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Five Papyrus Fragments of Greek Exodus

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Papyrus witnesses to Greek Exodus are surprisingly few in number, and large spans of the text remain completely without extant papyrus witnesses. These five fragments fill an important lacuna in that regard. Four of these fragments, when combined with fragments three and four from the previously published collection of seven fragments,¹ yield six consecutive, fragmentary pages bearing witness to the text of Exod 10:24–13:7, the only extant papyrus witness to those chapters of Exodus.² Aside from the obvious similarities between the previously published fragments of Exod 11–12³ and the fragments of those chapters presented here in terms of size, shape, handwriting, and the line length, recreation of the lost portions of each page makes it highly probable that these fragments belong to the same manuscript, each page fitting comfortably within the range of 32–35 lines per page.

Author's note: I wish to express my deep gratitude to the anonymous owner who has allowed the textual data from these fragments to be published to the scholarly community and made available to specialists working in the field of textual criticism of Greek Exodus and Septuagint studies in general. Thanks are due as well to the collector's staff, who have been immensely helpful all along the way providing scans, permissions, and the like.

1. David A. deSilva, with Marcus P. Adams, "Seven Papyrus Fragments of Greek Exodus," *VT* 56/2 (2006) 1–28.

2. No papyri specimens of these chapters are recorded in the catalogs of Exodus manuscripts compiled in John W. Wevers, *Exodus (Septuaginta* 2.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 14–16; and in Detlef Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments (Septuaginta Supplementum* 1.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004) 473–74. The first of these fragments provides a second papyrus witness to Exod 3:16–18, together with 886 (see Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 367), but the only witness to the beginning of chapter four.

3. Fragments 3 and 4 in deSilva and Adams, "Seven Papyrus Fragments."

It is probable that these fragments stand in some relationship with the codex represented now only by Schøyen ms 187, which contains Exod 4:17–6:12; 7:12–21, along with a single folio in the Antonovich collection containing Exod 6:28–7:12. The scribe of Schøyen ms 187 bears a strikingly similar hand and also fits about 32 lines onto a page in a single column, the norm for these five fragments as well. Schøyen ms 187 is a nearly complete page, measuring 26 x 16 cm (originally 28 x 16 cm),⁴ which would correspond well to the size of the (reconstructed) leaves here and those containing the previously published fragments. It is tempting to conjecture that the first of these five fragments preceded the first leaf of Schøyen ms 187 with one intervening page in a single codex. Character count, while allowing for this *possibility*, does not suggest it as a *probability*, since the missing page would have been uncharacteristically cramped. Nevertheless, the five fragments under consideration here, together with the previously published seven, would have all belonged to a single bound codex consisting of bifolia written in single-column script between the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century C.E.⁵

The primary purpose of this article is to present the critical texts of these five fragments; the secondary purpose is to note where the manuscript offers additional support for, or evidence against, readings adopted in the critical editions of Exodus published by Alfred Rahlfs (Ra) and John W. Wevers (GS),⁶ show the alignment of the text's variant readings with the major uncials and groups included in the textual apparatus of the GS, and offer a preliminary assessment of the character of the manuscript and its text-critical value. Study of the manuscript's alignments with and against the major uncials (A B F [where extant] and M) and groups (especially the O-group) suggests that these fragments come from a codex that exhibited considerable independence from known text types and offers therefore an important (if

4. See commentary given at <http://www.nb.no/baser/schoyen/4/4.1/412.html#187>.

5. The author is grateful to Dr. John Wevers of the University of Toronto and Dr. Bruce Griffin of Ave Maria College of the Americas, who provided these dating estimates. Fragment 5 in deSilva and Adams, "Papyrus Fragments," is a bifolium showing the seam with the holes used for stitching the quires together. An image of this fragment is available in D. A. deSilva, *An Introduction to the New Testament: Contexts, Methods & Ministry Formation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2004) 43.

6. Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Privileg. Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1931); John W. Wevers, *Exodus* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991). The sigla of Dr. Wevers's edition are used throughout this article wherever possible (Masoretic Text, however, is represented by MT).

fragmentary), independent witness to the text of Exodus as it was known and read in the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century C.E.

The following discussion of the significant variants and other features of the fragments presents the results of research using line-by-line notes rather than paragraphed prose, with the goal of facilitating ease of reference on the part of the reader. Asterisks signal a textual note.

Fragment 1: Recto, Exod 3:16–18; Verso, Exod 3:21–4:3

This leaf (recto) originally contained 32 (if the missing lines averaged 20 characters per line) or 33 (if the missing lines averaged 18 characters each) lines of text. Only the first 21 lines survive, with three to seven characters remaining per line (four to seven characters per line on the reverse). The fragment measures 15 cm x 6.7 cm (all five are irregular). This is the least impressive of the fragments in terms of amount of surviving text.

Exod 3:16–18

	[Ισαακ καὶ ΘΣ Ιακωβ] λ?έ	17
	[γων ἐπισκοπῇ ἐπέσ]κεμ	18
	[μαι ὑμᾶς καὶ ὅσα συ]μ?βέβη	20
	[κεν ὑμῖν ἐν Αἰγύπ]τ?ω ¹⁷ καὶ	19
5	[εἶπον ἀναβιβάσω ὑμᾶ]ς? ἐκ τῆς	23
	[κακώσεως τῶν Αἰ]γυπτί	18
	[ων εἰς τὴν* γῆν τῶν Χαναν]αίων	23
	[καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Α]μορραί	22
	[ων καὶ Γεργεσαίων] καὶ Φε	20
10	[ρεζαίων* καὶ Εὐαίω]ν καὶ Ἴ	19
	[εβουσαίων εἰς γῆ]ν ῥέου	19
	[σαν γάλα καὶ μέλι ¹⁸ κ]αὶ εἰσα	21
	[κούσονται σου τῆς φω	17
	[νῆς καὶ εἰσελεύσ]η σὺ καὶ	20
15	[ῆ γερουσία ΙΗΛ πρὸς Φα]ραω*	21
	[βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου] καὶ ἐ	19
	[ρεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν Κ]Σ?* ὁ ΘΣ	18
	[τῶν Εβραίων προ]σκέκλη	19
	[ται ἡμᾶς πορευσώ]μεθα	18
20	[οὔν ὁδὸν τριῶν ἡμ]εραίων	18
	[εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἴν]α θύσω	19
	[μεν. . .]	

- line 7: The line is slightly cramped, especially given the fact that it does not protrude into the right-hand margin as much as its neighboring lines. It may be that this manuscript omitted the article to read εἰς γῆν (with 628).
- lines 7–9: The order of the people groups to be displaced is somewhat uncertain given the fragmentary nature of the page (certain: ?, ?, Αμορραίων, ?, Φερεζαίων, Ἰεβουσαίων). Letter count per line would not be strained if Χετταίων and Ευαίων were transposed, but there is no other manuscript evidence for Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων appearing in anything but the first two positions. In the present order, the manuscript would display the same order as the witnesses in *b* and ^{Lat}cod 101. In either event, the manuscript differs from the order preferred by both *Ra* (Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Αμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων καὶ Ευαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων) and *GS* (Χαναναίων καὶ Χετταίων καὶ Ευαίων καὶ Αμορραίων καὶ Φερεζαίων καὶ Γεργεσαίων καὶ Ἰεβουσαίων). This manuscript also differs from the order found in A B 15'–426 129 *x z* and Carl 49, all of which place Ευαίων immediately after Γεργεσαίων (as in *Ra*), agreeing with 58' 707 628 30' ^{Lat}cod 100 and the MT in placing Ευαίων after Φερεζαίων (though differing from the MT in the inclusion of the Gergesites).
- line 10: The scribe frequently uses the diaeresis to mark an iota or upsilon that begins a word (or, in the case of the proper noun Μωυσης, a syllable), particularly, though not exclusively, when preceded by a vowel. Other examples are found in Exod 3:22 (line 8), 12:21 (lines 5 and 8), 12:26 (line 6 *bis*), 12:28 (line 15), 12:31 (line 3), 12:40 (line 14), 12:47 (line 6), and 13:5 (line 12).
- line 15: This manuscript agrees with A B *O'* -29'-72-135-426 in including Φαραω (as also in *Ra GS*), against a number of authorities who bring the text into closer conformity with the MT by omitting this word (thus F M 29'-72-135-426-*oI C'' s y*³⁹² 18 59 509).
- line 17: The visible tips of the sigma (together with character count) suggest that this manuscript originally read ΚΣ ό ΘΣ ('the LORD God') against A B 15' *f*392 799, with F M *O''* *rell* following the MT.

Exod 3:21–4:3

	τῷ ἑνα[ντίον τῶν Αἰγυπτί]	20
	ων ὄταν? [δὲ ἀποτρέχητε]	18
	οὐκ ἐξε[λεύσεσθε* κενοί ²² ἀλλὰ* αἰτή]	27
	σει γυν[ῆ παρὰ γείτονος]	19
5	καὶ συνσ[κήνου* αὐτῇ σκεύη]	23
	ἀργυρᾷ κ[αὶ χρυσᾷ καὶ ἱματι]	22
	σμόν κα?[ὶ ἐπιθήσετε ἐπὶ]	19
	τοὺς υἱο[ὺς ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ]	19
	τὰς θυγα[τέρας ὑμῶν* καὶ σκυλεύ]	25

10	σατε* το[ὺς Αἰγυπτίους ¹ ἄπε]	21
	κρίθη δ[ὲ Μωυσῆς καὶ εἶπεν]	21
	ἐὰν οὖν* [μὴ πιστεύσωσιν]	19
	μοι μη[δὲ εἰσακούσωσιν]	19
	τῆς φω[νῆς μου ἐροῦσιν]	18
15	γὰρ ὅτι ο[ὐκ ὧπταί σοι ὁ ΘΣ*]	20
	τί ἐρῶ π[ρὸς αὐτούς ² εἶπεν]	20
	δὲ αὐτῷ [ΚΣ τί τοῦτό ἐστιν τό*]	22
	ἐν τῇ χ[ειρὶ σου ὁ δὲ εἶπεν]	20
	ράβδος ³ [καὶ εἶπεν ῥίψον]	19
20	αὐτήν [ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἔρρι]	21
	ψε?ν αὐτ[ὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ]	20

line 3: This manuscript aligns with 64^{mg} (an *oI* family ms) 57^{mg} (a *cI* family ms) 30'-85^{mg} (*s* family mss.) and *x* in reading ἐξελεύσεσθε, where GS and Ra read ἀπελεύσεσθε (with A B F M 15' *rell*), with admittedly little difference in meaning. Letter counts make it highly probable that this manuscript omitted the ἀλλά that opens 3:22 in GS (corresponding to the adversative *waw* in the MT), agreeing in this omission with A B 15' 129 628^{Lat-cod} 100 (and also supporting the Ra text).

line 5: συνσκήνου is an otherwise unattested reading (merely a spelling variant resulting from not assimilating the *nu* at the end of the prepositional prefix). GS and Ra (A B *rell*) read συσκήνου.

line 9: Letter count makes it highly probable that this manuscript supports A* 15'-58 *b* 130^{Lat-cod} 101 in the omission of ὑμῶν (against Ra GS, which follow A^c B F M *rell* [=MT]).

lines 9–10: The manuscript tradition provides two principal options for the concluding verb of 3:22: σκυλεύσετε/-ατε ('you will pillage'; B, many manuscripts in the *O* and *C* families) and συσκεύσετε/-ατε ('you will outsmart, deceive'; A, a number of *O* readings [15-29^c-64'-82'-376], C''-16 52 126^{131c} 422 522 etc.; with some variations in spelling, F M). It is not clear which verb this manuscript contained, only that it ends in -ατε (vs. GS and Ra -ετε) reading the verb as an aorist imperative rather than a future indicative.

lines 11, 17: There appears to be a critical mark (a raised arrowhead) at the beginning of each line, perhaps to mark an addition now lost.

line 12: This manuscript supports Ra GS in the inclusion of οὖν after ἐάν (corresponding to the MT וְ) against its omission in B 15'-64* C'' 19' 129 527 *z*.

line 15: Character count makes it somewhat improbable that this manuscript aligned with A F^b in adding ΚΣ before ὁ ΘΣ.

line 17: Again, character count makes it probable that this manuscript omitted either ἐστίν or, more probably, τό (with F^{c1} [vid] 426 *d*⁴⁴ 129 628 *t*^{Lat-cod}

100). Perhaps the critical mark at the beginning of the line draws attention to the reinsertion of this text.

Fragment 2: Recto, Exod 11:7–10; Verso, Exod 12:3–6

Recto, this fragment originally contained 33 (20 characters per line, average) lines of text. Only the first 20 lines survive, with seven or eight characters remaining in lines 1–15, the last four being very fragmentary. The fragment measures 15 cm x 6.7 cm (irregular). Verso, the page consisted of 32 lines (again with 20 characters per line),⁷ with five to nine letters remaining in each line until line 16.

Exod 11:7–10

	(ἀ)πὸ ΑΝΟΥ ἔ[ως κτήνους ὅ]	17
	πῶς εἰδῇ[ς* ὅσα παραδοξά]	19
	ζει* ΚΣ ἀνὰ [μέσον τῶν Αἰγυ]	20
	πτίων καὶ* [τοῦ ΙΗΛ ⁸ καὶ κα]	19
5	ταβήσοντ[αι πάντες οἱ παῖ]	21
	δές σου οὐ[τοι πρὸς με καὶ]	20
	προσκυνή?[σουσίν με λέ]	18
	γοντες ἔ[ξελεθε σὺ καὶ πᾶς]	20
	ὁ λαός σο[υ οὐ σὺ ἀφηγῇ]	17
10	καὶ μετὰ τ[αὐτα ἐξελεύσο]	20
	μαι ἐξῆλ[θεν δὲ Μωυσῆς]	18
	ἀπὸ* Φ[α]ραω? [μετὰ* θυμοῦ]	17
	⁹ εἶπεν δὲ Κ[Σ πρὸς Μωυσῆν]	19
	οὐκ εἰσακ[ούσεται ὑμῶν]	19
15	Φαραω ἵνα [πληθύνω* μου]	18
	[τὰ σ]ημεῖ[α καὶ τὰ τέρατα ἐν]	21
	[γῇ Αἰ]γύπτω ¹⁰ Μωυσῆς δὲ]	17
	[καὶ Αα]ρω[ν ἐποίησαν πάντ]	20
	[α τὰ] σημ[εῖα καὶ τὰ* τέρατα ταῦτ]	24
20	[α ἐν γ]ῇ Αἰγ[ύπτω ἐναντίον]	
	[Φαρα]ω ἐ[σκληήρουνεν . . .]	

7. Collated with the fragment of Exod 12:9–12 published in deSilva and Adams, “Seven Papyrus Fragments.”

- line 2: This manuscript supports the reading εἰδῆς (“in order that you may know,” adopted in Ra GS, with M etc.) against the popular (itacistic?) variant ἰδῆς (“in order that you may see/perceive,” A B 72-*oI*⁻⁷⁰⁷ the *cII* family mss. 52-126-313* *d* 129-246 75-628 30-343 *tj*⁻³⁹² 59 76' 799).
- lines 2–3: παρὰδοξάζει appears here in a present tense form, aligning with B 707* 56*-246 *n*⁻⁶²⁸ 392-527 130^{Lat} codd 101 102 (a non-hexaplaric revision that is nevertheless more in keeping with the sense of the MT, “the Lord makes a distinction”), against the future tense παρὰδοξάσει (“the Lord will make a distinction”) in Ra GS (following A M *O*^{’-707*} *C*[’] etc.).
- line 4: The omission of the second ἀνὰ μέσον (cf. line 3) after καὶ here aligns with B 82' *b f*⁻²⁴⁶ *x* 392 120-128' 130 799 (thus supporting Ra GS) against its inclusion in A M *O*^{’-82*} *C*[’] etc. The latter group of witnesses move the text into closer conformity with the MT (. . . בִּין . . . בִּין), which our manuscript avoids.
- line 12: This manuscript adds further support for the Ra GS reading ἀπό against the weakly attested variant παρὰ found in 707 *b* 246^{c pr m} 458' 85'-343'. It is highly probable that this manuscript also did not add μεγάλου before θυμοῦ, avoiding the tendency to adapt the text toward the MT (“in hot anger”) evidenced in 120-128'.
- line 15: Line length makes it highly probable that this manuscript supports the GS reading ἵνα πληθύνω (“in order that I may multiply,” found in A M *O*^{’-58-82} *C*[’] *rell*) rather than the pleonastic, Hebraistic reading in Ra, ἵνα πληθύνων πληθύνω (“in order that, multiplying, I may multiply”) found in B 58-82 *f*⁻²⁴⁶ 392 120-128' 76' 130 799, et al. (oddly, the MT does not call for such a participle+finite verb construction here).
- line 19: The line length is a little long; possibly this manuscript omitted the article in καὶ τὰ τέρατα, as in 628.
- line 21: The scribe appears to have left a small space after Φαράω, corresponding to an appropriate sense break, a phenomenon frequently observed in the previously published fragments.

Exod 12:3–6

	[... ἕκαστος πρόβατ]ον κατ' οἷ	
	[κους πατριῶν π]ρόβατον*	19
	[κατ' οἰκίαν ⁴ ἔαν] δὲ ὀλιγο	17
	[στοὶ ὧσιν οἱ ἐν τ]ῇ οἰκίᾳ ὧσ	21
5	[τε μὴ ἱκανοὺς ε]ῖ?ναι* εἰς πρό	22
	[βατον συλλήμ]ψεται με	18
	[θ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν γε]ῖ?τονα* τὸν	20
	[πλησίον αὐτοῦ] κατὰ ἀρι	19
	[θμὸν ψυχῶν ἐ]καστος τὸ	18
10	[ἀρκοῦν αὐτῷ συ]ναριθμή	19

	[σεται εἰς πρόβατον* ⁵ πρό]βατον τέ	26
	[λειον ἄρσεν ἐν]αύσιον* ἔ	20
	[σται ὑμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρνῶν*	19
	[καὶ (ἀπὸ*) τῶν ἐρίφων] λήμψε	17/20
15	[σθε ⁶ καὶ ἔσται ὑμ]ῖν διατε	20
	[τηρημένον ἔω]ς? τῆς [τεσσ]	19
	[αρεσκαϊδεκάτη]ς το[ῦ μη]	19
	[νὸς τούτου καὶ σ]φάξ[ουσι]	20
	[ν αὐτὸ πᾶν τὸ π]λῆθ[ος συ]	18
20	[ναγωγῆς υἱῶν] ΙΗΛ [πρὸς]	18
	[ἐσπέραν ⁷ καὶ λήμ]ψο[νται...]	

line 2: Character count makes it highly probable that this manuscript supports the reading in GS, κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν πρόβατον ("according to the fathers' houses, a lamb," found in A* M O''⁻⁸² C''^{-131c2} etc.) rather than the longer reading in Ra, κατ' οἴκους πατριῶν ἕκαστος πρόβατον ("according to the fathers' houses, each a lamb," supported by A^c B 82 131^(c2) 56^c-129 x 392 120-128^o 130). Our manuscript and its allies (preferred by GS) appear to follow the MT more closely here, which lacks a second distributive **וְכָל** to correspond with a second ἕκαστος in this verse.

line 5: This manuscript reads ἱκανοὺς εἶναι against the transposition of these two words in B 19'.

line 7: This manuscript witnesses against two O-family variants: the addition of αὐτοῦ following γείτονα in 15-426 131^o and the addition of ἑαυτοῦ in 58-376, both of which appear to try to imitate the word order in the MT more strictly.

line 11: Line length makes it virtually certain that this manuscript omitted the second πρόβατον, a readily understandable slip of the eye (as also in 72 57 19 53' 75-628 509 et al.).

line 12: This manuscript avoids the harmonizing tendencies to add ἄμωμον after ἄρσεν (58' 57 b d 246 n t 121 68' 18 55 59 130) or after ἐνιαύσιον (in the O mss. 135-376). The linkage of "male" with "unblemished" is common in prescriptions for sacrifices in Leviticus, as is the linkage of "unblemished" with "a year old" (see Lev 1:10; 3:1, 6; 4:23; 12:6; 14:10; 23:12). It also preserves the proper spelling of ἐνιαύσιον, against the variant ἐνιαυσιαῖον found in 72 84*(vid) 71 120-128'.

line 13: This manuscript supports the Ra reading ἀρνῶν (B 707 f⁻²⁴⁶ 392-527 76' 130 799), the more common word for "lamb" in the Pentateuch, against GS ἀμνῶν (A M O'' C'' rel).

line 14: The missing line could have, but need not have, accommodated the somewhat redundant ἀπὸ found before τῶν ἐρίφων in 376-oII⁻¹⁵ 57-552-cII^{-54 414'} b d 246 n s t y⁻¹²¹ 630 18 59 509 646' Lat^{codd} 91 95 96. This must remain inconclusive, however.

line 16: This manuscript did not align with 58' 131^c in the addition of ἀπὸ τῆς δεκάτης after διατετηρημένον, recalling the starting day for the feast mentioned last in Exod 12:3.

line 17: This manuscript did not align with O-15 84^{mg} in the addition of ἡμέρας (corresponding with the MT ימים) after τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης.

Fragment 3: Recto, Exod 12:19–22; Verso, Exod 12:25–29

The third fragment remains consistent with the first two, having originally contained 32 lines of text on both sides (averaging 19–20 characters per line; possibly 33 lines, if the average was 18–19 characters). This and the following fragments are more substantial, the present fragment providing 18 lines of text with seven to eleven characters per line recto (save for lines 16–19, which lack both margins) and 19 lines with seven to twelve characters per line verso (again save for lines 16–19), and measuring 15.8 cm x 7.9 cm at its longest points.

Exod 12:19–22

	χθοοσιν τη[ς γῆς ²⁰ πᾶν ζυμω]	19
	τὸν οὐκ ἔδε?[σθε ἐν παντί]	19
	δὲ ὑμῶν κατ[οικητηρίῳ]*	18
	ἔδεσθε ἄζυμ[α ²¹ ἐκάλεσεν]	19
5	δὲ Μωυσῆς πι[ᾶσαν γερουσί]	20
	αν* ΙΗΛ καὶ εἰπ?[εν πρὸς αὐ]	19
	τοὺς ἀπελθόντες λάβετε]	20
	ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς?*[πρόβατον κα]	21
	τὰ συγγε[νείας ὑμῶν καὶ]	19
10	θύσεται* τὸ? [πασχα ²² λήμψε]	19
	σθε δὲ δέσμ[ην ὑσώπου]	18
	καὶ βάψαντες ἀ[πὸ τοῦ αἵμα]	21
	τος τοῦ παρὰ τ[ὴν θύραν ὑ]	19
	μεῖς δὲ οὐκ ἐ[ξελεύσεσθε]*	20
15	κ?αθίξεται* τῆ[ς φλιᾶς καὶ]	20
	[ἐπ' ἀ]μ?φοτέρω[ν τῶν στ]	16
	[αθμ]ῶν ἀπὸ το?[ῦ αἵματος]	19
	[ὅ ἐστ]ιν παρὰ τῆ?[ν θύραν]	18
	[ύμεῖς]? δὲ οὐκ [ἐξελεύσεσθε]	21

- line 3: The manuscript's reading of ἐν παντί δὲ ὑμῶν κατοικητηρίῳ departs both from the GS (which reads ἐν παντί κατοικητηρίῳ ὑμῶν) and Ra (which reads ἐν παντί δὲ κατοικητηρίῳ ὑμῶν). In the inclusion of δὲ, this manuscript aligns with B 58-82 x 392 120-128' 130 (Ra). In the transposition of ὑμῶν and κατοικητηρίῳ, this manuscript diverges from A B M O''⁻⁸² C''⁻⁸² rell and is followed only by 82 x 392-527 120-128' 130.
- line 6: This manuscript supports the GS reading γερούσιαν ΙΗΛ (aligning with A M O''^{-58-381'-426} rell [=MT]) against Ra, which reads γερούσιαν υἱῶν Ισραηλ (which follows B 58-381'-426 C''^{-16 126 500} 610 56'-129 458-628 128 424 646; 16-500 19 53' 619 527 799 similarly add τῶν υἱῶν).
- line 8: In reading ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς (against Ra GS, which read ὑμῖν ἑαυτοῖς, following B C''^{-et al.}), this manuscript aligns with A M O⁻³⁷⁶-29-82-135 d⁻¹⁰⁶ f n⁻¹²⁷ s t^{-134txt} y⁻⁵²⁷ z 18 59 76' 130.
- line 10: This manuscript adds to the witnesses for a future indicative form of θύω against the aorist imperative form preferred in Ra GS (θύσατε, "sacrifice!" [=MT]). θύσεται ("you will sacrifice") is a spelling variant of the reading θύσετε found in B 82-381*-618 125 f⁻²⁴⁶ 75' (the -ετε/-εται alternation being frequent among manuscripts; 82 and 75 also read θύσεται).
- line 14: The scribe appears to have caught this error of his own eye, marking ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ (which properly belongs later in v. 22, and appears also in the correct place in line 19) for omission with a small, raised bracket beside the mu of ὑμεῖς at the start of the line followed by dots above the line extending at least through οὐκ. The ἐξελεύσεσθε would also be superfluous here, but it is unclear whether or not the dots extend above this word as well.
- line 15: καθίξεται is an otherwise unattested reading, a spelling variant of the reading καθίξετε adopted by Ra (and found, with some variation in spelling, in the major uncials). This manuscript does not support the reading in GS, καὶ θίξετε (found in 126 b and in a few others with some spelling variations, and reproducing the MT). Wevers reasons that the iota at the end of καὶ was overlooked in the process of transmission.⁸ The remaining letters would be read as a future form of καθικνέομαι, "touch, reach," with very little difference in meaning (θιγγάνω also means "touch, reach"). The καί, however, is superfluous, even intrusive, standing between the adverbial participial phrase (βάψαντες . . .) and the imperative (καθίξετε). Moreover, the fact that καὶ θίξετε brings the text of Greek Exodus closer into conformity with the Hebrew may argue against it being the original reading, which B and this manuscript might provide. This manuscript also adds to the witnesses against A 121 68', which add ἀπὸ before τῆς φλιάς.

8. J. W. Wevers, however, construes this as a form of an otherwise unattested verb, καθίγω, rather than as a form of καθικνέομαι (*Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* [SCS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990] 180).

Exod 12:25–29

	[αἰῶνος ²⁵ ἐὰν δὲ] εἰσέλθετε*	20
	[εἰ' τὴν γῆν ἥν] ἂν δῶ ΚΣ	17
	[ύμῖν καθότι] ἐλάλησεν	18
	[φυλάξεσθε* τ]ῆ?ν λατρείαν	20
5	[ταύτην ²⁶ καὶ ἔ]σται ἐὰν λέγω	21
	[σιν πρὸς ύμᾱς] οἱ* υἱοὶ ύμῶν	21
	[τίς ἢ λατρεία αὖ]τη* ²⁷ καὶ ἐρεῖτε	24
	[αὐτοῖς θυσία τὸ π]α?σχα τοῦτο	23
	[ΚΩ ὡς ἐσκέπασε]ν τοὺς οἶ	18
10	[κους τῶν υἱῶ]ν ΙΗΛ ἐν* Αἰγύ	20
	[πτῶ ἡνίκα ἐ]πάτα[ξ]εν τοὺς	20
	[Αἰγυπτίους] τοὺς δὲ οἴκους	22
	[ἡμῶν ἐρρύσ]ατο καὶ κύψας	20
	[ὁ λαὸς προσεκ]ύνησεν* ²⁸ καὶ ἅ	21
15	[πελθόντες ἐ]ποίησαν οἱ υἱοὶ]	23
	[ΙΗΛ καθὰ ἐ]ντεῖλατ[ο ΚΣ]	19
	[τῶ Μωυσῇ κ]αὶ Ααρων* ο[ὔ]τως]	20
	[ἐποίησαν ²⁹ ἐγ]ενήθη δ?[ἐ μεσ]	20
	[ούσης τῆς ν]υ?κτὸς [καὶ ΚΣ]	19

line 1: A corrector has changed the -ετε of εἰσέλθετε, an otherwise unattested reading, to -ητε, the reading preferred by Ra GS (A B M O'' -82-426txt C'' rell), by writing a small eta surrounded by a pair of dots above the penultimate epsilon. 82 and 610* read this verb as a second person singular (-θης).

line 4: Character count makes it highly probable that this manuscript did not add καὶ prior to φυλάξεσθε, resisting a tendency to bring the text into closer conformity with the MT (observed in *d n t x* 392 18 130 799).

line 6: This manuscript diverges from B, which omits the οἶ.

line 7: The tendency to add ύμῖν at the close of this verse to bring the text into closer conformity with the MT **וַיְהִי**, observed in *O-15 C''* 318, is avoided here.

line 10: The manuscript does not align with M *d* 628 *t* 121 68' 18 130 in the addition of γῆ after ἐν (here it reflects the MT more closely, together with the remaining witnesses).

line 14: This manuscript preserves the singular form προσεκύνησεν against the tendency to revise the text in light of the plural form in the MT (hence προσεκύνησαν in 118'-537 125 56*).

Line 17: A and B both omit καὶ Ααρων, which this manuscript retains in keeping with M rell.

Fragment 4: Recto, Exod 12:30–34; Verso, Exod 12:37–41

The scribe squeezes 35 lines of text (averaging 20 characters per line) onto each side of this leaf (36 lines if the average is dropped to 19 characters per line). Nineteen lines of seven to twelve characters each (with the exception of the very fragmentary final line recto) are extant on each side. This fragment measures 15.5 cm x 8 cm.

Exod 12:30–34

	ἐν ἧ οὐκ ἦ[ν ἐν αὐτῇ τε]	16
	θνηκώς* ³¹ [καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Φα]	19
	ραω Μωυσῆν [καὶ Ααρων]	17
	νυκτὸς καὶ εἴ[πεν αὐτοῖς* ἀνάστη]	26
5	τε καὶ ἐξέλεθ[ατε ἐκ τοῦ λα]	20
	οὔ μου καὶ ὑ[μεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ]	22
	ΙΗΛ βαδίζε[τε καὶ* λατρεύσα]	22
	τε ΚΩ τῷ [ΘΩ* ὑμῶν καθὰ]	16
	λέγετε ³² κ[αὶ τὰ πρόβατα* καὶ]	21
10	τοὺς βόας [ὑμῶν* ἀναλα]	17
	Βόντες* πορε[ύεσθε εὐλογί]	21
	σατε δὲ* καμέ ³³ κ[αὶ κατεβιά]	20
	ζοντο οἱ Αἰγύ[πτιοι τὸν λα]	21
	ὄν σπουδῇ ἐ[κβαλεῖν αὐ]	18
15	τοὺς ἐκ* τῆς? [γῆς εἶπαν γ]	18
	[ἀρ] ὅτι πάντε[ς ἡμεῖς ἀπο]	19
	[θν]ή?σκομεν ³⁴ [ἀνέλαβεν]	17
	[δὲ ὁ] λαὸς τὸ σ[ταῖς (αὐτῶν*?)]	14/19
	[πρὸ] τοῦ ζυμ[ωθῆναι τὰ...]	

lines 1–2: This manuscript lends further supports for the Ra GS reading -ώς against the neuter form -ός found in 376' 53-246-664^c 75-628 30 68-122^c.

line 4: Character count makes it virtually certain that αὐτοῖς was omitted by this scribe, in which he is followed by 707 52-126. This omission brings the text into closer conformity with the MT, which also lacks an indirect object after “he said.”

line 7: This line is somewhat cramped at 22 characters (line 6 can accommodate this number because six of the 22 are iotas). The manuscript might have omitted the καί here with A and M (thus supporting the GS), or possibly supplied a present form of the verb (λατρεύετε, with A M et al.).

line 8: part of the macron above the *nomen sacrum* ΘΩ is visible.

- line 9: This manuscript avoids the addition of ὑμῶν here, an addition made in *O*⁻⁷²-15-707 *d*⁻¹²⁵ *n t x* 318-527 to bring the text closer in line with the MT.
- line 10: Ms retains ὑμῶν, unlike 29' *b* 125 53' 619 509.
- line 11: The scribe avoids another tendency to bring the text into conformity with Pharaoh's speech in the MT by means of the addition of καθάπερ εἰρήκατε either here (*O*-15^{Lat}codd 101 104) or after πορεύεσθε (*F*^a *M* 29'-135 *b d*⁻¹²⁵ 246 *n s t x y*⁻¹²¹ 630 18 55 509 646); cf. MT כְּאִשֶּׁר דִּבְרָתָם.
- line 12: This manuscript reads δέ ("and bless me") with *A M O'*⁻⁷²⁻³⁸¹-15 et al. against the more emphatic δὴ ("bless me, moreover!")⁹ found in *B F* 72-381'-*oII*⁻¹⁵ 54 19' 53'-246 628 30-85^{mg} *x* 55 59 130 799 at the close of Pharaoh's speech, which better reflects the MT ׀ than the weak conjunctive δέ.
- line 15: The scribe reads ἐκ (with *B F M O''*⁻²⁹ *C''*) against ἀπό in *A* 29 19' 121 68' 646, with little difference in meaning (here, the Egyptians wish to drive the Hebrews "out from" Egypt; in *A* etc., the emphasis on separation — "away from Egypt" — is slightly more pronounced).
- line 18: The letter count is too short for this line to stand without αὐτῶν at the end, joining the witnesses to the reading that is more closely aligned with the MT ("their dough"), against the *Ra GS* omission of the pronoun (supported by *B* 54 *f*⁻²⁴⁶ 120-128').

Exod 12:37–41

	[... εἰς ἑξακοσίας χιλιάδ]ες πεδῶν*	
	[οἱ ἄνδρες πλὴν τ]ῆς* ἀποσκευ	20
	[ῆς ³⁸ καὶ ἐπίμικ]τος πολὺς	19
	[συνανέβη αὐτ]οῖς* καὶ πρόβα	22
5	[τα καὶ βόες καὶ] κτήνη πολ	21
	[λὰ σφόδρα ³⁹ καὶ ἐ]ποίησαν* τὸ	21
	[σταῖς ὁ ἐξήνεγ]καν ἐξ Αἰγύ	21
	[πτου ἐγκρυφίας ἀ]ζύμους	20
	[οὐ γὰρ ἐζυμώθη ἐ]ξέβαλλον*	21
10	[γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ Αἰγύ]πτιοι καὶ οὐκ* ἦ	27
	[δυνήθησαν* ὑ]πόμεινε*	17
	[οὐδὲ* ἐπισιτισ]μὸν ἐποίησαν	23
	[ἐαυτοῖς εἰς] τὴν ὁδόν ⁴⁰ ἢ* κα	20
	[τοίκησις* τῶ]ν? υἱῶν ΙΗΛ ἦν	20
15	[κατώκησαν] αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πά	21
	[τερες αὐτ]ῶν* ἐν γῇ* Α?ι?[γύ]	17

9. So also Wevers, *Notes*, 185.

[πτω καὶ ἐν] γῇ Χανααν [ἔτη]	20
[τετρακόσια τ]ριάκοντα ⁴¹ [καὶ]	22
[ἐγένετο με]θὰ τὰ ὙΛ* ἔτη [...]	

line 1: πεδῶν is an otherwise unattested variant. Ra GS read πεζῶν. Both would have to be understood as referring to travel “on the ground” or “on foot” for the verse to make sense.

line 2: A omits τῆς here (=MT).

line 4: The tendency to change αὐτοῖς to μετ’ αὐτῶν in closer conformity with the MT (observed in x 392 130 799^{Lat}cod 101; compare MT 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏) is resisted here.

line 6: ἐποίησαν (“they made the dough”) is an otherwise unattested variant here. Ra GS read ἔπεισαν (“they baked the dough”; thus A B F M et al. [=MT]); ἔπεμψαν is also well attested among the minuscules, despite its lack of sense (“they sent the dough”).

line 9: This manuscript gives the slightly more vivid imperfect form ἐξέβαλλον (“the Egyptians were casting them out”), attested also in 82-376 56-129-664^e 527 799, against the aorist ἐξέβαλον (“the Egyptians cast them out”) preferred by Ra GS and found in A B F M rell.

line 10: The A reading οὐ γάρ is rejected here in favor of καὶ οὐκ (B F M rell; preferred in Ra GS, and noticeably closer to the MT 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤏). This line is too long to accommodate all the text found in Ra GS, even with the letters protruding two spaces further into the right margin than the other extant lines on this page. Perhaps γάρ was omitted (with 25).

line 11: Non-alignment with A and several minuscules is observed here as well in the lengthened augment ῆ- (versus ἐδυνήθησαν in A). Whether the ms aligned with B F etc. in reading ῆδυνήθησαν or with M 82’ etc. in reading ῆδυνάσθησαν cannot be determined.

The manuscript adds to the witnesses to the verb ὑπόμειναι (appearing only here with the spelling variant ὑπόμεινε), aligning with A F M O¹⁵⁻⁵⁸⁻⁴²⁶ against Ra GS, which read ἐπιμείναι with B F^b 15’-58-426 19’ n. This variant (“they were not able to stay behind,” but also with overtones of “to endure”) might evoke a greater sense of hostility on the part of the Egyptians as they pressured the Hebrews to depart speedily.

line 12: This line is somewhat cramped at 23 characters, though the number of iotas on the line could help account for this.

lines 13–14: This appears to be the only witness to omit the conjunctive δέ at the beginning of the verse (against the MT, which begins the verse with a waw; Ra GS read ἡ δέ). It also adds to the witnesses favoring κατοίκησις (B O¹⁵ rell, preferred by Ra GS) against παροίκησις (A F M^{txt} O¹⁵⁻¹⁵ C¹⁵ d 246 s^{85mg} t x 121-392 z⁻¹²⁰ 18 55 59 76’ 130 509 799).

lines 15–16: Ra and GS omit αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ πάτερες αὐτῶν (as does B), which is attested here also in O⁻⁴²⁶-15-82’ f n 30’ x 318’ 120-128’ 130 799^{Lat}cod 104 (vid). The addition appears, alternatively, after Χανααν in A F M 29-135-426-oI C¹⁵ b d 85’-343’ t 121-527 68’ 18 55 59 76’ 509^{Lat}cod 91

96 101, with which our manuscript, therefore, does not align. No Hebrew phrase in the MT would support this addition in either place. The addition is clearly secondary as a gloss that seeks to eliminate the difficulty of “the sons of Israel” sojourning in Egypt also being said to have sojourned in Canaan so long before the Exodus. The hexaplaric omission of γῆ before Αἰγύπτῳ (*O*³⁷⁶) is also resisted here.

line 19: It is unclear what this line originally contained to accommodate the θά. The simplest explanation might be that the manuscript read μεθὰ for μετὰ. A corrector has supplied a supralinear τὰ, apparently in a different hand, indicating that the manuscript originally supported the GS omission of the article. A macron marks ΥΛ as the numeric equivalent of τετρακόσια τριάκοντα ἑτη; Ra GS).

Fragment 5: Recto, Exod 12:45–51; Verso, Exod 13:3–7

The final fragment originally contained thirty-four lines of text recto (averaging 20 characters, assuming employment of standard *nomina sacra* in the reconstructed portion). The length of the reverse cannot, of course, be determined. Twenty-two lines (recto) and twenty-four lines (verso) of seven to eleven characters each are still extant through line 20, the fragment measuring 17.3 cm x 7.9 cm at its longest points.

Exod 12:45–51

	ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ⁴⁶ ἐ[ν οἰκίᾳ μιᾷ βρω]	20
	θήσεται* κατ[ι* οὐκ ἐξοίσετε]	21
	ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας[ς τῶν κρεῶν ἔ]	20
	ξω καὶ ὅστ[οῦν οὐ συντρίψε]	21
5	τε* ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ⁴⁷ [πᾶσα συναγωγὴ]	21
	υἱῶν ΙΗΛ [ποιήσῃ αὐτό]	19
	⁴⁸ ἐὰν δέ τις [προσέλθῃ πρὸς]	20
	ἡμᾶς* προ[σήλυτος ποιῇ]	18
	σαι* τὸ πασχ[α ΚΩ περιτεμεῖς]	22
10	αὐτοῦ πᾶν ἄρσ[ενικόν καὶ τό]	22
	τε προσελεύσ[εται ποιῆσαι]	22
	αὐτὸ [καὶ ἔσται [ὥσπερ (καὶ?)* ὁ αὐτὸ]	22/25
	χθων τῆς γῆ[ς πᾶς ἀπερί]	18
	τμητος οὐκ ἔ[δεται ἀπ' αὐ]	19
15	τοῦ ⁴⁹ νόμος εἶ[ς ἔσται τῷ ἐγ]	20
	χωρίῳ καὶ τῷ [προσελθόν]	19

	[τι] προσηλύτω* [ἐν ὑμῖν ⁵⁰ καὶ]	20
	[ἐπ]οίησαν* οἱ υἱοὶ ἸΗΛ καθὰ ἐ]	22
	[νε]τ?εἶλατο ΚΣ [τῷ Μωυσῇ κ]	19
20	[αἰ Ααρ]ων [πρὸς αὐτ]*	14
	[οὔ]ς? οὐτ[ως ἐποίησαν ⁵¹ καὶ]	19
	[ἐγέ]νετ[ο ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνη]	22

line 2: The harmonizing addition of “[and] you will not leave any of the meat until the morning,” drawn from the instructions given previously in Exod 12:10 (cf. Lev 22:30) and widely attested in A M 29-58-64^{mg}-426 C’ d n s t y z 18 55 59 76’ 509 799 ^{Lat} cod 104, does not appear in this manuscript. The text also aligns with B o/-82’ C’’ f 75’ 84 318-527 130 (Ra) in the addition of the conjunctive καὶ, which actually moves away from conformity with the MT, against the omission of καὶ in the GS.

lines 4–5: The reading συντρίψετε aligns here with B F et al. against the variant spelling συντρίψεται found in A M* 82’-376-426* 54*-761 75 619 527 55 59* 319 509 799 and συντριβήσεται, a minor variant in the O-group (58-708) and C-group (16-131-414’).

line 8: ἡμᾶς is a rare reading, followed only by 82 551*; GS and Ra read ὑμᾶς (following A B F M rell [=MT]). 13:3 also contains a first person plural pronoun ἡμᾶς in place of ὑμᾶς, a common mistake of hearing, but also one that would be inclined to make the experience of the text more immediate, as the reader is drawn into the company of those being instructed on the proper keeping of the Passover and the dedication of the firstborn to God.

lines 8–9: The text supports the reading ποιῆσαι adopted by Ra GS and found in B 82 f x 318 120-128’ 130 799 ^{Lat} cod 104 against the readings καὶ ποιήση/ει in F 54* 75 121-527 68’ and καὶ ποιῇ/ει in A M O’-⁸² rell, the latter bringing the text into closer conformity with the MT.

line 12: The letter count requires an omission, probably of the καὶ, aligning this manuscript with A F M O’-¹⁵ C’⁻⁽²⁵⁾ 44’ f s 619 y 68’ 18 55 59 76’ 130 509 and the MT, which lacks any conjunctive at this point.

lines 16–17: This manuscript provides additional support for the reading τῷ προσελθόντι προσηλύτω adopted in Ra GS (aligning with B 82’ et al.), against the preference for the alternative attributive position (τῷ προσηλύτῳ τῷ προσελθόντι) in imitation of the word order in the MT found in F M O’-⁸² C’’ etc., and against the reading τῷ προσηλύτῳ τῷ προσκειμένῳ found in A.

line 18: This manuscript avoids another hexaplaric tendency to conform the text more closely to the MT at this point, seen in the addition of πάντες here in F^b O-15 318 to correspond to the Hebrew כָּל.¹⁰

line 20: It is highly doubtful that the scribe omitted the πρὸς αὐτούς (the line is already too short as it is), as do A F M^{txt} O⁻⁷²-15-29-64’ 628 321 121-527

10. Ibid., 194.

^{z-120} 18 55 59 130, thus resisting another tendency to introduce emendations in line with the MT (which lacks any Hebrew for *πρὸς αὐτούς*).

