO אסהיד	באחוי

Verse 19

MT ועשיתם	לו
OG καὶ ποιήσετε	αὐτῷ
TO ותעבדון	ליה

MT כאשר	זמם	לעשות	לאחיו
OG ὃν τρόπον	ἐπονηρεύσατο	ποιῆσαι	τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ
TO כמא דחשיב		למעבד	לאחוי

MT ובערת	הרע	מקרבוך
OG καὶ ἐξαρείς	τὸν πονηρὸν	ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
TO ותפלי	עביד דביש	מבינך

Verse 20

MT והנשאים	ישמעו	ויראו
OG καὶ οἱ ἐπίλοιποι	ἀκούσαντες	φοβηθήσονται
TO ודישתארון	ישמעון	וידחלון
MT ולא	יספו	לעשות עוד

23. Compare with the vocalized text of MT for v. 18, which reads **העד** as an articular noun, against which OG reads the Hiphil of **עוד**. A. Rofé argues that MT is the earlier and better reading (*Textus* 14 [1988] 164–65). See Wevers, *Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, 317.

OG καὶ οὐ	προσθήσουσιν	ἔτι ποιῆσαι
TO ולא	יוסף	למעבר עוד

כדבר הרע הזה	בקרובך
κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τὸ πονηρὸν τοῦτο	ἐν ὑμῖν
כפתגמא בישא הרין	בינך

Verse 21

MT ולא	תחוס	עיןך
OG οὐ	φείσεται	ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς σου ἐπ' αὐτῶ
TO ולא	תחוס	עיןך

MT נפש	בנפש	עין	בעין
OG ψυχὴν	ἀντὶ ψυχῆς	ὀφθαλμὸν	ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ
TO נפשא	חלף נפשא	עינא	חלף עינא

MT שן	בשן	יד	ביד	רגל	ברגל
OG ὀδόντα	ἀντὶ ὀδόντος	χείρα	ἀντὶ χειρὸς	πόδα	ἀντὶ ποδός
TO שינא	חלף שינא	ידא	חלף ידא	ריגלא	חלף ריגלא

Even a cursory glance at the coupled pairs suggests that both translations are relatively consistent with an initial norm of adequacy. With few exceptions, each lexical item in the source text has its counterpart in the target text. So too, the order of constituents within the parent is typically adhered to, and their morphosyntactical features tend to be represented. For the most part, lexical equivalents are matched on the basis of unmarked rather than marked meanings. The constitution of target material in both TO and OG, its basic composition, is thus guided principally by constraints arising from the source text.

An initial norm of adequacy notwithstanding, TO and OG remain products of their respective target systems. To what extent, then, do they conform to the conventional practices of these systems? To address this question, we need to assess the verbal makeup of each text and attempt to gauge its relative acceptability. According to a typology that I have adapted from Gideon

Toury, I shall distinguish three levels of acceptability—linguistic, textual, and literary.²⁴

OG—Linguistic Acceptability

If we work through the Greek text clause by clause, we find it to be grammatically well-formed.²⁵ As one might expect, this has involved various shifts away from the form of the source text. Most of these shifts are obligatory, which is to say that they are required by the target language. Thus, the position of the definite article is reshuffled in accordance with Greek usage.²⁶ Suffixed prepositions are replaced by inflected pronouns.²⁷ But some are non-obligatory. In v. 16, the Hebrew infinitival construction, לענות בו ‘to testify against him’, is rendered by a participle.²⁸ The Greek copula is introduced into a verbless relative clause in v. 17.²⁹ In v. 18, the Hebrew infinitive absolute היטב ‘to do thoroughly’ functions as an adverbial and is rendered accordingly.³⁰ More significantly, in v. 20 the translator subordinates the first clause, departing from the parataxis of the parent.³¹ In each instance, a concession has been made to Greek linguistic convention, and a degree of acceptability attained.

But such non-obligatory shifts away from the parent, I would submit, represent the exception, not the rule, in this translation, and are properly set against the background of a relatively high tolerance for interference from the source. Thus, in v. 17, the rendering of the suffixed preposition להם by αὐτοῖς results in a pleonasm. The phrase ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, occurring in the same verse, while not necessarily a Hebraism, represents the form of the parent at the expense of Greek prose idiom.³² Other such infelicities

24. See Toury, *Translation Studies*, 170–71. Toury’s typology was intended for the description of literary translation, but it works quite well for biblical texts.

25. The OG selection of tense, aspect, and mood appears to be consistent with Greek norms. See T. F. Evans, *Verbal Syntax in the Greek Pentateuch: Natural Greek Usage and Hebrew Interference* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

26. E.g., in OG v. 17 οἱ δύο ἄνθρωποι replaces שני האנשים, while ἐκείναις replaces ההם.

27. E.g., in OG v. 16 αὐτοῦ replaces בו; in v. 17 αὐτοῖς replaces להם.

28. The use of the participle (καταλέγων) is undoubtedly a concession to Greek convention; the lexical choice is contextually appropriate. As we would expect, the verb is construed with the genitive.

29. In OG v. 17 οἷς ἐστὶν replaces אשר.

30. In OG v. 18 ἀκριβῶς replaces היטב.

31. In OG v. 20 ἀκούσαντες φοβηθήσονται replaces ישמעו ויראו.

32. In OG v. 17 ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις replaces בימים ההם.

abound.³³ More telling, perhaps, is the level of syntactical ambiguity that is permitted. Thus in v. 16 the function of ἀσέβειαν is not altogether clear. In v. 17, the antecedent of the relative pronoun οἷ is uncertain; it might be the judges alone or both the judges and the priests.³⁴ In v. 19, the rule of concordance is violated: a second person singular verb is construed with a plural pronoun, casting doubt on the implied antecedent.³⁵

Since the issue of ambiguity has been raised, let us turn briefly to semantics. A number of word choices greatly diminish the semantic well-formedness of the text. In v. 20, for instance, the verb **קָם** is rendered by *προστίθημι*. While the Greek construction may be viable, it remains awkward.³⁶ The context calls for the sense ‘to do again’, whereas the Greek typically means ‘to add to’. Again in v. 20, the word *ῥῆμα* ‘that which is said or spoken’ occurs in a context requiring the sense ‘subject of speech, matter (*res*)’, a meaning it does not conventionally carry.³⁷ In v. 21, *φείδομαι* is used absolutely. This is due to the ellipsis of a prepositional phrase in its Hebrew counterpart. While the context requires the sense ‘to have mercy’, the Greek literally means ‘to be sparing’.

OG—Textual Acceptability

It would be fair to say, however, that while it is characterized by various forms of interference, the OG does observe a certain benchmark of linguistic acceptability. At the textual level, conversely, there is little indication of conformity to target norms. For the sake of the analysis, let us distinguish be-

33. E.g., in OG v. 16 the verb *καθίστημι* is construed with *κατά* as a match for the construction **בְּ—קָם**. While the Greek verb is contextually appropriate, one would expect to see it construed with *πρός*; it turns out that the selection of *κατά* in this linguistic context is a sort of default for the translator.

34. “The Masoretes have made the first cut after **הוּהוּ**, so that both priests and judges would seem to be intended. But since LXX continues with *καὶ ἐξετάσωσιν οἱ κριταὶ ἀκριβῶς*, i.e., excluding the priests, a straightforward reading of the Greek text might favour making only *κριτῶν* serve as anaphoric referent for the pronoun” (Wevers, *Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, 316).

35. In OG v. 19 *ἐξαρεῖς* is construed with *ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*. The Greek prepositional phrase replaces **בְּקִרְבְּךָ**.

36. Yet compare J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, “The very fact that no other Hebraism has ever been discovered in Josephus might be fairly held to prove that the locution was really Greek” (*Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* [Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1997] 551).

37. Moulton and Milligan identify this use of *ῥῆμα* as Hebraistic (*ibid.*, 563).

tween coherence and cohesion.³⁸ Crudely put, coherence pertains to thematic unity. To the extent that a translation is acceptable at the textual level, it will exhibit the unifying devices proper to the sort of text it is. Cohesion, on the other hand, pertains to connectedness, that is, the way discourse hangs together formally.

We begin with the question of coherence. Undoubtedly, certain word choices do contribute to this aspect of the text. Thus, at v. 16 OG replaces **כּוּמָס** ‘violence’ with **ἀδίκος** ‘unjust’.³⁹ Since both items share the sense ‘wrongdoing’, the rendering is unexceptional. At v. 18, however, **ἀδίκος** is again selected, this time for **שֶׁקֶר** ‘falsehood’. Here there is little semantic overlap between source and target items. Rather, OG deliberately echoes its earlier characterization of the false witness as ‘unjust’.⁴⁰ Such shifts away from the parent are, however, infrequent.

When we turn to the cohesiveness of the text, its relative acceptability is found to be rather low. Within Greek, there is a wide range of particles available to mark cohesion. Yet the only such device introduced within OG is the particle **δέ** in v. 16.⁴¹ Otherwise the translation simply carries over the formal features of the source, resulting in a high degree of ambiguity. Thus, in v. 17, the use of the future form **στήσονται** would suggest that the clause is construed as the apodosis of the conditional construction begun in v. 16. But if this is so, then the conjunction **καί** is not only intrusive, it is potentially misleading. In v. 18 the subjunctive form **ἐξετάσωσιν** is supplied, but with

38. The distinction comes from J. Lyons, *Linguistic Semantics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 262–65.

39. J. W. Wevers observes, “The translation of ‘a witness of violence’ by **μάρτυς ἀδίκος** weakens the notion of violence, but the translator is thinking of this as a legal issue; **δίκη** is involved, and a witness who promotes violence is in a legal situation unjust, i.e., guilty” (*Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, 316). Cf. C. Dogniez and M. Harl, “Le terme hébreu *hamas* (témoin) «de violence», i.e. «témoin violent», est transposé en grec dans le lexique de la justice mais les mots *adikia*, *adikos*, *adikein* sont souvent employés dans les versions de l’hébreu au sens fort évoquant la violence faite à quelqu’un, comme en latin *injuria*” (*Le Deutéronome*, [Paris: Cerf, 1992] 235).

40. Another possible source of coherence occurs in v. 19. The pericope deals with an individual offender, and this is made explicit in the OG. Whereas Hebrew **הַרֵע** can be understood as either ‘the evil’ or ‘the evil one’, OG provides **τὸν πονηρόν** so that there is no uncertainty. See Wevers, “To the translator it was the evildoer who had to be removed, made to disappear, from the community” (*Notes*, 230).

41. See *ibid.*, 262, “when specific laws begin with **ἐάν** (with the possible exception of 23:10) they always appear as **ἐάν δέ** except for 20:11 where **ἐάν μὲν** obtains to balance with the **ἐάν δέ** of v. 12. If, on the other hand, **ἐάν** does not begin the laws, i.e., when **καὶ ἔσται** precedes it, naturally no **δέ** can be used.”

no further indication of its discourse function. It might well be construed as a cohortative, as Wevers reads it.⁴² Conversely, if the force of the conditional particle $\xi\acute{\alpha}\nu$ is carried forward from v. 16, we might construe the clause as the protasis of a new conditional construction.⁴³ All of these problems admittedly stem from the form of the Hebrew text.⁴⁴ What is important to note is that OG simply passes them on to the reader.

OG—Literary Acceptability

By literary acceptability, what I have in mind is the extent to which the translation reflects contemporary expectations in so far as it is a text of a particular sort. This would include stylistics. Not surprisingly, given the formal dependence of the translation on its source, there is little indication of shifts in the direction of stylistic acceptability. If there is an exception to this rule, it is restricted to certain lexical choices that reduce the repetitive quality of the source.⁴⁵ Such renderings aside, the norms of Greek composition are conspicuous by their absence.

Of course, the fact that OG does not reflect current stylistic norms by no means precludes some measure of assimilation to other expectations bearing on the text, for instance those stemming from pedagogical or juridical practices. As it happens, there is one rendering suggestive of this kind of shift: the replacement of the verb $\square\text{ז}\text{ז}$ by $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\gamma\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ in v. 19. The Hebrew item regularly carries the sense ‘to design’ and may denote intention. At first blush, the translation would appear to say something rather different from its

42. *Ibid.*, 316.

43. In OG v. 19 we have another future form, $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\zeta$. Presumably this clause is the apodosis of a conditional construction. Yet again we have an intrusive conjunction. Furthermore, it is unclear which clause represents the protasis. See *ibid.*, 317.

44. Verse 17 of MT is typically treated as the apodosis of the כִּי clause in v. 16. Yet see J. H. Tigay, who argues that, “the litigants’ appearance before the judges is not a separate inquiry but part of the original trial” (*Deuteronomy* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1996] 184). He notes that 13:13–16 and 17:2–5 have a similar structure: “a lengthy protasis (conditional clause) describing the offense, followed by a compound apodosis (result clause)” (*ibid.*, 378).

45. For example, within the Hebrew text the verb עִנֵּה occurs twice in the sense ‘testify against’. In v. 16 it is rendered in OG by a synonymous idiom. In the second instance, however, it is replaced by $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$, which here carries the sense of ‘rising to speak against’. This adds a certain vividness to v. 18, and also avoids repetition, the giving of testimony already having been implied with the verb $\mu\alpha\gamma\sigma\tau\upsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$.

parent. Wevers offers the gloss, ‘act wickedly’.⁴⁶ Here then is grist for the mill of the historical exegete. In antiquity, an interpretation of this verse attributed to the Sadducees held that the false witness should be punished not according to his intentions but according to the actual outcome of the proceedings against the defendant.⁴⁷ Should we read the OG as adopting a position on this matter?

Turning to v. 21, we observe that the OG remains silent on what was undoubtedly the most significant juridical convention pertaining to this pericope—the fact that the *lex talionis* was now understood in monetary terms.⁴⁸ This fact could have been stated in plain Greek, but the norms underlying the translation evidently precluded this.⁴⁹ By the same token, while the translator’s selection of *πονηρεύομαι* is not uninteresting, it remains doubtful that it reflects juridical practice. The word is perhaps better glossed ‘play the knave’ and understood to imply plotting and connivance.

46. The construal of *πονηρεύομαι* with an infinitive is decidedly odd, clearly a reflex from the Hebrew syntax. Wevers writes, “The verb *ἐπονηρεύσατο* used with *ποιῆσαι* means ‘acted wickedly’. The Hebrew verb *זָמַם* is neutral, ‘to purpose, intend’, though in this context ‘plotted’ with its pejorative overtones would fit as a rendering for the Hebrew verb, whereas the LXX more obviously adds a moral dimension to the intention (*Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, 317).” This finds some support in v. 16. Here the Hebrew item *סָרַס*, likely intended to describe the witness as an apostate of some sort, is rendered by *ἀσέβεια* ‘impiety’, an explicitly religious notion. Presumably it is the unjust witness who is acting with impiety, though impiety might represent the substance of his accusation. One senses that underlying both this rendering and the one in v. 19 are certain assumptions concerning the religious dimension of the pericope rather than halakhic tradition as such.

47. “The Sadducees held that talion was to be imposed only if the falsely accused defendant had actually been punished (see also the Karaite Keter Torah), but the Pharisees noted that the text prescribes talion in return for the witness’s ‘scheming’ and ruled that once a verdict had been reached, he was subject to punishment if his testimony was found to be false (*Mish. Mak.* 1:6; thus also Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219)” (Tigay, *Deuteronomy*, 378). See also Drazin, *Targum Onkelos*, 189–90.

48. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.219. Tigay notes that while in the Bible talion is imposed in all cases, halakhic exegesis reverses this norm and imposes monetary fines (*Deuteronomy*, 185).

49. This is not to deny that Greek Deuteronomy is informed by halakhic tradition in certain specific instances, e.g., 12:27. See P. E. Dion, “Early Evidence for the Ritual Significance of the ‘Base of the Altar’ around Deut 12:27 LXX,” *JBL* 106 (1987) 487–92. The question raised here is whether the translator was *expected* to signal such tradition where this would involve a shift away from the form of the source. In answer to *this* question, the present study would suggest that such was not the case.

OG—Tentative Conclusions

On the basis of the present analysis, I would describe the concept of equivalence underlying OG as one of isomorphism. This is to say, a norm of formal equivalency guides the process. This is consistent with the observations of J. W. Wevers on the opening lines of LXX-Deuteronomy. “Comparison with MT immediately shows that it follows the parent text closely in word order. Nouns are rendered by nouns, verbs by verbs, prepositional phrases by prepositional phrases.”⁵⁰

Isomorphic rendering is not, however, an obligatory norm for OG; rather, it determines preferred renderings. For this reason it does not result in mechanical translation. The selection of target material is obviously deliberate and considered; there are various shifts towards target conventions. Yet these shifts are isolated and relatively minor. The primary task of the translator was evidently to produce an item-by-item paraphrase of the parent.

As we might have predicted, such a mandate gives rise to a text that although undoubtedly a product of the target system, fails in certain respects to conform to the normal practices of that system.⁵¹ OG is thus fairly characterized as a linguistically motivated translation. Textual and literary norms may occasionally come to the fore, but the argument that they play any kind of constitutive role in the translation has now been put in question. What about the Targum?

50. J. W. Wevers, “The Attitude of the Greek Translator of Deuteronomy towards His Parent Text,” in *Beiträge zur Alttestamentlichen Theologie: Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Donner, R. Hanhart, and R. Smend; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht) 498–505; 499.

51. In this regard, Wevers observes that, “the translator of Genesis on the whole placed more emphasis on the needs of the target language than did the translator of Deuteronomy, that is to say the Greek Genesis is not only a freer rendering of the parent text but is on the whole also better Greek” (*ibid.*, 499). Wevers provides two examples to illustrate what he calls the “conservatism” of Greek Deuteronomy, in which he contrasts the method of this translation with that of Jerome, and remarks that “Deut [OG] once again has tried to reproduce the parent text word for word. . . . Once again Jerome is much freer over against his parent text; the demands of the target language weigh more heavily on him than on Deut. . . . Jerome is interested in clarity; Deut is more obsessed by faithfulness to the parent text sometimes to the point of obscurity” (*ibid.*, 500, 501).

TO—Linguistic Acceptability

As I have indicated, analysis of the coupled pairs would suggest that the Aramaic translation is also consistent with an initial norm of adequacy. At the same time, there is some assimilation to target conventions. Hence, while the Aramaic translator typically replaces target items with morphosyntactical equivalents, there are exceptions.⁵² In v. 18, for instance, the Hebrew infinitive **הֵיטֵב** ‘to do thoroughly’ is replaced by an adverb, **יֵאָרֵה** ‘properly’ (cf. the OG). As far as syntactical structure is concerned, there are minor shifts away from the parent, the most significant of these occurring in v. 19, where an infinitival construction is replaced by a relative clause.⁵³

If the linguistic acceptability of the Aramaic suffers, it is largely due to positive transfer—that is, the overuse of certain constructions and the underuse of others, relative to existing compositional norms. An example of overuse is the prevalence of the construct form, a reflex from the Hebrew. Acceptability is also diminished by a seeming tolerance for ambiguity. In v. 16, for instance, the syntactical role of **סָטִיא** ‘deviation’ remains somewhat uncertain. In v. 21, the ellipsis of the parent text is simply carried over into the Aramaic (cf. the OG). Certain infelicities have no doubt arisen through the imitation of Hebrew idiom.⁵⁴

TO—Textual Acceptability

At the level of discourse, there are very few significant shifts away from the parent. For the most part, they contribute to the coherence of the text rather than its cohesion. Thus, in v. 19 the Hebrew item **הָרַע** ‘evil’ is replaced by an Aramaic nominal phrase **עֲבִיד רַבִּישׁ** ‘doer of evil’.⁵⁵ This is a juridical text, and the Aramaic version, like the Greek, clarifies the fact that it is dealing with a specific category of witness. With respect to lexical selection, there appear to be one or two similarly motivated shifts.⁵⁶ In v. 16, for

52. Hence where Aramaic regularly uses a given participial form as a substantive, the translator has no qualms about using it to replace a Hebrew noun; see, e.g., v. 16.

53. In TO v. 20 **וְדִישְׁתָּאָרְוֹן** replaces **וְהַנְּשָׂאִים**.

54. For example, one is suspicious about the use of the verb **יִסַּף** in v. 19. Unlike its Hebrew counterpart, it is uncertain whether the Aramaic verb was regularly construed with the infinitive to mark repeated action.

55. See Drazin, *Targum Onkelos*, 190.

56. For example, TO, v. 17, where the replacement of **רִיב** ‘dispute’ by **רִיין**, perhaps carrying the sense ‘case’, might reflect juridical usage; yet there is considerable semantic

instance, the replacement of *הַמָּוֶט* ‘violence’ by *שֶׁקֶר* ‘falsehood’ may inform the reader that this pericope concerns a plotting witness.⁵⁷

I would predict that the acceptability of TO is somewhat wanting at the textual level, and this is borne out by the verbal makeup of the text. The Aramaic translation does little to clarify the structure of the conditional clauses. Its use of particles would seem to rely on translational norms rather than the conventions of the target language. Thus, in v. 16, Hebrew *כִּי* is replaced by *אֲרִי*. The use of this Aramaic particle within a conditional construction is translation specific, a consequence of matching the item with *כִּי*. There is no indication that outside of the context of translation it functioned as anything other than an emphatic interjection ‘behold’. A similar phenomenon appears to occur in v. 18, where Hebrew *וְהִנֵּה* is rendered by *וְהִיא*. The context requires a quasi-conditional force, which presumably the Hebrew item carries. As for its Aramaic counterpart, it seems unlikely that it was regularly used in this way. Apparently, its suitability as a match rests on the fact that both are emphatic interjections. But its selection in this particular context obscures rather than clarifies the cohesion of the text.

TO—Literary Acceptability

A key aspect of acceptability within the target system of TO (broadly conceived) would have been congruence with halakhic convention. As I have indicated, we have reason to believe that the interpretation of v. 19 was at issue. It has been suggested that TO represents the Pharisaic position in contradistinction to the Sadducean one. Hebrew *זָמַם* ‘to plot’ is rendered *הַשִּׁיב* ‘to intend’. Yet given the considerable semantic overlap between the two items, we have no warrant for arguing that the translation signals the adoption of one position over the other.⁵⁸

The argument that TO brings the parent in line with either pedagogical or juridical norms is further weakened when we consider what is absent in this text. Turning to v. 21, we find that this version likewise fails to reflect the fact that the punishment in question was held to be monetary. To the extent

overlap between the two items. “Again TO is either emphasizing rule of law or stating explicitly what is implied in the MT” (Drazin, *Targum Onkelos*, 189).

57. Ibid. Drazin notes that *y. Mak.* 1:7, *Sifre*, N, and *Tg. Ps.-J.* have the same interpretation.

58. Ibid. Drazin suggests that TO is simply clarifying the meaning of the Hebrew word. The same match occurs in MSS N, M, and *Tg. Ps.-J.* It is the characteristic rendering of Hebrew *זָמַם* and is found in the Targums to Jer 51:12, Zech 1:6, Prov 31:16, etc.

that the translator was expected to adhere to current juridical practice, we would expect this particular norm to be represented. In *Targum Neofiti*, for instance, the text reads “life for the *payment* of life,” yet TO is silent on this matter.⁵⁹ Do we infer then that it represents a rival teaching? Hardly; rather, the Hebrew source has been rendered according to a norm of formal equivalency.

TO—Tentative Conclusions

Obviously, my conclusions regarding TO must be very tentative indeed. The textual linguistic acceptability of an Aramaic translation is, after all, very difficult to gauge. This is due in part to the dearth of extant compositional literature, in part to the paucity of relevant linguistic studies. Further research into the question of linguistic interference is without doubt a desideratum for Targum studies.

I would, however, hazard the suggestion that TO, like OG, is characterized by a degree of isomorphism. While this norm plays out very differently in the two translations, it apparently determines preferred equivalencies for both. This is not to say that the model of translation underlying each text is cut from the same cloth. But it is to say that they exhibit an interesting family resemblance that bears further investigation.

Conclusions

Thus ends what is at best a preliminary foray into the analysis of translational norms. We have not moved very far down the path of inquiry, admittedly, but I trust that we are heading in the right direction. Translators may well make certain decisions on the fly, but they do not work without reference to some underlying concept of equivalence. The present study would suggest that for LXX-Deut 19:16–21 this concept was one of isomorphism.⁶⁰ To the extent that this proves to be a valid characterization of the translation as a whole, it will have profound implications for what we make of

59. *Ibid.*, 190.

60. Wevers concludes that, “The translator [OG] did not view his task lightly; he was determined that his translation would reflect his parent text closely” (“Attitude of Greek Deuteronomy,” 505).

it.⁶¹ I would argue, for instance, that the norm of isomorphism renders doubtful many of the assumptions commonly brought to the Greek text by exegetes—the idea that the text represents an expository work, to be read as a sustained commentary on its parent; the idea that it was fashioned as a free-standing literary work; the idea that it reflects theological or philosophical views with any consistency. In this respect, further comparison of Greek Deuteronomy with *Targum Onkelos* will prove illuminating. Drazin concludes his exhaustive study of the latter as follows,

A better approach is to recognize that TO, in contrast to N and Ps-Jon, is neither an aggadic nor a halakhic document. . . . TO is primarily a translation. The translator(s) was concerned with being faithful to the Biblical text and not with conforming to technical halakhic details. . . . TO is a rabbinic document, but one that renders according to the *peshat*.⁶²

It is obviously tempting to approach the Greek version as the earliest exegetical source that we possess for the Pentateuch, because in certain respects it is just that.⁶³ Yet the translational norms underlying LXX-Deut 19:16–21 suggest a rather different picture of Septuagint origins than this implies, one that places much tighter constraints on historical exegesis. Whether this holds for the rest of the Greek Deuteronomy remains an open question. What should be emphasized, however, is that the issue cannot be decided one way or the other without further descriptive analysis of the sort outlined here.

In closing, I would like to express my hope that the limitations of the present study do not dissuade anyone from taking seriously my initial proposal, namely, that Septuagint studies have much to gain from DTS, and in particular, from the analysis of translational norms. I look forward to an ongoing conversation between our field and DTS—a conversation, I trust, that will increasingly involve scholars working on the other ancient versions.

61. A further question that needs to be addressed is what sort of textual function is consistent with the concept of equivalence underlying the translation.

62. Drazin, *Targum Onkelos*, 14.

63. Wevers, *Notes on Greek Deuteronomy*, xiv.

The Letter of Aristeas and the Reception History of the Septuagint

BENJAMIN G. WRIGHT III
Lehigh University



My argument in this paper originated in two separate places: conversations about the methodological foundation for the New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS) and the proposed NETS Commentary Series that will complement the NETS translations (Society of Biblical Literature Commentary on the Septuagint [SBLCS]), and some preliminary thinking about the *Letter of Aristeas*, on which I am beginning to write a commentary. As I see it, the essential problem is this: many scholars, either explicitly or implicitly, no matter what they say about the historical and/or propagandistic value of the work, accept the basic notion promulgated by Pseudo-Aristeas that the LXX was originally intended to serve as an independent and self-standing replacement for the Hebrew text rendered by it. As we will see, at almost every point Pseudo-Aristeas argues that the translators (as commissioned by their Ptolemaic patron) produced an exemplary work of Greek philosophy and literature, highly acceptable (to use the language of translation theorist Gideon Toury) in its target culture, and that the Jewish community of Alexandria adopted the LXX as its sacred Scripture.

Yet, as scholars pursue a solution to the major problems connected with the LXX and its origins, we must place one basic fact at the center of the

Author's note: I extend thanks to Steven Fraade for his kind invitation to present an early version of this paper at Yale University. The questions and conversation there caused me to make a number of significant revisions to the argument. I am also grateful to Albert Pietersma and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, who read an earlier version of the paper and who, as always, pushed me on a number of important points.

stage—the LXX is a translation, not a work originally composed in Greek.¹ This realization matters, and matters a great deal. Cameron Boyd-Taylor aptly articulates why.

Quite simply, a translated text never represents a straightforward instance of performance in the target language. Translations deviate from the conventions governing well-formed texts and this fact has both linguistic and socio-cultural implications. The practices of reading brought to bear on a translation, the expectations of its readership, the uses to which it is put, will vary systematically from those proper to non-translational texts.²

That is, the LXX was intended to occupy a specific sociocultural niche for the Jews of Alexandria, and its textual expression, social location, uses, and transmission are all conditioned by the fact that it is a translated text. What seems necessary, then, as a means of approaching the problem I have in mind, and what we scholars of the LXX rarely seem to employ, is a theory of translation that will provide an adequate explanatory framework for addressing the central questions we ask about this important translation.³

The importance of seeing the LXX as a translation and the concurrent need for some theoretical framework in which to discuss it were nowhere more obvious than in the beginning stages of the NETS project. The editors and the committee charged with creating the policies for translating the LXX into English had to reckon constantly with the fact that we were translating a translation, and one that had a close relationship to its Semitic parent text at that. One theoretical approach to the enterprise of translation that has proved very productive for the way that we look at the Septuagint is the work of the Israeli translation theorist Gideon Toury, as set out most recently in his book,

1. By “Septuagint,” I mean the Pentateuch, most likely translated in the third century B.C.E. in Alexandria.

2. Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “In a Mirror, Dimly: Reading the Septuagint as a Document of Its Times,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (SBLSCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 16–17.

3. Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique “From Alpha to Byte.” University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July 2000* (ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 337–364 [340] citing Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 79.

Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond (DTS).⁴ Fundamentally, Toury argues that

the position and function of translations (as entities) and of translating (as a kind of activity) in a prospective target culture, the form a translation would have (and hence the relationships which would tie it to its original), and the strategies resorted to during its generation do not constitute a series of unconnected facts.⁵

The interconnected nature of these “facts” gives rise to the claim that all translations originate within a particular cultural environment, and they “are designed to meet certain needs of, and/or occupy certain ‘slots’ in it.”⁶ In short, translations need to be thought of first and foremost as facts of their target cultures.

According to Toury, not only are a translation’s function/position, its textual linguistic makeup (what Toury calls “product”), and the strategies employed by the translator (called “process” by Toury) interconnected, they exert specific influences in a particular direction. As Toury describes this threefold series of relationships, he argues that the intended position of any translation in its target culture exerts a determining influence on its surface realization or textual-linguistic makeup. Further, this surface realization establishes the parameters and strategies that a translator can use in the execution of that translation.⁷ He diagrams this series of relationships as follows:

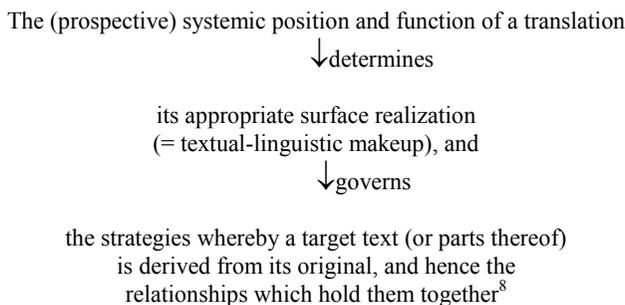


Figure 1. Toury’s Relations between function (position), product, and process

4. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995).