Exod 13:3–7

	[οἴκου δουλείας] ἐ?ν γὰρ χειρὶ	
	[κραταιᾱ (ΚΣ?) ἐξήγα]γεν ἡμᾶς*	19/21
	[(ΚΣ?) ἐντεῦθεν καὶ] ο?ὐ βρωθήσε	20/22
	[ται* ζύμη ⁴ ἐν γὰρ] τ?ῃ σήμε	18
5	[ρον ὑμεῖς ἐκπορ]εύεσθε	19
	[ἐν μηνὶ τῶν νέ]ων ⁵ καὶ ἔ	17
	[σται ἡνίκα ἐὰν εἰ]σαγάγη	20
	[σε ΚΣ ὁ ΘΣ σου εἰς] τὴν γῆν	19
	[τῶν Χαναναίων] καὶ Χετταί	21
10	[ων καὶ Γεργεσ]αίων καὶ Α	19
	[μορραίων κ]α?ὶ Εὐαίων καὶ	20
	[Φερεζαίω]ν? καὶ Ἰεβ[ου]σαί	20
	[ων* ἦν ὥμο]σεν τοῖς πατρῶ	19
	[σιν σου δοῦ]ναι* γῆν ῥέου	19
15	[σαν γάλα καὶ] μ?έλι καὶ ποιή	21
	[σεις τὴν λατ]ρ<ε>ίαν ταύτην	21
	[ἐν τῷ μηνὶ] τούτῳ ⁶ ἐξ ἡ	16
	[μέρᾳ ἔδεσθ]ε ἄζυμα τῇ	18
	[δὲ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐβδό]μη ἐορτ[ῇ]	20
20	[ΚΥ ⁷ ἄζυμα ἔδε]σθε τὰς* [ἐπ]	18
	[τὰ ἡμέρας οὐκ ὀφθῇ]σσεταί]*	21
	[σοι ζυμωτόν οὐδὲ ἔ]σται [σοι]	22
	[ζύμη ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς* ὀρίοις] σου ⁸ [...]	>23

line 2: As in 12:48 (see note), this manuscript reads ἡμᾶς (followed by 56' 71 707 75 ^{Lat}cod 104) for ὑμᾶς (the reading in Ra and GS, following A B F M rell [=MT]). Whether ΚΣ preceded ἐξήγαγεν (with 82 f 71 120-128'-628) or followed after the pronoun in the next line (aligning with A B M^s et al.) is uncertain.

lines 3–4: This manuscript reads βρωθήσεται, aligning with A B F M O^{r-29-82} rell against the reading φάγεσθε in M^{smg} 29-82 413^{mg} d 85^{mg} 344^{mg} t 527 76' 130 509 799 (-εσθαι in 344 319).

lines 9–13: As in 3:17 above, the order of the people groups here is not certain due to the fragmentary nature of the leaf. The text bears certain witness to the following order: ?, Χετταίων, ?, Αμορραίων, Εὐαίων, ?, Ἰεβουσαίων. Once again, since Χαναναίων is always found in the first position

throughout the manuscript tradition, there is no reason to expect otherwise here. Γεργεσαίων and Φερεζαίων are interchangeable, with line lengths slightly favoring the order given above. The order here differs from the critical texts of Ra and GS (and thus from B 82 f 120-128'-628 130 799), which transpose καὶ Εὐαίων to the third position on the list (prior to καὶ Γεργεσαίων), where this manuscript lists καὶ Εὐαίων fifth. This manuscript also differs from the order found in the majority of witnesses (including A F M O''⁻²⁹⁻⁸²⁻⁷⁰⁷) that group the five tribes mentioned in the MT at the beginning (Χαναναίων Χετταίων Αμορραίων Εὐαίων Ἰεβουσαίων), leaving the Gergesites and Perezites to the end.

line 14: This manuscript omits σοι after δοῦναι (a reading appearing elsewhere only in 44 76' [B* 618* 392 omit δοῦναί σοι, but correctors restore the phrase to B and 618]) against Ra and GS (A B^c F M O''^{rell}) and away from conformity with the MT, which reads לָקַח .

line 20: The inclusion of τάς does not align with B b, which omit the article here, though it does align with the MT (together with the remaining witnesses).

line 21: The only two extant letters on this line appear to be two sigmas. This is most readily explained as a misspelling of the reading ὀφθήσεται (Ra GS) as ὀφθήσεται. It is possible that the second character is an epsilon that has lost its middle stroke due to wear or deterioration, in which case the difficulty would be removed.

line 23: Character count suggests that τοῖς was omitted, which would be a unique variant, and one reflecting the MT more closely.

Conclusion

The variants examined throughout this article yield the following numerical results. Out of 44 variants where alignment with the MT could be tested, this manuscript offers a reading that places the text in closer conformity with the MT 15 times, but a reading that moves the text away from conformity with the MT 29 times. This reflects the same lack of interest in adapting the Greek text to the Hebrew *Urtext* observed in the previously published 7 fragments (and in a similar ratio). The scribe (or his exemplar) also resisted the temptation, observed in several witnesses, to harmonize the instructions concerning the observance of the Passover internally or with ritual requirements found elsewhere in the Pentateuch (notably, Leviticus).

Based on examination of 49 variants, the readings in these 5 fragments aligned with A and B (against the other major witnesses, F [where extant])¹¹

11. The text of F is unfortunately lacking for comparison with fragments 2, 3, and the

M and the O-group) 5 times; with A against B 13 times; with B against A 16 times; against both A and B (but in agreement with F, M or the larger part of the O-group) 3 times; against all major witnesses (A B [F] M O') 12 times. Tallying these with a view to alignment with A and B, these fragments read with A 18 out of 49 times, but against A 31 out of 49 times; with B 21 times, but against B 28 times. The readings align with M 19 out of 48 times, but against 29 times. The readings align with F 15 times out of 35, but against 20 times. Correspondences with the O-group are somewhat more difficult to track, since O-group readings so frequently diverge among themselves.¹² Nevertheless, where there is a clear consensus of readings in the O' group, these fragments preserve reading that align with O' readings 19 times out of 40, but diverge 21 times out of 40. The manuscript appears, therefore, indeed to belong to a distinctive text type.

These fragments recommend themselves as a valuable witness to the text of Exodus based on their independence of known text types, their non-revisionist character (in regard to the hexaplaric tendency to conform the Greek text to the MT), the general care exhibited by the scribe (whose errors are indeed few on these pages), and their antiquity. Their importance is augmented as the sole papyrus witness to the narrative of the first Passover, the tenth plague, and the instructions for the perpetual observance of the Passover.

first few lines of 4.

12. Fragments 3, recto and 5, recto show a number of remarkable alignments with 82, particularly where uncial witnesses do not share these distinctive readings, suggesting that the latter "inherited" a number of readings from this manuscript at some point in the transmission of the text.

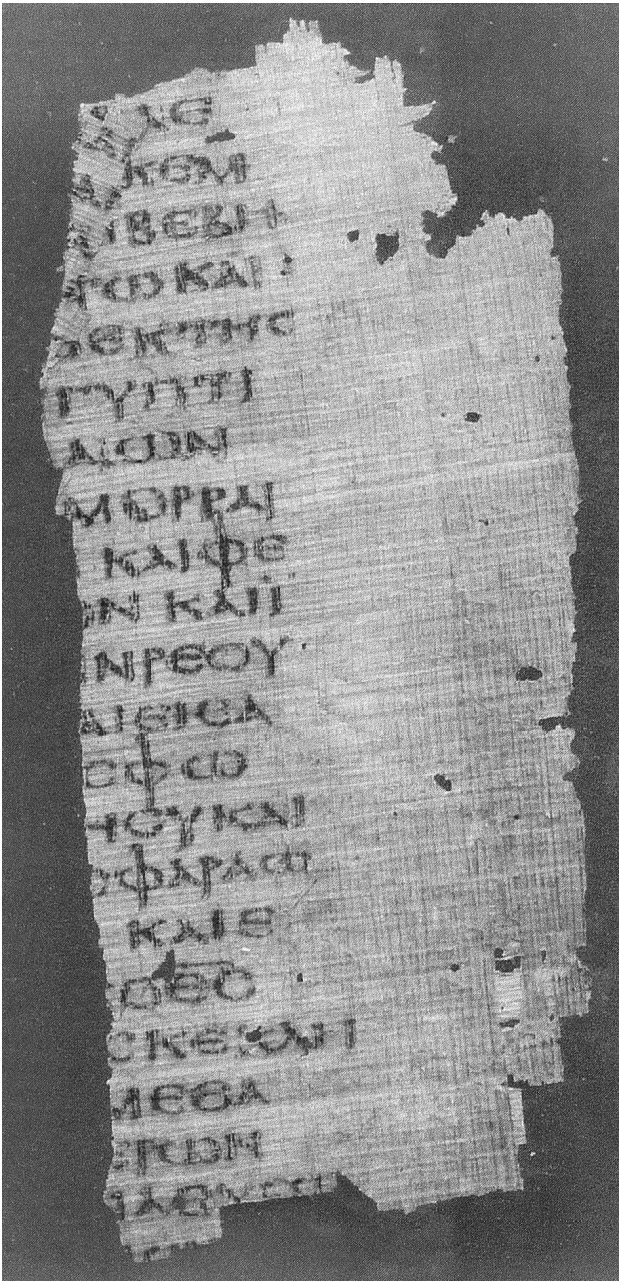


Figure 1. Exod 3:16–18

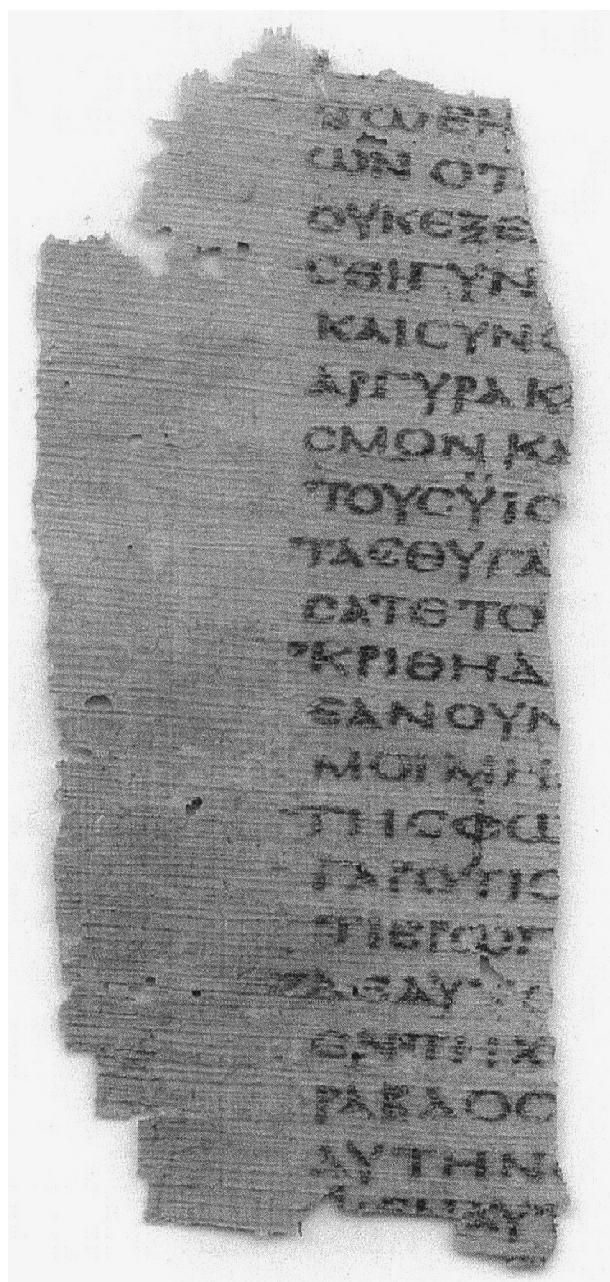


Figure 2. Exod 3:21–4:3

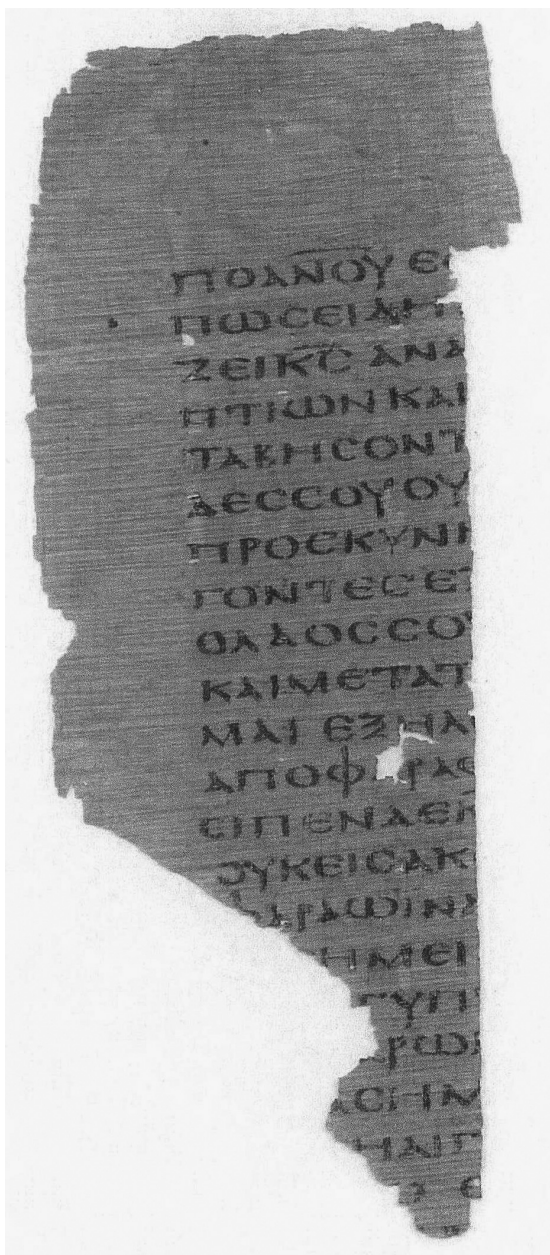


Figure 3. Exod 11:7–10

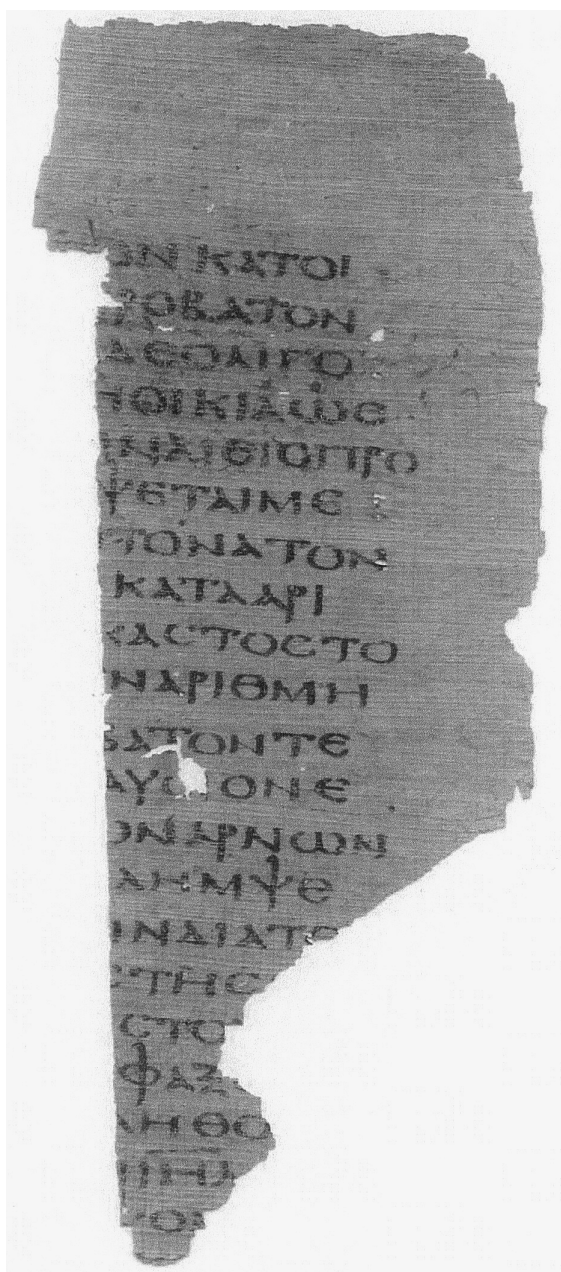


Figure 4. Exod 12:3–6

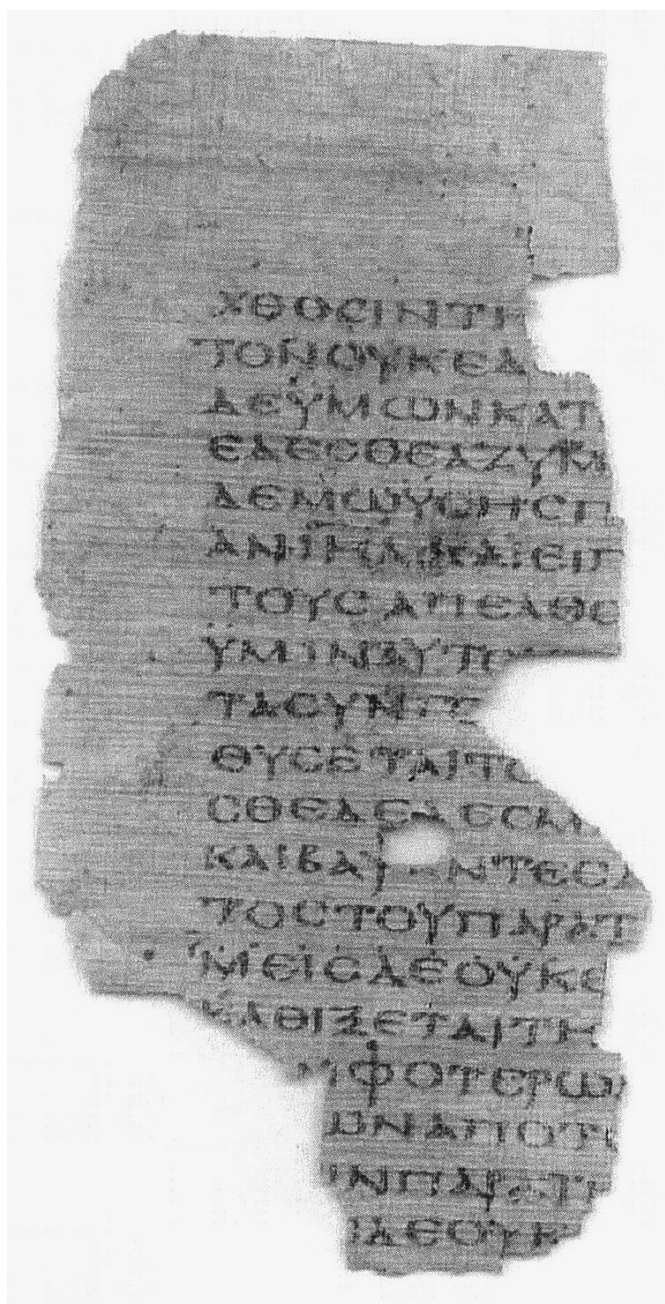


Figure 5. Exod 12:19–22

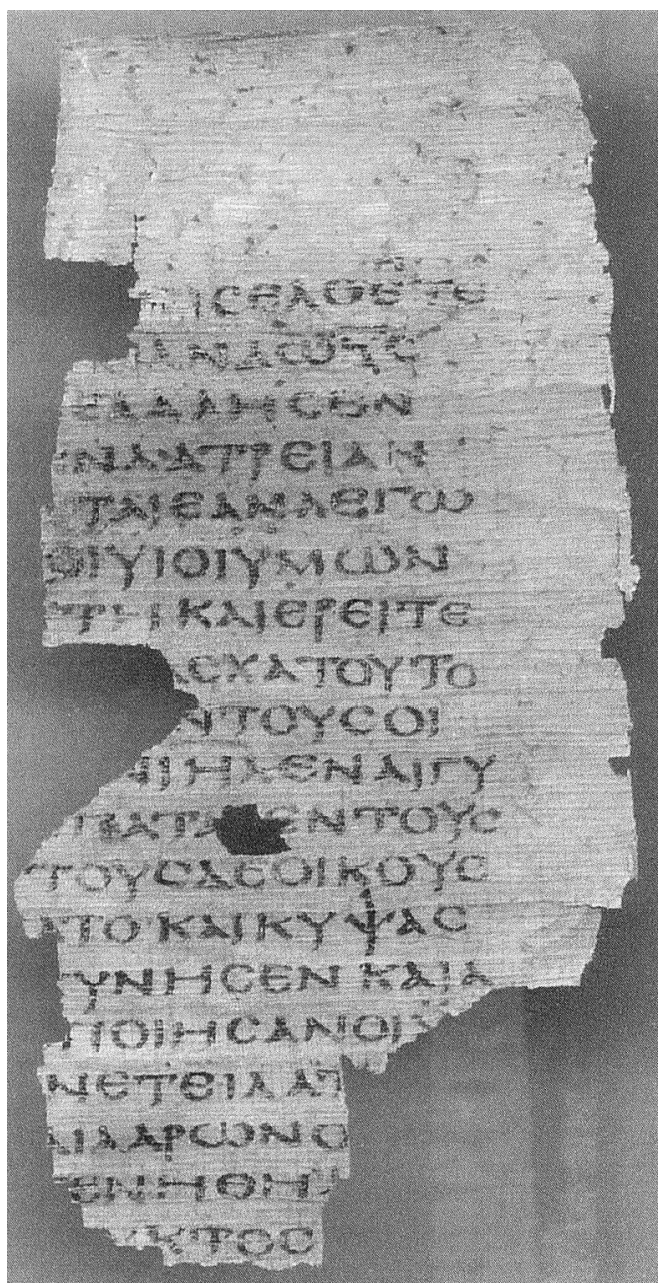


Figure 6. Exod 12:25–29

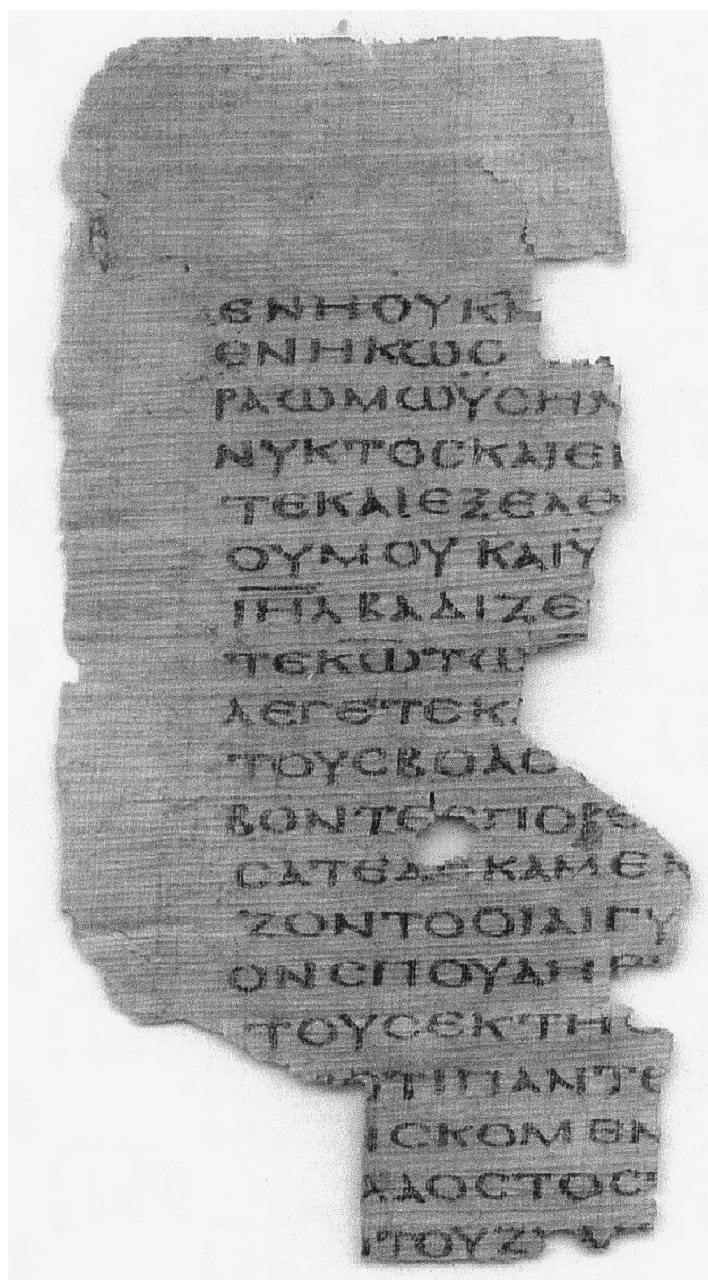


Figure 7. Exod 12:30–34

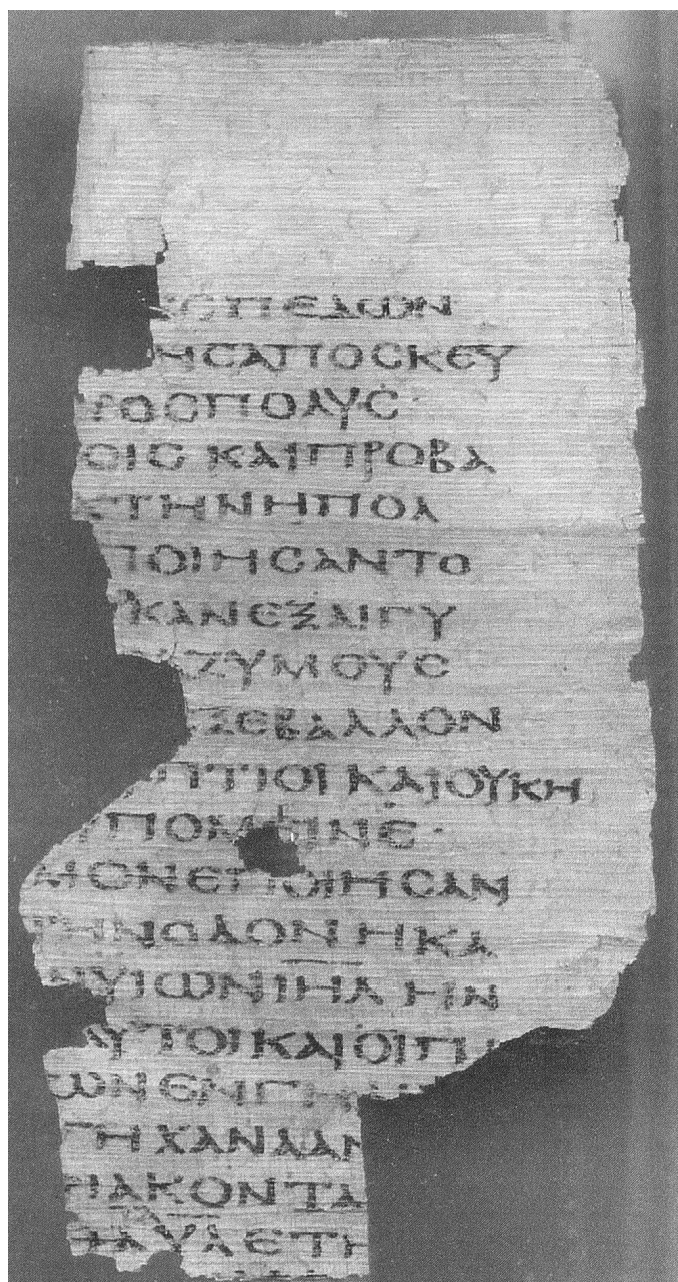


Figure 8. Exod 12:37–41

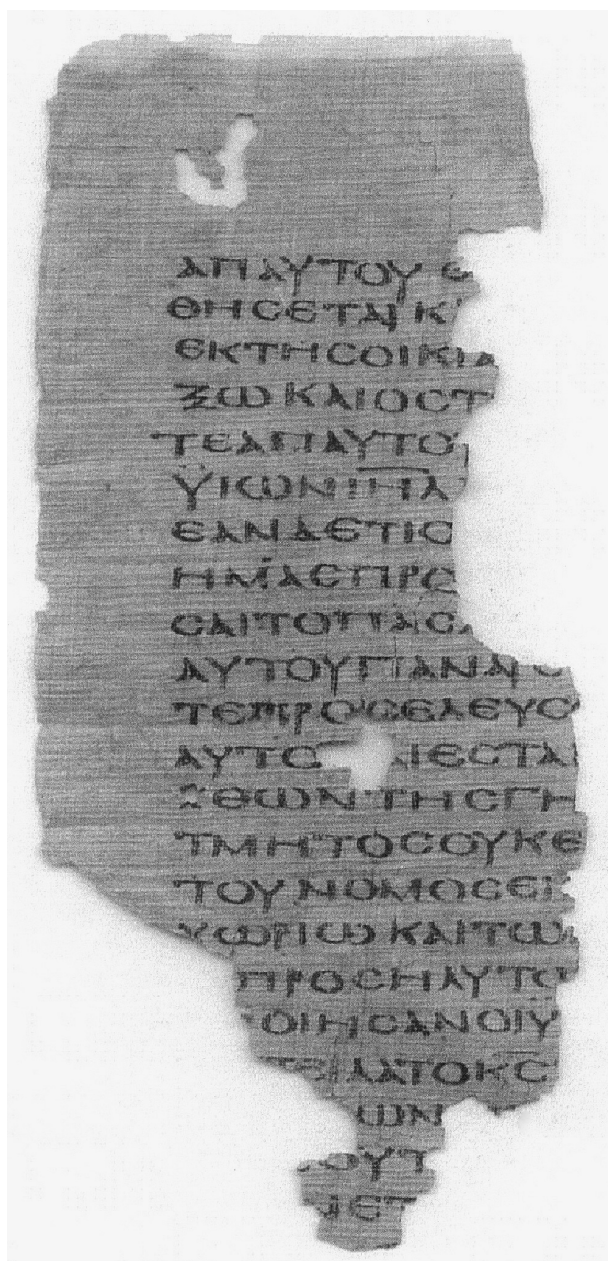


Figure 9. Exod 12:45–51

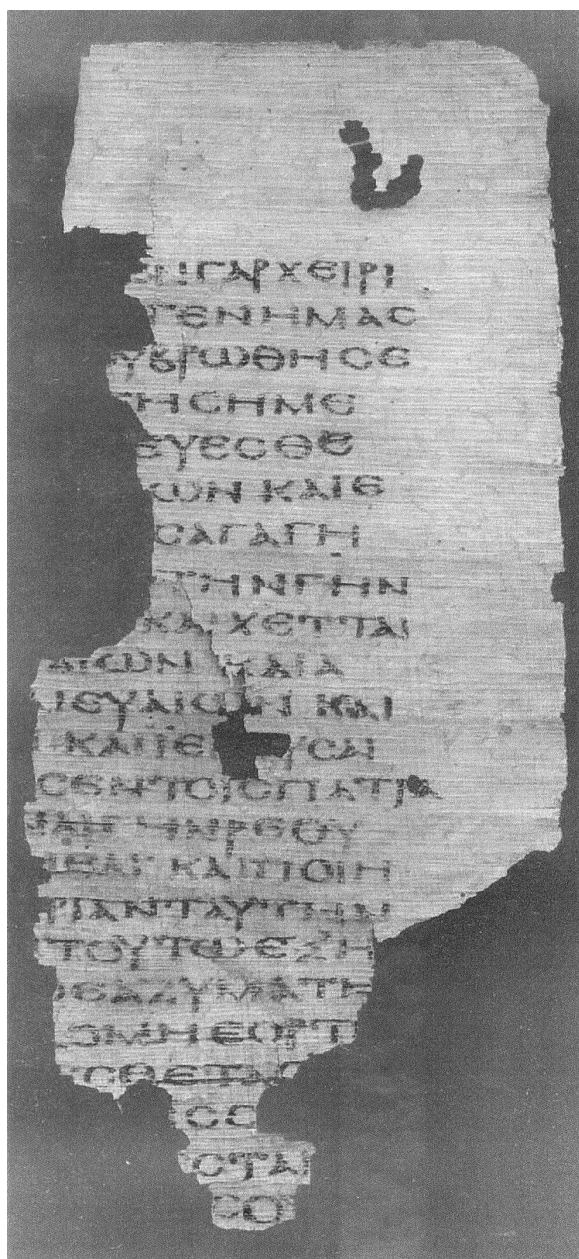


Figure 10. Exod 13:3–7

A History of Research on Origen's Hexapla: From Masius to the Hexapla Project

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Introduction

In the third century C.E., the church scholar Origen compiled a multi-columned edition of the Old Testament in which he presented several of the most significant versions of his day. Unfortunately, this work, now known to us as the *Hexapla*, has not survived in its entirety, and might never have been copied in full. Yet at the very least, parts of the work were reproduced by the toil of several of Origen's admirers not a full century after the completion of the *Hexapla*. This activity that took place at the library in Caesarea began the process of the transmission of this priceless treasure of biblical exegesis. To our good fortune, it has been the ambition of many scholars since Origen's day to preserve, transmit, and reconstruct the different versions that were utilized in Origen's *Hexapla*.

When one encounters the study of the *Hexapla* for the first time, the name of Frederick Field is quickly learned. Field's monumental work at the end of the nineteenth century has provided scholars since with the best possible view of the texts that Origen used. Yet before Field, there were several hundred years in which scholars were devoted to searching for, collecting, and presenting the fragments of the lost versions that were used in the *Hexapla* and other such readings that came to be known as "Hexaplaric." While not wishing to discount the achievement of Field in any way, we here wish to shed light on the fascinating history of the *Hexapla*'s journey from its rediscovery in the medieval period to the present day when appreciation for the work has never been higher.

The Hexapla Arrives in Europe

After Origen, the *Hexapla* had made its way through the centuries largely because of the efforts of three groups of scholars. The labors of Eusebius and Pamphilus at the library of Caesarea provided the initial stimulus for the preservation of such a magnificent work of scholarship.¹ The diffusion of the Hexaplaric sigla and readings into the stream of LXX textual transmission can, in many ways, be traced directly to their scribal activity at the dawn of the fourth century. But over the next 300 years, two branches of Eastern Christendom would be responsible for ensuring the preservation of the Hexaplaric material. Less is known about the genesis of the Armenian contact with Hexaplaric material than the Syriac.² And while the former remains a potentially fruitful area of investigation, for now we must await further research and content ourselves with the latter. Paul of Tella is credited with the work of the Syrohexapla (Syh), a translation into Syriac of the fifth column of the *Hexapla*. Perhaps using the *Hexapla* itself, or more likely, copies of the Hexaplaric text with notes genealogically tied to the work of the aforementioned scholars, Paul of Tella carried out this masterful translation in the deserts of Egypt in 617/8.³ In the centuries following, the Syrian theologians and commentators made abundant use of Syh, though its influence did not seem to spread beyond this ecclesiastical area.

Until the sixteenth century, Syh had been unknown to the West. However, this changed in 1571 when the work of a Belgian Roman Catholic scholar,

1. For more on their credentials as textual scholars, see G. Mercati, "Di varie antichissime sottoscrizione a codici esaplati," in *Nuove note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, (Studi e Testi 95; ed. G. Mercati; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1941) 2–6; A. von Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1958) vol. 1, pt. 2, 573–4; and R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Impr. nationale, Librairie C. Klincksieck, 1954) 122.

2. For this history, see Claude E. Cox, "Introduction," in Astuatsashunch' Matean Hin Ew Nor Ktakarants' = *Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments: a facsimile reproduction of the 1805 Venetian edition with an introduction by Claude Cox* (ed. H. Zohrapian; New York: Delmar, 1984) xi; Cox, *Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Armenia*, (SBLSCS 42; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 7–8.

3. See A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla* (CSCO 369; Leuven: CSCO, 1975); A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1968); and J. Gwynn, "Paulus Tellensis," in *A Dictionary of Christian Biography* (ed. William Smith and Henry Wace; London: John Murray, 1887) 266–7.

Andreas Masius, was published in Christopher Plantin's Royal Polyglot.⁴ Just three years later, Masius also published a commentary on Joshua that made further use of Syh.⁵ While Masius was indeed a learned linguist and commentator, his greatest contribution for our purposes was Syh quotations that preserve parts of the now-vanished first volume of the Ambrosian codex.⁶ One can only imagine what might have been lost to us had he never copied these for the western world. Thus, with these quotations, in the late sixteenth century the *Hexapla* had made its way from the Orient into Europe via the Syrian Church. It would not be two full decades before another European scholar would advance the role of the *Hexapla* in biblical scholarship.

The Hexapla in Renaissance Biblical Scholarship

Petrus Morinus and the Sixtine Version of the LXX

Before his ascension to the Papal See as Pope Sixtus V,⁷ Felice Peretti had urged Gregory XIII of the necessity of preparing a new edition of the Greek Bible. This realization came to Peretti while he was preparing the works of St. Ambrose for publication. He won Gregory's approval which led to the appointment of a commission under the leadership of the President of the Cardinals—later Prefect of the Vatican Library—Antonio Cardinal Carafa. Yet it was not until Peretti became Sixtus V that this new edition of the Greek Bible, based upon *Codex Vaticanus*, would flourish under the leadership of Carafa. Sixtus V, more convinced of the significance of the project, added

4. For more on Masius' importance for Hexaplaric scholarship, see W. Baars, *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 2–3 (Baars, 2 n. 6, points to a letter of 1554, number 140 in the edition of Masius' letters, in which Masius gives more detail about this Syh manuscript. Cf. M. Lossen, *Briefe von Andreas Masius und seinen Freunden 1538 bis 1573* [Leipzig, 1886] 173); and L. Greenspoon, "A Preliminary Publication of Max Leopold Margolis's *Andreas Masius*, together with His Discussion of Hexapla-Tetrapla," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments: papers presented at the Rich Seminar on the Hexapla, Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, 25th [July]–3rd August 1994*, (TSAJ 58; ed. A. Salvesen; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1998) 43.

5. Iosuae imperatoris historia illustrata atque explicata ab Andrea Masio : Quae hoc opera contineantur, proxima pagina ostendet (Antwerp, 1574).

6. Cf. A. Rahlfs in P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent* (Göttingen: Horstmann, 1892) 19–32¹; and the extensive *apparatus criticus* for Joshua in Lagarde, 121–60.

7. See S. Giordano, "Sisto V," in *Enciclopedia Dei Papi* (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 2000) 3:218.

several new editors to the team—one of which was a Parisian called Petrus Morinus (Pierre Morin). The result of this effort was the publication of the *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta* in 1587.

Morinus was the editor responsible for the inclusion of the Hexaplaric readings placed in the apparatus after each chapter. The Parisian had written to Silvius Antonianus of the responsibility that had been given him to search the Catenae of the Vatican. This letter, quoted in part in Field's *Prolegomena*, spells out more clearly his role in editing the Hexaplaric material, even naming Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.⁸ Hence, the Vatican collection of the Catenae, i.e., manuscripts of biblical commentaries with alternating text and comments, served as Morinus's main source of readings from the *recentiores*. But, as we are lacking a detailed study of Morinus's work, the full catalogue of sources is unknown. Nonetheless, the notes of Morinus indicate that the Vatican collection must have been extensive.

The publication of these notes was a milestone in biblical scholarship, for it was the first time a comprehensive collection of Hexaplaric readings was included for the majority of the Old Testament. The earlier collections of Masius (above) and Drusius (below) were only concerned with Joshua and the Psalter respectively, but our perusal of the Sixtine found that explicit Hexaplaric citations were only absent from II Esdras (Ezra-Nehemiah), Esther, and Paralipomenon. Yet, even with the printing of such a landmark as this in 1587, it was only one more year before the Sixtine would be surpassed.

Flaminius Nobilius and the Latin Sixtine

The year after the former publication, Sixtus V authorized a Latin translation of the Greek Sixtine under the title *Vetus Testamentum secundum LXX Latine*. In this edition, Flaminius Nobilius included many of the notes from Morinus on the readings of the *recentiores*, but also supplemented this information with his own extensive notations. Indeed, the extent of the interrelationship between the notes of Morinus and Nobilius has been the subject of

8. The notes were entered anonymously in the edition. Cf. F. Field, *Origenis hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1867, 1875) iii. The letter was published by Jacob Quetif in 1675. See G. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena to Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, sive veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, translated and annotated by Gérard J. Norton, with the collaboration of Carmen Hardin (CRB 62; Paris: J. Gabalda, 2005) 16–7.

not a little confusion since Drusius's work of 1622 (below). The consensus view has credited Nobilius with being the forerunner of modern *Hexapla* scholarship; and it is his name, not Morinus's, that has been included in the title of every major collection of fragments since 1622. But a reinterpretation of this history has been suggested in Gérard Norton's recently published English translation of Field's *Prolegomena*.⁹ Norton shifts most of his attention to Morinus, thus effectively removing the acclaim due Nobilius in the transmission of these notes. In Norton's view, Nobilius simply took Morinus's notes from the 1587 edition and inserted them into the edition of 1588. Therefore, it cannot be said that Nobilius contributed to the transmission of the Hexaplaric notes in any significant way, save his reprinting of Morinus's work.

Norton's is a reasonable suggestion given the fact that the Latin version was published only one year later: this amount of time hardly seems enough for gathering more extensive notations. And his assertion that Morinus is at the core of all subsequent Hexaplaric scholarship is more than fair. Even so, Norton's proposal probably goes too far. We may certainly agree with Norton, that Morinus has been unfairly 'eclipsed' by Nobilius, in so far as he is not often remembered among the forerunners of Hexaplaric scholarship; but from there, we should not be so quick to undermine the uniqueness of Nobilius's work. To be sure, Nobilius was no mere servant of Morinus. Rather, he advanced our knowledge of the Hexaplaric materials through his extensive notations that not only added to the readings of his predecessor, but also provided hitherto unattested fragments.¹⁰ And the publication of these readings would encourage another Renaissance scholar to take up the duty of transmission once again.

Johannes Drusius: The First Commentator on the Fragments

Jan van den Driessche, or Johannes Drusius, spent time as Professor of Oriental Languages in Oxford (1572–76) and Leiden (1577–85) before becoming Professor of Hebrew at Franeker from 1585–1616. In a posthumous publication at Arnhem in 1622, the Dutch scholar offered the first commentary on the Hexaplaric readings under the title *Interpretum Graecorum in*

9. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 16–7.

10. B. ter Haar Romeny and I both—though independently—arrived at the same conclusion on this matter after examining the editions in Leiden and in London. I sincerely appreciate his encouragement and conversation on this question (and many others!).

totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta. Thus, only 35 years after the publication of the first full collection of the Hexaplaric fragments, a commentary on the readings surfaced. Drusius included two prefatory notes to provide background to the readings; one addressed the identity of the *recentiores*, the other Quinta and Sexta. With a few new collations, Drusius added to the material that had been handed down to him. He translated the readings into Latin and then added his commentary.

This work, however, was antedated by another of Drusius in 1581 that bore the title *In Psalmos Davidis Veterum Interpretum quae exstant in fragmenta*. Earlier, we noted that Andreas Masius's commentary on the book of Joshua (1574) brought Syh to light in Europe for the first time; and further, that the Sixtine LXX (1587) contained the first collection of Hexaplaric readings for the entire Old Testament. Nevertheless, it was in the interval between these publications that Drusius published this unique work. And though restricted to the Psalter, this became the first collection of Hexaplaric readings based upon the Greek witnesses.¹¹ Here, Drusius records readings not only from the *recentiores* but also Quinta, Sexta, and a source he calls κοινή.¹² With the date of this publication six years prior to the Sixtine, the question was rightly posed by G. Norton whether or not Morinus used Drusius in compiling the Hexaplaric notes for the Psalter in the Sixtine.¹³ But in just a few examples we examined at the British Library, it became obvious that Morinus either did not know of Drusius, or simply did not use Drusius. At the very most, he considered Drusius' readings to be of little or no importance. All of the readings surveyed indicate Morinus's independence of Drusius's work of 1581. Indeed, it appears that the Catenae that provided Morinus with his notes were a far more fruitful source than the mysterious source(s) of Drusius. Thus, considering the two versions of the Sixtine (1587 and 1588) and Drusius's later publication (1622), this earlier work pales into irrelevance. Though Drusius's two collections were hardly groundbreaking, he earned himself a place in posterity, and every Hexaplaric collection since 1622 has paid tribute to his work.

11. Drusius does acknowledge, 'Authores ex quibus illa collegimus, omnes Graeci sunt; excipio Hieronymum, cui non minimum partem debemus.' Drusius, *In Psalmos Davidis veterum interpretum quae exstant fragmenta I. Driesschus collegit* (Antwerp, 1581) 36.

12. *In Psalmos Davidis*, 3–4. This κοινή appears to be a shorthand Jerome used for LXX in his *Epist. ad Suniam & Fretelam*.

13. Oral communication at the 2006 Grinfield Lectures on the Septuagint, Oxford.

The Reprint of the Greco-Latin Sixtine

In 1628 another Morinus, the Orientalist and Oratorian theologian Johannes Morinus (Jean Morin)¹⁴—best known for his pioneering work on the Samaritan Pentateuch—reprinted the texts that constituted the Greek and Latin Sixtine Bibles in his *Vetus Testamentum, secundum LXX*. The Greek and Latin texts were arranged in parallel columns with the critical notes running horizontally at the end of each chapter in two apparatuses. The first apparatus contains the notes from the Greek scholia of Morinus that were produced in the original Sixtine (1587). The second apparatus contains the extensive notes of Nobilius from the Latin edition (1588). The value of J. Morinus's work for our purposes is in its arrangement. This format helps us at a glance to discriminate between the works of the earlier Morinus and Nobilius without having to compare readings from each of the large volumes of the Greek and Latin Sixtine. Here, one can see the readings in a single edition, which in turn confirms the conclusion of our own investigation: Nobilius's notes were an extensive updating of those of Morinus.¹⁵

The Modern Period

The London Polyglot

Brian Walton's London Polyglot of 1657 also included the Hexaplaric readings. The *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* presents the ancient versions—the Hebrew, Samaritan (for the Pentateuch), Greek, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and Persian texts—on each opening. The LXX text was taken from the Sixtine, based on *Codex Vaticanus*.

The Hexaplaric readings from the version of Nobilius are recorded in volume six of the Polyglot. In Walton's judgment, Nobilius had overlooked some readings; thus, the Londoner supplemented Nobilius's collection, mainly drawing upon the recently completed work of Drusius.¹⁶ Not only did

14. P. Auvray, "Jean Morin, 1591–1659," *RB* 66 (1959) 397–414; and idem, "Morin, Jean," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2nd edition; Detroit, 2005) 9:896–7.

15. Cf. also, Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968) 128, who arrives at the same conclusion on the matter, making mention of this work of the latter Morinus.

16. Praefatio: " . . . vel cum in Graecum mendae irreperunt restitui possint; cujus Annotationibus alia quaedam ex Scholiis Romanis à Nobilio praetermissa, vel Latine tantum

Walton add material, he also attempted to correct the blunders of the previous collectors. One such correction is the clarification of the siglum "VII" that Nobilius had used for both the Septima and the LXX. Walton appropriately changed the referent to "LXX" in those cases which clearly referred to that translation.

Matthew Poole's Synopsis

Even if in a limited sense, Matthew Poole is credited with bringing the *Hexapla* to England in his five-volume *Synopsis Criticorum*, published in London in 1669.¹⁷ Poole gathered more than 100 authorities, Jewish and Christian, to produce this survey of critical notes and commentary, a sort of history of the interpretation of the biblical text. Two columns of running commentary occupy each page, with source abbreviations in the margins. In these notes, the readings of the *recentiores* were included via Drusius,¹⁸ though they are sparingly employed. In fact, at times the reader must hunt for them fervently, as Poole seems only to have used them sporadically.

Lambertus Bos and the Hexaplaric Scholia

Lambertus Bos gathered more Hexaplaric readings from several sources that were new to him in 1709 in his two-volume *Vetus Testamentum ex versione septuaginta interpretum*. In addition to his principle manuscript sources, Franeker University's Professor of Greek filled his critical apparatus with variants from a variety of sources, including notes from Drusius, the marginal notes in the *Codex Barberini*, and Syh variants found in Masius's commentary on Joshua. His οἱ Γ' refers to "tres Interpretes anonymos," though he withheld judgment as to whether the reference meant the *trifaria varietas* of Jerome, as Theodoret had suggested, or if instead the reference pointed to the *recentiores*. Bos took λ_o in the *Codex Barberini* as a reference to Lucian. This would soon be disputed by Montfaucon, who reckoned the siglum to refer to τοῖς λοιποῖς. Nonetheless, as Field pointed out, the distinction between the two options is often hard to make, and so conclusions

expressa, & quaedam ex Fragmentis veterum Interpretum apud Joh. Drusium, aliisque, suis locis inseruimus."

17. I was fortunate to have read the copy dedicated to the *Bibliotheca Bodleyanae, Oxonis*, signed by Poole himself, dated June 20, 1670.

18. No mention is made of Nobilius or the London Polyglott. Poole seems to have simply worked on the authority of Drusius.

about the identity of this (these) translator(s) must remain tentative.¹⁹ Bos's collection would be the last before *Hexapla* scholarship would make a major advance by the labors of a Frenchman.

*Bernard de Montfaucon and the Watershed
Moment in Hexaplaric Research*

A Benedictine monk of the congregation of St. Maur was the first to publish a definitive collection of the Hexaplaric fragments. Of the noble class, Bernard de Montfaucon was born in Soulage, France.²⁰ From his seventeenth year until his twentieth, he served under the Count of Turenne in the French army, a stint which ended when he joined the Maurists in Toulouse (1675). He was ordained one year later and left Toulouse in 1687 to study Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Paris. This training prepared him for the work which we now have in *PG* 25–28 (1698) and 47–64 (1718–38), editions of Athanasius and John Chrysostom respectively. His greatest achievement for classical studies is his *Palaeographia graeca* (1708) in which he introduces the science of palaeography for the first time, thus earning him the distinction of being called the father of Greek palaeography. However, for our purposes we are most interested in his 1713 publication of *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*.

Montfaucon's work was at this point unequalled, and in some ways this distinction still holds. His predecessors had succeeded in bringing together some of the materials of Hexaplaric sources, but Montfaucon's work was the first major attempt to produce an entire collection, including 77 pages of *Praeliminaria* on all matters related to the *Hexapla*. Whereas the previous editions had simply used the Hexaplaric readings, Montfaucon provided much more. There is no mistaking his successor's dependence upon this organization of materials, from Field's *Prolegomena* to the text itself. Montfaucon's *Praeliminaria* addressed most of the same concerns to approaching the study of the *Hexapla* that Field would take up in his edition a century and a half later. And though the succeeding centuries have reversed many of his conclusions, Montfaucon's work is a lasting monument to the methodology and the careful analysis of the materials that one must employ in a study of the *Hexapla*.

19. Field, lxxxv.

20. See F. X. Murray, "Montfaucon, Bernard de" in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 9:839.

The *Admonita* placed at the start of each book lists Montfaucon's principle sources, though he was forced to rely upon ancient testimony rather than actual manuscript evidence for many of them. The first chapter of Genesis is printed in six columns, in what appears to be a hypothetical reproduction of the *Hexapla*'s format. Montfaucon prints the Hebrew and Greek texts on the top half of each page and translates each column into Latin on the bottom half, with the exception that the Vulgata Latina is inserted into the second column underneath the Ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασι (the transliterated second column). Following this first chapter, the remainder of his work lists the Hebrew reading and the variant readings from the Greek texts, an arrangement Field would follow very closely in his edition. Montfaucon offers a companion Latin translation throughout, with notes and commentary of his own also in Latin. Additionally, Montfaucon included the Vulgate readings at certain points since Jerome himself at times borrowed from the *recentiores*. The endnotes that follow each biblical chapter register the sources from which Montfaucon culled the readings.

But, just as we will point out that Field was heavily dependent upon Montfaucon, we must also acknowledge Montfaucon's dependence upon Drusius, as he himself mentions.²¹ He admits that he has taken from Drusius's notes that which he thought to be helpful to his readers²² and that in Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles, he has nothing new to add. In the Prophets, however, especially Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Minor Prophets, Montfaucon assures his readers that his material surpasses that of Drusius.²³ Fortunately for Montfaucon, the *Codex Marchalianus* (Q) of the Prophets had been discovered and was available for his study.²⁴ This codex has proven to be one of the most valuable Greek witnesses to the *Hexapla*, with Hexaplaric notes and signs filled out in the margins. Further, Montfaucon also had the *Codex Coislinianus* (M) to hand, preserving Genesis to 3 Reigns 8:40. This codex had been in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris since the mid-seventeenth century, and Montfaucon was the first to make use of it. Like

21. B. de Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, multi partibus auctiora quam a Flaminio Nobilio et Joanne Drusio edita fuerin*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1713) I:2.

22. *Ibid.*, I:3.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *coe*, 201.

Codex Marchalianus (Q), Codex Coislinianus (M) contains an abundance of Hexaplaric material in its margins.²⁵

Montfaucon included a thorough treatment of the readings from the source known as ὁ Σύροϛ.²⁶ Later, Field would write, “De hoc Syro anonymo inde a Montefalconio maxima est virorum dissensione.”²⁷ Apparently, Field means that Montfaucon was the first to examine the citations in a systematic fashion. Before Montfaucon, the question had been posed by Drusius when he found such readings in the Patristic sources, but he attempted no thoroughgoing treatment. The most important discussion concerning ὁ Σύροϛ is whether the readings are from a Greek translation of a Syriac original known to have originated from ὁ Σύροϛ or if the readings are simply *ad hoc* translations from a Syriac text.²⁸ He opted for the former. Later, Field agreed with Montfaucon that ὁ Σύροϛ was a Greek translation, but he differed by positing a Hebrew *Vorlage*.²⁹ While admitting that Montfaucon’s dilemma remains a problem for scholars today, B. Romeny reminds us that the question is greater still: “[I]s the *Vorlage* of the Greek ὁ Σύροϛ readings a Syriac text, as Montfaucon presumed, or is it a Hebrew or even a Latin text?”³⁰ By examining the ὁ Σύροϛ quotations of Eusebius of Emesa, Romeny concludes, *contra* Montfaucon and Field, that Eusebius was the first to introduce this term as he “translated readings of a Syriac Bible whenever he needed them for his elucidations.”³¹

25. Jellicoe, 196–7. Additionally, Montfaucon used the notes of Franciscus Combefis for Genesis and Exodus (cf. Montfaucon, I:5).

26. Montfaucon, I:18–21. See Drusius, *Veterum Interpretum Graecorum in totum VT fragmenta* (Arnhem, 1622) 82. Also Romeny, “‘Quis sit ὁ Σύροϛ’ Revisited,” in *Origen’s Hexapla and Fragments* 361; and L. Van Rompay, “L’informatrice syrien de Basile de Césarée. À propos de Genèse 1,2,” *OCP* 58 (1992) 245–51. The present discussion of Montfaucon’s treatment of ὁ Σύροϛ is dependent upon that of Romeny, “‘Quis sit ὁ Σύροϛ,’” 360ff.

27. Field, lxxviii; Norton, *Frederick Field’s Prolegomena*, 145: “There has been very great disagreement among scholars since the time of Montfaucon concerning this anonymous ὁ Σύροϛ.”

28. Montfaucon dealt with citations of “the Syrian” along with “the Samaritan,” and even later introduces ὁ Ἑβραῖος into the mix.

29. Field, lxxvii–lxxxii.

30. Romeny, “‘Quis sit ὁ Σύροϛ,’” 362; See also Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress: The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa’s Commentary on Genesis* (TEG 6; Louvain: Peeters, 1997).

31. “Quis sit ὁ Σύροϛ,” 396.

Concerning Aquila, Montfaucon advanced the theory that had been argued most recently by Drusius,³² that Aquila produced two versions of the Old Testament. The first version, Aquila rendered freely. It was only later that Aquila prepared another version after he had reviewed his work. This version Jerome said the Hebrews called κατὰ ἀκριβείαν.³³ Montfaucon also believed that Theodotion was historically later than Symmachus. But Montfaucon's position was dependent upon Epiphanius's mistaken report of a second Commodus, under whom Theodotion flourished.³⁴ According to Epiphanius, this second Commodus rose after Severus, the latter under whom Symmachus produced his version. During the reign of the second Commodus, Theodotion produced his translation of the Greek Scriptures. Since Montfaucon, however, this chronology has been rejected, with the most recent specialists locating Theodotion, or at least a school of Theodotionic thought, even before Aquila.³⁵

Even in the face of the newest discoveries that have now made much of Montfaucon's work irrelevant, the Benedictine scholar had at the beginning of the eighteenth century moved the discussion forward by light years. Indeed, until Montfaucon no one had even attempted—or dare say imagined—a work of *Hexapla* scholarship on the same scale. So monumental was his work that another attempt would not be made for more than 150 years.³⁶

32. Though not argued, it was mentioned as an accepted fact in the *Praefatio* to the Latin Sixtine.

33. Jerome, *Comm. in Ezech.*, 3:15.

34. Cf. Epiph., *mens.* 17. Masius also took this sequence in *Iosuae*, 121–2, but Walton did not in his London Polyglot, *Prolegomena*, V:7.

35. Most notably Barthélemy, “Redécouvert d'un chaînon manquant de l'histoire de la Septante,” *RB* 60 (1953) 18–29; and more importantly his more developed views in *Les Devanciers d'Aquila: Première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda, précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabinat palestinien* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963), published 10 years later.

36. C. F. Bahrdt's *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt auctiora et emendatiora quam a Flaminio Nobilio, Ioanne Drusio, et tandem a Bernardo de Montfaucon concinnata fuerant edidit notisque illustravit*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1769–70) and J. A. Dathe's “Disputatio Philologico-Critica in Aquilae Reliquias interpretationis Hoseae” in *Opuscula ad crisin et interpretationem veteris testamenti spectantia* (ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller; Leipzig, 1796) would fill the gap between Montfaucon and Field, but their relevance for new material is so negligible that they were omitted here.

*Frederick Field at the Pinnacle of Hexaplaric Scholarship*³⁷

By the end of the nineteenth century, research on the Hexaplaric materials had been continuing for more than 1500 years. At this time, the swell of knowledge demanded a comprehensive assembly of all the data, taking into account not only the Greek witnesses, but Syh as well. Up to now, the commentary of Masius was the only source for the inclusion of Syh readings, but in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the unveiling of the *Codex Ambrosianus* would enhance the quality of *Hexapla* research. Thus, by the time Field had decided to undertake a new collection in 1863,³⁸ the material from Syh was more readily available to him than it had been to his forerunners. Even though Ceriani's work was not published before Field,³⁹ the two scholars had been in recurring contact, during which Ceriani supplied Field with pre-publication material for use in his edition.⁴⁰ The collections of Hexaplaric material that had been produced up to this point had focused either on the Greek material alone, or on Syh, though for the latter only in the case of Masius on Joshua. No one had yet integrated both to form a synthesis of available material.

Prior to his work on the *Hexapla*, Field had already developed an interest and expertise in Syriac lexicography.⁴¹ This attraction manifested itself in Field's first publication of *Otium Norvicense* in 1864.⁴² This work was a test for Field to gauge reader acceptance for the proposal of a full collection of Hexaplaric fragments.⁴³ In this small volume, Field utilized the fragments of Syh from the publications of G. Bugati, M. Norberg, and H. Middeldorpf.⁴⁴

37. In this section, I am much indebted to Norton's *Frederick Field's Prolegomena* which provided a substantial amount of background information. Interested readers are encouraged to see this very helpful resource.

38. Cf. Field, *Prolegomena*, vii.

39. Ceriani was published in 1874, but Field's work was completed at this point.

40. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 11. Cf. Field's Preface to Job, II:3.

41. P. Smith recognized Field's competence in 1879 in the Praefatio to his *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford, 1879) v–vi.

42. Field, *Otium Norvicense: sive Tentamen de reliquiis Aquilae, Symmachi, Theodotionis, e linguam Syriaca in Graecam convertendi* (Oxford, 1864).

43. Field, *Prolegomena*, vii. This would seem to be the sense of the Latin, "prolusionis gratia" ("a preliminary exercise for [gauging] acceptance/favor?") which Norton simply translates as "trial." Cf. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 7.

44. G. Bugati, *Daniel secundum editionem lxx. interpretum. Syr. ed., Lat. vertit, praefatione notisque criticis illustravit C. Bugatus* (Milan, 1788); H. Middeldorpf, *Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris I* (Berlin, 1835); M. Norberg, *Codex Syriaco-hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis* (Lund, 1787).

Field translates Syh readings into Greek and offers a Latin translation of the Hebrew lemma. According to Field, the work was a failure that proved to be of no interest to the public.⁴⁵ Thus, he nearly gave up all hope of a future edition. But by the efforts of Dr. Robert Scott, the Greek lexicographer and Master of Balliol College, Oxford, the delegates of the Clarendon Press in Oxford were finally persuaded to publish the material at their cost.⁴⁶ The collection of Hexaplaric remains was published in two volumes, beginning in 1875.

Field's one hundred pages of *Prolegomena* represented the pinnacle of scholarship on those issues linked to the study of the *Hexapla*. Among the many treasures in the *Prolegomena* are Field's treatment of the biographical details of the *recentiores*, his analysis of the character of the Greek versions, the analysis of Sexta and Septima, and his discussion of the bewildering Ἑβραῖος, Σύρος, and Σαμαρειτικόν quotations. Field's *Prolegomena* has been the starting point of most scholarly work on the *Hexapla* since its publication. Much of his material closely followed Montfaucon, yet Field's arguments about the texts of the *Hexapla* brought forth fresh approaches to old questions.

Field noticed that Aquila's Greek, though at times "barbara et exotica," was at other times also very elegant.⁴⁷ Aquila uses the nominal form -έων, which "ad elegantias Graeci sermonis pertinet," and on occasion imitates Homer and Herodotus.⁴⁸ On the priority of Symmachus or Theodotion, Field rightly challenged Montfaucon and concludes that Theodotion was prior to Symmachus. However, it would not be until 1953 when LXX scholars would be faced with the new reality that even before Aquila there existed a systematic methodology of text revision that would only later be attributed to the historical Theodotion.⁴⁹ Thus, Norton was right to exonerate Field, for in Field's context before Naḥal Hever and *Les Devanciers* he was right to conclude as he did in moving Theodotion back before Symmachus.⁵⁰

Norton recently emphasized two facets of the lasting significance of Field's *Hexapla* that are still acknowledged to this day.⁵¹ First, Field had as-

45. Field, *Prolegomena*, viii.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid, xxiii.

48. Ibid. Field believes he is the first to point out the connection to Homer. Cf. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 12.

49. This was the publication in which Barthélemy made known his intention to publish a new manuscript that had been discovered at Naḥal Hever. Cf. n. 34 above.

50. Cf. Norton's note on p. 82 of *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*.

51. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 10–11.

simulated the newest findings from the Greek witnesses that were unknown to his predecessors. Though Field was not able to check the Greek sources himself, much less perform the collations, he did integrate the new material, most notably from the Holmes-Parsons (H-P) LXX and the collations carried out by those editors.⁵² Secondly, Norton draws attention to Field's use of Syh.⁵³ Field not only integrated Syh material, he also performed retroversions of the Hexaplaric material from Syriac into Greek. The Syriac word or phrase in question is printed in his footnotes and the retroversion is found in smaller Greek print in the main text. These retroversions have in many cases been subjected to more detailed scrutiny, and have almost always proven to be reliable.⁵⁴

It is apparent that Field was working with materials much older than and, in some cases, inferior to those we possess today. Unfortunately, he seldom indicates the editions of the biblical texts from which he culled his data. His manuscript readings were dependent upon the conclusions of his predecessors (including Walton), the H-P collations, and the sources mentioned in the prefaces to the books. Therefore, at few places can one be completely certain which edition Field was using. Norton attempted to identify all of Field's sources, but in the process found it to be "a sort of literary archaeology."⁵⁵ Indeed, this has been one of the most difficult tasks for those who have worked on the Hexaplaric materials since 1875. However, if one remembers the historical situation in which this scholar worked, it would be unwarranted to cast a shadow over his labors. The discoveries of the manuscript fragments from Cairo and Milan and the full publication of Syh were later than Field, and therefore must not be used anachronistically to criticize his work.

As with several of his predecessors, Frederick Field accomplished the single greatest monument of *Hexapla* research to his day. If the value of a work can be substantiated by its duration through time, Field's *Hexapla*, like that of Montfaucon, achieved extraordinary worth in providing scholars with the only comparable work in its field for nearly a century and a half. Yet, advances in the research of the Greek Old Testament in the last century lead to

52. R. Holmes and J. Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Graecum cum variis lectionibus* (Oxford, 1798–1827). See Field, xcvi, where he mentions his own collation of 252. Cf. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 10.

53. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 11.

54. See for example M. Weitzman, "The Reliability of Retroversions of the Three from the Syrohexapla: A Pilot Study in Hosea," in *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*, 317–59.

55. Norton, *Frederick Field's Prolegomena*, 18.

the inexorable conclusion that at best the researcher is left with uncertainty, and at worst outright skepticism concerning the reliability of Field's work for the twenty-first century.

The Present State of Research on the Hexapla

In 1968, Jellicoe bemoaned the reality as it appeared to him that there would be no new collection of Hexaplaric fragments in the near future.⁵⁶ For many, an improvement upon Field has seemed a distant utopia. However, this despair has not slowed the progress of discovery and analysis in the area of *Hexapla* research. Indeed, even if Field's *Hexapla* becomes completely irrelevant, his lasting legacy might be that he aroused the interests of modern scholars in this important area of research.

Since Field's time, numerous publications have appeared which have significantly altered, and in some cases confirmed, the research in Field's *Hexapla*. Without question, the most important monograph published since this time, and perhaps in the history of *Hexapla* research, was the 1963 publication of Barthélemy's *Les Devanciers*. Barthélemy's analysis of the material and his discussion of its implications for past and future scholarship have had an incalculable impact. Barthélemy's most significant conclusion, for our interests, was the recognition of an intentional recension of the Greek Bible that predated our three *recentiores*. Until Barthélemy, Aquila was the alleged trailblazer of recensional activity on the Greek text. In light of Barthélemy, we now know that there was a move to change the text long before Aquila's time. Further, the historical Theodotion can no longer be seen as the sole *recentior* of the version that bears his name. Instead, Theodotion's version simply exhibits characteristics of a revision that had begun long before. Much more could be said here, but it is enough to agree with R. A. Kraft that few things in this area of research have been the same since Barthélemy.⁵⁷ This is far from an overstatement.

Research on the *recentiores* has also been fruitful. J. Reider and N. Turner's *Index*⁵⁸ has furthered our knowledge of Aquila's lexicon and transla-

56. Jellicoe, 129.

57. R. A. Kraft, "Reassessing the Impact of Barthélemy's *Devanciers*, Forty Years Later," *BIOSCS* 37 (2004) 1–28.

58. N. Turner, *Prolegomena to a Greek-Hebrew and Hebrew-Greek Index to Aquila*, (Philadelphia: Dropsie College, 1916); and idem, *An Index to Aquila: Greek-Hebrew, He-*

tion technique, even as it has endured harsh criticisms. A more precise understanding of the person and work of Symmachus has been provided by the studies of J. R. Busto Saiz,⁵⁹ J. Gonzalez Luis,⁶⁰ and A. Salvesen,⁶¹ and on Theodotion, studies by A. Schmitt,⁶² K. G. O'Connell,⁶³ and P. J. Gentry⁶⁴ have come forth.

The manuscript discoveries of Cairo and Milan have also provided material from which scholars can refine and further our knowledge of the *Hexapla*. The publication of the Aquilanic fragments from the Cairo Genizah by F. C. Burkitt⁶⁵ and the study of the Jewish-Greek fragments from the same site by N. R. M. de Lange⁶⁶ must be considered in any future edition of the Hexaplaric fragments. Also, studies on the Psalms from the Milan palimpsest and other manuscripts have been published by G. Mercati⁶⁷ and A. Schenker.⁶⁸

Finally, the work of the editors of the Cambridge and Göttingen LXX projects should be mentioned here. The collations of Brooke-McLean-Thackeray produced additional Hexaplaric material a little more than two decades after

brew-Greek, Latin-Hebrew, with the Syriac and Armenian Evidence, Completed and Revised (VTSup 12; Leiden: Brill, 1966).

59. J. R. Busto Saiz, *La Traducción de Símaco en el Libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: CSIC, 1978).

60. J. Gonzalez Luis, "La versión de Simaco a los Profetas Mayores," unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1981. It is highly unfortunate this thesis has never been published.

61. A. Salvesen, *Symmachus in the Pentateuch* (JSSM 15; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

62. A. Schmidt, *θ-Text bei Daniel wirklich von Theodotion?* (NAWG; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1968).

63. K. G. O'Connell, *The Theodotionic Revision of the Book of Exodus* (HSM 3; Cambridge, MA: Harvard Press, 1972).

64. P. Gentry, *The Asterisked Materials in the Greek Job* (SBLSCS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

65. F. C. Burkitt, *Fragments of the Books of Kings According to the Translation of Aquila* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897).

66. N. R. M. de Lange, *Greek Jewish Texts from the Cairo Genizah* (TSAJ 51; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996).

67. G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. Pars Prima: Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 sup. Phototypice expressus et transcriptus* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1958); and *Psalterii Hexapli Reliquiae. Pars Prima: 'Osservazioni' Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplarii* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965).

68. A. Schenker, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke. Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62* (OBO 8; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).

Field. In Göttingen, the editions of the Pentateuch by Wevers⁶⁹ and of the Prophets by Ziegler⁷⁰ have provided apparatuses that present the Hexaplaric readings as the editors found them in the manuscripts. In many cases, the evidence here surpasses Field's simply because the Göttingen Septuaginta-Unternehmen performed newer collations than those of Holmes-Parsons upon which Field relied. While their Hexaplaric apparatuses do not intend to replace Field, they nonetheless offer more material that has yet to be analyzed.

Conclusion:

Into the Twenty-first Century with the Hexapla Project

The years since Origen have been full of discovery and analysis of the remains of his *Hexapla*. The efforts of Eusebius and Pamphilus ensured that future generations would have access to this monument of scholarship. The Syrian Church in the seventh century became the curator of the Hexaplaric material that had survived. A fascination with and reverence for Greek culture led to the natural decision to translate the Greek text of the Hexaplaric recension. From the East to the West the Hexaplaric readings traveled by way of Masius and later the Roman Catholic scholars in the Sixtine editions of the LXX. The English-speaking world soon became heirs to the riches of biblical exegesis exemplified in the *Hexapla*, and today that same access is granted in many modern languages of the Western world. But it has still been over 130 years since a full collection of the Hexaplaric material has been published. With the progress in research that has just been detailed, the time is ripe for a new edition.

The pessimism of Jellicoe might have proven true for his lifetime, but the desideratum of a "new Field" is already being fulfilled. The Rich Seminar on the *Hexapla* convened in Oxford in 1994, with the result that the scholars in attendance agreed on the need for a new critical edition of Hexaplaric

69. J. W. Wevers, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate academiae scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Genesis I; Exodus II, 1; Leviticus II, 2; Numeri III, 1; Deuteronomium III, 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974–91).

70. J. Ziegler, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate academiae scientiarum Gottingensis editum*, Iob IX, 4; Duodecim Prophetarum XIII; Isaias XIV; Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae XV; Ezechiel XVI, 1 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1939–84).

fragments. A selection of the papers from this seminar was subsequently edited by A. Salvesen and published as *Origen's Hexapla and Fragments*.⁷¹ At this seminar, the *Hexapla Project* was conceived. Not long before, Norton had offered his insightful "Cautionary Reflections" that have since served the directors and editors, urging great care as they proceed along these new lines of research.⁷² Indeed, Norton's has been a welcome voice in the leadership of the undertaking.

In 2001, funding became available and the *Hexapla Project* commenced. At present, the endeavor is being directed by A. Salvesen, B. ter Haar Romeny, and P. J. Gentry, and conducted under the auspices of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. The books of the Old Testament are being assigned to editors who will take into account the most recent material and integrate the data into this new collection.⁷³ It is hoped that the first volume will appear before 2010. In addition to printed fascicles, the project will also be available on an online database, accessible at <http://www.hexapla.org>.

Only time will bear out the significance of this newest project, but the anticipation for its success is high. The impetus for Field's work was found in a quotation from Constantine Tischendorf, but it can rightly be applied to the present situation: "It is greatly to be desired that the studies by which Morinus, Drusius, Montfaucon, Bahrdt, Schleusner and others [and now we can add "Field"] have already earned distinction in the sacred scriptures, in all of their collections of those elements of the work of Origen that survive even now in a scattered manner should be renewed and advanced."⁷⁴ And it will be the *Hexapla Project* that advances that work into the twenty-first century.

71. Cited in notes 4, 25, and 53.

72. G. Norton, "Cautionary Reflections on a Re-edition of Fragments of Hexaplaric Material," in *Tradition of the Text. Studies Offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of His 70th Birthday* (OBO 109; ed. G. J. Norton and S. Pisano; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991) 129–55.

73. I am grateful to have been named the editor of 3, 4 Reigns for this project.

74. Cited in Field, v.

Looking for Fragments of the Syrohexapla: The Song of Hannah in Barberiniani Orientali 2 as a Test Case

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Introduction

As is well known, the Syrohexapla (Syh) is a Syriac translation made from copies of the fifth column of Origen's *Hexapla*. It was rendered in the early years of the seventh century by Paul of Tella and his co-workers. Thanks to its literalness Syh offers an important point of comparison in the search for the Greek Hexaplaric readings, and it is also a source of readings that are otherwise unknown. Unfortunately, in the course of time, Syh has also suffered damage.¹

In the case of 1 Samuel, no manuscript of the *Hexapla* or Syh has survived. Some larger passages of chaps. 2, 7, and 20 are found in the lectionaries from the ninth and tenth centuries.² The Song of Hannah in its Syro-

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1. For more information on the state of preservation and publication of the Syrohexaplaric books see, e.g., Willem Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968) 2–21; and Arthur Vööbus, *Discoveries of Very Important Manuscript Sources for the Syro-Hexapla* (Stockholm: ETSE, 1970).

2. The portions 7:5–12; 20:11–23, 35–42 were published by Moshe Goshen-Gottstein, "Neue Syrohexaplafragmente" (Biblica 37; Roma: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1956) 162–183 and 2:12–17, 22–24; 20:27–33 by W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*.

hexaplaric version is in the second part of manuscript Baghdad, Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate 1112³ (Chald. Patr. 1112) that is dated approximately to the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries.⁴ There are also some quotations in the biblical commentaries of Išo‘dad of Merv from the ninth century⁵ and Barhebraeus from the thirteenth century.⁶ In addition to these, Andreas Masius has cited Syh of 1 Samuel in his lexicon.⁷ Nevertheless, there are reasons to presume that not all of the extant 1 Samuel materials have yet been found and published. For instance, Willem Baars has listed some possible, but still unstudied, sources of Syrohexaplaric readings.⁸

Here I will discuss the challenges of looking for new Syrohexaplaric readings of 1 Samuel. My main question is how to distinguish readings that descend from Syh from those readings that are independent translations from Greek. The Song of Hannah serves as a case study.

Barberiniani Orientali 2

As mentioned above, De Boer published in 1963 a Syrohexaplaric version of Hannah’s Song from Chald. Patr. 1112. The second part of Chald. Patr. 1112 includes a few Psalms from the end of the Psalter and seven Odes, the song of Hannah being one of them. Although the text is placed among the Odes, it is clearly a biblical text of 1 Sam 2 and certainly a Syrohexaplaric text, with one asterisk and four obeli, and it bears the linguistic characteristics

3. De Boer (“A Syro-Hexaplar Text of the Song of Hannah: 1 Samuel II. 1–10” [*Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver*; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963] 9) calls the manuscript Mosul Patr. Chald. 1112. According to Baars (*New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 12 n. 3) the manuscript was moved to Baghdad, and before Mosul it was at Diarbakir.

4. The first part of the manuscript that includes Psalms 1–146 is from the twelfth century. De Boer “A Syro-Hexaplar Text,” 9.

5. *Commentaire d’Išo‘dad de Merv sur l’Ancien Testament. III Livres des sessions* (édité par Ceslas van den Eynde; CSCO 229; Louvain, 1962).

6. *Barhebraeus’ Scholia on the Old Testament, part I: Genesis–II Samuel* (ed. Martin Sprengling and William Graham; Oriental Institute Publications XIII; Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1931); and Aemilius Schlesinger *Gregorii Abulfaragii Bar-Hebraei Scholia in Libros Samuelis ex quattuor codicibus Horrei Mysteriorum in Germania asservatis edita* (Lipsiae [Leipzig]; Guil. Drugulini, 1897).

7. Paul de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent* (Gottingae: L. Horstmann, 1892) 31–32a.

8. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 20–25.

of Syh.⁹ In his article, De Boer also mentioned the Song of Hannah in another manuscript, namely in Barberiniani Orientali 2¹⁰ (Barb. Or. 2), that according to De Boer includes Syrohexaplaric readings.¹¹

Barb. Or. 2 is, roughly speaking, of the same age as the latter part of Chald. Patr. 1112. It is from the fourteenth century, although folios 27, 28, and 69 are written in a later hand. It has 234 folios written on paper. For the most part the manuscript is arranged in five columns and it has text in five languages, namely Armenian, Arabic, Coptic, Syriac, and Ethiopic.¹²

Barb. Or. 2 was bought in 1635 from the Monastery of St. Macarios the Great located in a desert called Scetis.¹³ From Egypt the manuscript ended up in the collections of Barberiniani and finally in the Vatican library.¹⁴

Barb. Or. 2 includes the Psalms¹⁵ and nine Odes from the Old Testament.¹⁶ In addition, the manuscript includes three Odes from Luke¹⁷ as well as the morning hymn “laudatio angelorum”¹⁸ and the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed¹⁹ towards the end of the manuscript.

9. De Boer, “A Syro-Hexaplar Text,” 9. The Odes were not included in the Syrohexaplaric Psalter, nor in the Hexapla (Heinrich Schneider “Biblische Oden im syrohexaplarischen Psalter” [Biblica 40; Roma: Sumptibus Pontificii Instituti Biblici, 1959] 209). The first Syriac liturgical manuscripts that contain the Odes are from the eighth century (Heinrich Schneider in his Introduction to *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, part IV, fascicle 6 [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972] ii).

10. I am grateful to the Vatican Library for providing the microfilm copy of this manuscript.

11. De Boer, “A Syro-Hexaplar Text,” 11.

12. *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts (Preliminary Issue)*; ed. The Peshiṭta Institute (Leiden: Brill, 1961) 67–68.

13. Sylvain Grébaut and Eugène Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani, Barberiniani Orientalis 2 Rossianus 865. Pars Prior* (Bibliothecae Vaticanae, Codices Manuscripti Recensiti; Typis polyglottis Vaticanis: Rome, 1935) 861. The monastery still exists in its place in Wadi Natrun, 92 kilometres from Cairo towards Alexandria, and it even has a web page: www.stmacariusmonastery.org.

14. Grébaut-Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani*, 861.

15. In folios 3a–197a, Psa 47:10–48:14 is missing. *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts*, 68.

16. Odes I, IV, IX, V, II, VII, VIII, Is. 38:10–20, and VI according to Syriac numbering in folios 197b–217b, 220, and 222a–223a. *List of Old Testament Peshiṭta Manuscripts*, 68.

17. Lk 1:46–55 in fols. 217b–218a, Lk 1:68–79 in fols. 223b–224 and Lk 2:29–32 in fol. 224. Grébaut-Tisserant, *Codices Aethiopici Vaticani et Borgiani*, 860.

18. In fols. 218b–219b. *Ibid.*, 860.

19. In fols. 221–222. *Ibid.*

The Song of Hannah in Barb. Or. 2

The Song of Hannah is written in the folios 199b–201a of Barb. Or. 2. In this part of the manuscript the Armenian column is missing. The text of the Syriac column is in Serta and it bears no Hexaplaric signs. It is an Ode text, but it does not follow any of the versions collated in the apparatus of the Leiden Peshiṭta edition in every detail.

The Syriac Text of the Song of Hannah in Barb. Or. 2

Line	199b	200a	200b	201a
1		ܠܝܬܐ ܢܦܪ	ܠܬܠܬ ܥܡܐ (9)	ܡܡܡܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ
2		ܥܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ	ܐ ܕܡܠ	
3		ܠܡܠܟ ܢܦܪ	ܡܠ ܠܥܬܐ	
4		ܕܠܐ ܕܢܦܪ	ܡܡܡܬܐ ܢܦܬܐ	
5		ܡܡܐ ܝܠ	ܠܡܡܬܐ	
6		ܠܡܡܬܐ ܠ (3)	ܠܐ ܕܢܦܪ	
7		ܠܡܡܬܐ	ܡܡܠܐ ܠܡܡܐ	
8		ܠܡܡܬܐ	ܝܠ ܕܢܦܪ	
9		ܡܡܐ ܠܐ	ܠܝܠܐ	
10		ܢܦܪ ܠܡܡܬܐ	ܠܡܡܬܐ ܠܝܬܐ (10)	
11		ܠܡܡܬܐ	ܡܡܡܬܐ ܠܡܡܬܐ	
12		ܠܡܡܬܐ ܕܢܦܪ	ܡܡܠܐ ܠܡܡܐ	
13		ܠܡܠܟ ܡܡܐ	ܠܡܠܐ	
14		ܠܡܡܬܐ ܠܐ	ܠܝܬܐ ܠܡܡܐ	
15		ܠܡܠܟ ܠܡܡܬܐ	ܡܡܐ ܠܡܠܐ	
16		ܠܡܡܬܐ (4)	ܝܡܡܬܐ ܠ (10a)	
17		ܠܡܠܐ	ܠܡܠܐ	
18		ܠܡܠܐ	ܡܡܠܐ ܠܡܠܐ	
19		ܠܡܠܐ ܠܡܠܐ	ܝܡܡܬܐ ܠܐ	
20		ܠܡܠܐ	ܠܝܠܐ	
21		ܠܡܠܐ (5)	ܐ ܠܡܠܐ ܠܡܠܐ	
22		ܠܡܠܐ	ܝܡܡܬܐ ܠܐ	

23		ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
24		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
25		ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ (10b)
26		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
27		ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
28		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
29	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
30	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ (6)	ܐܝܬܐܢ
31	(1) ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
32	ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
33	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
34	ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ (7)	ܐܝܬܐܢ
		ܐܝܬܐܢ	
35	ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
36	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
37	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ (8) ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ (10c)
38	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
39	ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
40	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
41	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
42	(2) ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
43		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
44		ܐܝܬܐܢ . ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
45		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
46		ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ
47		ܐܝܬܐܢ	ܐܝܬܐܢ

Some remarks should be made on the text. The verse numbers are added here for clarity. The column is very narrow and some words are abbreviated as shown above. Occasionally the last letters in a line overlap with the adjacent column like ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ on fol. 199b l. 33 and ܐܝܬܐܢ on fol. 200b l. 4. In ܐܝܬܐܢ ܐܝܬܐܢ fol. 200b l. 11 the final , is written above ܐܝܬܐܢ.

Comparison to the Peshiṭta Odes reveals that there are readings that are not supported by other manuscripts collated in the apparatus of the edition.

- The title ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܠܟܐ that is hardly readable on the microfilm is also found in nine other manuscripts (9a1 9t2 10t1 12t2.3.8 16t4.5 17t5), but the following ܐܠܗܐ is unique.

- In v. 3 ܐܠܗܐ is written without seyames. Although this could be a genuine variation between singular and plural it seems that the scribe has not marked all the seyames consistently.

- ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ in v. 3 is possibly an error. Barb. Or. 2 either continues the chain of prohibitions ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ (ܡܠܟܐ) ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ‘and do not gain contrivances’ or it is a mistake: the pf. pl. masc. from ܐܠܗܐ. The other manuscripts read the pl. part. fem. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ‘and the contrivances are not prepared’.

- I regard ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ in v. 4 as a different spelling rather than a real variant to ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ, since no other manuscript has the singulars and in the context the plural forms are expected.

- There is an error in v. 5 where Barb. Or. 2 reads the adverb ‘greatly’ ܡܠܟܐ instead of the participle ܡܠܟܐ ‘she who has many’.

- In v. 5 Barb. Or. 2 has ܡܠܟܐ ‘have earned wages’ instead of ܡܠܟܐ ‘have hired themselves’.

- In v. 6 there is a small change from ܐܠܗܐ to ܐܠܗܐ.

- In v. 8 Barb. Or. 2 has the noun ܡܠܟܐ ‘sitting’, ‘a seat’ instead of the aphel inf. ܡܠܟܐ found elsewhere. This change shortens the text, which is needed because of lack of space but does not essentially change the meaning.

- In v. 9 there is an orthographic change from ܡܠܟܐ to ܡܠܟܐ.

- In v. 10 Barb. Or. 2 reads ܡܠܟܐ ‘to those who exalt him’ from ܡܠܟܐ whereas the other Odes manuscripts have ܡܠܟܐ ‘to those who provoke him’ from ܡܠܟܐ. Taking into account how similar these two readings look, the reading in Barb. Or. 2 may be an error.

- In v. 10b and 10c the personal pronoun is added twice (ܡܠܟܐ and ܡܠܟܐ) to make the subject explicit. The first occasion is in accordance with Jer. 9:23.

Agreements with the Syrohexapla

Comparison of the two versions of the Song of Hannah, the one in Chald. Patr. 1112 and that of Barb. Or. 2, reveals that they indeed share some common readings, although they seem to represent different texts. I compared the Peshiṭta Odes and Barb. Or. 2, and there were nine readings in which Barb. Or. 2 deviates from the majority of the Syriac Odes and agrees with the Syrohexaplaric Song of Hannah in Chald. Patr. 1112.²⁰ The first of these cases is in v. 5.

20. In addition to these there is one minor orthographic detail in which Syh and Barb. Or. 2 agree and that is the spelling of the word ‘dust-heap’ in v. 8. Both of them use the

Verse 5

MT	עקרה ילדה שבעה	LXX	ὅτι στείρα ἔτεκεν ἑπτὰ
P	ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ	Syh, ²¹ BO2, Dorn 618	ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ ܕܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ

Here Barb. Or. 2 has the conjunction ܐܠܐ ‘because’ before ܥܩܪܗ ‘the barren’, and Syh reads the same. This is according to the LXX both in 1 Sam 2 and in the Greek Odes, but against the MT.²²

It seems this could be one of the cases that De Boer has regarded as Syrohexaplaric; even more so because Barb. Or. 2 and Syh also agree at the end of the verse against the reading of the Peshiṭta (P). P reads ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ “the barren one has given birth and is satisfied” whereas according to Syh and Barb. Or. 2 the end of the sentence goes ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ “the barren one has given birth to seven” thus corresponding to the MT as well as the LXX.²³ There is a slight orthographic difference between the readings of Syh and Barb. Or. 2: the latter has seyame dots above the word “seven” whereas in Syh they are lacking. None of the manuscripts collated in the apparatus of the Peshiṭta Odes has these readings but there is nevertheless a Melchite Odes

West-Syrian spelling ܥܩܪܗ instead of the East-Syrian ܥܩܪܗ that is found in the other manuscripts collated in the Peshiṭta Odes. ܥܩܪܗ is nevertheless found at least in ms Dorn 618, f. 297v that is kept in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg. For more information on this manuscript see B. Dorn, *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg* (Académie impériale des sciences : St. Petersburg, 1852) 559–560.

21. Barhebraeus quotes Syh “ ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ ” and Ishodad of Merv “ ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ .”

22. Verse 5a reads ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ . It is disputed how ܥܩܪܗ and the following ܥܕ should be understood and whether ܥܕ should be read with ܥܩܪܗ or ܫܒܥܗ . For instance Samuel Rolles Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Book of Samuel* (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1913) 25, understands ܥܕ as ‘even’ and reads it together with ܥܩܪܗ : thus according to him “even the barren beareth seven.” Among others, Philip J. Calderone “HDL–II in Poetic Texts” (*CBQ* 23 [1961] 452) has suggested that in addition to the meaning ‘to cease’, the verb ܥܩܪܗ has the meaning ‘to grow fat’, as in Arabic. This is accepted by Ralph W. Klein, who suggests vocalization ܥܕ and combines it with the preceding sentence (*1 Samuel* [WBC 10: Word Books; Waco, Texas, 1983] 17). Thus he translates “. . . while the starving grow fat again” (Klein, *1 Samuel*, 12). P. Kyle McCarter Jr. (*1 Samuel* [AB 8; Garden City, New York; Doubleday, 1980] 72) considers ܥܕ as a noun ‘food’, ‘prey’, ‘booty’, and translates “While the hungry are fattened on food; The childless wife has borne seven . . .” (McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 67). Other interpretations also exist.

23. Mss 10t1 12t2.8 have the curious ܥܩܪܗ ܝܠܕܗ ܫܒܥܗ , which is best explained by confusion of ܥܩܪܗ and ܥܕ .

the MT and P. Like the LXX, Syh continues with “the Lord is holy” ܠܝܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ after “the Lord makes his enemies weak” and thus follows precisely the LXX. There is a slight difference between the wordings of Syh and Barb. Or. 2, but they both convey the same meaning, also found in Greek “Κύριος ἅγιος.”

Verse 10b

P	ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ)
BO2 10t1 12t.7 ²⁶	ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ)
Syh	ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܥܠܡܐ...ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ)
LXX	(ὁ καυχώμενος . . . ποιεῖν) κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς

In v. 10 b–c three more Odes manuscripts show up: 10t1, a Melchite Psalter from the tenth century, and mss 12t7.8, which are also Melchite Psalters. They are both from the twelfth century from the Monastery of St. Catherine at Sinai.²⁷

Verse 10b describes the deeds of the Lord. The majority of the Syriac Odes manuscripts read that the Lord does “goodness and righteousness and judgment on the earth” ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ, corresponding to the parallel in Jer 9:23, but Syh, Barb. Or. 2, and manuscripts 10t1 12t2.7 omit the goodness and change the order of righteousness and judgment. This accords with the LXX in 1 Sam 2:10b and in the Ode. In the Syriac Odes, including Barb. Or. 2, the subject is “I, the Lord” according to Jeremiah, so the agreement between Syh and Barb. Or. 2 does not cover the whole sentence. However, Barb. Or. 2, Syh, and mss 10t1 12t7.8 specify the location of these deeds from “on the earth” ܠܝܗܐ to “in the middle of the earth” ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ. The reading ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ in Barb. Or. 2, Syh and manuscripts 10t1 and 12t7 corresponds perfectly to the LXX κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς.

Verse 10 c

BO2 Syh 10t1 12t2.7.8

ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ

26. Cf. 12t8 ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ) and 12t2 ܠܝܗܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ (ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ ܠܥܠܡܐ).

27. Schneider, *The Old Testament in Syriac*, vi, ix. On 10t1 see also N. Pigoulewski “Manuscripts syriaques bibliques de Léningrad. Catalogue descriptif” (*Revue Biblique* 46 [1937]) 83–92. Neither Schneider nor Pigoulewski tells where ms 10t1 originates.

LXX Κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν

Finally, in v. 10c Barb. Or. 2, Syh, and mss 10t1 12t2.7.8 read that “the Lord ascended into heaven and thundered” ܠܚܝܐ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܚܝܐ, which corresponds to the LXX Κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν. Thus in these manuscripts the idea that the Lord thunders in heaven is mentioned twice. First “the Lord shall thunder against them in the heavens” in v. 10 in accordance with the MT with the exception that in the MT the object is singular “against him,” i.e. “him who contends against him,” not the plural “against them,” i.e., “those who provoke him,” as in the above mentioned Syriac manuscripts. The second thundering comes after the verse’s prohibitions of boasting. Both the prohibitions and the sentence “the Lord ascended into heavens and thundered” are due to corrections according to Greek.

Thus the common readings of Barb. Or. 2 and Syh are shared by some Melchite manuscripts.

V	Reading ²⁸	Syh	BO2	10t1	12t2	12t7	12t8	D 618
5	ܠܚܝܐ] ܡܪ ܐ ܡܠܟܐ	x	x					x
5	ܡܠܟܐ] ܠܚܝܐ	x	x ²⁹					x
9	ܡܠܟܐ] ܡܠܟܐ	x	x		x			
9	ܡܠܟܐ] ܡܠܟܐ	x	x		x			
10	ܠܚܝܐ]+ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܠܚܝܐ	x	x ³⁰		x ³⁰			
10b	ܠܚܝܐܠܡܠܟܐ] om	x	x	x	x	x		
10b	ܠܚܝܐ ܠܡܥܠܐܠܡܠܟܐ] ܠܚܝܐ ܠܡܥܠܐܠܡܠܟܐ	x	x	x	x	x		
10b	ܠܚܝܐ] ܡܠܟܐܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܚܝܐ	x	x	x		x	x	
10c	ܠܚܝܐ] + ܠܡܥܠܐ ܠܚܝܐ ܠܚܝܐ	x	x	x	x	x	x	

28. The lemmas are from the Peshiṭta Odes.

29. With *seyames*.

30. ܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܠܚܝܐ.

How Can These Agreements Be Explained?

In all the readings discussed above, Barb. Or. 2 thus agrees with at least one of the Melchite manuscripts except in the readings that are unique in Barb. Or. 2³¹ and the reading “to our king” in v. 10c where it is in agreement with three Jacobite Psalters.³² Thus it seems that although Barb. Or. 2 was bought from (and probably compiled in) a Coptic, i.e., a monophysite monastery, the Syriac text has a strong “Melchite flavour.” The manuscript itself does not give any information on its source texts. One explanation for the Melchite features in Barb. Or. 2 could be the availability of such texts, since ms 12t2, which shares several common readings with Barb. Or. 2, is from the Monastery of Dair as-Suryan in Wadi Natrun.³³ The distance between Dair as-Suryan and Dair Abu Makar, the place of origin of Barb. Or. 2, is only about 30 kilometres.³⁴

If the readings shared by Barb. Or. 2 and the Melchite Psalters are considered to be Melchite features in the source text of Barb. Or. 2, how does this affect the assumptions of the connections to Syh? Baars writes in his *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* that unlike among the Jacobites and the Nestorians, “the Syro-Hexapla was hardly ever used by the Malkites as one might expect because of their Greek orientation.”³⁵ Could it be that the Song of Hannah in mss 10t1 12t2.7.8 and Dorn 618 offers an exception?³⁶

31. See p. 54.

32. In v. 10c Barb. Or. 2 reads لَاحِلِكْ ‘to our king’ like 16t4.5 17t5 which use the particle ܠܐ to express the same: لَاحِلِكْ. Schneider has added “cf. Syh” after this last-mentioned reading, but according to De Boer (“A Syro-Hexaplar Text,” 10), Syh has the word in the plural لَاحِلِكُمْ as in 12t2 (لَاحِلِكُمْ). The other manuscripts have ‘to his kings’ or ‘to his king’.

33. Schneider, *The Old Testament in Syriac*, vii.

34. For the other Melchite manuscripts that have common features, 12t7 and 12t8 are from the Monastery of St. Catherine. Schneider, *The Old Testament in Syriac*, ix.

35. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 2 n.2.

36. Schneider (*The Old Testament in Syriac*, iii), claims that the Melchite ms 12t2 adds from Syh Exod 15:20–21 that are missing from the other Melchite Psalters in Ode 1. If this were the case, one might expect to find further use of Syh in 12t2, and why not in other Melchite manuscripts as well? I had the opportunity to see a microfilm copy of this manuscript at the Peshitta institute in December, 2006. The only difference in vv. 20–21 between 12t2 and the majority of the manuscripts is the only difference documented in the apparatus, namely the addition of ܐܡܪܬܐ “and she says” in v. 21. However, Syh of Exod 15:20–21, at least in ms Midyat (Arthur Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964* [CSCO 369; Subsidia 45; Heverlee-Louvain: Secrétariat de CorpusSCO, 1975]), differs from the P Odes remarkably.

In the present examples from Hannah's Song where the Melchite Psalters and Syh agree, one does not need to presuppose the influence of Syh, but the agreements can instead be explained as corrections according to the Greek. The reading ܡܠ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܠ ܠܗܠܥܝܢܐ ܐܡܠܐ could have been influenced by Syh (which does not read ܡܠ), but it can as well be a correction according to the Greek διδούς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ (which, by the way, does not have αὐτῷ either). The same can be claimed about ܐܡ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ (ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ in Syh/ Κύριος ἅγιος in Greek in v. 10, about the number and order of the deeds in the middle of the earth in v. 10b: ܠܥܝܢܐ ܡܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ / κῆρυμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς, and about the thundering in v. 10c: ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ ܠܥܝܢܐ / ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανοὺς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν. Since Barb. Or. 2 agrees with Melchite Psalters in these readings and in some others that do not agree with Syh, it is plausible that the readings were already in the Syriac source text of Barb. Or. 2. Furthermore, there is nothing so characteristically Syrohexaplaric about the readings in Barb. Or. 2 that they could be recognised as readings from Syh. Rather, anyone with some knowledge of Greek could have come to the same translation without consulting Syh.

Conclusion

In the case of Barb. Or. 2, it was not possible to find totally new readings of Syh 1 Sam since the Syrohexaplaric Song of Hannah is already found and published. Nevertheless, I hope that the examples have demonstrated the problems of identifying readings as Syrohexaplaric.

Looking for new Syrohexaplaric readings, one needs to find answers to at least three questions. What kinds of *Vorlagen* can be presupposed behind the different Syriac readings? Are there possible connections between the Syriac versions? Is it possible to connect a reading with the *Hexapla*?

In the case of the Song of Hannah in Barb. Or. 2, the possible influence of Syh could not be ruled out from the start, and the common readings motivated De Boer to suggest the existence of Syrohexaplaric readings in Barb. Or. 2. Nevertheless, the connections to the Melchite Psalters proved to be so strong that it is difficult to show that these common readings between Syh

I find it unlikely that Syh was the source of the reading ܠܥܝܢܐ in 12t2. A more probable explanation is that it is simply an independent translation of λέγουσα. It has to be taken into account that Schneider's edition was published in 1972, three years earlier than Vööbus's facsimile edition of Midyat.

and Barb. Or. 2 would be in Barb. Or. 2 through the influence of Syh. Rather, the readings in Barb. Or. 2 can be labelled as “Melchite readings.” It is a subject for further research to study the connections between Syh and the Melchite Odes in general.

Greek Lucianic Doublets and 4QSam^a

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Introduction

Since the early days of modern Septuagint study, scholars have recognized the significance of Greek Lucianic texts as a potential source for ancient Hebrew readings at variance with the later Masoretic textual tradition.¹ No aspect of the study of these Lucianic texts has received more attention in this regard than the doublets which are so patently characteristic of the Lucianic Recension as a whole.²

Author's note: This is a revision of a paper presented at the IOSCS Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 21, 2005. The author wishes to thank Prof. Frank Moore Cross for graciously reviewing an earlier form of this study and making several helpful suggestions.

¹ For a succinct overview of the history of scholarship regarding the Lucianic tradition, see Bruce M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Textual Criticism* (NTTS 4; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 7–14; and, particularly as it pertains to the Historical Books, N. Fernández Marcos, “The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms: From Lagarde to the Textual Pluralism,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-fifth Birthday* (ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox; Mississauga, Ont., Canada: Benben Publications, 1984) 161–74. For the Lucianic tradition reflecting non-Masoretic Hebrew readings, see S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel* (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913) xlviii–xlix; and Natalio Fernández Marcos, “Literary and Editorial Features of the Antiochian Text in Kings,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 288.

² See Driver, *Notes*, xlix, lv–lvii, lxi; Alfred Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien I–III* (3 vols.; 2d ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 3.192–99; also, Bernard A. Taylor, *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns, vol. 2: Analysis* (HSM 51; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993) 71–2; Sebastian Brock, “A Doublet and Its Ramifications,” *Bib* 56 (1975) 550–53; and Natalio Fernández Marcos, “On Double Readings, Pseudo-Variants and Ghost-Names in the Historical Books,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible Septuagint*

In the mid-twentieth century, the early study of ancient Hebrew scrolls of the Books of Samuel from Cave 4 at Qumran led to the recognition of an affinity between these scrolls and the Old Greek and Lucianic textual traditions. Thus, scholarly attention turned to these scrolls as a means for further clarifying the relationship between the Greek Lucianic tradition and ancient non-Masoretic Hebrew readings.³ Now with the publication of 4QSam^a—by far the largest of the three Samuel scrolls from Cave 4—in the series Discoveries in the Judaean Desert,⁴ the opportunity has come for a thorough investigation of those Greek Lucianic doublets that occur where the text of 4QSam^a is extant. The aim of this study will be to determine the degree to which those Lucianic doublets reflect the preservation of a Hebrew tradition akin to that of 4QSam^a.

In preparation for this study, a total of 111 different references to Lucianic doublets in the Books of Samuel was collected.⁵ Since 4QSam^a contains just under 15 percent of the total text of the Books of Samuel, it was hoped that at least 16 or 17 of these passages would be found in 4QSam^a. Unfortunately, only 10 passages have survived sufficiently preserved on the leather to provide valid comparison. With a sampling so limited, the patterns of agreement among the textual witnesses—rather than the varied textual phenomena re-

and *Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, et al.; VTSup 44; Leiden: Brill, 2003) 591–604.

³ See Frank Moore Cross, “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975) 306–15, esp. 311–15; Eugene Charles Ulrich, Jr., *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978) esp. 257–59; Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (2d ed.; Jerusalem Biblical Studies 8; Jerusalem: Simor, 1997) 152–53; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (trans. Wilfred G. E. Watson; Leiden: Brill, 2000) 232. For the relevance in general of the Samuel scrolls from Cave 4 in elucidating what is and what is not a Septuagint doublet, see Sebastian Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9; Turin: Silvio Zamorani editore, 1996) 158.

⁴ Frank Moore Cross, et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4. XII: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005) 1–217. In addition, see now Frank Moore Cross and Richard J. Saley, “A Statistical Analysis of the Textual Character of 4QSamuel^a (4Q51),” *DSD* 13 (2006) 46–54.

⁵ 1 Sam 1:5, 6, 11, 16, 20, 24–25; 2:11, 16, 21, 24, 28; 4:14–16, 18; 5:4, 9; 6:2, 5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 20; 7:4, 16; 8:7, 8, 12; 9:21; 10:2, 5, 27; 11:1, 5; 12:2, 3, 14; 13:3, 21; 14:7, 25, 33, 40, 47; 15:3, 17, 29, 32, 33; 16:14, 16, 18, 20; 17:2, 18, 22, 31; 18:8, 28; 19:2; 20:9, 30, 34; 21:7, 14; 23:1, 14, 19, 24; 24:8, 14, 23; 25:14, 27, 41; 26:1, 4, 11, 17, 24; 27:8; 28:23; 30:1, 3, 28; 31:9; 2 Sam 2:8, 29; 3:5, 8, 34; 6:2, 5, 6, 7, 9; 13:2, 5, 20, 31, 32; 15:2, 32; 19:8, 10; 20:22; 21:1, 5; 22:38–39, 45–46; 24:16.

sponsible for creating the doublets⁶—would seem to be the most promising method of organization. Hence, concentration is on identifying and classifying the passages on the basis of textual agreement between the Greek Lucianic (Θ^L) doublets,⁷ the Masoretic Text (\mathcal{M}),⁸ the Greek Egyptian Recension (Θ^B) comprised of both Old Greek (OG) and *Kaige* ($\kappa\gamma$) sections,⁹ and of course, 4QSam^a (4Q).¹⁰ When thus organized according to patterns of textual agreement, the 10 Lucianic doublets fall into 7 categories, labeled ‘A’ through ‘G’ below.

In the treatment of these to follow two additional abbreviations are employed besides ‘OG’ (Old Greek), ‘ $\kappa\gamma$ ’ (*Kaige*) and ‘4Q’ (4QSam^a), namely ‘DBLT’ to indicate a reading containing a doublet, and ‘non-dblt’ to indicate a reading not containing a doublet. Single underlining and double underlining in the English translation indicate the two elements of the doublet. A dotted line, where present, indicates a third element (i.e., a triplet).

Category A

\mathcal{M} = non-dblt; Θ^B , (OG) = non-dblt; Θ^L = DBLT; 4Q = non-dblt

With this category, the Lucianic text contains a doublet, while the Masoretic Text, the Old Greek found in the Egyptian Recension, and 4QSam^a do not contain a doublet.

⁶ For a discussion of these varied phenomena, see Zipora Talshir, “Double Translations in the Septuagint,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986* (ed. Claude E. Cox; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987) 21–63; and Fernández Marcos, “On Double Readings.”

⁷ The Lucianic Text is taken from Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I: 1–2 Samuel* (Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 50; Madrid: Instituto de Filología, C.S.I.C., 1989).

⁸ As published in *BHS*.

⁹ Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, with a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint*, vol. 2: *The Later Historical Books; Part 1: I and II Samuel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). Generally speaking, the Old Greek section of the Books of Samuel is to be found in 1 Sam 1:1–2 Sam 9:13, while 2 Sam 10:1–24:25 contains the *Kaige* section (following the division of H. St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings,” *JTS* 8 [1907] 262–78; as modified by James Donald Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* [HSM 1; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968] 117–20).

¹⁰ DJD 17, 1–217.

1. 1 Sam 2:21

𐤒:

ותהר ותלד

and she became pregnant and she gave birth

𐤔^B: καὶ ἔτεκεν ἔτι

and she gave birth again

𐤔^L: καὶ συνέλαβεν ἔτι καὶ ἔτεκε

and she became pregnant again and she gave birth

4Q:

ותלד עוד

and she gave birth again

Analysis: 𐤒 (“and she became pregnant”) and 𐤔^B (“again”) contain alternate readings; 4QSam^a agrees only with 𐤔^B. 𐤔^L (“and she became pregnant again”) combines the two readings for a doublet, the most likely cause of which is Hexaplaric revision in 𐤔^L.

2. 2 Sam 3:5

𐤒:

אלה ילדו לדוד

these were born to David

𐤔^B: οὗτοι ἐτέχθησαν τῷ Δαυεῖδ

these were born to David

𐤔^L: οὗτοι ἐτέχθησαν αὐτῷ τῷ Δαυίδ

these were born to him, to David

4Q:

אלה יו[ל]דו[י] לדוד¹¹

these were born to David

Analysis: 𐤒, 𐤔^B, and 4QSam^a all contain the simple reading, “to David.” 𐤔^L adds a second reading “to him” which could have derived from an ancient Hebrew *Vorlage* that had lost “to David” and supplied in its stead an explicating plus, “to him.” Be that as it may, 𐤔^L alone contains the doublet.

¹¹ Note that though the end of a line comes after [י]ל[דו], it is doubtful there was sufficient room for the scribe to have squeezed in לו at that point.

Category B

$\mathcal{M} = DBLT$; $\mathfrak{S}^B (OG) = non-dblt$; $\mathfrak{S}^L = DBLT$; $4Q = DBLT$

With this category, the Masoretic Text, the Lucianic text and 4QSam^a all contain a doublet; only the Old Greek found in the Egyptian Recension fails to do so.

3. 1 Sam 6:20

\mathcal{M} : לפני יהוה האלהים הקדוש הזה

before Yahweh, God, this holy one

\mathfrak{S}^B : ἐνώπιον τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου

before this holy one

\mathfrak{S}^L : ἐνώπιον κυρίου τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου

before the Lord, this holy one

4Q: לפני יהוה הקדוש הזה

before Yahweh, this holy one

Analysis: \mathfrak{S}^B , when retroverted back into Hebrew, contains the ambiguous phrase לפני הקדוש הזה which could refer either to the deity—"before this holy one"—or, in this context, to the ark—"before this holy object." The choice of masculine gender (τοῦ ἁγίου τούτου) in \mathfrak{S}^B reveals the translator's understanding of these words as referring to the deity. 4QSam^a and \mathfrak{S}^L remove any doubt by inserting the divine name, "before Yahweh, this holy one." \mathcal{M} goes a step further, adding the word 'God'—thereby creating a triplet. The fact that \mathfrak{S}^L and 4QSam^a here agree in having the doublet, contrary to the Old Greek of \mathfrak{S}^B , could indicate that the reading of \mathfrak{S}^L derives from an ancient Hebrew *Vorlage*. However, the similarity of the \mathfrak{S}^L reading to that of \mathcal{M} could point to nothing more than Hexaplaric revision in \mathfrak{S}^L .

Category C

$\mathcal{M} = non-dblt$; $\mathfrak{S}^B (OG) = DBLT$; $\mathfrak{S}^L = DBLT$; $4Q = non-dblt$

With this category, the Masoretic Text and 4QSam^a have a simple reading while the Old Greek of the Egyptian Recension and the Lucianic Greek text contain a doublet.

4. 1 Sam 2:16

𐤎:

כיום החלב

the fat as is customary

Θ^B: πρῶτον ὡς καθήκει τὸ στέαρ

first the fat as is customary

Θ^L: πρῶτερον τὸ στέαρ ὡς καθήκει

first the fat as is customary

4Q:

כיום ה[חלב]

the fat as is customary

Analysis: Uncertainty over the precise connotation of the Hebrew word כיום has lead to the secondary renderings in Θ^B and Θ^L.¹² Though the doublet is differently worded in these two witnesses, there can be no doubt that Θ^L is dependent upon Θ^B for the doublet.

Category D

𐤎 = non-dblt; Θ^B (OG/Κγ) = DBLT; Θ^L = DBLT; 4Q = non-dblt

The only difference between this category and the previous one lies in the textual character of the Egyptian Recension which here reflects some *Kaige* reworking.¹³ As before, the two Hebrew traditions agree in having a simple reading, while the two Greek traditions agree in having a doublet.

5. 2 Sam 6:2

𐤎:

מבעלי יהודה

from the lords of Judah

Θ^B: ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰούδα ἐν ἀναβάσει

from the lords of Judah in [the] ascent

Θ^L: ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰούδα ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τοῦ βουνοῦ

from the lords of Judah in the ascent of the hill

¹² See DJD 17, 41.

¹³ See Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 197–98, for *Kaige* influence on the Greek text of 2 Sam 6.

4Q: בעלה היא קרִי' [תִּיעָרִים אֲשֶׁר] לִיהוּדָה
to Baalah, that is, Kiriath-jearim which belongs to Judah

[Cf. מ 1 Chr 13:6: בַּעֲלָתָהּ אֶל־קִרְיַת יַעֲרִים אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה]

Analysis: A quick glance at the data reveals an obvious text-critical problem. Suffice it to say here that the readings of מ and 4QSam^a show two different textual traditions regarding the first word, מַבְעֵלִי in מ and בעלה in 4QSam^a (the latter being demonstrably close to that of 1 Chronicles). The reading of Θ^B, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων, clearly reflects the first of these, while the ἐν ἀναβάσει of Θ^B seemingly renders a Hebrew variation on one of them. Θ^L retains this doublet of Θ^B while apparently adding a clarification of its own at the end, τοῦ βουνοῦ, “of the hill”—thereby creating a triplet.¹⁴ This third reading of Θ^L could derive from an ancient Hebrew *Vorlage*, but it is in any case not matched in 4QSam^a.

6. 2 Sam 6:6

מ: וַיִּשְׁלַח עֲזָא אֶל־אָרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וַיֹּאחֲזוּ בּוֹ כִּי שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר

and Uzza reached out to the ark of God and he held it fast because the oxen had let it slip [?]

Θ^B: καὶ ἐξέτεινεν Ὀζὰ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκρατήσεν αὐτήν ὅτι περιέσπασεν αὐτὸν [sic!] ὁ μόσχος τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν

and Uzza reached out his hand to the ark of God to grab hold of it and he held it fast because the oxen had drawn it off to grab hold of it

Θ^L: καὶ ἐξέτεινεν Ὀζὰ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν καὶ ἐκραταίωσεν αὐτήν ὅτι περιέσπασεν αὐτήν ὁ μόσχος

and Uzza reached out his hand to the ark of God to grab hold of it and he held it fast because the oxen had drawn it off

4Q: וַיִּשְׁלַח עֲזָא [אֶת] יָדוֹ אֶל אָרֹן הָאֱלֹהִים [וְהָיָה] לֵאמֹר בּוֹ [כִּי] שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר

and Uzza reached out his hand to the ark of God to grab hold of it because the oxen had let it slip [?]

[Cf. מ 1 Chr 13:9: וַיִּשְׁלַח עֲזָא אֶת־יָדוֹ לֶאָחֹז אֶת־הָאָרֹן כִּי שָׁמְטוּ הַבָּקָר]

¹⁴ For more text-critical detail, see Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871) 166–67; P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes & Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1984) 162–63; Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 198–99.

Analysis: מל 1 Chr 13:9 and 4QSam^a (as reconstructed¹⁵) have the infinitive construct (לִּאָחַז) plus object whereas the text of מל 2 Sam 6:6 contains the imperfect form (וַיִּאָחַז) plus object. \mathfrak{G}^B and \mathfrak{G}^L have a combination of both (“to grab hold of it and he held it fast”) with \mathfrak{G}^B repeating “to grab hold of it,” an obvious instance of textual corruption. The last notwithstanding, the doublet of \mathfrak{G}^L is best understood as deriving from \mathfrak{G}^B .

7. 2 Sam 6:7

מל: וַיָּמָת שָׁם עִם אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים

and he died there beside the ark of God

\mathfrak{G}^B : καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ

and he died there beside the ark of the Lord before God

\mathfrak{G}^L : καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ

and he died there beside the ark of the Lord before God

4Q: וַיָּמָת לְ[פְנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים]

and he died before God

Analysis: מל (“beside the ark”) and 4QSam^a (“before God”) each exhibit one of the variant readings combined in \mathfrak{G}^B and \mathfrak{G}^L (“beside the ark . . . before God”).¹⁶ Once again, the doublet in \mathfrak{G}^L is directly dependent upon \mathfrak{G}^B without a parallel in 4QSam^a.

Category E

\mathcal{M} = non-dblt; \mathfrak{G}^B (OG) = DBLT; \mathfrak{G}^L = DBLT; 4Q = DBLT

This category is marked by the presence of a doublet in all but the Masoretic tradition, i.e., the Old Greek text of the Egyptian Recension, the Luci-

¹⁵ The precise reading of 4QSam^a is open to question since the two words לִּאָחַז בִּי have been reconstructed on the basis of the Greek texts and 1 Chronicles. If one were to posit that 4QSam^a read as מל (וַיִּאָחַז בִּי), or even that it read לִּהְיוֹיֵק בִּי (since κρατέω/κραταιόω regularly render חִזַּק), it would not alter the fact that 4QSam^a fails to contain a doublet.

¹⁶ The wording “of God” found in מל has been understandably changed to “of the Lord” when the two readings were worked together.

anic tradition and 4QSam^a all contain at least part of both halves of the doublet.

8. 1 Sam 2:24¹⁷

מ: לוֹא־טוֹבָה הַשְׁמָעָה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שֹׁמֵעַ

no, my sons, because not good is the report which I am hearing

Θ^B: μὴ τέκνα ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀκοὴ ἣν ἐγὼ ἀκούω μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἀκοαὶ αἷς ἐγὼ ἀκούω

no, [my] sons, because not good is the report which I am hearing; do not do thus because not good are the reports which I am hearing

Θ^L: μὴ τέκνα μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀκοὴ ἣν ἐγὼ ἀκούω

no, [my] sons, do not do thus because not good is the report which I am hearing

4Q: אֶל בְּנֵי כִי לֹא טוֹבָה הַשְׁמוּעָה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שׁוֹמֵעַ אֶל תַּעֲשׂוּן כֵּן כִּי לֹא טוֹבָה הַשְׁמוּעוֹת אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שׁוֹמֵעַ

no, my sons, because not good is the report which I am hearing; do not do thus because not good are the reports which I am hearing

Analysis: Θ^B and 4QSam^a contain the full doublet whereas מ lacks any trace of the doublet. Θ^L has a truncated version of the doublet, no doubt dependent upon the textual tradition held in common by Θ^B and 4QSam^a.¹⁸

Category F

מ = DBLT; Θ^B (ΚΥ) = non-dblt; Θ^L = DBLT; 4Q = non-dblt

This category has the Lucianic doublet agreeing with the Masoretic Text to the exclusion of the Egyptian Recension, which contains *Kaige* Greek, and 4QSam^a.

9. 2 Sam 22:38–39

מ: עַד־כְּלוֹתָם וְאֶכְלָם וְאַחֲצָצֵם

until destroying them and I destroyed them and I crushed them

¹⁷ See Brock, *Recensions*, 159, for including μὴ τέκνα and μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως as part of the doublet.

¹⁸ Cf. Cross and Saley, “Statistical Analysis,” 47–50.

Θ^B: ἕως συντελέσω αὐτοὺς καὶ θάλασω αὐτούς

until I destroy them and I crush them

Θ^L: ἕως οὗ ἐξέλιπον καὶ συντελέσω αὐτοὺς ἔθλασα αὐτούς

until they ceased and I destroyed them, I crushed them

4Q: עד כלותם אמה[צם]

until destroying them; I crushed them

Analysis: מ repeats the verb כלה with suffix in a doublet found also in Θ^L. By contrast, Θ^B and 4QSam^a reflect only a single occurrence of the verb. The presence of the doublet in Θ^L is best taken as an instance of Hexaplaric revision in the Lucianic text.

Category G

ℳ = non-dblt; Θ^B (ΚΥ) = DBLT; Θ^L = DBLT; 4Q = non-dblt

The only difference between this category and categories ‘C’ and ‘D’ above is to be found in the textual character of the Egyptian Recension which is here from the *Kaige* section of the Books of Samuel.

10. 2 Sam 19:8

ℳ: וְרָעָה לְךָ זֹאת מִכָּל־הָרָעָה

and this evil to you will be more than all the evil

Θ^B: καὶ ἐπίγνωθι σεαυτῷ καὶ κακόν σοι τοῦτο ὑπὲρ πάν τὸ κακόν

and know for yourself and this evil to you will be more than all the evil

Θ^L: καὶ ἐπίγνωθι τοῦτο σεαυτῷ ὅτι χεῖρόν σοι ἔσται τοῦτο ἐκ πάντων τῶν κακῶν

and know this for yourself that worse for you will be this than all the evils

4Q: ודענה לך זאת[מכנל הרעה]

and know for yourself that this will be more than all the evil

Analysis: This is a clear example of paleographic confusion resulting in a double reading, in this case the common confusion of *daleth* and *resh*. ℳ has the *resh* with ורעה, 4QSam^a has the *daleth* with [ה]ודע, and Θ^B and Θ^L have two ever so slightly different combinations of both readings for a doublet. This is again an instance of the doublet of Θ^L being sufficiently close to Θ^B to infer dependence.

Conclusion

It needs to be noted initially that grouping the passages by categories derived from patterns of textual agreement proved to be of little value. This was owing to the fact that 4QSam^a contained a doublet in only 2 of the 10 passages and that these, in turn, derived from two quite dissimilar categories (B and E).

As regards concurrence with the Lucianic tradition, it is true that in both these instances the doublet of 4QSam^a agrees with the Lucianic text. However, in one case (Category B: 3) that Lucianic doublet would appear to have been late in forming, the result of Hexaplaric revision on the basis of the Masoretic triplet. In the other case (Category E: 8), agreement between 4QSam^a and the Lucianic text extends also to the Old Greek of the Egyptian Recension which on other grounds has been shown to be close to 4QSam^a.

In short, then, the data assembled can only lead to one conclusion: there is not a close correlation between the Greek Lucianic doublets and 4QSam^a. This is most surprising! Though one would have hoped that a larger sampling would have been forthcoming, these results leave little reason to believe that an increase in the number of passages would have uncovered a more systematic relationship between the Greek Lucianic doublets and 4QSam^a. Whatever the source(s) for the Greek Lucianic doublets in the Books of Samuel, the evidence at hand does not support an origin in a text akin to that of 4QSam^a.

Traces of the Proto-Lucianic Text

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Introduction

The Lucianic text of the Historical Books has been under extensive discussion during the last decades.¹ There is wide scholarly agreement that the text-type reflected in the MS group boc_2e_2 (19-82-93-108-127 in Rahlfs' *Verzeichnis*) and the Biblical quotations of the Antiochene Patristic authors is the result of a recension.² I call this group simply 'L'. There is, however, no

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1. Among the most important studies are: F. M. Cross, "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR* 132 (1953) 15–26; D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963); F. M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964) 281–99; S. P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9; Torino: S. Zamorani, 1996 [This is the printed edition of Brock's dissertation of 1966]); E. Tov, "Lucian and proto-Lucian: Toward a New Solution of the Problem," *Revue Biblique* 79 (1972) 101–13; E. Tov, "The State of the Question: Problems and Proposed Solutions," in *1972 Proceedings for the IOSCS and the SBL Pseudepigrapha Seminar* (SCS 2; ed. R. A. Kraft); E. C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

2. For short reviews of the history of research see, B. M. Metzger, "The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible," in *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (New Testament Tools and Studies; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 7–14; S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 157–71; S. Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint: Origins, Recensions, and Interpretations: Selected Essays, with a Prolegomenon* (Library of Biblical Studies; New York: KTAV, 1974) XXXIV–XXXVII; G. Howard, "The Septuagint: A Review of Recent Studies," *Restoration Quarterly* 13 (1970) 158–9

agreement on the nature of the base text of the recension. Alfred Rahlfs suggested that the Lucianic recension was made on the basis of an old, pre-Hexaplaric text close to the type of MS B and the Ethiopian daughter version.³ Since then it has become usual to refer to this base text with the term “proto-Lucianic.”

The textual history of the Historical Books was revolutionized by the discovery of the Nahal Hever Minor Prophets scroll and the identification of the *καίγε*-recension by Dominique Barthélemy. His well-known thesis was that in the so-called *καίγε* sections of the Books of Samuel (2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11, 1 Kgs 22–2 Kgs 25:30), the Old Greek translation is actually preserved in *L*. While Barthélemy’s theory of a pre-Hexaplaric hebraizing recension is certainly correct, the internal evidence reveals that numerous *L* readings are recensional even in the *καίγε* sections.⁴ Sebastian Brock, on the other hand, emphasized in his study on the recensions of 1 Samuel that the textual line *L* is based on diverged from the rest of the tradition at a comparatively early date. This means that all the distinctive *L* readings are not necessarily due to recensional activity by Lucian, but to an otherwise-lost independent textual tradition antedating him.⁵

Yet another very influential theory has been formulated by Frank Moore Cross. When Cross published the first fragments of 4QSam^a in the 1950s, he concluded that the manuscript is related to the same textual tradition as the *Vorlage* of the LXX.⁶ Combining this observation with his local texts theory, Cross suggested that there is a recension already in the substratum of *L*. This proto-Lucianic recension was made out of the Old Greek translation towards a Hebrew text like 4QSam^a in the second or first century B.C.E.⁷

Emanuel Tov suggested a new solution to the problem: the substratum of the Lucianic recension contains “either *the* Old Greek translation or any Old Greek translation.”⁸ Tov sees his working hypothesis as a compromise between the views of Barthélemy and Cross. Tov acknowledges that it is not easy to define criteria for distinguishing the three layers of *L*: the Old Greek,

[repr. in Jellicoe, *Studies in the Septuagint*, 54–64]; Tov, “The State of the Question,” 8–9 (with a bibliography, pp. 13–15); Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 15–37.

3. A. Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (in *Septuaginta-Studien I–III*; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965) 290–1.

4. Tov, “Lucian and proto-Lucian,” 102.

5. Brock, *Recensions*, 297–8.

6. Cross, “A New Qumran Biblical Fragment,” 23.

7. Cross, “The History of the Biblical Text,” 295–6.

8. Tov, “Lucian and proto-Lucian,” 103 and *passim*.

the Hexaplaric approximations (which Tov attributes to Lucian), and Lucian's own corrections. This is because readings that could have resulted from adding and changing for syntactical or contextual reasons are seen already in the first stratum of the text-type. Consequently, certain readings following similar patterns (in Tov's words: "typologically similar readings") without additional evidence might be pre-Lucianic as well.⁹ Tov has called for studies on "The nature and quantity of pre-Lucianic elements in boc_2e_2 "¹⁰ and this is exactly what my dissertation study is about.

Study on the Proto-Lucianic Problem

My research material consists of all the alleged proto-Lucianic variation units that have been discussed in the literature. In 1 Samuel they are about 50 in number.¹¹ However, some of these alleged proto-Lucianic readings should not be treated as textual variants at all. Many of the pre-Lucianic witnesses are Latin Patristic authors or Latin translations of Greek Patristic authors. The Greek and Latin usages differ in many details, and in some cases the Latin reading that seemingly attests the Lucianic reading is in fact the only Latin reading possible. In a few cases it is probable that the agreement between *L* and the pre-Lucianic witness is only accidental; for instance, if the textual phenomena shared by the witnesses are very common. This often touches

9. Tov, "Lucian and proto-Lucian," 103, 107–8. Tov's views have remained essentially the same for three decades: see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd rev. ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001) 148.

10. Tov, "The State of the Question," 9.

11. The number consists of variation units that are referred to as agreements between *L* and some pre-Lucianic witness. Regarding the Qumran Biblical texts, see Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 95–6; Josephus, see Brock, *Recensions*, 214–5 and Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 185–6; pre-Lucianic Patristic authors, see H. Voogd, *A Critical and Comparative Study of the Old Latin Texts of the First Book of Samuel* (Princeton Theological Seminary, 1947) 23–4, 26–7, 34–5; B. P. Fischer, "Lukian-Lesarten in der Vetus Latina der Vier Königsbücher," *Studia Anselmiana* (1951) 27–8, 169–77, 171–2; and Brock, *Recensions*, 195–6, 200, 202. The value of the Old Latin is disputed (Brock, *Recensions*, 217–8, rejects its use), but if Voogd's agreements between *L* and the Old Latin fragments are included, the number is increased by ca. 230 readings (Voogd, *Old Latin Texts*, 132–44, 165–71, 181–2, 187, 191). I have excluded from the study those Qumran readings that are based on reconstructions in the DJD edition (*Qumran Cave 4: XII: 1–2 Samuel* [DJD 17; ed. Frak Moore Corss, et al; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005]).

upon minutiae like conjunctions and pronouns. Cases of this type must be used with great care when discussing the proto-Lucianic problem.