5. *Ibid.*, 24

6. *Ibid.*, 12.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*

Since Toury's categories are inextricably linked in such a way that each informs the others, presumably what we know about one or two of these elements should provide some indications of the nature of the other(s). This inter-connectedness of function, product, and process has potential significance for the study of the LXX, since we actually do know quite a bit about the textual linguistic makeup of the translations and the strategies employed by the translators, while we are still relatively in the dark about the translation's origins. To put it in Toury's language of function-product-process, knowing something of the product and process of the LXX should enable us to derive some conclusions about the intended function of the translation in the target culture. That intended function might provide clues as to the origins of the translation.

While the terms "function" and "position" might lead us to think that Toury has in mind the *Sitz im Leben* of a translation, he appears to mean something else.⁹ For a translation like the LXX, we really cannot know what the translators intended to do with it once it existed in Greek. By function/position, Toury means cultural location. The "slots" within the target cultural environment more appropriately have to do with the value of a text within that target culture. When he speaks of function/position, Toury is interested in the systemic value of the translation, which is structural and which can perhaps best be expressed in oppositions such as literary/nonliterary, central/peripheral, prestigious/nonprestigious, monolingual/bilingual.¹⁰ In any analysis of a translation that is function-oriented, these oppositions, to which we could probably add others, will provide indicators of a translation's intended function.

Translators, by dint of the fact that they must work in two language systems and thus with two differing sets of linguistic norms, are faced with decisions about which norms to follow. A translator could subject him/herself to the norms of the source text or to the norms of the target culture. This "basic choice" between the source norms or target norms, which a translator can

9. Ibid. I am indebted in this short section to several e-mail exchanges with Albert Pietersma and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, then of the University of Toronto, in which we tried to sort out what Toury was getting at in his discussion of function.

10. This list of oppositions comes from private communication from Cameron Boyd-Taylor. It should be pointed out here that Toury's theoretical approach is rooted in Polysystem theory, which itself is a development within structuralism and (Russian) formalism. See also Steven Fraade, "Locating Targum in the Textual Polysystem of Rabbinic Pedagogy," below, pp. 69–90.

make at the macro and/or micro levels, Toury calls an initial norm.¹¹ Some translations “tend to subscribe to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture.” Such translations “may well entail certain incompatibilities with target norms and practices, especially those lying beyond the mere linguistic ones.”¹² Translations can also work in the other direction, adopting the norms of the target system. In these cases, the translators pursue different agendas. Toury characterizes the pursuit of these differing translational agendas with the terms adequacy and acceptability. “Thus,” he writes, “whereas adherence to the source norms determines a translation’s adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability.”¹³ Adherence to source (adequacy) or target (acceptability) norms bears initially on any evaluation of the textual-linguistic makeup of a translation, but, as Toury notes, the norms pursued are not strictly linguistic. They are also more broadly cultural. In that sense, any assessment of the degree to which the translator pursued adequacy or acceptability would seem to provide potential evidence for the intended function/position of a translation.

One of the important and productive consequences of the theoretical insights advocated by Toury is that they can provide a framework within which to ask historical questions about translations, since translating is social behavior, and translations, as he argues, are facts of target cultures. As the large quantity of scholarly literature on the LXX will attest, the matter of its origins remains a vexed and largely unanswered question. Since we possess no first-hand testimony from those connected with the production of the LXX, we are left, it seems to me, with two sorts of evidence upon which to draw: (1) the claims of the earliest “account” of the translation’s origins, the *Letter of Aristeas* (external evidence), which conveys a great deal of information about what Pseudo-Aristeas envisioned the function of the LXX to be;¹⁴ and (2) the evidence of the textual-linguistic makeup of the LXX itself (internal evidence). In what follows, I employ aspects of Toury’s theoretical framework

11. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 56.

12. *Ibid.*, 56.

13. *Ibid.*, 56–57. Important to note at this juncture is that acceptability is relative to the norms of literary composition in the target culture. Toury is not talking about the relative acceptability of a text *qua* translation.

14. For the purposes of my argument, it is immaterial whether Aristobulus is earlier or later than Aristeas. Aristobulus mentions Demetrius of Phalerum as the instigator of the translation, as Aristeas does. The relationship of these authors and their possible sources for the tradition about Demetrius are still a very open question.

in order to discover what the *Letter of Aristeas* says about the intended function of the LXX and, since Toury's model posits a connection between intended function and textual-linguistic makeup, to see if Pseudo-Aristeas's construction comports with the evidence derived from the translations themselves.

The Septuagint in the Letter of Aristeas

This early Jewish text stands at the center of any discussion of the translation of the LXX. In general scholars agree that the *Letter of Aristeas* is pseudonymous, the product of a Jewish author and not the creation of its putative author, "Aristeas," a Greek courtier of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (hence the designation of the author as Pseudo-Aristeas); is not a contemporary account that chronicles the making of the translation but an account made a significant time after it, probably sometime in the mid-second century B.C.E; and reflects the Jewish author's interests and concerns in his own time, not the concerns of third-century B.C.E. Judaism. Significant scholarly disagreement remains about the author's motivations for writing the book. Possible motivations are: a response to some contemporary crisis, a polemic targeting the emergence of rival translations, or certain problems of Hellenism and Judaism. Whatever the author's motivation, and despite the fact that only a small portion of the book actually describes the process and acceptance of the translation, *Aristeas* is occupied throughout with the rendering of the Torah into Greek. For starters, this task frames the entire work. The translation is the reason for the deputation to the high priest Eleazar (§§1–3),¹⁵ and the book culminates with the acceptance of the translation by the Jewish community and the approbation of the king (§§308–321). The four major digressions (the description of the gifts [§§51–83]; the journey to Jerusalem [§§83–120]; Eleazar's apology for the Law [§§128–171]; the symposia [§§187–300]) all contribute to the overall purpose of the book, "to transform the translation of the Law into a 'major event,'" that is, to articulate a myth of origins for the LXX.¹⁶ Of these four digressions, the section describing the series of sympo-

15. For the Greek text of *Aristeas*, see André Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (SC 89; Paris: Cerf, 1962).

16. Sylvie Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 32. For arguments about the purpose of Aristeas, see also my "Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges*

sia given by the king in honor of the Jewish translators bears most directly on Pseudo-Aristeas's construction of the nature of the LXX, since it demonstrates how the translators' proficiency in Greek philosophy and Jewish piety outstrips the Alexandrian philosophers' and why they are qualified to undertake this momentous task in the life of the Jewish people.

Even though scholarly opinion holds that *Aristeas* is not a contemporary historical account of the production of the LXX, scholars often assume that the Letter supplies important evidence for the origins and character of the translation. Yet, if we examine carefully just what Pseudo-Aristeas claims for the LXX as a translation of the Hebrew Torah, we find that the central (and apologetic) goal is to portray the LXX as genealogically a translation deriving prestige and authority from its source text. At the same time, however, the author constructs the LXX as genetically an independent entity, of great literary and philosophical quality, highly acceptable, occupying a prestigious slot in the target culture. Pseudo-Aristeas effectively ignores, however, the actual and observable relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek.¹⁷ If we look back at Toury's arguments, his model posits that function/position governs the textual-linguistic makeup of a translation and that the translators' position (the initial norm) on adequacy/acceptability reveals which cultural norms are being followed. *Aristeas*'s story of LXX origins does not account for the disconnect between its claim of the LXX's function/position as a highly acceptable, prestigious, and independent work of literature and the results of textual-linguistic analysis of the translations themselves.¹⁸

Pseudo-Aristeas's story begins when King Ptolemy charges his librarian, Demetrius of Phalerum, with gathering together "if possible, all the books of the world" (§9). Demetrius purchases and transcribes as many as he can, but missing from the collection is the Jewish Law, which, Demetrius tells the king, "should be given a place in your library, for their [the Jews'] legislation is most philosophical and flawless (διὰ τὸ καὶ φιλοσοφωτέραν εἶναι καὶ ἀκέραιον τὴν νομοθεσίαν ταύτην), inasmuch as it is divine" (§31). The reason for the absence of such a prestigious text, Demetrius notes, is that "translation/interpretation (ἐρμηνεία) is required." The *raison d'être* for the

in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures (SBLSCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 50–57.

17. For the language of genetics, I am indebted to Albert Pietersma, "LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?" above, pp. 1–12.

18. See below, pp. 54–55, for studies that have characterized the nature of Septuagintal Greek.

translation, then, was to occupy a place in the royal library alongside all the other books that Demetrius had acquired. The claims made about the Jewish Law and the intention to have it in the library indicate that from its inception the translation was supposed to be read and used independently of the Hebrew. The king's copies would be accorded high cultural status, and the expectation was that the accomplished translation would itself be highly acceptable to the target culture. That is, it would be a work of high literature (a point to which I will return). That Pseudo-Aristeas credits the Hellenistic king with initiating the translation emphasizes both its independence from the Hebrew, since its users would have been Greek speakers who presumably would not have been able to read the original, and its prestige, since from the beginning the translation was connected with royal patronage.

The vocabulary of translation/interpretation employed throughout the book furthers this twofold agenda of independence and prestige. The term ἔρμηνεία, which can mean 'interpretation' as well as 'translation', occurs often along with the verb ἔρμηνεύω and its roughly synonymous compounds μεθερμηνεύω and διερμηνεύω. While they probably mean 'to translate' (cf. especially §§15, 38–39) for the most part, and terms for translation routinely appear in contexts with words for transcription and copying (§§9, 19, 15, 307, 309), the built-in lexical ambiguity in these terms actually works in the author's favor, and he probably even plays intentionally on that ambiguity.¹⁹ Indeed, we might expect as much from Pseudo-Aristeas. On the one hand, the connotation of translation explicitly constructs the Greek version as a representation of its genealogically-famous parent, and in §§32 and 310, Pseudo-Aristeas makes clear that the rendering was 'accurate'. On the other hand, the language of interpretation establishes the LXX as an independent entity, able to stand on its own without dependence on the parent text. Thus, Pseudo-Aristeas lexically wants to have it both ways. The LXX shares the prestige and divine quality of the Hebrew Law through its genealogical, that is translational, relationship, but at the same time it can take its own place in the king's library as an independent work of Greek literature. The language of interpretation/translation that Pseudo-Aristeas employs provides an important initial indication that the LXX is culturally prestigious and therefore highly acceptable in the target culture.

19. For a good discussion of this terminology, see Honigman, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 44–49; and Holger Gzella, *Lebenszeit und Ewigkeit: Studien zur Eschatologie und Anthropologie des Septuaginta-Psalter* (Berlin: Philo, 2002) 13–39.

In order to execute the task of translating the Hebrew Law, Demetrius dispatches a deputation to Eleazar, the high priest of the Jews, seeking “elders who have led exemplary lives and are expert in their own law and are able to translate” (§§32, 39). He should send these men to Alexandria where they will execute the translation. From the beginning, it is clear that they will be engaged in a cooperative effort to achieve “accuracy in the translation” (τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ἀκριβές). Once accomplished Ptolemy intends to “place it conspicuously, worthy of the subject and of your [Eleazar’s] benevolence.” The translators carry with them manuscripts on which the Law is written in Hebrew script in golden characters. Upon their arrival, the Gentile king acknowledges the divine nature of the Hebrew. “When they had uncovered the rolls and unrolled the parchments the king paused for a considerable space, and after bowing deeply some seven times, he said, ‘I thank you, good sirs, and him that sent you even more, but most of all I thank God whose holy words these are.’”²⁰ These manuscripts vouchsafe the authenticity of copies of the Hebrew Law, especially in light of Demetrius’s earlier statement in §30 that the Law “has been transcribed rather carelessly and not as is proper.”²¹ That the translation was made from these divinely impressive and carefully transcribed manuscripts argues powerfully for its own verisimilitude and sanctity.

Before the translation can be executed, the king fêtes the translators in a series of symposia, which serve to highlight the characteristics of these formidable men. Through a series of questions that the king proposes, each of the translators demonstrates a keen grasp of Greek philosophy. Their answers outstrip those of the court philosophers because they additionally make the Jewish God the basis for their arguments. They are eloquent, learned/cultured (πεπαιδευμένος, §321) and virtuous (cf. §§200, 235, 293–296). The work’s portrayal of the translators presents them as men who are well versed in both Greek philosophy and the Hebrew Law. They draw their superior

20. §177.

21. Paul Kahle (*The Cairo Geniza* [2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1953] 212–13) argued that this section referred to earlier translations of the Law into Greek, but the interest of this passage is in the Hebrew text. It thus almost certainly refers to Hebrew manuscripts. The key term in the passage is the verb σεσήμανται, here translated ‘transcribed’. The verb has been variously translated by a variety of English verbs, including ‘edit’, ‘copy’, ‘transmit’, or ‘write’. For a discussion of the meaning of the verb, see Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 48–49.

answers to the king's questions from their divine legislation—God is at the center of all their responses.

If we recall the lexical ambiguity of the translation/interpretation vocabulary that Pseudo-Aristeas employs with respect to the translation itself, this same ambiguity surrounds what these men do. That is, they are interpreters in addition to being translators. They do more than render into Greek what is in Hebrew; they are divinely-led authors who also endow their product with their superior philosophical qualities and exemplary learning. Pseudo-Aristeas's descriptions of the qualities that these men possess and of the symposia in which they participate help support the claim that the LXX, the result of their efforts, is an outstanding example of philosophical literature, indeed even better than Greek philosophy. Additionally, as Sylvie Honigman argues, the translators engage in activities that Pseudo-Aristeas intentionally modeled after those of the Alexandrian grammarians, and their scholarly activity assures the literary quality of their product.²² They read, interpret, and then translate this most philosophical and flawless of texts, providing a work of the same quality for their Ptolemaic patron. Pseudo-Aristeas's emphasis on the accuracy (κατὰ πᾶν ἠκριβωμένως) of the translation, the piety with which it was executed (ὁσίως δηρμήνευται), how well it was done (καλῶς ἔχον ἐστίν) and that it needs no revision or alteration, all reassert the exemplary philosophical, and hence literary quality, of the work (§310). We find pictured in *Aristeas* cultured men producing a text of high culture for a cultured elite. According to Pseudo-Aristeas's vision of the LXX's creation, these translators were perfectly capable of employing the norms of the target language and culture when producing their translation. In such claims, we see yet again the assertion of the high prestige and thus high acceptability of the LXX in the target culture as envisioned in Aristeas.

Later in §§303–307, Demetrius assists with finding an appropriate place for the translators to work, and they ultimately settle on the island of Pharos. The Jewish scholars operate by translating and then comparing their work, harmonizing their differences, which Demetrius then puts into writing. Every day before beginning to work, they appear before the king, wash their hands, and pray. When asked by Aristeas about the purpose of this washing, the translators tell him that in this way they demonstrate that they have done no evil. Pseudo-Aristeas continues to show that these men are indeed the learned

22. *Ibid.*, 47–49.

and pious scholars that Ptolemy had sought from the beginning, and they ultimately produce a perfect translation.

As far as *Aristeas* is concerned, the translation also acts as an independent replacement for the Hebrew Torah within the Jewish community of Alexandria, which in §§308–311 not only affirms the accuracy of the translation, but also binds itself to the LXX as divinely inspired Scripture. In these paragraphs, the central claim is “to accord the Septuagint version of the Torah the same sanctity and authority long held by the Hebrew original—in a word to certify the ‘divine’ origin of the Septuagint.”²³ Establishing the translation as Scripture places it on an equal status with its Hebrew original, and thus the LXX can stand in its place. Pseudo-Aristeas accomplishes this goal by framing the creation and acceptance of this Greek translation in similar language to the reception of the Hebrew Torah by Israel. Harry Orlinsky argues that the public reading of the Septuagint accompanied by the consent of the people closely resembles Exod 24:3–7, where Moses reads the Law and afterward the people consent to follow it. Orlinsky concludes that the phrase “to read aloud to the people” followed by some expression of consent “describes the biblical procedure in designating a document as official and binding, in other words, as divinely inspired, as Sacred Scripture.”²⁴ After the people approve of the translation, the Jewish priests and elders command that it cannot be altered or revised in any fashion, and a curse should fall on anyone who might do so. Deut 4:1–2 employs the same tactic with respect to the laws commanded by God.²⁵ Sections 312–317, which describe the unsuccessful attempts by Theopompus and Theodectes to translate sections of the Law, reinforce the assertion made here that only this version deserves the approbation accorded it by the entire Jewish community. The punishment experienced by these two Gentiles for their presumably arrogant actions demonstrates that only the LXX can be regarded as authoritative Scripture.²⁶

The confirmation scene in §§303–307 is actually the third of three scenes that Honigman dubs the “Exodus paradigm” and that demonstrate that *Aristeas* has as a central thematic concern the elevation of the LXX to scriptural status.

23. Harry Orlinsky, “Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators,” *HUCA* 46 (1975) 94.

24. *Ibid.*, 94. See also the reading of the Law in Ezra/Nehemiah.

25. *Ibid.*, 95.

26. *Ibid.*, 98–103.

This paradigm equates the story of the translated Law, the LXX, with the story of the original Hebrew Law, the Torah. Equating their stories is, implicitly, a way of equating the status of both texts. By the end of [the] B[ook of]. Ar[istees], the LXX has been turned into the text of the Alexandrian Jews who, in turn, stand for the whole people of Israel.²⁷

The first of the three “Exodus paradigm” scenes is Ptolemy’s liberation of the Jewish slaves. According to §§12–14, the Jews were imported as slaves under oppression. At Aristeas’s behest, Ptolemy frees them while at the same time lavishing gifts upon them. The one element of this story that, of course, does not comport with Exodus is that Ptolemy is not forced to free the Jews against his will; he does so out of his great benevolence. Honigman explains, however,

In the Bible, the Jews escape from Egypt not only to material freedom, but also to be given the Law on Mount Sinai, before they are finally led into the Promised Land. Ptolemy’s benevolence means that there is now no need to flee. The Law can and will be received in Alexandria. B.Ar. is the story of a non-Exodus.²⁸

The second “Exodus paradigm” scene is the selection of the 72 elders in Jerusalem. This scene prepares for the final scene of confirmation of the translators’ work, the giving of the Law. These elders, explicitly said to be from each of the 12 tribes, parallel the elders who ascended Mount Sinai with Moses to receive the Law (Exodus 24).²⁹

Honigman also emphasizes that Pseudo-Aristeas does more than appeal to Hebrew Scripture in order to establish the LXX’s scriptural status. The author employs the language and ideology of Homeric scholarship in Alexandria to certify that the manuscripts of the Law acquired by the king were the most reliable form of the text. They had been transcribed carefully and reliably, unlike the other forms of the text that Demetrius knew; they were authentic and authoritative. Such authoritative copies provide the basis for establishing that the LXX was sacred Scripture. She writes,

By informing his account with this paradigm [of Alexandrian Homeric scholarship] B.Ar.’s author was, first and foremost, interested in convincing his readers that translation of the LXX was the best possible one, primarily because it was based on the most authentic original. Establishing the quality of the

27. Honigman, *Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship*, 53.

28. *Ibid.*, 56.

29. *Ibid.*, 58.

translation was an indispensable prerequisite before he could establish the claim that really mattered for him and which was to be conveyed by the secondary theme of the central narrative: that the LXX was a sacred text. Sacredness implies first of all flawless quality. He presented this quality in the form that was most natural both for him and his well-educated Alexandrian readers, namely, the Alexandrian ideology related to the recovering of original texts by textual emendation as practiced by the grammarians subsidized by the Ptolemaic dynasty.³⁰

While the gist of Honigman's argument here is on target, the emphasis perhaps needs some revision. Honigman suggests that Aristeas focuses on authenticity and that Pseudo-Aristeas uses the language of Alexandrian scholarship to make that point. But in Aristeas while the results of Homeric scholarship and textual emendation might contribute to claims of authenticity, the arrival of the Hebrew parchments inscribed in gold brought (and presumably used) by the translators would seem to certify that. The quality of the translation is certainly crucial, and it derives from its genealogical relationship with these Hebrew manuscripts, and from the piety, learning and culture (if not divine inspiration) of the translators themselves.³¹ What Honigman correctly senses here, I think, is that the pedigree of the Greek inasmuch as it is based on an authentic Hebrew text, contributes to Pseudo-Aristeas's claim of the high prestige of the resulting translation and its sanctity. Pseudo-Aristeas, of course, does not appeal to the relation between the source text and the target text, as Philo will do later, because to do so would undercut his picture of the translation as a highly acceptable instance of Greek literature.

To sum up, at each point in *Aristeas*'s narrative, the author makes a concerted effort to make three essential claims for the intended function of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch that we can organize around the kind of function-oriented analysis outlined above. First, according to *Aristeas*, the LXX is intended from the beginning to stand alone as a replacement for the Hebrew Law. As an independent text, Pseudo-Aristeas clearly envisions the LXX operating in a monolingual environment in which its readers ought to be able to engage it as a Greek text just as they would any other Greek text.

30. *Ibid.*, 48.

31. The language of this paragraph suggests that Honigman recognizes the genealogical connection. In another place in her book she emphasizes that the theme of piety is important to Aristeas and helps to make the case that the LXX is now sacred Scripture. See *ibid.*, 58–63.

Second, to describe the LXX as a stand-alone text does only partial justice to what Pseudo-Aristeas presents. Not only can the LXX stand on its own, it is a work of high literature wholly sufficient to itself that can match up to and even exceed other Greek philosophical works. The strategies that Pseudo-Aristeas pursues emphasize that the Hebrew Law on which the LXX is based is philosophical and flawless, and the translators/interpreters who produced the LXX are capable and learned philosophers who can interpret and translate their flawless original. For *Aristeas*, what characterizes the Hebrew Law *mutatis mutandis* will also characterize the LXX. As far as Pseudo-Aristeas is concerned, the translators have worked almost exclusively in the norms of the target language and culture, and he portrays the LXX as a Greek literary work, highly acceptable to what he presents as the LXX's target culture—the cultural elite of Hellenistic Alexandria.

Third, the LXX constitutes the sacred Scripture of the Jewish people, and it holds a status equal to the Hebrew Law given to Moses on Sinai. It is, in effect, a new revelation of the Law transmitted through the work of the Jewish translators. While the *modus operandi* of the translators in which they compare the results of their work and arrive at an agreed-upon translation does not bear the stamp of divine inspiration (unlike in Philo of Alexandria, whose story more heavily highlights divine activity in the translation process), Pseudo-Aristeas does note that the 72 scholars completed their work in 72 days, “as if this coincidence had been the result of some design” (οἷον εἰ κατὰ πρόθεσιν τινα τοῦ τοιούτου γεγενημένου, §307). The author certainly intimates that the deity had something to do with the LXX's production. Here again what applies to the Hebrew original extends to the translation—in this case the centrality and prestige of being sacred Scripture.

Near the end of the book, the king's reaction to hearing the translation read encapsulates these last two themes of high literary and philosophical quality and scriptural status. He first marvels “exceedingly at the intellect of the lawgiver,” and then asks why it is that none of the poets or historians had mentioned “such enormous achievements.” Demetrius responds that the reason is that the Law “is holy and has come into being through God.” He then cites the abortive attempts by Theopompus and Theodectes to include the Jewish Law in their work. The king responds by showing reverential deference to the books. “When the king heard the account of these things from Demetrius, as I have said before, he bowed deeply and gave orders that great care be taken of the books and that they be watched over reverently” (§317).

This reverential reaction mirrors his initial attitude to the Hebrew manuscripts when they arrive with the translators (§177, see above).

The Constitutive Character of the Septuagint

We have seen how the *Letter of Aristeas* constructs the intended function of the LXX, but what about the LXX itself? If *Aristeas* communicates the LXX's actual intended function/position, then DTS would lead us to expect to find evidence of it embedded or reflected somehow in the LXX's textual-linguistic makeup. If it is not, then that disparity requires some explanation. What we discover when we look at the LXX is that at every point its textual-linguistic makeup contradicts what *Aristeas* would have us expect.

If there is one general agreement among scholars who have studied the LXX over the last two centuries, it is that the Greek of the LXX does not represent good literary Greek. Scholars have characterized Septuagintal Greek in a variety of fashions, but generally they note its frequent Hebraisms, its pedestrian character, its transliterations, and its occasional impenetrability. Descriptions range from that of Conybeare and Stock, who note that LXX Greek is often "hardly Greek at all, but rather Hebrew in disguise,"³² to R. R. Ottley who remarks on the "flat, bald surface of the Greek."³³ Even John Wevers, who insists that "the product of the Alexandrian translators was throughout sensible," can remark about the LXX of Numbers that this dictum is "hard put to the test in [Numbers]; in a few cases I have been forced to admit that I was uncertain as to what [Numbers] was trying to say."³⁴

The Greek of the LXX often contains, for example, a fairly high degree of stereotyping of lexical items, word order that follows the Hebrew, and odd to sometimes non-Greek syntactical features like unidiomatic uses of prepositions. The frequent occurrence of these features does not suggest that the translators produced throughout nonsensical Greek, however. Much, even most, of the Greek of the LXX is adequate and understandable, but it

32. F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn, 1905; repr. *With Selected Readings, Vocabularies, and Updated Indexes*, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1995) 21.

33. Cited in Pietersma, "A New Paradigm," 341.

34. John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SBLSCS 46; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) x.

certainly does not generally rise to a level that one might characterize as literary.³⁵

Additionally, as Albert Pietersma notes, even if we were to ignore an entire range of LXX translation phenomena such as transliterations, purely mechanical translations, or unidiomatic uses of prepositions and other “structure words,” we would still be faced with a Greek whose most prominent Hebraism “consists in the excessive use of and ‘the special prominence given to certain correct, though unidiomatic, modes of speech, because they happen to coincide with Hebrew idioms.’”³⁶ This phenomenon, what Toury calls interference, consists of the transference to the target text of “phenomena pertaining to the makeup of the source text,” and Toury argues that all translations experience it.³⁷ However it might be articulated, across the board in the history of scholarship on the LXX the consensus has been that we consistently see interference in the LXX, that it occurs with great frequency, and that it is one phenomenon that connects the translation to its source text.³⁸

This all-too-brief and general assessment of the Greek of the LXX suffices for my purposes to highlight the contrast with what the *Letter of Aristeas* says about the translation. The nature of the LXX’s Greek enables us to conclude that the translation is not and apparently was not intended to be a literary translation, despite the fact that Pseudo-Aristeas says that it was supposed to be one. Here I adopt Toury’s definition of literary translation, which “involves the imposition of ‘conformity conditions’ beyond the linguistic and/or general-textual ones, namely, to models and norms which are deemed literary at the target end. It thus yields more-or-less well-formed texts from the point of view of the literary requirements of the recipient culture, at various pos-

35. Yet, to characterize the translations that we find in the LXX as often quite literal, even at times isomorphic, does not imply that they are free of the translators’ exegesis of their source texts. Often, though, that exegesis is constrained by the translators’ basic isomorphic or metaphrastic approach to the source text. Cameron Boyd-Taylor (“A Place in the Sun: The Interpretive Significance of LXX-Psalm 18:5c,” *BIOSCS* 31 [1998] 75 n. 8) uses the term “metaphrasis,” which, he says, “captures the isomorphic verbal relationship between the translation and its *Vorlage*.”

36. Pietersma, “A New Paradigm,” 343, citing H. St. J. Thackeray.

37. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 275. Interference is manifested as either negative transfer, “deviations from normal, codified practice of the target system,” or, what Pietersma describes here, positive transfer, the propensity to select and employ features of the source text that also exist in the target system.

38. For a detailed explanation of the consequences of these observations for questions of the LXX and its origins, see Pietersma, “A New Paradigm.”

sible costs in terms of reconstructions of the source text.”³⁹ Producing a literary translation will of necessity involve suppressing certain features of the source text and perhaps reshuffling some while adding others.⁴⁰ Perhaps another way to put it is to say that the character of LXX Greek suggests that the translators, when confronted with Toury’s initial norm, pursued adequacy rather than acceptability—quite the opposite of what Pseudo-Aristeas claims. In short, the LXX is not the great work of literature that Pseudo-Aristeas envisioned.

The LXX’s textual-linguistic makeup also does not support Pseudo-Aristeas’s contention that it was intended to act as a substitution or replacement for its Hebrew original and to function in a monolingual environment. In fact, just the reverse appears to be the case; the textual-linguistic makeup of the LXX suggests that it was intended to have a close relationship with its Hebrew *Vorlage*. The overall literal, and frequently isomorphic, technique of the LXX translators functions in such a way as to bring the original to the reader rather than the reader to the original.⁴¹ That is, the LXX was meant from its inception to act as a gateway to lead the reader back to the Hebrew original, which was the more prestigious text of the two. The LXX translators faced a basic translational choice (Toury’s initial norm). They could subject themselves either to the norms of their source text (adequacy) or to those of the target text (acceptability).

Louis Kelly, working from a somewhat different methodological approach from Toury, sees the translator faced with a similar basic choice. Kelly articulates this choice as one of competing authority structures in relation to the source text, which he calls “personal” and “positional.”⁴² Within personal authority structures, one takes responsible autonomy and retains power of decision, while positional structures impose formal patterns of obligation. Commitment, then, based on a personal authority structure, gives rise to translation behaviors akin to an elaborated sociolinguistic code: the translator’s approach to text is multidimensional, author- or reader-centered, and

39. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 171.

40. *Ibid.*

41. Sebastian Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” *OtSt* 17 (1972) 17.

42. Louis Kelly, *True Interpreter* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1979) 206–7. Kelly’s analysis of the two authority structures here depends on the work of Basil Bernstein, “Social Class, Language and Socialisation,” in *Language and Social Context* (ed. P. P. Giglioli; New York: Penguin, 1972) 157–78 (cited in Kelly, 252 n. 1). For an application of Kelly’s categories to other ancient translations, see my “Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint and Their Audiences,” *JSJ* 34 (2003) 1–27.

subjective. Where, however, the translator sees the relation between her/him and the text as positional, the approach is that of restricted sociolinguistic code: unidimensional, text- and object-centered, and objective. Thus, depending on the type of authority his text exercises over the translator, fidelity will mean either collaboration or servitude.⁴³

The LXX translators adopted a positional stance (or, à la Toury, made the fundamental decision to pursue adequacy), and as a result, the translation has the unidimensional and object-centered qualities that Kelly sees as characteristic of a positional authority stance. In the case of the LXX, servitude generally wins the day. Almost certainly, it seems to me, such a positional stance has at the least as a consequence, at most as the motivation, of bringing the original text to the reader, and it is difficult in this respect to see how the LXX could be intended to act as an independent replacement for the Hebrew.

Whether the textual-linguistic makeup of the LXX indicates anything about its authoritative or scriptural status poses a thorny problem. While one of Pseudo-Aristeas's central agendas is to certify the LXX as sacred Scripture, what the textual-linguistic makeup of the LXX reveals about the translator's approach to Toury's initial norm may provide some insight. Even if the translators understood themselves to be translating a sacred text, I certainly do not think that there is any inherent reason to claim that the desire to produce a sacred text was part of the intended function for the translation. The translators' process and final product in which they subject themselves to the norms of the source text (Toury), adopt a positional stance toward the original text (to use Kelly's language), or bring the reader to the original (Brock, Pietersma) implicitly recognize the more privileged status of the original. That is, the translation does not supplant or rival the prestige of the original, but it was intended to act as a way of accessing it. Thus, whereas Pseudo-Aristeas presents the LXX as the equal of the Hebrew, these considerations suggest a less prestigious status for the translation when placed alongside the Hebrew original. These considerations justify Pietersma's comments about the relationship between *Aristeas* and the textual-linguistic makeup of the LXX when he writes,

But to regard Aristeas's depiction as reflective of the constitutive character of the text itself and thus to elevate it to the status of explanatory model for its linguistic makeup, and hence its exegetical dimension, cannot be accepted.