It seems that every now and then the pre-Lucianic witness and *L* agree in preserving an original reading that is lost in the rest of the textual tradition. The agreement between *L* and a pre-Lucianic witness is easy to explain in these readings: both witnesses preserve the original text independently. These variation units are extremely important when reconstructing the original text, but from the point of view of the textual history, the proto-Lucianic problem finds an easy solution in them.

The actual proto-Lucianic problem is formed by the agreements between a pre-Lucianic witness and *L* in *secondary readings*. A well-known text-critical principle is that the affiliation of witnesses is established on the basis of common secondary readings. Instances of this type require an explanation, and the explanations have an effect on our view of the textual history.

The Example

Presenting the Problem

With the following example I wish to demonstrate the problems that a textual critic faces with the proto-Lucianic readings. The pre-Lucianic witness concerned is Irenaeus' *Against Heresies* (*Adv Haer* 4,26,4)¹² quoting 1 Rgns 12:2b–5, a part of Samuel's farewell address. The quotation agrees partly with the Rahlfs text and partly with the Lucianic text. The problem under discussion occurs in v. 3. The verse is given with Irenaeus' Latin translation and Rahlfs' LXX text and the Lucianic text¹³ in parallel columns.

12. *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les Hérésies: Livre 4*. Sources chrétiennes 100 (ed. A. Rousseau; Paris: Cerf, 1965).

13. The edition used is *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega 1: 1–2 Samuel*. Textos y estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 50 (ed. N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz; Madrid: Instituto de Filología, C.S.I.C., 1989).

1 Sam 12:3 (Rahlfs)	Iren <i>Adv Haer</i> 4,26,4	1 Sam 12:3 (L)
<p>ἰδοὺ ἐγώ ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἐνώπιον χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ μόσχον τίνος εἴληφα ἢ ὄνον τίνος εἴληφα ἢ τίνα κατεδυνάστευσα ύμῶν ἢ τίνα ἐξεπίεσα ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς τίνος εἴληφα ἐξίλασμα καὶ ὑπόδημα ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποδώσω ὑμῖν</p>	<p><i>Respondite</i> <i>mihi</i> <i>in conspectu Domini</i> <i>et in conspectu</i> <i>Christi ejus:</i> <i>Cujus vestrum vitulum</i> <i>accepi aut asinum?</i> <i>aut super quem</i> <i>potentatus sum?</i> <i>aut quem</i> <i>oppressi?</i> <i>aut si de alicujus manu</i> <i>accepi propitiationem</i> <i>vel calceamentum,</i> dicite <i>adversum me</i> <i>et reddam vobis.</i></p>	<p>ἰδοὺ ἐγώ ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ μόσχον τίνος ὑμῶν εἴληφα ἢ ὄνον τίνος εἴληφα ἢ τίνα ὑμῶν καταδεδυνάστευκα ἢ τίνα ἐξεπίασα ὑμῶν ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς τίνος ύμῶν εἴληφα ἐξίλασμα ἢ ὑπόδημα καὶ ἀπέκρυψα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐν αὐτῷ εἴπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποδώσω ὑμῖν</p>

Note the double occurrence of the expression ἀποκριθῆτε κατ' ἐμοῦ in the Rahlfs text. Both the Lucianic text and Irenaeus agree with the Rahlfs text in the first reading, but in the second reading they have εἶπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ and *dicite adversum me* respectively.¹⁴

There is a problem concerning the Hebrew in this sentence.

MT	LXX <i>Vorlage?</i>	Rahlfs	Variants
עֲנֵנִי	id.	ἀποκριθῆτε	
כִּי	id.	κατ' ἐμοῦ	
...	
וּמִן־דָּמִי	id.	ἢ ἐκ χειρὸς τίνος	
לְקַחְתִּי כֶּפֶר	id.	εἰληφα ἐξίλασμα	
וְאַעֲלִים			
עֵינַי בּוֹ			
	וְנַעֲלִים	καὶ ὑπόδημα	
	עֲנֵנִי כִּי	ἀποκριθῆτε κατ' ἐμοῦ	εἶπατε L 554 Chr Tht
וְאַשִׁיב לָכֵם	id.	καὶ ἀποδώσω ὑμῖν	

Samuel's call for an "answer" by the people עֲנֵנִי כִּי "answer against me" (NRSV: "testify against me") appears only at the beginning of the verse in the MT; and at the end, the MT has וְאַעֲלִים עֵינַי בּוֹ "and turned my eyes away from him." According to Kyle McCarter, וְאַעֲלִים is a copying mistake from נַעֲלִים 'sandals', which he prefers as the original reading on the basis of the LXX reading ὑπόδημα.¹⁵ It may be that the question of the original

14. This is referred to as an agreement between Irenaeus and *L* in Brock, *Recensions*, 202. It is striking that Henri Voogd in his Princeton dissertation in the 1940s treats this variation unit as an agreement of Irenaeus and *the Old Greek against L*! That is, they agree in omitting the Hexaplaric approximation καὶ ἀπέκρυψα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐν αὐτῷ. No mention is made of the agreement of the verbs *dicite* and *εἶπατε* in Voogd's treatment (Voogd, *Old Latin Texts*, 23).

15. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*

Hebrew wording will remain unresolved. What is certain, however, is that the LXX does not reflect the verb **על**, and it does reflect a verb of saying instead of “my eyes.” A graphical mistake from one phrase to the other is understandable: the readings look very similar even in modern printed script. (One should perhaps also consider the possibility that the original Hebrew had both readings.)

There are several Latin readings corresponding to the first ἀποκρίθητε κατ’ ἐμοῦ and καὶ ὑπόδημα ἀποκρίθητε κατ’ ἐμοῦ in the Rahlfs text.

Irenaeus (*Adv Haer* 4,26,4, Latin translation)

respondite mihi—vel calceamentum dicite adversum me

Pseudo-Augustine (PS-AU spe 143)¹⁶

respondete contra me—vel corrigiam calciamentorum dicite adversum me

Chrysostom (CHRY III,1030, Latin translation)

iudicati estis a me—aut calceum et abscondi oculos meos ab ipso dicite adversum me

Marginal readings in the Vulgate MSS 91, 92, 94, and 95

respondete contra me—et abscondam oculos meos in quo dicitis adversus me

Ferrandus (FEnd ep 7,6)

respondete contra me—vel calciamentum respondete adversum me

Vulgate

loquimini de—et contemnam illud hodie

The texts in the translation of Chrysostom and in the marginal readings of some Vulgate manuscripts are influenced by the *L* text. This is evident because of their attestation of the Hebraizing plus καὶ ἀπέκρυψα τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου ἐν αὐτῷ in *L*. Irenaeus and Pseudo-Augustine, by contrast, seem to reflect the original Old Latin translation in this variation unit since their texts do not attest this addition. The following offers possible explanations for this agreement between Irenaeus and *L*.

(1st ed.; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980) 209–10.

16. The abbreviations for the Old Latin witnesses are those of H. J. Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller: Verzeichnis und Siegel* (4. aktualisierte Aufl.; Vetus Latina: Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 1,1; Freiburg: Herder, 1995).

Let us first take a closer look at the Greek expression ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ. In Greek the verb ἀποκρίνομαι is indeed used in the sense 'to answer *against* someone', i.e. 'testify'; it is found construed with κατὰ + gen. in Aeschines' *In Ctesiphontem*.¹⁷ The lexica do not offer the meaning 'testify against someone' for the verb, but in the LXX there are two cases (besides the present one) in which that connotation is obvious: 1 Sam 14:39 ζῆ κύριος . . . ὅτι ἐὰν ἀποκριθῇ κατὰ Ἰωναθαν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου θανάτῳ ἀποθανεῖται, and 2 Sam 1:16 τὸ στόμα σου ἀπεκρίθη κατὰ σοῦ λέγων ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐθανάτωσα τὸν χριστὸν κυρίου.

Is the agreement between Irenaeus and L accidental?

At first sight, the agreement between Irenaeus' Latin text and *L* does not seem at all striking. Irenaeus' Latin translator treats the expression ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ somewhat freely: at the first occurrence the prepositional phrase is changed to a pronoun (*respondite mihi*), so it would be tempting to explain that the other deviations from the Rahlfs text come from Irenaeus' translator as well.

Like ἀποκρίνομαι, the Latin *respondeo* is used with an adversative preposition in the sense 'to respond against someone' by authors that antedate Irenaeus or are contemporary with him—Seneca and Virgil, for example.¹⁸ Therefore it may be argued that the formulation was legitimate during the time of the translation of Irenaeus' work. Accordingly, if Irenaeus' translator faced the expression ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ in his text, he could have

17. "Καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παρακαλέσας Ἀντίπατρον ἐρώτημά τι ἡρώτα, προειπὼν μὲν ἃ ἐρήσεται, προδιδάξας δὲ ἃ χρὴ κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀποκρίνασθαι." (*In Ctesiphontem* 72). I owe this reference to Dr. Georg Walser. To be sure, this usage seems to be quite infrequent. Using the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (Online: <http://www.tlg.uci.edu>), I found no other examples of ἀποκρίνω construed with κατὰ + gen. The only slightly comparable case is in *Testamentum Jobi* 41,1: "Ἐλιφας δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μετὰ ταῦτα παρεκάθισάν μοι ἀνταποκρινόμενοι καὶ μεγαλορημονούντες κατ' ἐμοῦ." In this case the prefix ἀντί- already explicates the sense 'to answer against' and the preposition κατὰ is needed only to construe the verb μεγαλορημονέω.

18. See, e.g., Titus Livius, *Ab urbe condita* 8,32,9; 33,35,12; 33,38,7; 35,50,1; Seneca *De beneficiis* 6,13,4; 6,15,2; *De otio* 6,1; Virgil, *Aeneis* 6,20; Q. Horatius Flaccus, *Sermones* (*Saturae*) 2,3,233; M. Fabius Quintilianus, *Institutio oratoria* 9,2,93 (searched with *Library of Latin Texts*, online in Brepolis databases: <http://www.brepolis.net>). It is also used by Christian authors such as: Ambrose (*Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* 9,326), Augustine (*De peccatorum meritis* 2,25,39), and Rufinus (*Apologia* 1,17; 2,12).

translated it into Latin as *respondite adversum/contra me* (as in Ferrandus' text, FEnd ep 7,6). Nevertheless, the Latin translator might have considered the expression improper, because at the first occurrence he decided to change the prepositional phrase to a pronoun. Then, to avoid unnecessary repetition, the translator would have chosen to change the verb in the second instance. Accordingly, there would be no connection between Irenaeus and *L* in this reading and likewise nothing proto-Lucianic either.

I would be very happy to accept this conclusion if it were not for the Armenian translation for the same passage of Irenaeus' work. Adelin Rousseau, the editor of *Against Heresies*, translates the two Armenian readings into Latin, and gives them as variants *respondite adversum me* and *dicite adversum me* respectively. On the basis of these Armenian readings Rousseau reconstructs the Greek text according to *L*: ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ – εἴπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ. I think it would be impossible to reconstruct in a sound way any other verb than εἴπατε in the Greek text of *Against Heresies*. Irenaeus appears to be quite faithful in his Bible quotations, and in the context there is nothing to suggest that the reading was Irenaeus' own modification. Therefore I conclude that it is improbable that the agreement between Irenaeus and *L* was accidental in this reading.

Is the L reading Recensional?

The probability of the antiquity of the reading εἴπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ is increased by the observation that it cannot be shown to be recensional by the internal criteria. Concerning the verbs of saying, there is no pattern to be seen in the Lucianic readings. This is the only example in all the four books of Samuel of an interchange of the verbs ἀποκρίνομαι and λέγω.¹⁹ Thus it seems that the reviser was generally not sensitive to the usage of these verbs. Moreover, the reviser leaves the phrase untouched in 1 Rgns 14:39 and 2 Rgns 1:16.

It could be suggested that the *L* reading was influenced by the verb in the following verse in which the people vindicate Samuel: καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς Σαμουήλ. It is, of course, possible that two or more items in close context that are logically connected (e.g. order–execution, prediction–fulfillment)

19. The comparison is made between the texts of Rahlfs and the Spanish edition of the Lucianic text (Fernández Marcos & Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno*). There is, to be sure, one instance of λαλέω in *L* pro λέγω in Rahlfs, 1 Rgns 10:25.

may mutually influence one another's vocabulary in the manuscripts. This phenomenon could be called harmonization—although it need not be conscious. Could such harmonization be attributed to a reviser?

According to Brock, many lexical variants in *L* are influenced by other passages.²⁰ There is, however, evidence in the other direction, too: in numerous passages the Rahlfs text is more consistent than that of *L*.²¹ If we accept that on the whole the Rahlfs text is closer to the Old Greek than that of *L*, we must conclude that the reviser both harmonizes and adds variance. Because he tends to leave the verbs of saying untouched, I find it difficult to claim that the reading εἴπατε is a result of harmonization by the reviser. Interestingly, Brock tentatively suggests that εἴπατε comes from Luke 20:3: ἐρωτήσω ὑμᾶς καὶ γὰρ λόγον, καὶ εἴπατέ μοι.²² It is, however, hard to see this as a real possibility because the contexts are quite different.

One more explanation needs to be discussed. Could it be that the reading εἴπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ was motivated by the Peshitta reading ܕܥܡܝܐ? Indeed, Peshitta influence on the Lucianic reviser has been suggested as an explanation for the agreements between the Peshitta and *L*. But the Peshitta does not render the same Hebrew text as the LXX in this variation unit: it follows the MT in וַיֹּאמְרוּ עֲנֵנוּ בּוֹ (חט חס חס חס). The Peshitta agreement could actually be explained by positing that the words ܕܥܡܝܐ are just an explanatory addition²³ by the Peshitta translator and do not reflect a Hebrew

20. Brock, *Recensions*, 296. Brock gives a few examples of this happening within 1 Samuel: 16:1 // 12:22, 8:8 // 12:8, and 16:13, 30:25 // 18:9 (Brock, *Recensions*, 265, 272, 273). There are quite a few additional cases, e.g.: 2:30 ὁ ἐξουθενῶν με ἀτιμωθήσεται Rahlfs, but οἱ ἐξουθενοῦντές με ἐξουθενωθήσονται *L*; 4:5–6 φωνή . . . τῆς κραυγῆς . . . ἢ κραυγῇ Rahlfs, but φωνή . . . τὴν φωνὴν τῆς κραυγῆς . . . ἢ φωνή *L*; 4:12, 16 καὶ ἔδραμεν ἀνὴρ Ἰεμιναιὸς . . . [καὶ εἶπεν] καὶ γὰρ πέφευγα Rahlfs, but καὶ ἔφυγεν ἀνὴρ Ἰεμιναιὸς . . . [καὶ εἶπεν] ἐγὼ πέφευγα *L*; 5:10 ἐξαποστέλλουσιν τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἐβόησαν οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται λέγοντες τί ἀπεστρέψατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ Rahlfs, but καὶ ἐξαποστέλλουσιν οἱ γεθθαῖοι τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ . . . ἀνεβόησαν οἱ Ἀσκαλωνῖται λέγοντες τί ἀπεστάλκατε τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ *L*.

21. A few examples will suffice: 1:14 πορεύου Rahlfs, ἀπελθε *L*, but both πορεύομαι in 1:17, 18; 3:15 ἀπαγγεῖλαι Rahlfs, ἀναγγεῖλαι *L*, but both ἀπαγγεῖλαι in 3:18; 4:3 ἔπτασεν Rahlfs, ἔθραυσεν *L*, but both πταίω in 4:2.

22. Brock, *Recensions*, 202.

23. C. E. Morrison, *The Character of the Syriac Version of the First Book of Samuel* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 11; Boston: Brill, 2001) 125, 127. The reading is rightly treated in BHS as a plus compared to the MT. This is contrary to de Boer, who argues that “and I will pay back to you” is *changed* into ܕܥܡܝܐ to reject “the possibility of the offence” (P. A. H. de Boer, *Research into the Text of 1 Samuel I–XVI: A Con-*

reading (or an understanding of the Hebrew text) אָמַרְוּ בִי. It seems that it has nothing to do with any of the Greek readings for this variation unit. Brock, too, suggests that the agreement is coincidental.²⁴

Does the L reading Preserve the Original LXX Reading?

Let us consider the possibility that εἶπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ is actually the original reading of the Septuagint. A little earlier the translator has rendered עָנִי בִי with ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ, but that does not mean that he could not use a different rendering here. The translator of the Greek of 1 Samuel varies the equivalents he uses—even within a single verse. Moreover, elsewhere in the Septuagint there are seven cases in which עָנָה 'to answer' corresponds to λέγω.²⁵ It must be acknowledged, however, that in 1 Samuel the preferred rendering of עָנָה (in the sense of 'answer') is ἀποκρίνομαι, which is used 32 times. The only other equivalent is ἐπακούω, used three times (7:9, 8:18, and 28:15). A similar consistency can be seen in the translator's treatment of אָמַר 'to say': it is rendered by λέγω 387 times in 1 Samuel. There are five other equivalents, but each of them is used only once and none of them is ἀποκρίνομαι. The translator, then, does slightly vary the verbs of saying, but he never interchanges ἀποκρίνομαι and λέγω elsewhere.²⁶ Nevertheless, in our case the translator could be motivated to adopt a new equivalent for several reasons.

First, at the beginning of the verse Samuel asks the people to 'testify' against him: "Whose ox have I taken? Or whose donkey have I taken?", etc. The verb ἀποκρίνομαι seems to be appropriate here, and the exact meaning of the Hebrew is produced with the choice of the preposition κατὰ + gen. After the questions Samuel expects the people to *accuse*, and the translator may have thought that εἶπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ makes the meaning clearer. Second, since the expression ἀποκρίθητε κατ' ἐμοῦ seems to be rare in Greek, using

tribution to the Study of the Books of Samuel [Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1938] 38). "And I will pay back to you" is, however, reflected in אָמַרְוּ בִי, a fact overlooked by de Boer (there are no witnesses for an omission of these words in the Leiden edition).

24. Brock, *Recensions*, 207, 210.

25. E. Tov and F. Polak, *The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text* (2004), used via BibleWorks 7. In three of these cases Tov and Polak suggest אָמַר in the *Vorlage*.

26. This happens, however, sometimes in the manuscripts: Brock, *Recensions*, 207, refers to 1 Rgns 25:10 where A alone changes ἀπεκρίθη to εἶπεν. An example of a change in the contrary direction is found in MS 125 in 24:17.

it twice within a few sentences was perhaps too much for the translator. Third, a pure desire for variety could have motivated the change of the equivalent. There are, admittedly, quite a number of occurrences of the verb εἰπεῖν in the passage but a more common word certainly tolerates more repetition. A universal phenomenon of translations is that they resort to a more usual or simple idiom than the source text. Therefore it is not difficult to think that the translator chose a more frequent verb if he was not happy with the standard equivalent.

If εἶπατε κατ' ἑμοῦ is actually the original reading, Irenaeus' agreement with *L* would not be problematic: both witnesses would preserve the original reading independently. How, then, could the competing reading be explained? The change from εἶπατε to ἀποκριθῆτε could only result as a Hebraizing correction towards a reading עָנִי כִי. But where does this correction come from? The Hebrew reading is not present in the MT. The Hebrew column of Origen's *Hexapla* is known to have been very close to the MT and therefore it is difficult to assume that the correction was hexaplaric. There is, however, evidence of Hebraizing corrections already in the pre-Christian era. The problem with this explanation is that we have this Hebrew reading only as a retroversion of a Greek reading that we hold to be a correction towards the very same Hebrew reading!

Conclusion

I have argued that the agreement between Irenaeus and *L* in reading εἶπατε in 1 Sam 12:3 is not accidental. There are three possible ways to explain its existence. If we accept Rahlfs' solution and regard ἀποκριθῆτε κατ' ἑμοῦ as the original reading, the alternative reading could then be explained in two ways. If it were regarded as recensional, the problem would be that it does not fit into any known recensional pattern. In this case, we would also have to assume that Irenaeus modified his Bible text in this reading or that the Lucianic text has affected the text of *Against Heresies* only in this reading. One could also try to explain the reading εἶπατε κατ' ἑμοῦ as an early stylistic or contextual change. This, however, does not fit our patterns of the textual history since we do not see such changes made in the manuscripts in the early phase of the textual history. The only type of correction we have evidence of is correction according to the Hebrew text.

On the other hand, if εἶπατε κατ' ἑμοῦ is held to be the original reading, the alternative reading could only be explained as a Hebraizing correction

towards עָנִי בִי, a Hebrew reading that only exists as a retroversion of that same supposed correction. The graphical similarity with the MT, however, somewhat relieves this problem; since the retroversion and the MT may be seen as each other's variants, I find this to be the easiest explanation. Therefore I suggest that εἴπατε κατ' ἐμοῦ be accepted as the original reading of the Septuagint. I hope this example has illustrated the problems one faces with the proto-Lucianic readings.

Lost in Reconstruction? On Hebrew and Greek Reconstructions in 2 Sam 24

ANNELI AEJMELEAUS



Introduction

The final chapter of 2 Samuel contains the story of David's fateful census of Israel and Judah, David's punishment through a plague, his penitential prayers, and the building of an altar on Orna's threshing floor. In different contexts over the past fifteen years, I have time and again returned to this text, a passage that reveals special complications, no matter from which angle it is approached. It is a text that can be used to exemplify all the different problem areas in the Samuel traditions as well as to visualize these problematic issues in their relation to one another. Moreover, the longer I have dealt with this text, the more it has begun to dawn on me that it is a kind of key text as well, showing something very essential about the character of the various witnesses and their mutual relations. And I am now speaking of both Hebrew and Greek witnesses, which necessarily need to be discussed in connection with each other.¹

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1. The witnesses I am dealing with in this paper include for the Hebrew text the MT; 4QSam^a, which shows portions of vv. 16–22 (see *Qumran Cave 4: XII 1–2 Samuel* [ed. Frank Moore Cross, et al.; Oxford: OUP, 2005]); and the parallel passage in the MT of Chronicles; as well as the various Greek, largely recensional, text-forms of the Septuagint of 2 Samuel and the parallel passage in 1 Chronicles. Occasional reference is made to the daughter versions of the Septuagint or to the writings of Josephus.

Reconstructing Greek Textual History

As is well known, the final chapter of 2 Samuel belongs to those text areas in Samuel–Kings that bear the artificial name “καίγε recension.”² This means that the main line of textual transmission—above all Vaticanus—does not always follow the original Septuagint translation, but a text form that has been heavily approximated to a Hebrew text very close to the MT. To what extent and on what conditions it is possible at all to reach the original wording of the Septuagint has been the subject of an ongoing discussion ever since Barthélemy published his influential study on the Minor Prophets scroll of Naḥal Hever and identified traces of early Jewish recensional activity similar to those in Naḥal Hever in certain other books, including parts of Samuel–Kings. Recovery of the original wording of the Septuagint, as difficult as it may be, is however one of the main goals of the Göttingen Septuagint edition. It is also essential for the use of the Septuagint in textual criticism of the Hebrew text—in fact a *conditio sine qua non*; it is only through the original wording of the Septuagint that one gains access to the *Vorlage*, that early Hebrew text used by the translators.³

Barthélemy believed that the original Old Greek could be recovered through the Lucianic text, a view that he himself later modified. The problem is that the Lucianic text is also a recensional text, but one following totally different principles. Whereas the *καίγε* recension, being Jewish in its origin, aims at bringing the Greek text into closer agreement with the Hebrew, the Lucianic recension is a Christian revision not based on the Hebrew text, at least not directly, but rather pays attention foremost to the readability of the Greek text. Its base text, however, represents an old reliable textual line that has preserved numerous original readings, even in cases where all other witnesses reveal a secondary text.⁴

2. Coined by Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963). For a discussion of the textual situation in 1 Samuel, see my “The Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2007) 123–141 (esp. 123–126).

3. The original LXX is also needed for comparison with 4QSam^a, MS B as such will not do, nor will L. Compare the textual notes in Cross’s edition, and, for instance, in the article: Cross, Frank Moore and Richard J. Saley, “A Statistical Analysis of the Textual Character of 4QSamuel^a (4Q51)” (*Dead Sea Discoveries* 13, 2006) 46–54.

4. See Sebastian P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Oxford 1966); published in Quaderni di Henoch 9 (with a Foreword by Natalio Fernández Marcos; Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 1996).

First of all, I would like to draw attention to a few important observations concerning these recensions and their circulation. It is worth noting that neither is totally consistent or thoroughgoing: only some of the words have been revised. This is exactly where textual criticism has its chance: where changes have been made in only one of the recensions, there is a fair chance that the original wording can be found in the other group.

Furthermore, the witness of the manuscripts to the different text-forms is by no means consistent, and their distribution between the text-forms is by no means clearcut; that is, there is no clear division between manuscripts following the *καίγε* recension and those following the Lucianic text. To be more precise, recensional features in the Lucianic text can hardly be expected to have spread into the majority of manuscripts but only to a few minuscules, those frequently showing dependence on the Lucianic text; whereas the circulation of features of the pre-recensional base-text of *L* vary a great deal. On the other hand, the group of manuscripts following the *καίγε* recension varies greatly, being often just a small minority, but it has received so much attention because the most constant member of this group is Vaticanus—or rather the B-text (B-121-509 Aeth). One should, in fact, pay more attention to the manuscripts that often remain between the recensions, to a large extent untouched by the *καίγε* recension and often supporting the reading of the Lucianic text and to the fact that the combination of manuscripts witnessing to the *καίγε* recension varies from chapter to chapter.

Let us take an example from 2 Sam 24. In v. 10 we have the first penitential prayer of David after he has taken the census of Judah and Israel.

2 Sam 24:10

MT

קָטַאתִי מְאֹד אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי וְעַתָּה יְהוָה תִּעְבֶּר נָא אֶת־עֲוֹן עַבְדְּךָ כִּי נִסְכַּלְתִּי מְאֹד

I have sinned greatly in what I have done. But now, O LORD, take away the iniquity of your servant, for I have acted very foolishly.

Rahlfs: Ἠμαρτον σφόδρα ὁ ἐποίησα. νῦν κύριε παραβίβασον δὴ τὴν ἀνομίαν τοῦ δούλου σου ὅτι ἐμωράνθην σφόδρα.

Lucianic Text: Ἠμάρτηκα σφόδρα ποιήσας τὸ ὄῃμα τοῦτο. καὶ νῦν κύριε περιελεῖ τὴν ἀδικίαν τοῦ δούλου σου ὅτι ἐματαιώθην σφόδρα.

Ambr Ep 51,8 *Peccavi vehementer quod fecerim hoc verbum et nunc domine aufer iniquitatem servi tui quod deliqui vehementer.*

In Rahlfs' text there are three lexical items in this verse that have been revised by the *καίγε* recension to correspond more closely to the Hebrew text. The Lucianic text mainly represents the Old Greek here. This becomes obvious when we take a closer look at these lexical items. The manuscript evidence for these *καίγε* readings is as follows:

Παραβίβασον A B-509 247 64-381 55 318 460
 (+ δη B 64-381 55 318 460)
 ἀνομίαν A B-509 CII 64-381 92-314-488-489-762 55 318 460
 ἐμωράνθην A B-509 243^{mg}-731^{mg} 64-381 55

It is clearly the minority of the 58 manuscripts in 2 Sam 24 that have adopted these readings.⁵ In all three cases we can observe mss A B-509 64-381 55 (318 460 occur twice), but the rest varies. If we were looking at examples from some other chapters in the second half of 2 Samuel, the distribution of the *καίγε* readings would be different, in some parts certainly including the majority of witnesses. On the other hand, analogous approximations to the Hebrew text can be found in the non-*καίγε* sections and they are often represented by the same manuscripts, above all the B-group, often followed by A and a few other manuscripts.⁶

The conclusion that I think must be drawn is that readings of the *καίγε* recension entered into the textual tradition of Samuel mainly through a small group of manuscripts and were taken up in varying degrees by other manuscripts through the comparison of different manuscripts in the copying process.⁷ Furthermore, it is my understanding that we do not have the pure text of the *καίγε* recension, not even in the so-called *καίγε* sections, but these early recensional readings come into the textual tradition of the Septuagint through excerption, and this excerption happened with different intensity in different parts of the text, for reasons that are not clear to me. As shown by Barthélemy, it is clearly a matter of similar recensional activity in the *καίγε* sec-

5. Affiliations between manuscripts are shown by hyphens. For the generally-known recensional groups, the conventional signs of the Göttingen edition are used: *O* for the Hexaplaric group (*O* = 247-376), *L* for the Lucianic group (*L* = 19-82-93-108-127), *C* for the Catena groups, of which there are two (*CI* = 98-243-379-731; *CII* = 46-52-236-242-313-328-530). As far as these groups are concerned, the textual situation in 2 Sam 24 corresponds to that in 1 Samuel.

6. For examples, see my "A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek – Deconstructing the *Textus Receptus*" (forthcoming 2007).

7. It is, however, also possible that the same readings came into circulation later on partly through *α'* or *θ'* readings found in the Hexapla. This could have been the case above all in the Catena manuscripts.

tions of Samuel and in the Naḥal Ḥever texts. But comparison of the recension in the Minor Prophets of Naḥal Ḥever with the corresponding activity in the Books of Samuel clearly reveals that the intensity of the recension is much higher in Naḥal Ḥever; it seems that almost every small difference was corrected to the MT.⁸ The intensity of the καίγε recension is far from that in the Books of Samuel and also varies to a great extent.

Reconstructing the καίγε Recension

Let us take a closer look at the lexical variants in David's prayer in v. 10. The first item, παρὰβιβάζω 'to put aside' for העביר 'to let pass by' is paralleled in 2 Sam 12:13 where the original ἀφαιρέω 'to remove'/'to forgive' has been corrected in the same way. This, I think, shows something of the reasoning behind the καίγε revision. Not only does the verb παρὰβιβάζω correspond more literally to the Hebrew verb, but both parallel cases also deal with the same topic, namely David's guilt. In 2 Sam 12:13 David confesses his sin, and Nathan gives him absolution with these words:

2 Sam 12:13 נִסְחָתָהּ הָעִבִּיר הַטָּאָה – καὶ κύριος παρεβίβασεν τὸ ἀμάρτημά σου (= καίγε recension; ἀφείλεν M^{mg} O L^{-19 108txt} 554^{mg}; ἀφείλετο 19-108^{txt})

It is obviously the purpose of the change to show that these two verses are connected with each other. In the Old Greek, different verbs were used: ἀφαιρέω (2 Sam 12:13) and περιαιρέω (2 Sam 24:10). In Rabbinical exegesis, however, emphasis was laid on such lexical agreements, and two verses using the same word were understood to explain each other. There are certainly also other examples of this phenomenon in the καίγε recension.

As for the equivalence παρὰβιβάζω – העביר, it is not particularly common, but can be connected with early recensional activity by its occurrence in Dan θ' 11:20 and in marginal readings: Lev 18:21 α' σ' θ'; Jer 15:14 (s.n.). On the other hand, the equivalence περιαιρέω – העביר is found in 2 Sam 3:10, showing the same mode of translation in the non-καίγε

8. See the final edition of the fragments by Emanuel Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8HēvXIIgr)* (DJD VIII; Oxford: OUP, 1990). The editor may be criticized for reconstructing the text of the scroll under the presupposition that each and every detail was corrected to the MT, but considerations of space often clearly support this procedure.

section, and in the parallel 1 Chr 21:8, where the Greek text obviously follows the Old Greek text of Samuel and thus confirms the reading.⁹

As for the second verb, *μωραίνομαι* for *נִסְכַּל*, it is more difficult to show the logic behind the revision, but *ματαιοῦμαι* is confirmed as the Old Greek by its occurrence in 1 Sam 13:13, 26:21, as well as in the parallel 1 Chr 21:8. In this case the motivation was perhaps negative: differentiation from the equivalent *μάταιος* – *הַבֵּל* / *שָׁוְיָא*.

In the case of *ἀνομία* for *עֲוֹן*, the correction is somewhat more widely represented (occurring also extensively in marginal notes from *α' σ' θ'*). This equivalence is more frequent in the *καίγε* sections, whereas *ἀδικία* occurs in the non-*καίγε* sections.¹⁰ The alternative derived from *νόμος* certainly had theological significance.

In smaller details of the passage at hand, the formulation was corrected to correspond more closely to the Hebrew text: the original verbal form was probably the perfect *ἡμάρτηκα* (*הִמָּאֲרַתִּי* A B 247 64-381 55 318 460 = *καίγε*) and just as in 1 Chr 21 *אֶת-הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה* was probably found in the *Vorlage*, but was left out from the MT and consequently from the *καίγε* recension as well as B-509. Another detail is the particle *נָא* that seems to have been added in the MT: *הִעֲבֹר-נָא* – *παράβιβασσον δὴ*.¹¹ The participle *ποιήσας* is the only item that could have qualified to be Lucianic, but it seems to be Old Greek since it is so widely circulated.¹²

The Latin quotation of Ambrose supports the Lucianic text as the original Old Greek in 2 Sam 24:10.

As we can observe, the lexical variants that aim at a close, literal correspondence with the Hebrew text are a typical feature of the *καίγε* recension, whereas the Hexaplaric recension is known to have been more interested in the quantitative correspondence between the Hebrew and the Greek text. Moreover, the same kind of lexical variants can be found in the B-text in the non-*καίγε* sections. For instance, *παράκαλέομαι* ('to be comforted', 'to be appeased') for *נִחַם* *nif.* with God as the subject, replacing *μεταμέλομαι*

9. See James Donald Shenkel, "Comparative Study of the Synoptic Parallels in 1 Paraleipomena" *HTR* 62 (1969) 63–85.

10. *ἀδικία* in the non-*καίγε* sections: 1 Sam 3:13,14; 20:8; 25:24; 28:10; 2 Sam 3:8; and in the *καίγε* section 2 Sam 14:32. The correction to *ἀνομία* is found in 2 Sam 14:9 and 19:20 (in both cases *L* *ἀδικία*).

11. *δὴ* was added in B 64-381 55 318 460, and also in V, although it retains the OG in the verb. 509 adds *vuv* instead.

12. The only exceptions are: *ο ἐποίησα* B-509; *οτι ἐποίησα* A; *ου ενεκεν ἐποίησα* 247.

(‘to regret’), is found in our text in 2 Sam 24:16 as well as in 1 Sam 15:11.¹³ This equivalence is confirmed as a feature of the *καίγε* tradition through its occurrence in Naḥal Hever (Jonah 3:9,10) and in numerous marginal notes under *α’* or *θ’*. Obviously, there is a theological motivation behind this change: God is not supposed to change his mind or regret.¹⁴

All in all, there are features of the *καίγε* recension that occur only sporadically, once or a few times, and there are features that occur frequently, characterizing the revision in the Minor Prophets of Naḥal Hever as well as in the other books and showing the connection between the recensional activity revealed by the different books. Of those more frequent features, listed by Barthélemy,¹⁵ we can observe in 2 Sam 24 the amazing *ἐγὼ εἶμι* for *אֲנִי* in v. 12, witnessed to by a small group of manuscripts (A B-509 247 55 460), and twice in v. 17, witnessed by an essentially larger group (1st om V L⁻⁹³ 122*; 2nd om A L⁻⁹³ 247 44-610 56-246).

Reconstructing Hebrew Textual History

It is not only the Greek text that has been changed over the centuries. The changes to the Greek text were partly caused by changes in the Hebrew text. Of these we have until now seen just small examples: *אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה* and *אֲנִי* in v. 10.

Such differences have been observed before between the MT and the LXX, partly supported by Chronicles. For instance, in our text the detail that David is to choose between the different punishments occurs three times in the LXX but is twice missing from the MT. The first occurrence of this narrative feature is part of the instructions given to the prophet Gad by the Lord, and is present in all witnesses:

2 Sam 24:12

MT

שְׁלַשׁ אֲנָכִי נוֹטֵל עָלַיָּהּ בְּחֶרֶץ־לֵךְ אֶחָת־מֵהֶם וְאֶעֱשֶׂה־לָּהּ

13. In 2 Sam 24:16 the OG *μετεμεληθη* is found in *L*. In 1 Sam 15:11 the correction to *παράκεκλημαι* is found in A B 247 93^{ms}-108^{ms} 121*^{vid}, with a variant form *παράκεκλημαι με* in 376. In 1 Sam 15:29 *μετανοέω*, 15:35 *μεταμέλομαι* remain unchanged.

14. See my “A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek – Deconstructing the *Textus Receptus*” (forthcoming 2007).

15. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d’Aquila*, 48–80.

חַטִּים. In v. 15 there is one more difference that is unanimously represented by the LXX manuscripts against the MT: καὶ ἤρξατο ἡ θορᾶς ἐν τῷ λαῷ “and the plague began among the people” (וַתִּהְיֶה הַמִּגָּפָה בָּעָם). These additional words of the LXX were most probably present in the Hebrew *Vorlage* used by the translator, but whether all of them are to be considered original in the Hebrew text is another question.¹⁷ I tend to think that they are. Unfortunately, we do not have these passages in 4QSam^a. But there are some passages where we can observe differences in the Hebrew text and have the opportunity to consult the Qumran manuscript.

Contribution of 4QSam^a to Reconstruction of the Textual History

In 2 Sam 24:16 the plague angel is approaching Jerusalem, 70,000 having already been slain, as the Lord changes his mind and tells the angel to stop at once. The next statement is as follows:

2 Sam 24:16

MT

וּמַלְאָךְ יְהוָה הִיָּח עִם־גֶּרֶן הָאֲרֻנָּה הַיְבֹסִי

And the angel of the LORD was by the threshing floor of Araunah the Jebusite.

Rahlfs: καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἦν παρὰ τῷ ἄλφ Ὀρνὰ τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου

Lucianic Text: καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ θεοῦ ἦν ἐστηκώς παρὰ τὴν ἄλφ Ὀρνὰ τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου
(ἐστηκώς Aeth Sa] om A B-509 247 55; ἐστώς 64-381 44 = ^{Chr})

This is exactly the point where 4QSam^a comes into the picture. The first clearly-visible word on the fragment is the participle עֹמֵד corresponding in 2 Sam to the Greek participle ἐστηκώς (or ἐστώς) as well as the Hebrew text of 1 Chr 21:15.

What has happened here? Cross is no doubt right regarding עֹמֵד (in the notes to his edition of 4QSam^a) as original and explaining its disappearance as a homoiarchon error (the following word being עִם). But Cross is definitely not right when he maintains that the reading of *L* ἦν ἐστηκώς is con-

17. Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871) 220, was for the originality. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel* (OBO 57; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 61–65, considers the LXX to be a combination of different textual traditions.

flate.¹⁸ It is not clear to me which one of these words he regards as secondary in *L*. If he thought that the Old Greek should be seen in the shorter text, then the participle would have been added later—in a proto-Lucianic recension perhaps? But this cannot be the case. The participle is omitted only in a small minority of the witnesses, exactly those manuscripts that represent the *καίγε* readings. Or did Cross mean that *ἐσθηκώς* was Old Greek and that *ἦν* was added from the other tradition? Neither is this conclusion compelling. It is nothing exceptional in the Septuagint to add the verb “to be” in a nominal clause, especially in the context of a participle. The verb *ἦν* is lacking in only one manuscript (246) and certainly through an error. The reading of *L*, which is the majority reading, is definitely the Old Greek—and presupposes *עומד* in the original Hebrew.

But looking more closely at the fragment of 4QSam^a, one might get a further idea, as Andrew Fincke did.¹⁹ It is not clear whether the letters before the participle are part of the Tetragram or rather the verbal form *היה*. In his reconstruction of the fragment at hand, Andrew Fincke restored the reading as *ומלאך יהוה היה עומד*, and I tend to agree with him in this as well as a few other details of the reconstruction. The presence of the perfect form of *היה* is in fact very plausible: it contains a temporal aspect and emphasizes that “the angel had come to a stand” at the threshing floor, had advanced that far but was stopped there. It is not necessarily the original thought at all that the angel stayed standing at or above the threshing floor all the time, although Chronicles obviously understood it this way. Chronicles also leave out *היה*—or it may have been dropped out through homoioteleuton—as the later users of Hebrew did not appreciate such fine nuances as the difference between *עומד* and *היה עומד*.²⁰ I shall come back to the angel standing at the threshing floor later.

Another detail in which it is obvious that the Septuagint agrees with 4QSam^a against the MT and represents the original Hebrew is in v. 17 in the second penitential prayer of David:

18. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4: XII 1–2 Samuel*, 193: “The reading of *L* is conflate.” See also Steven L. McKenzie, *The Chronicler’s Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1985) 55.

19. Andrew Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam^a Restored and Compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam^c* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 43; Leiden: Brill, 2001). His reconstruction of the fragment 164 is found on p. 324.

20. Which one of the alternatives is represented by the Peshitta is difficult to say. In any case, it presupposes the presence of *עומד* in its *Vorlage*, but the verb “to be” may depend on Syriac translation technique rather than being “conflate” (cf. note 18 above).

2 Sam 24:17

הִנֵּה אֲנִי חָטְאָתִי אֲנִי הָעֹשֶׂתִי וְאֵלֹהֵי הַצֹּאֵן מָה עָשׂוּ

Behold, it is I who has sinned, and it is I who has done wrong; but these sheep, what have they done?

Rahlfs: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡδίκησα καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκακοποίησα καὶ οὗτοι τὰ πρόβατα τί ἐποίησαν; (καὶ 1° – ἐκακοποίησα > B^{txt} 55)

Lucianic Text: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἡμαρτον καὶ ἐγὼ ὁ ποιμὴν ἐκακοποίησα καὶ οὗτοι τὸ ποιμνιον τί ἐποίησαν;
(ἡδίκησα A B 64-381 55 = καίγε recension; ὁ ἀδικησας 247 (adjustment to ἐγὼ εἰμι); ἡμαρτον L (recensional); ἡμαρτηκα rel = Old Greek)

Ambr Ep 51,9 *Ego peccavi et ego pastor malignum feci, et hic grex quid fecit?*

In this passage, we can observe the typical καίγε reading ἐγὼ εἰμι twice, as already mentioned. There are two cases of lexical variation: in the first one the Old Greek needs to be reconstructed as ἡμάρτηκα, different from both the καίγε recension and the Lucianic recension: the latter has a stylistic change from the original perfect ἡμάρτηκα to the aorist ἡμαρτον, whereas Rahlfs has the verb ἀδικέω. However, there is a problem, since there is a minus in B^{txt} 55. If it is a homoteleuton error, it is most probable that the verb ἀδικέω was used in the καίγε recension for the second verb, which is in the MT עוֹהֵ hif., and this would also mean that B would have lacked the word “shepherd,”²¹ obviously as a correction according to the MT, which does not have anything corresponding to the Greek ὁ ποιμὴν, the designation David uses of himself. Furthermore, A 64-381 seem to depend on the defective text of B.²²

This part of the text is, however, visible on 4QSam^a; the reading is הִרְעָה הִרְעֵתִי, exactly corresponding to the LXX. This time Chronicles is going its own way with הִרְעָה הִרְעֵתִי – *figura etymologica* from the verb רָעַע hif.; it seems, however, obvious that this reading is a misunderstanding based on the

21. See Eugene Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press 1978) 92; still more clearly in “The Old Latin Translation of the LXX and the Hebrew Scrolls from Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999) 256–7 (B “suffered post-G^R haplography . . . thus suggesting that it did not have ποιμην”).

22. The καίγε reading could be reconstructed: ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡμαρτον καὶ ἐγὼ εἰμι ἡδίκησα)

reading represented by 4QSam^a and the LXX, rather than on the MT. The MT reveals a change that is at least partially conscious: the verb עוה hif. belongs to *dtr* terminology, used in similar contexts (2 Sam 7:14; 19:20; 24:17; 1 Kgs 8:47; Ps 106:6). The LXX κακοποιέω speaks for the verb רעע hif., the reading found in 4QSam^a as well as represented by Chronicles. The LXX and 4QSam^a certainly represent the original Hebrew text here. The originality of “the shepherd” is secured by the word-play (רעה – רעה) and the presence of ποιμνιον ‘the flock’, the original rendering of דצאן in Samuel, changed by the καίγε recension to πρόβατα.²³ In this case, too, the Latin quotation of Ambrose supports the Old Greek.

This is one of those many cases that drew the attention of scholars when 4QSam^a had first been found. If the LXX and 4QSam^a agree against the MT, it is practically certain that the *Vorlage* of the LXX was identical with 4QSam^a or very close to it, and the probability is very high that they together in this detail represent the original Hebrew text. The MT time and again reveals changes that are not just accidental but clearly intentional, often showing theological tendency, and approximations to these secondary readings of the MT can be found in readings of the καίγε recension. This is a pattern that becomes very clear when one goes through the fragments of 4QSam^a.

Reconstructing Unique Readings of 4QSam^a

But how should we evaluate those cases in which 4QSam^a agrees with neither the LXX nor the MT? There has been a strong tendency to regard 4QSam^a more original even in such cases. At least this is the impression when one studies the edition of this manuscript by Cross. In his dissertation on the text of Samuel, Ulrich even considered whether one should reconstruct the original Old Greek on the basis of such passages in 4QSam^a, on the supposition that they have been removed from the Greek manuscript tradition through early approximation to the Hebrew.²⁴

Concerning the text at hand this question becomes acute, since there are two rather long plusses in 4QSam^a. The problem is of course that the fragment shows only part of the lines and the rest has to be reconstructed. This leaves much room for the imagination of the editor of the fragments. The first

23. Josephus (*Ant.* VII 328) also has the word “shepherd,” either from the LXX or from his Hebrew text.

24. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 157, 159.

one of these plusses comes between vv. 16 and 17 and the second occurs in v. 20. The visible parts of these passages show affinity with the passage in Chronicles and this has led scholars to think that 4QSam^a would represent the Samuel text in the form in which the Chronicler used it.²⁵

As for one of the details in these plusses, “and Orna was threshing wheat” (v. 20) found also in 1 Chr 21:20, already Wellhausen was of the opinion that this sentence must have belonged to the original text.²⁶ With regard to this one detail that corresponds to the earlier remark (v. 15 “it was time of the wheat harvest” LXX), both of them explaining why Orna was at his threshing floor, I find it easy to agree, but I cannot extend this judgment to the rest of the plusses, and this makes it difficult to accept even that part which would be necessary for the storyline.

I have studied the various reconstructions of the 4QSam^a fragment²⁷ very carefully and tried out different reconstructions of my own, and the result is that the simplest solution is to fill out the gaps with the text as it is in Chronicles. The only special feature of 4QSam^a is that it repeats three times the expression “covered with sackcloth” (מתכסים בשקים vv. 16, and 20 twice), not found in other witnesses of 2 Sam 24 at all, and only once in 1 Chr 21:16 in a slightly different formulation (מְכַסִּים בַּשָּׂקִים).

In order to find a reliable solution to these cases, one has to consider the flow of the story in each version. The MT clearly shows some unevenness, and this is probably due to different dtr hands having worked on the passage. Timo Veijola attributed the prelude with the prophet Gad (until v. 14 + מוֹעֵד עַתָּה מוֹעֵד) as well as David’s second penitential prayer v. 17 to the DtrP.²⁸ Without adopting any position in the discussion of how this passage came about in the first place, I find it obvious that the story in 2 Sam 24 is a combination of different motives and older traditions about the threshing

25. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, 156–8; Cross, *Qumran Cave 4: XII 1–2 Samuel*, 193–4.

26. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 221.

27. Cross, *Qumran Cave 4: XII 1–2 Samuel*, 192 (the only reconstruction including Frag. 165); Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran*, 324; Edward D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam^a* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 194–6; Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel, A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984) 506–7.

28. Timo Veijola, *Die ewige Dynastie* (AASF B 193; Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedekatemia, 1975) 108–117.

floor of Orna and finding the place for the temple, and for this reason the flow of the story is not smooth.²⁹

The Chronicler, however, has smoothed out a few corners of the story. In 2 Sam 24:16–17 there is a divergence, in that the Lord stops the plague angel at the threshing floor, but David's prayer is motivated by the sight of the angel still slaying the people. The latter could of course be understood as a flashback, but the Chronicler smoothed this out by saying instead in 1 Chr 21:16 that David "lifted up his eyes and saw the angel standing between the earth and the heaven with his drawn sword in his hand stretched out over Jerusalem." At this sight—according to the Chronicler—both David and the elders—wherever these come from!—"fall on their faces covered with sackcloth." The addition of these details by the Chronicler has no basis in the Samuel text other than the detail that the angel was standing still or being stopped at the threshing floor. This detail is simply dramatized and presented as the sight that led David to confess his sin again.³⁰ And the appropriate reaction is of course to fall on one's face and take on sackcloth. Only this happens amazingly quickly, and the assembly with the elders, who otherwise do not surround the king, was summoned at wind-speed.

There has been a discussion around this passage in Chronicles, as to whether or not this angelology can be attributed to the Chronicler. For instance, Rofé has argued that the Chronicler had a rather negative attitude to the belief in angels.³¹ He concludes that the scene with the plague angel hovering over Jerusalem must come from someone else, according to his opinion from a secondary layer in 2 Sam 24, as witnessed by 4QSam^a. I find this solution too complicated, and the statements about the Chronicler's attitudes are circular. One must realize that when making a decision about the origin of such details in 1 Chr 21, one decides at the same time about the Chronicler's attitudes and interests.³²

29. For a discussion, see Walter Dietrich and Thomas Naumann, *Die Samuelbücher* (Erträge der Forschung 287; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995) 158–9, 164–8.

30. Josephus, *Ant.* VII 327, may have taken this detail from Chronicles.

31. Alexander Rofé, "4QSam^a in the Light of Historico-Literary Criticism: The Case of 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21," (Biblische und Judaistische Studien, Judentum und Umwelt 29; Peter Lang: Frankfurt am Main, 1990) 109–119, esp. 117.

32. According to Paul E. Dion, "The Angel with the Drawn Sword (II Chr 21,16): An Exercise in Restoring the Balance of Text Criticism *and* Attention to the Context" (ZAW 97, 1985) 114–7, it was more important to the Chronicler to be able to explain why David was offering somewhere else than in Gibeon (cf. 1 Chr 21:28–30).

The easiest explanation to the plus in v. 16 of 4QSam^a is that this detail has been taken up from Chronicles and is to be attributed to the scribe of 4QSam^a or of its *Vorlage*.³³ In his recent presentation on “The Textual Profile of 4QSam^a,”³⁴ Gene Ulrich also referred to this case as a secondary addition in 4QSam^a. It is easiest to reconstruct the lines in 4QSam^a with the text of 1 Chr 21:16. One should note that this Qumran manuscript also contains v. 17 in which, according to the Samuel text, David saw the angel *still* slaying the people. After the addition of the material from Chronicles, it hardly functions as a flashback any more, but is a clear contradiction. This is understandable as a result of a mechanical addition from another text, with little consideration for the flow of the story. The scribe who accomplished this must have been enthusiastic about the details of the vision of the angel and the pious reaction of David and the elders, but he certainly did not understand—or did not care—that he was in fact complementing his text with details from another composition.

Another similar case occurs in v. 20 where the reconstruction is, however, much more difficult than in the previous case, leaving room for speculations. The only thing that is clear is that there is almost a whole line as a plus between the verb *וַיִּשְׁקֹף* that has Orna as its subject (“and Orna looked out”; line 6) and the remark about “Orna threshing wheat” (line 7). And the following line seems to refer to someone “covered with sackcloth coming.” The reconstructions offered by Cross and Herbert are on the whole very repetitious (Orna actually observes David coming twice), and this is naturally one possibility: the longer text could have resulted from a kind of dittography. To fill out the space, Cross even brings the four sons of David on the stage, seeing here an ancient variant to the phrase mentioning the servants accompanying David. Cross obviously thinks that the detail about the sons of Orna in Chronicles derived from the variant mentioning David’s sons, but we must realize that this is all imagination. We do not see any trace of the sons of

33. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus*, represented the view that the plus had been removed from the LXX. McKenzie, *The Chronicler’s Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, 56, follows Ulrich in maintaining that 4QSam^a was independent from Chronicles. Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 114, regards the passage as a later addition in 4Q. Dion, “The Angel with the Drawn Sword,” 116–7, considers it a reasonable solution to view 1 Chr 21:16 as the Chronicler’s creation and consequently contamination from Chr in 4QSam^a, but does not deny that the other solution remains possible, above all as he seems to have been convinced by Ulrich’s arguments.

34. Annual Meeting of the SBL, Washington, Nov. 2006.

David on the fragment. And it certainly is not helpful to add to the number of actors in this scene.

The simplest solution here, as in the previous case, is to reconstruct according to Chronicles.³⁵ This has been done by Andrew Fincke and I think he is in principle right here, although it is difficult to determine the exact wording of 4QSam^a, since the scribe seems to have produced a combination of the details in Samuel and in Chronicles. It might be that the sentence “and Orna was threshing wheat” was original in the Samuel text³⁶ and perhaps also “covered with sackcloth” describing David and his servants as they come to Orna. This would explain where Chronicles got this phrase from for his dramatization of v. 16. And if מתכסים בשקים וארנא דש חטים was even present in the *Vorlage* of 4QSam^a, this would make it easier to understand why this phrase occurs so frequently in this fragment. It could function as a kind of *Wiederaufnahme* around the added part. If the reconstruction of the fragment is done as a combination of details from Samuel and Chronicles, then the tiny little piece, fragment 165, also finds its place more easily on the left side of the main piece of the fragment and not to the right, as reconstructed by Cross.

My reconstruction of 4QSam^a, Fragments 164–165:

בעם רב עתה הרף ירך ומלאך יהוה היה עומד עם גרן ארנא היבסי
וישא דויד את
 עיניו וירא את מלאך יהוה עומד בין הארץ ובין השמים וחרבו שלופה
 בידו וידו נשואה
 על ירושלים ויפל דויד וחזקנים על פניהם מתכסים בשקים ויאמר דויד
אל יהוה בראתו
 את המלאך המכה בעם ויאמר הנה אנכי חטאתי ואנכי הרעה הרעתי ואלה
 הצאן מה
 עשו תהי ירך בי ובבית אבי ויבוא גר אל דויד ביום ההוא ויאמר עלה
 הקם מזבח
 ליהוה בגרן ארנא היבסי ויעל דויד כדבר גר הנביא אשר צוה יהוה
וישקף ארנא וירא
 את המלאך וארבעה בניו עמו מתחבאים מתכסים בשקים וארנא דש חטים
 ויבוא דויד

35. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls*, 196, regards this as possible. Against McKenzie, *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History*, 57, who remarks: “Since 4QSam^a and Josephus do not contain this corruption [המלאך pro המלך etc. - e silentio!], it is evident that they do not depend on C for their reading here”!

36. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 221: “auf keinen Fall von dem Chronisten ersonnen.”

עד ארנא ויבט ארנא וידא את המלך ואת עבדיו מתכסים בשקים באים
 עליו ויצא ארנא
 וישתחו למלך אפיו ארצה ויאמר ארנא אל המלך מדוע בא אדני המלך
 אל עבדו ויאמר
 דויד לקנות מעמך את הגרן לבנות מזבח ליהוה ותעצר המגפה מעל העם
 ויאמר ארנא

Underlining shows the text extant on the fragment; italics, agreement with Chronicles.

4QSam^a as a Witness of the Samuel text

The main interest for me here is that this passage gives us important material for the characterization of 4QSam^a as a witness to the Samuel text. No doubt this manuscript has many details that were dropped out or even erased on purpose in the MT. These details are often shared by the LXX. On the other hand, this Qumran manuscript also reveals details that speak of scribal or even editorial activity, based on comparison of different manuscripts of Samuel, but also those of Chronicles, complementing the text with details that were not originally part of it, or conflating it by combining different variants of the text. I would like to refer to another example, namely the Song of Hannah in 1 Sam 2, in which the MT and the LXX both have details lacking in the other, whereas 4QSam^a seems to have a combination of all of these details. This longer text, however, cannot be the original from which the two other witnesses derived.³⁷

My conclusion is that 4QSam^a is characterized by conflation. And this also means that there is no need to reconstruct the Old Greek to correspond to the plusses of 4QSam^a mentioned above. As I showed earlier in my paper, the καίγε recension was not adopted with such intensity that all plusses over the MT would have been erased.

A Few Remarks on Methodology

I conclude with a few remarks on the methodology of textual criticism in the Books of Samuel in particular, but much of this will also apply to other books.

³⁷ I have tried to show this in my article "Hannah's Psalm: Text, Composition, and Redaction" that is soon coming out in the Veijola Memorial Volume.

(1) It is important that we know our sources, the different witnesses, as well as possible. In practise, we often only learn to know them while making text-critical decisions. We have to be aware of this complication of the procedure. We are working on several levels at the same time and cannot avoid it. A textual critic is often like a mathematician solving problems with several variables. We must try to find out as much as possible: about the *καίγε* recension, its principles and the typical translation equivalents used in it: the Lucianic text and its recensional principles, as well as the translation technique of the Septuagint translator in the book at hand; about the MT and its particular features in the book we are working on; about 4QSam^a and any other applicable ancient manuscript or source.

(2) However, when it comes to making text-critical decisions about the original Hebrew text or the original Greek text, we cannot rely on the general characteristics of the witnesses, but we have to take one item of the text at a time and look at all the information we have in all the extant sources. Attention must be paid not only to the various readings available, but to the context of the readings in the different sources, to the context in different languages, and the grammaticality and smoothness of the language; attention must be paid to the context concerning religious, and geographical, and agricultural, and all kinds of surroundings.

The most important thing is to ask *what happened to the text?*—to reconstruct step by step what happened during the transmission of the text and in the textual history. All the information about the characteristics of the witnesses will be useful for the reconstruction of what happened, and what changes could have taken place in each of the witnesses. If we know our witnesses, we know their motives for changing certain details of the text or the plausibility of errors by them. And this gives our decisions a certain consistency and a logic. But the actual text-critical work must be done in individual cases by comparison of the readings, weighing them against each other, and determining mutual dependences, as well as trying them out in the closer and wider contexts. If we imagine having the text written in columns, all the witnesses side by side, there are two dimensions: the vertical dimension and the horizontal dimension. When we learn to know our witnesses, we work in the vertical direction up and down each column. But when we do the text-critical work we work in the horizontal direction comparing the text of the columns with each other. Both dimensions of the text-critical work are absolutely indispensable, and a textual critic needs to move fluently from one dimension to the other as the work proceeds.

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

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The Song of the Sea, Exodus 15:1–18, is a quintessential example of a biblical poem. We are told at the very opening of the passage that it is a song sung by Moses אֶזְרָא יִשְׁרָאֵל־מֹשֶׁה . . . אֶת־הַשִּׁירָה הַזֹּאת. This explicit label, the use of the word שִׁירָה “song” to characterize the passage and mark its genre, suffices to explain why the Song of the Sea is consistently identified as a poem, and is almost invariably included in a series of ancient—and modern—lists of biblical poems.¹ The Song of the Sea features both in Origen's inventory of the songs of the Bible, and in catalogues of biblical poetry found in rabbinic literature.² In Greek form, Exod 15:1–18 is also the first of the Odes appended to the Septuagint Psalms. The Rabbis specify that our song be written in a special typographical layout, copied stichographically, “small brick over large brick, large over small” and this pattern of blocks of writing

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1. Note also Exod 15:21 . . . וַתֵּעַן לַיהוָה מִרְיָם שִׁירָהּ; and see, for example, James W. Watts, “‘This Song’: Conspicuous Poetry in Hebrew Prose,” in *Verses in Ancient Near Eastern Prose* (ed. J. C. de Moor and W. G. E. Watson; Kevelaer: Neukirchener, 1993) 345–58 at 345 with n. 1 on such explicit generic markers of poems in the Hebrew Bible.

2. See Origen, Prologue to *Comm. Cant.* (GCS 33:80–83); *Mek. Shirah* 1 (on Exod 15:1); and the further references cited by James L. Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and its History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981) 133–4, n. 91. Wilfred G. E. Watson (*Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques* [Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983] 1) notes that Exodus 15 is chosen time and again by modern scholars as an instance of a poetic biblical text.

alternating with blank spaces is used, presumably, in order to underline the poetic features of the text. The Song is found in this special format in many modern editions of the Hebrew Bible, as well as in older manuscripts.³ Interestingly, there is evidence for a special stichographic layout in the ancient manuscripts of the Greek translation of the poem as well.⁴

There are of course, other, more internal indications of the poetic qualities of Exodus 15. A modern reader would first notice the parallelism of the song's verses.⁵ We can look at v. 2 for instance⁶:

זֶה אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה וְאֶנְשֵׁהוּ אֱלֹהֵי אָבִי וְאֶרְמְנֶהוּ

This is my God and I will enshrine him, The God of my father and I will exalt him.

Verses 14–15 are an excellent example of chiasmic parallelism:

שָׁמְעוּ עַמִּים יִרְגְּזוּן חֵיל אֶחָז יִשְׁבִּי פֶלֶשֶׁת

אִז נִבְהָלוּ אֱלֹפֵי אֲדוֹם אֵילֵי מוֹאָב יֶאֱחָזְמוּ רָעַר נִמְנוּ פֶלֶא יִשְׁבִּי כְנָעַן

The people they hear, they tremble; Agony grips the dwellers in Philistia.
Now are the clans of Edom dismayed; The tribes of Moab—trembling grips them; Aghast are all the dwellers in Canaan.

The Song of the Sea also has phrases which are repeated and then expanded in what is known as staircase parallelism, as in v. 6.⁷

3. *bMeg.16b*; *Sop. 12:8–12*. See Kugel, *Biblical Poetry*, 119–123; and Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2nd. ed.; Minnesota: Fortress Press, 2001) 212 and pl. 12 on these “bricks” of poetry.

4. In the Greek version of Exod 15:1–18 of Codex Alexandrinus (fifth century C.E.), there is a different sort of colometry of the poem, using half-verses; this is true of *Odes 1* as well. I thank James Miller for pointing this out to me.

5. B. Hrushovski (“Prosody, Hebrew,” *EncJud* 13 [1971], 1195–1203 at 1200) notes that parallelism is the “foremost principle dominating biblical poetry.”

6. English translations of the MT are taken, with slight modification, from the NJPS; those of the LXX are from the online *NETS* version by Larry Perkins.

7. For a discussion of staircase parallelism see Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 150–56. He suggests that the several instances of staircase parallelism in our poem in verses 6–7a, 11, and 16, function as a refrain of sorts (296).

יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה נֶאֱדָרִי בִכְחַ יְמִינְךָ יְהוָה תִּרְעֵץ אוֹיֵב

Your right hand, O Lord, glorious in power, Your right hand, O Lord, shatters the foe!

Two other instances of such staircase sentences are v. 11 מִי־כִמְכָּה בְּאַלֶּם and the second half of v. 16 עַד־יַעֲבֹר עִמָּךְ יְהוָה עַד־יַעֲבֹר עִם־זֵו קָנִיתָ. The opening phrases of these lines are interrupted by a vocative or epithet; these phrases are then resumed from the beginning and completed.

Alliteration and assonance are another poetic effect found in our Song and we can see this for instance in v. 8 with its repeated *nun* or *n*-sound: נֶעְרָמוּ נָצְבוּ כְּמו־יֵד נְזִלִים. As is to be expected, this series of repeated sounds is not easily reproduced in an English—or for that matter, Greek—version and the NJPS translation reads “The waters piled up, the floods stood straight like a wall.”⁸

Verse 8 also contains a simile: נָצְבוּ כְּמו־יֵד נְזִלִים “The floods stood straight like a wall”; and there are, in fact, a series of similes in our Song, and these, too, add to the poetic effect. There is a simile at v. 5: יָרְדוּ בְּמַצּוֹלֹת “They went down into the depths like a stone” and one at v. 7: כְּמו־אֶבֶן “They consumed them like straw.” We find further similes at v. 10: צָלְלוּ כַּעֲפֹרֶת בְּמַיִם אֲדִירִים “They sank like lead in majestic waters”; and finally, in v. 16: יְדָמוּ כְּאֶבֶן “They are as still as stone.”⁹

Ancient readers of the Song of the Sea may well have been unaware of some of these poetical features. There is next to no evidence, for instance, that the ancients paid conscious attention to the parallelism of biblical verse, a subject on which modern scholars of biblical poetry expend so much energy.¹⁰ Nonetheless, it seems safe to say that ancient Hebrew readers and listeners would have been struck by the archaic language and spare syntax of

8. See also vs. 2b and 16b for alliteration, the repetition of *alef* and *ayin* sounds respectively.

9. Adele Berlin (“Introduction to Hebrew Poetry” *NIB*, vol. 4 [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1996] 301–15, at 311–313) offers a brief, but useful discussion of metaphor and simile in biblical poetry; see too Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry*, 254–62; Luis Alonso Schökel, *A Manual of Hebrew Poetics* (Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1988) 95–99, 115–8.

10. See Kugel, *Biblical Poetry*, 96–103 on the absence of ancient discussion of parallelism. Berlin, “Introduction,” 303–8 is a convenient survey of modern approaches to biblical parallelism.

the Song of the Sea. The poem contains a series of old-fashioned poetic forms. One is the third person pronominal suffix **מוֹ** which is used several times as in **יֹאכֵלֵמוֹ** (v. 7) “it consumes them”, and **הִמְלֵאמוֹ** (v. 9) “have its fill of them” etc. We also find **אִימָתָהּ** “terror” (v. 16) with its possible trace of an old accusative case, as well as the old infinitive form **נִאֲדָרִי** “(to be) glorious” in v. 6. In addition, **וְ** is used as a relative particle (v. 16). There are no instances of the definite article **הַ** in our poem,¹¹ and no use of the direct object accusative marker **אֶת** or the relative pronoun **אֲשֶׁר**.¹² In general, the syntax of the poem is noticeably terse and elliptic, and the verses need to be unpacked, as it were, with the reader filling in missing subjects, verbs, and connectives.¹³

In sum, a wide range of features point to the poetic nature of the Song of the Sea. These include the generic marker **שִׁירָה**, the parallelism of the verses, the archaic linguistic forms, spare syntax, and the use of sound and similes.

Now let us stop for a moment and put ourselves in the shoes of the Septuagint translator who needs to render this highly charged, very poetic passage into Greek. How could—and should—the Greek version of our song reflect the peculiar poetic properties of the Hebrew? If we had to translate the Song of the Sea into poetic Greek, we would, in all likelihood, begin by using meter. The most prominent characteristic of Greek poetry, the one feature which instantly marks a passage of ancient Greek writing as poetry, rather than prose, is, of course, meter. Having decided to use verse in our Greek rendition, it would make sense to choose hexameter as the most suitable of the meters of Greek poetry, because of the content and context of the Hebrew passage. The Song of the Sea is partly a victory song, partly a hymn of gratitude and partly an epic narrative of a great deed. In Greek poetry, hexameter verse was used both to narrate momentuous events and to celebrate deities in hymns. The outstanding composer of hexameter verse was, of course, Homer, and Homer could well serve as our model for a Greek version of the Song of

11. Note however **בָּיָם** in v. 1; **בִּכְחַ** in v. 6; **בְּקֶשׁ** in v. 7; and **כְּעוֹפָרֶת** in v. 10.

12. Eduard Y. Kutscher, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982) 37–39, 79–80; and Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language* (trans. J. Elwolde; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 56–62 are useful surveys of the special linguistic features of biblical poetry.

13. Thus, for example, in v. 8 we should understand the phrase “At the blast of your nostrils” to apply to all three sections of the verse, and a full, prosaic rendition of verse 13 would be: “In your love you lead the people you redeemed [to your holy abode]; In your strength you guide them [the people you redeemed] to your holy abode.”

the Sea for several reasons. First of all, Homer too writes of great battles, victories, gods and prayers. Homeric diction with its archaic linguistic and dialectical forms would be well suited to represent and convey the archaic feel of the Hebrew original. Our poem, as we have seen, has a series of similes, and the pages of Homer are filled with similes, although they are often considerably longer than the brief comparisons of Exodus 15.¹⁴ Homer, too, does not use a definite article as such, and this would be one more point of congruence between the Hebrew original and our hypothetical Greek version.

It should be noted that the idea of translating biblical poetry into Greek verse is not altogether strange or unprecedented. Nearly a century ago, Thackeray argued for traces of Greek metrical translation in Greek Proverbs, with the translator using the most common forms of Greek verse, that is hexameter and iambic meters, at the beginning, middle or end of verses.¹⁵ Nor is it altogether incredible that Homer would be a source of inspiration for a translator into Greek, for it seems a safe assumption that anyone who received even a smattering of Greek education was acquainted with the hexameters of Homer.¹⁶

Josephus apparently shares this approach to Exodus 15, for he states that the original Hebrew of the Song of Sea was, in fact, written in hexameter. In Book 2 of the *Antiquities*, Josephus writes of the Parting of the Red Sea, and he mentions the Song of the Sea. Moses, he tells us, composed a song to God, containing his praises, and a thanksgiving for his kindness, and this song was in hexameter verse. (Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν περιέχουσάν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν. *Ant.* 2.346). Josephus attributes more hexameters to Moses elsewhere in the *Antiquities* (4.303) and he also tells us that David composed songs and hymns to God in trimeters and pentameters (τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τριμέτρους,

14. See, for example, Mark W. Edwards, *Homer, Poet of the Iliad* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1987), 102–10 on Homeric similes, short and long.

15. Henry St. J. Thackeray, “The Poetry of the Greek Book of Proverbs,” *JTS* 13 (1911) 46–66. See, however, Stanislav Segert, “Hebrew Poetic Parallelism as Reflected in the Septuagint,” *La Septuaginta en la Investigacion Contemporanea* (V Congreso de la IOSCS; ed. Natalio Fernández Marcos; Madrid: Instituto “Arias Montano,” 1985) 133–48 at 133, n.1 for reservations about Thackeray’s conclusions.

16. See Raffaella Cribiore, *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001) 140–2, 194–7 on the fundamental importance of Homer at every level of Greek education. For Jewish familiarity with Homer (and classical Greek literature) in the Hellenistic period, see Howard Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983) 26, with notes on 186.

τοὺς δὲ πενταμέτρους ἐποίησεν *Ant.* 7.305). Philo, too, assigns Greek meters—hexameters, trimeters, etc.—to Hebrew poetry, and later ancient commentators such as Jerome also claim to find various kinds of meters in Hebrew biblical poetry, but these claims simply are not true.¹⁷ A brief inspection of the Hebrew of the Song of the Sea immediately reveals that there are no hexameters to be found. It seems, as James Kugel suggests, that these Jewish writers are simply superimposing Greek concepts and terminology on Hebrew poetic texts.¹⁸

Philo, incidentally, thinks that choral singing featured in the original Song of the Sea, and he pictures Moses and Miriam leading choirs of men and women respectively (*Mos.* 2.256–7; cf. 1.180, 255).¹⁹ There is a tantalizing possibility that there was once a Greek metrical choral ode based on the Song of the Sea, an ode found in the tragedy *Exagoge* written by the Jewish Hellenistic poet Ezekiel. Ezekiel's Greek tragedy makes use of the Septuagint version of Exodus 1–15 and Howard Jacobson suggests that Ezekiel may have recast Exodus 15 in the form of a choral ode in his play.²⁰ Unfortunately, such a metrical Song of the Sea has not survived among the fragments of Ezekiel.

If we turn to the Septuagint version of Exodus 15, it is immediately apparent that the translator did not, in fact, follow our hypothetical plan and use meter in his Greek version of the Song. Nor is there any particular flavor of Homer in his Greek. There is, in fact, only a single likely instance of Homeric or perhaps Ionic diction in our Greek passage and that is in the form used to translate מִיָּדִי “my sword” in v. 9, where we find τῇ μαχαίρῃ with an *eta* rather than τῇ μαχαίρᾳ with an *alpha*. Thackeray notes that out of 79 instances where the word μάχαιρα is used in the genitive and dative singular in the Septuagint, there are only two cases where the *eta* forms are “universally supported” in the manuscripts and “certainly original,” and both these passages, Exod 15:9 and Gen 27:40 (Isaac's blessing of Esau) are plainly poetical. The form μαχαίρῃ is, it seems, deliberately used here because of

17. See Philo, *Contempl.* 80; *Mos.* 2. 256. For Jerome, see his Preface to *Interp. Chron. Euseb.* (GCS 47:3–4), and his Preface to the Vulgate Job (*Biblia Sacra Vulgata* 1975, 731–2); and the further references and discussion in Kugel, *Biblical Poetry*, 149–56.

18. Kugel, *Biblical Poetry*, 140–2. Cf. Joan E. Taylor, *Jewish Women Philosophers of First-Century Alexandria* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) 322–4 who thinks that Philo's mention of metrical patterns is meant to stress the divine source of the poetry.

19. See further Taylor, *Jewish Women Philosophers*, 322–34.

20. Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 31–2, 139.

its poetical flavor.²¹ In v. 10, the word μόλιβος, the epic form of μόλυβδος ('lead'), may also have a "Homeric ring" to it.²²

Another word in our Septuagint passage is not Homeric, but does have a particularly mythological feel, and that is the word ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν in v. 16, a hapax in the Septuagint. "Let them be petrified, turned into stone," says our Greek translator, immediately reminding us of Niobe or the Gorgon's head. The Hebrew reads יָדָמוּ כְּאֶבֶן "they are still as stone," but the כְּ of the simile is lost in the Greek, even though elsewhere in the poem other such usages of כְּ and דָמוּ are translated by ὥς and ὥσει. The Three, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus, all provide more accurate translations, rendering יָדָמוּ כְּאֶבֶן as σιγήσουσι, σιωπήσονται, or ἀκίνητοι ἔσονται, "they will be silent, immobile."

We have found, then, one or two possible Homeric forms and one word which belongs to the world of Greek mythology, but elsewhere our translator prefers classical or *koine* Greek usage to Homeric diction, even when Homeric phrasing is closer to the Hebrew text. We see this very plainly in v. 6. In the Hebrew we twice find the word יְמִינֶךָ, literally 'your right' in the sense of 'your right hand' (see also v. 12). Homer has a similar idiom, with δεξιά 'right' sufficing to indicate 'right hand',²³ but our translator prefers to follow classical Greek usage and add the word χεῖρ 'hand' to the second half of the verse.

Clearly, then, the translator of Exodus 15 did not adapt the literary strategy we might have chosen, and he did not turn the Song of the Sea into an imitation of Homeric verse. Indeed, some commentators would argue that literary strategy was not the translator's chief concern, and perhaps not his concern at all; his interests were theological.²⁴ This would mean that the Septuagint

21. Henry St. J. Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) 141–2. The form μαχαίρη with an *eta* does become more common in *koine* Greek.

22. See F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn and Company 1905; rpr. Hendrickson, 1995) 48 and 197 for this suggestion, but it is worth noting that μόλιβος appears in Homer only once, but is frequently attested in *koine*, so that this may well be the *koine* form.

23. See Homer, *Il.* 10.542, and compare 1.501; 22.320.

24. Thus Alain le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevor, *La Bible D'Alexandrie. L'Exode* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989) 171–8; and John W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Exodus* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990) 226–35, point to theological concerns, when noting the variations between the Greek and the Hebrew of our Song. See, too, Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2001) 93–9, 114–7; and Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004) 122–8, 131–5 on the

translator was more interested in preserving the sense of the poem rather than the cadence, rhythm and literary effect of the original Hebrew. Many of the deviations from the Hebrew text found in the Greek version of Exodus 15 do seem to stem from religious considerations. Our translator does not like an anthropomorphic God, and this is most apparent in v. 3 where in the Hebrew, God is termed a man of war **אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה**, but in the Greek this becomes *συντριβών πολέμους* “The Lord who shatters wars.”²⁵ Other such anti-anthropomorphic changes are the transformation of “At the blast of Your nostrils” **וּבְרִיחַ אֶפְיֶיךָ** in v. 8 to “And through the breath of your wrath” *καὶ διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ θυμοῦ σου*, where we no longer need worry about a divine nose.²⁶ Similarly, in v. 10 **נָשַׁפְתָּ בְּרִיחְךָ** “You blew with your breath” or “You made your wind blow” is turned into the more innocuous “You sent your breath,” *ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμά σου*. Another change that seems to stem from theological causes is found in v. 5 where in the Septuagint version it is God who covers the Egyptians, using the sea as his tool (*πόντωρ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτούς*), rather than the **תְּהוֹמוֹת** ‘the deeps’ themselves as in the Hebrew.²⁷

Nevertheless, it does not appear that all the differences between the Greek and Hebrew versions of the Song of the Sea are due solely to religious considerations. While our translator is no junior Homer, he did, it seems, make an effort to convey the poetic flavor of the Hebrew text and it is worth

difficulties involved in identifying distinctive theological elements in the divergences between the MT and the LXX.

25. Compare Isa 42:13 where again we find God described as “like a man of war” **כְּאִישׁ מִלְחָמָה** (note the “like,” and compare the Vulgate of Exod 15:3 *dominus quasi vir pugnatus*), and the Greek reads *συντριβει πόλεμον*. For a very full discussion of the unusual translation of Exod 15:3, see Larry Perkins, “The Lord is a Warrior”—“The Lord Who Shatters Wars”: Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7”; 16:2 (pp. 121–138). He also attributes the change in the Greek to a desire to avoid anthropomorphism. The verb *συντριβω* is used again in our song at 15:7 (*συνέτριψας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους*) where it translates **תִּהְרַס** **קִמִּיךָ** “you break, crush your opponents.”

26. Compare Deut. 33:10 where **יְשִׁימוּ קְטוֹרֶה בְּאַפֶּיךָ** (“incense to be savored by God”) becomes in the LXX *ἐπιθήσουσιν θυμίαμα ἐν ὀργῇ σου* (“incense to appease divine anger”). Note, however, the divine “right hand” of vs. 6 and 12 and see above p. 113.

27. This change to *πόντωρ ἐκάλυψεν αὐτούς* serves an artistic purpose as well; it echoes the *κατεπόντισεν* of v. 4 (below, p. 116) and points ahead to the similar phrase *ἐκάλυψεν αὐτούς θάλασσα* of v. 10. Le Boulluec and Sandevor, *L'Exode*, 173, point out that *πόντορ* is a *hapax* in the LXX.

looking more closely at some of the means he used to do so.²⁸ For a start, the translation reproduces in Greek some of the poetic effects that we have already noted in the original Hebrew. Thus we find that the parallelism of the Hebrew verses are generally carefully preserved in the Septuagint, as are the chiasmic structures and instances of staircase parallelism that we have looked at in the Hebrew.²⁹ We can see this for instances in the Greek of vs. 14 and 15 which closely follow the artistic, chiasmic structure of the Hebrew (see above, p. 108).

ἤκουσαν ἔθνη καὶ ὠργίσθησαν
 ὠδίνες ἔλαβον κατοικοῦντας Φυλιστιμ
 τότε ἔσπευσαν ἡγεμόνες Ἐδωμ
 καὶ ἄρχοντες Μωαβιτῶν ἔλαβεν αὐτοὺς τρόμος
 ἐτάκησαν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες Χανααν

While it is difficult to reproduce the alliterations of the original, our translator does play with sound. We find Greek words which seem chosen in order to echo the sound of the Hebrew, words such as ἔθραυσεν in v. 6 for תִּרְעַץ ‘shattered’ (and note the assonance of the Greek phrase ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς³⁰) or even more interestingly ὠργίσθησαν in v. 14 which sounds like the Hebrew יִרְגִּזוּ but in fact means something quite different. In Hebrew the nations “tremble,” while in Greek they “became angry.”³¹ Indeed

28. See Dines, *Septuagint* 54–7, 122, and the further bibliography cited there, for the tendency of LXX translators, at times, to aim at pleasing, elegant language.

29. See Segert, “Hebrew Poetic Parallelism” for a useful, general discussion on the reflection of the parallelism of Hebrew poetry in the Septuagint. It is worth noting that parallel, balanced, symmetrical clauses sometimes arranged chiasmically and with rhyming endings are important elements in artistic Greek *prose*. These rhetorical figures are particularly associated with the fifth century B.C.E. sophist Gorgias, who is said to have borrowed some of these stylistic features from poetry. See Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1404a 20–39; Diod. Sic. 12.53.4; George Kennedy, *The Art of Persuasion in Greece* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963) 64–6.

30. This pleasing combination of sounds in Greek may have led the translator to render אֱוִיב in the plural ἐχθρούς, rather than the singular. See Andrei S. Desnitsky, *Poetry in the Septuagint and Beyond* (unpublished monograph), 39.

31. Wevers, *Greek Text of Exodus*, 232–3 notes the “surprising” translation. While the root רָגַז can also mean ‘to be angry’, that plainly is not its meaning here. Our translator may have been influenced nonetheless by the similarity of sounds; cf. Gen 45:24; Psalms 4:5; 99:1. It is more difficult to find a literary explanation for τότε ἔσπευσαν ἡγεμόνες as a translation of אֲזַיְנוּ בְּהָלָא אֱלֹהֵי אֲרָם. While בְּהָלָא has the meaning ‘to hasten’ in late biblical Hebrew and Aramaic (in addition to ‘be disturbed, terrified’), the leaders of Edom are clearly dismayed, rather than in a hurry.

there is a variant in the manuscripts here with ἐφοβήθησαν ('were afraid') instead of ὠργίσθησαν.³²

The translator seems quite fond of repetition as a literary effect and he adds some repeated phrases of his own, in addition to reproducing in Greek all the instances of anaphoric repetition found in the original Hebrew text. Thus he uses the same verb, "sank (down)," once in compound form (κατέδυσαν v. 5) and once in simple form (ἔδυσαν v. 10) for two different Hebrew verbs, יָרַדוּ 'went down' and שָׁלַלּוּ 'sank'. The Hebrew vs. 5b and 10b paint the same overall picture, "they went down into the depths like a stone," "they sank like lead in majestic waters," but use different words and similes. The Greek version underlines this resemblance by means of a verbal echo.

It is worth noting just how frequently the translator attaches the prefix κατά to the verbs of our text. We find a series of complex verbs beginning with κατά scattered throughout the poem: κατεπόντισεν 15:4 (טָבַעַן); κατέδυσαν 15:5 (יָרַדוּ); κατέφαγεν 15:7 (אָכְלִמוּ); καταλήμψομαι 15:9 (אָשִׁיב); κατέπιεν 15:12 (תִּבְלַעְמוּ); καταφύτευσον 15:17 (וַתַּעֲטִי); κατειργάσω 15:17 (פָּעַלְתִּי). In several instances, the simplex form of the verb—ἐσθίω, λαμβάνω, φυτεύω, ἐργάζομαι—is much more common in the Septuagint and easily could have been used. By adding the prefix κατά, the translator repeatedly lends a similar sound to a series of disparate verbs.³³

There are other kinds of repetition as well. We twice find the phrase ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν "he has thrown into the sea." In v. 1 it translates בָּיָרָה רָמָה "he has hurled into the sea," while in v. 4 the Hebrew reads בָּיָרָה "he has cast into the sea." Another repetition which is not found in the Hebrew is that of the verb ἀπέστειλας. In v. 7 we find ἀπέστειλας τὴν ὀργήν σου, "you sent your anger." This is then echoed by the ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμά σου of v. 10 ("You sent your breath,"). The Hebrew in the first instance is תִּשְׁלַח תִּרְנַךְ ("you sent forth your fury") and in the second נִשְׁפָּתָה בְּרוּיָהּ ("You made your wind blow.") We have already seen that our translator changes the anthropomorphic phrasing of the Hebrew of v. 10 "You blew with your breath" (or in the NJPS version "You made your wind blow") to the milder "You sent your breath," apparently because of his dislike of a

32. Note as well Aquila's rendering ἐκλονήθησαν 'were agitated, confused'; and that of Symmachus ἐταράχθησαν 'were troubled, distraught'.

33. Note also the forms κατάλυμα (15:13), κατοικοῦντας (15:14), and κατοικοῦντες (15:15). Dines, *Septuagint*, 56 points to an interesting, parallel use of the repeated prefix ἀνά in the verbs of the LXX version of Amos 9:11.

God with human features; but he is also careful to make this change in v. 10 esthetically pleasing. Thus the Greek of v. 10 ἀπέστειλας τὸ πνεῦμά σου refers back both to the phrase ἀπέστειλας τὴν ὀργήν σου in v. 7, and the expression καὶ διὰ πνεύματος τοῦ θυμοῦ σου of v. 8. Here it appears that the theological and the poetical combine.