43. Kelly, *True Interpreter*, 206–7.

Rather than being rooted in the text, the paradigm built of Aristeas is nothing more than a superimposition upon the text as produced.⁴⁴

*Aristeas: A Witness to the Reception History of the Septuagint*⁴⁵

How then should we make sense of the obvious disconnect between *Aristeas*'s construction of the intended function/position of the LXX and the actual textual-linguistic makeup of the translation? The most likely conclusion is that the picture offered by the *Letter of Aristeas* does not, indeed it cannot, provide any indication of what the original intended function of the LXX was. We can only try to discover the intended position of the LXX from the internal evidence we derive from the translation itself. If *Aristeas*, then, has no evidentiary value for getting at the intended function of the LXX, what is the purpose of the fiction that Pseudo-Aristeas (or his sources) creates? Paul Kahle, I would suggest, actually pointed to the answer in his comments about *Aristeas* in *The Cairo Geniza*. Kahle thought that *Aristeas* was not even concerned with the "original" LXX at all, but with a revised version that was being touted as superior to other versions. He argued in part that the LXX could not be the subject of *Aristeas* because "[n]obody makes propaganda for something a hundred years old. Propaganda is made for something contemporary. We can be sure that the translation had just been made when the letter of propaganda was written."⁴⁶ Kahle was trying to drive a wedge between *Aristeas*'s account and the origins of the translation of the Pentateuch in order to construct his larger argument about the LXX's beginnings. Kahle was right about *Aristeas* in a way, I think, but we do not have to accept his larger reconstruction of the nature of LXX origins in order to argue that *Aristeas* has nothing to do with the actual production of the translation or with its original intended function.

Toury offers a caveat about the relationships between position-product-process. "[T]ranslations which retain their status as facts of the target culture may nevertheless change their position over time."⁴⁷ In these cases the actual function/position of the translation will differ from its initial one, obscuring the original relationship between position and product. I think that this is

44. Albert Pietersma, "A New English Translation of the Septuagint and a Commentary Series to Follow," *TLZ* 129 (2004) 1008–16 [1012].

45. Much of this section originated in my article "Translation as Scripture."

46. Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, 211.

47. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 30.

exactly what happened with the LXX, and this changed function necessitated the kind of claims that Pseudo-Aristeas makes about it. The LXX gradually lost its dependent relationship with the Hebrew, and those who read it began to regard it in the manner that we see reflected in *Aristeas*, as an independent free-standing replacement for the Hebrew. While the textual-linguistic make-up of the translation did not change, it was no longer moored to the Hebrew, which was its initial and primary context. At the point of its inception, the LXX was meant to serve as the gateway to the Hebrew, a way of bringing the reader to the original, but the Hebrew Scriptures remained the major focal point. The Hebrew was regarded as authoritative, and the translators certainly regarded it as sacred. The Greek provided the Alexandrian Jewish community the means of accessing its Scripture. As readers later encountered the LXX separated from its original mooring, its status perhaps became something of a problem due to the inelegant, pedestrian, and sometimes obscure nature of its Greek, but almost certainly the relative authority of the translation, now severed from its parent, presented a fundamental problem. In fact, in the prologue to the Greek of Ben Sira, we see the author's grandson worrying about just this sort of problem in his own translation.⁴⁸ The linguistic relationship between the two texts, Hebrew and Greek, had been severed, which raised the crucial problem of what relationship the two texts continued to have, if any, as individual and independent repositories of the divine will. How authoritative was the LXX by itself?

We know how it all turned out in the end because Pseudo-Aristeas tells us. The LXX came to be regarded as sacred Scripture. But somewhere along the road to the LXX's becoming Scripture someone had to offer a justification for accepting it as a prestigious, central, and sacred text. Pseudo-Aristeas presents precisely that kind of justification. And here is where Kahle was wrong, even though his impulse was correct. If the LXX's intended function was dependent on the Hebrew, if it was less prestigious than the original and non-literary, for example, then however old it was when it began to be read as a replacement for the Hebrew and as a literary and authoritative text, someone did have to defend it. Propaganda would have been essential, and Pseudo-

48. See my "Why a Prologue? Ben Sira's Grandson and His Greek Translation," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 633–44.

Aristeas provides that propaganda. *Aristeas* does not contain any genuine reflection on the original intended function of the LXX; it legitimizes what the LXX had become by the middle part of the second century B.C.E. In other words, *Aristeas* offers us a foundation myth of origins for the LXX's transformed function/position as an independent, scriptural authority.

The story in *Aristeas* of the translation of the LXX, then, belongs to the reception history of the LXX, and it has little to no evidentiary relevance for the question of the origins of the translation. Those origins remain clouded, but because *Aristeas* contains the oldest "account" of the making of the translation, it exerts a seductive power on those investigating the circumstances in which the LXX originated. However much we might be tempted to adopt its viewpoint, *Aristeas* testifies to a place in the process of transmission of the LXX at which the translation had become independent and scriptural. In the end, however, we must search for the intended function of the LXX not in the external sources but in the place where Toury's model predicts it will be found, in the textual-linguistic makeup of the third-century B.C.E translation itself.⁴⁹

49. Toury speaks of the use of what he calls "extratextual" sources for reconstructing translational norms (*Descriptive Translation Studies*, 65–67). The products of translation, the translations themselves, are the "primary products of norm-governed instances of behaviour, and can therefore be taken as immediate representations thereof" (p. 65). About extratextual sources, he writes, "Normative pronouncements, by contrast, are merely by-products of the existence and activity of norms. Like any attempt to formulate a norm, they are partial and biased, and should therefore be treated with every possible circumspection; all the more so since—emanating as they do from interested parties—they are likely to lean toward propaganda and persuasion" (p. 65).

Locating Targum in the Textual Polysystem of Rabbinic Pedagogy

STEVEN D. FRAADE
Yale University



Introduction

Central to the paradigm of “Descriptive Translation Studies” is what Gideon Toury terms its “target-oriented approach,”¹ where the “target” is not just the target text of translation but the target culture that determines the “socio-cultural conditions in which [that] translation is performed and consumed.”² In the academic study of ancient biblical translations, such translations have more commonly been approached for their “source orientedness,”³ that is, for the light they shed on the history of the Hebrew text of Scripture, or for the history of its interpretation, and hence as a subspecialty of Old Testament or biblical studies. While such employments of ancient scriptural translations are not invalid, and indeed can be very useful, according to Toury’s model that is not the best place to begin to understand such translations, or the translation strategies of which they are the textual realizations as cultural products in their own right. Rather, one must first recognize the positions and functions of translations within their target cultures, since such are determinative of, and hence inseparable from, the processes of translation and

1. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995) 21, 83. I wish to thank Opher Kutner, Tzvi Novick, and Lawrence Venuti for helpful comments to an earlier draft of this article.

2. *Ibid.*, 275. See also Toury’s earlier formulation in *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics, Tel Aviv University, 1980) 11–50 (“A Semiotic Approach to Translation”).

3. For the term, applied to earlier “Translation Studies” in general, see *ibid.*, 24.

their textual productions.⁴ A concomitant axiom to this “target orientedness” is that translations need to be studied in comparative relation not just semantically to their source texts, but functionally and dynamically to other translation texts, and, indeed, to nontranslational kinds of text production, with which they share space within the same cultural polysystem, even as their semiotic functions may vary therein.⁵

In the case of the ancient Aramaic translations of the Hebrew Bible (sing. *targum*; pl., *targumim*), of which we have many spanning several centuries, the question of their location, position, and function within their host or target cultures has only relatively recently been attended to, and with contested results. In addition to the “textual” sources of the extant *targumim* themselves, whose dating is uncertain (with earliest manuscripts from the seventh to the ninth centuries C.E.),⁶ we have “extratextual” sources, all within rabbinic literature beginning in the second/third centuries C.E. that seek to regulate the practice of targumic translation within the domains of synagogue and school, to the extent that those were under rabbinic control or influence.⁷ As Toury notes more generally, while the latter sort of evidence cannot be taken at face value as representing the norms that governed production of the former, neither (especially in the absence of any other “extratextual” sources) can they be denied a voice.⁸ In what follows I shall survey recent efforts to define the place of targum within postbiblical Jewish society and culture, present my own view of the place of targum among the textual corpora of rabbinic pedagogy, and provide one textual case of targumic translation to model the advantages of a target-oriented approach to targumic studies.

4. See the chart, *ibid.*, 11–14.

5. *Ibid.*, 61. For the term “polysystem,” within which translations are a “subsystem,” see Itamar Even-Zohar, *Polysystem Studies* (Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics / Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990 = *Poetics Today* 11 [Spring 1990]) esp. 45–51: “The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem.”

6. For reasons given below (n. 37), it is questionable whether the fragments of Aramaic scriptural translation among the Dead Sea Scrolls should be included here.

7. See Philip S. Alexander, “The Targumim and Rabbinic Rules for the Delivery of Targum,” in *Congress Volume: Salamanca, 1983* (VTSup 36; Leiden: Brill, 1985) 14–28; Steven D. Fraade, “Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum, and Multilingualism in the Jewish Galilee of the Third–Sixth Centuries,” in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; New York and Jerusalem: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992) 253–86.

8. See Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 65–66.

Retrospect

In modern times, the idea that the *targumim*, which in their extant forms have mainly been transmitted through rabbinic channels, derive from pre-rabbinic times and/or extrarabbinic (i.e., popular, synagogue) contexts arose with the discovery and publication of targum fragments from the Cairo Geniza in the 1920s and gained greater prominence with the discovery and publication of the complete *Neofiti Targum* to the Pentateuch in the 1950s and 60s, especially as articulated by such scholars as Paul Kahle⁹ and Gustaf Dalman in the earlier period and Renée Bloch, Alejandro Díez Macho,¹⁰ Martin McNamara, and Geza Vermes in the later period. In particular, such scholars hoped to find in what they termed “the Palestinian Targum” both the language and exegetical basis of Jesus’ teachings in first-century Galilee and Jerusalem. Not surprisingly, many of the scholars who flocked to the newly burgeoning field of targumic studies did so from New Testament studies, in many cases with insufficient facility in the Aramaic language of the *targumim* and with minimal knowledge of rabbinic literature. Underlying their claim for both a prerabbinic (that is, pre-Christian) time frame and an extrarabbinic (popular) *Sitz im Leben* for “the Palestinian Targum” were certain assumptions, not the least of which was that those for whom the vernacular Aramaic translation of Scripture was intended were ignorant of Hebrew and relied on “the Palestinian Targum” as a complete *substitute* for the Bible in Hebrew. Therefore, it was presumed, “the Palestinian Targum” could provide a much-needed (or -desired) window onto the “popular” Judaism of Jesus’ time and place.

Proof for this pre- or extrarabbinic setting, aside from premature announcements of the death of Hebrew in all but scholastic circles, were claims that in a very few instances a targumic rendering of scriptural legal terminology contradicted Mishnaic law, which was assumed to have had statutory

9. Kahle published the Geniza targum fragments as “Das palästinische Pentateuchtargum,” *Masoreten des Westens II* (BWANT 3/14; Stuttgart, 1930) 1–65. See also idem, “Das palästinischen Pentateuchtargum und das Zeit Jesu gesprochene Aramäisch,” *ZNW* 49 (1958) 103–30; idem, “Das zur Zeit Jesu in Palästina gesprochene Aramäisch,” *TRu* 17 (1949) 201–16.

10. A. Díez Macho, “The Recently Discovered Palestinian Targum: Its Antiquity and Relationship with the Other Targums,” in *Congress Volume: Oxford, 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden, 1960) 222–45.

force, and hence not to be contradicted within the rabbinic orbit.¹¹ In other words, a few deviations within the *targumim* from rabbinic law were claimed as proof of the pre- or extrarabbinic provenance of those translations.¹² To the much greater extent to which rabbinic midrashic collections reflect understandings of Scripture concordant with those of “the Palestinian Targum,” this was presumed to reflect the degree to which the prerabbinic targum had influenced or left its literary traces in those later midrashic compilations. Thus, according to Renée Bloch, “the Palestinian Targum” represents the intermediary exegetical link between the Hebrew Bible and later rabbinic midrash aggadah, but even more so the creative germ of the latter. The Targum, so situated, was understood to be the principal embodiment of midrash and aggadah at the turn of the era—the foundation upon which both rabbinic and New Testament exegesis stand.¹³ As Geza Vermes formulated in an all-

11. See Paul Kahle, *The Cairo Geniza* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 1959) 205–8, on Exod 22:4–5 in relation to *m. B. Qam.* 1:1. See also Joseph Heinemann, תרגום שמות כב, ר וההלכה הקדומה, *Tarbiz* 38 (1969) 294–96, responding to D. Reider in *Tarbiz* 38 (1969) 85. Note Kahle’s conclusion: “In the Palestinian Targum of the Pentateuch we have in the main material coming from pre-Christian times which must be studied by everyone who wishes to understand the state of Judaism at the time of the birth of Christianity. And we possess this material in a language of which we can say that it is very similar to that spoken by the earliest Christians” (Kahle, *Cairo Geniza*, 208). For subsequent discussion of the targumic legal renderings, in particular from *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan*, that contradict rabbinic halakhah, see Jose Faur, “The Targumim and Halakha,” *JQR* 66 (1975) 19–26; Yesheyahu Maori, “On the Relationship of Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Halakhic Sources,” *Te’udah* 3 (1983) 235–50 [Hebrew]; Efraim Itzchaky, *The Halacha in Targum Jerushalmi I (Pseudo-Jonathan Ben Uziel) and Its Exegetic Methods* (Ph.D. dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, 1982) [Hebrew]. As Michael L. Klein stated, “The time is ripe for a full-length study on the subject encompassing all of the extant Palestinian Targumim” (*Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, vol. 1 [Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1986], xxii, as well as xxxiii–xxxiv).

12. For a critique of this presumption, from the perspective of Descriptive Translation Studies, see below.

13. Renée Bloch, “Midrash,” *Supplement au Dictionnaire de la Bible* (Paris, 1957) vol. 5, col. 1279: “Il comporte déjà toute la structure et tous les thèmes du midrash. Il contient des traditions très anciennes et constitue une sorte d’articulation, un passage entre le texte biblique et son interprétation.” Similarly, idem, “Note sur l’utilization des fragments de la Geniza du Caire pour l’étude du Targum Palestinien,” *REJ* 114 (1955) 30: “Il ne fait pas de doute non plus que ces Targums palestiniens contiennent déjà en germe presque toute l’Aggada postérieure et semblent être à l’origine de toute cette tradition.” These conclusions are based on a comparison of targumic renderings for just 14 verses, Gen 38:17–30.

too-convenient “rule of thumb”: unless otherwise indicated, it could be assumed that the targumic aggadah predated 132 C.E.¹⁴

My interest in the present context, however, is to emphasize something else in these constructions of the place of “the Palestinian Targum” in the history of ancient Judaism, which is that Judaism in the early centuries C.E. could be neatly divided into two domains, which Martin McNamara denotes as “Rabbinic Judaism” and “Liturgical Judaism,” the latter being best represented by the *targumim*.¹⁵ The problem for New Testament scholars with the former is that, in its present form, it is relatively late, even as it incorporates earlier traditions, and being “linked with the Jewish *schools*,” “it need not necessarily have been known to the masses of the Jewish people, or if it was, this was probably from sources other than the scholastic discussions in which we now find it.”¹⁶ By contrast, “the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch,” representing “Liturgical Judaism,” is written in “the language spoken rather generally in Palestine in the time of Christ, and indeed for some centuries preceding it.” These Aramaic translations, “standing as they do at the very heart of Jewish religion, would at first sight appear to be of prime importance to any study of the Jewish religion of Christ’s day.”¹⁷ But the origins of the Targum are even older: “When these [targumists] stood up in the synagogue to render the written Word in Aramaic, they spoke as heirs of a tradition,”¹⁸ so as to “make the mass of the people acquainted with the Law of Moses.”¹⁹ Elsewhere McNamara avers that “the [Palestinian Targum] represents the religion of the ordinary Jews much better than do rabbinic sources, which come to us in good part from Judaism as reorganized after the Fall of Jerusalem and the disappearance of the Sadducees and Essenes from the picture,”²⁰

14. Geza Vermes, “The Targums,” in Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (rev. and ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar; Edinburgh, 1973) 1:105. Vermes states the same rule as a “working hypothesis” in “Bible and Midrash,” in *The Cambridge History of the Bible* (Cambridge, 1970) 1:231, and on 229–30 he states that “the Palestinian Targums preserve untouched or retouched Bible exegesis in its earliest form.”

15. Martin McNamara, *Targum and Testament: Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible—A Light on the New Testament* (Shannon, Ireland: Irish University Press, 1972) 5–16.

16. *Ibid.*, 11.

17. *Ibid.*, 12.

18. *Ibid.*, 35.

19. *Ibid.*, 48.

20. *Idem*, *The New Testament and the Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch* (AnBib 27; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1966) 22–23.

and, quoting from an article written in 1920 by R. Harris, “Whether [the Tgs] were written or not, the Christian Church must have passed through a state of Targumism, if it emerges from the synagogue where Targumism prevails.”²¹

Such splitting of Liturgical Judaism from Rabbinic Judaism, with the former represented chiefly by *the targumim*, is not the purview only of Christian scholars or scholars of the New Testament, but also of Jewish scholars of rabbinic Judaism. For example, David Halperin, in *The Faces of the Chariot: Early Jewish Responses to Ezekiel’s Vision*,²² identifies the *hekhhalot* interpretation of Ezekiel’s vision of the heavenly *merkabah* with what he calls “the synagogue tradition,” which derives, he argues, principally from the targum to Ezekiel, “the product par excellence of the synagogue,”²³ “made in and for the synagogue,”²⁴ to suit “the needs of the synagogue.”²⁵ I will not deal here with the circular and strained reasoning by which Halperin argues for such a monolithic identification of targum with synagogue,²⁶ but rather with the conclusions that he draws from it: that targumic and *hekhhalot* interpretations of the *merkabah* vision reflect “popular” views, which are not just *non-rabbinic* in their origins, but *anti-rabbinic* (antinomian?) in their thrust. The fact that many of these interpretations also appear in unquestionably rabbinic collections is simply an indication that they secondarily left “traces” or were “encased” there. Underlying Halperin’s argument is the presumption that there existed a *singular* “synagogue tradition” to which the synagogue populace of late antiquity was universally exposed. No matter which synagogue one entered on a given Sabbath or festival day, one would encounter the same popularly based “synagogue tradition,” whose “touchstone” is the targum.²⁷

21. *Ibid.*, 23, quoting from R. Harris, “Traces of Targumism in the New Testament,” *ExpTim* 32 (1920–21) 374. However, more recently McNamara has acknowledged the high degree of concordance between the halakah and aggadah of the Palestinian Targums and rabbinic literature. See Martin McNamara, trans., *Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1993) 41–43.

22. *Faces of the Chariot* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988). See especially, chap. 4, “The Synagogue Tradition,” 115–56.

23. *Ibid.*, 117.

24. *Ibid.*, 119.

25. *Ibid.*, 122.

26. For example, argues Halperin, the addition of the words “the prophet said” in the targum at the beginnings of chaps. 8, 14, and 20, indicates a synagogue audience who might otherwise think that the reciter of the targum is referring to himself in the first person. See *ibid.*, 118. We have no evidence that the book of Ezekiel, except for select sections, was read as part of the synagogue lection.

27. *Ibid.*, 119.

In order to construct such a unitary “synagogue tradition,” Halperin must presume an equally unitary rabbinic tradition, within which both the *hekhhalot* tradition and the *targumim* could find no room.

More recently, another scholar of rabbinic Judaism, Daniel Boyarin,²⁸ has claimed that the frequent use of the word *mēmṛā* (‘word’ [of God]) in the *targumim* denotes the widespread dissemination of a “pararabbinic” Logos theology that not only recognized but also worshiped a “second God” (binitarianism), along with Philo and the Prologue to the Gospel of John. My concern here is not whether the *targumic mēmṛā* can bear the weight of Boyarin’s reading (which, to my mind, it cannot), but with Boyarin’s presumption that since the extant *targumim* represent the Judaism of the ancient synagogue, their binitarianism was the “religious koine of Jews in Palestine and the Diaspora, their theological lingua franca,” vehemently rejected (“crucified”) in turn by the rabbis.²⁹ Boyarin states his sociohistorical presumption of targumic provenance explicitly, unambiguously, and emphatically: “There is a point that I have been hinting at until now, but which is crucial to understanding the argument in this section, namely that the Targums, as products of the synagogues, in contrast to the House of Study, were *not* rabbinic in their religious ethos.”³⁰ For someone so intent on problematizing polar oppositions, Boyarin falls into a dualistic trap of his own making: that the *targumim* must be located either in the synagogue or in the “house of study,” even though rabbinic sources uniformly and copiously locate them in both (which is certainly not to conflate the two).

Other scholars of rabbinic literature who stress the popular nature of the *targumim* do so not to argue for a pre- or antirabbinic provenance, but rather to claim that the *targumim* (like the homiletical midrashim) represent the “public face” of rabbinic Judaism, “turned to the masses” in attendance at the

28. Daniel Boyarin, *Border Lines: The Partition of Judaeo-Christianity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) chap. 5: “The Jewish Life of the Logos: Logos Theology in Pre- and Pararabbinic Judaism,” 112–27; idem, “The Gospel of the Memra: Jewish Binitarianism and the Crucifixion of the Logos,” *HTR* 94 (2001) 243–84.

29. See idem, *Border Lines*, 126 for the first quotation, 128–47 for the second idea.

30. *Ibid.*, 116. This (mis)use of the *targumim* is fundamental to the argument of Boyarin’s book, for without it, he is left with Philo and the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel as the two direct exempla of what he wishes to portray as the dominant (while not unanimous) Jewish theology. However, it would be very difficult to argue from these two works, composed by single authors, for a Jewish “theological lingua franca” of binitarianism.

synagogues.³¹ That is, while the rabbis had their *intramural* texts of elite legal discourse, they also sought to “translate” their teachings into terms with which the larger populace would resonate and be receptive, particularly through the *targumim* and midrashic homilies. Particularly important in this regard has been the work of Avigdor Shinan, extending scholarly lines already set by Joseph Heinemann, and arguing, based primarily on *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* to the Pentateuch, for such a rabbinic “public face” based on what he deems to be recurring popular, “folk,” and “superstitious” motifs in targumic texts.³² Unlike earlier scholars, such as Bloch and Vermes, who viewed the *targumim* as *chronological* mediators between the earlier biblical text and later rabbinic literature, this view sees the *targumim* as *socially* mediating between the rabbinic elite and the Jewish masses. For example, “the *meturgeman* mediated between the elite learning of the rabbis and the masses, who were the listeners-consumers of the targum,” or, “the *meturgeman* [functioned] as the mediator between the spiritual academy and the people and as the conduit for the dissemination downwards of the elite Torah.”³³ The *targumim*, therefore, provide an important window into “the spiritual world of those who attended the synagogue.”³⁴ I must admit, however, that as attractive as I find this portrayal of targum and *meturgeman*, I find the identification of certain literary motifs as *inherently* “popular” fraught with methodological difficulties, not the least of which is the danger of circular argument. In any case, since most of this sort of analysis has been applied to *Tar-*

31. Avigdor Shinan, “Live Translation: On the Nature of the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch,” *Prooftexts* 3 (1983) 44.

32. See in particular, idem, *The Aggadah in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Makor, 1979); “Live Translation: On the Nature of the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch,” *Prooftexts* 3 (1983) 41–49; “The Angelology of the ‘Palestinian’ Targums to the Pentateuch,” *Sefarad* 43 (1983) 181–98; “Miracles, Wonders and Magic in the Aramaic Targums of the Pentateuch,” in *Isaac Leo Seeligmann Volume, Essays in the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. A. Rofé and Y. Zakovitch; Jerusalem: Rubenstein, 1985) 419–26; “Sermons, Targums, and the Reading from Scriptures in the Ancient Synagogue,” in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987) 97–110; “Echoes from Ancient Synagogues: Vocatives and ‘Emendations’ in the Aramaic Targums to the Pentateuch,” *JQR* 58 (1991) 353–64; *The Embroidered Targum: The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992); “The Aramaic Targum as a Mirror of Galilean Jewry,” in *The Galilee in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1992) 241–51; *The Biblical Story as Reflected in Its Aramaic Translations* [Hebrew] (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1993).

33. Shinan, “Live Translation,” 44.

34. *Ibid.*, 49.

gum Pseudo-Jonathan, which is atypical among the so-called Palestinian *targumim*, it remains a question to what extent conclusions drawn from this unique targum can be extended to the full range of targumic texts.

Finally, Paul Flesher has argued that because of differences in language, form, and content between the *targumim* and other discursive branches of rabbinic literature, Palestinian targums “come from a social location outside rabbinic circles, namely the priests.”³⁵ I am in general sympathy with the notion that the priests continued to play a significant role in Jewish society long after the destruction of the Second Temple, and did not quickly or easily abandon their scripturally-assigned roles of teachers and adjudicators of Torah. However, I am not convinced by Flesher’s arguments that the extant *targumim* as a group represent the priestly “literary legacy,” largely based on their differences from other types of rabbinic textual practice, especially in light of the important place of priestly descendants and priestly interests within rabbinic culture.

Critique

Since claims for dating of extant targumic texts to premishnaic times, whether based on the language or contents of those texts, have been conclusively disputed by others, I shall not rehearse the arguments here.³⁶ Needless to say, the extant texts may contain “traditions” that have earlier origins, but the same can be said for “traditions” contained in other genres of rabbinic literature. In any case, textually disembodied “traditions” are of little historical usefulness. Here, rather, I would like to reemphasize that the only evidence that exists for the *practice* of targum, certainly within the context of the synagogue lectionary practice, derives from rabbinic texts, with no

35. Paul V. M. Flesher, “The Literary Legacy of the Priests? The Pentateuchal Targums of Israel in Their Social and Linguistic Context,” in *The Ancient Synagogue: From Its Origins until 200 C.E.: Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001* (ed. Birger Olsson and Magnus Zetterholm; ConBNT 39; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 2003) 467–508, esp. 469. Most recently, see Beverly P. Mortensen, *The Priesthood in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Renewing the Profession* (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

36. See, in particular, Anthony D. York, “The Dating of Targumic Literature,” *JSJ* 5 (1974) 49–62; Stephen A. Kaufman, “On Methodology in the Study of Targums and Their Chronology,” *JSNT* 23 (1985) 117–24.

evidence to be found pre- or extrarabbinically.³⁷ Some have tried to adduce circumstantial evidence for the existence of such targumic practice in pre-rabbinic times, but this evidence, it seems to me, remains flimsy.³⁸ While absence of evidence is not evidence of absence, neither can we adduce the existence of that for which we have no evidence. At most we must remain historically agnostic with regard to any prerabbinic (or extrarabbinic) targumic practice. But neither should we ignore the fact that our earliest rabbinic texts, beginning with the Mishnah, provide plenteous evidence that at least in tannaitic rabbinic eyes, the practice of Aramaic targum was a regular *accompagnement* to the Hebrew reading of the Torah and prophets in the synagogue. Of course, mishnaic proscription should not be confused with historical description, and we should not presume that the practice of targum was conducted in every synagogue and even less that it was conducted uniformly according to rabbinic rules.

However, we need not presume the mishnaic rules to be complete fictions.³⁹ The alternatives should not be reduced to complete rabbinic control or no rabbinic influence at all. The story of R. Simeon, the “teacher/scribe,” in the synagogue of Tarbanet, as told in the Palestinian Talmud (*y. Meg.* 4:5,

37. See above, n. 7, as well as Philip S. Alexander, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988) 217–53. Although we have fragments of an Aramaic translation of two non-continuous sections of Leviticus (4Q156) and parts of two copies of an Aramaic translation of the book of Job from Qumran (11QtgJob [11Q10] and 4Q157), both of these being fairly literal in their translations, we have no way of knowing what their function would have been within that community or its larger movement, but it would appear that they did not function in conjunction with the lectionary recitation of Scripture in a synagogue context. For an excellent recent study of the *Aramaic Job* from Qumran, in comparison to Peshitta Job and the rabbinic *Targum Job*, see David Shepherd, *Targum and Translation: A Reconsideration of the Qumran Aramaic Version of Job* (SSN 45; Assen: Van Gorcum, 2004). Shepherd concludes that it is better not to call the Qumran *Aramaic Job* a targum at all. For the absence of any mention of the practice of targum in Second Temple references to scriptural reading in the synagogues, see my “Rabbinic Views,” 254 n. 2. I should stress again (*ibid.*, 254 n. 3) that, although amoraic texts trace the origins of targum to the time of Ezra, tannaitic texts never include the practice of targum in their references to the reading of Scripture in Second Temple times.

38. See, most recently, Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) 147–51. Note the review by Ze’ev Safrai, *Zion* 66 (2001) 239, who criticizes Levine for retroverting rabbinic evidence for targum back to Second Temple times. See also *idem*, “The Origins of Reading the Aramaic Targum in Synagogue,” *Immanuel* 24–25 (1990) 187–93; Safrai dates the origins of the practice of targum in the synagogue liturgy to the Ushan period (mid-second century).

39. See above, n. 8.

75b), portrays a rabbinic communal functionary in the synagogue attempting to follow rabbinic rules for scriptural reading, and presumably targum, but rebuffed by the congregants, suggesting, again, that the question is not all or nothing. On the other hand, the mishnaic evidence should caution us against thinking that the practice of targum in the synagogue was a postmishnaic invention, or even diffusion, as Seth Schwartz has recently argued, so as to comport with his overall narrative of the Judaization of the synagogue beginning only in the fourth century C.E.⁴⁰ We should employ the evidence of rabbinic literature, beginning with the Mishnah, for the practice of targum and the extant *targumim* that have been transmitted through rabbinic channels first and foremost for what they can tell us about the role of targum within the institutional settings within which the rabbis operated. Employing them in order to gain direct entry into pre- or extrarabbinic settings, in the absence of hard extrarabbinic evidence, rests on much shakier foundations.

The scholarly preoccupation with targum functioning in the “popular,” nonrabbinic liturgical context of the synagogue has had several unfortunate consequences, most notably that of ignoring the substantial rabbinic evidence, already in “tannaic” collections, for the practice of targumic translation in the bilingual context of rabbinic *study*, whether communal or private.⁴¹ Rabbinic literature attests to a study practice whereby the targumic

40. Seth Schwartz, *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 B.C.E. to 640 C.E.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) 242–43, under the rubric “Synagogue and Community from 350 to 640.” Although Schwartz bases himself on my earlier study (“Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum,” cited by him, 242 n. 5), he dates the ritualized practice of scriptural reading (including targum), already well evidenced in the Mishnah, to “the fourth century and following” (p. 242). Nor is it clear to me why we should assume that “in synagogues with fixed shrines, raised platforms in front of them, and chancel screens, we can be fairly certain that it [targum] was performed” (p. 243).

41. Anthony D. York, “The Targum in the Synagogue and in the School,” *JSJ* 10 (1979) 74–86; Rimmon Kasher, “The Aramaic Targumim and Their *Sitz im Leben*,” in *Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, vol. 9: Panel Session: Bible Studies and the Ancient Near East* (ed. Moshe H. Goshen-Gottstein; Jerusalem, 1988) 75–85 (esp. 82–83); Alexander, “The Targumim and Rabbinic Rules for the Delivery of Targum,” 22–23; idem, “Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,” 238–41; idem, “How Did the Rabbis Learn Hebrew?” in *Hebrew Study from Ezra to Ben-Yehuda* (ed. William Horbury; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999) 71–89; Ze’ev Safrai, “The Origins of Reading the Aramaic Targum in Synagogue,” *Immanuel* 24–25 (1990) 191–92; Willem F. Smelik, *The Targum of Judges* (Leiden: Brill, 1995) 10, 23, 24–31; Steven Fine, “Their Faces Shine with the Brightness of the Firmament: Study Houses and Synagogues in the Targumim to the Pentateuch,” in *Biblical Translation in Context* (ed. Frederick W. Knobloch; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2002) 63–92; Fraade, “Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum,” 62–65; idem, “Scripture, Targum, and Talmud as In-

rendering of a scriptural verse follows the reading of that verse in its Biblical Hebrew original and precedes its midrashic study or interpretation in Rabbinic Hebrew, or whereby studying Scripture at a minimum entails reading it in Hebrew and rendering its Aramaic targum.⁴² This practice certainly presumes a *bilingual* facility, though not necessarily complete fluency, in both Hebrew (biblical and rabbinic) and Aramaic. Whereas previously discussed scholarly perspectives stress targum's *medial* position in terms either of chronology (between early and late) or society (between elite and popular), the rabbinic texts themselves view targum as neither, but rather as *pedagogically* mediating and transitioning between scriptural reading and the dialogical modes of rabbinic interpretation. To quote one "tannaitic" midrash: "*Miqra*' (Scripture) leads to *targum*, *targum* leads to *mishnah* (oral teaching), *mishnah* leads to *talmud* (dialectical commentary)," etc.⁴³ There is no reason, it seems to me, to presume that the *extant* texts of targum derived from or were used in the context of the synagogue any more so than in the context of study, whether communal or private. At the very least, *targumim* to those biblical texts for which we have no evidence of their having been read liturgically in the synagogue (e.g., Job) must be presumed to have been employed in study. So why not others as well? If the Aramaic *targumim* functioned as interlinear glosses to Hebrew Scripture in the context of rabbinic study, there is no reason necessarily to presume that they did not similarly function in the context of the synagogue lection, even if the overall level of Hebrew facility

struction: A Complex Textual Story from the *Sifra*," in *Hesed ve-Emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs* (ed. Jodi Magness and Seymour Gitin; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998) 109–22; Abraham Tal, "Is There a Raison d'être for an Aramaic Targum in a Hebrew-Speaking Society?" in *REJ* 160 (2001) 357–78; Michael L. Klein, "Targumic Studies and the Cairo Genizah," in *The Cambridge Genizah Collections: Their Contents and Significance* (ed. Stefan C. Reif; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 47–58, esp. 53, 58; S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971) 2:175–77.

42. See *Sifre Deut.* 161 (ed. Finkelstein, 212); *Sifra Shemini parashah* 1:9 (ed. Weiss, 46d); *t. B. Meši 'a* 2:21; *'Abot R. Nat.* B12, 28 (ed. Schechter, 29, 58); *y. Sanh.* 10:1, 27d; *b. Ber.* 8a–b.

43. *Sifre Deut.* 161 (ed. Finkelstein, 212), treated by me in "Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum," 263. Compare Saul Lieberman (*Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962] 48), "But the first rudiment of the interpretation of a text is the ἐρμηνεία, the literal and exact equivalent of the Hebrew תרגום, which means both translation and interpretation."

of the synagogue attendees is presumed to have been inferior to that of the rabbis.

The synagogue-only or synagogue-mainly model for targum, with its assumption that the Aramaic targum functioned monolingually for a popular audience that relied on it alone for their reception of Scripture, much as it is often presumed that the Septuagint functioned for Greek-speaking Jews, prevents us from appreciating what we know from rabbinic rules for targum and also from the physical layout of our earliest targumic manuscripts to be its bilingual, interlinear format.⁴⁴ That is, both physically and functionally, the Aramaic targum never existed apart from its Hebrew source, the two being recited, studied, and written (as best we can tell), as, what Toury (citing Brian Harris) terms a “bi-text.”⁴⁵ Designation of targum as “The Aramaic Bible,” as in the title of a new journal and a recent series of translations of the *targumim* into English, is, therefore, an unfortunate misnomer, since no such self-contained “Aramaic Bible” ever existed, at least not in the context of the ancient synagogue or rabbinic pedagogy. Happily, in the most recent volume in that series (*The Targum to Canticles*), Philip S. Alexander represents the targum, even in English translation, in interlinear alternation with its biblical source. As he explains, “All the Targumim should be read in dialogue with the biblical text and not as free-standing translations.”⁴⁶ In this regard, it should be noted that several scholars have recently argued that the Greek Jewish Torah (Septuagint) itself might have originally functioned as an “interlinear” translation for a bilingual (Hebrew/Greek) Jewish audience, perhaps originally in the context of study rather than worship, following the model of Greco-Roman bilingual pedagogy.⁴⁷

44. On this physical format, see my “Rabbinic Views on the Practice of Targum,” 265 n. 31. Note in particular MSS B, C, and D from the Cairo Geniza, on which see Klein, *Genizah Manuscripts of Palestinian Targum to the Pentateuch*, 1:xxii.

45. For this term, see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 96–99, quoting from Brian Harris, “Bi-text: A New Concept in Translation Theory,” *Language Monthly* 54 (1988) 8–10.

46. Philip S. Alexander, trans., *The Targum of Canticles* (Aramaic Bible 17A; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2002) xi.

47. See Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference. Proceedings of the Association Internationale Bible et Informatique. “From Alpha to Byte.” University of Stellenbosch, 17–21 July* (ed. Johann Cook; Leiden: Brill) 337–64; idem, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and Other Greek Translations Usually Included under That Title: The Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) ix; Arie van der Kooij, “The Origin and Purpose of Bible Translations

Another negative consequence of the exclusive association of targum with the synagogue has been the tendency to overlook it as a component of the rabbinic study curriculum and to fail to include its interpretive practices within the broader corpora of rabbinic, especially midrashic, literature.⁴⁸ Doing so would allow a more complete and systematic appraisal not only of the degree to which targumic interpretations are in concord or discord with those of other branches of rabbinic literature,⁴⁹ but also of the way in which targu-

in Ancient Judaism: Some Comments,” *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 1 (1999) 204–14; Albert I. Baumgarten, “Bilingual Jews and the Greek Bible,” in *Shem in the Tents of Japhet: Essays on the Encounter of Judaism and Hellenism* (ed. James L. Kugel; JSJSup 74; Leiden: Brill, 2002) 13–30; Benjamin G. Wright III, “The Jewish Scriptures in Greek: The Septuagint in the Context of Ancient Translation Activity,” in *Biblical Translation in Context* (ed. Frederick W. Knobloch; Bethesda, MD: University Press of Maryland, 2002) 3–18; idem, “Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, The Septuagint and Their Audiences,” *JSJ* 34 (2003) 1–27; idem, “Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (SBLSCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 47–61. On the possible study context for the origins of the Septuagint, in conjunction with its Hebrew source text, see Sebastian P. Brock, “The Phenomenon of the Septuagint,” in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten 1970* (OtSt 17; Leiden: Brill, 1972) 11–36. For a similar function for Aquila’s Greek translation, see Alexander, “How Did the Rabbis Learn Hebrew?” 83–84, as well as pp. 82–83 for Greco-Roman analogues.

48. The same point is made by Fine, “Their Faces Shine with the Brightness of the Firmament: Study Houses and Synagogues in the Targumim to the Pentateuch,” 67. It is not uncommon for surveys of or introductions to rabbinic literature to overlook targum entirely.

49. See, for example, Israel Drazin, *Targum Onkelos to Deuteronomy: An English Translation of the Text with Analysis and Commentary (Based on A. Sperber’s Edition)* (New York: KTAV, 1982) 7–10, 19–57, for statistics comparing *Targum Onkelos*’s “deviations” from the Masoretic texts with those of the “Palestinian” *targumim* as with the *Sifre* to Deuteronomy, with which Drazin finds a high degree of agreement. For similar results, see Drazin’s other volumes: *Targum Onkelos to Exodus* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1990); *Targum Onkelos to Leviticus* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1994); *Targum Onkelos to Numbers* (Hoboken, NJ: KTAV, 1998). Other works that have systematically compared specific targumic texts with rabbinic literature have similarly found a high degree (by no means absolute) of concordance. For some recent studies, see Harry Sysling, *Tehiyat Ha-Metim: The Resurrection of the Dead in the Palestinian Targums of the Pentateuch and Parallel Traditions in Classical Rabbinic Literature* (Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 57; Tübingen: Mohr, 1996); Bernard Grossfeld, *Targum Neofiti 1: An Exegetical Commentary to Genesis Including Full Rabbinic Parallels* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; New York: Sepher-Hermon, 2000); Eveline van Staaldoune-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture 1; Leiden: Brill, 2002); Timothy Edwards, *The Old, the New and the Rewritten: The Interpretation of the Biblical Psalms in the Targum of Psalms, in Relationship to Other Exegetical Traditions, Both Jewish and Christian* (Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford University, 2003).

mic discourse semiotically contributes to the broader culture of rabbinic textual practice and production, with its plethora of counter-voices. Furthermore, the inclusion of the bi-textual genre of targum would contribute to a fuller appreciation of the bilingual and dialogical nature of the rabbinic textual and discursive polysystem overall. Certainly there are significant differences between the forms, terminology, contents, and tones of targum and those of other genres of rabbinic discourse, but so too are there among those other genres themselves (e.g., midrash and mishnah, mishnah and tosefta, halakhah and aggadah). Those differences should not be too hastily historicized as deriving from *separate* chronological, geographical, or social settings, without first considering how they might be the consequences of differences of rhetorical function among the respective discursive genres into which rabbinic teaching is divided, while still dynamically interlinked as a unitary curriculum of study. To paraphrase a passage of tannaitic midrash: each variety of rabbinic teaching has its own distinct flavor, but collectively as “Torah discourse,” they are one, **דברי תורה כולה אחת**.⁵⁰

From the perspective of Descriptive Translation Studies, the very differences of form, language, and interpretation between the *targumim* and other genres within the rabbinic polysystem of “Torah discourse” may be manifestations of the distinctive dialectical function played by scriptural translation in bridging the gap between holy writ and human orality, between biblical source text and rabbinic target culture, respectively. While rabbinic *midrash* (“interpretation,” whether expository or homiletical) similarly shuttles between scriptural text and rabbinic culture, it is structured much less tightly in this regard than is *targum* as translation. As Toury argues, translational deviation may itself be a surface realization of the position assigned to translation by its target culture: “While translations are indeed intended to cater to the needs of a target culture, they also tend to *deviate* from its sanctioned patterns, on one level or another, not least because of the postulate of retaining invariant at least some features of the source text—which seems to be part of any culture-internal notion of translation.”⁵¹ Thus, apparent discordances

50. *Sifre Deut.* 306 (ed. Finkelstein, 339), treated by me in *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) 96–99.

51. Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 28. See also, *ibid.*, 41–45, for the place of such deviation in “pseudotranslations.” The category of “pseudotranslation” may well apply to targumic pluses, which often follow the more equivalent renderings of a verse, thereby absorbing some of the status of the true translation.

between targumic and other rabbinic interpretations, whether legal or narrative, need not suggest an extrarabbinic position for targum (any more so than, say, between *mishnah* and *midrash*). Rather, the charge of Descriptive Translation Studies to targumic studies would be to understand both how *targum* fits within the rabbinic textual polysystem overall and how it plays its particular rhetorical function as scriptural translation therein.

Prospect

As noted at the beginning of this article, the burgeoning comparative field of “translation studies,” with the contribution of Descriptive Translation Studies in particular, has moved away in recent years from viewing translations solely in closed semantic relation to their source texts, and increasingly toward viewing translations more broadly and dynamically within the communicative contexts of their target cultures. Translated (if I may) into the context of ancient targum, this requires viewing targum not simply with regard to its *semantic* rendering of the biblical source, but equally with regard to its *semiotic* contribution to the textual polysystem of rabbinic pedagogy, or *talmud torah*, which was in all its forms deeply engaged in scriptural interpretation. To the extent that some targumic texts also informed the oral renderings of Scripture within some synagogues, targum might further be explored as a mediating channel between the intersecting domains of rabbinic study and Jewish worship, between *bet midrash* and *bet kenesset*,⁵² but that would not be my point of departure.

52. On the relation of the synagogue to the *bet midrash*, see Fine, “Their Faces Shine with the Brightness of the Firmament: Study Houses and Synagogues in the Targumim to the Pentateuch”; G. Hüttenmeister, “Synagogue and Beth Ha-Midrash and Their Relationship” [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 18 (1981) 38–44; Aharon Oppenheimer, “Houses of Study in the Land of Israel at the Beginning of the Amoraic Period” [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 8 (1978) 80–89; idem, “Beth Ha-Midrash: An Institution Apart” [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 18 (1981) 45–48; Ze’ev Safrai, “Notes on the Essence of the ‘House of Study’ in the Land of Israel” [Hebrew], *Cathedra* 24 (1982) 185; Dan Urman, “The House of Assembly and the House of Study: Are They One and the Same?” *JJS* 44 (1993) 236–57; idem, “The Synagogue and the Beth Ha-Midrash: Are They One and the Same?” in *Synagogues in Antiquity* (ed. Aryeh Kasher and Aharon Oppenheimer; Jerusalem, 1987) 53–75.

A Targumic Example

Let us look at one targumic example so as to model an approach that views targum as dynamically mediating between its biblical source and its rabbinic target culture. The verse in question, Exod 7:1, is part of God's charge to Moses and Aaron to return to Egypt to deliver a powerful message to Pharaoh, who claimed for himself divinity, to release the Israelites from servitude:⁵³

Exod 7:1

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֶל מֹשֶׁה רְאֵה נָתַתִּיךָ אֱלֹהִים לְפָרְעֹה וְאֶהְרֵן אַחֶיךָ יִהְיֶה נְבִיאֲךָ

The Lord said to Moses: Behold, I have set you [as] God before Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother shall be [as] your prophet.

Tg. Onqelos

וַאֲמַר יְיָ לְמֹשֶׁה חֲזִי דְמַנִּיתְךָ רַב לְפָרְעֹה וְאֶהְרֵן אַחֶיךָ יְהִי מְתוּרְגַמְךָ

The Lord said to Moses: Behold, I have appointed you [as] master to Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother shall be [as] your *meturgeman*.

Tg. Neofiti

וַאֲמַר יְיָ לְמֹשֶׁה חֲמִי דְמַנִּיתְךָ יְתֵךְ רַב וְשְׁלִיט לְפָרְעֹה וְאֶהְרֵן אַחֶיךָ יְהוּי תְרַנְמֵךְ

The Lord said to Moses: Behold, I have appointed you [as] master and ruler to Pharaoh, and Aaron your brother shall be [as] your *meturgeman*.

Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan

וַאֲמַר יְיָ לְמֹשֶׁה לְמָא אַנְתָּ מְסַתְפִי חֲמִי דְכַבֵּר שׁוּיָת יְתֵךְ דְּחִילָא לְפָרְעֹה כְּאִילוּ אֱלֹהָא דִּילִיָּה וְאֶהְרֵן אַחֶיךָ הוּי נְבִיא דִּילֵךְ

The Lord said to Moses: Why are you afraid? Behold I have already made you

53. There appears to be nothing from the Cairo Geniza targum texts or from the *Fragmentary Targum* to this verse. Text editions from which the following are taken are *Onqelos* (ed. Sperber), *Neofiti* (ed. Diez Macho), *Pseudo-Jonathan* (ed. Clarke).

awesome to Pharaoh, as if [you were] his god, and Aaron your brother will be your prophet.

Targum Onqelos follows Scripture very closely with three word changes: (1) In place of the Hebrew verb *ntn* ('give', here rendered 'set'), it uses the Aramaic verb *mny* ('appoint'), which is a stock substitute when the former verb is understood to denote the appointment of someone to a position of authority.⁵⁴ The latter verb, both in Hebrew and in Aramaic, is frequently used in rabbinic literature for the appointment of sages to positions of authority. (2) More significantly, in place of "God" the targum uses 'master' (*rāb*), which word, in both Rabbinic Hebrew and targumic Aramaic, means, in general terms, one of superior authority, or more specifically a rabbinic master or teacher (a sage). This is one of only two places where *Targum Onqelos* makes this substitution. The other is Exod 4:16, where it is said that Aaron will serve as Moses' "mouth" (translated as *meturgeman*) to the people, and that Moses will be to him (as) God.⁵⁵ In other passages where the word 'ēlōhīm is taken to refer to a human or humans, *Targum Onqelos* translates it 'judge'/'judges' *dayyānā*/'*dayyānayā*', as in Exod 21:6; 22:7, 8, 27, or as 'great men' ([*bēnē*] *rabrēbaya*), as in Gen 6:2, 4; 33:10. If the latter had been intended here by the targum, that is, Moses as a superior authority to Pharaoh, which is more likely the verse's simple meaning, the latter, more common translation would presumably have been employed.⁵⁶ (3) In place of 'prophet' it uses *meturgeman* ('interpreter'), the *only* place where *Targum Onqelos* makes this substitution. This loanword functions identically in Rabbinic Hebrew and targumic Aramaic. The usual targumic rendering of

54. For examples, see *Targum Onqelos* to the following verses: Gen 41:41, 43; Exod 18:25; Num 14:4; Deut 1:15, 16:18.

55. There, too, *Tg. Onqelos* substitutes *rāb* for "God," but *Tg. Pseudo-Jonathan* expands it to "a *rāb* seeking teaching from before the Lord." The same idea is found in the translations of *Targum Neofiti* and the *Fragment Targum* (MSS V, B) to Exod 4:16. Saadia renders 'ēlōhīm in Exod 4:16 as *ustadh* ('instructor'), presumably under the influence of *Tg. Onqelos*. Note that the Peshitta, which translates Exod 7:1 literally, renders *peh* ('mouth') in Exod 4:16 as *mtgrmn*. Although "to him" in Exod 4:16 and 7:1 refer to Moses, one later *midrash*, of unknown origin, takes it to refer to Pharaoh, under the influence of Exod 7:1. See *Midr. Haggadol* Exod 4:16.

56. But compare *Targum Onqelos*'s use of *rāb* in Gen 23:6 (for Hebrew *nāsī*); Gen 27:29, 37 (for Hebrew *gēbīr*); Gen 39:9 (for Hebrew *gādōl*); Exod 2:14 (for Hebrew *šār*). My point is not that *Targum Onqelos* could not use *rāb* for a human of superior authority, but that its substitution for 'ēlōhīm in combination with *meturgeman* is unusual (except for Exod 4:16), and hence more likely denotes 'master' as 'teacher'. See previous note.

‘prophet’ is simply its Aramaic equivalent, *nēbiyyā*. The word *meturgeman* is used in *Targum Onqelos* only in two other places: Exod 4:16, where it also refers to Aaron (as Moses’ ‘mouth’), and Gen 42:23, where it renders *mēlīš* (‘interpreter’, ‘translator’). Thus, *Targum Onqelos* achieves its translation without increasing or decreasing the number of scriptural words: each word of the Aramaic targum can be directly “mapped” onto one of the Hebrew Scripture. In this sense (alone) it can be said to be “literal,” even as I shall now demonstrate, it has significantly transformed the verse’s meaning.

The *meturgeman* referred to here is *not* one who translates Scripture in the synagogue (from Hebrew to Aramaic), but one who is appointed to a rabbinic master (*rāb*) to communicate (within Hebrew) and mediate the master’s teaching to his audience, an example of what George Steiner calls “internal translation.”⁵⁷ This position is already known from tannaitic sources,⁵⁸ but appears more prominently in amoraic sources (as the *ʾāmōrā*).⁵⁹ The practice appears to have been for a distinguished sage, either when delivering a homily to the public on the Sabbath or especially when teaching the disciples of the sages in the school, to speak quietly to the *meturgeman*, who standing beside him would broadcast the sage’s teachings to his audience.⁶⁰ Such a human amplifier confers socioreligious status upon its speaking source.⁶¹

57. *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975) 28–30, 45–47. I could find only two examples of the *meturgeman* to the sage translating from Hebrew to Aramaic. In those cases he translates either an ambiguous phrase from Scripture (*Gen. Rab.* 70:16 and parallels) or one from the Mishnah (*b. Yoma* 20b) into Aramaic, presumably in the context of communicating the sage’s teaching on that passage. In both cases the sage takes issue with his translation.

58. See *t. Meg.* 3:41, where he is juxtaposed to the *meturgeman* of the Torah reader, on which see Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-Fshutah*, part 5, 1221–23.; a *barayta* in *b. Pesah.* 50b; *Sifre Num.* 140; *Sifre Deut.* 176, 305.

59. For fuller, albeit not historically critical, treatment of this figure, see Abraham Shaul Amir, *Institutions and Titles in Talmudic Literature* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1977) 76–101.

60. *B. Sanh.* 7b suggests that a judge would also employ a *meturgeman* (or *ʾamora*). On the *meturgeman* to the sage being paid for his services, even on the Sabbath, see *b. Pesah.* 50b (*barayta*). Some sages appear to have had a regular *meturgeman*, e.g., R. Judah b. Nahmani, who is frequently mentioned as the *meturgeman* Resh Laqish: *b. Git.* 60b; *Sanh.* 7b; *Hag.* 16a; *Soṭah* 37b. The *meturgeman* could make minor changes to what he transmitted, e.g., in the attribution of a teaching, depending whether it is in the name of the father or teacher of the sage or of the *meturgeman*. See *y. Meg.* 4:10 (75c); *b. Qidd.* 31b. Cf. Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah Hil. Talmud Torah* 4:3. See also *b. Soṭah* 40a. For later evidence of this practice, see Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 2:198.

61. For example, according to midrashic tradition, when Moses transferred his teaching authority to Joshua, he signified the latter’s elevation by assigning to him a *meturgeman*.

Since the Hebrew words for “God” and “prophet” are very common in Scripture (as in postbiblical Hebrew) and have Aramaic stock equivalents in *Targum Onqelos*, the present renderings respond to a stimulant not so much in the language of the individual words of the verse as to its contextual meaning, whether in the source text, the target culture, or, most likely, the former as transposed into the latter. Note, therefore, that all of the other ancient translations render the words of the verse routinely.⁶² The biblical verse is obviously employing “God” and “prophet” as metaphors: Moses will speak to Pharaoh as authoritatively as if he were Pharaoh’s God, and Aaron, serving as Moses’ mouthpiece, will act the part of prophet. But the targum is uncomfortable with this metaphor and its potential for the interpretation that Moses was elevated to the status of God, as are several midrashic comments to this verse.⁶³ So a different metaphor is substituted:⁶⁴ Moses is a rabbinic master (*rāb*) who teaches through the intermediary agency of a *meturgeman*. This rendering can work, except that the familiar combination of *rāb* and *meturgeman*, together with the verb *mny*, so much suggests a pedagogic context that it seems a bit out of place in the biblical narrative context in which Moses and Aaron are to *command* Pharaoh to release the Israelites from captivity.⁶⁵

It is precisely because of this uncomfortable fit, I presume, that the more expansive *Targum Neofiti* translates *’ēlōhīm* with the double translation *rāb wēšallīṭ* (‘master and ruler’), using two words for Scripture’s and *Targum Onqelos*’s one, and now making clear that Moses is to be Pharaoh’s superior in power.⁶⁶ Having so translated, *Tg. Neofiti* is able to retain the translation of

See *Sifre Num.* 140 (ed. Horowitz, 186); *Sifre Deut.* 305 (ed. Finkelstein, 323–24); *’Abot R. Nat.* A17 (ed. Schechter, 65).

62. However, in Exod 4:16 the Peshitta renders “mouth” as *mtrgmn*’.

63. See *Tanh. Wā’ērā’* (ed. Buber) 7, 8, 9, for a collection; as well as *Exod. Rab.* 8:2.

64. For metaphor substitution in translation, see Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*, 81–84.

65. The combination works better in Exod 4:16, where the biblical context speaks of Moses’ need to address the *people* on God’s behalf, with Aaron as his intermediary. It should be noted that elsewhere Moses himself is conceived in relation to God as *meturgeman* to Torah reader. See *b. Ber.* 45a.

66. The phrase *rāb wēšallīṭ* presumably derives from Dan 2:10. It is used as a doublet frequently in *Tg. Neofiti*, either as a substitute for a single scriptural word, or to fill in a perceived scriptural lacuna, in all cases referring to a human of stature or power. See *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 27:29, 37; 39:2, 9; 41:41, 43; 44:15; 49:26; as well as marginal glosses to *Tg. Neofiti* to Gen 23:6; Deut 7:24, 11:25; *Tg. Ps.-Jonathan* Gen 27:29, 49:26; *Frg. Tg. Gen* 27:29 (MSS P, V, N, L); Deut 11:25 (MSS P, V, N); and Geniza MS E Gen 39:9. On

‘prophet’ as *meturgeman*, the latter now denoting not so much a pedagogic as a bureaucratic interpreter, a well-attested usage for *meturgeman*. The even freer *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* renders: “And the Lord said to Moses: Why are you afraid? Behold, I have already made you awesome (*dēError!ilā*) to Pharaoh, as if (כַּאֲשֶׁר) [you were] his god, and Aaron your brother will be your prophet.” Once this targum has paraphrastically explained and made explicit the *comparison* of Moses to God (as inducing fear in Pharaoh), it is able to render ‘prophet’ literally without difficulty, but in so doing fully eliminates the rabbinic, pedagogic projection onto the relationship of Moses to Aaron. Contrast to these freer renderings, the semantic simplicity but contextual awkwardness of *Targum Onqelos*’s rendering stands out. Whereas they might make sense as substitutes for the biblical lemma, *Targum Onqelos* would only do so with difficulty. It would be attractive to reinterpret *Targum Onqelos* in light of the other, more expansive targumic renderings, taking *rāb* to denote one of superior authority, but this should not be done for two reasons: First, if that had been *Targum Onqelos*’s intended meaning, it could have used another word, e.g., *rabrēbā*.⁶⁸ Secondly, *Tg. Onqelos*’s interpretation of Exod 7:1, that Moses and Aaron stand for master and *meturgeman*, is well attested in rabbinic midrashic sources, both early and late.⁶⁹

If *Targum Onqelos*’s rendering is awkward in the context of the biblical narrative, it at least avoids the even more awkward possibility of the

such doublets, see Michael L. Klein, “Associative and Complementary Translation in the Targumim,” *Erlsr* 16 (Orlinsky Volume; 1983) 134–40, esp. 138–39. A marginal gloss to *Tg. Neofiti* Exod 7:1, representing another but related targumic tradition, uses only *rbwn* (presumably, *ribbôn*), meaning ‘lord’ or ‘master’, thereby communicating the same sense with a single word. Otherwise *Tg. Neofiti* translates as does *Tg. Onqelos*, substituting *meturgeman* for ‘prophet’. Similarly, Rashi in his commentary renders “God” as *sōpēt ūrōdeh* (‘judge and ruler’), even while citing explicitly *Tg. Onqelos*’s rendering of ‘prophet’ as *meturgeman*.

67. In Exod 4:16, where the context is different (that is, pedagogic), *Tg. Ps.-Jonathan* uses *mētūrgemān* for ‘mouth’ (Aaron) and *rāb* (‘master’, ‘teacher’) for *’ēlōhīm* (‘God’), but adds for the latter, “who seeks teaching from before the Lord.” Note that *Tg. Neofiti* and the *Fragmentary Targum* (MSS V and B), render *’ēlōhīm* in Exod 4:16 simply as “one who seeks teaching from before the Lord.” See above, n. 55. Nowhere else besides Exod 7:1 does *Tg. Ps.-Jonathan* render Hebrew *’ēlōhīm* with Aramaic *dēhīla*.

68. See above, n. 56.

69. See *Exod. Rab.* 3:17 (3); 8:3 (2) (ed. A. Shinan, 143, 205); *Tanḥ. Wā’ērā’* 10 (and parallels). But that this understanding is much older than these midrashic formulations can be seen from *t. Meg.* 3(4):21, which cites Exod 7:1 in such a way as to *presume* that Moses represents the Torah reader (or in another context the rabbinic sage) and Aaron the *meturgeman*.

scriptural attribution of divinity to Moses. However, if we read the translation not as a *substitute*, continuous narrative but as an interlinear translation, that is, in relation to the verse of Hebrew Scripture that has preceded it and that it *accompanies*, whether in public recitation or in private study, it takes on a new meaning. So read or heard as a *bi-text*,⁷⁰ the biblical identification of Moses with God has been targumically supplemented with an even more daring (and in social terms more significant), albeit subtle, identification: that of the rabbinic master with God and of his *meturgeman* with the prophet, in both instances thereby enhancing the status of the sage. The former is not uncommon in rabbinic exegesis,⁷¹ and the latter is also common: the *meturgeman* serves not simply as a translator in some ancillary sense, but as an essential component of the medium by which Torah teaching, like revelation itself, is mediated to the people.⁷² Such an understanding of *rāb* in relation to *ʾēlōhîm* and *mētūrgēmān* in relation to *nābî* presumes an audience that heard *and* understood (however imperfectly) Hebrew Scripture and Aramaic targum in responsive, dialogical juxtaposition with one other.⁷³ In that case, the targum may be said not only to interpret Scripture but to require Scripture for its own interpretation, and to assume a bilingual audience that could attend to this translational transition from Mosaic to rabbinic authority within the social pedagogic context in which such rabbinic empowerment mattered the most. So understood, the verse is no longer simply about God's historical bestowal of authority upon Moses, but about that divinely bestowed authority

70. See above, n. 45.

71. I have gathered several examples in "The Early Rabbinic Sage and His Torah in the Text of the *Sifre*," chap. 3 of *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and Its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991) 69–121. One example will have to suffice here (*Sifre Deut.* 49): "'Loving the Lord your God, walking in all His ways, and holding fast [literally, attaching yourselves] to Him' (Deut. 11:22): But is it possible for a person to ascend to heaven and to cleave to fire? . . . Rather, attach yourselves to the sages and their disciples and I will account it to you as though you had ascended to heaven."

72. See *y. Meg* 4:1 (74d). For rabbinic interpretations of the mediated nature of Torah revelation and teaching, see my "Moses and the Commandments: Can Hermeneutics, History, and Rhetoric Be Disentangled?" in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. Hindy Najman and Judith H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004) 399–422, with additional bibliography, 399 n. 1.

73. On the question of the multilingual basis of certain midrashic interpretations, see most recently Galit Hasan-Rokem, "The Almost Invisible Presence of the Other: Multi-Lingual Puns in Rabbinic Literature," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature* (forthcoming) (ed. Charlotte E. Fonrobert and Martin S. Jaffee; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

having been transmitted via Moses (as *rāb*) and Aaron (as *mētūrgēmān*), across history, to the rabbinic sages and their interpreters, who in turn regard Moses as their originary master/teacher (*mōšeh rabbēnū*).