There are other instances in the Greek of Exodus 15 where theological aims blend neatly with literary ones. Thus our translator turns passive Hebrew verbs into active Greek ones, thereby making God the subject and the hero of actions. We can see this in v. 4 (where God actively drowns the officers, rather than their being passively drowned) and in v. 5 (where God and not the deeps covers the Egyptians). These changes both emphasize the role played by God and help build a stronger literary character. In similar fashion, the boasting enemy of v. 9 is, as Wevers notes, even more insolent in Greek than he is in Hebrew. ἐμπλήσω ψυχήν μου “I will satisfy my soul” he states unequivocally, using the first person, in place of the Hebrew הִמְלֵאמוּ נַפְשִׁי “My desire shall have its fill of them.” The enemy of v. 9 also threatens quite graphically “I will destroy with my sword,” making explicit the more restrained Hebrew warning אֶרִיק חֶרְבִּי “I will bare my sword.”³⁴

There are further verbal echoes added by the Septuagint translator. Other words that are repeated in Greek, but not in the original Hebrew, include the verb ἐπάγη ‘were congealed’ used twice in v. 8 to translate the two Hebrew verbs קָפָא and נָצַב. Accuracy has been sacrificed to this poetic, double use of ἐπάγη, for while קָפָא means ‘congealed’, נָצַב does not, and should be translated as ‘stood’ or ‘stood straight’. Nonetheless, this anaphoric repetition at the beginning of the two cola, ἐπάγη ὥσει τεῖχος τὰ ὕδατα, ἐπάγη τὰ κύματα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς θαλάσσης “the waters were congealed like a wall; the waves were congealed in the midst of the sea” is quite effective. Another pleasing repetition found only in the Greek is in v. 18 where לְעֹלָם וָעֶד is translated τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα “forever and ever” and this felicitous repetition is echoed in the NJPS English translation as well.

Our Septuagint translator, then, takes up a poetic effect found in the original Hebrew, the repetition of words and phrases, and embellishes it, adding repetitions of his own. He is not altogether consistent in preserving repeated words, and at times the same single Hebrew word is translated by two different Greek ones. This happens, for example, with the word תְּהוֹמֹת ‘the deeps’ in vs. 5 and 8 (translated as πόντω ‘open sea’ and τὰ κύματα ‘the waves’,

34. See Wevers, *Greek Text of Exodus*, 230.

respectively). It is also worth noting that the Septuagint does not reproduce a different kind of literary trope found in the Hebrew, the deliberate use of a wide range of synonyms. Verses 14 through 16 of the Hebrew contain a series of variations on the theme of fear and trembling, with no less than seven different phrases used to express the fright felt by the nations surrounding Israel.³⁵ Thus we hear . . . יִרְגָזוּן . . . חֵיל אָחוּ . . . נִבְהָלוּ . . . יֵאָחֲזוּ רָעַד . . . תִּפֹּל עֲלֵיהֶם אִימָתָה וּפְחַד נִמְנוּ . . . תִּבְאֵמוּ וְתִטְעֲמוּ (v. 17) (“You will bring them and plant them”) where no attempt is made to reproduce the rhythm and rhyme in the Greek.

Our translator does, however, possess literary sensitivity and his skill is apparent in the lovely Greek of v. 11: τίς ὁμοίός σοι ἐν θεοῖς κύριε, τίς ὁμοίός σοι δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις, θαυμαστός ἐν δόξαις, ποιῶν τέρατα “Who is like you among the gods, O Lord? Who is like you, glorified among holy ones, awesome in glorious deeds, doing wonders? The parallel Greek phrases ἐν θεοῖς . . . ἐν ἁγίοις . . . ἐν δόξαις in this verse do not reflect the original Hebrew syntax (תְּהִלָּתְךָ . . . בְּקִדְשְׁךָ . . . בְּאַלֶּם). In this verse the translator also plays with words based on the δοξ-root: δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἁγίοις, θαυμαστός ἐν δόξαις (“glorified among holy ones, awesome in glorious deeds”), again adding a recurring element which is not found in the Hebrew.

Here we come to the most original and impressive literary innovation of our translator, the introduction of a key word which recurs throughout the Greek Song of the Sea, but does not exist in the Hebrew. Biblical scholars point to the importance of key words in many of the songs of the Hebrew Bible. The repetition of a Hebrew word or lexeme has an important function in the composition of biblical poems, and such words serve to unify a poem and turn it into a cohesive whole. In the words of one writer on biblical poetry: “When the poem is recited aloud, the resounding repetition of the key word focuses the attention on the crucial point, concentrates the vision, and engraves the theme in the memory of the listener.”³⁶ The Hebrew Song of the Sea does not have such a key word or leitmotif, but the Septuagint version

35. See Alonso-Schökel, *Manual*, 64–75 on synonymy as a technique of biblical poetry.

36. Alonso-Schökel, *Manual*, 193; and also, 80–3.

Here, too, the literary and the theological blend together nicely. In the previous chapter of Exodus 14, the δοξ- root is found three times, and in all three instances (14:4, 17, 18) the context is the same. God is speaking of his intention to gain glory (ἐνδοξασθῆσομαι, ἐνδοξαζομένου μου **דָּבָר** **דָּבָר** **דָּבָר**) by the defeat of Pharaoh and the Egyptians. The Egyptians and their king are indeed vanquished at the Parting of the Sea and Moses and the Israelites then turn to song, a song whose key recurring word in the Greek is, in fact, “glory.” Thus, in the LXX version, God expresses his wish to be glorified in Exodus 14 and immediately afterwards, in Exodus 15, there is a victory hymn whose key word is “glory.” By his choice of words, our translator is, in a sense, granting God’s request and awarding the deity glory. The Hebrew MT has five different stems for the concept of glory in these two chapters, but the Greek has one single root. It appears that the Septuagint translator uses the same Greek root in place of the different Hebrew expressions in order to lend his Greek version lexical, literary, and theological cohesion.

We began by asking how the Greek version of our song could—and should—reflect the peculiar poetic properties of the Hebrew. The answer, we see, is rather complicated. Our Greek translator does not use meter and barely uses archaic forms. He does, however, reproduce parallelisms and repeated phrases found in the Hebrew, and even adds some verbal echoes of his own. He also stresses the role played by God and the enemy, fleshing out their characters, as it were. Finally, the translator adds a key word, “glory” in order to underline the main theme of the song—God’s glorious deeds—and to make the Greek poem more of a unified whole.

Before concluding, let us perform one more thought experiment and look at the Greek without any reference to the Hebrew. Let us pretend for a moment that the Hebrew does not exist and simply read the Greek on its own terms. Would we think this passage poetical? We would, it seems, be impressed by some of the literary effects of the Greek Exodus 15 and view the passage as a piece of artistic prose, cohesive and rhetorical. The next question is more difficult to answer: would we think that the Septuagint version of the Song of the Sea was originally written in Greek? We would, to be sure, be struck by the lack of Greek connectives—words like μέν, δέ, οὖν, etc.—in our passage and we would also notice the Hebrew flavor found in parts of the text. At the same time, the use of recurring sounds, words, and motifs would seem to point to a Greek origin. We might think twice before rejecting the idea that the passage was originally written in Greek, albeit a Semitic Greek.

This last conclusion has some interesting implications. In the case of Exodus 15 we know beyond any doubt that a Hebrew original existed, but what of passages, particularly elegant and stylized passages, which have only survived in the Septuagint, in Greek? Naturally a whole series of factors must be taken into account when trying to determine whether a Septuagint text was written originally in Greek or translated: the vocabulary, syntax, and style of the text, as well as its content and history of reception must be examined. Our song points to the particular complexities at issue when the text is a poetic one with literary flourishes. LXX Exodus 15 is a salutary reminder that a translation can be fairly close to the Hebrew and nonetheless include stylistic features and literary patterns which are not found in the original text. A cohesive, rhetorical passage of Septuagint Greek need not have been originally composed in Greek.

“The Lord is a Warrior”—
“The Lord Who Shatters Wars”:
Exod 15:3 and Jdt 9:7; 16:2

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The Song of Moses (Exod 15:1–18) celebrates God’s victory over Pharaoh. At some point it became the first entry in the collection of odes attached to the Septuagint Psalter. Within this “psalm” the Hebrew text (15:3) defines Yahweh as **אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה** ‘man of war’.¹ The Old Greek translation rendered this phrase κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους, “the Lord, shattering wars.” Several scholars² propose that the Greek translator in fact has reversed the meaning of his Hebrew text with this rendering, arguing that the Greek translation signifies God is a peace-maker. In this paper I argue, conversely, that the context of LXX Exodus 14–16 requires us to interpret 15:3 as a statement of Yahweh’s ability to win battles for his people. While ultimately the obvious outcome of Yahweh’s warring efforts brings peace to his people, this was

1. The Samaritan text reads **גִּבּוֹר בַּמִּלְחָמָה** “a valiant man of war”.

2. Willem Van Leeuwen, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament* (Wageningen: H. Veenman and Zonen, 1940). Georg Bertram, “συντρίβων,” *TDNT* 7 (ed. Gerhard Friedrich; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1971) 920–2. Isac Leo Seeligmann, “The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems” in *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah and Cognate Studies* (ed. Robert Hanhart and Hermann Spieckermann; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004) 119–294. J. Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique du Judaïsme antique d’après les témoins textuels d’Isaïe* (SupVT 33 ; Leiden: Brill, 1982) 59–64. Roger Le Déaut, “La Septante, Un Targum?” in *Études Sur Le Judaïsme Hellénistique* (ed. R. Kuntzmann and J. Schlösser ; Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1984) 147–95. Alain le Boulluec and Pierre Sandevor, *La Bible D’Alexandrie. L’Exode* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989). Johannes Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint. Collected Essays* (ed. K. Hauspie; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004) 140ff.

not the immediate focus of the Greek translator's rendering of Exod 15:3. The use of this terminology in Jdt 9:7 and 16:2 communicates the same perspective. The implications of this conclusion for the use of this Greek expression in Isa 42:13 and several other Septuagint texts are herein explored.

Several methodological issues must be addressed before we come to discuss the text of interest. First, it is generally assumed that the Pentateuch was the first section of the Jewish Scriptures to be translated into Greek, probably in the early decades of the third century B.C.E. and most likely in Alexandria. In terms of chronological development, the Greek translation of Exodus precedes that of Isaiah, probably by as much as a century.³ Within the Greek tradition, then, the earlier Exodus translation could potentially influence the later translations of Isaiah, Hosea, the Psalter, and Judith.⁴ Second, I assume that the translator of Exod 15:1–18 is the same as the translator for the majority of the Exodus text.⁵ Although the Song of Moses became part of the collected Odes linked with the Psalter, there is no evidence that Exod 15:1–18 was translated earlier than the rest of Exodus or by a different hand. Third, the Greek Exodus context should be the primary determiner of meaning for this phrase in Exod 15:3. Context includes patterns of translation technique in Greek Exodus, including the way the translator describes God and his interactions with humanity. Fourth, our ability to reconstruct theological and hermeneutical perspectives current within the Jewish community of Alexandria in the early third century B.C.E. is extremely limited, outside of the evidence in portions of the Septuagint. Fifth, although the Samaritan Pentateuch reads a different text in 15:3a (גבור במלחמה), it has essentially the same mean-

3. Jennifer Dines indicates that "For the moment [the prophetic books] are mostly assigned to the mid-second century BCE and later, largely from their supposed reflection of, and, in some cases allusions to, contemporary events (Maccabean, Hasmonean, Roman, etc.);" (*The Septuagint* [London: T. & T. Clark, 2004] 46).

4. Carey Moore "Regardless of the original language of the Judith story, the LXX version of Judith gives every indication of being a translation of a Hebrew text. Unfortunately, no such text has survived" (*The Anchor Bible. Judith* [Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985] 66).

5. There is debate about whether the material in Exodus describing the fabrication of the Tabernacle was translated by the same person who rendered the earlier sections. The most recent discussion of this question is by Martha Wade, *Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek* (SBLSCSS 49; Atlanta: SBL, 2003).

ing as the MT.⁶ I presume that the Hebrew *Vorlage* that the Greek translator used was the same as the current MT. Sixth, there are no significant variants in the Greek textual tradition that suggest a different Greek translation for this passage.⁷

Of course many have noted this unusual rendering and theorized as to the reasons why the translator rendered it in this way.

1. The translator is avoiding an anthropomorphism.⁸ The juxtaposition of κύριος and ἀνὴρ that would occur in a more literal⁹ translation, such as κύριος ἀνὴρ πολεμιστής, was presumably too jarring.
2. Theological considerations influenced the translator.¹⁰ This works in two directions. First, it was deemed inappropriate to identify God in such martial terms, that is as a Warrior God. Second, it is argued that there was a great desire for peace within Hellenistic Judaism and the translator gave expression to his eschatological hope: God would eliminate war and bring peace. In support, various scholars propose links between Isa 42:13,¹¹

6. As far as I can determine no Hebrew text for Exod 15:3 has been found in the Qumran materials. It is important to consider the way the translator of the Psalter also handled this Hebrew construction in Ps 23(24):8.

7. In the Odes there is no textual variant shown by Rahlfs for this text. Exodus F^b has the marginal reading ἀνὴρ πολέμου.

8. Z. Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig, Joh. Ambr. Barth, 1851, republished 1972) 85. "Auch manche andere Freiheit wird zur Vermeidung der Anthropomorphismen angewendet." H. St. J. Thackeray in "The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books," *JThS* 4 (1903) 583 notes "the anthropomorphism by which Jehovah is called 'a man of war' is avoided by the same paraphrase συντρίβων πολέμους in Ex.xv.3, Is.xlii 13."

9. Compare Josh 17:1 ἀνὴρ πολεμιστής.

10. Willem van Leeuwen, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament*, 25; Bertram, "συντρίβω," 921; Seeligmann, "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems," 123–294. Seeligmann accepts the possibility proposed by Ziegler that the translator of Isaiah "must have had knowledge of older (attempts) at translations, or that, may be, the version now in our possession is composed of a number of 'telescoped' renderings" (6/7), 132.

11. Isa 42:13 κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται καὶ συντρίψει πόλεμον, ἐπεγερεῖ ζήλον καὶ βοήσεται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ μετὰ ἰσχύος. ("The Lord, the God of hosts, shall go forth and shatter war, he shall stir up jealousy and shout with might against his enemies.") יהוה כנבור יצא כאיש מלחמות יעיר קנאה ("The LORD goes forth like a soldier, like a warrior he stirs up his fury; he cries out, he shouts aloud, he shows himself mighty against his foes.")

- Ps 75(76):4,¹² Hos 2:20,¹³ and Exod 15:3a. Bertram comments on Exod 15:3 and Isa 42:13, insisting that “independently of the Hebr. original the LXX has to be taken in the sense of the destruction of war and its weapons.”¹⁴ Boulluec and Sandevour in their commentary on Exod 15:3a suggest that the translation has “a messianic flavor, rejecting the idea of a warrior God” (my translation).¹⁵
3. A third hypothesis suggests that the translator was following known methods of Jewish hermeneutic that used verbal or linguistic analogy to link various texts in scripture.¹⁶ The translator of Exodus, when he came to 15:3a, used one or more of these principles. He may have linked his Hebrew text with similar ideas expressed in Isa 42:13; Ps 76:4 and/or Hos 2:20. This gave him warrant to introduce into his translation the idea of God as peacemaker, rather than warrior.¹⁷

12. Ps 75(76):4 ἐκεῖ συνέτριψεν τὰ κράτη τῶν τόξων, ὄπλον καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ πόλεμον. שְׁמָה שְׁמָה שֶׁבַר רֶשֶׁת־קֶשֶׁת מִן הַחֶרֶב וּמִלְחָמָה. NETS renders the Greek as “there he crushed the power of bows, shield and sword and war.” NRSV translates the Hebrew as “There he broke the flashing arrows, the shield, the sword and the weapons of war.”

13. Hos 2:20(18) in the Greek translation reads: καὶ τόξον καὶ ῥομφαίαν καὶ πόλεμον συντρίψω ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ κατοικιῶ σε ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι. וְקֶשֶׁת וְחֶרֶב וּמִלְחָמָה. “And bow and sword and war I will shatter from the land and I will make you dwell in hope” (author’s translation of the Greek). NRSV translates the Hebrew (v. 18) as “and I will abolish [break] the bow, the sword, and war from the land and I will make you lie down in safety.” This is within an oracle that promises the restoration of Israel after God’s judgment has come upon the people for their sin.

14. Bertram, “συντρίβω,” 922.

15. Boulluec and Sandevour “La version LXX à saveur messianique, rejette la conception d’un Dieu guerrier” (*La Bible D’Alexandrie. L’Exode*, 172). Roger Le Déaut offers a similar evaluation: “version à saveur messianique qui prend l’exact, contre-pied de l’hébreu” (“La Septante, Un Targum?”, 177).

16. Lust, *Messianism and the Septuagint. Collected Essays*, 140. He uses the work of Koenig (op. cit.) as the primary basis for his explanation, although not uncritically. Le Déaut similarly seems to be dependent upon Koenig’s evaluation as the basis for his understanding of Exod 15:3 (op. cit., 177). Le Déaut offers no independent analysis of the context to support his views. He suggests that it reveals the trouble that the translator had with anthropomorphisms (p. 178).

17. Cf. Koenig, *L’herméneutique analogique*, 59–64. According to his reconstruction, as the Greek translator interpreted his Hebrew text, he was drawn to Isa 42:13, where the plural form כָּאֵשׁ מִלְחָמוֹת influenced the translator of Exod 15:3 to render the singular formula by the plural πολέμους. Along the way the texts from Ps 75(76):4 and Hos 2:20(18) were also influential.

When the arguments proposed in support of these various explanations are examined carefully, we note some significant gaps. Detailed examination of the translation technique of the Exodus translator does not seem to have been conducted. So judgments as to what the translator may or may not have done lack firm foundation. As well, the context of Exod 15:3 is virtually ignored in these evaluations. Finally, assessing the theological tendencies of the translator is a very difficult enterprise, especially when detailed study of the translator's method of working is not available. Alternatively, I would suggest that, based on a firm grasp of the translator's technique and a careful evaluation of the context of Exodus 15 and its surrounding chapters, the Greek translation of Exod 15:3a affirms primarily that God is victorious over his enemies. The unusual translation probably reflects concern for the transcendence of God, since one simply cannot talk of κύριος being ἀνὴρ, even if the term ἀνὴρ occurs in a phrase designating God's prowess in war. There is no necessary messianic flavor in the rendering and no strategic intention to define God as peacemaker on the part of the translator. How it may have been construed in subsequent reception history is another story.

Exod 15:1–18, Moses' Song, occurs after Israel's miraculous escape¹⁸ through the Red Sea and the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, all of which is engineered through God's direct intervention. Moses leads Israel in celebrating their liberation. Exodus 14 describes the crisis that Israel faced. God gives very specific instructions to Moses as to where Israel should camp (14:1–2). He tells Moses that he will make Pharaoh's heart hard, with the result that the Egyptians will pursue the Israelites. God's motive in all this is stated in 14:4b:

Καὶ ἐνδοξασθήσομαι ἐν Φαραώ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώσονται πάντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὅτι ἐγώ εἰμι κύριος καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως.¹⁹

18. As Israel leaves Egypt (12:41) the translator describes them as *πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις κυρίου* (כָּל-צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה) – “all the host of the Lord” (NETS). Cf. 6:26; 12:17, 51. We find the interesting statement in 7:4 that καὶ ἐξάξω σὺν δυνάμει μου τὸν λαόν μου τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου σὺν ἐκδικήσει μεγάλῃ (NETS: “and I will bring out with my host my people, the sons of Israel, from the land of Egypt with great vengeance.” The Hebrew for σὺν δυνάμει μου in 7:4 is אֶת-צְבָאוֹתַי. In the Hebrew text and the Greek translation Israel is identified at times as Yahweh's host (12:41), i.e., his army. However, as 7:4 indicates, the Greek text (but not necessarily the Hebrew text) seems to distinguish Yahweh's host from the people of Israel.

19. NETS: “And I will be glorified in Pharaoh and all his army, and all the Egyptians shall know that I am the Lord. And they did so.”

This motif of glorification is emphasized again in 14:17–18. This theme is central to Moses' Song.²⁰ When the Israelites see the armies of Egypt encamped behind them, they complain to Moses that he has led them out of Egypt in order to put them to death (14:11–12). Moses responds by assuring them that these Egyptians will be destroyed because κύριος πολεμήσει περὶ ὑμῶν (NETS: "the Lord will fight for you").

The battle God waged began with the pillar of fire/cloud, that is the angel of the Lord, separating the camp of Israel from the camp of the Egyptians (14:19–20) so that there was no contact. Second, Moses, as God commanded, raised his rod over the Red Sea, and it divided. The Israelites crossed over on dry land (14:21–22). Third, the Egyptian cavalry and chariots pursued Israel into the middle of the sea, but God "bound together the axles of their chariots and led them violently" (NETS, 14:25). We read that the Egyptians recognized that "the Lord fights the Egyptians for them" (NETS, 14:25 ὁ γὰρ κύριος πολεμεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους). Finally God sent the piled waters crashing down on the Egyptians, drowning them all (14:26–28). The result was Israel's rescue (14:30)²¹ and Israel's restored trust in Yahweh and Moses, his servant.

We discover the same kind of language in Exod 17:16 as Israel gains victory over the Amalekites: ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαῖα πολεμεῖ κύριος ἐπὶ Ἀμαλήκ ἀπὸ γενεῶν εἰς γενεάς (NETS: "because by a secret hand the Lord fights against Amalek from generations to generations"). Joshua and the people may have been on the battlefield, but the triumph was due to God's intervention as Moses' hands extended "the rod of God." In this instance, perhaps, Israel functions as Yahweh's host to defeat the Amalekites.

For Yahweh to be the subject of the verb πολεμεῖν numerous times in the contexts surrounding Exodus 15 indicates that the translator has no qualms about God getting involved in battles. He is Israel's Warrior God by these acts. In his song, Moses celebrated the military prowess of God twice by describing how ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρριψεν εἰς θάλασσαν (NETS: "horse and rider he threw into the sea" (vv. 1, 4)).

20. Exod 15:1. ᾠσώμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται. NETS: "Let us sing to the Lord, for gloriously he has glorified himself." The terminology of glory in the Greek translation occurs also in 15:2, 6, 11.

21. καὶ ἐρρύσατο κύριος τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. NETS: "And the Lord rescued Israel in that day from the hand of the Egyptians."

There is another element worth noting. At the end of the Red Sea event the narrative (14:31) says that εἶδεν δὲ Ἰσραὴλ τὴν χειρὰ τὴν μεγάλην, ἃ ἐποίησεν κύριος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις (NETS: “So Israel saw the great hand, things which the Lord did to the Egyptians”). Then after the victory over the Amalekites (17:16), Moses leads Israel in worship of Yahweh ὅτι ἐν χειρὶ κρυφαίᾳ πολεμεῖ κύριος ἐπὶ Ἀμαλήκ (NETS: “because by a secret hand the Lord fights against Amalek”).²² The picture of “Yahweh’s hand” acting on behalf of Israel to bring about victory in battle also occurs in Exod 15:6 ἡ δεξιὰ σου χειρ, κύριε, ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς (NETS: “your right hand, O Lord, crushed enemies”). So, within the context of the extended narrative, the image of “Yahweh’s hand” also functions to define his role in Israel’s battles. Yahweh’s hand is more powerful than the “hand of the Egyptians.”

The surrounding narrative, both in the Hebrew and in the Greek translation, portrays God as one who does battle for Israel. His “hand” acts for him in great and sometimes secret ways. The same ideas are present in Moses’ song recapitulating the victory. There is no emphasis at all on the idea of God as peacemaker in this narrative context.²³

When we consider the imagery and statements in Moses’ Song, the theme emerging in the Greek translation expresses the triumph of God over his enemies and his ability to bring his people to the “dwelling place” he has made for them (15:17). God crushed his enemies (ἔθραυσεν ἐχθρούς **תִּרְעַץ אוֹיֵב**) and gained glory for himself in the process. Despite the plans of the enemy to “overtake, divide spoils, satisfy [his] soul, destroy with the sword, and dominate” (v. 9), God “sends his breath and the sea covered them” (v. 10). Moses describes God’s actions as τέρατα (vs. 11) ‘wonders’. Other potential enemies learn of God’s triumph against the cavalry of Pharaoh and “melt away” in fear: Phylistiim, Edomites, Moabites, Chanaanites

22. The meaning of the Hebrew text is uncertain here, but the Greek translator has interpreted it, apparently, as giving the name for the altar “the Lord is my refuge” or “my Lord is a refuge” and then proceeded to explain that Yahweh is a refuge for Israel precisely because he continues to fight “secretly” for his people against the Amalekites.

23. The Greek term εἰρήνη and its cognates occur infrequently in Exodus. The translator used the noun only at 18:23 where Jethro promises Moses that if he follows his advice “all this people will go to their own place with peace” (NETS). The Hebrew term occurs in 4:18, but is translated idiomatically by ὑγάινων (cf. Gen 29:6). There is no equivalent in the Greek translation of 18:7 for **לְשָׁלוֹם**.

(vs. 14–15).²⁴ Moses ends by acclaiming κύριος βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἐπ’ αἰῶνα καὶ ἔτι.²⁵ There does not appear to be any focus on the idea of God ending wars so that he can introduce peace. Rather God triumphs over his enemies and in this way gains glory for himself, showing that he is sovereign ruler, and fulfills his plans for his people. Not even the mighty Pharaoh can oppose God successfully. Moses makes no reference to God as peace-maker and the Greek translator does not seem, apart from 15:3a as some argue, to change the theme carried forward in the Hebrew text. Even when Moses refers to the final placement of Israel “in the mountain of your inheritance” (vs. 17a), there is no explicit sense that peace is the primary goal of such an accomplishment. If the translator emphasizes anything about God, it is his glorification through such warlike activities and his commitment to his promises.

The Targums generally understand Exod 15:3 as a reference to Yahweh’s warrior prowess. Targum Onqelos, for example, renders the Hebrew clause as “The Lord is *the Lord of victory in battles*.”²⁶ Targum Neofiti has “The Lord is a man making wars.”²⁷ And Targum Pseudo-Jonathan renders it “The Lord is a *hero who wages our wars in every generation*.”²⁸ No tendency in these Aramaic paraphrases to understand this expression as a statement about Yahweh as peace-maker is apparent.²⁹

24. In Exod 23:22–23 if Israel obeys God’s commands, he promises to be the enemy of Israel’s enemies (ἐχθρεύσω τοῖς ἐχθροῖς σου καὶ ἀντικείμενοι τοῖς ἀντικειμένοις σοι. NETS: “I will be an enemy to your enemies and will resist those who resist you.” He also promises to destroy the Amorrite, the Chettite, the Pherezite, the Chananite, the Gergesite, the Heuie, and the Iebousite (καὶ ἐκτρίψω αὐτοὺς יְהוָה בְּכַחַדָּתָיו).

25. NETS: “The Lord, ruling forever and ever and beyond (15:18).” יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ לְעֹלָם וָעֶד.

26. Bernard Crossfield, *The Aramaic Bible. The Targum. Volume 7. The Targum Onqelos to Exodus* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1988) 41. Note the use of the plural “battles” here, similar to the Greek rendering, even though the MT uses the singular. The same occurs in Targum Neofiti and Pseudo-Jonathan.

27. Martin McNamara and Robert Hayward, *The Aramaic Bible. Volume 2. The Targum. Targum Neofiti 1: Exodus* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1994) 64.

28. Michael Maher, *The Aramaic Bible. Volume 2. The Targum. Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Exodus* (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1994) 203.

29. Koenig in his discussion of Exod 15:3 does not seem to make any reference to the renderings of Exod 15:3 in the extant Targums.

The Hebrew text of 15:3³⁰ is quite straightforward: יהוה איש מלחמה. We have two nominal sentences (subject [proper noun] followed by complement [bound construction/noun with pronominal suffix]). The NRSV renders this as “The LORD is a warrior, the LORD is his name.” Only here in Exodus does the epithet איש מלחמה occur.³¹ Twice in Exodus we read about אנשי חיל (ἄνδρας δυνατούς 18:21, 25), but this designation occurs when Jethro advises Moses to appoint additional leaders to help him adjudicate the petitions of the Israelites. The phrase probably reflects a military context describing “energetic men, mentally and emotionally strong, resolute and of sound judgment.”³²

The Old Greek translation of 15:3 generally follows the isomorphic technique that characterizes most of Exodus³³:

יהוה	איש	מלחמה
κύριος	συντρίβων	πολέμους
יהוה	שמו	ו
κύριος	ὄνομα	αὐτῷ

Each of the key terms in the Hebrew text is represented by a term in the Greek text. One surprise in the second clause is the use of the dative form of the third person pronoun to signify possession, rather than the genitive.³⁴ The translator is quite careful normally to render the Hebrew-suffixed pronoun by a genitive form.³⁵ We find a similar rendering at 3:13 where Moses asks

30. The Samaritan Pentateuch reads יהוה גבור במלחמה. The word גבור, ‘military man’, does not occur in the MT of Exodus. There does not seem to be any evidence that ג and ש could easily be confused in the Hebrew scripts used in the third century B.C.E. (שבר/גבר.)

31. It occurs frequently elsewhere in the Jewish Canon. Usually it is rendered in Greek as ἀνὴρ πολεμιστής (cf. Num 31:49; Deut 2:14, 16; Josh 17:1; Judg 20:17(A); 1 Sam 16:18; Jer 49:26(30:15); Ezek 27:10; Joel 2:7, 4:9). Sometimes the translators use ἄνθρωπος in place of ἀνὴρ (cf. Num 31:28; Isa 3:2; 1 Chr 28:3). Other variations occur occasionally.

32. Cornelius Houtman, *Exodus*. Volume 2. Historical Commentary on the Old Testament (Kampen: Kok Publishing House, 1996) 259. He comments on the prior usage of the noun חיל in 14:4 where it describes the army of Pharaoh (στρατία).

33. I have reordered the Greek text to follow the Hebrew order and so the Greek needs to be read from right to left.

34. A small number of witnesses have αὐτοῦ, but they do not seem to represent the original text. This is the only example within this Psalm of the dative of possession used to render the personal possessive pronoun.

35. Consider the example of 16:31 where Israel gives the name “Man” to define the bread Yahweh sends. The noun שמו is translated as τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ (cf. 17:15). Usually

Yahweh how he will answer the Israelites' question Τί ὄνομα αὐτοῦ מִה־שְׁמוֹ . Perhaps the rendering in 15:3 reflects this earlier passage of 15:2 that identifies the "God of my father" as Israel's benefactor and protector, and the appropriate name for him is Yahweh/Lord (v. 3).

In the first clause of v. 3 the Greek text does not reflect the bound construction in the predicate. Rather it renders it with a participle and noun in the object case. As well it uses the plural form πολέμους to render the singular מִלְחָמָה . Πόλεμος is the usual equivalent of מִלְחָמָה in Greek Exodus.³⁶ The exception is the difficult text at 17:16 where the translator used the cognate verb κύριος πολεμεῖ to render מִלְחָמָה לַיהוָה . Πολέμους in contrast to the singular emphasizes that no matter how many battles Yahweh fights, he is always victorious. The singular would suggest that he was victorious over Pharaoh, but future battles are another matter. The mention of potential enemies (Edomites, Moabites, Philistines, Chanaanites) in vv. 14–15 would argue that the plural covers every contingency.³⁷

The major adjustment in the translation, however, is the rendering $\text{συμ-τρίβων πολέμους}$ for אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה .³⁸ The Greek present participle modifies the proper name κύριος but in what way is not clear.³⁹ It could be attributive

the Greek dative form of a personal pronoun renders the Hebrew preposition ל with a pronominal suffix. Another exception might be 36:7 where the Greek translated וְהַמַּלְכָּה דִּים by $\text{καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἣν αὐτοῖς ἱκανά}$ where the pronominal suffix is rendered by αὐτοῖς rather than αὐτῶν , but the use of the adjective ἱκανά is probably determinative here.

36. 1:10; 13:17; 15:3; 32:17.

37. H.W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass.: HUP, 1920), 270 (§ 1000). Smyth notes that the plural of abstracts "refers to the single kinds, cases, occasions, manifestations of the idea expressed by the abstract substantive." F. Blass and A. Debrunner note that "the plural of abstract expressions frequently serves in poetry and in (elevated?) prose in a way foreign to us as a designation of concrete phenomena" (*A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature* [translated and revised by R. Funk; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961] 78–79 [142]), referencing Smyth's comment. πόλεμος as an abstract noun is possible, but not usual. Further, we are not sure that the Greek translator attempted to translate Hebrew poetry using Greek poetic conventions. Rather, any observable changes from the translator's usual practice in rendering Hebrew prose may just reflect the poetic conventions found in the Hebrew *Vorlage*.

38. Cf. Ps 23(24):8 $\text{κύριος κραταῖος καὶ δυνατός, κύριος δυνατός ἐν πολέμῳ}$ (NETS: "The Lord, strong and powerful, the Lord, powerful in battle") $\text{יְהוָה עֶזְרוֹ וְנִבְּוֹר}$ (NETS: "The LORD, strong and mighty, the LORD, mighty in battle"). Yahweh's warlike prowess seems undiminished in the Greek translation.

39. As far as I can determine, 15:3 and 18 are two of three contexts in Exodus where the anarthrous κύριος is modified by an unarticulated participle. The third occurs in the

(“The Lord who shatters wars”) or predicative (“the Lord, shattering wars”). The Hebrew bound construction functions as the predicate-complement in a nominal clause. We encounter a similar Greek construction in v. 18 where the translator has κύριος βασιλεύων τὸν αἰῶνα (for יהוה ימלך ללעם). In this case, however, the Greek present participle renders the Hebrew preformative verb form. If we assume that the Greek syntax should be understood in the light of the Hebrew syntax, the translator probably intends the participle in 15:18 to function as the equivalent of a finite verb, i.e., “The Lord rules for ever.” However, it is also possible, since this is the last stanza of Moses’ Song and thus the conclusion, that the translator casts it in the form of a final word of praise: “The Lord, ruling for ever.” By translating 15:3a and 18 using the same syntax, perhaps the translator was encouraging the reader/listener to connect these two descriptions of Yahweh occurring at the beginning and the end of Moses’ Song.

The verb συντρίβω signifies ‘to shatter, break in pieces, crush’.⁴⁰ Within Exodus it describes the fracturing of bones in sacrificed animals (12:46),⁴¹ the breaking of an animal’s limb (22:10, 14), the smashing in pieces of the tablets of the law (32:19; 34:1) or pagan religious icons (23:24; 34:13), or the

complex self-declaration by Yahweh when he reveals himself to Moses (34:6–7). Multiple participles complete the description of Yahweh.

34:6–7 κύριος κύριος ὁ θεὸς οἰκτιρῶν καὶ ἐλεήμων, μακρόθυμος καὶ πολυέλεος καὶ ἀληθινός, καὶ δικαιοσύνην διατηρῶν καὶ ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας, ἀφαιρῶν ἀνομίας. יהוה יהוה אל וחנן רב אפים ורב חסד ואמת נצר. חסד לאלפים נשא עון.

I have found two cases where the anarthrous κύριος is modified by an articulated participle:

15:26 ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι κύριος ὁ ἰωμενός σε. כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה רִפְאֵךְ.

31:13 ἵνα γνῶτε ὅτι ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ ἁγιάζων ὑμᾶς. לִדְעוֹת כִּי אֲנִי יְהוָה מְקַדְשְׁכֶם.

However, these occur in copula clauses in which Yahweh is defining himself in some way. As well, in 31:13 the Hebrew *Vorlage* has a participial form as well.

40. T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Louvain: Peeters, 2002) 540. Koenig suggests that the use of this verb in contexts such as Exod 15:3, Ps 75(76):4, Hos 2:20(18), and Isa 42:13 reflects a formula found in first and second millennium texts (Aramaic, Hittite, and Akkadian) in which elements of war were smashed to cement a political alliance. He cites language in treaties to support this. However, in one case he cites, it is a soldier taking an oath to serve a ruler who breaks an arrow and agrees that the soldier will suffer similarly if he breaks his oath of loyalty. In a Sefire inscription again similar language occurs in a political treaty, where the ruling monarch warns the vassal that he will be broken like the implement of war if he proves disloyal. Such actions seem to be a warning against hostilities, not a sign of peace. So the parallels may not be as helpful as Koenig may suggest (*L'herméneutique analogique*, 62).

41. The Greek expression occurs also at 12:10, but it has no equivalent in the MT.

damage that hail causes to crops (9:25). συντριβω renders every occurrence of שבר in Exodus.⁴² However, συντριβω occurs twice in Exodus 15, but in neither case does it render שבר. We have already provided the text for 15:3. The other context is 15:7:

Καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῆς δόξης σου συνέτριψας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους

NETS: And in the abundance of your glory you shattered the adversaries.

וברב גאוונך תהרס קמין

NRSV: And in the greatness of your majesty you overthrew your adversaries.

The verb הִרַס in this context means ‘to throw down’.⁴³ The Piel form occurs in Exod 23:24 כִּי הִרַס תְּהַרְסֵם וּשְׁבַר תִּשְׁבַּר מִצַּבְתֵּיהֶם which the translator rendered ἀλλὰ καθαιρέσει καθελεῖς καὶ συνετριβὼν συντριψείς τὰς στήλας αὐτῶν. Because the normal equivalent for שבר was συντριβω, and the Hebrew verb הִרַס had already been rendered by καθελεῖς, the translator was free to use συντριβω for שבר as he normally did.⁴⁴ However, 23:24 indicates that the Hebrew verbs הִרַס and שבר have considerable semantic overlap and so the translator’s choice of συνέτριψας as the equivalent for תְּהַרְסֵם in 15:7 is not that surprising.⁴⁵ The translator uses the cognate ἐκτριβω four times in Exodus to describe the action God takes to erase the Egyptians (9:15; 12:13), the inhabitants of Canaan (23:23),

42. It is a usual equivalent in other sections of the Greek OT.

43. This verb also occurs at Exod 19:21, 24 to describe God’s threat against Israel and her priests should they seek to ascend the mountain (v. 21 μήποτε ἐγγίσωσιν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν κατανοῆσαι; v. 24 μὴ βιαζέσθωσαν ἀναβῆναι πρὸς τὸν θεόν). In these contexts the verb has the sense of ‘break through’.

44. Συντριβω and καθαιρέω also occur together in 34:13, again describing the destruction of pagan religious icons. However, in that context καθαιρέω renders the verb גָּתַךְ, to tear down, its only occurrence in Exodus. Συντριβω renders תִּשְׁבַּר as it usually does.

45. Crossfield comments on 15:7 that “The Hebrew has: ‘destroy’ (*hrs*) which in its numerous occurrences throughout the Biblical text is never rendered ‘to shatter’ (*thr*) except here” (*The Targum Onkelos to Exodus*, 42). He then makes reference to Exod 23:24 where *hrs* in the Hebrew appears in conjunction with *šbr*, ‘to shatter’.

and even Israel (32:10).⁴⁶ These verbs convey in the mind of the translator God's ability to eradicate his enemies effectively.

The rendering συνέτριψας τοὺς ὑπεναντίους in 15:7 is connected by the Greek translator (initial καί), as well as by the Hebrew text, with 15:6b which claimed that Yahweh's right hand "crushed enemies" (ἐθροασεν ἐχθρούς - תרעץ אויב).⁴⁷ Yahweh crushed enemies with the same power by which he shatters wars. In this case (15:7a), Yahweh "shattered the opponents" with the result that they were consumed. In between vv. 3 and 7 Moses describes in a series of graphic metaphors how the cavalry of Pharaoh suffered total disaster. Moses enumerates how Yahweh who "shatters wars" in v. 3a demonstrates this ability in the case of Pharaoh:

Yahweh cast Pharaoh's cavalry into the sea;
he drowned the choice officers in the Red Sea;
he covered them with open sea.

Verses 6 and 7 affirm the glory Yahweh receives because he has crushed enemies so convincingly. This is how the translator, reflecting his original, defines the way "Yahweh shatters wars." To interpret κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους in terms of Yahweh's peace-making role ignores the translational context of Exod 15:1–7, and injects a note that is quite foreign.

It may be that individuals who read the translation of Exod 15:3 subsequently interpreted it in reference to God as peacemaker, but from every indication in the Song itself and in its context and from the translation technique of Exodus, this was not what the original translator intended to communicate. The use and meaning of this same expression in later portions of the Septuagint must be determined on the basis of those specific contexts. If in other contexts it may signify that Yahweh destroys war in an eschatological sense,

46. The translator uses the compound ἐκτριβω 'rub out, destroy' four times in Exodus. Twice it renders כָּחַד (9:15 as a niphil where God threatens to "erase" Pharaoh and the Egyptians from the earth, and in 23:23 as a hiphil where God promises Israel that he will cause the inhabitants of Canaan to be erased or annihilated). In 12:13 the translator rendered the hiphil participle לְמַשְׁחִית ('the destroyer') as the articulated aorist passive infinitive τοῦ ἐκτριβῆναι to describe the destroyer that God would send against Egypt and against which the Passover blood would protect Israel. The other occurrence is 32:10 for the verb אָכַל when God threatens to consume, i.e. erase, Israel and create a new people from Moses because of the Golden Calf episode (ἐκτριβω αὐτούς).

47. This is the only occurrence of רָעַץ and θροάω in Exodus. Note also that the Greek renders the singular Hebrew noun with a plural form, ἐχθρούς. Perhaps again, as in 15:3 with the plural πολέμους, the translator emphasizes that God crushes all enemies, not just any particular one.

that meaning should not be used to determine what the translator of Exod 15:3 signified unless such meaning fits the larger context of Exodus and the textual-linguistic composition of the translation.

It seems clear that the translator by his rendering of 15:3a did not want in any way to diminish the Hebrew text's assertions about Yahweh's ability to triumph over any enemies. Can we discern, however, any reason why he decided not to render the Hebrew text simply as ἀνὴρ πολεμιστῆς? I think Frankel was on the right track when he proposed the avoidance of anthropomorphism as the essential reason. We know from several other contexts in Exodus that the translator was uncomfortable with the idea of people having direct contact with Yahweh. In the Hebrew text of Exod 24:9–11 Yahweh invites the Israelite leadership to join him at the top of Sinai. In vv. 10 and 11 the Hebrew says explicitly that these people saw the God of Israel. Yet the Greek translator in both contexts says that they saw only the place of God. Even with this more limited exposure to the divine, the translator notes that “not even one of the chosen of Israel failed.”

A second indication of this tendency would be the frequent rendering of עָרַךְ ‘to appoint, meet’ by future passive forms of γινώσκω (‘I will be known’).⁴⁸ The translator maintained the Hebrew text's affirmation that Yahweh revealed himself, but left it quite indefinite how this exactly happened. There was no “meeting” *per se* between Yahweh and human beings. Perhaps a third situation occurs in 4:24ff. As Yahweh commanded, Moses was returning to Egypt with his family. They stopped at an inn. The Hebrew text indicates that Yahweh sought to kill Moses. However, the translator alters the sense by rendering “the angel of the Lord . . . sought to kill him.”