Bisectioning of Greek Jeremiah: A Problem to Be Revisited?

TONY S. L. MICHAEL
University of Toronto



The Inner-Greek Problem of Jeremiah

Almost one hundred years ago, Henry St. John Thackeray believed that he had recognized and then subsequently solved a problem regarding an inner-Greek phenomenon of LXX-Jeremiah.¹ Though previous scholars had recognized *differences* in the rendering of Hebrew lexemes, Thackeray noticed that some of these were patterned in the two halves of LXX-Jeremiah. He therefore suggested that two different translators must have been responsible for the discordant halves of the book. As further support for his hypothesis, he noted that the length of the Hebrew text was such that it required two scrolls to translate it. Hence the task was assigned to two LXX translators.

Approximately seventy years later, Emanuel Tov isolated what he deemed important *similarities* between the two halves of Jeremiah that distinguish LXX-Jeremiah from the remainder of the LXX corpus.² These similarities, Tov argued, represent the Old Greek (OG) substratum of the book as a whole. Since these distinctive *similarities* are found in both halves, so Tov continued, the *differences* between the two halves are the result of revisional activity aimed at “a more precise and consistent rendering of the Hebrew.”³ Building on Thackeray’s perception that the length of Jeremiah would have

1. Henry St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of Jeremiah,” *JTS* 4 (1902–3) 245–66.

2. Emanuel Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch: A Discussion of an Early Revision of the LXX of Jeremiah 29–52 and Baruch 1:1–3:8* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1976).

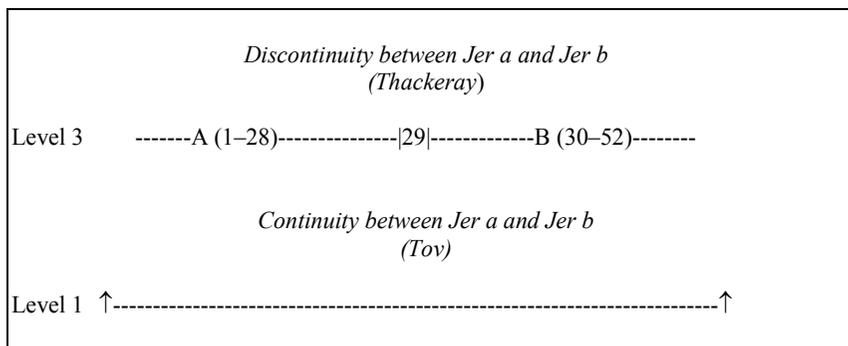
3. *Ibid.*, 5.

required two scrolls, Tov further hypothesized that over time the first scroll of the OG translation became aligned with the second scroll of the revision which resulted in the differences found in our current version of LXX-Jeremiah. In sum, one translator originally translated the entire book of Jeremiah and one reviser subsequently revised it. In transmission history, however, the first half of the OG (chaps. 1–28, Jer a') was joined to the second half of the revision (chaps. 29–52, Jer b'). The remainder of each was lost. Tov therefore replaced Thackeray's theory of two translators with his own of one translator and one reviser.

It is perhaps of interest to note that Tov essentially picked up where Thackeray left off. That is to say, rather than starting an analysis of the book *de novo*, Tov accepts Thackeray's bisectioning of the book, seemingly without demur. Therefore, not surprisingly, what received short shrift by both scholars is the Hebrew-Greek differences *within* the so-called two halves, since both Tov and Thackeray were preoccupied with the noted differences *between* Jer a' and Jer b' rather than with those *within* the parameters of either. This is not to say that the differences of which Thackeray and Tov speak do not exist, only that they may have been placed in a questionable context. What I have in mind is simply this. One can begin one's investigation with a few items that ostensibly divide the book in half and then marshal more scattered differences accordingly. As a predictable consequence, the bisectioning of the book becomes seemingly incontrovertible. This might be labeled a from-the-top-down approach. Alternatively, one can follow a from-the-bottom-up approach. In other words, one can begin by noting the multitude of differences that occur not only between Jer a' and Jer b', but also within them, and, in fact, scattered throughout the entire book. From this perspective, the items with which Thackeray and Tov began could turn out to be little more than a rather thin overlay of bisectioning, or even no bisectioning at all. In my study I have opted for the latter approach, namely from-the-bottom-up.

That at some level there are differences between what have been labeled Jer a' and Jer b' is undeniable. Less certain is what such differences mean. I have represented this discontinuity in translation choices as level 3 in fig. 1.⁴

4. Why level 2 is as yet absent from the diagram will become clear below.

Figure 1. Current Approaches to LXX-Jeremiah

That is to say, there are some translational differences that can be used to contrast approximately chaps. 1 to 28 (Jer a') with chaps. 30 to 52 (Jer b').⁵ Chapter 29, with its mix of so-called Jer a' and Jer b' characteristics, calls for separate treatment and at some length, since it plays the role as some sort of bridge between the two halves. Because of length constraints, I will not deal with it in detail at this time. Suffice it to say here that Thackeray's theory of distinct translators can readily account for chap. 29 in several ways, whereas Tov's revision theory faces greater difficulty. According to Thackeray either the second translator hesitatingly began his work, still heavily relying on his predecessor; or, alternatively, the mixed character of chap. 29 may be attributed to transmission history. Since in Thackeray's day no critical edition of Jeremiah was as yet available, the latter explanation was more viable for Thackeray's theory than it is for Tov's today.

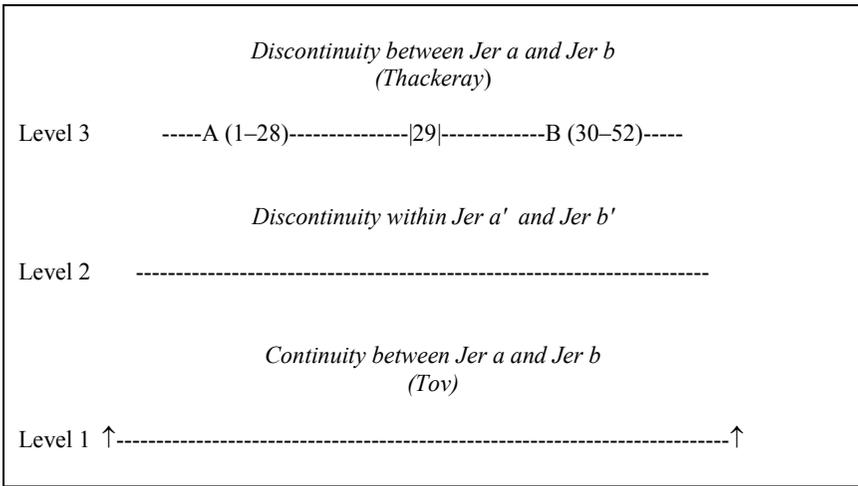
Equally undeniable is the continuity between Jer a' and Jer b' noted by Tov and propaedeutic to his revision theory for Jer b'. Tov labels this the OG substratum of the book. In my fig. 1, I have designated this substratum level 1. Here one should imagine those translational items that are shared by so-called Jer a' and Jer b', in contrast to the rest of the Septuagint. Figure 1, then, reflects the current approaches to the problem of LXX-Jeremiah and the two-translator/translator-reviser debate.

5. At one time Thackeray argued that chap. 52 was the product of a third translator—a position that he no longer defended in subsequent literature.

A Sampling of Translation Variation within Jer a'

At this point I would like to introduce level 2 into the figure and label it “Discontinuity within Jer a’ and Jer b’.” Thus the revised model appears as follows:

Figure 2. Current Approaches to LXX-Jeremiah



Though level 2 can be accessed in a number of ways, one of the ways would be to focus on the so-called doublets in the book and on the repeated expressions and formulae. That is to say, one begins with both of these categories in the Hebrew text and then examines how they fare in the Greek translation. By this means it becomes readily apparent that there exist numerous differences and variation of the same Hebrew within Jer a’ and Jer b’, as well as between the two sections. If this can be demonstrated, an intriguing question presents itself: to what level in our diagram should these items of discontinuity be assigned? Should they be assigned to level 3: Discontinuity between Jer a’ and Jer b’, or do they belong to level 1: Continuity between Jer a’ and Jer b’? To assign them to level 3 would clearly wreak havoc with the proposed bisectioning of the book. If on the other hand they are assigned to level 1, the OG substratum, it becomes clear at once that discontinuity and variation is part and parcel of the OG translation of Jeremiah, from chap. 1 through chap. 52.

But if that is indeed the case, there is good reason to reexamine the differences that have been used to support an extensive bisectioning.

For the present study I will examine a sample of doublets within section A (so-called Jer a') so as to assess the degree of translation consistency within a textual unit generally considered to be the work of a single translator. The logic for focusing on the doublets and repeated phrases runs something like this. On the hypothesis that translational inconsistency points to bisectioning, then, in the case of Hebrew-Greek translation equivalents, one may expect that oft repeated, formulaic expressions be rendered into Greek in a reasonably consistent manner within a given translation unit, and the same may reasonably be expected of larger repeated segments of text. Among the latter, the so-called doublets in Jeremiah (i.e., whole verses) would seem to hold pride of place. As a result, in order to study translational consistency or inconsistency in LXX-Jeremiah, one may reasonably focus on these doublets in the Hebrew and their representation in the Greek. S. R. Driver noted long ago that "Jeremiah not only uses favourite phrases, but (like other writers of the Deuteronomic school) is apt to *repeat* clauses and combinations of words, and sometimes even whole verses."⁶ He then listed some 45 of what he terms "doublets." Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor in his recent book, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases*, adds several more to this list.

Taylor speaks of "doublets and recurring phrases" in the Hebrew but this would seem to be useful for the Greek as well.⁷ "Doublet" he defines as: "duplicate texts in which a single verse or several verses with a high measure of agreement are found within a single book."⁸ According to him, "doublets and recurring phrases provide clues as to how the book evolved." Applied to the Greek this could be rephrased as "doublets and recurring phrases provide clues as to how the book was translated." Simply put, to what extent do doublets in the Hebrew remain doublets in the Greek, and what kind of translation profile emerges from such a study? Taylor studied the doublets in the Hebrew to ascertain the reason for their variation. Among others, he examines the content of the second member. This too can be done for the Greek, though it should be borne in mind that the existence of discontinuity is not

6. S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913) 275.

7. Geoffrey H. Parke-Taylor, *The Formation of the Book of Jeremiah: Doublets and Recurring Phrases* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2000) 11.

8. *Ibid.*, 2–3.

contingent on whether one can explain it. What a preliminary investigation has shown is that these doublets are typically rendered into Greek with translational inconsistencies of various kinds, and that such inconsistency is also clearly in evidence when one casts a glance at smaller units of text that occur at least three times in the book.

For purposes of clarification let me explain how I employ some of the more important terms. Continuity/discontinuity refers exclusively to the inner Greek dimension. That is to say, it focuses on whether or not the second member of the doublet or repeated phrase continues the Greek lexemes of the first. Consistency/inconsistency, on the other hand, refers to the Hebrew-Greek relationship. That is to say, it focuses on whether or not the same Hebrew is rendered by the same Greek. The following examples are illustrative of the translator's penchant for inconsistency in rendering repeated Hebrew phrases.

Example 1: Jer 4:4 and 21:12

MT: פֶּן תִּצָא כַּאֲשֶׁר חִמְתִּי וּבְעֵרָה וְאִין מִכְבֵּה

NRSV: lest my wrath will go forth like fire and burn so that no one can quench [it]

Jer 4:4 μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ὡς πῦρ **ὁ θυμός** μου καὶ ἐκαυθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων ‘wrath . . . be inflamed’

Jer 21:12 μὴ ἐξέλθῃ ὡς πῦρ **ἡ ὀργή** μου καὶ **καυθήσεται** καὶ οὐκ ἔσται ὁ σβέσων ‘rage . . . burn’

חמה 17x in Jer (9x θυμός [a-5; b-4]; 5x ὀργή [a-3; b-2]; 1x ἄκρατος [b]; 1x θυμώδης [b]; 1x missing [b])

בער 7x in Jer (2x ἐκακίω [a-1; b-1]; 4x καίω [a-4]; 1x πῦρ [b])

The context in both cases is the Lord speaking to Judah, specifically the people of Judah in the first example, and the king of Judah in the second. The first example shows the Hebrew phrase that is repeated in both passages followed by an English translation. The third and fourth examples show the Greek translation of Jer 4:4 and Jer 21:12, respectively. The variations are highlighted in bold and only the words that differ are translated into English. Essentially then, the Hebrew word **חמה** (‘heat’ or ‘wrath’) is translated θυμός in the first passage and ὀργή in the second passage. Statistically **חמה** appears 17 times in Jeremiah (see above). Nine times it is translated

θυμός (5 times in Jer a' and 4 times in Jer b'). Five times it is translated ὀργή (3 times in Jer a' and twice in Jer b'), then 3 more times it appears in Jer b'; translated once ἄκρατος ('unmixed, very strong <of wine>'), once θυμώδης ('passionate' or 'wrathful'), and once it is not represented in the Greek.

The second Hebrew word **בער** ('to burn') appears 7 times in Jeremiah; twice it is translated ἐκκαίω (once in Jer a' and once in Jer b'), 4 times it is translated καίω (all 4 times are in Jer b'), and once it is translated by the noun πῦρ. The bottom line is that there is no evidence that the translator attempted to be slavishly consistent in representing the same Hebrew expression with the Greek. If a sole translator can be inconsistent between identical phrases, then what does that indicate about patterned inconsistency between two translators or one translator and one reviser?

Example 2: 11:20 and 20:12

MT: אראה נקמתך מהם כי אליך גליתי את ריבי

NRSV: let me see your retribution upon them for to you I have uncovered my dispute

Jer 11:20 ἴδοιμι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκδίκησιν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὅτι πρὸς σέ ἀπεκάλυψα τὸ δικαίωμα μου '... my justification'

Jer 20:12 ἴδοιμι τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐκδίκησιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὅτι πρὸς σέ ἀπεκάλυψα τὰ ἀπολογήματά μου '... my plea'

Verb + נקמה + מן 3x in Jer a' (2x ἐκ + gen; 1x ἐν + dat) 2x elsewhere in LXX ἐκ + gen (Judg 11:36, 2 Sm 4:8?)

Verb + נקמה + ב 5x in LXX ἐν + dat Ezek 25:14, 17; Ps 149:7; ἐπί + acc Ezek 25:17; dat no prep Num 31:3

ריב (noun) 6x in Jer (a-5; 1x δικαίωμα, 1x δικάζω ptc, 1x ἀπολόγημα, 2x ἀντίδικος, b-1; κρισίς)

Both passages are the words of the prophet Jeremiah to the Lord. The first variation between Greek translations appears insignificant at first blush, but there is more to it. What I looked for were instances of a verb (such as 'to see' or 'to give' or 'to execute') followed by the noun נקמה 'retribution, vengeance', followed by either the preposition *min* or *beth*. Our passages use the *min* preposition but others use *beth*, so I included them for comparison's sake. Example 4 above shows the following: the construction of a verb plus the noun נקמה followed by the preposition *min* appears three times in Jer a' (twice it is translated ἐκ + genitive, just as in Jer 11:20); only once is it ἐν +

dative as in Jer 20:12. In terms of identifying a common pattern of translation, I looked in the entire LXX for this construction and discovered that it appears only twice, and it is translated ἐκ + genitive (I have placed a question mark by 2 Sam 4:8 because ἐκ precedes the name ‘Saul’ and, since the pronoun is indeclinable, I assume it is genitive, since ἐκ only takes the genitive). Now, the construction of a verb plus the noun נקמה followed by *beth* appears 5 times outside Jeremiah and is translated ἐν + dative 3 times, ἐπί + accusative once, and the dative alone. Even though prepositions are fluid in semantic content, this represents quite a variety considering the limited number of occurrences in the entire LXX corpus.

The second significant difference is variation in translating ריב, the Hebrew for ‘dispute’. The noun appears six times in Jeremiah, 5 times in Jer a’ where it is translated once δικαίωμα ‘justification’ (our passage), once by the participle form of δικάζω ‘to judge’, once ἀπολογία ‘plea’, and twice ἀντίδικος ‘adversary, opponent’. It appears in Jer b’ only one time and there it is translated κρῖσις ‘decision’, ‘judgment’.

Example 3: Jer 8:15 and 14:19

MT: קוה לשלום ואין טוב לעת מרפה והנה בעתה

NRSV: We hope for peace but find no good, for a time of healing but behold terror.

Jer 8:15 συνήχθημεν εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθὰ εἰς καιρὸν ἰάσεως καὶ ἰδοὺ σπουδὴ ‘We gather together . . . trouble’

Jer 14:19 ὑπεμείναμεν εἰς εἰρήνην καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἀγαθὰ εἰς καιρὸν ἰάσεως καὶ ἰδοὺ ταραχὴ ‘We wait . . . disorder’

קוה 4x in Jer a’ (1x συνάγω, 1x ἀναμένω, 2x ὑπομένω)

בעתה 2x in LXX (only in Jer a’; 1x σπουδὴ, 1x ταραχὴ)

The next example appears to demonstrate the translator’s complete lack of awareness that he has already translated the identical phrase. The overall sense of each Greek translation certainly conveys similar sentiment despite the fact that different lexemes are employed. The first Hebrew word, קוה (‘to wait for’, ‘to hope’) appears four times in Jeremiah (always in Jer a’ and always in the Piel form), once translated συνάγω ‘to gather together’, once ἀναμένω ‘to wait for,’ and twice ὑπομένω ‘to endure’, ‘to remain’, ‘to wait upon’. The second Hebrew word, בעתה meaning ‘terror’, appears twice

in all of the LXX, and both appearances are here in Jer a'. Once it is translated σπουδή 'haste', 'trouble', and once ταραχή 'anxiety', 'disorder'.

Example 4: Jer 9:14 and 23:15

MT: הנני מאכילם את העם הזה לענה והשקותים מי ראש

NRSV: I am feeding this people wormwood and giving them poisonous water to drink

Jer 9:14 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ψωμίζω αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκας καὶ ποτιῶ αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ
χολῆς '... distress ... bitter'

MT: הנני מאכיל אותם לענה והשקותים מי ראש

NRSV: I am feeding them wormwood, and giving them poisonous water to drink

Jer 23:15 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ψωμίζω αὐτοὺς ὀδύνην καὶ ποτιῶ αὐτοὺς ὕδωρ
πικρόν '... grief ... pungent'

לענה 2x in Jer a' (8x in LXX: 3x πικρία; 2x χολή; 1x ὕψος)

ראש 3x in Jer a' 1x χολή 2x πικρός 23:15 (12x in LXX: 4x χολή; 3x
θυμός; 1x ἀγρωστis; 1x κεφαλή)

Both passages are pronouncements by the Lord. The first is addressed to the people of Judah and the second is to the prophets of Jerusalem. Again, the context is nearly identical, as is the Hebrew vocabulary. The translator's choice of Greek lexemes, however, demonstrates either no memory of how he translated the first member of the doublet or no concern over being consistent. The Hebrew word לענה 'wormwood' appears only twice in Jer a' in these cited passages. Of note, it appears 8 times total in the Hebrew Bible and is translated outside Jeremiah variously as πικρία 'bitterness', χολή 'gall', ὕψος 'height'. In our passages the choices for לענה were ἀνάγκη 'necessity', 'distress' and ὀδύνη 'pain', 'sorrow', 'grief'. The second Hebrew word ראש meaning 'bitter and poisonous herb', 'venom' also exhibits a multiplicity of translation choices in the LXX, especially if one includes all 12 appearances in the Bible.

Example 5: Jer 5:9, 5:29, and 9:8

MT: קוה לשלום ואין טוב לעת מרפה והנה בעתה

NRSV: We hope for peace but find no good, for a time of healing but behold terror.

Jer 5:9 ἢ ἐν ἔθνει τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἐκδικήσει ἡ ψυχὴ μου ‘... nation ...’

Jer 5:29 ἢ ἐν ἔθνει τῶ τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἐκδικήσει ἡ ψυχὴ μου
‘... nation ...’

Jer 9:8 ἢ ἐν λαῶ τῶ τοιούτῳ οὐκ ἐκδικήσει ἡ ψυχὴ μου
‘... people ...’

All three verses are identical. I have only represented the second half of each verse because the only variation is with the translation of the Hebrew word **גו** ‘nation’. Twice the translator opted for ἔθνος but once for λαός. Statistically **גו** appears 87 times in Jeremiah. In Jer a’ it appears 47 times as ἔθνος and only once as λαός, plus 8 times it is missing in the LXX. In Jer b’ **גו** appears 20 times as ἔθνος and again only once as λαός, plus 9 times it is missing in the LXX.

For a reason that is initially difficult to determine, our translator broke from what is clearly the preferred translation of **גו**, and there is very little in the context to justify it since the entire verse is repeated not just once but twice. My only surmise would be that he is obviously not constrained by any compunction to be consistent.

Inconsistent Translation Choices That Span Jer a' and Jer b'

There are other examples of inconsistent translation choices that appear in Jeremiah.⁹

1. שנה ‘year’

ἔτος

Jer a’ (10x) 1:2, 3; 25:1, 3 (2x), 11, 12; 26:2; 28:5, 9

Jer b’ (12x) 35:1, 3; 36:10; 41:14 (2x); 43:9; 46:1; 52:1 (2x), 4, 5, 31

ἐνιαυτός

Jer a’ (5x) 11:23, 17:8, 23:12, 31:44, 35:16

Jer b’ (5x) 39:1 (2x), 43:1, 51:31, 52:31

9. Examples 1 and 2 are based on materials prepared by my colleague, Jannes Smith.

The Hebrew word for ‘year’ שנה is translated ἔτος 10 times in Jer a’ and 12 times in Jer b’, and ἐνιαυτός 5 times in Jer a’ and 5 times in Jer b’.

2. ויהי ‘and it was’

καὶ ἐγένετο

Jer a’ (7x) 1:3, 4, 11, 13; 13:6; 18:5; 24:4

Jer b’ (17x) 33:8; 35:1, 12; 36:30; 39:26; 40:1; 42:12; 43:27; 44:6, 13;
48:1, 4, 7, 13; 50:8; 52:4, 31

καὶ ἐγενήθη

Jer a’ (2x) 13:3, 8

Jer b’ (7x) 41:12; 42:11; 43:9, 16; 43:23; 49:7; 50:1

The ubiquitous ויהי is translated either καὶ ἐγένετο (an aorist middle form) or καὶ ἐγενήθη (aorist passive) without a noticeable pattern of distribution.

3. ‘Amend your ways and your doings’

7:3 הישיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם

διορθώσατε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὑμῶν

7:5 הישיב תישיבו את דרכיכם את מעלליכם

ἐὰν διορθοῦντες διορθώσητε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύ-
ματα ὑμῶν

18:11 הישיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם

καὶ καλλίονα ποιήσατε [. . .] τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὑμῶν

33:13 הישיבו דרכיכם ומעלליכם

βελτίου ποιήσατε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ ἔργα ὑμῶν

42:15 והישיבו מעלליכם

καὶ βελτίω ποιήσατε τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ὑμῶν

Finally, a Greek turn of phrase unique to Jeremiah, but consistent in neither Jer a’ nor Jer b’. The verb יטב Hiphil translated διορθόω ‘to make straight’ twice in chap. 7, but ποιέω + καλλίων (‘make more beautiful’) in 18:11. Though both in 33:13 and 42:15, ποιέω + βελτίων (‘make better’) is used,

it is interesting to see מַעַלְלִים is translated ἐπιτηδεύματα ('habit', 'way of living') in 7:3, 5; 18:11; and 42:15, but by ἔργον ('work', 'deed') in 33:13.

Concluding Remarks

All of this, then, raises the important question: to what extent can one make use of Hebrew-Greek consistency as a measure of translational/revisional activity? A similar question was raised by Martha L. Wade in *BIOSCS* 33 (2000) in her article "Evaluating Lexical Consistency in the Old Greek Bible."¹⁰ She points out that studies (such as Thackeray's and Tov's) that emphasize lexical consistency or the lack thereof are based on the *assumption* that translations are basically literal and that one translator would not suddenly switch vocabulary. Citing David W. Gooding and Nechama Leiter for their studies on lexical inconsistency, she then says that they are in agreement that translators can sometimes be inconsistent. Though she does not state it directly, it would appear that she also is questioning the assumption that lexical inconsistency is an effective measure of translational/revisional activity.

It is this sort of variation of translation choices when representing identical Hebrew expressions into Greek that has led me to conclude that one needs to approach Jeremiah from a different perspective. Hence I would propose a new model, illustrated in fig. 2. Tov has remarked in his monograph on Jeremiah that the existence of lexical differences *between* chaps. 1–28 and 29–52 has led scholars to assume practically unanimously that two different translators participated in the Greek translation of Jeremiah.¹¹ If such is the case, then, the existence of lexical differences *within* each half of Jeremiah should lead scholars to reexamine their assumptions about what one can conclude concerning varying the translational diet. Though what I have done in this article is but an initial probe, the results do advocate a strictly inductive approach to the central problem of Greek Jeremiah. Moreover, Greek Jeremiah needs to be studied not only from a linguistic perspective (i.e., as to its vertical relation to the source text) but also from a textual perspective (i.e., as to horizontal, intratextual relations). Until that has been accomplished, the picture will remain out of focus.

10. Martha L. Wade, "Evaluating Lexical Consistency in the Old Greek Bible," *BIOSCS* 33 (2000) 53–75.

11. Tov, *The Septuagint Translation of Jeremiah and Baruch*, 1.

Ἐξαγωγή or Ἐξοδος: *What Changed and Why*

LARRY PERKINS

Trinity Western University



H. B. Swete discusses the nomenclature used for the titles of the various books in the Septuagint. His thorough review¹ demonstrates that all manuscripts coming from the Christian context used Ἐξοδος as the title for the second book of the Pentateuch.² He hypothesizes that “the Greek titles are probably of Alexandrian origin and pre-Christian use.”³ However, he does not provide any pre-Christian example of ἔξοδος as the name for the second book in the Pentateuch. He does note that Philo “calls Exodus ἡ Ἐξαγωγή”⁴ but does not offer any explanation. The Greek title is not related to the title normally used in Hebrew ואלה שמות (‘and these are the names’). Many Greek manuscripts use ἔξοδος (B M) or ἔξοδος Αἰγύπτου (A) as the superscription. This term passed into the English Bible tradition via the Vulgate. Origen transliterated the Hebrew title ואלה שמות as Οὐέλε σμῶθ.⁵

1. H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (New York: KTAV, 1968) 197–230.

2. In the description of papyrus texts cited by John Wevers (*Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum vol. II, 1 Exodus* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991] 14–15), no material remains for the beginning of Exodus where a title might be expected to occur.

3. Swete, *Introduction*, 215.

4. *Ibid.*, 215.

5. Nahum Sarna in the “Book of Exodus” (*ABD* 2:690) says that “this name [The Departure from Egypt], descriptive of the main theme of the book, reflects an ancient Hebrew title current among the Jews of Palestine and Alexandria: *sēper yēšī’āt mišrayim*, ‘The Book of the Departure from Egypt.’ This title is still preserved in the 10th-century C.E. Ben-Asher MT.”

If Philo used ἡ Ἐξαγωγὴ as the title for this book and the earliest Christian references use ἡ Ἐξοδος, does this mean that the title for the book changed during this intervening time? What in fact was the title used in Alexandria in the second century B.C.E. for the second book of the Pentateuch? This article will review the evidence for the Greek nomenclature for Exodus and propose some suggestions as to why variation occurred.

The term ἔξοδος occurs twice in the Old Greek translation of the Exodus narrative. At 19:1 it describes Israel's arrival at Sinai "in the third month of the departure (ἔξοδος) of the sons of Israel from the land of Egypt." The other occurrence describes "the end (ἐπ' ἔξοδον) of the year" when a "feast of completion" was to be celebrated (23:16). The Old Greek translations at Num 33:38; Ps 104:38, 113:1; and 3 Rgns 6:1 also used ἔξοδος to describe the story of Israel's exit from Egypt.

Hatch and Redpath list no use of the noun ἔξαγωγὴ in the Greek Old Testament.⁶ However, the cognate verb ἐξάγω occurs 31 times in Greek Exodus (Exod) and is the preferred choice of the translator to describe the movement of Israel out of Egypt. This pattern is repeated in the remaining books of the Pentateuch, as well as other portions of the Septuagint. God is defined as ὁ ἐξαγαγών; that is, the one who leads out (Exod 6:7). Eupolemus⁷ in a fragment quoted by Clement of Alexandria⁸ says that "Moses led out [ἐξήγαγε] the Jews from Egypt."⁹

It is probably this dominant rendering in Exod that caused Ezekiel the Tragedian to choose ἔξαγωγὴ as the title for his epic poem that described Israel's departure from Egypt. Various fragments survive of his poetic retelling of Exodus 1–15 and the wording indicates knowledge of the Old Greek translation. Based upon the fact that his work is quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, Ezekiel and his work are dated no later than mid-first century B.C.E.,

6. Twice in Plutarch, and once in Strabo, ἔξαγωγὴ is used in the sense of 'export' of figs, dogs, or slaves.

7. Carl Holladay (*Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors. Volume I: Historians* [Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983] 93) says that Eupolemus "was a Greek-speaking Jewish historian who flourished in Palestine in the mid-2nd century B.C.E."

8. *Stromata* 1.21.141.4–5.

9. Artapanus, another Hellenistic Historian, probably Jewish, narrates much of Moses' experience in Egypt. Holladay, *Fragments*, 189–90 suggests a second-century B.C.E. date. Despite a considerable piece of his narrative quoted in Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.27.1–37, Artapanus does not use either the verb ἐξάγειν or the noun ἔξοδος to describe Israel's deliverance from Egypt. Rather he uses the verb ἀπολύειν to describe their liberation.

but could be as early as the end of the third century B.C.E. Holladay considers a late second century B.C.E. dating as most compelling.¹⁰

In Fragment 14 (Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, 9.29.13) Ezekiel apparently defines Israel's departure from Egypt: καὶ τοῦδε μηνὸς ἔξοδον διδοῖ θεός ('And in this month God will provide their Exodus').¹¹ The parallel in Exodus reads ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἔξῳγω τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου.¹² So Ezekiel knew the term ἔξοδος, a common word in Hellenistic Greek, but did not select it as the title for his epic. When he describes the commission given to Moses by God, however, Ezekiel says that God is sending him to Israel and Pharaoh "so that you might lead my people forth (ἔξάγοις) from the land."¹³

Fragments of the works of Aristobulus, probably a pre-Christian Alexandrian Jewish writer,¹⁴ are preserved in various Christian writers. Fragment 1 preserved in the *Pascal Canons of Anatolius* mentions κατὰ τὴν Ἐξοδον but this probably represents the influence of Anatolius, rather than being attributable to Aristobulus, because Aristobulus is discussed in the third person.¹⁵ However, we also have fragments quoted in Eusebius. Fragment 3 quotes explicitly from Aristobulus and in this segment Aristobulus says that "before Demetrius of Phalerum, before the dominion of Alexander and the Persians, others had translated accounts of the events surrounding the exodus from Egypt [τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἔξῳγὴν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἑβραίων] of the Hebrews."¹⁶ In Fragment 3a, again found in Eusebius, there is another direct quotation and it says that before Demetrius of Phalerum, many had translated "accounts of the events surrounding the exodus from Egypt of the Hebrews" [τά τε κατὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἔξῳγὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων].¹⁷ What is intriguing is that the terminology is exactly the same.

10. Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, Volume II: Poets* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 310–11.

11. *Ibid.*, 385.

12. Exod 12:17, "For on this day I will bring your force out of the land of Egypt" (NETS).

13. Holladay, *Poets*, 371. ὅπως σὺ λαὸν τὸν ἐμὸν ἔξάγοις χθονός.

14. Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors. Volume III: Aristobulus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995) 74–75, dates Aristobulus to the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 B.C.E.).

15. *Ibid.*, 130–31.

16. *Ibid.*, 152–55. *Praeparatio Evangelica* 12.1.

17. *Ibid.*, 158–61. *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.6. It is also quoted in Clement of Alexan-

Wis 19:2 describes Pharaoh as “permitting their [the Israelites’] departure.”¹⁸ A little later in the same chapter the author says that God divided the Red Sea so that Israel might have “an unimpeded way out of the Red Sea.”¹⁹ However, the author never names the Greek narrative from which he mines his material, nor does he use ἔξοδος to describe Israel’s departure from Egypt. Rather, the noun occurs at 3:2, but defines the death of the righteous, and similarly at 7:6 (‘for all have one entry into life and a like departure’, μίᾱ δὲ πάντων εἴσοδος εἰς τὸν βίον ἔξοδος τε ἴση). Wisdom of Solomon uses the verb ἔξάγω once (19:10) to retell how “the earth brought forth gnats.”

Jub. 1.1 sets its narrative “in the first year of the Exodus,” but we have no Greek exemplar for this material and so do not know what Greek term the author used for the Exodus in this pseudepigraphon. The Hebrew fragments (4Q216) read “[Go up] to the top of the moun[tain. In the first year] of the so[ns of Israel] leaving [Egypt, in the] thir[d month . . .] . . .” and there does not seem to be a specific mention of the term “exodus.” The *As. Mos.* 1.4 also refers to the time when “the people had gone forth after the Exodus.” However, this material is only extant in Latin and so again we can have no certainty as to what a Greek translation would have read.

Philo consistently (probably 3 times) describes this second book of the Greek Pentateuch²⁰ by the title Ἐξαγωγῆ, commenting that “the name thus found was appropriate to the oracles contained in it.”²¹ The cognate verb ἔξάγω occurs 25 times in his writings. Virtually all of these occurrences reflect direct quotations from the Greek Old Testament (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) where this verb is used, or commentary that arises from his discussion of these quotations and thus is directly dependent upon them. Thus Philo’s use of this verb is dependent upon the Septuagint usage. In 4 of

dria’s *Stromateis* 1.22.150 with the same wording. Clement is writing more than a hundred years before Eusebius.

18. Wis 19:2 ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῦ ἀπιέναι.

19. Wis 19:7 ἐξ ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ὁδὸς ἀνεμπόδιτος. This is the closest we come in this essay to the term ἔξοδος used to describe the Israelites’ departure from Egypt.

20. Philo, *Migr.* 14 πανκάλως γὰρ ὁ ἱεροφάντης μίαν τῆς νομοθεσίας ὄλην ἱερᾶν βίβλον Ἐξαγωγῆν ἀνέγραψεν.

21. Philo, *Migr.* 14. In *Her.* 251, Philo refers to a specific story in this narrative by the phrase ἐν Ἐξαγωγῆ and then proceeds to quote from the Greek text of Exod 19:18. He is using this noun as a title for the book. The same phrase is used in *Somn.* 1.17 to locate a statement in Exod 10:23.

these cases he uses the language from LXX-Exodus to describe Moses' leadership of Israel out of Egypt.²² In other cases he discourses upon the earth bringing forth living souls (Genesis 2), God's instruction to Abraham to consider the stars (Genesis 15), Moses' appointment of Joshua as the new shepherd leader for Israel (Numbers 27), the miraculous bringing forth of water from the rock (Deuteronomy 8), and parents bringing forth abusive children for judgment (Deuteronomy 21). He uses these narratives to illustrate allegorically his understanding of pious wisdom that enables the divine-seeking mind to master the bodily passions.

He does employ ἔξοδος to describe the banishment of Cain,²³ the emigration of Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees to Canaan,²⁴ the departure of Jacob after Isaac's blessing,²⁵ Israel's exit from Egypt,²⁶ Pharaoh's attempt to chastise the Israelites for leaving Egypt,²⁷ Balaam's journey to curse Israel,²⁸ and Moses' death.²⁹ However, Philo never uses this term as a title for the second book of Moses, even though he will use it to describe the actual event of Israel's departure.

In the New Testament only Heb 11:22 refers to this event: περὶ τῆς ἐξόδου τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ when talking about Joseph. The other two uses of this noun in the New Testament describe a person's death (Jesus' death in Luke 9:11, and Peter's death in 2 Pet 1:15). More commonly the New Testament writers use the verb ἐξάγω to describe Israel's deliverance. Twice there is a quotation from the Greek Old Testament (Acts 7:40 = Exod 32:1; Heb 8:9 = Ier 38:32 [= Hebrew text at 32:1]). Stephen describes Moses as "this man who led them out."³⁰ However, there is no context where the second book of Moses is given a title. Rather, the New Testament will more

22. *Post.* 155, *Mut.* 207 (Exod 6:26) (and probably 209), *Somn.* 1.71 (Exod 19:17), *Mos.* 1.171 (Exod 14:11 or 16:3).

23. *Post.* 9.

24. *Hypoth.* 6.1.

25. *Ebr.* 9.

26. *Mos.* 1.105, 122; *Hypoth.* 6.2, 5.

27. *Mos.* 2.248.

28. *Mos.* 1.268.

29. *Virt.* 77. Philo also uses this term to describe the physical exits of the human body, particularly in reference to anthropomorphisms; the departure of the mind-soul from the evil sensations of the body; the departure of evil when virtue arrives; Abraham's departure from the Chaldean religious system; and the practice of the Alexandrian Governor Flaccus to be escorted on his daily processions.

30. Acts 7:36 οὗτος ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσας τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ.

generally speak of the Law or reference Moses directly when quoting from the Pentateuch.

Josephus never refers specifically to the second book of Moses, and so we do not know what title he would have used for it. Thirteen times he uses ἔξοδος when describing Israel's departure from Egypt.³¹ When he retells Joshua's speech to Israel at Shiloh, he refers to the Israelites' τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου.³² As well, Josephus uses this noun to describe city exits,³³ a journey, excursions or departures generally,³⁴ the outcome of a battle,³⁵ an expedition or battle campaign,³⁶ and death.³⁷

He uses the noun ἐξαγωγὴ once³⁸ to describe a law introduced by Herod that required thieves to be "deported" from his kingdom. However, this has no relationship to the Exodus. The cognate verb ἐξάγω does occur four times in his description of the Exodus.³⁹ In one context (*Ag. Ap.* 2.15–17) he uses both the verb ἐξάγω and the noun ἔξοδος to describe the departure of Israel from Egypt:

2.15 τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν χρόνων ἐν οἷς φησι τὸν Μωσὴν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάρσεις πεπηρωμένους

On the question of the date which he assigns to the exodus of the lepers, the blind and the lame under Moses' leadership . . .

2.17 ὁ δὲ . . . Ἀπίων ὠρίστατο τὴν ἔξοδον ἀκριβῶς κατὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ὀλυμπιάδα . . .

Apion . . . precisely dates the exodus in the seventh Olympiad.

The verb defines the activities that constitute the event, while the noun refers to the entire event. In his usage Josephus follows the renderings used in Exodus.

31. He only has reference to this in the *Antiquities* and *Against Apion*.

32. *Ant.* 5.72. Josephus uses this term elsewhere to describe Israel's exit from Egypt (*Ant.* 2.321).

33. *Life* 53.

34. *Life* 201; *Ant.* 8.186; 2.118; cf. *Pss. Sol.* 4:14.

35. *Ant.* 7.76.

36. *Ant.* 4.156; 8.400.

37. *Ant.* 18.128.

38. *Ant.* 16.1.

39. Twice in the *Antiquities* (2.269; 6.38) and twice in *Against Apion* (1.280; 2.15).

This review of the existing data shows that in no extant pre-Christian Greek literature do we find ἔξοδος used as the title of the second book of the Pentateuch.⁴⁰ Rather, the evidence indicates that the name used for this book among Greek-speaking Jews in the later Second Temple Period was ἡ Ἐξαγωγή. However, Josephus never uses this noun to refer to the exodus of Israel from Egypt nor to the second book of the Pentateuch.

The earliest reference by the title ἡ Ἐξοδος that I have discovered is in Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*. Three times he names 'the book of Exodus' (ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἐξόδου),⁴¹ as the source for God's appearance to Moses at the burning bush.⁴² This writing probably was produced in the mid-second century C.E. Yet we also discern unanimity within later Christian sources that ἡ Ἐξοδος was the name they used for this narrative. Eusebius also quotes from a letter sent by Melito to a person named Onesimus, and in this letter he lists the five books of Moses, including ἡ Ἐξοδος.⁴³ Bishop Melito is dated to the period of Marcus Aurelius, ca. 170 C.E.

Finally, there is some evidence to suggest that in rabbinic writings the second book of the Pentateuch was defined with a title similar to that found in the Greek translation—*sēper yēšī'āt mišrayim*, but I can get no sense of a date at which such a title might have been used within Jewish rabbinic discussions and writings.

The data then suggest that up to the midpoint of the first century C.E., if Philo is any indication, the name used for the second book of Moses in Hellenistic Jewish writers and a frequently used term to describe the events of the Exodus was ἡ Ἐξαγωγή. However, from the mid-second century C.E. onward, the title used in Christian writers was ἡ Ἐξοδος. This development gains credence in that several of the Hellenistic Jewish sources using ἡ Ἐξαγωγή as the title survive only in Christian writings. We get no sense from the data available from this period that the name used in Hebrew

40. In the Dead Sea Scrolls there is no specific title used to describe the second book of the Pentateuch when materials are quoted from it. In 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), when introducing material quoted from Exod 15:17–18, it says “as it is written in the book of [Moses . . .]”, but the actual name of the book or the person it is attributed to is missing.

41. M. Marcovich, *Justini Martyris Dialogus Cum Tryphone* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997) 172, 200, 288.

42. *Dialogue with Trypho* LIX, LXXV, CXXVI.

43. Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26.14. The Greek text is:

Μωυσεώς πέντε, Γένεσις Ἐξοδος Ἀριθμοὶ Λευιτικὸν Δευτερονόμιον . . .
Five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy. . . .

language settings changed during this period. It is unfortunate that we have no witness from Hellenistic Jewish writers toward the end of the first century C.E. that provides a specific title for this book in Greek. We might be tempted on the basis of the distribution of the evidence to think that Hellenistic Jewish writers used ἡ Ἐξαγωγή as the usual descriptor for the book and a common descriptor for the event; and that Christian authors, at least in the second century C.E., used ἡ Ἐξοδος as a title; but this is probably a simplistic explanation.

The alternatives used in the Greek tradition seem to be based on the usage of Greek-speaking Jews and Christians. Further, since the names used for the second book of the Greek Pentateuch were exegetically based and not translational in origin, presumably we should seek a reason for the emergence of these alternatives similarly in shifting semantic usage. But we also might explore whether any external factors may have encouraged these alternatives. In terms of semantics, some of the connotations associated with ἔξαγωγή may have made it less attractive over time as a title for the book, particularly in Hellenistic contexts.

Both terms can be used to describe military expeditions. In particular the expression ἔξαγαγεῖν τὴν δύναμιν (*Ant.* 7.73; 9.246; 12.426) describes the marshaling of an army for battle. For example, at Exod 12:17 the translator renders the Hebrew text:

כִּי בַעֲצָם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה הוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבָאוֹתֵיכֶם מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
 ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἔξάξω τὴν δύναμιν ὑμῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου

This is the only context in LXX-Exodus where this Greek idiom occurs.⁴⁴

44. In Exod 7:4 God promises:

καὶ ἐπιβαλῶ τὴν χειρὰ μου ἐπὶ Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἔξάξω σὺν δυνάμει μου τὸν λαόν μου τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλῃ

... and I will lay my hand upon Egypt and I will bring out with my force my people, the sons of Israel, from the land of Egypt with great vengeance. (NETS)

וְנִתַּחֲתִי אֶת־יָדִי בְּמִצְרַיִם וְהוֹצֵאתִי אֶת־צְבָאוֹתִי אֶת־עַמִּי בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם
 בְּשִׁפְטִים גְּדוֹלִים

... and I will lay my hand upon Egypt and bring my people the Israelites, company by company, out of the land of Egypt by great acts of judgment. (NRSV)

However, the rendering of אֶת־צְבָאוֹתִי as σὺν δυνάμει μου does not replicate the normal Greek idiom for a military expedition. Although the Hebrew might permit ἔξάξω τὴν

This rendering suggests that Israel left Egypt in the form of a military expedition, even though it left in haste. Thus entitling this narrative ἡ Ἐξαγωγή could certainly convey the notion that the story it contained was about a military action.⁴⁵ However, we also find the term ἔξαγωγή used to describe commercial activity, that is exports,⁴⁶ particularly slave exports. As well, we have examples of its use to describe the activity of deportation.

This would not appear to be the case with the noun ἔξοδος. While it is used by Herodotus to refer to military expeditions, we do not find it used to describe exports. Rather its general sense seems to be departure of some kind—whether a means of departure (exit), the action of departing (death, expedition), or the outcome of some activity.

We do know that there was an increasingly antisemitic climate in the first century in certain parts of the Roman Empire, and thus giving the title ἡ Ἐξαγωγή to a writing could allow it to be twisted in slanderous ways, implying that the narrative was about slave exports or deportation. We also know from various writers that such slanderous suggestions were made by various non-Jewish Hellenistic writers about Israel's liberation from Egypt.⁴⁷ In contrast, a title such as ἡ Ἐξοδος presumably would not carry such connotations. Further, this word has the additional advantage of being incorporated within the Greek translation of the narrative. It might well be that such factors encouraged the adoption of a different title for the Greek translation.

δύναμίν μου, the translator avoids this, perhaps thrown by the repeated **𐤍𐤍** and choosing to render the first as the preposition and the second as the direct object marker. In fact the normal idiom in LXX-Exodus, reflecting the Hebrew formation, is ἐξαγαγεῖν τὸν λαόν μου (cf. Exod 3:11, 12). Similar expressions occur in 6:26 and 12:51: ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν δυνάμει αὐτῶν.

45. A. Le Boulluec and P. Sandevóir, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. L'Exode* (Paris: Cerf, 1989) 26, comment that the title ἡ Ἐξαγωγή perhaps is related to the use of the verb ἐξάγειν with God as subject “et peut faire allusion plus précisément que *exodus* à l'action tutélaire et libératrice de Dieu.”

46. Slave exports can be described with this term. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, repr., 1972) 220. P. Lille I.29¹⁴ (iii/B.C.) μηθὲν ἐξέστω σώματα πωλεῖν [ἐπι'] ἔξαγωγή ‘that no one be permitted to sell slaves for exportation’.

47. For example, Josephus, *Ag. Ap.* 2.15, discusses the date of the Exodus that Apion assigns ‘to the exodus of the lepers, the blind, and the lame under Moses’ leadership’ (τὸν Μωσῆν ἐξαγαγεῖν τοὺς λεπρῶντας καὶ τυφλοὺς καὶ τὰς βάσεις πεπηρωμένους).

Additional impetus to such a change might have arisen because of the changing political scene in the last half of the first century C.E., particularly in terms of Palestine's place in the Roman context. The results of the Jewish War, ending with the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, would be particularly significant. Josephus knows the word ἡ ἔξαγωγή, but chooses not to use it to describe Israel's departure from Egypt. Perhaps the military overtones were too sensitive in the light of the Jewish revolt and the Roman reprisals. The second book of the Pentateuch tells a remarkable story about a subject people gaining its freedom by divine intervention from a powerful empire, Egypt. Was this story used by Jewish nationalists to fuel resistance against Rome? If so, some Jewish leaders in post-70 Judaism may have sought to deter such usage by promoting the name ἡ ἔξοδος as a less overtly militaristic term.

Christianity, while emerging within Judaism in the middle of the first century, did not begin producing its own literature until the 50s and 60s. This material uses the terminology we find in other Jewish materials originating in Palestine to refer to the Exodus materials as part of the books of Moses or "the Law," without differentiation. Like Josephus, the New Testament materials will refer to Israel's departure from Egypt as ἡ ἔξοδος, but do not use this term as a title for the second book of the Pentateuch.

What can we conclude from these data? While we must be careful not to base conclusions on arguments from silence, there is some evidence that the title for the second book of the Pentateuch changed from ἡ ἔξαγωγή to ἡ ἔξοδος sometime in the later first century C.E. The factors that led to this change, however, remain speculative. Whether it was influenced by practice within Palestine or the Diaspora remains unclear. However, between the time when Philo was writing in Alexandria and the written account of Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho* (probably composed in Rome) it seems that ἡ ἔξοδος became the preferred title. We find no case where a writer alternatively used now one, now the other. Nor is there any discussion about this change and what reasons might have contributed to its occurrence. I am not aware that such a name change in Greek occurred for any of the other books of the Pentateuch.

*Charles Thomson:
Philadelphia Patriot and Bible Translator*

HAROLD P. SCANLIN
Allentown, Pennsylvania



It is well known, at least by the readers of this *Bulletin*, that the Old Greek translation(s) was the base text for numerous Old Testament translations in the early church period.¹ Production of these so-called daughter versions seems to have abated by the end of the first Christian millennium. Thus, it may seem surprising that little interest was shown in translating the Septuagint² into other languages for nearly another millennium. This apparent lack of interest has, of course, been rectified in the last few decades with work on a variety of translations, including NETS (English), German, French, Italian, Modern Hebrew, etc.

In English we are most familiar with the Lancelot Brenton translation,³ first published in 1844, and reprinted many times by Bagster, Zondervan, and Hendrickson. However, his predecessor translation by nearly forty years was done by Charles Thomson, whose chief claim to fame is as an American patriot and Secretary to the Continental Congress. But Thomson was also a trained classical scholar and, in the best sense of the phrase, an amateur

1. Swete's catalog of "Ancient Versions Based upon the Septuagint" (chap. 4) in his *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 87–121, is still a useful, if outdated summary.

2. I use the term *Septuagint* as a convenient general term while recognizing the complexities.

3. In the reprint editions and in the bibliographic literature, there is some confusion regarding the precise date of the first edition of Brenton's translation. In an effort to clarify the situation, I have found the following first editions: English translation, 1844; Bagster's Greek text, 1851; the first diglot, 1870. Relevant documentation, including excerpts from the various prefaces can be found on the IOSCS website, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/ioscs/brenton/>.

biblical scholar, who could be compared in level of competence with Agnes Smith Lewis, among others.

A brief outline of his biography can set the stage for analysis of his abilities and productivity. Little is known about the details of his birth and early life, except that he was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1729. After his mother's death in 1739, his father set sail for the new world with Charles and his two or three brothers. Tragedy struck on the high seas with the death of the father, leaving the boys orphans when they landed in New Castle, Delaware. Apparently, the arrival of young children orphaned by the death of parents aboard ship was not too unusual, because two (or three) families took in Charles and his brother(s).⁴ Charles was cared for by a blacksmith and his family in Delaware.

The following excerpt from one of the few contemporary biographical accounts serves a dual purpose: first, to describe how Charles became a scholar instead of a blacksmith; and second, to offer the flavor of the kind of romanticized biography popular in mid-nineteenth century America.

Charles Thomson greatly endeared himself to the family—so much so, that they thought of getting him bound to them, and to be brought up to the trade. . . . He chanced to overhear them speaking on this design one night, and determining from the vigour of his mind, that he should devote himself to better business, he arose in the night and made his escape with his little all packed upon his back. As he trudged this road, not knowing whither he went, it was his chance or providence in the case, to be overtaken by a travelling lady of the neighbourhood, who, entering into conversation with him, asked him “what he would like to be in future life.” He promptly answered, he should like to be a scholar, or to gain his support by his mind and pen. This so much pleased her that she took him home and placed him at school.⁵

That school was Francis Allison's Academy, New London (Chester Co.) Pennsylvania. Beginning in 1743 he was tutored in Latin and Greek, preparing him to become one of the first tutors hired by the Academy of Philadelphia (now the University of Pennsylvania) where he taught in the Latin School from 1750 to 1755. Thomson resigned to enter into business but returned to teaching Classics at the William Penn Charter School (Philadelphia

4. It is known from Thomson's records that he was in touch with one brother for a number of years, but the fate of any other sibling(s) is unknown.

5. *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, Vol. I: Written 1830-1850*, chap. 90, “Persons and Characters—Part II,” at the time of writing located at ftp.rootsweb.com/pub/usgenweb/pa/philadelphia/areahistory/watson0118.txt.

Friends' Public School) from 1757 to 1760. He then left to pursue an active career in business and politics.

His association with the Quakers (Friends) seems to have influenced him to get involved in various noteworthy causes, including defense of the Indians against the Penn family's dealings. At the Treaty of Easton in 1756, Thomson argued on behalf of Chief Teedyuscund of the Delaware Nation that the Walking Purchase of 1737 cheated the Indians out of a large portion of east central Pennsylvania. Thomson was also an outspoken critic of slavery. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson (November 2, 1785), he said that slavery is "a blot in our character that must be wiped out. If it cannot be done by religion, reason and philosophy, confident I am that it will one day be by blood."

In 1774, Thomson married his second wife, Hannah Harriton, the daughter of a wealthy Quaker, ensuring him financial independence and the opportunity to pursue a political career. He was appointed Secretary of the Continental Congress in 1774 and served as its only Secretary throughout its existence. He served in a similar capacity at the Confederation Conference, the body that drafted the U.S. Constitution. Only his name and that of John Hancock are affixed to the Declaration of Independence broadside printed on the night of July 4–5, 1776. The more familiar handwritten document was not signed until a month later.

Thomson retired from a very active public life at age 59 and moved in 1789 or 1790 to Harriton House, his wife's family estate, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania,⁶ where he died in 1824 at age 95. He engaged in lively correspondence with many notables, including Thomas Jefferson, with whom he discussed such diverse topics as Mesmerism (Lafayette was fascinated with Mesmer) and a possible connection with the Shakers; Thomson writes to Jefferson (3/6/1785), disputing Mesmer's claims.⁷ Thomson and Jefferson also corresponded about theories of "the general Deluge" (7/6/1786). Jefferson wrote to Thomson on 1/9/1816, praising Thomson's recently published "synopsis of the four Evangelists" and adding an explanation of Jefferson's own *Philosophy of Jesus*:

6. Thomson and his famous residence are honored in commemorative U.S. postal cards (issued in 1975 and 2004, respectively).

7. *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for the Year 1878* (New York: The Society, 1879). "The Thomson Papers," 198–200. Thomson concludes, "the experiments that were made [by Mesmer] have themselves made a very wonderful and very important discovery, namely to what degree imagination can operate on the human frame" (p. 199).

I, too, have made a wee-little book from the same materials, which I call the *Philosophy of Jesus*; it is a paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book, and arranging them on the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that *I* am a *real Christian*, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists, who call *me* infidel and *themselves* Christians and preachers of the gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said nor saw. . . . If I had time I would add to my little book the Greek, Latin and French texts, in columns side by side.⁸

Earlier, Jefferson had written to Thomson about his translation of the Septuagint. In a letter dated January 11, 1808, he advised Thomson:

My dear and antient Friend,
—I see by the newspapers your translation of the Septuagint is now to be printed, and I write this to pray to be admitted as a subscriber. I wish it may not be too late for you to reconsider the size in which it is to be published. Folios and quartos are now laid aside because of their inconvenience. Everything is now printed in 8vo, 12mo or *petit format*. The English booksellers print their first editions indeed in 4to, because they can assess a larger price on account of the novelty; but the bulk of readers generally wait for the 2d edition, which is for the most part in 8vo. This is what I have long practised myself. Johnson, of Philadelphia, set the example of printing [*sic*] handsome edition of the Bible in 4v., 8vo. I wish yours were in the same form.⁹

Thomson's translation did appear in 1808 in four volumes, published by the famous Philadelphia printer, Jane Aitken, who succeeded her father Robert, who had published the first English Bible printed in America (1782). The congressional authorization to publish this edition is signed "*Cha. Thomson, Sec'ry.*"

Charles Thomson began work on his translation decades before it appeared in print. A 1760 inventory of Thomson's books already lists the Field edition of the Septuagint from which he made his translation.¹⁰ Evidence is

8. Jefferson never published his wee-little book, but his *Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English* was published nearly a century later by Act of Congress by the Government Printing Office, Washington, DC, 1904, with an Introduction by Cyrus Adler, who later became president of Dropsie College, and Jewish Theological Seminary. The original of the *Philosophy of Jesus* is lost, but it has been reconstructed and published in *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels*, Dickinson W. Adams, editor (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983). See pp. 45–122.

9. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/Texts/Jefferson0136/Works/>.

10. The inventory list is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection.

lacking to decide how much time he was able to find in his busy schedule as Secretary to the Continental Congress to begin his translation work, but he offered occasional remarks in his correspondence in the 1770s and 1780s regarding his translation interests, conveniently excerpted in Schlenther's biography. "Thus he began his translation during the final [Continental Congress] period in New York, and it occupied his 'closest attention' and was his 'constant study' and 'amusement' for a number of years. In short, it was an 'agreeable & useful employment for my mind.'"¹¹ His retirement by 1790 gave him the opportunity to fulfill his interest that had been aroused by that serendipitous purchase of a Septuagint sometime before 1760. We do know from a letter George Washington wrote to Thomson, dated March 5, 1794: "Weeks have passed since I finished reading the first part of your [manuscript] translation of the Septuagint [*sic*]." ¹² that Thomson must have sent an early draft to the president, who seems, understandably, to have been too busy to read through the entire manuscript.

The popular account of Thomson's awakened interest in the Septuagint is based on the report of a conversation Watson, author of the *Annals of Philadelphia* (1850), had with Thomson.

He [then age 94] told me that he was first induced to study Greek from having bought a part of the Septuagint at an auction in this city [Philadelphia]. He bought it for a mere trifle, and without knowing what it was, save that the crier said it was [printed in] outlandish letters. When he had mastered it enough to understand it, his anxiety became great to see the whole; but he could find no copy. Strange to tell—in the interval of two years, passing the same store, and chancing to look in, he then saw the remainder actually crying off for a few pence, and he bought it! I used to tell him that the translation which he afterwards made should have had these facts set to the front of that work as a preface; for that great work, the first of the kind in the English language, strangely enough, was ushered into the world without any preface!

"When he had mastered it enough to understand it" can hardly mean "master the Greek language." Perhaps the reference is to the Greek script used in the edition, which has many ligatures. Or perhaps it is a second-hand "Romantic" embellishment regarding Thomson's first acquaintance with the LXX. But it

11. Boyd Stanley Schlenther, *Charles Thomson: A Patriot's Pursuit* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990) 206–7.

12. George Washington, *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing office, 1931–44) 33:286–87.

is quite likely that Thomson bought the two volumes at a two- year interval. The Septuagint he bought was Field's 1665 manual/student edition, an early edition of Codex Vaticanus. Extant copies are bound up in many different combinations. The protocanon is arranged in the typical Protestant/KJV order. In some copies the Apocrypha is included as a separately paginated "supplement." The edition used in my research is in two mismatched volumes, the first containing the protocanon, 2 vols. in 1, and the second containing a Greek New Testament, a Greek translation of the Anglican Psalter, and the Apocrypha.¹³

Why No Apocrypha in Thomson's Translation?

Thomson was officially a Presbyterian; but, as noted above, he was influenced by Quaker thinking on some matters. In his retirement years at Harriton he affiliated with the Lower Merion Baptist Church, Bryn Mawr. It is quite unlikely that any of these ecclesiastical connections would bring the Apocrypha to Thomson's attention. And if Thomson's copy of Field lacked the Apocrypha, as most did, it was not likely that he would consider including the Apocrypha in his translation.¹⁴ Even though the Calvinists were outspoken critics of the Apocrypha,¹⁵ we lack any specific information that suggests open hostility to the Apocrypha on Thomson's part. It is more likely that Thomson was following a common assumption that the Bible only contained the 66 books of the protocanon. Thus, his Bible conforms to the usual editions of Field and the KJV. The numbering of the Psalms follows the Hebrew system. He does include Psalm 151, without number but with the brief note, "There is in the Septuagint another Psalm, with this title."

13. A digital version of Field's 1665 Septuagint is available through Early English Books Online, <http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>.

14. I have attempted to document the extent of Bibles without the Apocrypha from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries. A profile of published editions without the Apocrypha demonstrates that they were in the majority throughout much of the period. See "Authority, Canon and the Bible Societies," in *Text, Theology and Translation: Essays in Honour of Jan de Waard* ([Reading, U.K.]: United Bible Societies, 2004) 177–91.

15. See, for example, Unholseme henbane [stink flower] between two fragrant roses. Or reasons and grounds proving the unlawfull and sinful inserting of the corrupt and most erroneous Apocrypha between the pure and most sacred Testaments, by John Vicars (London: Rothwell, 1645).

Why Did Thomson Want to Translate the Bible?

Benjamin Rush, in his autobiography, records Thomson's motivation that while Congress was meeting in New York he was "induced to translate the Septuagint in order to relieve his mind from the distress he felt after the war was over, from the feebleness of the old Confederation and its incompetency to preserve the union of the States."¹⁶

In addition to the potential therapeutic value of Bible translation (!) Thomson was a classically trained "renaissance man" along with his friends Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, so that may have been enough motivation in itself. But Thomson does tell us:

As the quotations which the writers of the New Testament make from the Old, either to shew that the predictions of the prophets are fulfilled in J[esus] C[hrist] or to confirm and enform the doctrines they delivered, or convey their own thoughts on different subjects, are chiefly taken from the Sept[uagint]; and as, upon inquiry, I could not find that there was any translation of this into English. . . .¹⁷

Unfortunately, this handwritten sheet found in a draft copy of his translation breaks off here, but we do know that the Field edition Thomson used includes a "Praefatio Paraenetica" by John Pearson in which he presents reasons why the Septuagint should be studied. Pearson's second argument is the use of this version by NT writers (pref. p. 9ff.), citing examples from Heb 8:9 and 10:38. To Thomson's credit, he did not slavishly render the Septuagint-based New Testament quotations exactly as they are given in his Old Testament version.¹⁸

Early Reactions to Thomson's Translation

Jefferson's letter of January 11, 1808, has already been cited. Near the end of Jefferson's second presidential term he again wrote to Thomson,

16. Cited by Boyd Stanley Schlenter in *Charles Thomson: A Patriot's Pursuit*, 206–7. Schlenter's work is probably the best, most detailed biography of Thomson.