The translator exercised care in the way he interpreted texts describing Yahweh's interactions with human beings. Yet, his view of God is not that of a distant, uninvolved transcendent being. God sees, hears, and fights directly for his people. However, to suggest that Yahweh is ἀνὴρ πολεμιστῆς goes too far it seems. He chooses a dynamic equivalent rendering to express Yahweh's ability to conquer all his enemies.⁴⁹

48. Exod 25:22(21); 29:42; 30:36. An exception to this is 29:43 where the translator used τὰς ἐντολάς (‘I will give orders’).

49. In my view, Seeligmann goes much too far when he says in reference to Exod 15:3 that “the phrase אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה, in contradiction to the Hebrew text, became συντοίβων πολέμους” (“The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems,” 290). His suggested translation “God makes war disappear from the world” may be appropriate for Isa 42:13, but does not fit Exod 15:3 (p. 101). Bertram similarly goes beyond the evidence,

Twice in the story of Judith⁵⁰ the same Greek description of Yahweh occurs. In 9:7 Judith prays that God will use her to take vengeance on the Assyrians and in this way bring his wrath upon those who seek to pollute the temple. While the Assyrians have put their hope ἐν ἀσπίδι καὶ ἐν γαίῳ καὶ τόξῳ καὶ σφενδόνη καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος συντριβῶν πολέμους. Κύριος ὀνομά σοι.⁵¹ (NRSV: “in shield and spear and in bow and sling. They do not know that you are the Lord who crushes wars; the Lord is your name”). She petitions Yahweh to smash their strength and power. The context indicates that it is Yahweh’s ability to triumph over all enemies that gives her confidence to pray in such terms. He is θεὸς πάσης δυνάμεως καὶ κράτους (9:14), which he uses to protect Israel (ὑπερασπίζων τοῦ γένους Ἰσραήλ). When she announces (13:14) her amazing feat at the walls of Bethulia, she praises God and says ἔθραυσε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν (NRSV: “he has destroyed our enemies”).⁵² After Judith successfully beheads Holofernes, the Assyrian general leading the siege against Jerusalem, she sings praise to God. She again refers to Yahweh (16:2) as θεὸς συντριβῶν πολέμους κύριος (NRSV: “For the Lord is a God who crushes wars”). She concludes by warning rebellious people that κύριος παντοκράτωρ ἐκδικήσει αὐτοὺς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως (NRSV: “The Lord Almighty will take vengeance on them in the day of judgment”). God’s triumph through Judith against the enemies of Israel gives them security from similar terror throughout her lifetime (16:25).

The expression κύριος συντριβῶν πολέμους in the story of Judith refers to Yahweh’s ability to triumph over his enemies in astonishing and unprecedented ways. No matter how great the opposition might be, Yahweh is

in my opinion, when he argues that the Greek translator of Exodus has given a rendering that does not reflect the sense of the Hebrew text. He offers no analysis of the context of Exod 15:3 or translation technique of Greek Exodus to support his position (“συντριβῶ”, 921).

50. T. Craven, *Artistry and Faith in the Book of Judith* (SBLDS 70; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983). “It seems most plausible to me that the author of Judith followed the model of the Exodus story” (111). “Both speak of God as a divine warrior (notably Jdt 16:2 and Exod 15:3) and as the creator” (ibid.). Koenig dismisses the use of this formula in Judith, identified by Ziegler, as “ne sont que des échos de G Ex 15, 3 et donc ne l’expliquent pas” (*L’herméneutique analogique*, 61). But he provides no argument to support this conclusion. To dismiss this evidence seems to suggest a very selective approach to resolving this question.

51. The text of Judith follows Exod 15:3 even to the point of using the dative of possession (αὐτῷ) rather than a possessive form (αὐτοῦ).

52. This is the same expression found in Exod 15:6.

greater. There is no explicit sense in these two contexts in Judith that this expression is celebrating God's ability to end war, but rather it enforces his power to destroy all opposition. If Moore⁵³ is correct in his argument that the book of Judith was composed (and presumably translated into Greek) towards the end of the second century B.C.E., then Judith becomes an important witness to the continued use and understanding of this phrase to define Yahweh's ability to triumph over his enemies during this period which is somewhat contemporary with the translation of the book of Isaiah.⁵⁴

To this point we have shown that κύριος συντριβων πολέμους in Greek Exod 15:3a means that "Yahweh shatters wars," that is he is always victorious over his enemies, as demonstrated primarily in the destruction of Pharaoh's cavalry in the Red Sea. This expression is used in the same way in Jdt 9:7 and 16:2, written and translated probably near the end of the second century B.C.E. What are the implications of these findings for our understanding of the Greek translation of Isa 42:13? Van Leeuwen and Koenig⁵⁵ argued that the Exodus translator reflected on the Hebrew text of Isa 42:13 and other passages such as Hos 2:18–20(20–22) and Ps 75(76):4(3) and incorporated this sense into his translation of 15:3. In their view an ideology existed in this period (third century B.C.E.) presenting political peace as a work of the Lord who will destroy wars through battle. The translator used Jewish hermeneutical principles to derive a meaning from the Hebrew text that reversed its logic and emphasized God's intention to create peace. All wars will be ended. In their view this ideology finds reflection in the translation of Exod 15:3 and Isa 42:13, with support from texts such as Hos 3:18–20 and Ps 75(76):4(3).⁵⁶

53. Carey A. Moore, *Judith* (ABD; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1985) 67–68.

54. In 1QM (The War Scroll) 12:7ff in the "Hero of War" (הַמַּלְחָמָה 12:9) section, God is described in these terms: "The War Hero is in our congregation, the army of his spirits, with our infantry and cavalry. . . . Get up, hero, take your prisoners, glorious one." The motif is repeated in 19:2–3. The War Scroll describes the events of the "final days" which exercised considerable influence on how the Qumran Community understood itself and its role. Translation of these texts is that found in Florentino Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated. The Qumran Texts in English* (Leiden: Brill, 1996) 106.

55. Willem van Leeuwen, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament*, 25. J. Koenig, *L'herméneutique analogique*, 59–64.

56. Willem van Leeuwen, *Eirene in het Nieuwe Testament*, 26–29. Several observations can be made about van Leeuwen's hypothesis. First, he makes little if any reference to the translated narrative that surrounds Exodus 15 and how God is characterized within that setting and the entire Song of Moses. Second, he provides no data to support his contention that a particular eschatological emphasis regarding peace was current in Alexandria or Palestine at the time of this translation. We can agree that within various Jewish writings

We can agree that the Greek translation of Isa 42:13 is unusual.

κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξελεύσεται καὶ συντριψέι πόλεμον ἐπεγερεὶ ζῆλον καὶ βοήσεται ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐχθροὺς μετὰ ἰσχύος.⁵⁷

יהוה כנבור יצא כאיש מלחמות יעיר קנאה יריע אף-יצריח על-איביו
יתגבר

In the context of this verse the prophet praises Yahweh in anticipation of what he is going to do in order to restore his rebellious people. Those who oppose him will be overcome. There is parallelism in the Greek translation between Yahweh's action to "shatter war" and his mighty shouts "against his enemies." If, as has been argued here, the translation συντριψέι πόλεμον/πολέμους describes Yahweh's prowess in battle and ability to overcome his enemies, then it is a reasonable equivalent for the epithet "man of war," i.e., warrior, while avoiding the inappropriate application to Yahweh of the noun ἀνὴρ. Seeligmann's hypothesis that for some reason, perhaps apologetic, "a war-cry in the text was replaced by a peace-slogan"⁵⁸ needs to be reconsidered. Ziegler indicates that the similar renderings in Exod 15:3 and Isa 42:13 suggest that the Isaiah translator had knowledge of the Exodus translation.⁵⁹ This in turn suggests that the Isaiah translator, knowing the Exodus translation, when he came to 42:13 used the rendering found in Exod 15:3 as an appropriate translation, but without any intention of changing the basic sense of the Hebrew text.⁶⁰

that come to form the Jewish canon some expectations of this nature existed, but it goes beyond the evidence, I believe, to argue that eschatological speculation with this particular focus was being promoted at that time and exerted influence upon the translator of Exodus and his work.

57. "The Lord God of hosts shall go out and shatter war; he shall stir up zeal and shout mightily against his enemies" (author's translation).

58. Seeligmann, "The Septuagint Version of Isaiah. A Discussion of Its Problems," 291.

59. J. Ziegler, *Untersuchungen zur Septuaginta des Buches Isaias* (Münster: Aschen-dorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1934) 125. "Derselbe hebr. Ausdruck wird Ex 15,3 wiedergegeben mit συντριβων πολέμους; hier scheint eine Bekanntschaft des Js-Übers. mit Ex vorzuliegen." Earlier in the same volume Ziegler noted: "Es ist schon längst beobachtet worden, dass der Js-Übers. die Pent-LXX gekannt hat und sie öfters als 'Wörterbuch' benutzt hat" (103).

60. While this seems to be a probable explanation for the translation of Isa 42:13, it does not explain why the Greek translator has the singular πόλεμον for the plural מלחמות, when the Greek rendering in Exod 15:3 has πολέμους and offers a more "exact" rendering for the Isaiah Hebrew text.

The rendering συντρίβω πόλεμον occurs also in the translation of Ps 75(76):4 and Hos 2:20. However, in each of these texts, the Hebrew *Vorlage* reads מלחמה . . . שבר. In the Septuagint συντρίβω is a standard equivalent for שבר and πόλεμος for מלחמה. In both contexts the translators provide a good Greek rendering for their Hebrew text. There is no need to see their translation as incorporating some specific nuance relating to Yahweh's establishment of eschatological peace. It may be that in both of these contexts the hope for eschatological peace generally is being communicated, but this particular expression does not emphasize it in any special fashion. It will not carry that freight.

I conclude that a contextual understanding of Exod 15:3 in the Greek translation requires that we interpret συντρίβων πολέμους as defining God's consistent victory in all battles. It is not a peace slogan, in some way reversing the sense of the translator's Hebrew text. When we follow the evidence provided from the context and from a careful analysis of translation technique of the Old Greek of Exodus, this conclusion seems quite clear. The use of this same phrase in Judith similarly defining God's military prowess, at least a century later and quite probably in a period roughly contemporary with the Greek translation of Isaiah, supports this interpretation as well. The use of this language in Ps 75(76):4 and Hos 2:20 merely reflected the standard rendering of the verb שבר by συντρίβω and מלחמה by πολέμος within the Septuagint corpus. Perhaps in these contexts the shattering of war is the equivalent of peace-making, but this would have to be established from the contexts of Psalm 75 and Hos 2, not from the lexical choice by the respective translators of these equivalents. And even in the case of Isa 42:13, the context would affirm that Yahweh is portrayed as one who is victorious in battle, rather than a peace-maker. It is quite probable that the Greek translator of Isaiah has employed the same rendering for the Hebrew phrase that he may have discovered in the Greek translation of Exod 15:3.

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

Program in Washington, D.C.

Sunday, November 19, 2006

9:00 a.m.–12:00 noon

Leonard Greenspoon, Creighton University, Presiding

Elina Perttilä, University of Helsinki

Project on the Textual History of 1 Samuel:

How to Read the Greek Text Behind the Sahidic Coptic

Marketta Liljeström, University of Helsinki

Project on the Textual History of 1 Samuel:

Looking for Fragments of the Syrohexapla

Tuukka Kauhanen, University of Helsinki

Project on the Textual History of 1 Samuel:

Traces of the Proto-Lucianic Text

Anneli Aejmelaeus, Universität Göttingen

Project on the Textual History of 1 Samuel:

Reconstructing the Old Greek and Deconstructing the Textus Receptus

Richard J. Saley, Harvard University

Proto-Lucian and 4QSam^a

Monday, November 20, 2006

9:00 a.m. to 11:30 a.m.

Peter Gentry, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Presiding

Johann Cook, University of Stellenbosch

Two different approaches to the Septuagint Proverbs:

Using the Septuagint-Proverbs as a Text-Critical Resource

Michael V. Fox, University of Wisconsin, Madison and

Johann Cook, University of Stellenbosch

The Septuagint of Proverbs as a Text Critical Resources:

Two Different Approaches

Ronald L. Troxel, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Contemporization or Fulfillment-Interpretation?

Kevin J. Youngblood, Freed-Hardeman University

The Old Greek's Rendering of 'wlel in the Book of Lamentations

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 20, 2006

1:00 p.m. to 5:00 p.m.

Robert Kraft, University of Pennsylvania, Presiding

T. Michael Law, Oxford University

*Les Devanciers (et Les Successeurs) de Field: Four Hundred Years
of Hexapla Research from the Sixtine to the 21st Century*

Giovanni Battista Bazzana, University of Milan

God's Judgment on the Nations.

Theology and Translation in the Old Latin Dodekapropheton

David A. deSilva, Ashland Theological Seminary

Five Fragments of a Codex of Exodus in Greek

Roger Good, University of California, Los Angeles

The Increasing Reverence for the Holy Writ in the Translation of Chronicles

Armin Lange, University of Vienna

*"Considerable Proficiency" (Let. Aris. 121): The Relationship of the Letter
of Aristaeas to the Prologue of Ecclesiasticus*

Marcus Adams, Ashland Theological Seminary
Ethical Motivations and the Alexandrinus Text of 4 Maccabees

Wade White, University of Toronto
*Old Greek Psalm 119 (= MT Psalm 120):
Translation and Hermeneutics*

Business Meeting

General Business Meeting

Washington, D.C., November 20, 2006

President Ben Wright called the meeting to order at 4:30 pm.

1. The minutes of the 2005 general business meeting in Philadelphia, PA were approved as corrected.
2. Memorials for Udo Quast and James Barr were given.
3. Reports
 - a. President's report by Ben Wright
 - b. Treasurer's report by Rob Hiebert
 - c. SCS editor's report by Mel Peters read by Ben Wright
 - d. BIOSCS report by Bernard Taylor
 - e. Project reports
4. Executive Committee elections moved by Peter Gentry, seconded by Richard Weiss, motion carried to elect as members-at-large:
Zippora Talshir (Ben Gurion University)
Eberhard Bons (Strasbourg)
Cameron Boyd-Taylor (Cambridge University)
5. Honorary member status for Leonard Greenspoon moved by Kristin De Troyer, seconded by Anneli Aejmelaesus, motion carried.
6. Motion to adopt revisions to the by-laws moved by Peter Gentry, seconded by Kristin De Troyer, carried.
7. Other business from the floor

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- a. A motion to establish February 8 annually as International Septuagint Day to promote the discipline on our various campuses and communities was moved by Karen Jobes, seconded by James Aitkin and carried.
 - b. The question of the status of the IOSCS prize was raised. When was it last given? Should the gift be larger or the recipient more feted? Referred to executive committee for discussion.
 8. Adjournment moved by Kristin De Troyer, seconded by Tim Law, carried at 5:10 pm.

Items identified for further discussion by Executive Committee:

- policies concerning collection of material for Congress volumes in relationship to material for BIOSCS.
- the non-accredited status of BIOSCS as a deterrent to submissions by European and South African colleagues.
- book reviews in BIOSCS
- the IOSCS prize and its administration

Respectfully submitted,

Karen H. Jobes

December 1, 2006

Treasurer's Report



U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNTS JULY 1, 2006–JUNE 30, 2007

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

BALANCE 7/1/06		137.09
CREDITS		
08/01/06	(Interest)	0.01
08/14/06	(Deposit of NETS royalty payment)	62.78
10/02/06	(Interest)	0.01
12/01/06	(Interest)	0.01
02/01/07	(Interest)	0.01
04/02/07	(Interest)	0.01
05/30/07	(Deposit of NETS royalty payment)	23.19
06/01/07	(Interest)	0.01
Total		86.03
DEBITS		
08/14/06	(Transfer to NETS account 4508552)	62.78
05/30/07	(Transfer to NETS account 4508552)	23.19
Total		85.97
6/30/07 BALANCE		137.15
SUMMARY		
BALANCE 7/1/06		137.09
7/1/06–6/30/07	Credits	+86.03
	Total	223.12
		223.12
7/1/06–6/30/07	Debits	–85.97
	Total	137.15
6/30/07 BALANCE		137.15

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

BALANCE 7/1/06		15,759.01
CREDITS		
08/01/06	(Deposit)	297.00
08/07/06	(Paypal transfer)	72.36
08/31/06	(Deposit)	23.00
09/18/06	(Paypal transfer)	47.95
10/03/06	(Deposit)	269.00
10/11/06	(Deposit)	50.00
10/13/06	(Paypal transfer)	259.40
10/25/06	(Deposit)	219.00
11/08/06	(Paypal transfer)	123.11
11/10/06	(Deposit)	783.00
11/15/06	(Deposit)	100.00
11/15/06	(Deposit)	184.74
11/16/06	(Deposit)	30.00
11/16/06	(Paypal transfer)	486.43
11/17/06	(Deposit)	92.00
11/17/06	(Paypal transfer)	36.29
11/20/06	(Deposit)	215.00
11/21/06	(Deposit)	81.00
11/28/06	(Deposit)	338.00
11/29/06	(Deposit)	212.00
11/30/06	(Deposit)	92.00
11/30/06	(Deposit)	94.54
11/30/06	(Paypal transfer)	35.91
12/01/06	(Deposit)	54.00
12/01/06	(Paypal transfer)	43.91
12/04/06	(Deposit)	108.00
12/05/06	(Deposit)	135.00
12/06/06	(Paypal transfer)	105.92
12/07/06	(Deposit)	91.00
12/08/06	(Deposit)	50.00
12/11/06	(Deposit)	165.00
12/11/06	(Paypal transfer)	80.12
12/14/06	(Deposit)	23.00
12/18/06	(Paypal transfer)	21.80
12/18/06	(Paypal transfer)	22.03

01/11/07	(Deposit)	535.00
01/16/07	(Deposit)	676.00
01/16/07	(Paypal transfer)	79.51
01/18/07	(Deposit)	15.00
01/22/07	(Deposit)	23.00
01/26/07	(Paypal transfer)	21.80
01/30/07	(Deposit)	135.00
01/31/07	(Deposit)	27.00
02/01/07	(Paypal transfer)	66.01
02/12/07	(Paypal transfer)	87.88
02/14/07	(Deposit)	27.00
02/14/07	(Deposit)	486.00
02/15/07	(Deposit)	15.00
02/16/07	(Paypal transfer)	22.03
02/20/07	(Paypal transfer)	22.03
02/23/07	(Paypal transfer)	21.80
02/28/07	(Paypal transfer)	14.11
03/02/07	(Paypal transfer)	147.40
03/05/07	(Paypal transfer)	21.80
03/12/07	(Deposit)	42.00
03/13/07	(Deposit)	27.00
03/14/07	(Paypal transfer)	36.06
03/15/07	(Deposit)	23.00
03/19/07	(Deposit)	15.00
03/19/07	(Paypal transfer)	25.65
03/20/07	(Deposit)	53.00
03/21/07	(Deposit)	23.00
03/21/07	(Paypal transfer)	443.16
03/22/07	(Deposit)	50.00
03/22/07	(Paypal transfer)	57.94
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03/26/07	(Deposit)	77.00
03/26/07	(Paypal transfer)	64.74
03/28/07	(Paypal transfer)	58.02
03/30/07	(Deposit)	212.00
04/02/07	(Paypal transfer)	43.83
04/03/07	(Deposit)	23.00
04/05/07	(Paypal transfer)	35.91
04/11/07	(Deposit)	50.00

04/12/07	(Deposit)	46.00
04/12/07	(Paypal transfer)	43.60
04/17/07	(Deposit)	23.00
04/19/07	(Paypal transfer)	57.86
04/26/07	(Deposit)	146.00
04/30/07	(Paypal transfer)	69.52
05/03/07	(Deposit)	119.00
05/09/07	(Paypal transfer)	66.01
05/11/07	(Paypal transfer)	14.11
05/21/07	(Deposit)	46.00
05/23/07	(Deposit)	23.00
05/25/07	(Deposit)	15.00
06/05/07	(Deposit)	54.00
06/08/07	(Paypal transfer)	21.80
06/13/07	(Paypal transfer)	57.36
06/19/07	(Deposit)	27.00
06/20/07	(Paypal transfer)	14.26
06/26/07	(Deposit)	10.00
06/26/07	(Deposit)	216.00
Total		9,960.17
DEBITS		
09/29/06	(Eisenbrauns invoice 421317: back issues, BIOSCS 38)	4,637.00
11/21/06	(Farmers State Bank checking account)	24.75
12/05/06	(BIOSCS shipping and postage)	91.58
01/16/07	(Eisenbrauns invoices 426510, 426511: BIOSCS 39, back issues)	5,318.00
Total		5,404.42
6/30/07 BALANCE		10,071.33
SUMMARY		
BALANCE 7/1/06		15,759.01
7/1/06–6/30/07	Credits	+9,960.71
	Total	25,719.72
		25,719.72
7/1/06–6/30/07	Debits	–10,071.33
	Total	15,648.39

6/30/07 BALANCE	15,648.39
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Respectfully submitted:	Audited:
Robert J. V. Hiebert	Bruce Guenther
IOSCS Treasurer	Associated Canadian Theological Schools

NETS PROJECT
U.S. DOLLAR ACCOUNT
JULY 1, 2006–JUNE 30, 2007

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

BALANCE 7/1/06	9,615.25
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CREDITS

07/04/06	(Interest)	1.97
08/01/06	(Interest)	2.04
08/14/06	(Transfer from account 4507919: NETS royalty from OUP)	62.78
09/01/06	(Interest)	2.05
10/02/06	(Interest)	1.99
11/01/06	(Interest)	2.05
12/01/06	(Interest)	1.99
01/02/07	(Interest)	2.05
02/01/07	(Interest)	2.06
03/01/07	(Interest)	1.86
04/02/07	(Interest)	2.06
05/01/07	(Interest)	1.99
05/30/07	(Transfer from account 4507919: NETS royalty from OUP)	23.19
06/01/07	(Interest)	2.06

Total	110.14
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DEBITS

06/20/07	Stop payment fee	10.00
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6/30/07 BALANCE	9,715.39
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SUMMARY

BALANCE 7/1/06		9,615.25
7/1/06–6/30/07	Credits	+110.14
	Total	9,725.39
		9,725.39
		–10.00
7/1/06–6/30/07		9,715.39
6/30/07 BALANCE		9,715.39

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

Audited:
 Bruce Guenther
 Associated Canadian Theological School

Book Reviews

Kahana, Hanna. *Esther: Juxtaposition of the Septuagint Translation with the Hebrew Text*. Biblical Exegesis and Theology 40. Leuven: Peeters, 2005. Pp. L + 474. ISBN: 90-429-1580-3.

Hanna Kahana has provided the academic community with a work worthy of celebration. As she herself explains in the introduction, the book of Esther has received much attention. A number of works have even focused on the Septuagint translation of parts of the book of Esther. However, a systematically organized, running commentary on the Septuagint text of the complete book of Esther had been lacking. Kahana has filled the gap.

Kahana believes that the translated text should be considered in relationship to its source, not as an independent literary work. The author admits in one place that the Hebrew and Greek manuscripts available to us are not like the originals. She expresses the hope that nonetheless they can provide information about the style of the translation and the methods used by the translator. In another section she stresses the need to be careful about the textual integrity of both the Septuagint and the Hebrew texts. Kahana assumes that the Hebrew *Vorlage* behind the Septuagint translation of Esther was very similar to the Masoretic text we find in *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*. On the Greek side, the critical editions are the best method to assure a text closest to the original translation.

For the main comparison Kahana chooses S as the Septuagint text. For many of the entries in the commentary she also lists the second Greek text (AT), the Vulgate, and different Targum translations. S contains some portions of Esther not represented in the Hebrew text. Since the book is about juxtaposing the two, such sections are not discussed.

The introduction contains a section about the Septuagint translation in general, its scholarship, and available critical editions. The author gives descriptions of the content of the Esther scroll and the characteristics of its Hebrew and Greek versions. Kahana introduces some of the aspects of translation. She explains the difficulty a translator may encounter when rendering a Semitic language into an Indo-European one. The author remarks that the translator faces the limitation of possessing the Hebrew text in consonantal form only. The translator also has to deal with idiom. The Esther scroll is the only one that contains a colophon with the name of the translator and the

date of the translation. Even if that information is not correct, it can be established that the work was completed by the beginning of the first century B.C.E. This would put the date of the translation within 100 years of the completion of the Hebrew original. Kahana outlines the differences between the Septuagint translations of various books. Some are characterized by a literal style, while others are free, or even paraphrastic. The author suggests that the translator of Esther felt free to change, omit, and add when translating the Hebrew text. She proposes that the reason behind this is that at the time of the translation the Esther scroll was not yet seen as sacred text. Kahana explains that she believes the translator of the Esther scroll was familiar with other parts of the Septuagint translation. A comparison with other books within the corpus may be made to compare and contrast the particular aspects of the translation of the Esther scroll.

The main commentary is clearly laid out in four-columned tables containing juxtaposed phrases (from left to right: translation of the Septuagint, the Septuagint text, the Hebrew text, and the translation of the Hebrew text). When a phrase is lacking in either the Septuagint or its Hebrew *Vorlage*, the designated area in the column is greyed out. The author uses the hash symbol (#) to indicate an inaccurate or problematic translation. Missing words are represented by three dashes (---). The plus sign (+) is used for additions. Phrases of interest are discussed in the commentary section. The author first lists the Greek text and links it with the Hebrew with an equals sign (=). As explained in the introduction, "In the cases where we found that it was of interest to compare the Greek translation to the *Vulgata* and the two Aramaic *Targumim*, we added those, in most cases with our translation into English." Often the Alpha Text is also listed, with or without an English translation. In the running commentary, the author discusses the Hebrew text and use of vocabulary and grammar as compared to the book of Esther or beyond. The elements of translation as seen in vocabulary choices, grammatical elements, and omissions/additions are laid out in detail.

The author concludes the book with a chapter summarizing the findings with examples from the running commentary. With this she illustrates a number of findings. The style of the translator is free and often paraphrastic. The focus is on a clear Greek text and contains few Hebraisms. Generally, the translator avoids exaggerations, magnifications, amplifications and pleonasms. Kahana lists examples of different forms of omissions, which are the result of the translator's commitment to brevity. For exegetical purposes the translator amplifies certain phrases through different forms of addition. Above all, the translator's style is characterized by paraphrase. Kahana distinguishes between two purposes: stylistic and exegetical. She lists examples in which the translator renders Hebraisms into plain Greek, as well as instances in which Hebraisms are translated literally. The author points out that the translator chose unique and rare Greek words for a variety of purposes, such as exegesis, portrayal of local culture, accuracy, etc. At times the translator creates a Greek word to satisfactorily render a Hebrew word. The translator seems to use rare translations and syntactical structures as compared to other Septuagint translators, maybe intending to stand

out as different, and to avoid monotony. The translator also shows a tendency to use compound verbs, maybe to convey subtly-nuanced meaning, or to be original. The translator shows understanding of difficult or rare Hebrew words on the one hand; and on the other, provides evidence of misunderstanding or guesswork. Kahana lists examples in which she finds evidence that the translator had a Hebrew *Vorlage* different from the consonantal Masoretic text. Some examples from the list of divergences from the main Septuagint text are, according to the author, witnessed in extant manuscripts. A final item of conclusion concerns Esther 8:17, which, according to the author, was possibly translated by someone other than the one responsible for the rest of the book.

A well-organized bibliography and a helpful list of unique equations complete the work.

An evaluation of a work containing as much detail as Kahana's is bound to bring to light errors. A feature with which I am very familiar is the occasional choice of words that does not do justice to the intended meaning as indicated by context. For those of us for whom English is not the first language, subtle usage and meaning can be evasive. Also from personal experience, I know how challenging it is to find a native speaker willing to deal with the complex nature of the material in order to read for correct usage of English grammar. The text includes a number of spelling errors, which seems higher than that of similar works. The printed vocalization of the Hebrew text exhibits some problems. Besides some typing errors, it appears that the placement of the dot over *šîn* and *šîn* has suffered from a typesetting glitch. Occasionally it is placed correctly, but it is most often found in the middle of the letter symbol, and sometimes on the opposite side from where it belongs. There are some items of inconsistency that make the work look less tidy. Sometimes the added readings of the Alpha Text, the Targumim, and the Vulgate are furnished with an English translation, while not at other times. I was unable to determine the factor behind the decisions to include or exclude it. Also, it would have looked neater if the author had filled in the two translation columns on Esther 9:7–9, even though they contain mainly names.

Methodologically, there are a few things that I consider less satisfactory. I wonder if it may have been better to represent the Hebrew text as strictly consonantal, since that is what the translator used. It was difficult to get used to the order of texts in the running commentary, Greek first followed by a plus sign, and then the Hebrew. It gives the impression that the Greek text preceded the Hebrew in time. The commentary is clearly based on the assumption that the Septuagint is a translation of the Hebrew. A visual representation of this order in both the four-columned tables and the commentary entries might have been helpful. The extent of the work, a commentary on the whole of Esther, does not allow exhaustive treatment of all items. Many of the omissions and additions are explained in the work, but a few times I missed a treatise on the reason for the omission (for example, Esther 6:11 on p. 262; and Esther 7:7 on p. 29). Although interesting to read, it did not become clear to me how the listings of

the other versions such as the Alpha Text, the Targumim, and the Vulgate, contributed to the study of the main Septuagint translation under discussion.

All this said, I feel privileged to have read the book. The listing and incorporation of scholarship on Esther, both on the Hebrew and Greek texts, is impressive. Kahana has done a detailed and thorough tracing of vocabulary in both texts. Having heeded her own cautionary warning, Kahana has evaluated the possible textual issues of both Hebrew and Greek and taken them into account while evaluating translation technique. The author uses a broad base of reference, all of the Hebrew Bible, all of the Septuagint and other Greek literature. Kahana's work evidences an excellent grasp of the many complexities inherent in the work of translation. This book will be an important asset for all those interested in the book of Esther, because it contains helpful information on the Hebrew text and related scholarship. Those who are engaged in Septuagint studies will find its conclusions about translational style important for comparison. Others engaged in the investigation of biblical translation techniques would profit from reading the results of this carefully detailed study of the many elements that consciously and subconsciously impact any translation.

PETRA VERWIJS
CORONA, CA

Polak, Frank and Galen Marquis. *A Classified Index of The Minuses of the Septuagint. Part I: Introduction. Part II: The Pentateuch*. CATSS Basic Tools 4, 5. Stellenbosch, 2002.

These two volumes are part of a series created by the Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint Studies (CATSS) project, of which Emanuel Tov and Robert Kraft are co-directors. The base text employed for this *Classified Index* is the Hebrew-Greek CATSS alignment of the MT in *BHS* and the Septuagint in Alfred Rahlfs' *Handausgabe* (excluding their apparatuses). Frank Polak and Galen Marquis correctly assert that a scholarly evaluation of passages in which MT wording is not represented in the LXX requires a fully contextualized presentation of the data. Such context is provided in their comprehensive overview of this material, which they hope contributes "to the elucidation of aspects of translation technique, as well as to the clarification of issues concerning the growth and transmission of the Hebrew Bible" (I, p. 2).

The more than 90 page introductory volume sets out in detail the plan for the presentation of the evidence in the *Classified Index*. Included in this introduction are definitions of terms (e.g., minus, shorter reading, reduced rendering), descriptions of the various forms of classification of the data (e.g., words, phrases, and clauses; syntactic and stylistic functions; practices of scribes and/or translators), and the discussion of examples regarding how the index may be used. Two appendixes round out the introductory volume. The first appendix contains the results of a pilot investigation that

compares divergences in Genesis and Deuteronomy 1–9 of the editions of Rahlfs and John Wevers vis-à-vis minuses in the Septuagint text. The second provides a statistical breakdown of the “1247 textual stretches” in the MT of the Pentateuch (excluding Exodus 35–40) in comparison to the LXX (I, p. 69).

The more than 400 page second volume contains the lists of contextualized data for equivalent Hebrew and Greek readings, laid out for each of the books of the Pentateuch according to the plan described in the introductory volume. The second volume concludes with an index of the passages cited in the pentateuchal books, each one linked with the classification of the appropriate kind of minus that is involved, but, oddly enough, not with the page number on which a passage is listed. This latter omission means that the reader must go to the Table of Contents to find the page range for the relevant classification and then search those pages to find a given passage. So, for example, in the Index of Passages on p. 403 one finds the entry “ge 16:2 **נ**.” When one scans the Table of Contents, however, **נ** is not listed in any heading. Scrutinizing the possibilities in the Table further, one finds under the category of “Word Classes” the heading “10. Adverbs and Particles” (with no subheadings) and the indication that this section begins on p. 20. On that page the main heading is now given as “10. Adverbs-Particles” and it is followed on subsequent pages by a series of readings grouped under five subheadings: 10a. No Specification (p. 20); 10b. Adverbs (pp. 21–23); 10c. Conjunctions (pp. 23–24); 10d. Interjections (pp. 24–26); and finally, 10e. **נ** (pp. 26–29), with the passage in which our example appears (16:2) found on p. 26. Needless to say, the reader would be better served if page numbers were included in the Index of Passages.

Besides the discrepancy in headings noted above, there are additional inconsistencies of the same type and mistakes in pagination. In the Table of Contents of the first volume, page references for the section on Word Classes and for the headings associated with Appendixes A and B (pp. ix–x) are one number too high. In the Table of Contents in the second volume, the heading for Genesis I.C is “Clauses-Sentences” (p. v) whereas it is simply “Clauses” on p. 32, the heading for Genesis III.B is “Scribal Phenomena” (p. vi) whereas it is “Possible Scribal Phenomena” on p. 86, and the heading for Deuteronomy II.A is “Syntactic Functions” (p. xiii) whereas it is “Syntactic Categories” on p. 352. Other kinds of errors that have escaped detection include category description (e.g., “article” instead of “particle” in a discussion about **כ** [I, p. 10, n. 26]) and data entry (e.g., the mistaken flagging of the Greek conjunction as a minus in the phrase καὶ τῷ Σηθ in comparison to וְלִשֵׁת in Gen 4:26 [I, p. 22]; the listing in the Index of Passages of two occurrences of **נ** in Gen 13:14 and one each in 13:9 and 19:2 [II, p. 403], though elsewhere it is shown that there are two each in 13:8–9 and 19:2 and one in 13:14 [II, p. 26]).

One may, as well, on occasion take issue with certain aspects of the authors’ analysis of grammatical features. For example, their characterization of the particle **כ** as “no more than a sentence connector, devoid of any semantic content” (I, pp. 9–10)

could apply in some situations (e.g., when it introduces direct speech), but surely not in other ones (for instance, when it introduces causal, temporal, conditional, or concessive clauses). It would therefore seem to be more accurate to use the terminology of some contemporary linguists and describe ׁ as a semantically bleached lexeme, as is the case with a preposition, than as a semantically empty structural marker.

The preceding criticisms aside, this two volume *Classified Index* is a treasure trove of raw data for those who do work on the Hebrew and Greek texts of the first five books of the Jewish Scriptures. The availability of the CATSS aligned text in a Bible software package like that produced by Accordance or BibleWorks gives researchers electronic access to the kind of information presented in these volumes. What makes them especially valuable even to those who are thus equipped, however, is the fact that all the data on the Septuagint minuses in this corpus have been compiled, categorized, and statistically analyzed. The detailed classification system that employs a good many sigla and abbreviations means that users will want to have the list of abbreviations, found in both volumes, on hand to decipher sometimes cryptic designations, but the careful distinctions of categories and terms is indicative of the precision of the taxonomy. The methodological consistency of this project facilitates ready comparisons among pentateuchal books and the overall clarity of the presentation of the data contributes to the usefulness of this reference tool.

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McGinnis, Claire Mathews, and Patricia K. Tull, eds. *"As Those Who Are Taught": The Interpretation of Isaiah from the LXX to the SBL*. Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series 27. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006. Pp. xii + 342. ISBN: 1-58983-103-9.

The present anthology grew out of the SBL's Isaiah Group after its participants decided that "a more comprehensive understanding of Isaiah as a prophetic book necessitated a fuller grasp of its treatment in Jewish and Christian interpretive history" (p. 3). Although the papers included here are closely linked by virtue of the group's clearly defined field of study, it is important to note that they are independent contributions on a wide variety of subjects; the authors do not interact with one another and there is no attempt at integration. In other words, if these articles had been published separately in various journals, they probably would have looked no different. Nevertheless, the whole of this volume is greater than the sum of its parts: readers willing to go through the material from beginning to end will gain an appreciation for the development of Isaianic interpretation that they would miss if the papers were scattered about. The book is introduced by an initial chapter in which the editors deal briefly

with the value of studying the history of biblical interpretation and give a helpful summary of the papers included in the volume.

The first of these papers, by David A. Baer, discusses “nationalistic exegesis” in the first section of Isaiah, with special attention given to chapters 1, 3, and 6. He proposes, for example, that in 1:9a (MT, “Unless the Lord Sabaoth had left us a little [כמעט] remnant”), the Greek translator deliberately left out the modifier “little” because he “actualized the text in the light of a very considerable Jewish community in Palestine and the Diaspora, which was, for the translator, no small thing” (p. 32). Again, at 3:17 the Greek text “spares Zion’s daughters the worst of the degradations that the Hebrew text brings down upon their battered scalps” (p. 39). Through these and similar changes, “the translator manages to preserve a special status for Israel/Judah, to nuance judgments that would seem to threaten the entire people’s future, to soften the most violent retribution against that people, to foreshorten the trial of exile and Diaspora, and to communicate a poignant nostalgia both for Israel’s lofty promise and for that nation’s mother city” (p. 47).

Arie van der Kooij’s contribution is divided into two very different sections. The first one, dealing briefly with the LXX of Isa 3:18–32, argues that the Greek translation seeks to “make explicit that the listing that follows is to be understood as objects of a dowry” (p. 53). The second section, which is much longer, is entitled “The City and the Cities in Isaiah 24–27 according to the LXX, Targum, and Vulgate”; the Greek rendering “the strong cities” in 25:2 and 26:5 may allude to the might of the Seleucids, whereas the Targum reflects the common Jewish view that these passages refer to Rome, and the Vulgate betrays a Christian interpretation (earthly Jerusalem in those two passages, but heavenly Jerusalem in 26:1).

George J. Brooke recounts the initial scholarly excitement upon the discovery of the Great Isaiah Scroll, discusses the textual value of this manuscript (its variants are not sectarian and should be given equal footing with other options [pp. 76–77]), emphasizes the importance of paying attention to its sectioning and paragraphing, and briefly considers that Isa 40:3 was understood metaphorically, possibly even before Qumran was occupied, “as motivation for the study of the law in the expectation of the imminent eschatological arrival of the Lord” (p. 83).

The following three papers deal with the NT use of Isaiah. J. Ross Wagner lays out his case for the view that “in Romans, Paul combines Isaiah’s oracles with words drawn from Deut 29–32 in such a way that each text (and often its wider context) influences Paul’s reading of the other. In each case, it is the interplay between the two texts that proves decisive for Paul’s argument” (p. 102). Catrin H. Williams focuses on the citations from Isaiah in John 1:23 and 12:38, 40, and concludes: “Jesus’ earthly ministry in the Fourth Gospel opens and closes with the testimony of Isaiah. The *inclusio* established by means of these quotations and their accompanying formula (‘Isaiah said’) is of theological as well as literary interest. . . . Both the Baptist and Isaiah serve as proleptic witnesses to Jesus’ earthly destiny. . . . Yet it is Isaiah, not

John the Baptist, who is described in the Fourth Gospel as having seen ‘his glory’ (12:41). This makes him the paradigm of a true witness to Jesus.” (pp. 122–23). Jan Fekkes III examines several passages in the book of Revelation that appear to allude to Isaiah and to use “a variety of exegetical and literary devices”; although John has christological presuppositions, these do not override his exegetical practice, which often can hardly be distinguished from that of “a non-Christian Jew with messianic and/or nationalistic concerns” (p. 142).

Four chapters cover the period from the early Christian fathers to the Reformation. J. David Cassel surveys patristic interpretation of Isaiah by focusing on Cyril of Alexandria; the author stresses that ancient Christian interpreters were committed to “the two primary principles of biblical unity and diverse levels of meaning” (p. 168) and that their work “was also shaped by reading methods taught by the classical grammarians” (p. 169). Robert A. Harris gives a description of two Jewish interpreters from the twelfth century who lived in northern France, R. Joseph Kara and R. Eliezer of Beaugency, and shows that they “were dedicated to the notion that Scripture ought to be interpreted according to its own norms, without regard for the authoritative interpretations that had been sanctioned by the ancient rabbis in the talmudic and midrashic literature” (p. 186). Another rabbi, but this one from the sixteenth century, is the subject of Alan Cooper’s chapter, namely, Eliezer b. Elijah Ashkenazi, who argued that Isaiah’s “servant” should be identified with Job. In a study of John Calvin, Amy Plantinga Pauw shows that this reformer was “ready to criticize both Christian interpreters who rashly jumped to unwarranted christological readings and Jewish interpreters who, in his view, obstinately rejected legitimate christological readings” (p. 220).

The last four papers deal with modern criticism. Gary Stansell evaluates Robert Lowth’s two-volume work on Isaiah (1778); though seldom cited today, his fresh translation, accompanied by extensive notes, was very influential at the time of its publication, and it succeeded in keeping a proper tension between the “aesthetic reading of the text” and “the more intensely rational aspects of historical method” (p. 241). Marvin A. Sweeney’s chapter, “On the Road to Duhm,” offers a critical survey of nineteenth-century Isaianic scholarship by describing the contributions of Eichhorn, Gesenius, Hitzig, Ewald, and Dillmann. The relationship between form criticism and rhetorical criticism is the subject of Roy F. Melugin’s paper, which traces the development of interest in the literary unity of Isaiah as a whole. Finally, Patricia K. Tull, in the longest piece of the volume, provides a useful survey of contemporary Isaianic scholarship (particularly the question of redactional coherence), drawing both on recent publications and on the work of the SBL Isaiah Group.

All of the contributions are worth reading, though for varied reasons. Several of them summarize and build on previously published work; others survey generally familiar biblical material; still others (including the two papers on the LXX by Baer and van der Kooij) offer new ideas that are the result of original research. Anyone

who reads the collection as a whole, however, will come away with a new appreciation for the rich hermeneutical diversity that the book of Isaiah has engendered.

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