17. Cited from Albert Edmunds, "Charles Thomson's New Testament: A Description of Three MSS. in the Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 15 (1891) 327–35, p. 329.

18. For example, Thomson translates Rom 1:17, "But the just shall live because of belief" [C* μου] with a footnote reference to Hab 2:4. But his translation of Hab 2:4 is "but the just shall live by faith in me."

Washington, Dec. 25, 08.

I thank you, my dear & antient friend, for the two volumes of your translation, which you have been so kind as to send me. I have dipped into it at the few moments of leisure which my vocations permit, and I perceive that I shall use it with great satisfaction on my return home. I propose there, among my first employments, to give to the Septuagint an attentive perusal, and shall feel the aid you have now given me.

Despite Jefferson's endorsement, Thomson's steadfast refusal to include a preface must have kept most readers in the dark as to the nature of a translation of "The Old Covenant, commonly called the Old Testament translated from the Septuagint." The price of \$10, a large sum for a Bible in those days, did not stimulate sales, either. A large part of the press run of 1,000 copies was stored by the printer and ultimately sold for waste paper. In a letter to Thomson dated August 10, 1810, Thomas Dobson (another Philadelphia printer) observed of Thomson's translation that "circulation bears very little relation to its excellence."

Thomson's translation did not go entirely unnoticed in the American community of biblical scholars. Joseph Stevens Buckminster (a Unitarian) reviewed Thomson's translation saying, somewhat sarcastically, that some readers might be surprised that Jesus and the apostles had not used the King James Version.¹⁹ On the other hand, most "mainstream" Protestant biblical scholarship of the period paid little, if any attention to the issue of the form of OT quotations in the NT, so they did not share Thomson's concern for the issue. For example, Leonard Woods, in his 1824 pamphlet *The Objections to the Inspiration of the Evangelists and Apostles from their manner of quoting texts from the Old Testament* never discusses the issue of text base. On the other hand, the famous Andover biblical scholar, Moses Stuart, published a pamphlet in 1827 entitled *Passages cited from the Old Testament by the writers of the New Testament: compared with the original Hebrew and the Septuagint version* (Andover: Flagg and Gould).²⁰

In England Thomas Hartwell Horne published the first edition of his *Introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures* in 1818, followed by many editions. In his lengthy section "On the Quotations from

19. "Review of Thomson's [*sic.*] Septuagint," *Monthly Anthology* 8 (1810) 194.

20. I have not been able to examine a copy of this pamphlet, so it is unclear to me if Stuart's motivation in preparing this pamphlet was in any way inspired by Thomson's work.

the Septuagint Version in the Greek Testament,” Horne used Thomson’s translation, never replacing it with Brenton’s in later editions.²¹

Reception of Later Reprint Editions

S. F. Pells issued a reprint of Thomson’s Septuagint in 1904 (London: Skeffington & Son) in two volumes. Although it is not a facsimile edition, Pells states that the typesetting follows the original edition in every detail, down to pagination and line length.²² This reprint edition seems to have received more notice, garnering positive reviews in *The Jewish Quarterly Review* (J. H. A. Hart, vol. 16 [1904] 596–600) and the *Expository Times* (vol. 18 [1906–7] 277).

The Falcon’s Wing Press “edited, revised and enlarged edition” by C. A. Muses (Indian Hills, CO, 1954) was justifiably criticized by Harry Orlinsky and J. W. Wevers because the revisions introduced only served to muddle the character of Thomson’s work.²³ It is unreliable for any serious study of Thomson.

Observations and Critique of Thomson’s Translation

Perhaps because of Thomson’s importance as Secretary of the Continental Congress many of his writings are preserved in manuscript form. We know that he prepared four complete drafts of his translation. The following have survived:

1. The Allegheny College (AC), Meadville, PA manuscript copy is complete.

21. Quoting from the unabridged, four-volume edition of 1868 (Boston: Littell and Gay), 2:387, Horne says, “The English version of the Septuagint is given from Mr. Thomson’s Anglo-American translation.” Horne occasionally makes minor alterations to Thomson’s translation to accommodate his presentation style.

22. I have spot-checked Pells against the 1808 original and found, in all cases, that Pells has faithfully reproduced the original edition. The Pells edition has been used throughout in this study. Pells also issued a reprint of Thomson’s New Testament (Hove: Pells, 1929). However, Pells erroneously concludes that Thomson used the printed edition of Vaticanus for the NT as well (Amsterdam, 1639; and Field, 1665). Although Thomson accepted a few non-*textus receptus* readings, the work is clearly not done from Vaticanus. Thomson’s departures from the *textus receptus* correspond quite closely with several textual decisions in Griesbach’s edition. For example, Thomson omits the *Comma Johanneum* (1 John 5:7–8) and adds a lengthy footnote with the explanation, “as in my copy.”

23. Harry Orlinsky, *JBL* 75 (1956) 155–56; J. W. Wevers, *JBR* 24 (1956) 133–34.

2. The American Bible Society (ABS) copy is incomplete, containing numbered leaves 33 to 209 and 286 to 305 (Psa 22:20 through Malachi, minus the last chapters of Jeremiah through Zech 1:6). This copy contains numerous notes not found in the printed edition. Because it also contains a variety of typesetting instructions it is probably the final draft as submitted to the publisher.
3. Pennsylvania Historical Society (PHS): copy of the NT only.
4. A manuscript copy of the NT was recently sold by the Philadelphia Rare Books & Manuscripts company, purchaser unknown (perhaps it is the Horatio Gates Jones copy).²⁴
5. Library Company of Philadelphia (LCP): Thomson's own copy of the printed edition, with his last manuscript corrections.

Examination of several leaves of the Allegheny College copy seems to indicate that it is a first or intermediate draft. Some erasures and strikeouts reflect the form of the printed text. The ABS copy, as noted above, appears to be the final draft, the running text identical to the printed edition. Some awkward page breaks in the printed edition are even signaled by a stroke in the manuscript with the typesetter's (?) initials. Of even greater interest for our study are the numerous textual and translational footnotes found in the manuscript but not in the printed edition. The manuscript also carries several layout features not carried through in the printed edition. Thomson's poetic stropping in the manuscript is mostly gone in the printed edition and the translator's indications of speaker shifts in the prophetic literature are incompletely represented or completely eliminated as well. When Thomson saw the galley proofs for Proverbs he objected strenuously to the printer that they failed to follow his indentation pattern for individual proverbs. The printer complained it would be too costly to reset Proverbs, but Thomson replied, "I write this to inform you that even if this is the case they must burn or destroy the whole and print it over again as it ought to be. For I cannot for the sake of saving a few days wages of a compositor or indeed on any account consent to such an impropriety."²⁵ It should be noted that Thomson won the argument, at least for Proverbs.

24. See Jones's letter in "Notes and Queries," in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 15 (1891) 499, for a description of his copy.

25. Schlenther, *Charles Thomson*, 208–9.

Notes on Select Passages
Primarily Based on Unpublished Footnotes

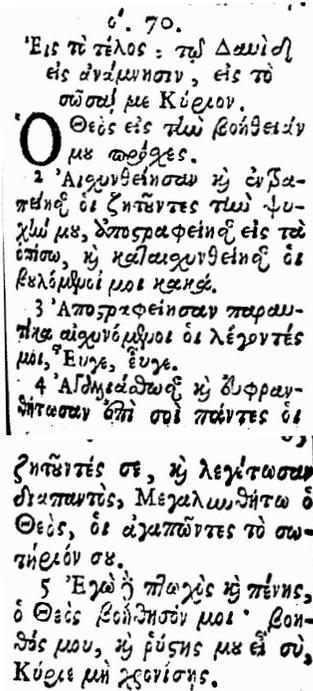


Figure 1. Psalm 70 as Published in Field

The Greek typeface uses ligatures, rather typical for the seventeenth century, especially in small manual editions. Perhaps these were the “outlandish letters” in the Greek text.

Two manuscript copies of Psalm 70, the first from an early (the earliest?) draft and the second from probably the final draft, demonstrate the translator at work.

LXX.

For the conclusion. By David. For a memorial that
~~the Lord hath saved me.~~
 O God, draw near ^{to my assistance;}
 O Lord make haste ^{to help me.}

- 2 Let them who seek my life be shamed & confounded;
 Let them be turned back & put to shame, who wish me evil.
- 3 Let them who say to me Ha! Ha!
 Be turned back suddenly, covered with shame.
- 4 Let all who seek thee exult & rejoice for thee.
 Let them who love thy salvation say continually,
 Let God be magnified.
- 5 As for me, I am afflicted & needy,
 O God assist me.
 Thou art my help & my deliverer,
 O Lord, make no delay.

Figure 2. Courtesy of Special Collections,
 Pelletier Library, Allegheny College

Psalm

LXX. For the conclusion. By David. For a memorial that
 the Lord hath saved me.

- 1 O God, draw near to my assistance;
 O Lord make haste to help me. }
- 2 Let them who seek my life be shamed and confounded;
 Let them be turned back and put to shame who wish me evil.
- 3 Let them who say to me, Ha! ha!
 Be turned back suddenly, covered with shame.
- 4 Let all who seek thee exult, and rejoice for thee.
 Let them who love thy salvation say continually
 Let God be magnified.
- 5 As for me, I am afflicted and needy; O God assist me.
 Thou art my help and my deliverer, O Lord, make no delay.

+B370.1. O Lord ~~and~~ This line is omitted in my copy of the V. 4.

Figure 3: American Bible Society copy (used by permission)

The Thomson text as published reads:

For the conclusion. By David. For a memorial, that the Lord
 hath saved me.

1. O GOD, draw near to my assistance: O Lord make haste

2. to help me. Let them who seek my life be shamed and confounded;
let them be turned back and put to shame who wish me evils.
3. Let them who say to me, Ha! Ha!
Be turned back suddenly, covered with shame.
4. Let all who seek thee exult, and rejoice for thee.
Let them, who love thy salvation, say continually,
Let God be magnified.
5. As for me, I am afflicted and needy; O God assist me.
Thou art my help and my deliverer:
O Lord, make no delay.

Several general characteristics may be noted: (1) the psalms follow the numbering of the Hebrew text; (2) line strophing was lost in the printed edition. There are many other cases throughout the Psalter. See p. 124 and n. 25 above for Thomson's successful retention of strophing in Proverbs.

Text-Critical Notes

The ABS manuscript footnote at 70:1 reads, "O Lord &] this line is omitted in my copy of the Vat[icanus]," as is the case in the base text of NETS. Compare the NETS translation of the entire psalm.²⁶

Psalm 69 (70)

- 1 Regarding fulfillment. Pertaining to Daudid. As a reminder, 2(1) so that the Lord might save me.
O God, attend to helping me!
- 3(2) May those be put to shame and embarrassment who seek my life.
May those be turned back and be put to shame who wish my hurt.
- 4(3) May those who say [fn. to me = Ra] Good! Good! be turned back promptly with shame.
- 5(4) Let all who seek you rejoice and be glad in you.
Let those who love your salvation say ever more, "Let God be magnified!"
- 6(5) But I am poor and needy; help me, O God!
You are my helper and my rescuer; O Lord, do not delay!

26. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint . . . The Psalms* (New York: Oxford, 2000).

*Other Text-Critical Notes,
Especially Those Found in the ABS Manuscript*

Isa 24:15 footnote reads, “I have adopted the reading of those copies which repeat the words, *the isles of the sea*”

Isa 45:9 footnote, “Or the work to] This line I translate according to the reading of two MSS quoted by Lowth [MSS Pachom, and I.D.11].” Robert Lowth’s *Isaiah: A New Translation* was quite popular, going through many editions and printings, including American editions. The translations of Lowth (and Blayney on *Jeremiah*) contributed to a growing sentiment for Bible translation revision.

The footnote at Isa 53:10, “In translating this line I adopt the reading of those MSS which have δωταλ.” Although Thomson does not specifically mention Lowth here, Lowth says, “‘If his soul shall be made—,’ agreeably to some copies of LXX which have δωταλ. So likewise Syr.”

A rather long set of footnotes to Jeremiah 22 offers a glimpse into Thomson’s exegesis. As already noted, Thomson relied on Lowth’s *Isaiah*. These notes on Jeremiah 22 and several other characteristics of his translation of this prophetic book seem to show an acquaintance with Blayney’s *Jeremiah*,²⁷ although I found no reference by name to Blayney in Thomson.

Paul Odell Clark²⁸ published a set of letters he acquired that cover at least some of the correspondence Thomson had with his friend Ebenezer Hazard,²⁹ who saw Thomson’s work through Jane Aitken’s press. The correspondence dates from a later period when the letters dealt primarily with translation issues in the New Testament. But there are a few items relating to the Septuagint. (Hazard’s letters are not included in the collection, so we are left to rely on a one-sided conversation.)

27. Benjamin Blayney, *Jeremiah, and Lamentations. A New Translation: With Notes Critical, Philological and Explanatory* (2nd ed.; Edinburgh: Oliphant & Balfour, 1810). One example of Thomson’s reliance on Blayney is the setting of Jer 1:1–3 in a different typeface. Thomson also follows Blayney’s rearrangement of chapters. Blayney recognizes (and Thomson would seem to agree) that the differences between MT and LXX reflect sequence issues in the ancient texts, but neither sequence is strictly followed. See p. 222 in Blayney for his discussion.

28. Paul Odell Clark, “Letters of Charles Thomson on the Translation of the Bible,” *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 33 (1955) 239–56; and 34 (1956) 112–13.

29. Ebenezer Hazard (1744–1817) was educated in the Classics and was competent in Greek. Hazard served as Postmaster General from 1782 to 1789.

In a letter dated October 31, 1808, Thomson defended his translation of εσκληρυναν/ας, as in Exod 13:15, “when Pharo hardened himself against sending us away.” He argues, citing Lowth,³⁰ that this is a Hebraism, “Hiphel [*sic*] which tho’ active does not mean that the agent does the thing but permits the object to do or suffer it (p. 225).” (Compare the NETS provisional translation, “But when Pharaoh grew hard to send us away.”)³¹ In 2 Kgs (4 Rgns) 2:10 Thomson translates “Thou hast put me to a stand by this request.” (Compare NETS provisional, “You made hard to ask this for yourself.”)

A January 4, 1809 letter contains Thomson’s defense of his translation of Mal 1:8, “*if you offer the blind for sacrifices it is not evil; and if you offer the lame or sickly, it is not evil.*” Thomson considers this a direct discourse statement of the priests who dishonor the Lord’s name. As noted before, Thomson was quite interested in identifying elements of discourse and dialogue, especially in the prophets, where they are marked off typographically. However, he does not explain his reason for disregarding *ou*. It is interesting to note that a few manuscripts (including W) read *καλον* instead of *κακον* (compare the NETS provisional translation, “For if you bring something blind for a sacrifice is that not wrong? And if you offer something lame or sickly, is that not wrong?”).

Literal versus Functional Translation

Thomson occasionally demetaphorizes a Hebraism, but with explanatory footnotes:

Ps 60:8 “Over Idumea I will extend my march”

The footnote reads, “March] literally shoe”

[NETS “on Idumea I will put my sandal”]

Ps 61:6 “thou wilt add days to the days of a *king*, and prolong his years to endless ages.”

The footnote reads, “endless ages] literally days of a generation and a generation”

[NETS “You will prolong the king’s days, his years until the days of generation upon generation”]

30. I did not find the relevant discussion in Lowth’s *Isaiah*.

31. The NETS provisional translation is cited from the web version as of November 2005, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/>.

Ps 73:20 footnote:

Ghost] literally image

Prov 25:22 footnote:

Thou wilt use the means] literally “*Thou wilt heap coals of fire on his head*”
alluding to the mode of melting the precious metals in a crucible.

Jer 11:19 footnote:

Poison] literally wood

Other Explanatory Notes

Occasionally Thomson adds cultural background notes:

Isa 41:21: “Councils”

The footnote reads: “the idol or false god whom they consulted”

Isa 46(?) :25: “Archons”

The footnote reads: “the idol gods which the nation worshipped”

Prov 14:12: *Hades*

The footnote reads “the mansion of the dead, or the place of departed spirits”
(this note is repeated at most occurrences of “Hades”)

Formatting Issues

In the manuscript at Isa 60:19 a footnote contains (most of) v. 19, which is brought into the running text in the printed edition. It is not clear whether Thomson hoped that this verse would remain in a footnote or if it was just an oversight in the final manuscript draft. Lowth does discuss textual problems in v. 19, but it seems more likely that it is a case of homoioteleuton on Thomson’s part in copying from his penultimate draft—generated by the repetition of “sun.”

A manuscript footnote at Zech 1 says, “Zach 1.7–15 is introductory to the message from the Lord and should be printed in a smaller type & included in a parenthesis to warn the reader that *saying* in v. 7 refers to *thus saith* in v. 15.” The printed edition follows Thomson’s instructions.

Discourse Shift Markers

Thomson’s letter to Ebenezer Hazard regarding the marking of discourse in Mal 1:8 is just one example of his interest in discourse flow as a clue to the

meaning of a text.³² Other examples noted in the ABS manuscript that were not fully incorporated in the printed edition include:

Discourse shift markers in Isa 24:16:

(Ch) O Lord the God of Israel	[Ch = the chorus]
...	
(P) Let them say also	[P = the prophet]

(The printed edition includes the letter markers in the text but fails to provide the explanation in the footnotes.)

Isa 28:28 has (J) in the printed edition but without the (J) Jehovah footnote

The Jer 8 discourse markers, (ch) chorus, (J) Jehovah, and (p) prophet are properly footnoted in the printed edition.

The Textual Base of Thomson's New Testament

Although Pells, in his 1929 reprint of Thomson's NT claims that the base text for the NT was also Vaticanus, this is highly unlikely. The NT edition sometimes bound with Field's 1665 LXX is the *textus receptus*. On the other hand, Thomson did not strictly follow the *textus receptus*, as demonstrated by the following textual notes, usually corresponding to Griesbach:

- a. Matt 6:13 "The words thus enclosed are not in many ancient manuscripts."
- b. Acts 9:20 "I have adopted the reading *Jesus*, instead of *Christ*."
[Griesbach: Jesus]
- c. Acts 11:20 "I adopt the reading of those manuscripts which have Greeks not Hellenists." [Griesbach: Greeks]
- d. 1 Cor 9:22 "*That I may save all* is the reading of sundry ancient and approved manuscripts, and of the Syriac and vulgate translations."
- e. 1 John 5:6–8 "Literally as in my copy . . . the words in the brackets [the *Comma Johanneum*] ought not to be admitted into the text, more especially as they are not found in any of the ancient Greek manuscripts, except only one which is of doubtful authority." [compare Griesbach's lengthy discussion]

Thomson's Synopsis

A presentation of Charles Thomson's biblical publications would not be complete without at least the mention of his *Synopsis of the Four Evangelists: Or a regular history of the conception, birth, doctrine, miracles, death,*

32. See above, p. 129.

resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, in the words of the Evangelists (Philadelphia: Published by the Author, 1815). The lengthy subtitle may reflect his orthodoxy in contrast to his friend, Thomas Jefferson's work. Thomson did include a brief preface in the *Synopsis*, unlike his policy in his Bible translation, explaining why he decided to publish a Harmony when many others were available at the time. Thomson's scholarly interests may be seen in the lengthy section "Notes Critical and Explanatory" (separately paginated, 50 pages). The notes deal primarily with cultural, historical and chronological issues.

Charles Thomson's Enduring Legacy

Far more than a curiosity in the Colonial and early United States history, Thomson's translation demonstrates the capabilities and interests of classically educated and widely read people in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century America. His was the first translation of the Septuagint into English and the first complete New Testament translated by a North American. Although the translation may be judged somewhat idiosyncratic, it is no more so than many other important individual translations. Perhaps because of Thomson's "amateur" status and his reticence to justify a Septuagint translation via a preface, his work was little noticed at the time, except for a few notable and complimentary exceptions. Thomson's influence on other nineteenth-century translations may be slight in terms of specifics, although the English Revised Version / American Standard Version committees did acknowledge the influence of Thomson's translation on their work.³³

Thomson's translation was a precursor of a growing interest in new Bible translations to supplement or even supplant the King James Version. This nineteenth-century interest built into a crescendo by the end of the century with the first ecclesiastically sanctioned, committee-based translation intended to supersede the King James Version, namely the ESV/ASV.

Thomson's Septuagint translation was largely supplanted with the appearance of Brenton's translation nearly forty years later, but this does not in any way diminish the remarkable accomplishment of one of Philadelphia's notable patriots.

33. See Francis Bowen, "An Early American Version of the Scriptures, Compared with the Revised Version of 1881," *The Princeton Review* 59 (1883) 19-45.

Dissertation Abstract



A Linguistic and Exegetical Commentary on the Hallelouia Psalms of the Septuagint

Researcher: Jannes Smith
Institution: University of Toronto
Faculty Adviser: Albert Pietersma, director
Date Completed: April, 2005

Abstract

This dissertation explores the meaning of five psalms in the Septuagint (LXX) version (104, 105, 110, 111, 112), not as interpreted in their reception history but as intended by their translator. The basis for distinguishing the production of a translated document from its reception history is that a translator and a reader of a translation are involved in fundamentally different activities: the former interprets a source text, and thus the translation stands in a relationship of dependency to its source at its inception; the latter interprets a target text which (s)he has received as a finished product, independent of its source. Hence the focus of this dissertation is upon the LXX text as produced rather than as received, though information on LXX Psalms from its reception history (e.g., New Testament citations and patristic commentaries) is occasionally included for comparative purposes.

Such an investigation presupposes that one can be reasonably certain that both the target and the source text are recoverable from the manuscript evidence, a presupposition defended in the current work. Since, however, the original text of the Greek Psalter and the text of its Hebrew source cannot be assumed to be identical to modern editions of each, exegesis of LXX Psalms involves both critical reconstruction of the *Vorlage* and text-critical scrutiny of the best edition of LXX Psalms on the basis of manuscript evidence and translation technique.

Probing the intended meaning of these psalms involves retracing the translator's path, accounting for translation choices by comparing the Greek with its source, and measuring the impact on the Psalter profile of the translator's decisions. These include

matters such as the effect of semantic shifts and the extent to which Hebrew poetic features, lexical links, and pentateuchal intertextuality have been lost or preserved.

Chapter 1 establishes a methodological framework in dialogue with past and present scholarship. Since the five Psalms studied in this dissertation all begin with the word ἀλληλουϊά, chap. 2 is dedicated to the meaning and function of this heading. Chapters 3 through 7 comment on Psalms 104–105 and 110–112, respectively. Chapter 8 provides a summary and conclusions.

Dissertation Abstract



*“Let Us Sing to the Lord”:
The Biblical Odes in the Codex Alexandrinus*

Researcher: James A. Miller
Institution: Marquette University, Milwaukee, WI
Faculty Adviser: Julian V. Hills, director
Date Completed: July, 2006

Abstract

This dissertation studies two sets of what should be duplicate texts within a single ancient Greek biblical manuscript, the fifth-century Codex Alexandrinus (hereafter Codex A). The manuscript includes all the works currently falling under the rubric Bible, though it witnesses additionally to some other works that do not precisely fit the rubric as now conceived.

Among this latter material is a collection of hymns or poems known in later liturgical use as the *Biblical Odes* (labeled the “Fourteen Odes” in this manuscript), which consists for the most part of brief excerpts from books of the biblical canon. For example, Exod 15:1–19—an excerpt containing the phrase quoted in this dissertation’s title—comprises the first Ode in the collection. Codex A’s collection is the earliest known manuscript witness to the *Biblical Odes* and so is of special interest with regard to the history of its manuscript tradition.

The *Biblical Odes* from this manuscript constitute a locus of keen interest not only for the liturgical historian, however; they likewise hold some significance for the analyst of the biblical text. A careful comparison reveals numerous instances of divergence between the text of the *Biblical Odes* and the portions of books from within the larger corpus of the codex to which they correspond. Two preceding scholars who treated the *Biblical Odes* noted a few of these divergences, but my dissertation documents them more comprehensively. On the basis of this documentation I am able to offer a more authoritative explanation for them.

Incidental scribal error was considered the mechanism underlying the divergence and is rejected as inadequate. An alternative hypothesis suggested by Heinrich

Schneider, a leading authority on the *Biblical Odes* who also noted some of the divergences, is then explored as a more appropriate explanatory framework for them. His supposition that the divergences indicate that the manuscript's producers used variant *Vorlagen* for the two sets of texts proves to be the more credible explanation. Having established Schneider's hypothesis as the preferable explanation for the divergences, I conclude by addressing its relevance to study of the *Biblical Odes* and related fields, Septuagint studies, and history of worship.

With respect to the first field, while testing the verity of Schneider's suggestion regarding variant *Vorlagen* for the sets of texts I examine from this codex, I discovered that scholars to this day have never collated the *Biblical Odes* of Codex A against the full range of witnesses to the segments of text it evidences. Rahlfs, in his *Psalmi cum Odis*, only partially collated its readings against the corresponding passages throughout the larger corpus of Codex A: other than some of the corresponding Codex A readings, he collated these *Biblical Odes* only against other, later, *Biblical Odes* witnesses. The prevailing presumption that (1) the two sets of texts must vary in only very minor, incidental ways, when combined with (2) the tendency to relegate the *Biblical Odes* collection to a suspect subcategory of witnesses to the biblical text (liturgical witnesses), apparently explains why the text of the *Biblical Odes* collection from Codex A has never been examined alongside other ancient evidence to the selection of readings it manifests. My study indicates that not only has an oversight been committed here but the readings of Codex A's *Biblical Odes* collection should be treated as all the more valuable in that they witness a differing textual tradition from that seen in the remainder of this codex.

With regard to the history of worship, my work indicates that an established manuscript tradition for the *Biblical Odes* stretches back into the era preceding Codex A's production. It appears likely that the divergences in evidence between the sets of texts contained in Codex A owe, on the side of the *Biblical Odes* collection, to use of a preexisting *Biblical Odes* manuscript as *Vorlage* for this portion of the manuscript. The probability of a pre-fifth-century biblical Odes tradition is routinely inferred by scholars from remarks made by ancient authors, it is true. What my study offers is additional—and in my estimation firmer—testimony to an earlier worship practice involving them. Appreciation of the fact that an established *Biblical Odes* manuscript tradition likely preceded the production of Codex A means that we possess something approaching actual documentary evidence for the collection prior to the fifth century; in all probability we have in Codex A's *Biblical Odes* the descendant of a yet-older exemplar that likewise contained the collection.

***International Organization for
Septuagint and Cognate Studies***



Program in Philadelphia

Sunday, November 21, 2005

9:00 a.m.–11:30 a.m.

Johan Lust, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium, Presiding

Paul Danove, Villanova University

Λέγω Melding in the Septuagint

Stefan Schorch, Kirchliche Hochschule Bethel

Women in the Book of Genesis According to the Septuagint

Deborah Gera, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Translating Hebrew Poetry into Greek Poetry: The Case of Exodus 15

David A. deSilva, Ashland Theological Seminary

Seven Papyrus Fragments of Greek Exodus

Jan-Wim Wesselijs, Theological University Kampen

A Reconsideration of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel 17

Richard J. Saley, Harvard University

Greek Lucianic Doublets and 4QSam^a

1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m.

Melvin Peters, Duke University, Presiding

Johan Lust, Catholic University of Leuven, Belgium

Adam and Edom in Ezekiel, LXX, and MT

W. Edward Glenny, Northwestern College

Hebrew Misreadings or Free Translation in the Septuagint of Amos?

R. Timothy McLay, St. Stephen's University

The Greek Translations of Daniel 4–6

The Hexapla Project

Petra Verwijs, Claremont Graduate University

The Hexapla Project and the Main Text of the Syro-Hexapla of Amos 1–2

Alison Salvesen, University of Oxford
Towards a Methodology for Assessing Attributions to the Three

R. Bas Ter Haar Romeny, Leiden University
Editing the Hexaplaric Fragments of Genesis, the Definitive Format of the New Edition

Monday, November 22, 2005

4:00 p.m. to 6:30 p.m.

Harold P. Scanlin, Allentown, PA
Charles Thomson: Philadelphia Patriot and Septuagint Translator

Ronald L. Troxel, University of Wisconsin–Madison
Antiochus IV and the Tyrant of Isaiah 14:18–20

Siegfried Kreuzer, Kirchliche Hochschule Wuppertal/Barmen School of Theology
Beyond King or Congregation: A New Solution for the Beginnings of the Septuagint

Emanuel Tov, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Etymological Exegesis of the Septuagint Translators

Business Meeting

General Business Meeting



Philadelphia, November 22, 2005

President Johan Lust called the meeting to order at 6:15 p.m. and made brief remarks of farewell.

1. Reports

Treasurer's report

Rob Hiebert reported the IOSCS finances to be in good shape with a balance of \$15,000 in the IOSCS account and more than \$9,500 in the NETS account.

BIOSCS report

Bernard Taylor, editor of *BIOSCS*, reported that the 2005 issue would be out early in 2006, and the 2006 issue shortly thereafter. He encouraged submission of dissertation abstracts, short notes, and book reviews.

SCS report (Ben Wright read the report in Melvin Peters's absence)

The next volume, *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures*, edited by Wolfgang Kraus and Glen Wooden is expected out "shortly." The papers from the Congress in Basel have been returned to their authors for publication elsewhere. The Leiden Congress volume is expected in 2006.

2. Election of New Officers

The following slate of nominations was elected:

President: Ben Wright, Lehigh University, 3-year term

Vice President: Jan Joosten, Strasbourg, 3-year term

Secretary: Karen Jobes, Wheaton College, 3-year term

Treasurer: Rob Hiebert, Trinity Western University, 3-year term

All editors are continuing:

Bernard Taylor, Loma Linda University, BIOSCS editor

Melvin Peters, Duke University, SCS series

Jay Treat, University of Pennsylvania, IOSCS web site

At-large Members of the Executive Committee:

1-year term

Anneli Aejmelaesus, Johann Cook, Olivier Munnich, Emanuel Tov

2-year term

Natalio Fernández Marcos, Moisés Silva, Kristin De Troyer

3-year term

Cécile Dogniez, Wolfgang Kraus, Alison Salvesen

3. Actions of the Executive Committee reported and ratified:

Robert Kraft was made an honorary member, joining Wevers, Ulrich, and Pietersma.

Martin Karrer reported that *Septuaginta Deutsch* would be published in 2006.

Wolfgang Kraus announced a conference will be held July 20–23, 2006 at the Barmen School of Theology on “The Septuagint—Texts, Contexts, and Cultural Setting.”

Rob Hiebert announced the inauguration on Sept 17, 2005 of the Septuagint Institute at Trinity Western University and that both John Wevers and Albert Pietersma have bequeathed their libraries to the Institute.

4. New Business from the floor:

Tim McLay raised the issue of possibly funding projects from IOSCS funds.

John Lee asked if BIOSCS should be renamed the Journal of the IOSCS.

5. Newly-elected President Ben Wright adjourned the meeting at 6:40 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

Karen H. Jobes

December 9, 2005

Treasurer's Report



U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNTS JULY 1, 2005–JUNE 30, 2006

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

BALANCE 7/1/05		114.03
CREDITS		
08/01/05	(Interest)	0.01
08/26/05	(Deposit of NETS royalty payment)	75.86
10/01/05	(Interest)	0.01
12/01/05	(Interest)	0.01
12/02/05	(Deposit)	23.00
02/01/06	(Interest)	0.01
04/01/06	(Interest)	0.01
06/01/06	(Interest)	0.01
Total		98.92
DEBITS		
08/26/05	(Transfer to NETS account 4508552)	75.86
Total		75.86
6/30/06 BALANCE		137.09
SUMMARY		
BALANCE 7/1/05		114.03
7/1/05–6/30/06	Credits	+98.92
	Total	212.95
		212.95
7/1/05–6/30/06	Debits	-75.86
	Total	137.09
6/30/06 BALANCE		137.09

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

BALANCE 7/1/05		14,575.64
CREDITS		
07/08/05	(Deposit)	767.00
09/08/05	(Deposit)	1,026.50
10/12/05	(Deposit)	796.00
01/17/06	(Deposit)	2,386.00
03/23/06	(Paypal transfer)	326.29
03/27/06	(Deposit)	539.00
06/16/06	(Deposit)	585.00
06/30/06	(Deposit)	162.00
Total		6,587.79
DEBITS		
07/20/05	(Returned deposit item)	15.00
07/20/05	(Handling charge)	5.00
08/22/05	(Eisenbrauns invoice 402487: back issues, BIOSCS 36)	1,466.00
08/22/05	(Eisenbrauns invoice 402485: BIOSCS 37)	3,349.50
11/22/05	(Cheque paid into NETS account 4508552)	493.00
12/08/05	(BIOSCS postage)	75.92
Total		5,404.42
6/30/06 BALANCE		15,759.01
SUMMARY		
BALANCE 7/1/05		14,575.64
7/1/05–6/30/06	Credits	+6,587.79
	Total	21,163.43
		21,163.43
7/1/05–6/30/06	Debits	–5,404.42
	Total	15,759.01
6/30/06 BALANCE		15,759.01

Respectfully submitted:
Robert J. V. Hiebert
IOSCS Treasurer

Audited:
Bruce Guenther
Associated Canadian Theological Schools

NETS PROJECT
U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNT
JULY 1, 2005–JUNE 30, 2006

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

BALANCE 7/1/05		9,515.46
CREDITS		
07/04/05	(Interest)	1.95
08/01/05	(Interest)	2.02
08/26/05	(Transfer from account 4507919: NETS royalty from OUP)	75.86
09/01/05	(Interest)	2.02
10/03/05	(Interest)	1.97
11/01/05	(Interest)	2.03
11/17/05	(Cheque from Farmers State account 9550519)	493.00
12/01/05	(Interest)	1.97
01/03/06	(Interest)	2.04
02/04/06	(Interest)	2.04
03/01/06	(Interest)	1.84
04/03/06	(Interest)	2.04
05/01/06	(Interest)	1.97
06/01/06	(Interest)	2.04
Total		592.79
DEBITS		
11/17/05	(Cash withdrawal for reimbursement of 2004 IOSCS Leiden meeting costs)	493.00
6/30/06 BALANCE		9,615.25

SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/05		9,515.46
7/1/05–6/30/06	Credits	+592.79
	Total	10,108.25
		10,108.25
		–493.00
7/1/05–6/30/06		9,615.25
6/30/06 BALANCE		9,615.25

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

Audited:
 Bruce Guenther
 Associated Canadian Theological Schools

In memoriam Udo Quast 1939–2005

On December 30, 2005, Udo Quast succumbed to cancer, after a year of fighting the disease. Between chemotherapy treatments during this period he came regularly to the Unternehmen to work on his critical edition of the book of Joshua, as well as reading proofs of his Ruth edition; the latter should be appearing shortly. The Joshua volume awaits another editor.

For me the death of Udo is something like losing one's right arm. Udo was not only a friend of long standing, but also a colleague who worked with me faithfully during my many years of preparing the Pentateuch volumes of the Göttingen *Septuaginta*.

I first met Udo in 1966, when I first visited the Unternehmen and was assigned the editorship of the Genesis volume. Once I had worked on the collation books for a year or so, I would visit Göttingen every summer, as well as during my Sabbaticals. Udo automatically assigned himself full time to my work as long as I was there. When I arrived at the Hauptbahnhof he and Detlef Fraenkel were always there to pick me up; when I came to Lagarde Haus, my old slippers were in place for me. And when I left, he and Detlef were at the Bahnhof to bid me farewell.

Udo checked every reference that I queried; he read critically everything I wrote; he was my right hand throughout the years of working on the Pentateuch. He was really my alter ego, and I grieve his passing.

He was the finest proofreader I have ever met. When proof arrived we both read everything. Only rarely did I find an error that Udo had not seen, whereas the reverse was frequent. He had cat's eyes. On occasion he would check a very difficult reading and would ask me to check his reading. That was to my mind almost an impertinence, since he could read things that merely looked like a smudge or only a faint tiny unreadable something, and I would not even realize that there was a reading. But I always agreed that his

reading was undoubtedly correct. The fact that the pentateuchal volumes are as accurate as they are is largely due to Udo's brilliance.

I have never met anyone who could read manuscripts as well as Udo could. And what amazed me about Udo was his reticence; he never put himself forward; in fact, he was always deferential, even though we were on *Duzen* terms.

But Udo did so much more. As long as Prof. Hanhart was the Leiter of the Unternehmen it was Udo who acted for the Leiter. It was he who was in charge of the student collators, who assigned them their work, who corresponded on behalf of the Unternehmen. Prof. Hanhart would come in once a week and Udo would report to him. When any collator had difficulty it was Udo who came to the rescue; after all, he was the master paleographer.

Udo spent his life reading manuscripts. He and Detlef rechecked all the manuscripts that the collators had read, with Udo reading the manuscript and Detlef checking the collation books. I would suggest that Udo knew more about LXX manuscripts than any living human being, with the only possible exception of Detlef Fraenkel. And what made Udo so endearing to me was that he was so self-effacing.

The Göttingen Pentateuch is unthinkable without Udo, and it is only right that my name as editor should have appended to it "adiuvante U. Quast." The Göttingen *Septuaginta* has lost its chief treasure, and I have lost a dear friend. May his memory endure as long as the Göttingen Pentateuch; or better said, as long as the Göttingen *Septuaginta*.

JOHN WM WEVERS

JANUARY 12, 2006

U. Quast, Ruth: An Appreciation

Udo Quast was diagnosed with lung cancer in December 2004, underwent extensive chemotherapy, but worked feverishly to finish his edition of Ruth¹ for the Göttingen LXX, reading final proof in the hope of seeing it in print, but he died at the end of 2005. I received from his widow a copy of the edition with an accompanying note² saying that Udo had desperately wanted to have my opinion of it; but that was not to be. I very much wanted to fulfill that wish, and decided to write my opinion of his work for publication.

In the decades that I worked on the Pentateuch with the help of Udo Quast and Detlef Fraenkel, Udo was fascinated by Ruth and worked at odd moments on it; in fact, he had also been assigned the books of Joshua and Judges, and he worked on these as well. He had recently reached 65 and had retired, and anticipated working fulltime on his beloved LXX.

His Ruth volume is, as expected, a model of precision. I am quite sure that every sentence was rethought, every reading checked again and again. The result is as close to perfection as it was humanly possible to make it.

His model was Rahlfs' *Studie über den griechischen Text des Buches Ruth*, published in 1922.³ He accepted with sound instinct the general pattern of textual history of Ra,⁴ with its *O,o*, *L,l*, *R* and *C* plus *codices mixti*; but refining these by adding *oII*, *rI*, and *rII*, as well as accepting the Pentateuch groups: *d*, *s*, and *t*.

1. *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum*, vol. 4/3: *Ruth* (ed. Udo Quast; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006).

2. Dated 22.8.06.

3. *Mitteilungen d. Septuaginta-Unternehmens* (vol. 3/2; Berlin, 1922).

4. In distinction from Rahlfs' Stuttgart edition, here designated Ra \bar{S} .

The *R* family, which Ra called a “Rezension unbekannter Herkunft,”⁵ is not further characterized by Quast, but it reflects the same general pattern as the critical text, reflecting a kind of rabbinic approach to the text in the early centuries of our era strongly influenced by the MT, and unfortunately dubbed by many as the *kaige* recension. That Ruth reflects this kind of exegesis is well known; but what, in my opinion, should be said of the *R* family is that it too reflects this same tendency. The Ruth text does render וְנָם by καίγε throughout; but at 2:13 the passage וְאֵלֶּיךָ לֹא אֵדְוֶיךָ is rendered in Ruth as καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἔσομαι. The *O* text, here represented by 19', adds an οὐκ to represent the לֹא, but *R* simply omits the ἰδοὺ, and then adds εἰμι after ἐγὼ, creating the monstrosity καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἔσομαι. Clearly *R* represents this same type of “kaige” exegesis, as does the critical text.

Of interest are the eight instances where Quast differs from Ra, as well as those instances where Ra and Ra^S differ. I simply list them below with only the relevant support:

- 1:19 and 2:4 εἶπαν] εἶπον. Based on uncial support.
- 2:8 אַל תִּלְכִּי לְלֶקֶט בַּשָּׂדֶה אַחֵר – (μη πορευθῆς) ἐν ἀγρῶ συλλέξαι ἐτέρω B Ra^S] = ἐν ἀγρῶ ἐτερω συλλεξαι = Ra
- 3:3 עַד כִּלְתּוֹ – ἕως τοῦ συντελέσαι αὐτόν] εὼς οὐ συντελεσαι αὐτον A B = Ra. The construction ἕως τοῦ plus infinitive never occurs elsewhere in the LXX, except as a variant, according to Quast.
- 4:11 אֲשֶׁר בָּנוּ שְׂתִיבָה אֶת בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל – (αὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν ἀμφοτέρω τὸν οἶκον) τοῦ Ἰσραήλ B 707] om τοῦ rel = Ra
- 4:11 וַעֲשֵׂה חֵיל בְּאַרְפַּתָּה וּקְרָא שֵׁם בְּבֵית לָחֵם – καὶ ποιῆσαι (δύναμιν ἐν Ἐφράθα, καὶ ἔσται ὄνομα ἐν Βαιθλέεμ)] καὶ ἐποιῆσαν B = Ra
- 4:11 (καὶ Βόος τὴν Ρούθ καὶ ἐγενήθη αὐτῶ εἰς γυναικα καὶ εἰσ-ἦλθεν πρὸς αὐτήν) Ra^S] om B = Ra: homoiot.
- 4:19 וַחֲצִרוֹן הוֹלִיד אֶת רֵם – καὶ Ἐσρων (ἐγέννησεν τὸν Ἀρράν)] ἐσρων δε = Ra

At the end of the volume, Quast presents a Supplement of 15 pages consisting of two parts, both of which show the editor at his finest. The first one deals with the usual *Orthographica und Grammatica*. It is the most detailed that I have ever seen. For instance, his list of vowel and consonant changes is

5. P. 104.

complete. Every instance of itacism available in the extant text is given. As he himself states, the fact that Ruth is such a short book makes it feasible to list every deviation (except for the movable final vv), and he does precisely that.

Similarly for the second part: *Abweichungen von Brooke-McLean*. Not only are the usual errors of collation in B-McL given, but a second section is devoted to readings that either were unnoticed or wrongly recorded, including readings difficult to read and thus uncertain, which are clearly marked with an asterisk (*) before the citation.

In general I am impressed by the meticulousness with which this edition has been prepared. It is to my mind a model edition. I can find nothing negative to say about it. I admire the work as a wonderful memorial to a great LXX scholar who went his quiet way unobtrusively, but made a huge contribution to the Göttingen LXX behind the scenes, and made the *Unternehmen* effective for almost 40 years. The Ruth edition remains as a monument to his memory.

JOHN WM WEVERS

Book Review

Honigman, Sylvie. *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria: A Study in the Narrative of the Letter of Aristeas*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. xii + 210. ISBN: 0-415-28072-9.

Sylvie Honigman's important work, *The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria*, once again turns our attention to the *Letter of Aristeas* and its significance for understanding the origin and reception history of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch made in the third century B.C.E. In this well-organized and clearly written volume, Sylvie Honigman (SH) argues that when the *Letter of Aristeas* is re-integrated into its original literary, political, and intellectual milieu, the story of the Septuagint it presents can best be understood "in light of the history of the text of Homer in Ptolemaic Alexandria" (p. 142). Abandoning the traditional title, *Letter of Aristeas*, SH refers to the text as the *Book of Aristeas* (*B.Ar.*) because the work is certainly not personal correspondence given the breadth and longevity of its circulation as attested by extant manuscripts. Reading *B.Ar.* as the "charter myth" of the Septuagint that justified its authoritative use as a sacred text, SH believes that it should be taken more seriously as an example of Graeco-Roman historiography, and that its truth value must be recognized within the categories innate to its ancient genre and not by the standards of modern historical criticism.

Although SH agrees that the text was not contemporaneous with the events it describes, she argues that *B.Ar.* has a "narrative veracity" that in Graeco-Roman historiography involved taking a sparse set of items believed by the author to be historical "fact" and "emplotting" those facts into a narrative intended to elaborate their significance for the target audience. *B.Ar.* was the result of giving the previous oral tradition about the origin of the Septuagint a literary form using the conventions of Graeco-Roman historiography (pp. 90–91). It is this combination of oral tradition and literary emplotment that constitutes the genre that she calls "charter myth." SH cites sociologist Peter Berger, who explains, "As we remember the past, we reconstruct it in accordance with our present ideas of what is important and what is not" (p. 84). This selection of past events considered to be significant in the present are then "emplotted" (a term she takes from the theoretical work of Hayden White) into a narrative

form by the addition of *realia* that involve characters and situations which represent the significance of those past events (pp. 84–85). The problem with modern readings of *B.Ar.*, according to SH, is that they have little tolerance for the classical standards of historiography that started “from a core of ‘hard facts’” presented with literary elaboration (pp. 74–75). SH cites the work of Anthony Woodman on Cicero’s terminology, which argues, “for Cicero, it was literary elaboration which turned annalistic records into history” (p. 75). The literary elaboration (*exornatio*) was the “plain invention” of the author, but the resulting narrative constituted the “charter myth” for the historical events around which the narrative was constructed. To modern eyes, *B.Ar.* may appear to be fiction of little or no historical value as assessed by the standards of modern historiography; but when read against its Alexandrian milieu, SH claims it “displays only the most respectable features of contemporary prose writing” intended to “establish his work as an account of undisputable veracity” (p. 69).

In the case of *B.Ar.*, SH argues that the Exodus paradigm provides the narrative framework for a carefully composed emplotment of a core of “hard facts” preserved for two or three generations in the oral tradition about the origin of the Septuagint (pp. 53–63, 74). The main *theme* of the narrative is the quality of the translation, but the narrative *structure* falls into three episodes which together form “the outline of a re-writing of the story of the Exodus” (p. 53). The first episode in *B.Ar.* is the arrival of prisoners of war under Ptolemy I (*B.Ar.* 12–27) and their liberation at the request of Aristas by Ptolemy II (*B.Ar.* 33–7), which corresponds in the Exodus paradigm to Israel’s enslavement in Egypt by Pharaoh that precipitated the Exodus.

The second episode (*B.Ar.* 46–50) associates the origin of the Septuagint translation with Moses and the giving of the Law during the Exodus, an association that SH acknowledges was previously identified by Orlinsky to assert that “the Greek translation . . . of the Holy Law . . . was . . . no less divinely inspired than the Hebrew original of Moses.”¹ Seventy was the number of the elders who accompanied Moses to Mt. Sinai (Exod 24:9) and who received the Holy Spirit (Num 11:25), so the apparent intent of *B.Ar.* was to suggest that the translators were also inspired administrators of the Law. SH suggests that the discrepancy concerning the number of translators (70 or 72) in Jewish tradition arises from recognition of the Exodus paradigm in *B.Ar.* that has been combined with concerns for Greek civic polity. In order for the translation to be universally authoritative, the translators had to represent all the people, so SH proposes that the author of *B.Ar.* used the paradigm for the representation of the *demos* familiar to citizens of Greek cities. She notes that Plato’s ideal city in the *Republic* had 12 tribes, which “lends perfect verisimilitude to the revival of the biblical tribes of Israel far into the Hellenistic period” (p. 57). She further points out that much of the travelogue in *B.Ar.* (chaps. 83–120) is structured to show that Jerusalem is the ideal

1. Harry M. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators,” *HUCA* 46 (1975) 97.

Greek *polis*. Theoretically, the author of *B.Ar.* could have numbered just 12 translators to meet the Greek civic requirement, but he also wanted to allude to the 70 elders who accompanied Moses to connect the Septuagint with the origin of the Law it translates. Therefore, 72 was the closest number he could choose to satisfy both the biblical and the civic paradigm. “The designation of Elders [as translators] ‘in the presence of all’ [*B.Ar.* 46], together with their selection by tribe, turns them into delegates of the whole people of Israel” (p. 57), thus making an implicit claim that the work of the translators should be accepted as authoritative for all Jews everywhere.

The third episode of *B.Ar.* (chaps. 308–11) that correlates to the Exodus paradigm is the proclamation of the translation made in Alexandria as authoritative, which parallels the reading aloud of the Law followed by the acclamation of the people in Exod 24:3–7. On this point SH summarizes the previous work of Harry Orlinsky and of André Paul.² Orlinsky noted that the oral reading of the translation before all the people (*B.Ar.* 308–11) is presented as a canonization ceremony similar to what he understands to be the canonization of the Law described in Neh 8:1–6.

Therefore, the narrative shape of *B.Ar.* describing the origin of the Greek translation of the Law and its reception as an authoritative text follows the contours of the original giving of the Law and its reception as authoritative. Following the previous consensus, SH construes this as definitive evidence that the author of *B.Ar.* was in fact a Hellenized Jew and not a Gentile courier in the court of Ptolemy, and consequently the persona of Aristeas has been chosen by the author.

However, while SH agrees that a learned Alexandrian Jew adopted the persona of Aristeas, the courier in Ptolemy’s court, as a fitting narrator of the story of the origin of the LXX, she does not dismiss *B.Ar.* as having no historical value on that point. Instead, SH analyzes the use of ego-narrative (i.e., the adoption of a first-person narrative perspective) and fictional identity in the Hellenistic period and concludes that the adoption of *that particular persona* suggests the author’s intent to undergird the historical truth that the origin of the translation *was* closely associated with the court of Ptolemy (p. 70). (And in passing she notes the possible relevance of this concept for the “we-passages” in the Acts of the Apostles, p. 67.) Although she leaves open the question of whether or not the original translation was actually deposited in the royal library at the time of its original production, SH believes the evidence best fits the scenario that it was (pp. 131, 133–34). In other words, if there had been historically no royal involvement in the origin of the LXX, there would have been no reason for the author of *B.Ar.* to present the charter myth of the LXX as an eye-witness account of someone from within that court. And so while agreeing with, for instance, Orlinsky

2. Ibid.; A. Paul, “Traductions grecques de la Bible avant la Septante?” in *Mélanges P. Lévêque*, vol. 4: *Religion* (ed. M.-M. Macroux and E. Geney; Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1990) 315–28.

and Wright³ that *B.Ar.* is a myth intended to justify using a translation as an authoritative sacred text, the methodology she employs leads to a conclusion about the role of Ptolemy II in the origin of the Septuagint that contradicts the consensus which rejects any role the royal library played. SH writes, “In spite of the uncertainties involved, however, recent research in the various fields relevant for the study of *B.Ar.* converges to make the involvement of the king and the library in the origins of the LXX much more likely than previous generations of scholars were ready to assume” (p. 117).

Citing the recent work of Andrew Erskine,⁴ she stresses that “the building of the museum and the library by Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II was conceived as a means of political propaganda” that asserted universal dominion (p. 116). “The universal gathering of books was the cultural counterpart of the claim to universal rule” (p. 116). The translation was likely made during the First Syrian War (274–271 B.C.E.) with the Seleucids over a region that included Jerusalem. Funding the translation of the founding text of the people who occupied the disputed region and including it in his royal library afforded Ptolemy another way to assert control over that area.

The Septuagint was then used for about one hundred years in largely-unknown ways before *B.Ar.* was written. SH argues that the establishment of Jewish *politeumata* in the second century B.C.E. may have been one of the precipitating events that made it necessary to clarify that the Greek translation of the ancestral Law of the Jews was as authoritative as the Hebrew original. She cites a papyrus divorce document from Heracleopolis (*CPJ* 1:128) as showing that the Jews of Egypt could refer to their ancestral law even in Greek courts (p. 111). As corroborating evidence internal to the LXX itself, she cites the work of Bickerman, who “pointed out that the LXX occasionally adapted biblical law to Ptolemaic legal praxis” (p. 109).⁵ This judicial use of the Septuagint in Greek legal courts both gave rise to the question of whether the translation should be considered authoritative, and exerted a pressure to consider it so. SH cites with approval the suggestion of Albert Pietersma that the central thrust of the *Letter of Aristeas* belongs to a later stage of reception history when the authority of the Septuagint as a sacred text independent from the Hebrew made it necessary to address the question of its origins (p. 118). As SH points out, “The obvious implication of this claim is that the LXX was *not* sacred in the third century B.C.E. In fact, it is doubtful whether anyone in Ptolemaic Egypt, or indeed the Graeco-Roman world at

3. Orlinsky, “The Septuagint as Holy Writ,” 89–114; Benjamin G. Wright III, “Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo,” in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of the Greek Jewish Scriptures* (SBLSCS 53; ed. Wolfgang Kraus and Glenn Wooden; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006) 47–61.

4. A. W. Erskine, “Culture and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Museum and the Library of Alexandria,” *GR* 42 (1995) 38–48.

5. E. J. Bickerman, “Two Legal Interpretations of the Septuagint,” *RIDA*,” 3rd ser. 3 (1956) 81–104.

large, would have ever considered a freshly made translation of any sacred text as sacred itself” (p. 95, emphasis original).

With the issue of establishing the Septuagint as an authoritative text in mind, SH presents her idea of the Homeric paradigm as a hypothesis on the origin of *B.Ar.* and as illuminating the history of the reception of the LXX (pp. 119–43). The need for the Jews of Alexandria to establish the Septuagint as an authoritative text became pressing in the intellectual milieu of textual work being done on Classical Greek authors, especially on Homer in the mid-second century B.C.E. *B.Ar.* claims that it was under the direction of the chief librarian, Demetrius, that the Septuagint entered the royal library. While the reference to Demetrius is probably historically anachronistic (Demetrius served under the reign of Ptolemy I and was apparently banished by Ptolemy II at the start of his reign), it was Demetrius, the first head of the great library in Alexandria, whose name was associated with the importance of having (only?) authorized editions of literary texts of the Greek authors in the king’s library (p. 89). The establishment of authorized editions of traditional literary texts was a cultural phenomenon that dates to the fourth century (p. 121). Demetrius plays the central role in *B.Ar.* as the person who initiates the translation (chaps. 10–11), records it under the dictation of the translators, reads it aloud to the gathering of the Jews upon its completion, and acknowledges its sacred quality (chaps. 302, 308, 313). His role is *realia* that is not inadvertent historical inaccuracy but that is symbolically significant as an essential part of the evidence marshaled for the quality of the Septuagint text.

The demand for authorized editions of the Greek literary works motivated a great deal of textual critical activity in Alexandria, especially on Homer, to meet the high expectation of Greek readers. SH points out that the literary expectation in Alexandria corroborates Benjamin Wright’s analysis that the *Prologue of Ben Sira* 15–26 is to be read not as a comment about faithfulness to the Hebrew original, but as an apology for the poor quality of his “translationese” Greek as compared with native compositions (p. 125). However, faithfulness to the Hebrew would also have been a concern at this time, when “a new awareness of the importance of the accurate wording of a text was developing” (p. 131), and would have provided a motive for producing “translationese.” Moreover, SH argues that “the conceptual approach and working methods that characterized the grammarians from the library who carried out the edition of Homer” probably influenced three stages in the history of the LXX: (1) how the original translation was conducted under the reign of Ptolemy II; (2) the subsequent textual history of the LXX in the late third and early second centuries; and (3) the intellectual milieu for the composition of *B.Ar.* (p. 120). SH notes that a new edition of Homer produced by Aristarchus, who was at the time the head of the Alexandrian library, appeared around 150 B.C.E. and seems to have achieved “a status close to that of an authoritative text” (p. 119). This event roughly corresponds to the date *B.Ar.* was produced to give the Septuagint authoritative status (p. 119). She then argues that *B.Ar.* 308–11

may even echo developments in Homeric studies following the appearance of that edition.

And so SH reconstructs the history of the LXX thus (pp. 131–39):

- The original translation was made in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy II in the third century B.C.E. at the initiative of the second or third generation of Jewish residents of that city, who turned to the king to provide the financial and possibly technical means needed to gather a translation team.
- About one hundred years later, around 150 B.C.E., the cultural expectation for standardized, authoritative texts in the middle of the second century made learned Jews realize that the quality of the LXX manuscripts in circulation had deteriorated. Because of the use of the Septuagint possibly in educational settings, in worship, and in Greek courts of law, the leaders of the Jewish *politeuma* and the Jewish community undertook an initiative to give their foundational text the standing and prestige expected by Alexandrian culture.
- At this point the scenario depends on whether or not one accepts that the LXX had been deposited in the library at the time of its origin under Ptolemy II.

If the translation was already in the library, SH notes:

its presence in the library did not make it authoritative by the textual standards of the work being done in second-century Alexandria, but that in the wake of the authorized edition of Homer in 150 B.C.E., the claim was made that the copy of the LXX in the library was indeed to function as the authoritative text henceforth and was therefore to be the exemplar for subsequent copies. *B.Ar.* was written to justify this claim.

If the translation was not already in the library, SH notes:

when the deteriorated condition of the manuscripts in circulation was noticed because of the cultural influence of authorized editions of literary texts, a revised edition was made that claimed to be a recovery of the original text produced under Ptolemy II, corresponding to the claim that the newly produced edition of Homer reconstructed the authentic text composed by Homer *c.* 1050 B.C.E. (pp. 133–34). The revised edition was deposited either in the royal library, or in the archive of the Jewish *politeuma*, or both. The king at that time, Ptolemy VIII, may or may not have been involved.

Under either scenario *B.Ar.* actually conflates two historical events: the original production of the translation in the third century and its later adoption as the authoritative text of the Greek-speaking Jewish community of Egypt in the second. SH proposes that the festival celebrated on the island of Pharos every year was instituted at the time *B.Ar.* was presented to the public in the mid-second century, not at the time the translation was originally made (p. 139).

Of the two scenarios, SH argues that the first—that the translation had in fact been deposited in the library under Ptolemy II at the time of its origin—“is much easier to reconcile with the early history of the LXX as philological studies now reconstruct it” (p. 134). She notes that this is consistent with Paul Kahle’s theory if one substitutes “deterioration of the manuscripts of the original translation” for Kahle’s “early translations” (p. 134). She rejects, however, Kahle’s understanding that the allusion to corrupted manuscripts in *B.Ar.* 30 was proof of the existence of previous translations and instead understands the reference as “a retro-projection of the situation obtaining in *B.Ar.*’s days, rather than in Ptolemy II’s” (pp. 134–35). SH therefore concludes that in the wake of Homeric scholarship in Alexandria, *B.Ar.* “was written either to support the political step of the proclamation of the copy held in the library as authoritative (or, alternatively, the promulgation of the emended edition); or, more probably, to meet public curiosity aroused by this step” (p. 135).

SH does not claim to be a Septuagintalist herself, and so may be forgiven for her rather sketchy treatment of an “internal analysis of the LXX and the early history of the text” and her somewhat confusing statements about translation technique (p. 96). She refers to the work of our female colleague Raija Sollamo using a masculine pronoun (p. 97). And in the chapter “Origin and Early History of the LXX,” she often cites Jobs and Silva rather than going to the original sources (for which this particular writer should perhaps be grateful!). Strangely absent is any interaction with the thought that Hasmonean attempts from Jerusalem to assert hegemony over the Jewish community in Alexandria may have been part of the sociopolitical context in which *B.Ar.* was written.

The Septuagint and Homeric Scholarship in Alexandria presents a sophisticated argument that marshals scholarship from several fields relevant to the study of *B.Ar.*, but not typically accessed by most Septuagintalists. In this, the book makes a significant contribution to Septuagintal studies. SH offers seven chapters, in a pleasing logical sequence, along with an appendix containing an outline of the composition of *B.Ar.*, extensive endnotes, selected bibliography, and indices. Some of the abbreviations encountered are unfortunately not found in the list of abbreviations in the front matter. Her ability to present complicated material with clarity and logical acumen is admirable. The presentation of material sometimes seemed a bit redundant, but the complexity of her argument may justify her recapitulating style. At times when recapitulating, SH makes statements that appear at first reading to contradict statements made in previous chapters, and resolution requires both a careful rereading of the context and attention to her highly nuanced qualifications. Even so, the book seems to trace her thoughts and conclusions as they progressed.

Sylvie Honigman has made a significant and valuable contribution to the study of the *Letter of Aristeas* and of the origins of the Septuagint. Her analysis of the genre of *B.Ar.* in its cultural setting has redefined the categories in which modern scholars must evaluate the historical value of this fascinating ancient text. The crux of her

theory is her analysis of the genre of *B.Ar.* as “charter myth,” which is a synthesis of the work of several other scholars from various fields that needs further scrutiny by those classicists and historians more familiar with the scholarship upon which she builds. The sources she mustered for her synthesis seem a bit dated to this reader. Sociological studies provide her fundamental notion that the historical past is reconstructed through the selection of elements that have significance for the present (i.e., the work of Peter Berger).⁶ From the work of Hayden White⁷ she takes the idea of “emplotment,” which she refines using the work of other scholars to fit the literary conventions of the Hellenistic period (e.g. Anthony Woodman’s work on Cicero).⁸ To this she adds Propp’s work on the functional role of characters and situations in folktales to differentiate between *realia* that refer to actual external concerns of the author and those that are required only by the self-referential needs of the story.⁹ If her analysis of this ancient genre can be sustained, it may have implications that reach beyond the “charter myth” of the Greek translation to the interpretation of the Greek narratives found within the LXX/OG corpus itself that were translated in the same cultural milieu of Ptolemaic Egypt, particularly the Greek Esther and Daniel.

This is a well-researched, finely crafted work and a fascinating read that will hopefully spawn new studies by both Septuagintalists and Classicists. Her concluding exhortation, though perhaps overstated, deserves to be heeded: it is flawed thinking to treat “the so-called Judaeo-Hellenistic works as a separate category” when there is much to be gained by situating them more broadly in the literary, historical, cultural, religious, and philosophical setting of Ptolemaic Egypt. Sylvie Honingman has demonstrated in this book the value to Septuagintal studies that such an approach affords.

KAREN H. JOBES

WHEATON COLLEGE GRADUATE SCHOOL

6. P. L. Berger, *Invitation to Sociology: A Humanistic Perspective* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1963).

7. H. White, “The Historical Text as Literary Artifact,” *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) 81–99.

8. A. J. Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography: Four Studies* (London: Croom Helm, 1988).

9. V. I. Propp, *The Morphology of the Folktale* (2nd ed.; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968; based on the Russian 1st ed., 1928).